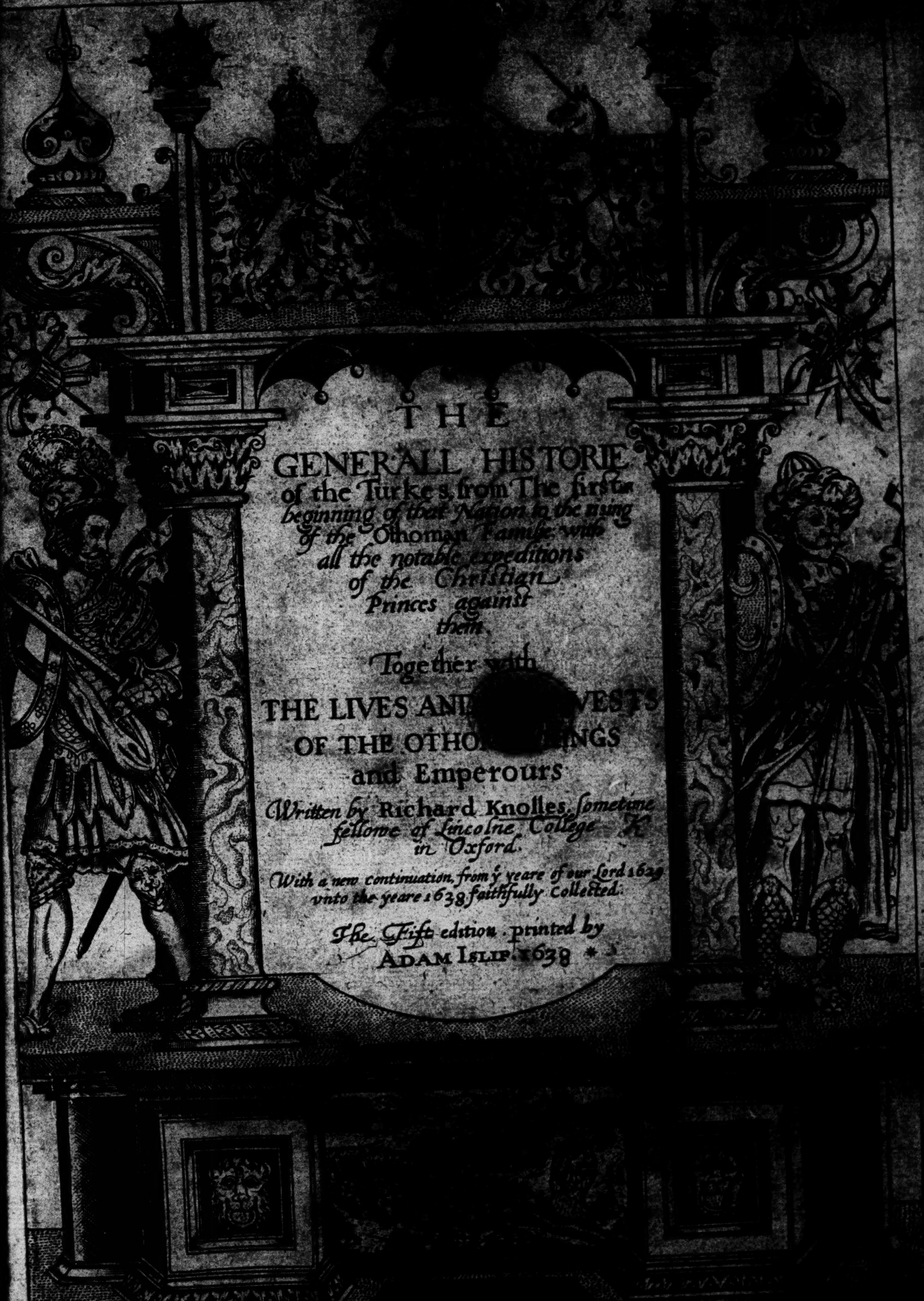

THE GENERALL HISTORIE

of the Turkes, from The first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian Princes against them.

Together with

THE LIVES AN[illegible]VESTS OF THE OTHO[illegible]INGS and Emperours

Written by Richard Knolles, sometime fellowe of Lincolne College in Oxford.

With a new continuation, from yͤ yeare of our Lord 1629 vnto the yeare 1638 faithfully Collected.

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TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY Prince IAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; *Defendor of the Faith, &c.*

IT may of ſome, and not without iuſt cauſe (moſt gracious and dread Soueraigne) be imputed vnto me for no ſmall preſumption, to preſent vnto your royall Majeſty (a Prince of ſo great learning and iudgement) theſe homely fruits of mine endeuors and paines, taken in the Generall Hiſtory of the Turks, and ſtrange ſucceſſe of their great and mighty *Othoman* Empire. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie ioyned vnto many other the great and moſt reſplendent vertues of your heroicall minde; the leaſt whereof is ſufficient to haue cheared vp my weake and feeble ſpirits; but alſo by the encouragement of the right Worſhipfull my moſt eſpeciall good friend Sir *Peter Manwood* Knight of the Bath, the firſt mouer of me to take this great worke in hand, and my continuall and onely comfort, ſtay, and helper therein. Which to do, I was alſo the more deſirous, ſeeing diuers little volumes, and ſmall parts of the Hiſtory preſented vnto the greateſt Princes: as the little Treatiſe of *Paulus Iou. de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mighty Emperour *Charles* the fifth; and the ſmall Hiſtory of *Cœlius Secundus, de Bello Melitenſi*, vnto her late ſacred Majeſty, of moſt happy and bleſſed memory, the rare Phœnix of her ſex, who now reſteth in glory: with diuers others of like ſort by the learned Authours thereof ſtill commended, ſome to one great Prince of their times, ſome to others: all filling me with good hope that this whole and continuate Hiſtory of that Northerne and warlike Nation (which in ſhort time by God his appointment hath brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon a great part of the World, as former times haue ſeldome or neuer ſeene) drawne euen from the firſt beginning therof (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) ſhould with your moſt noble Majeſty find no leſſe grace and fauour, than hath almoſt euery part thereof with other the aforeſaid and ſuch like moſt mighty and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Majeſty hath not diſdained in your *Lepanto* or *Heroicall Song*, with your learned Muſe to adore and ſet forth the greateſt and moſt glorious victory that euer was by any the Chriſtian confederate Princes obtained againſt theſe the *Othoman* Kings or Emperors. Beſides this, the matter and argument of this Hiſtory and ſuch like (ſo much concerning the ſtate and good of the Chriſtian Commonweale in generall, neuer by any ſo much impugned or indangered, as by theſe the naturall and capitall enemies thereof) of right vnto none ſo properly belongeth, as vnto your moſt excellent Majeſty, with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, ſitting at the helme of your eſtates; who onely by your vnited forces) the barbarous enemies greateſt terror) are able to giue remedy thereunto: in the chiefeſt ranke of whom, your ſacred Majeſty, for glory, honour, ſtrength, and power (God long preſerue the ſame) is now ſecond vnto none. Thus perſuaded and encouraged, I in all humble and dutifull manner do preſent vnto your Majeſty theſe my weake endeauors, according to my ability and meanes continued for ſome few yeares more: which how vnworthy ſoeuer they be of ſo great and Princely fauour, as well for the meanneſſe of me the Author, as for the plainneſſe of the ſtile; yet if for the worthineſſe of the matter, or of your own great and infinit clemency, you vouchſafe them your Majeſties fauourable regard, they ſhall no doubt liue no leſſe fortunate, than if they had beene more happily borne or brought to light: ſeruing (if to no other vſe) yet as faire warnings vnto ſuch great ones as God hath here vpon earth exalted aboue the reſt vnto the higheſt degrees of power and of ſtate, for the good gouernment and defence of his church and people. Accept them, I beſeech you, moſt mighty Monarch, into your gratious protection, ſo ſhall I (if God ſpare life) be comforted and encouraged vnder ſo mighty a fauour to proceed to amend what ſhall be found amiſſe, and adde what future times and better helpe ſhall diſcouer and miniſter vnto me for the perfection of this Hiſtory: and according to my bounden duty inceſſantly in all humility pray vnto the great God of all might and power (by whom all Kings and Princes reigne) to his glory long to preſerue your moſt royall Majeſty in bleſſed health and peace, to rule and reigne ouer vs and theſe your great kingdomes, ſo happily by you vnited: and ſo likewiſe (his will ſo being) your moſt noble poſterity after you, euen to the worlds end.

Your Majeſties moſt

humble and obedient ſubject,

Richard Knolles.

The Authors induction to the Chriſtian Reader, vnto the Hiſtorie following.

THe long and ſtill declining ſtate of the Chriſtian Commonweale, with the vtter ruine and ſubuerſion of the Empire of the Eaſt, and many other moſt glorious Kingdomes and Prouinces of the Chriſtians, neuer to be ſufficiently lamented, might with the due conſideration thereof worthily mooue euen a right ſtony heart to ruth: but therwith alſo to call to remembrance the diſhonour done vnto the bleſſed name of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, the deſolation of his Church here militant vpon earth, the dreadfull danger dayly threatned vnto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of ſoules caſt headlong into eternall deſtruction, the infinite number of wofull Chriſtians (whoſe grieuous groanings under the heauy yoke of infidelity no tongue is able to expreſſe) with the careleſneſſe of the Great for the redreſſe thereof, might giue juſt cauſe to any good Chriſtian to ſit downe, and with the heauy Prophet to ſay as he did of Ieruſalem: O how hath the Lord darkned the daughter of Sion in his wrath! and caſt downe from heauen vnto the earth the beauty of Iſrael, and remembred not his footſtoole in the day of his wrath! *All which miſeries (with many others ſo great as greater can none be) the Prince of darkeneſſe and author of all miſchiefe hath by the perſecuting Princes of all ages, and antient hereticks his miniſters, labored from time to time to bring vpon the Church of God, to the obſcuring of his bleſſed name, and vtter ſubuerſion of his moſt ſacred word; but yet by none, no not by them all together ſo much preuailed, as by the falſe Prophet* Mahomet, *borne in an vnhappy houre, to the great deſtruction of mankind: whoſe moſt groſſe and blaſphemous doctrine firſt fantaſied by himſelfe in Arabia, and ſo by him obtruded vnto the World, and afterwards by the Saraſin Caliphes (his ſeduced ſucceſſors) with greater forces maintained, was by them, together with their Empire, diſperſed ouer a great part of the face of the earth, to the vnſpeakeable ruine and deſtruction of the Chriſtian Religion and State: eſpecially in Aſia and Africke, with ſome good part of Europe alſo. But the vnity of this great Mahometan Monarchy being once diſſolued, and it diuided into many Kingdomes, and ſo after the manner of worldly things drawing onto the fatall period of it ſelfe, in proceſſe of time became of farre leſſe force than before, and ſo leſſe dreadfull vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, by whom theſe Saraſins were againe expulſed out of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spaine, which they yet held within the remembrance of our fathers, vntill that by their victorious forces, they were thence at length happily remoued alſo, after that they had poſſeſſed the ſame aboue the ſpace of 700 yeares. In this declination of the Saraſins, the firſt Champions of the Mahometan ſuperſtition (who though they had loſt much, yet held they many kingdomes both in Aſia and Africke, taken for the moſt part from the Chriſtians) ariſe the Turks, an obſcure and baſe people, before ſcarce knowne vnto the World, yet fierce and couragious, who by their valour firſt aſpired vnto the Kingdome of Perſia, with diuers other large prouinces: from whence they were about 170 yeares after againe expulſed by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themſelues into the leſſer Aſia: where taking the benefit of the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes of the Eaſt, and the careleſneſſe of the Chriſtians in generall they in ſome good meaſure repaired their former loſſes againe, and maintained the ſtate of a kingdome at Iconium in Cilicia (now of them called Caramania) holding in their ſubiection the greateſt part of that fruitfull country, ſtill ſeeking to gaine from the Chriſtians what they had before loſt vnto the Tartars. But this kingdome of the Turks declining alſo, by the diſmembring of the ſame, there ſtept vp among the Turks in Bythinia, one* Oſman or Othoman, *of the* Oguzian *tribe or family, a man of great ſpirit and valor, who by little and little growing vp amongſt the reſt of his countrymen, and other the effeminat Chriſtians on that ſide of Aſia, at laſt like another* Romulus, *tooke vpon him the name of*

Lamen. Ieremy, cap. 13.

Granado in Spain was recouered from the Saraſins by King Ferdinand in the yeare, 1491.

The cauſes of the greatneſſe and encreaſe of the Turkiſh Empire.

of a Sultan or King, and is right worthily accounted the firſt founder of the mighty Empire of the Turks: which continued by many diſcents directly in the line of himſelfe, euen vnto Achmat, who now reigneth, is from a ſmall beginning become the greateſt terrour of the World; and holding in ſubiection many great and mighty Kingdomes in Aſia, Europe, and Africke, is growne to that height of pride, as that it threatneth deſtruction vnto the reſt of the Kingdomes of the earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it ſelfe. In the greatneſſe whereof is ſwallowed vp both the name and Empire of the Saraſins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned Kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponeſus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Seruia, Boſna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Ægypt, Iudæa, Tunes, Algiers, Media, Meſopotamia, with a great part of Hungary, as alſo of the Perſian Kingdome, and all thoſe churches and places ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture (the Romans only excepted;) and in briefe ſo much of Chriſtendome as farre exceedeth that which is at this day left. So that at this preſent if you conſider the beginning, progreſſe and perpetuall felicity of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this World nothing more admirable and ſtrange; if the greatneſſe and luſtre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious, if the power and ſtrength thereof, nothing more dreadfull or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beauty of it ſelfe, and drunke with the pleaſant wine of perpetuall felicity, holdeth all the reſt of the World in ſcorne, thundring out nothing but ſtill bloud and war, with a full perſuaſion in time to rule ouer all, prefining vnto it ſelfe no other limits than the vttermoſt bounds of the earth, from the riſing of the Sun vnto the going downe of the ſame. The cauſes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the moſt part ſo ſhut vp in the counſels of the great, as that for me to ſeeke after them, were great folly: yet amongſt the reſt, ſome others there be, ſo pregnant and manifeſt, as that the blinde World taketh thereof as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiſer ſort (as I hope) euen in theſe our nice daies be lightly touched. Whereof the firſt and greateſt, is the iuſt and ſecret iudgement of the Almighty, who in iuſtice deliuereth into the hands of theſe mercileſſe miſcreants, nation after nation, and Kingdome vpon Kingdome, as vnto the moſt terrible executioner of his dreadfull wrath, to be puniſhed for their ſins: others in the meane while, no leſſe ſinfull than they, in his mercy enioying the benefit of a longer time, calling them vnto repentance. Then, the vncertainety of Worldly things, which ſubiect to perpetuall change, cannot long ſtay in one ſtate, but as the ſea is with the wind, ſo are they in like ſort toſſed vp and downe with the continuall ſurges and waues of alteration and change; ſo that being once growne to their height, they there ſtay not long; but fall againe as faſt as euer they riſe, and ſo in time come to nothing: as we ſee the greateſt monarchies that euer yet were vpon earth haue done, their courſe being run; ouer whom Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it ſhall ouer this ſo great a Monarchy alſo, when it ſhall but then liue by fame, as the others now do. Next to theſe cauſes from aboue (without offence be it ſaid) is the ſmall care the Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially thoſe that dwelt further off, haue had of the common ſtate of the Chriſtian common weale, whereof euen the very greateſt are to account themſelues but as the principall members of one and the ſame body, and haue, or ought to haue, as ſharpe a feeling one of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themſelues: in ſtead of which Chriſtian compaſsion and vnity, they haue euer, and euen yet at this time are ſo diuided among themſelues with endleſſe quarrels, partly for queſtions of Religion (neuer by the ſword to be determined) partly for matters touching their owne proper ſtate and ſoueraignty, and that with ſuch diſtruſt and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it hath beene long wiſhed) ioyne their common forces againſt the common enemy: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to be lamented) haue from time to time weakned themſelues, and opened a way for him to deuoure them one after another: whereas with their combined forces (the greedy enemies greateſt terrour) they might long ſince not only haue repreſſed his fury, and abated his pride, but with ſmall danger, and much glory (God fauouring their ſo honourable attempts) haue againe recouered from him moſt of thoſe famous Chriſtian Kingdomes, which he by force againſt all right holdeth at this day in moſt miſerable ſubiection and thraldome: many millions of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation, in the anguiſh of their ſoules crying in vaine vnto their Chriſtian brethren for reliefe. By ciuill diſcord the noble country of Græcia periſhed, when as the father riſing againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father, and brother againſt brother, they to the mutuall deſtruction of themſelues called in the Turke, who like a greedy Lyon lurking in his den, lay in wait for them all. So periſhed the Kingdomes of Bulgaria, Seruia, Boſna, and Epyrus, with the famous Iſlands of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betraied as it were by the Chriſtian Princes their neighbours, by whom they might haue eaſily beene relieued. So the moſt flouriſhing and ſtrong Kingdome of Hungary (in the reliques whereof the fortune of the Turkiſh Empire hath longer ſtucke, than in the conqueſt of any other Kingdome, by it attempted whatſoeuer) diuided in it ſelfe by the ambition of Princes, and ciuile diſcord, the weaker ſtill calling vnto his aid the mighty power of the Turke, is long ſince for the moſt part become vnto him a prey; the poore remainders thereof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Chriſtian Emperour, and of the Princes his Confederats, ſeldometimes meeting together with ſuch cheerfulneſſe or expedition as the neceſſitie of ſo great a matter requireth. Vnto which ſo great a cauſe of the Common decay, may bee added the euill choice of our ſoldiers employed in thoſe wars; who taken vp hand ouer head, out of the promiſcuous common people, are for moſt part vntrained men, ſeruing rather for ſhew and the filling vp of number, than for vſe; and in no reſpect to be compared with the Turks IaniZaries, and other his moſt expert ſouldiers, continually euen from their youth exerciſed in feats of Armes. Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the want of the antient Martiall diſcipline, the wholeſome preſeruation of moſt puiſſant Armies: which breedeth in the proud Enemy a contempt of the Chriſtian forces, with a full perſuaſion of himſelfe, That he is not by ſuch diſordered and weake means to be withſtood. But to come neerer vnto the cauſes of the Turks greatneſſe, and more proper vnto themſelues, as not depending of the improuident careleſneſſe, weakeneſſe, diſcord, and imperfections of others: Firſt, In them is to be noted an ardent and infinite deſire of ſoueraignty, wherewith they haue long ſince promiſed vnto themſelues the Monarchie of the whole world, a quicke motiue to their haughty deſignes. Then, ſuch a rare vnitie and agreement amongſt them, as well in the manner of their Religion (if it be ſo to bee called) as in matters concerning their State (eſpecially in all their enterpriſes to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that therof they call themſelues Iſlami, that is to ſay, Men of one minde, or at peace amongſt themſelues; ſo that it is not to bee marueiled, if thereby they grow ſtrong themſelues, and dreadfull vnto others. Ioyne vnto this their courage, conceiued by the wonderfull ſucceſſe of their perpetuall fortune; Their notable vigilancie, in taking the aduantage of euery occaſion for the inlarging of their Monarchie; Their frugalitie and temperateneſſe in their dyet and other manner of liuing; their carefull obſeruing of their antient Military Diſcipline, their cheerefull and almoſt incredible obedience vnto their Princes and Sultans; ſuch, as in that point no Nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them. All great cauſes why their Empire hath ſo mightily increaſed, and ſo long continued. Whereunto may bee added the two ſtrongeſt ſinewes of euery well gouerned Commonwealth; Reward propounded to the good, and Puniſhment threatned vnto the offender; where the prize is for vertue and valour ſet vp, and the way layd open for euery common perſon, be he neuer ſo meanly borne, to aſpire vnto the greateſt honours and preferments both of the Court and of the Field; yea euen vnto the neereſt affinitie of the great Sultan himſelfe, if his valor or other worth ſhall ſo deſerue: when as on the contrary part the diſloyall or cowardly is to expect from the ſame ſoueraign power nothing but diſgrace, death, and torture. And yet theſe great ones, not contented by ſuch commendable and lawfull means ſtill to extend or eſtabliſh their far ſpreading Empire, if that point once come in queſtion, they ſticke not in their deuilliſh policie to breake and infringe the Lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues, grounded vpon the Law of Nations, be they with neuer ſo ſtrong capitulations concluded, or ſolemnity of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than ſtandeth with their owne profit, ſeruing indeed but as ſnares to intangle other Princes in, until they haue ſingled out him whom they purpoſe to deuoure; the reſt faſt bound by their leagues, ſtill looking on, as if their owne turne ſhould neuer come, yet with no more aſſurance of their ſafety by their leagues, than had the other whom they ſee periſh before their faces. As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrary, than for the father moſt vnnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his own children? and the brother to become the bloudy executioner of his owne brother? a common matter among the Othoman Emperours. All which moſt execrable and inhumane murthers, they couer with the pretended ſafety of their State, as thereby freed from the feare of all aſpiring competitors (the greateſt torment of the mighty) and by the preſeruat[illegible] of the integritie of their Empire, which they thereby keep whole and entire vnto themſelues, and ſo [illegible]er it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part diſmembred or impaired. By theſe and ſuch like means is this barbarous Empire (of almoſt nothing) growne to that height of maieſty and power, as that it hath in contempt all the reſt, being it ſelfe not inferiour in greatneſſe and ſtrength vnto the greateſt Monarchies that euer yet were vpon the face of the earth, the Romane Empire only excepted. Which how farre it ſhall yet further ſpread none knoweth, but hee that holdeth in his hand all the Kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging of the ſea, ſo that it cannot further paſſe. Moued with the greatneſſe and glory of this ſo mighty and dreadfull an Empire, growne for the moſt part out of the ruine of the Chriſtian Commonweale, with the vtter ſubuerſion of many great and flouriſhing Kingdomes, and wofull fall of many mo right puiſſant and mighty Princes, not without griefe to be remembred; I long ſince (as many others haue) entred into the heauy conſideration thereof, purpoſing ſo to haue contented my ſelfe with a light view of that which might well bee for euer of all good Chriſtians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied ; vntill that afterwards led with a more erneſt deſire to know the ſtrange and fatall mutations by this barbarous nation in former time brought vpon a great part of the world, as alſo ſo much as I might to ſee ſo great a terror of the preſent time, and in what terms it ſtandeth with the reſt, I had with long ſearch and much labor, mixt with ſome pleaſure and myne own reaſonable contentment, paſſed through the whole melancholy courſe of their tragicall hiſtory : yet without purpoſe euer to haue commended the ſame, or any part therof to the remembrance of poſteritie ; as deeming it an argument of too high a reach, and fitter for ſome more happy wit, better furniſhed with ſuch helps both of nature and art as are requiſit for the vndertaking of ſo great a charge, than was my ſelfe, of many thouſands the meaneſt. Being not vnmindefull alſo of that which the Poet (keeping Decorum) ſaith in the like caſe, though farre leſſe matter, of himſelfe,

Cum canerem Reges & prælia, *Cynthius* aurem
Velit, & admonuit : Paſtorem *Tittere* pingues
Paſcere oportet oues, deductum ducere carmen.

When I did ſing of mighty Kings, or elſe of bloudy War,
Apollo *pluckt me by the eare, and ſaid I went too far :*
Beſeems a Shepheard Titterus, *his fatlings for to feed,*
And for to fit his rurall ſong vnto his ſlender reed.

Beſides that, ſo many difficulties euen at the firſt preſented themſelues vnto my view, as to ouercome the ſame, if I ſhould take the labour in hand, ſeemed to mee almoſt impoſſible : for beſide the ſea and world of matter I was to paſſe through (requiring both great labor and time) full of the moſt rare example both of the better and worſe fortune in men of all ſort & condition, yeelding more pleaſure vnto the reader, than facilitie to the writer ; I ſaw not any, among ſo many as had had taken this argument in hand, whome I might as a ſure guid or Load ſtar long follow in the courſe of this ſo great an hiſtory (many right worthy and learned men (whoſe memory my ſoul honoureth) contenting themſelues to haue with their learned pens inrolled in the records of neuer-dying fame, ſome, one great expedition or action, ſome another, as in their time it fell out : yea, the Turkiſh hiſtories and Chronicles themſelues (from whom the greateſt light for the continuation of the Hiſtory was in reaſon to haue bin expected) being in the declaration of their own affairs (according to their barbarous maner) ſo ſparing and ſhort, that they may of right be accounted rather ſhort rude notes, than iuſt Hiſtories ; rather pointing things out, than declaring the ſame, and that with ſuch obſcuritie, by changing the antient and vſuall names, as well of whole Kingdoms, Countries and Prouinces, as of Cities, Townes, Riuers, Mountaines, and other places, yea and oftentimes Men themſelues into other ſtrange and barbarous names of their owne deuiſing ; in ſuch ſort as might well ſtay an intentiue Reader, and depriue him of the pleaſure, together with the profit he might otherwiſe expect by the reading therof ; whereunto to giue order, perſpicuitie, and light, would require no ſmall trauaile and paine : (Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the diuerſitie of reports in the courſe of the whole Hiſtory, ſuch as is oftentimes moſt hard, if not altogether impoſſible to reconcile.) Notwithſtanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my ſelfe, hauing with long labour and diligent ſearch paſſed through the courſe of the whole Hiſtory, and ſo in ſome reaſonable ſort ſatisfied my ſelfe therein, I thought it not amiſſe, as well for the worthineſſe of the matter, as for the zeale I beare vnto the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and for the ſatisfying alſo of ſome others my good Friends very deſirous of the ſame, to make proofe if out of the diſperſed Workes of [illegible] right worthy men, I could ſet downe one orderly and continuate Hiſtory of this ſo mighty an Emp[illegible] ; with the great and fatall mutation, or rather ſuberſion of many right ſtrong and flouriſhing Kingdomes and States (the proper worke of all mighty Empires, ſtill encreaſing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud Monarchy hath already daunted a great part of the world, being ſo many and ſo ſtrange, as that moe, or more wonderfull were not euer to be ſeene in any of the greateſt Monarchies of antient time or memory ; and ſo together, and as it were vnder one view, and at one ſhew, to lay open vnto the Chriſtian Reader what I was glad to ſeeke for out of the confuſed Labours of many. A Worke ſo long and laborious, as might well haue deterred a right reſolute and conſtant minde from the vndertaking thereof ; beeing as yet to my knowledge not vndergone or performed by any. Wherein, amongſt ſuch varietie, or more truly to ſay, contrarietie of Writers, I did not content my ſelfe (as a blinde man led by his Guide happely hauing no better ſight than himſelfe) to tread the ſteppes of this or that one man going for a while before mee, and by and by lea-

uing

The order of the Authors proceeding in the writing of this Hiſtory.

uing me againe ſtumbling in the darke: but out of the learned and faithfull works of many, according to my ſimple judgement to make choice of that was moſt probable, ſtill ſupplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defectiue in the weaker, propounding vnto my ſelfe no other marke to aime at, than the very truth of the Hiſtory; as that which is it ſelfe of power to giue life vnto the dead letter, and to couer the faults eſcaped in the homely penning or compiling thereof. Which the better to performe, I collected ſo much of the Hiſtory as poſſibly I could, out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues preſent, and as it were eie-witneſſes of the greateſt part of that they writ, and ſo as of all others beſt able, moſt like alſo to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greateſt part of ſo much of the Hiſtory of the Greeke Empire as I haue (for the better vnderſtanding of the riſing of the Turks in this Hiſtory) ſet downe, gathered out of the doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus, Gregoras, and Laonicus Chalcocondiles, all writing ſuch things as they themſelues ſaw, or were for moſt part in their time, and neere vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almoſt incredible wars betwixt old Amurath the ſecond, and his foſter childe the fortunat Prince of Epirus, of the Turks commonly called Scanderbeg, and by that waiward tyrant at his death, together with his kingdome deliuered as it were by inheritance, vnto his ſon the great and cruell Sultan Mahomet: all written by Marinus Barletius, himſelfe an Epirot, and in all thoſe troubleſome times then liuing in Scodra, a city of the Venetians joyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captiuity of the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, with the miſerable death of the Greek Emperour Conſtantinus Palæologus, and the fatall ruine of the Greeke Empire, written by Leonardus Chienſis, Archbiſhop of Mytilene, being himſelfe then preſent, and there taken priſoner. Such is the lamentable Hiſtory of the Rhodes, taken for moſt part out of Ia. Fontanus his three bookes de bello Rhodio, a learned man then preſent, and in great credit with Villerius the Great Maſter, at ſuch time as that famous Iſland, after it had by him and the other worthy Knights of the Order, bin moſt wonderfully of long defended, was to the great ruth of Chriſtendome taken by the Great Sultan Solyman. Such is the moſt tragicall Hiſtory of Bajazet, Solymans youngeſt ſon, collected out of the notable Epiſtles of Augerius Busbequius, Legationis Turcicæ, he himſelfe then lying Embaſſador for the Emperour Ferdinand at Conſtantinople, and preſent in Solymans campe, at ſuch time as he himſelfe in perſon went ouer with his army into Aſia, to countenance his eldeſt ſon Selymus, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, againſt his valiant younger brother Bajazet, and beſide well acquainted with the great Baſſaes, Achmet, Ruſtan, Haly, and others, oftentimes mentioned in the Hiſtory following. Such is alſo the Hiſtory of the taking of the antient city of Tripolis in Barbary from the Knights of Malta by Sinan the proud Baſſa, written by Nicholas Nicholay Lord of Arſeuile, preſent at the ſame time with the Lord of Aramont, then Embaſſador for the French King vnto Solyman. So might I ſay alſo of the miſerable ſpoile of the fruitfull and pleaſant Iſlands of the Mediterranian, made by Lutzis Baſſa, Solyman his brother in law, and great Admirall; with the ſubmitting of the Iſland of Naxos to the Turks obeiſance, written by Iohn Criſpe, at that time Duke of the ſame Iſland. And ſo likewiſe of diuers other parts of the Hiſtory, too long to rehearſe. But foraſmuch as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a Cæſar, ſuch as both could and would commend vnto poſterity by writing that whereof they might truly ſay, They were themſelues a great part, many right excellent Generals contenting themſelues with the honour of the field, and their glory therewoon, leauing the honourable fame thereof to be by others reported, for lacke of ſuch moſt certaine Authors, or rather (as I before ſaid) eie witneſſes, I gathered ſo much as I could of that remained, out of the workes of ſuch, as being themſelues men of great place, and well acquainted with the great and worthy perſonages of their time, might from their mouthes, as from certaine Oracles, report the vndoubted truth of many moſt famous exploits done both by themſelues and others: as might Pau. Iouius from the mouth of Muleaſſes King of Tunes, from Vaſtius the great Generall, from Auria the Prince of M[illegible]phis, Charles the Emperour his Admirall, and ſuch others: or els out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues great trauellers into the Turks dominions, and withall, diligent obſeruers of their affaires and ſtate, as were the Phyſitions Pantaleon, Minadoie, and Leunclauius (of all others a moſt curious ſearcher of their Antiquities and Hiſtories) vnto which great clerkes, and ſome others of that learned profeſſion, we may worthily attribute the greateſt light and certainty of that is reported of a great part of the Turkiſh affaires. But theſe in the courſe of ſo long an Hiſtory failing alſo (as by conferring that which is hereafter written, together with their Hiſtories, is eaſily to be perceiued) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of ſuch other learned and credible Authors, as of whoſe integrity and faithfulneſſe the World hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted: yea, for theſe few late yeares I was glad out of the German and Italian Writers in their owne language in part to borrow the knowledge of theſe late affaires: as alſo from the credible and certaine report of ſome ſuch honourable minded gentlemen of our owne country, as haue either for their honors ſake ſerued in theſe late wars in Hungary, or vpon ſome other occaſion ſpent ſome good times in trauelling into the Turks dominions, but eſpecially vnto the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh Empire, and place of the Great Turks abode: amongſt whom I cannot but deſeruedly remember my kind friend and couſin Maſter Rog. Howe, vnto whoſe diſcreet and curious obſeruations during the time of his late abode at Conſtantinople, I iuſtly account my ſelfe for many things beholden. In which courſe of my proceeding, if the Reader find not himſelfe ſo fully ſatisfied as he could deſire, I would be glad by him my ſelfe to be better informed, as being no leſſe deſirous to learn the truth of that I know not, than willing to impart to others that little which I know.

Thus much I thought good to ſet downe, to perſuade the Chriſtian Reader of the truth of the Hiſtory following, wherein he ſhall find matter enough to wonder at, and no leſſe ſtrange than that, whatſoeuer it is that is written of the greateſt Monarchies of antient time, vnto whom for power and Majeſty it yeeldeth little: but ſo much the more worthy our conſideration than they, for that their periods already run, and ſo their fury ouer paſt, this in our time ſo flouriſheth, and at this preſent ſo mightily ſwelleth, as if it would ouerflow all, were it not for the mercy of God firſt, and then by the force of ſome few of the Chriſtian Princes neereſt vnto ſo great a danger, with their ſo great charge, to their immortall glory, and benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweale, mightily checked and kept within ſome bounds and compaſſe. This Hiſtory for the moſt part thus, as is aforeſaid paſſed through, and brought to ſome good perfection, was yet by me againe laied aſide, and like enough euen as an abortiue fruit to haue periſhed in the birth before it was growne to perfection, had I not, many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my eſpeciall good and honourable friend, Sir Peter Manwood of Saint Stephens in the County of Kent, Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath, a great louer and fauourer of learning (and in whoſe keeping it ſo for the moſt part many yeares in ſafety reſted) been ſtill comforted, and as it were againe reuiued, and finally encouraged to take it in hand, and as at firſt to perfect it; ſo now againe to continue it: vnto whom (being the only furtherer, ſtay, and helpe of thoſe my labours) thou art for ſuch pleaſure as thou findeſt therein in courteſie beholden, and I for euer bounden. Now, what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good diſcretion to conſider, contenting my ſelfe in ſo great matter to haue been willing to haue done ſom thing; wiſhing no longer to liue, than in ſome meaſure to be profitable to the Chriſtian Commonweale, which long ſince in my nurſing mothers houſe Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was ſometime fellow, I did purpoſe to performe, as it ſhould pleaſe God in time to giue me meanes and occaſion: in which minde I hope by the goodneſſe and mercy of Chriſt my Sauiour ſo long as I liue to continue. Only this fauour (to conclude with) I requeſt of thee, that if in this ſo long and perplexed an Hiſtory (by piece meale of ſo many diuerſly handled) written by me in a World of troubles and cares, in a place that offoorded no meanes of comfort to proceed in ſo great a worke, thou chance to light vpon ſome things otherwiſe reported than thou haſt elſewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maieſt) not therefore forthwith to condemne what thou here findeſt, being haply taken from a more certaine reporter than was that whereunto thou giueſt more credit, or at leaſtwiſe not written by me, as meaning in any thing to prejudice the better judgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in ſuch diuerſity of reports to follow that which may ſeeme vnto thee moſt true. By which courteſie thou haſt already encouragad me to joyne vnto my former Hiſtory a Continuation for ſome few yeares, in this Edition, and yet maieſt (God giue me life and health) hereafter incourage me to performe ſome other Worke to thy no leſſe contentment. So wiſhing thee all happineſſe, I bid thee farewell. From Sandwich the laſt of March, 1610.

Thine in all dutifull kindeneſſe,

Ric. Knolles.

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF THE TVRKES, BEFORE THE RISING OF THE OTHOMAN FAMILIE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.

THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the preſent terrour of the
world, hath amongſt other things nothing in it more wonderful
C or ſtrange, than the poore beginning of it ſelfe, ſo ſmall and
obſcure, as that it is not well known vnto themſelues, or agreed
vpon euen among the beſt writers of their Hiſtories, from
whence this barbarous nation, that now ſo triumpheth ouer the
beſt part of the world, firſt crept out or tooke their beginning.
Some (after the manner of moſt nations) deriue them from the
Trojans, led thereunto by the affinitie of the words *Turci* and
Teucri, ſuppoſing (but with what probabilitie I know not) the
word *Turci* or Turks to haue bin made of the corruption of the
word *Teucri*, the common name of the Trojans: as alſo for that
D the Turks haue of long moſt inhabited the leſſer Aſia, wherein the ancient & moſt famous
city of Troy ſomtime ſtood. No great reaſon in my deeming; yet giue the authors thereof
leaue therwith to pleaſe themſelues, as well as ſome others, which dwelling much further
off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probabilitie at al; and
that with ſuch earneſtnes, as if they could not elſewhere haue found any ſo honorable anceſtors.
Other-ſome report them to haue firſt come out of Perſia, and of I wot not what city
there to haue taken their name: neither want their ſome which affirme them to haue taken
their beginning out of Arabia, yea and ſome out of Syria, with many other far fet deuices
concerning the beginning and name of this people: all ſeruing to no better purpoſe, than to
ſhew the vncertainty therof. Among others, *Philip* of Mornay the noble & learned Frenchman,
E in his worthy work concerning the trunes of the Chriſtian religion, ſeemeth (and that
not without good reaſon) to deriue the Turks, together with the Tartars, from the Iewes,
namely from the ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanaſer* King of Aſſiria, in the time of *Oſeas*
king of Iſrael, carried away into captiuitie, and by him confined into Media, and the other
vnpeopled countries of the North, whoſe going thither is not vnaptly deſcribed by *Eſdras*,
where among the great Lords of the Tartars, in the fartheſt part of the world Northward,
euen at this day are found ſome, that ſtil retaine the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthaly*, a
certain argument of their diſcent: wherunto alſo the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, ſignifying in the
Syrian tongue, remnants or leauings, and the word *Turke*, a word of diſgrace, ſignifying in
Hebrew, baniſhed men, ſeemeth right well to agree. Beſides that, in the Northern countries
F of Ruſſia, Sarmatia, and Lythuania, are found greater ſtore of the Iewiſh nation, than elſewhere,
& ſo neerer vnto the Tartarians ſtil the moe: wherunto *Io. Leunclauius* the moſt curious
ſearcher out of the Turks antiquities and monuments, addeth as a farther conjecture of
the diſcent of thoſe barbarous Northern people from the Iewes, That in his trauel through
Liuonia, into Lythuania in the country neere vnto the metropolitan city of Riga, he

Diuers opinions concerning the beginning of the Turks.

2.King cap.17.
4.Eſd. cap. 13.

Io. Leunclauius Pandect, cap.22.

found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in language from the G
other country people of the Curons and Eſtons, no leſſe barbarous than themſelues; who
had alwaies in their mouthes as a perpetuall lamentation, which they with dolefull moans
dayly repeated abroad in the fields, *Ieru, Ieru, Maſco Lon*: whereby they were thought to la-
ment ouer Ieruſalem and Damaſco, as forgetfull of all other things in their ancient coun-
try, after ſo many worlds of yeres, and in a deſolate place ſo far diſtant thence. And *Mun-*
ſter in his deſcription of Liuonia, repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude peo-
ple being demanded what they meant by theſe words ſo often and ſo lamentably by them
without cauſe vttered: anſwered, That they knew no more, than that they had been ſo of long
taught by their anceſtors. But to leaue theſe opinions concerning their beginning, ſo diuers
and vncertain, & to follow greater probabilities: as concerning the place from whence they H
came, it is vpon better ground thought by diuers others, and thoſe of the beſt Hiſtorians,
That this barbarous nation which hath of late brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon ſo great
a part, not of Chriſtendome only, but euen of the whole world, tooke their firſt beginning
out of the bare and cold country of Scythia: induced thereunto both by the authoritie of
the greateſt Coſmographers, as by moſt apparant reaſons. *Pomponius Mela* the deſcriber of
the world, reckning vp the people neere vnto the great riuer Tanais (the bounder of Europe
from Aſia Eaſtward) amongſt others maketh mention of the Turks, in theſe words, *Geloni*
vrbem ligneam habitant. Iuxta Thyrſagetæ Turceq; vaſtas ſyluas occupant alunturq; venando. Tum
continuis rupibus late aſpera & deſerta regio ad Arympheos vſque permittitur: The Geloni inha-
bit a city of wood, and faſt by, the Thyrſagets and Turks poſſeſſe the vaſt forreſts, and liue I
by hunting. Then, a rough and deſart country, with continuall rocks, is ſpaciouſly extended
euen as far as vnto the Arympheians. *Pliny* alſo in like manner reckning vp the Nations
about the fennes of Mæotis, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, ſaith, *Deinde, Euazæ, Cottæ,*
Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, Tuſſagetæ, Turcæ, vſque ad ſolitudines ſal-
tuoſis conuallibus aſperas, vltra quos Arymphei qui ad Riphæos pertinent montes: Next vnto them,
are the Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, the
Thuſſagets and Turks, vnto the deſarts rough with wooddy valleys: beyond whom are the
Arympheians, which border vpon the Riphean mountaines. And *Ptolomie* in the deſcription
of Sarmatia Aſiatica, maketh mention of the Tuſci, whom many learned men ſuppoſe to
haue bin the ſame nation with the Turks. Vnto which antient teſtimonies of reuerend an- K
tiquitie, adde the maners & conditions of the Turks, their antient attire, their geſture, their
gate, their weapons, and manner of riding and fight, their language and dialect, ſo wel agree-
ing with the Scythians; and a man ſhall find matter enough ſufficient to perſuade him in
reaſon, that the Turks haue vndoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes: whom
they in ſo many things reſemble, and with whom of all other nations they beſt agree.

Sebaſt. Műſter Vniuerſalis Coſmograph. lib.3.

Scythia the natiue country of the Turkes.

Pomp. Mela, lib.1. cap. vlt.

Plin. ſecundus, lib.6. cap.7.

The great agreement betwixt the Turks and Scythians.

Now it hath bin no leſſe doubted alſo, among the writers of the Turks hiſtories, at what
time, and for what cauſes the Turks (to the trouble of the world) left their naturall ſeats in
the cold country of Scythia, to ſeek themſelues others in more pleaſant & temperat coun-
tries more Southerly, than it had bin of their originall beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina* report
them, enforced with a generall want, to haue forſaken their natiue Country, and followed L
their better fortune, in the yere of our Lord 755: with whom alſo *Segonius* agrees in the cauſe
of their departure, but not in the time or place when or wherby they departed: for they (as
he ſaith) iſſued out of their dwelling places in the yere of Grace 844, by the ſtraits of the
mountaine Caucaſus: whereas the other with greater probabilitie ſuppoſe them to haue
come forth by the Caſpian ſtraits, which the Turks alſo (as ſaith *Sabellicus*) affirme of them-
ſelues, their anceſtors, as they ſay, being by their neighbors driuen out of the Caſpian moun-
tains. Some others there be that report them to haue forſaken their natiue country, neither
inforced therto by neceſſity, or the power of others, but for their valor ſent for by the *Sultan*
of Perſia, to aid him in his wars: vnaduiſedly ſuppoſing that to haue bin the cauſe of their
firſt comming out, which indeed hapned long time after, as in the proces of this hiſtory ſhal M
appear. But whatſoeuer the aforeſaid cauſes of want, or of the enemies power, might inforce
them vnto, a greater power no doubt it was that ſtir'd them vp, euen the hand of the Almigh-
tie, who being the author of al kingdoms vpon earth, as wel thoſe which he hath appointed
as ſcourges wherewith to puniſh the world, as others more bleſſed, will haue his worke and
purpoſe

When and for what cauſes the Turks left their antient and naturall ſeats in Scythia, to ſeek others in the countries more Southerly.

755

844

Sabellicus, Ennead.9. lib.2.

A purpoſe ful of Diuine maieſty, to appeare in the ſtirring of them vp from right ſmal beginnings, in the increaſing and eſtabliſhing of their greatnes and power, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, and in the ruine and deſtruction of them again, the courſe of their appointed time once run. As for the difference of the time of their comming forth, before remembred, it may reaſonably be referd to the diuers emotions of that people, who being not vnder the command of any one, but of their diuers gouernors, as the maner of that people was, are not to be thought to haue come forth all at once, either for one cauſe; but at diuers times, ſome ſooner, ſome later, and that for diuers cauſes. This people thus ſtirred vp, and by the caſpian ports paſſing through the Georgian countrey, then called Iberia, neer vnto the Caſpian ſea, firſt ſeiſed vpon a part of the greater Armenia; and that with ſo ſtrong hand, that it is by B their poſterity yet holden at this day, and of them called Turcomania, of all other the moſt true progeny of the antient Turks. In which great countrey they of long vnder their diuers leaders, in the manner of their liuing moſt reſembling their anceſtors, roamed vp and down with their families and heards of cattell, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades their countrey men, without any certaine places of abode, yet at great vnitie among themſelues, as not hauing much to loſe or wherefore to ſtriue.

Armenia, now called Turcomania, the firſt ſeat of the Turks after their firſt comming out of Scythia.

C

The firſt kingdome of the Turks erected in PERSIA, by *Tangrolipix*, Chiefetaine of the Selzuccian Familie: *with the ſucceſſe thereof.*

THis wandring & vnregarded people, but now the terror of the world, thus firſt ſeated in Armenia, long time there liued in that wide country, after D their rude and wonted maner, (from which the Turcoman nation their poſterity in that place, euen at this day, as we ſaid, much differeth not) and not onely notably defended the countrey, thus by them at the firſt poſſeſſed, but ſtill incroching farther and farther, and gaining by other mens harms, became at length dreadfull vnto their neighbours, and of ſome fame alſo farther off: wherunto the effœminate cowardiſe of thoſe delicate people of Aſia, with whom they had to do, gaue no leſſe furtherance than their own valor, being neuertheleſſe an hardie rough people, though not much skilfull or trained vp in the feats of war.

The fame of theſe Turks, together with their fortune, thus daily increaſing, & the mighty empire of the Saraſins as faſt declining, which vnder their Chaliphs, the ſucceſſors of the E falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, hauing in leſſe than the ſpace of 200 yeres ouerſpread not only the greateſt part of Aſia & Africk, euen vnto Gades and the pillers of *Hercules*; but alſo paſſing ouer that ſtreit, had ouerwhelmed almoſt all Spain; & not there ſtaying, but paſſing the Pireni, had pierced euen into the heart of France, and diuers other parts of Chriſtendome, as namely Italy, Sicily, the famous Iſland of the Rhodes, with many others of the Mediterranean: now diuided in it ſelfe, and rent into many Kingdomes, turned their victorious arms from the Chriſtians, vpon one another, to the mutuall deſtruction of themſelues and their empire. Among other the Saraſin Sultans, which forgetting their obedience to their great Caliph, took vpon them the ſoueraignty of gouernment (which admits no partner) was one *Mahomet* Sultan of Perſia, a right great prince, who hardly beſet on the one ſide with the In- F dians, & on the other with the chaliph of Babylon his mortal enemy, pray'd aid of the turks his neighbors, who were now come euen to the ſide of Araxis, the bounds of his Empire: vnto which his requeſt the Turks eaſily granted, in hope thereby to finde a way for them afterwards to enter into Perſia, & ſo ſent him 3000 hardy men vnder the leading of one *Tagra Mucalet*, the ſonne of *Mikael* a valiant captain, and chiefe of the Selzuccian tribe or family;

Togra, otherwiſe called Tangrolipix, ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan.

whom the Greekes commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and ſome others, *Selduck*, or *Sadock*, names (as I ſuppoſe) corrupted of the great familie whereof he was deſcended. By the aid of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we will ſo call him, as by the name moſt vſed) *Mahomet* the Perſian Sultan ouercame *Piſaſiris* the Caliph of Babylon, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of his Turkiſh archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turks deſiring to returne home, requeſted of the Sultan leaue to depart, and with a ſafe conuoy to be conducted vnto the riuer Araxis, and there to haue the paſſage of that ſwift riuer opened vnto them, which was by the Perſians ſtrongly kept by two Caſtles built vpon each end of the bridge, wherby the riuer was to be paſſed. But *Mahomet* loth to forgoe ſuch neceſſarie men, by whom he had obtained ſo great a victory, and purpoſing to imploy them further in his ſeruice againſt the Indians, would by no means hearken vnto their requeſt, but ſeeming therwith to be diſcontented, commanded them to ſpeake no more thereof, threatning them violence if they ſhould more preſume to talke of their departure. The Turks therfore doubtfull of their eſtate, and fearing further danger, ſecretly withdrew themſelues into the deſart of Carauonitis: and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field againſt ſo many millions of the Saraſins, liued as they might, by continuall incurſions and roads which they made out of the deſart forreſt into the countries adjoyning: wherwith *Mahomet* greatly inſenced, ſent out an army of 20000 men, vnder the conduct of ten of his beſt Captaines, againſt them: who for want of water & other neceſſaries, doubting to enter the deſart, encamped themſelues in the ſide of the forreſt, there to conſult what courſe to take. But *Tangrolipix*, who with his Turks lay a great way off in the couert of the woods and mountains, vnderſtanding of the comming of his enemies, and of the maner of their lying, thought it beſt vpon the ſudden by night to ſet vpon the Saraſins and Perſians, if ſo happily he might ouerthrow them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plain battel. Vpon which reſolution hauing trauelled 2 daies long march in the deſart, the third day at night he ſuddenly ſet vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, and by his vnexpected comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they without longer ſtay betooke themſelues to flight, euery man ſhifting for himſelf without regard of others. This victory ſo happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furniſhed with armor, horſes, and abundance of all things needful for the wars, kept the woods & forreſts no longer as a theef or out-law, but ſhewed himſelf in the open field, where dayly repaired vnto him numbers of rogues and vagabonds ſeeking after ſpoile; with many other deſperate villains, who for feare of puniſhment were glad of ſuch a refuge: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace his army was growne to be 50000 ſtrong; and ſo much the ſtronger, for that they had nothing to truſt vnto more than the valor of themſelues. Whileſt *Tangrolipix* thus increaſeth, *Mahomet* inraged with the ouerthrow of his army, in his fury cauſed all thoſe ten captains which had the leading therof, to haue their eies pluckt out; threatning alſo to attire al the ſoldiers that fled out of the battel, in womans apparel, and ſo diſgraced to carry them about as cowards; and withall raiſed a great army for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. All things being now in readineſſe, he ſet forward; when by the way the ſouldiers whom he had ſo threatned to diſgrace, ſuddenly fled to the enemy: with whoſe comming *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and ſtrengthned, reſolued to giue the Sultan battell. And ſo boldly comming on, met with him at Iſpahan a city of Perſia, where was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible battel, with wonderfull ſlaughter on both ſides. In the heat of which battell, *Mahomet* vnaduiſedly riding to and fro to encourage his ſoldiers, falling with his horſe, brake his necke: vpon which miſchance both the armies comming to agreement, by common conſent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his ſtead; and ſo made him King and Perſia, and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdome belonging.

Mahomet the Perſian Sultan goeth himſelfe with an armie againſt Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by conſent of the ſouldiers made Sultan of Perſia.

This was the firſt kingdom of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 yeres after their comming out of Scythia, in the yere alſo of our Lord, 1030; *Conſtantinus Monomachus* then reigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the raign of *Romanus Argirus*, *Conſtantine* his predeceſſor. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune, thus of a meane captain become King of Perſia, forthwith commanded the garriſon which kept the bridge ouer the riuer Araxis, to be remoued, and ſo free paſſage to be giuen to the Turks his countrymen, at their pleaſure to come ouer: who in great multitudes repaired into Perſia, where they were by the new Sultan well prouided for, and by little and little promoted vnto the

Tangrolipix firſt Sultan of the Turks.

greateſt

A greateſt dignities of that kingdome; the Perſians and Saraſins, the antient inhabitants thereof being by theſe new come gueſts now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdom, the Turks receiued the Mahometane ſuperſtition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vſing circumciſion: So that hard it is to ſay whether Nation loſt more; the Perſians and Saraſins by the loſſe of ſo great a kingdome, or the Turks, imbracing ſo great a vanitie.

Whē the Turks firſt receiued the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Tangrolipix with his Turkes thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Perſia, held not himſelfe therewith long content, but made war vpon his neighbor princes, eſpecially againſt *Biſaſiris* the Caliph of Babylon, whom he in diuers battels ouerthrew; and hauing at length ſlaine him, ioyned his kingdome vnto his owne. After that, he ſent *Cutlu-Muſes* his couſin, with an B armie againſt the Arabians, by whom he was ouerthrowne and put to flight. But returning by Media, he requeſted of *Stephan* the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant, leaue to paſſe with his armie by the confines of his countrie: which his requeſt *Stephan* not onely reiected, but alſo by ſtrong hand ſought to ſtop his paſſage; but ioyning battell with him, was by the Turks eaſily ouerthrowne, & himſelfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muſes* returning to *Tangrolipix*, and recounting vnto him the ſucceſſe of his warres, perſuaded him to turne his forces into Media, as a moſt fruitfull country and eaſie to be ſubdued. But he highly offended with the ouerthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vno him, but raiſing a new armie in hope of better fortune, went againſt the Arabians in perſon himſelfe. *Cutlu-Muſes* in the meane time fearing the Sultans diſpleaſure, fled with his followers and fauorites; and taking for his refuge C Paſar a ſtrong citie of the Choraſmians, reuolted from him: which the Sultan ſeeming not to regard, held on his intended iourny againſt the Arabians, by whom he was alſo put to the worſt, and enforced with diſhonour to returne. After that, he with part of his army beſieged *Cutlu-Muſes*, who by the ſtrength of the place, and valour of the people, for a great whiſe notably defended himſelfe. in the meane time *Tangrolipix*, not vnmindefull what *Cutlu-Muſes* had before ſaid vnto him, concerning the eaſines of the conqueſt of Media (a countrey, as he ſayd, defended but by women) ſent *Aſan* his brothers ſon, ſirnamed the deafe, with a conuenient armie to inuade the ſame: who entring into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the Emperours lieutenant ouerthrown, & himſelfe with the greateſt part of his army ſlain: with which loſſe the Sultan rather inraged than diſcouraged, ſent *Habramy Alim* his brother D again, with an army of an hundred thouſand fighting men: with which ſo great a power the Emperours lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill hee had procured further ayd from the Emperour, eſpecially out of Iberia; and therefore kept himſelfe with ſuch power as he had, within his ſtrong and fenced places. Which *Alim* perceiuing, & out of hope to draw him vnto battel, roaming vp and downe the Country, at laſt beſieged Arzen, an open town, but ful of rich merchants, by whom it was (contrarie to his expectation) notably defended for the ſpace of ſix dayes; vntil that at length the Turks ſeeing no other way to win it, ſet fire vpon it in diuers places; by force whereof the inhabitans were enforced for ſafeguard of their liues to flie & to leaue the towne with an infinite wealth to the ſpoile of the enemy. By this time was *Liparites* Gouernor of Iberia, come with a great power to the ayd of the E Emperors Lieutenant in Media: whereof *Alim* hauing intelligence, without delay haſted with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them alittle before night, had with them a cruell fight; wherein the victorie fel vnto the Chriſtians, who had the Turks in chaſe a great part of the night: neuertheles *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battell, was there taken, & ſo carried away priſoner: for whoſe ranſome the Emperor ſent a great ſum of mony, with certain preſents to the Sultan: all which he ſent back againe, & frankly ſet *Liparites* at libertie, wiſhing him neuer to beare armes more againſt the Turks. And with him ſent the Seriph, a man of great place among the Mahumetans, his Embaſſador vnto the Emperour. Who comming to Conſtantinople, amongſt other things, proudly demanded of the Emperor, to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and ſo to bee at peace with him for euer: F Which his vnreaſonable demaund was by the Emperor with no leſſe diſdaine ſcornefully reiected, & the Seriph ſo diſmiſſed. Which contempt of his Embaſſador the Sultan taking in euill part, as alſo not a little mooued with the death of his nephew, and loſſe of his armie, with all his power inuaded the Romane prouinces; but being come as far as Coime without any notable harme doing, for that the countrie people hearing before of his comming, had in time conueighed themſelues with their ſubſtance into their ſtrong houlds, whereof there

Cutlu-Muſes ſent by Tangrolipix againſt the Turkes.

Cutlu-Muſes rebelleth againſt Tangrolipix.

The Turks Embaſſador contemned of the Emperor.

Tangrolipix inuadeth the Emperors dominions.

was great ſtore in thoſe countries; and hearing alſo that the Greeke Emperour was raiſing a G
great power to come againſt him at Cæſarea; not daring to proceed any further, leauing ſo
many enemies behind him, he fretting in himſelfe, returned into Media, where finding the
people all fled into their ſtrong townes, hee layd ſiege vnto Mantzichiert, a Citie ſtanding
in a plaine champian Countrey, but ſtrongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches.
This Citie hee furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſpace of thirtie daies without intermiſſion, but all
in vaine, the ſame being ſtill notably defended by *Baſilius* Gouernour thereof, and the other
Chriſtians therein. The Sultan wearie of this ſiege, and about to haue riſen, was by *Alcan* one
of his chiefe Captaines, perſuaded yet to ſtay one day, for him to make proofe in, what hee
were able to doe for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelded, committing the
whole charge of the aſſault vnto him. *Alcan* the next day diuiding the armie into two parts, H
and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpoſe with the multitude of their ſhot
to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the armie, furniſhed with all
things needfull for the aſſault, approached to the walls: the Sultan in the meane time with
certaine of the chiefe Turkes, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this ſo forward
a Captaine in the middeſt of his endeauor loſt himſelfe, being ſlaine with a great number
of his followers in approching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beauty of his armour,
was by two valiant young men that ſallyed out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his
head into the Citie, and his head being forthwith cut off, was caſt ouer the wall among the
Turkes: wherewith the Sultan diſcouraged, and out of hope of gaining the Citie, roſe with
his army, pretending himſelfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatning I
withall, the next ſpring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long
after, great diſcord aroſe betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, inſomuch that
the Sultan ſought by diuers means to haue taken him out of the way: which *Habramy* perceiuing,
fled to his Nephew *Cutlu-Muſes*, and ioyning his forces with his, denounced war vnto the
Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from Paſar, ouercame them in plain battell,
wherein *Habramie* was taken, and preſently by the commandement of his brother put to
death. But *Cutlu-Muſes*, with his couſin *Melech*, and ſix thouſand Turks, fled into Armenia;
and by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, requeſted of the Emperor *Conſtantinus Monomachus*, to be
receiued into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heels, they
for their more ſafetie were glad to flye into Arabia. The Sultan afterwards turning into Iberia, K
did there great harme, ſpoyling the countrey before him: againſt whom the Emperour
ſent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine. Of whoſe approch the Sultan hearing, and that hee
would vndoubtedly ere long giue him battell, (deeming it no great honour vnto him to ouercome
the Emperours ſeruant, but an eternall diſhonor to be of him ouerthrown) retired with
his army back again to Tauris, leauing behind him one *Samuch* with three thouſand Turkes,
to infeſt the frontiers of the Emperors territories: which both he and other the Turks Captaines
afterward more eaſily did, for that *Monomachus* the Emperour hauing prodigally ſpent
the treaſures of the Empire, to increaſe his reuenue, had impoſed a tribute vpon the frontier
countries of his empire, which were wont before to be free from all exactions; in lieu whereof
they were bound to defend the paſſages from all incurſions of the enemy: but now preſſed L
with new impoſitions, had diſſolued their wonted garriſons, and left an eaſie entrance for the
barbarous enemies into the prouinces confining vpon them. Beſides that, the Emperours immediately
following, and eſpecially *Conſtantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen altogether
to the hoording of treaſure, gaue little countenance, and leſſe maintenance, vnto men
of ſeruice, which in ſhort time turned to the great weakening, and in fine to the vtter ruine of
the Conſtantinopolitan empire. At the ſame time alſo the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitan
empire, by the death of *Conſtantinus Ducas* the late Emperor, came to his wife *Eudocia*
with her three ſons, *Michael, Andronicus* and *Conſtantinus*, all very young: whoſe ſex and tender
yeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleaſure grieuouſly ſpoyled the prouinces
of the empire, namely Meſopotamia, Cilicia, Capadocia, yea and ſometimes as farre M
as Cœleſiria. The report whereof much troubled the Empreſſe, and gaue occaſion for many
that loued her not, to ſay, That ſo troubled an eſtate required the gouernment of ſome worthie
man. Wherfore ſhe fearing leſt that the Senat making choice of ſome other, ſhe and her
children ſhould be remoued from the gouernment, thought it beſt for the preſeruation of her
ſtate and her childrens, to make choice of ſome notable and valiant man for her husband, that

Diſſention betwixt Tangrolipix and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu-Muſes flyeth into Arabia.

Couetouſneſſe and lacke of reward the decay of the Conſtantinopolitan empire.

Eudocia the Empreſſe contrary to her oath deſirous to marrie.

A for her and hers, ſhould take vpon him the managing of ſo weightie affaires. But to check this
her purpoſe (the only remedy of her troubled thoughts) ſhe had at the death of the late Emperor
Conſtantine her husband, at ſuch time as the Soueraignty was by the Senat confirmed to
her and her ſons, ſolemnly ſworne neuer more to marry; which her oath was for the more aſſurance
conceiued into writing, and ſo deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled
her more, than to find out the man whom ſhe could thinke worthy of her ſelfe, with ſo great
honor. She held then in priſon one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renowne, and honorably
diſcended; whoſe father hauing married the neece of the Emperor *Romanus Argirus*, and aſpiring
to the empire, being conuicted thereof, ſlew himſelfe for feare to bee inforced by torments,
to bewray his confederates. This *Diogenes* was by the late Emperor *Conſtantine*, for his
B good ſeruice againſt the Scythes (who then much troubled the empire) highly promoted,
with moſt honourable teſtimony in the charters of his promotions, That ſuch honours were
beſtowed vpon him, not of the Emperors meere bounty, but as the due rewards of his worthy
deſerts. Notwithſtanding after the death of the Emperor, he ſick of his fathers diſeaſe, and
ſwelling with the pride of ambition, ſought by ſecret means to haue aſpired vnto the empire:
wherof the empreſſe hauing intelligence, cauſed him to be apprehended & brought in bonds
to Conſtantinople, where being found guilty of the foule treaſon, and ſo committed to ſafe
keeping, was ſhortly after brought forth to the iudgement ſeat againe, to receiue the heauie
ſentence of death. In which wofull plight, ſtanding as a man out of hope, and now vtterly forlorn,
he mooued all the beholders with a ſorrowfull compaſſion: for beſide that he was a man
C of exceeding ſtrength, ſo was he of incomparable feature & beauty, adorned with many other
rare qualities and vertues anſwerable thereunto: wherewith the Empreſſe mooued with the
reſt, or pierced with ſome ſecret good liking, is hard to ſay, reuoked the ſentence of condemnation
ready to haue bin pronounced vpon him, and giue him pardon. And ſhortly after hauing
ſet him at libertie, ſent for him as he was going into Capadocia his natiue country, and
made him Generall of all her forces, with a full reſolution in her ſelfe to marry him, and to
make him Emperor, if ſhe might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarchs hand,
wherein her oath for neuer marrying againe was compriſed. For the compaſſing whereof, ſhe
entred into a deep deuice full of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches, whom ſhe purpoſed
to vſe as her pander for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This crafty Eunuch inſtructed
D by his miſtres, comming to the patriarch *Ioannes Xiliphilines*, a man both for his place
and integritie of life much honored, told him in great ſecret, that the Empreſſe had ſo far ſet
her good liking vpon a young gentleman, a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the
court) as that ſhe could be content to take him to her husband, and to make him Emperor, if
ſhe might by his holines be perſuaded, that ſhe might with with ſafe conſcience do it, and
by him be diſcharged of the raſh oath ſhe had vnaduiſedly taken, neuer to marry again, wherof
he had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwiſe a contemner of wordly honours, yet mooued
with ſo great a preferment of his nephew, promiſed the eunuch to do therein whatſoeuer the
Empreſſe had deſired, which he accordingly performed. And ſo ſending for the Senators one
by one, in whoſe good liking the matter chiefly reſted, he with much grauity propounded to
E them the dangerous eſtate of the common-weale, with the troubles daily increaſing, and the
continual fear of forrein enemies, not to be repreſſed by the weak hand of a woman, or the authority
of yong children, but requiring (as he ſaid) the valiant courage of ſome worthie man.
After that, he began to find great fault with the raſh oath which the Empreſſe had taken a
little before the death of her husband, neuer to marry; and vtterly condemning the ſame, as
contrary to the word of God, & vniuſtly exacted of her, rather to ſatiſfy the iealous humor of
the Emperor her late husband, than for any good of the common-weale: he in fine perſuaded
them, that the vnlawful oath might be reuoked, and the Empres ſet at libertie at her pleaſure,
by their good liking to make choice of ſuch a man for her husband, as might better vndertake
ſo weighty affaires of the empire, more fit for a man, than for ſo tender a Lady and 3 young
F children. The greater part of the ſenat thus perſuaded by the Patriarch, and the reſt with gifts
and promiſes ouercome by the Empreſſe, the patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing ſhe ſo
much deſired, & diſcharged her of her oath: wherupon ſhe forthwith calling vnto her certain
of her ſecret friends, married *Diogenes*, whom ſhe cauſed to be proclaimed Emperour. Now
thought *Eudocia* after the manner of a woman, to haue had her husband (whom ſhe euen from
the

Diogines Romanus of a priſoner by the Empreſſe made Generall of her armie.

Eudocia marrieth Diogenes Romanus, and proclaimes him Emperour.

The prouinces of the empire ſpoiled by the Turks.

The Turks diſcomfited by Diogenes the Emperour.

the bottom of deſpaire had exalted to the higheſt type of honor) in all things loyall & pliant: G whereunto he for a while at the firſt forced himſelfe, but afterwards (beeing a man of a proud nature, and haughty ſpirit) became wearie of ſuch obſeruance, and began by little and little to take euery day more and more vpon him. And for that the imperiall prouinces in the Eaſt, were in ſome part loſt, & the reſt in no ſmall danger; he, as well for the redreſſe therof, as for his owne honour, and to ſhew himſelfe an Emperour indeed, and not the ſeruant of the Empreſſe, left the court, and paſſed ouer into Aſia, although it were with a ſmal army and euill appointed: for why, it was no eaſie matter for him to furniſh out the army with al things neceſſarie, which by the ſloth and ſparing of the late Emperours, had, to the great danger and diſhonor of the empire, bin vtterly neglected. Neuertheleſſe the Turkiſh Sultan, who at the ſame time with a great power inuaded the prouinces of the empire, hearing of his comming, H and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting what power he might bring with him, retired himſelfe; and diuiding his army, ſent the one part thereof into the South part of Aſia, and the other into the North, which ſpoiled all the countrey before them as they went, and ſuddenly ſurpriſing the city of Neo-Cæſaria, ſacked it, and ſo laded with the ſpoile thereof departed. But the Emperor vnderſtanding thereof, and not a little grieued therwith, drawing out certain bands and companies of the beſt and moſt readieſt ſouldiers in his army, and with them coaſting the countrey to get betwixt the Turks and home, vſed therein ſuch expedition, that he was vpon them before they were aware, and ſo ſuddenly charging them, brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they betook themſelues to their heeles, leauing behind them for haſt, their baggage and carriages, with all their priſoners & bootie they had before taken at Neo-Cæſaria, I and in their late expedition: yet was there no great number of them ſlaine, for that the Chriſtians fore-wearied with long trauell, were not able far to follow the chaſe. From thence tooke his way into Siria, he ſent part of his army to Melitena, and carried himſelfe from Aleppo a great booty both of men and cattel. At which time alſo the city of Hierapolis was yeelded to him, where ſhortly after he built a ſtrong caſtle. But whilſt he there ſtaid, news was brought to him, that the other part of his army which he had ſent away, was ouerthrown by the Turkes; for the reliefe of whom, he roſe with all haſt and marched towards them: but being in number far inferiour to his enemies, hee was by them as he lay encamped, incloſed round in ſuch ſort, as it was thought almoſt impoſſible for him to haue eſcaped: at which time alſo the Gouernor of Aleppo traiterouſly reuolted from him, and ioined his forces with the K enemy, making now no other reckoning, but aſſuredly to haue taken him: but whilſt the turks thus dream of nothing, but of a moſt glorious victorie, and were in mind diuiding the ſpoile, the Emperor without ſo much as the ſounding of a trumpet, ſuddenly iſſuing out of his trenches, when they leaſt thought he durſt ſo haue done, and reſolutely charging them home, put them to flight, and had of them a notable victory, had he throughly proſecuted the ſame: after that, hauing taken diuers towns, he came to Alexandria, in Cilicia, and there all about in the country bilited his army, becauſe of the approch of winter, and ſo returned himſelfe to Conſtantinople. The next Spring the Turks, according to their vſuall manner inuading the frontiers of the empire, did much harme about Neo-Cæſaria: whereof the Emperor aduertiſed, L went thither with his army, and quickely repreſſing their fury, tooke his journey to the riuer Euphrates, where leauing part of his army with *Philaretus* for the keeping of thoſe frontiers, he himſelfe retired Northward into Capadocia. But after his departure, the Turkes ſetting vpon *Philaretus*, put him to flight with his garriſons: and taking the ſpoile of the frontiers, entred into Capadocia, waſting all as they went: and afterwards turning into Cilicia, ſacked Iconium, a rich populous city. Wherof the Emperor vnderſtanding at Sebaſtia, made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ranſackt the city, and were for feare of his comming already retired, he ſent *Chatagurio* gouernor of Antioch, with part of his army to Mopſipheſtia, to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But they in the plains of Tharſus were before diſtreſſed by the Armenians, and ſtript of al their rich prey: and hearing farther of the approch of the Emperours power, fled by night and ſo eſcaped: which the Emperor vnderſtanding, and M hauing now well quieted thoſe prouinces, and the yere far ſpent, returned again to Conſtantinople. But after his departure, the Turks again inuading the frontier prouinces, he ſent *Manuel Comnenus*, a valiant young man, Generall againſt them; who ſo preuailed, that the Emperor enuying at his honour, tooke from him a great part of his army, and ſent him with a ſmall

power

A power into Syria. But as he was vpon the way, he was by the Turks entrapped neere vnto Se-
baſtia, and there taken, moſt part of his armie being at the ſame time ouerthrown and ſlaine:
with which loſſe, the Emperour being troubled, made great preparation to go himſelfe in
perſon againſt his enemies, who encouraged with the former victorie, ceaſed not to infeſt his
territories. In the meane time by great fortune came *Manuel Comnenus* home, together with
the Turke that tooke him; who being fallen into the diſpleaſure of the Sultan, fled vnto the
Emperour with his priſoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in a rea-
dines, for ſo great an expedition as the Emperour had in perſon purpoſed, he ſet forward, and
after long trauell hauing paſſed Ceſarea, he incamped at a place called Cryapega: where for
ſeuere execution done vpon certaine mutinous ſouldiers, one of the legions of his army roſe
B in mutinie againſt him: whom (for all that) he quickly pacified with the terror of the reſt of
his army, which he threatned to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their duty: after
that, remouing to Theodoſopolis, he diuided his army, and ſent *Raſelius* one of his beſt cap-
tains, with one part thereof againſt *Chliat*, and another part he ſent to beſiege Mantzicierts,
retaining with himſelfe the reſt, being of no ſtrength. The Turkes in Mantzicierts, finding
themſelues not able long to hold out, fell to compoſition, and yeelded the citie. But ſhortly
after, the ſouldiers left there in garriſon for the keeping thereof, going out to ſeek for forrage,
were by the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed: which the Emperour vnderſtanding, ſent thither one
Nicephorus Bryennius, with certaine companies to releeue the citie, who encountring with the
Turks, and finding himſelfe too weak, ſent vnto the Emperour for aide: who not knowing the
C ſtrength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardiſe, yet ſent vnto him *Nicephorus Baſilacius*
with part of his armie, who ioining his forces with *Briennius*, and giuing the Turkes battell,
put them to flight. But following too faſt vpon them vnto their trenches, and *Bryennius* ma-
king no great haſt after, he had his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and ſo on foot heauily laden with
armour, and not able to ſhift for himſelfe, was there taken and brought to the Sultan: who
honorably entreated him, and oftentimes queſtioned with him concerning the Emperour,
and ſhewing him his owne power, examined him alſo of the Emperours.

Diogenes goeth with a great army againſt the Turks.

Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field againſt the Emperour, was *Axan* his
ſon, a man of great wiſedome & diſcretion, who conſidering the doubtful euent of battel, ſent
embaſſadors vnto the Emperor to intreat with him of peace. But hee (perſuaded by ſome of
D his captains, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meere feare
and diſtruſt he had in his own power, or els to gain time vntill ſome greater ſtrength came)
had ſmall regard of the embaſſadors or their meſſage, but proudly willed them to tell their
maſter, That if he were deſirous of peace, he ſhould get him farther off, and leaue the place
wherin he lay incamped, for him to lodge in: and ſo without other anſwer, commanded them
away. Now had the Emperor (as is before ſaid) ſent away part of his army by *Ruſelius* againſt
Chliat, whom he ſent now for in haſte again: but he hearing of the approch of the Sultan, by
the perſwaſion of *Tarchoniates*, one of his captains, was retired for his more ſafety back into
the Romane frontiers, leauing the Emperor deſtitute of his help. At which time alſo a com-
pany of the Scythians which ſerued in the Emperors camp, reuolted to the Turks, not with-
E out ſome ſuſpition, that the reſt of their fellows, which remained would ere long do the like:
neuertheles the Emperor preſuming of ſuch ſtrength as he had, or carried headlong with his
owne fortune, reſolued to giue the Turks battell, and therefore putting his men in order ſet
vpon them. Who ſomwhat troubled with the Emperors ſo ſudden a reſolution, as being yet
in ſome hope of peace, yet hauing put themſelues in order of battell, receiued the enemies
charge, ſtill giuing a little ground, as men not greatly deſirous either to fight or flie. This
fight continuing long, & the day now declining, the emperor doubting leſt the Sultan ſhould
ſend part of his army to aſſault his camp (from which he was now drawne ſomewhat far, and
had left the ſame but weakly manned) cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, & ſo began orderly to
retire himſelf with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding,
F and ſuppoſing him to haue fled, began themſelues to flie amain. Of which ſo ſhameful flight
and ſudden feare *Andronicus* (the ſon of *Iohn Ducas*, the late emperor *Conſtantine* his brother,
and by him created *Cæſar*, who with his ſonnes ſecretly enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*) was
the cauſe: for he commanding a great part of the army, gaue it firſt out to ſuch as were about
him, that the emperor fled: and to increaſe the feare, turning his horſe about, fled towards the
campe

Axan the Sultan ſendeth embaſſadors vnto Diogenes for peace;

Iohn Ducas a notable traytor cauſe of the flight of the emperors army.

camp as faſt as he could:after whom al the reſt moſt diſorderly followed:which the emperor G
beholding,and therewith not a little troubled,made a ſtand,labouring in vaine to haue ſtaid
the reſt:for now the turks incouraged with the ſudden flight of the Chriſtians,began hardly
to purſue them,as men already ouerthrown by the hand of God;whom for all that the emperor
with ſuch as yet ſtood with him, for a ſpace notably reſiſted. But being forſaken by the
greater part of his army,& oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies,being wounded himſelfe,
and his horſe ſlain vnder him,he was taken all imbrued with his own bloud,& the bloud
of his enemies,of whom he had wounded & ſlain many. The Sultan aduertiſed of his taking,
at the firſt beleeued it not, ſuppoſing it rather to haue been ſome other great man:vntil that
he was both by them,whom he had but a little before ſent embaſſadour vnto him,& by *Baſilacius*
one of his captaines then priſoner with him,aſſured that it was vndoubtedly he,which H
Baſilacius brought before him,to ſee if he knew him,fell downe proſtrate at his feet,as before
his dread Lord & Soueraigne. The Emperor brought before the Sultan,and humbling himſelfe
in ſuch ſort as beſt beſeemed his heauy fortune, the Sultan preſently tooke him vp, and
thus cheerefully ſpoke vnto him: *Grieue not noble Emperour* (ſaid he) *at thy miſhap,for ſuch is the*
chance of war,ouerwhelming ſometimes one ſometimes another: neither feare thou any harme, for, I will
vſe thee not as my priſoner,but as an Emperour: which he accordingly did,preſently appointing
him a princely pauilion, with all things anſwerable to his eſtate, ſetting him oftentimes at
his own boord,and for his ſake enlarging ſuch priſoners as he required. And after he had thus
for certain daies honorably vſed him,and diſcourſed with him of many things,he concluded
a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promiſe of a marriage to be made betwixt their children; I
and ſo with a ſafe conuoy ſent him away with greater honor than was at an enemies hand to
haue been expected. The Emperour in Turkiſh attire, which the Sultan had beſtowed vpon
him,comming to Theodoſopolis,there ſtaid the curing of his wounds,& afterwards accompanied
with the Sultans embaſſadors,ſet forward toward Conſtantinople. But all was now
there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuitie, *Iohn* the *Cæſar* with *Pſellus* one of the
chiefe Senators,& others of the ſame faction,which alwaies enuied at the honor of *Diogenes*,
preſently tooke the imperial gouernment from *Eudocia* the Empreſſe,and thruſting her into
a monaſterie which ſhe had built neere to Propontis, ſet vp *Michael Ducas* her eldeſt ſonne,
Emperour,in ſtead of *Diogenes*: whoſe ſimplicitie *Cæſar* his vncle abuſing with the reſt,did,
now what they liſt. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now (contrary to their expectation) ſet K
at libertie by the Sultan,and comming towards the emperiall city,ſent out letters euery way
in the new Emperors name, to all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby he was to paſſe,
not to receiue him as Emperour,or to do him any honour: which *Diogenes* vnderſtanding,
ſtaid at the caſtle of Docia,whether ſome of his friends with ſuch power as they were able to
make,reſorted vnto him. Againſt whom,*Cæſar* with the contrary faction firſt ſent his ſonne
Conſtantine,and after that *Andronicus* his eldeſt ſon, both *Diogenes* his mortall enemies, with
a great army: by whom *Diogenes*, with his friends and followers, were ouerthrowne and diſcomfited.
Diogenes himſelfe flying to the citie of Adana,was there hardly beſieged by *Andronicus*,
and in the end glad to yeeld himſelfe,vpon condition,that he ſhould reſigne the empire,
and ſo foreuer after to lead a priuate life. For whoſe ſafetie, certaine of the chiefe of the L
clergie ſent of purpoſe from *Michael* the Emperor, gaue their faith: ſo *Diogenes* all attyred in
black,yeelded himſelfe to *Andronicus*; by whom he was brought to Cotai, then the metropoliticall
citie of Phrygia, there to expect what further order ſhould be taken for him from
the court: during which time he fell ſicke,being (as many ſuppoſed) ſecretly poiſoned. But
whilſt he there lay languiſhing,an heauier doome came from the young Emperour, That he
ſhould haue his eies put out: which was forthwith in moſt cruell manner done, the clergie
men that had before for his ſafety gaged their faith, crying out in vaine againſt ſo horrible a
crueltie. Thus depriued of his ſight,he was conueyed into the Iſland of Prota, where his eies
for lack of looking to,putryfying,and worms breeding in them,with ſuch an odious ſmell,as
that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in ſhort time after died,when he had raigned M
three yeares, eight moneths. All which miſerie was thought to haue happened vnto him
through the malice of *Cæſar*, without the knowledge of the young Emperour his nephew.

Diogenes the Emperor taken by the Turks.

Eudocia the Empreſſe depoſed by the traitor Ioh. Ducas, Pſellus, and others.

Diogines the Emperor taken priſoner by Andronicus.

The miſerable death of Diogenes the Emperor

Axan the Sultan ſeeketh to reuenge the death of Diogenes.

Axan hearing of the miſerable end of the late emperor *Diogenes*, was therwith much grieued
and the more, for that the league which he had to his good content ſo lately made with him;

was

A was thereby come to nought: wherfore in reuenge thereof, he with great power inuaded the
imperiall prouinces,not for ſpoile and booty only,as in former time,but now to conquer and
to hold the ſame. Againſt whom,*Michael* the Emperor ſent *Iſaac Comnenus* his Lieutenant,
with a great army:who meeting with the Turks,& joyning battell,was by them ouerthrown
with all his army,and taken priſoner;and glad afterwards for a great ſumme of mony to redeeme
himſelfe. After which ouerthrow,the Emperor ſent his vncle *Cæſar* with another army
againſt them,who was by *Ruſelius*, that had before reuolted from the Emperour, ouerthrowne
at the riuer Sangarius,and taken priſoner; whom he for all that ſhortly after ſet at
libertie againe,and joyning with him againſt the Turks,were both together by them diſcomfited
and taken priſoners,but afterwards redeemed,*Cæſar* by the Emperour,and *Ruſelius*
B by his wife. This *Ruſelius* was a notable traitour,who joyning with the Turks, did what he
liſt in the prouinces of the Empire in the leſſer Aſia:for the repreſſing of whom,the Emperor
ſent *Alexius Comnenus*,a young man, but very politick and couragious;who ſecretly practiſing
with the Turks that were great with *Ruſelius*, had him at laſt by them for a ſum of
mony betraied into his power: who forthwith ſent him to Conſtantinople to the Emperor,
by whom he was impriſoned,but afterwards ſet at liberty and imploied againſt *Bryennius*
and his brother, then vp in rebellion againſt the Emperour.

Cutlu-Muſes with his ſonnes and kinſmen take vp armes againſt Axan the Sultan.

But to come neerer to the Turkiſh affaires. *Cutlu-Muſes*,who with his couſin *Melech* and
others,were for feare of *Tangrolipix* their couſin fled into Arabia, as is before declared, now
in the beginning of the reigne of *Axan*,returned:and as the enuious competitors of his kingdom,
C hauing raiſed a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried
the matter with him by plain battel. Againſt whom alſo,the Sultan on the other ſide had
brought into the field his whole forces,& was now likewiſe ready to haue incountred them
neere vnto the city of Eres. But whilſt the Turks thus diuided,ſtood ready to deſtroy themſelues,
the Caliph of Babilon (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporall ſoueraigntie,
yet in matters of religion ſtil held him in great reuerence and eſteem,as their chiefe
Biſhop,& the ſucceſſor of their great Prophet) conſidering that nothing could be more dangerous
to his ſect and religion,than that ciuil diſcention,the late confuſion and vtter ruine
of the Saraſin empire,and authority of the Caliphs;and fearing the like effect in theſe new
Saraſins,now the chief ſtay of the Mahometan ſuperſtition:ſetting aſide all pontificall formality
D wherby he was bound not to go out of his own houſe,came with all ſpeed euen as the
armies were now ready to joyn battel, & thruſting himſelfe into the middeſt betwixt them,
what with the reuerence of his perſon,what with his effectuall perſuaſion,wrought ſo much
and preuailed ſo far with both parties,that they were content to lay down their weapons,and
to ſtand to his order and judgment: which was,That *Axan* the Sultan ſhould ſtill injoy his
kingdom and territories,whole and entire vnto himſelfe as he did:and that *Cutlu-Muſes* and
his ſons, aided by him, and ſo inuading the prouinces of the Conſtantinopolitan empire,
ſhould therof ſubdue ſo much as they could vnto themſelues,& to be thereof accounted the
only Lords and gouernors:which order as it was vnto the Turks,and for the maintenance of
the Mahometan ſuperſtition,very wholſome and commodious,ſo was it vnto the Chriſtian
E commonweale and religion moſt dangerous and hurtfull,as in proceſſe of time by proofe it
appeared. For by this mean in ſhort time after,*Cutlu-Muſes* with his couſins and ſons ſubdued
all Media,with a great part of Armenia,Capadocia,Pontus, and Bythinia,and ſo a great
part of the leſſer Aſia. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muſes*,and the fauor of the ſoldiers,*Nicephorus
Botoniates* aſpiring to the Empire of Conſtantinople,diſplaced his maſter the Emperor, *Michael
Ducas*,after he had raigned ſix yeres & ſix moneths,and in the habit of a Monke thruſt
him into an Abbey: which vſurper by the iuſt judgement of God, was at length requited
euen with the ſame meaſure,and in like manner ſerued by *Comnenus*;who thruſting him out,
ſucceeded himſelfe in the empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muſes*,with his ſons and kinſmen
did for the inlarging of the Turkiſh empire, by the helpe of the great Perſian Sultan:
F whoſe forces together with their own, in diuers countries conducted by theſe worthy leaders
his nigh kinſmen,and doing great matters, gaue occaſion for themſelues to be accounted
Sultans,though indeed they were none,neither their names ſuch,as are by ſome antient
writers,& others of later time alſo reported;but vnto the Turks themſelues by thoſe names,
either for Sultans,vnknowne. Out of theſe great commanders,all borne of the Selzuccian
familie,

A moſt hurtfull order for the Chriſtian common-weale.

The ground of the errour of diuers writers about the ſucceſſors of Tangrolipix,otherwiſe of them called Sadoch.

ſamily,hath *Aithonus*,and others ſollowing his report,deriued their *Dogrisbeg*,*Aſpaſalemus*,*Meleclas*, G
and *Belchiaroc*, whom they ſuppoſe to haue orderly ſucceeded *Zadoc*, otherwiſe called
Tangrolipix, in the Turkiſh empire,and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the report
of the Turks themſelues,and the relation of the Greeks,it appears plainly,*Axan* (more
truly called *Ax-han*,that is to ſay,the White king) to haue bin the ſon of *Tangrolipix*,and to
haue ſucceeded him in the empire:and that by him the emperor *Diogenes* was taken,and not
by *Aſpaſalemus* as they vainely imagine. As for *Aſpaſalemus*, whom the Turks by that name
know not either any thing of his doings, it ſeemeth to haue been a name corrupted of *Aſpam*
Sallarius, the brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his ſonnes ſon,as they would
haue it. In like manner *Meleclas* alſo ſeemeth to haue been forged of *Melech* the ſon of *Habrami*,
Tangrolipix his brother,and not of *Aſpaſalemus*,as ſome without any good ground report. H
Whom they finding to haue been all great men in the Selzuccian family,with ſome others
alſo,haue both corrupted their names,and giuen vnto them an imaginarie ſoueraigntie and
ſucceſſiion in the Turks firſt empire,ſuch as beſide that the Turks themſelues acknowledge
not,is eaſile to be refelled out of the hiſtories of the Greeks,who had with them ſtill much
to do. Wherefore leauing thoſe ſuppoſed princes of the Turks,with their imaginarie ſucceſſion,
and doings,vnto the authors thereof,following more certainties, to return againe to
the courſe of our hiſtory. *Axan* the Sultan at the ſame time that he had by the mediation of
the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his couſin *Cutlu-Muſes*; to increaſe
the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of
his nigh kinſmen, the gouernement of Damaſco and Aleppo, with that part of Syria which I
joyneth vnto them, of purpoſe that way to incroch vpon the Ægyptian Chaliph, who then
had vnder his juriſdiction, all, as far as Laodicea in Syria; yet not with ſo large priuiledge
as had *Cutlu-Muſes*, vnto whom and his poſteritie he had yeelded the abſolute honour of a
Sultan or King, ouer ſuch countries and prouinces as he ſhould win from the Chriſtians:
but vnto theſe others his kinſmen, he gaue the gouernement of the aforeſaid cities of Damaſco
and Aleppo, in the frontiers of his dominion in Syria, conditionally, that they
ſhould ſtill remaine his vaſſals,and hold of him as of their ſoueraigne,whatſoeuer they had,
who neuertheleſſe in ſhort time mightily preuailed vpon the Ægyptian, ſtill increaſing the
a Turkiſh territorie with the loſſe of the Saraſins, whoſe name together with their Empire,
was now by the Turks almoſt quite driuen out of Aſia. K

But theſe proud branches of the Turkiſh Empire, thus ouerſpreading the leſſer Aſia,
with the greateſt part of Syria, were in ſhort time after by the mercy of God, and the valour
of the moſt Chriſtian and moſt religious princes of the Weſt,cut ſhorter,and brought
againe into ſome better order. The full diſcourſe whereof, worthy eternall memory, by
others inrolled in the antient records of fame,I purpoſe not at large to follow, but in briefe
to touch, for the orderly continuation of the preſent hiſtorie, haſting to the doings of this
victorious nation of latter times, wherein we are to make a longer ſtay, as more pertinent
vnto the dangerous eſtate of the preſent time.

Peter a French Hermit goeth on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem.

It fortuned that whilſt *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons,ſupported by the Sultan *Axan* their kinſman,
thus mightily preuailed againſt the Chriſtians in the leſſer Aſia on the one ſide,and L
Melech with his couſin againſt the Egyptian Caliph in Syria on the other: that one *Peter* a
French Hermite mooued with a deuout zeale,according to the manner of that time,went to
viſit the ſepulchre of our Sauior,with the other holy places at Ieruſalem:who comming into
Syria,then for the moſt part poſſeſſed by the Turks & Saraſins,diligently noted by the way
as he trauelled, the maners and faſhions of theſe barbarous nations,their gouernment,their
cities, their power and ſtrength;but aboue all,the grieuous miſeries of the poore oppreſſed
Chriſtians,that there liv'd in moſt miſerable thraldom among them,without hope of releas:
al which,he in the habit of a poore pilgrim,at liberty ſafely viewed,in the midſt of theſe miſcreants,
being withal a little low hard fauoured fellow,and therfore in ſhew more to be contemnd
than feared:yet vnder ſuch ſimple & homly feature lay vnregarded a moſt ſubtil ſharp M
and pearching wit,fraught with diſcretion & ſound judgment,ſtil applying to ſom good vſe
what he had in his long and painful trauel moſt curiouſly obſerued. He commeth to Ieruſalem,
and performing his deuotions there,ſaw the grieuous miſery of the poore deuout Chriſtians,
ſo great and heauy, as that greater or more intollerable could none be:wherwith not

The deſcription of Peter the Hermit.

A little grieued, he entred into a deepe diſcourſe thereof with *Simon* the Patriarke and Abbot of
the monaſterie of the Chriſtians (there before built by certaine Italian Merchants) and with
the maſter of the Hoſpitalers, by whom he was fully informed thereof, as of whatſoeuer elſe
he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongſt them, that
the Patriarke and the grand Maſter, ſhould in their own, and the names of the other oppreſſed
Chriſtians, write their letters vnto the Pope and the other Chriſtian Princes, concerning their
miſeries, and to craue their aid for the recouery of thoſe holy places out of the hands of thoſe
cruell Infidels: of which letters the deuout Hermit promiſed himſelfe to be the truſtie carrier,
and of their petitions the moſt carefull ſoliciter. Whereupon the Patriarke and grand Maſter,
in the name of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians wrote their letters vnto this effect:

B

*We the citiſens of the holy Citie, and countreymen of Chriſt Ieſus, dayly ſuffer thoſe things which
Chriſt our King ſuffered but once, in the laſt daies of his mortalitie. We are dayly buffeted, ſcourged,
and pierced: euery day ſome of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flie from citie to citie,
vnto the remoteſt parts of the earth, and remooue out of the middle of that land where Chriſt our Sauior
wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vagrant life; were it not impietie to leaue the Land
(ſacred with the birth, doctrine, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion of our Sauiour) without inhabitants
and Prieſts; and that there ſhould firſt lacke ſuch as would indure death and martyrdome, than ſuch as
would inflict the ſame; and that there ſhould not be which would willingly die for Chriſt, as in battell,
ſo long as there were any that would fight againſt them. Theſe things truly we moſt miſerably ſuffer:*
C *yet was there a time when as our anceſtors feared no ſuch thing, either to themſelues or their poſteritie.
And now perhaps the Chriſtian kingdomes of the Weſt liue likewiſe without the leaſt ſuſpicion of feare:
but let them be moued by our example and teſtimony. The ſtrength of the Turks is dayly increaſed and
ours diminiſhed: The continuall gaining of new kingdomes giueth them courage: They haue already deuoured
the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and ſtronger than the forces of the
Saraſins, their policies deeper, their attempts more deſperat, their endeauors greater, and their ſucceſſe
fortunater. Yet haue the Saraſins attempted both Romes: they haue beſieged Conſtantinople, and haue waſted
not onely the ſea coaſts of Italy, but euen the heart of the land alſo. Then why ſhould the kingdomes
of the Weſt preſume themſelues to ſtand in ſafety and out of all perill, when as the chiefe fortreſſes of the
world haue beene ſo indangered? what may the reſt of Chriſtendome promiſe vnto it ſelfe, ſeeing that*
D *Ieruſalem (the ſeat and ſpectacle of the Chriſtian Religion) hath beene beſieged, taken, ſacked, raſed, and
triumphed vpon? ſeeing that of the Chriſtian profeſſion remaine but the poore and weake reliques, in
compariſon of the antient whole entire body? This land, which is dayly beſprinkled with our bloud, yea
the bloud it ſelfe cryeth out for reuenge. And we your moſt humble ſuppliants, proſtrate at your feet,
call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith, and religion, of you moſt bleſſed Father, of the Kings, Princes, and
Potentates; Chriſtians not in name and profeſſion onely, but in heart, ſoule, and ſpirit. Before the tempeſt
thunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the ſtorme hanging
ouer your heads: defend vs your poore ſuppliants, deliuer your religion from moſt wicked and accurſed
ſlauerie. You ſhall in ſo doing deſerue immortall fame, and God ſhall requite your ſo great valour in this
world with terreſtriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall bliſſe, whoſe ſacred inheritance*
E *you ſhall haue defended from the rage of hell.*

The Letters of Simon, Patriarke of Ieruſalem, and of the grand Maſter of the Hoſpitalers, vnto the Pope and other Chriſtian Princes, in the behalfe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians in Ieruſalem.

Rome and Conſtantinople, which was alſo called Noua Roma, or new Rome.

With theſe letters, and plenty of other ſecret inſtructions, the deuout hermit returning into
Italie, and comming to Rome, deliuered his letters vnto *Vrban* the ſecond of that name,
then Pope, with a ful diſcourſe of the miſeries of the Chriſtians vnder the Turkiſh thraldom,
which he had ſeene at Ieruſalem and other places as he trauelled, requeſting his holy care for
the redreſſe thereof: with whom he ſo preuailed, that ſhortly after, he calling a Councell at
Claremont in France, among other things, propounded the miſerie of the poore oppreſſed
Chriſtians at Ieruſalem, as an eſpeciall matter to be conſidered of. And hauing cauſed the
aforeſaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Chriſtian Princes, to be openly read in the
F Councell, whereunto three hundred and ten Biſhops were then out of diuers parts of Chriſtendom
aſſembled, with the Embaſſadors of all countries, much moued the whole aſſembly
to compaſſion: at which time alſo the hermit (whoſe flowing eloquence fully counteruailed
what wanted in his feature, ſtanding vp in the midſt of the Councell, deliuered his meſſage in
the name of the afflicted Chriſtians, with their heauie groanings and teares: which as they

The Councell of Claremont in France.

could not be in letters expreſſed, ſo were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him G
who hauing both lately ſeene both the miſerie of the men, and deſolation of the places, and at
the heart touched with the griefe thereof) ſo liuely repreſented, as that it moued the whole
aſſembly with the like ſimpathy of heauineſſe and griefe. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke
thereupon occaſion to enter into a large diſcourſe concerning that matter, with many effectuall
reaſons perſuading the Fathers and Princes there preſent, of the neceſſitie of ſo religious
a Warre to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppreſſed brethren out of the thraldome
of the Infidels; and now as well as with their preſent Decree, as afterwards at their returne
home into their Countries, by all meanes to further the ſame. Which notable perſuaſion,
with the heauie complaint of the Hermit, and the equitie of the Cauſe, ſo much
moued the whole Councell, and the reſt there preſent, that they all as men inſpired with one H
Spirit, declared their conſent by their often crying out, *Deus vult*, *Deus vult*, God willeth
it, God willeth it: which words ſo then vttered by way of applauſe, were in the great and
moſt ſacred expedition following, much vſed of the deuout Chriſtians, as the fortunate ſignall
of their cheerefull forwardneſſe, euen in their moſt dangerous enterpriſes. Strange it
were to tell, and hardly to be beleeued (but that the antient Hiſtories beare witneſſe of the
like) how farre in one daies ſpace the report of this religious decreed warre was by flying
fame diſperſed.

An expedition agreed vpon by the Councel, for the reliefe of the Chriſtians oppreſſed in the Holy-Land.

The Councell diſſolued, and the reuerend Fathers returning euerie man home into his
owne countrey, it pleaſed God by their effectuall perſuaſions ſo to worke with the reſt of the
Chriſtian Princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and prouinces in Chriſtendom, I
were ſhortly to be ſeene men of all ſorts in great number, with red Croſſes on their breſts (the
cogniſance of that ſacred expedition) readie of themſelues to ſpend both life and goods for
the defence of the Chriſtian Religion, and recouerie of the Holy-Land. The number of
whom is of diuers diuerſly reported; but of moſt ſuppoſed to haue beene three hundred thouſand
fighting men: Of whom the chiefe Commanders were, *Godfrey* Duke of Lorraine, with
his two brethren, *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable houſe of Buillon; *Hugh* ſyrnamed
the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French King; *Raymond* and *Robert* Earles of Flanders;
Robert Duke of Normandie, *William* the Conquerors ſonne; *Stephen de Valoys* Earle of
Chartiers; *Ademar* Biſhop of Podie, the popes Legat; and *Peter* the Hermit, not to be numbred
amongſt the leaſt, as chiefe author of this moſt famous expedition: vnto whom many K
other honourable Princes joyned themſelues, as partakers of their trauels, though not with
like charge.

The chiefe commanders of the Chriſtians in their expedition into the Holy-Land.

The firſt that ſet forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Senſauier* a noble Gentleman,
with a great band of men: not long after whom followed *Peter* the Hermit, with fortie thouſand
moe; who both trauelling thorow Germany, Hungaria, and Bulgaria, were glad oftentimes,
eſpecially in the further part of Hungarie and Bulgaria, to open themſelues a way with
the ſword; and ſo with much labor, and no leſſe loſſe came at length to Conſtantinople:
where they were not greatly welcome vnto the Emperour *Alexius Comnenus*; who guiltie
vnto himſelfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the Empire from *Nicephorus*
his predeceſſour, had that expedition of the Chriſtians into the Eaſt, in diſtruſt, as purpoſed L
againſt himſelfe: vntill that fully reſolued to the contrarie, by the Hermit and others;
and that a farre greater power was comming after, for the inuaſion of the Turks, and recouerie
of the Holy-Land; he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: and
afterward to make roome for them that were to come, ſhipped them ouer the ſtrait of Boſphorus
into Aſia; who marching forward into Bithynia, encamped their Army in the countrey
not farre from the Citie of Nice. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers
other Princes that had joyned themſelues vnto him, with the Germanes and Lorranois,
and the greateſt part of the Armie, followed the ſame way that the Hermit had taken before
him. At which time alſo *Hugh* the French Kings brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts*
(the one Duke of Normandie, and the other Earle of Flanders) and the reſt of the French M
Commanders, paſſing ouer the Mountaines into Italie, came to Rome, with a wonderfull
great Armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, becauſe they would be leſſe troubleſome
vnto the Cities and Countreys whereby they were to paſſe, they diuided their great Armie
into three parts; whereof the one part went to Brunduſium, and the other to Bary, and the
third

A third to Hydruntum, vnto whom alſo *Bohemund* one of the great Princes of Apulia, ioyned himſelfe with twelue thouſand good ſouldiers that followed him. From theſe three ports the Chriſtian army departing, and croſſing the Adriaticke, arriued in ſafety at Dirrachium, and nigh thereabout vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia: from whence they trauelled by land thorow Macedonia, to Conſtantinople; were they met with the Duke *Godfrey* and the reſt of the Armie: whom alſo at the firſt, *Alexius* the Emperour is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as iealous of his owne eſtate; vntill that better perſuaded of their deſignements and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich preſents ſent vnto him by theſe ſtrange Princes, he ioyned with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the Emperor during the time of this expedition ſhould furniſh them with new ſupplies of men, armour, victuals, and B whatſoeuer elſe they ſhould want: in regard whereof, the Princes on the other ſide promiſed to reſtore again vnto the empire, what prouinces, countries, or cities they ſhould happily gain out of the hands of the Turks and Saraſins, the City of Ieruſalem only excepted: which agreement was afterward on the ſuſpicious Emperors part but ſlenderly performed. Neuertheleſſe, this league ſo made, hee granted them paſſage, and ſo tranſported them ouer the ſtrait into Aſia: only *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the Emperour *Alexius* and his father, would not come to Conſtantinople, but marching with his army thorow the vpper Myſia and Thracia, came ſooner than any man had thought, vnto the ſtrait of Helleſpontus, and ſo paſſed.

Godfrey duke of Buillon, and the other Christian Princes, meet together at Constantinople.

Now had *Gualter*, and the Hermit *Peter*, with their Army, lien two moneths in the countrey about Nice, expecting the comming of the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes: for why, they C thought it not good before their comming to attempt any thing againſt the enemie, whom they knew to lie not farre off very ſtrong. But the common ſouldiers wearie of ſo long lying, and nought doing, and pinched with ſome wants, and withall diſliking of *Gualter* their chiefe Commander, and the Hermit *Peter*, (of whoſe integritie and holineſſe they had a greater opinion, than of his proweſſe and direction) roſe vp in mutinie, and diſplacing *Gualter*, made choice of one *Raymund* a valiant Germane Captaine, for their Generall: by whoſe conduct they tooke Exorgum, a Towne of purpoſe forſaken of the Turks. For they long before vnderſtanding what a tempeſt of warre was growing vpon them out of Europe, ſought by all means to cut off theſe that were already come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater Army following; and therefore had left them this Towne, as a bait to traine them out of their trenches. And D after that the Chriſtians were thus poſſeſſed of the Towne, hauing layd certaine ſtrong ambuſhes, they droue out certaine heards of cattell the more to allure them: all which certaine companies of the Chriſtians brought in without any loſſe, the Turks ſtill winking thereat. With which bootie the Chriſtians encouraged, went out three thouſand of them to take in a little towne not farre off; who were by Turks cut off and ſlaine euery mothers ſonne, as they were about to haue diuided the ſpoile. Which ouerthrow reported into the Towne, diſcouraged euen the chiefe Commanders of the army, ſo that they reſolued no more to try the fortune of the field, before the comming of their friends. Neuertheleſſe the common ſouldiers condemning them of cowardiſe, choſe them a new Generall, one *Godfrey Burel*, whom they now requeſted not, but enforced to goe out to reuenge the death of their fellowes. Which E their raſhneſſe not long after turned to their own deſtruction: for ten thouſand of them going out of Exorgum, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turkes entrapped, and almoſt all ſlaine, except ſome few, which by ſpeedy flight eſcaped. The Turks proſecuting their victorie, layd hard ſiege to them in the Towne alſo, vntill they had partly with famine, and partly with the ſword conſumed the moſt part of them. The Hermit with the poore remainder of his army tooke his refuge to Cinite, a Towne not farre off, before abandoned by the Turks; where with much adoe he defended himſelfe vntill the comming of Duke *Godfrey* and the reſt of the Princes.

Cutlu-Muſes the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his ſon Sultan *Solyman* many large countries & prouinces, altogether gained from the Chriſtians in Aſia, whom he held in great F ſubiection and thraldome. This warre-like Prince hauing diſcomfited and almoſt brought to nought the hermits forces, was no leſſe carefull for the withſtanding of the great army following: which now being come into Bithynia, & lying before Nicomedia, remouing thence, laid ſiege to the city of Nice, called in antient time Antigonia, of *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Philip* that built it, and afterwards Nicea, of *Nicea* the wife of King *Lyſimachus*. In this city dwelt many

Nice beſieged by the Christians.

deuout Greeks, Chriſtians;but in ſuch thraldome vnto the Turks, that they could not do any G
thing for the deliuerie of themſelues. This ſiege indured longer than the Chriſtian Princes
had at the firſt ſuppoſed : who although they to the vttermoſt of their power forced the citie
on three ſides,yet was it ſtil notably defended,new ſupplies ſtill comming from the Turks by
the lake of Aſcanius joyning vpon the other ſide of the Citie. But after that the Chriſtians,
poſſeſſed of the lake, began on that ſide alſo to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turks diſcouraged,
and ſeeing themſelues beſet round with their enemies,yeelded vp the city the fifth of Iuly,
1097 in the yeare 1097,after it had been fifty daies beſieged. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay
at the ſiege, the Turks aſſailed the quarter of the camp where the Legat lay ; by whom they
were notably repulſed,and with great loſſe inforced to retyre vnto the mountains. In this city,
amongſt the reſt of the Turks,was taken *Solymans* wife,with two of her children, whom the H
Princes ſent priſoners to Conſtantinople. This City ſo woon, was according to the agreement
before made, reſtored vnto *Alexius* the Emperour, whoſe fleet had in that ſiege done
good ſeruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

The city of Nice thus woon,the Chriſtian Princes remouing thence with their army, and
marching thorow the country,came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watred many rich
paſtures:where as they were about to haue incamped, for the commodiouſneſſe of the place,
and refreſhing of the army, ſuddenly news was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay,
now buſie in caſting vp his trenches, That the Turks with a great Army were ready euen at
hand to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raiſed a great power of his owne, and aided by the
Sultan of Perſia his kinſman,was now come with an army of 60000 ſtrong to giue the Chri- I
ſtians battell : of whoſe approch *Bohemund* aduertiſed,left the fortifying of his trenches, and
putting his ſoldiers in array,ſet forward to meet him;ſending word to the reſt of the Princes
A cruell battell fought betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians. that lay a far off,to be ready as occaſion ſhould require,to relieue him. Theſe two armies conducted
by their moſt reſolute chiefetains,meeting together,joyned a moſt fierce and terrible
battell,where in a ſhort ſpace the Turks lay ſlain vpon heaps,in ſuch ſort that they ſerued the
Chriſtians in ſtead of bulwarks.But whileſt *Bohemund* thus preuailed in the battell,certain of
the Turks horſemen wheeling about,brake into *Bohemunds* camp(not as then altogether fortified,
and but ſlenderly manned) where among the women,and other weake perſons there left,
they raiſed a great tumult and outcry,to the great appaling of them that were fighting in the
battel:which *Bohemund* perceiuing,withdrew himſelf with certain companies vnto the camp, K
from whence he with great ſlaughter repulſed the enemy.But returning again into the battel,
he found there a great alteration:for his ſoldiers whom before he had left as it were in poſſeſſion
of a moſt glorious victory, were now ſo hardly laid vnto by the Turks,as that they were
ready to haue turned their backes and fled.Neuertheleſſe,by his comming in,the battell was
notably reſtored,and again made doubtful:when the enemy perceiuing how much the aſſaulting
of the camp had troubled the Chriſtians in battell, ſent out certaine troups of horſemen
again to aſſault the ſame;and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforeſaid
not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French Kings brother come in good time to the reſcue :
who comming in with 30000 horſemen,after he had relieued the camp,entring directly into
the battell, was notably encountred with a ſquadron of freſh ſouldiers of the Turks, by them L
of purpoſe reſerued for ſuch euent. There began a battell more terrible than the firſt, with
moſt doubtfull victorie : but at the length the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and
ſeeing moſt of their fellowes ſlaine,began by little and little to giue ground,and ſo retired into
the mountains,which were not far off. In this battell, which continued a great part of the
day,were ſlaine of the Turks 40000,and of the Chriſtians about 2000. The next morning *Bohemund*,
with the French Kings brother, came againe into the field, in ſuch order as if they
ſhould preſently haue giuen or receiued battell : where after they had ſtayd a great while,and
ſaw no enemy to appear,they fell to the honeſt buriall of their dead;which were eaſily known
from the Turks, by the red croſſes vpon their garments, the cogniſance of their ſacred warrefare.
Solyman flyeth. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his army,notably diſſembled his loſſe,giuing it out M
that he had gotten the victorie:yet by the way as he went he burnt vp the coutry villages,and
deſtroied or carried away whatſoeuer els he thought might ſtand the Chriſtians in any ſtead,
if they ſhould further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victorie, *Bohemund* and the Chriſtian Princes, without reſiſtance marching

A through the hot and dry countries of the leſſer Aſia, came to Antiochia a Citie of Piſidia,
which they took with ſmall labour:and ſo marching vnto Iconium the principall city of Cilicia,
neere vnto the mountaine Taurus, were there alſo of the citiſens courteouſly receiued,
where they ſtaied certaine daies for the refreſhing of the Armie. From thence they ſet forward
toward Heraclea,where a great power of the Turks were reported to be aſſembled. But
they, together with the garriſon ſouldiers, vpon the approch of the victorious Army of the
Chriſtians,forſook the city and fled:the citiſens being Chriſtians(as they were yet generally
in all the Prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, but in great ſubjection to the Turkes) and now rid of
their cruel maſters the Turkiſh garriſons,came forth,and meeting the Princes,gladly yeelded
themſelues with their city vnto them,as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Chriſtian Princes fully
B inſtructed of the great feare and deſperation of the Turks, who now in no place durſt abide
their comming; for the more ſpeedy taking in of thoſe countries but lately oppreſſed by the
Turks, diuided their army into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred*
in Cilicia, for the full ſubduing thereof, (who in ſhort time tooke the cities of Tarſus,
Edeſſa,and Manuſſa; with all the reſt of the country,the Turks daring not any where to abide
their comming:)the other part of the army in the mean time entring into the leſſer Armenia;
tooke the ſame from the Turks,which the Princes gaue to one *Palmurus* an Armenian, who
had in that expedition done them great ſeruice. From thence they tooke their way into Capadocia,which
they alſo ſubdued,driuing out the Turks in euery place, and tooke the Cities
of Cæſarea and Socor, where they ſtaied a few daies for the refreſhing of the army : with
C like ſucceſſe they paſſed thorow the reſt of the Prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, of late poſſeſſed
by the Turks, ſtill chaſing them out before them, and ſetting at libertie the poore oppreſſed
Chriſtians of thoſe countries. Whereof *Solyman* (crauing aid of *Axan* the Perſian Sultan his
couſin)grieuouſly complained,by his letters to him directed in this ſort : *The famous Citie of
Nice,with the country of Romania,which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the
Greeks,and of your bounty poſſeſſed,the Chriſtians of the kingdome of France haue againe taken from vs.*
Thus was the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia,by theſe valiant Chriſtian
champions againe brought low,and they glad to retyre themſelues further off into the mountains
and more Eaſterne countries,vntill this heat was ouerpaſt; and that they,taking the benefit
of the troubled ſtate of the Greeke Empire (afterwards rent in ſunder by ambition and
D ciuill diſcord,the ruine of the greateſt monarchies)recouered not only their former ſtate,but
became alſo dreadfull vnto the Greeke Emperors themſelues:vpon whom they dayly gained
in one corner or other,ſtill maintaining the honour of their eſtate vntill the riſing of the *Othoman*
Familie, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall God willing be declared.

Antioch in Piſidia taken by the Chriſtians.

Heraclea yeelded.

Sultan Solyman his letters vnto the Perſian Sultan Axan.

Theſe victorious princes (then,and to the worlds end famous) not contented, to their immortall
praiſe to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the leſſer Aſia, and recouered ſo many
countries;bound themſelues,as well the Princes as the common ſoldiers,by ſolemne oath,neuer
to returne againe into their countries, vntill they had accompliſhed that ſacred war with
the conqueſt of the Holy city.So mounting together the high mountain Taurus,and deſcending
thence as into another world, they came to the city Mareſia, which they tooke without
E reſiſtance, the Turks there in garriſon being by night before for feare fled:where the Chriſtians
for the refreſhing of themſelues certain daies ſtaid. In the mean time *Robert* Earle of Flanders
with 1000 men at armes,was ſent out to giue ſummons vnto a city called Artaſia, about
15 miles diſtant from Antioch:when as the citiſens beholding the enſignes of the Chriſtians,
ſuddenly tooke vp armes againſt the Turks there in garriſon, which had of long holden them
in ſubjection,and preuailing vpon them,ſlew them euery mothers ſon : whoſe heads they preſented
vnto the Earle, and receiued him into their Citie. The Turks to reuenge the death of
their friends,and to recouer againe the citie before the comming of the reſt of the armie,ſent
out about 10000 men out of Antioch ; for thither was aſſembled a great power of them to
haue hindred the further proceedings of the Chriſtians:and being come neer to Artaſia,they
F ſent before certaine ſtragling companies,of purpoſe to draw the new come Chriſtians out of
the city,lying in the mean time in ambuſh with the reſt,of purpoſe to entrap them:with theſe
ſtragling companies the Flemmings ſallying out luſtily, encountred, and eaſily put them to
flight;the Turks indeed flying of purpoſe to bring them within the danger of the other,lying
in ambuſh. After whom the Flemmings eagerly following,were before they were aware en-

The Chriſtians bind themſelues by Oath, neuer to return vntill they had woon the Holy Citie.

cloſed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly periſhed, had not the Citiſens G (being Chriſtians) preſently ſallied out and right worthily relieued them.

Antioch in Syria beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The deſcription of the famous citie of Antioch.

Shortly after, the Chriſtian Princes marching forward with their army, were encountred by the Turks at the riuer Orontes, who had there thought to haue ſtayd their further paſſage: with whom *Robert* Duke of Normandie, who had the leading of the vantgard, had a hard conflict, vntill that the Turks, diſcouraged with the ſight of the armie ſtill comming on, forſooke the bridge, and betook themſelues to flight. So the Chriſtians paſſing the riuer, came and incamped with their army before the famous City of Antioch, the one and twentieth day of October, in the yere 1097: the gouernor whereof vnder the Perſian Sultan was one *Caſſianus*, (of ſome alſo honoured with the name of a King) who at the comming of the Chriſtians, had with him in the city ſeuen thouſand horſemen, and twentie thouſand foot of the Turks, with H great ſtore of victuals, and all manner of other prouiſions neceſſary for the defence thereof. This citie, called in antient time Epidaphane, or Epiphane, and of the Hebrewes, Reblatha, ſometime the ſeat of the Syrian Kings, and afterwards the motropoliticall city of Syria, hauing vnder it an hundred and fifty Biſhops, (famous for many things, and amongſt others, for that it was the ſeat of the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Peter*, and firſt place whereas the profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion tooke the name of Chriſtians) is ſcituate vpon the riuer Orontes, about twelue miles from the ſea, and was then ſtrongly fortified both by Nature and Art, being compaſſed about with a double wall; the vttermoſt wherof was of hard ſtone, and the other of bricke, with 460 towers in the ſame, and an impregnable caſtle at the Eaſt end thereof, whereunto was joyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuer, which watered the South ſide I of the citie. Round about this ſtrong citie (one of the moſt aſſured refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Chriſtian Princes encamped, except on that ſide which being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be beſieged. Vpon whom the Turks out of the citie, during the time of the ſiege made many a fierce and deſperat ſally, being ſtil by the Chriſtians moſt valiantly repulſed: eſpecially at the bridge which the Chriſtians had made of boats for their more commodious paſſage to and fro ouer the riuer. In this ſort was the ſiege continued vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloudy skirmiſh. At which time ſuch abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie dry in; and the ſcarcitie of victuall grew ſo great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to ſay) to aſſuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late ſlaine enemies. In K theſe extremities many died of hunger and cold; yea, their horſes alſo periſhed for want of meat, ſo that in the whole campe were ſcarely left two thouſand horſes fit for ſeruice, the reſt being either all dead, or brought ſo low, as that they were altogether vnſeruiceable. Theſe miſeries dayly increaſing, diuers men of great account, whom no terror of the enemie could haue diſmaid, began ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of the camp, with purpoſe to haue ſtolne home; among whom were *Peter* the hermit author of this war, and *Tancred* the nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the reſt as fugitiues, were ſharply reprehended by *Hugh* the French Kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren and fellow ſoldiers, and ſo inforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perſeuerance. *Bohemund* in the meane time going to Arthuſia a towne not far off, by good fortune cut off a great L part of the Turks there in garriſon: who after their vſuall manner ſallying out to haue cut off the forragers of the Chriſtians, were now themſelues caught tardy: wherby the country for a time was more open for the diſtreſſed Chriſtian ſoldiers to ſeeke abroad for reliefe. But this libertie ſo lately gained laſted not long, when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the Turks in great number, out of the prouinces about Aleppo and Damaſco, were comming vnto the reliefe of their beſieged friends in Antioch. Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians truſting to their own ſtrength & the ſtrength of the place wherin they were incamped, lay ſtil, & at their comming ſo incountred them, that they ſlew 2000 of them, & put the reſt to flight. In which conflict the Chriſtians got great ſtore of prouiſion and victuals which the Turks had thought to haue put into the city. The heads of the ſlain Turks the Chriſtians ſet vpon ſtakes before the M city, to the more terror of the defendants. This ouerthrow of the Turks, wherein *Caſſianus* had loſt his eldeſt ſon, with others of his beſt captains, ſo daunted the beſieged, that they requeſted a truce for a time of the Chriſtian Princes: which granted, they of the city came oftentimes into the campe, and they of the campe likewiſe into the city: *Caſſianus* ſtil expecting re-

A liefe from the Perſian Sultan. Whileſt the Chriſtian Princes were thus buſie in Aſia, the Venetians with a great fleet of two hundred gallies ſcowring the ſeas, vnder the conduct of *Henry Contarenus* the Biſhop, and of *Vitalis* the Dukes ſon, meeting with the gallies of *Piſa* at the Rhodes, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherin the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eighteene of their gallies, and in them fiue thouſand ſouldiers: whom they ſeeing to be marked with the red croſſe, the cogniſance of the ſacred war, they preſently ſet at liberty, together with the gallies, detaining onely thirty of the better ſort as hoſtages. After that, the Venetians ſailing into Ionia, tooke the city of Smyrna, and ſpoiled all along the coaſts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

The truce before taken between the Turks and the Chriſtians at the ſiege of Antioch, being B in ſhort time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a Frenchman, ſlaine by the Turks; the war was again begun, and the city more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernor, who in the time of this long ſiege, which had now continued nine moneths, had loſt moſt part of his beſt ſoldiers, was glad for the defence of ſo great a City, to vſe the ſeruice of diuers Chriſtians, then dwelling in the city. Among whom was one *Pyrrhus*, a citiſen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Siſters; but afterwards S. *Georges* tower. This *Pirrhus* had ſecret intelligence with *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, with whom he agreed to giue him there enterance into the city, vpon condition, that he ſhould of the other Chriſtian Princes procure the gouerment of the city to himſelf; and that he, with the reſt of the Chriſtian citiſens in the city, might be at his hands well vſed: C which thing being eaſily obtained, all things agreed vpon, *Bohemund* with his ſouldiers were by night by *Pyrrhus* let into the city, who made way for the reſt of the army to enter. The city thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the caſtle, the reſt were put to the ſword, man, woman and child; and among them alſo many of the Chriſtians, the furious ſouldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but ſmall ſtore of victuals. *Caſſianus* the late gouernor flying out of the city to ſaue himſelf, in wandring thorow the mountains, fel into the hands of the Chriſtian Armenians, who lately thruſt out of Ieruſalem, were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there ſlaine. In the city were ſlaine about ten thouſand perſons. Thus was the famous city of Antioch, which the Turks had long before by famin taken from the Chriſtians, againe recouered the third day of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1098. D The poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in Ieruſalem hearing of this ſo notable a victory, gaue ſecret thanks vnto God therfore, and began to lift vp their heads, in hope that their deliuery was now at hand. Of this victory, the Princes of the army by ſpeedy meſſengers and letters, certified their friends in all countries, ſo that in ſhort time, the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Among others, *Bohemund* Prince of Tarentum, vnto whom the city was deliuered, ſent the ioyfull newes thereof vnto *Roger* his brother Prince of Apulia: whoſe letters as the moſt certain witneſſes of the hiſtory before reported, I thought it not amiſſe here to ſet down:

Antioch betraied to the Chriſtians.

Caſſianus gouernour of Antioch in flying ſlaine.

1098

I ſuppoſe you to haue vnderſtood by the letters of your ſonne Tancred, *both of the great feare of ſome of vs, and the battels which we haue of late with our great glory fought. But concerning the truce, and* E *the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you ſhould be certified by my letters, than the letters of others. King* Caſſianus *had required a time of truce: during which, our ſouldiers had free recourſe into the Citie without danger, vntill that by the death of* Vollo *a Frenchman, ſlaine by the enemie, the truce was broken. But whileſt it yet ſeemed a hard matter to winne the Citie, one* Pyrrhus *a Citiſen of Antioch, of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto me, had conference with me concerning the yeelding vp of the Citie; yet vpon condition, that the gouernement thereof ſhould be committed to me, in whom he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt. I conferred of the whole matter with the Princes and great Commanders of the armie, and eaſily obtained that the gouernement of the Citie was by their generall conſent allotted vnto me. So our armie entring by a gate opened by* Pyrrhus, *tooke the citie. Within a few daies after, the towne Aretum was by vs aſſaulted, but not without ſome loſſe and danger to our per-* F *ſon, by reaſon of a wound I there receiued. I aſſure you much of the valor of your ſon* Tancred, *of whom I and the whole armie make ſuch account and reckoning, as is to be made of a moſt valiant and reſolute Generall. Farewell. From Antioch.*

The letters of Bohemund Prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Antioch, *Corbanus* (the Perſian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edeſſa in vain beſieged by the Turks.

lieutenant) with a great army beſieged Edeſſa, with purpoſe after the taking thereof, to haue relieued the citie of Antioch. But this being notably defended by *Baldwin*, left there of purpoſe with a ſtrong garriſon for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to loſe Antioch, the ſafeſt refuge of the Turks in all thoſe parts, roſe with his armie, and ſet forward againſt the Chriſtians: where by the way, it was his fortune to meet with *Sanſadolus*, *Ceſſianus* his ſon, but lately fled from Antioch, by whom he vnderſtood of the loſſe of the city, and by what means the ſame was moſt like againe to be recouered: vpon which hope, *Corbanas* with his mightie army kept on his way, with a full reſolution to ſet all vpon the fortune of a battell. Whoſe comming much troubled the Chriſtians: for that although they were poſſeſſed of the citie, yet was the Caſtle ſtill holden by the Turks. Neuertheleſſe leauing the Earle of Tholous in the city, with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the caſtle, they tooke the field with the whole ſtrength of the armie, and ſo in order of battell, expected the comming of their enemies: who couragiouſly comming on, as men before reſolued to fight, ioyned with them a moſt terrible and bloudie battell. Neither were they in the meane time idle; for that the Turks hauing in the caſtle receiued in vnto them certain ſupplies from *Corbanas*, ſallied out vpon them that were left for the ſafegard of the citie, and had with them a cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without, was to be ſeen a moſt dreadful fight of reſolute men, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: yet after long fight and much effuſion of bloud, the fortune of the Chriſtians preuailing, the Turkes began to giue ground, and afterwards betook themſelues to plain flight, whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, made of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. In this battell were ſlaine of the Turkes aboue an hundred thouſand, and of the Chriſtians about foure thouſand two hundred. There was alſo taken a great prey; for beſides horſes & other beaſts for burden, were taken alſo fiue thouſand camels with their lading. The next day, being the 28 of Iune, the caſtle was by the Turks (now diſpairing of releeſe) yeelded vp vnto the Chriſtians.

Corbanas the Sultans lieutenant, with a great army commeth to recouer againe the city of Antioch

Antioch thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, ſirnamed the Great, was ſent from the reſt of the Princes to Conſtantinople, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the Emperor according to the agreement before made. But he, guilty in conſcience of his owne foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had ſent no reliefe at all during the long and hard ſiege of Antioch; neither performed any thing of that he had further promiſed, and therefore knowing himſelfe hated of them; had in diſtruſt ſo great an offer of the princes, ſo euill deſerued, and therefore refuſed to accept thereof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the generall conſent of the whole armie was choſen Prince, or (as ſome call him) King of Antioch.

Bohemund choſen Prince of Antioch.

The plague in the Chriſtian army.

Diſcord ariſing vpon emulation betwixt Bohemund and Raimund.

After this long ſiege and want of victuals, enſued a great plague in the armie of the Chriſtians, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fifty thouſand men to haue died, and among them many of great account. But the mortalitie ceaſing, the Chriſtians in Nouember following, by force tooke Rugia, and Albaria, two cities, about two daies iourney from Antioch: where diſſention aroſe betwixt *Bohemund* and *Raimund*, who of all others only enuied at his preferment vnto the principalitie of Antioch: *Bohemund* for the common cauſes ſake, gaue way vnto his aduerſarie, and retired with his ſouldiers backe againe to Antioch; after whom followed the Duke *Godfrey*, and the Earle of Flanders with their regiments. The reſt of the Princes wintred ſome at Rugia, ſome at Albaria, from whence *Raimund* made ſundrie light expeditions further into the enemies countrey: but the ſpring approching, the Chriſtian Princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with him, departing from Antioch, beſieged Tortoſa. *Raimund* in the meane time with the reſt, beſieging the citie of Tripolis: who become much more inſolent than before, by reaſon of ſome fortunate roades he had made vpon the enemies the laſt winter, ceaſed not ſtill to maligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the Chriſtians, and to haue turned their weapons vpon themſelues: which *Bohemund* well conſidering, roſe with his armie; and becauſe he would not with his preſence trouble the proceeding of the religious warre, retired himſelfe to Antioch. After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* and the Earle of Flanders, took Gabella, a citie about twelue miles from Laodicea, and from thence returned againe to the ſiege of Tortoſa, whither *Raimund* came alſo with his armie, hauing before driuen the Gouernour of Tripolis to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed himſelfe, and to furniſh him with ſuch things as he wanted. Thus was Tortoſa hardly on three ſides beſieged by

A by the Chriſtians, but ſo notably defended by the Turks,that after three months hard ſiege,
the Chriſtians were glad to depart thence: and marching long the ſea ſide, ſpoiled the countrey
about Sidon. But foraſmuch as that city was not eaſily to be won,they left it,and encamted
before Ptolemais,which they alſo paſſed by:the gouernour thereof ſending them out victuals,
with ſuch other things as they wanted; and vpon ſummons giuen,promiſing to yeeld
the city after they had once won the city of Ieruſalem. From thence they came to Cæſarea
in Paleſtine, where they ſolemnly kept the feaſt of VVhitſontide, and ſo to Rama, which they
found for feare forſaken of the Infidels. Marching from Rama, and drawing neere to Ieruſalem,
they in the vantgard of the army, vpon the firſt deſcrying of the Holy citiy, gaue for ioy
diuers great ſhouts and outcries,which with the like applauſe of the whole army was ſo doubled
B and redoubled, as if therewith they would haue rent the very mountaines, and pierced
the higheſt heauens. There might a man haue ſeen the deuout paſſions of theſe moſt worthie
and zealous Chriſtians,vttered in right diuers manners: ſome, with their eies and hands caſt
vp towards heauen,called aloud vpon the name and help of Chriſt Ieſus; ſome,proſtrat vpon
their faces,kiſſed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world ſometime walked:
others,ioyfully ſaluted thoſe holy places which they had heard ſo much of,and then firſt beheld:
in briefe,euery man in ſome ſort expreſſed the ioy he had conceiued of the ſight of the
Holy city,as the end of their long trauell.

The exceeding ioy of the Chriſtians vpon the firſt deſcrying of the holy city.

This moſt antient and famous city,ſo much renowned in holy VVrit,is ſcituate in an hilly
countrey; not watred with any riuer or freſh ſprings,as other famous cities for moſt part be;
C neither yet was it well ſeated for wood,or paſture ground:but what wanted in theſe,and ſuch
other benefits of nature,was by the extraordinary bleſſings of the moſt Higheſt ſo ſupplied;
as that the Iewes there dwelling,ſo long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of all
other people in the world iuſtly accounted the moſt happy & fortunate. Yet in thoſe ſo bleſſed
times,was this city for the ſin of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand,
and the glory thereof defaced; as well appeareth by the whole courſe of the hiſtorie of holy
ſcripture,as alſo by the antient and approued hiſtories, as well of the Iewes themſelues, as others.
Neuertheleſſe it ſtill roſe againe(though not in like glory as before in the time of king
Dauid,Solomon, and the other next ſucceeding kings) and ſo was ſtill repeopled by the Iews,
til that at laſt according to the foretelling of our Sauiour Chriſt,it was with a great and of all
D others moſt lamentable deſtruction, vtterly raſed and deſtroied by the Romans,vnder the leading
of *Veſpaſian* the emperor,and his noble ſon *Titus*, 40 yeres after our Sauior his precious
death and paſſion. Since which time,it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired,or yet well
inhabited by the Iews;but lying buried in the ruins of it ſelfe,all the reigne of *Domitian*, *Nerua*,
and *Trajan*,untill the time of the great Emperour *Ælius Adrianus*, it was again by him reedified
about the yeare 136, and after the name of him called Ælla; who together with the
name changed alſo in ſome part the antient ſcituation of the city. For whereas before it was
ſeated vpon the ſteep riſing of an hill, in ſuch ſort that towards the Eaſt and the South, it ouerlooked
the whole ground, hauing only the Temple and the caſtle called Antonia, in the
higheſt part of the city; *Adrian* tranſlated the whole city vnto the very top of the hill,ſo that
the place where our bleſſed Sauior ſuffred his moſt bitter paſſion,with the Sepulchre wherin
he was alſo laid,and from whence he in glory roſe againe, before without the city,were then
incloſed within the wals thereof,as they are at this day to be ſeen. Yet for all that, the Emperor
being dead, in proceſſe of time this new built city recouered again the antient name of
Ieruſalem,wherby it hath euer ſince,and is at this day yet known. This city ſo re-edified, the
Emperor firſt gaue to the Iews,whom he afterwards thruſt out againe for their rebellion,and
gaue it to the Chriſtians to inhabit;ouer whom,one *Marke* firſt Biſhop of the Gentiles there,
had the charge. But foraſmuch as the Roman Emperours were at that time altogether Idolaters
and perſecutors of the poore Chriſtians,the Church alſo at Ieruſalem,with others,endured
ſundry and many grieuous perſecutions, vnder the Emperors *Antonius*,*Commodus*,*Seuerus*,
Maximinus,*Valerianus*,*Aurelianus*,*Diocleſianus*, & *Maxentius*,till that at length *Conſtantine* the
Great, conuerted vnto the faith of Chriſt about the yeare of Grace 320, ſuppreſſing the Pagan
Idolatry,gaue generall peace to the afflicted Church: whereby the Chriſtian Church at
Ieruſalem for the ſpace of three hundred yeres after,happily flouriſhed vnder the Greek emperors,
vntill the time of the Emperor *Phocas*;who hauing moſt cruelly ſlain the good Emperour

Ieruſalem reedified by the great Emperor Ælius Adrianus.

A briefe diſcourſe of the ſtate and fortune of the holy city of Ieruſalem,from the deſtruction thereof,vnder Veſpaſianus the Emperor, and Titus his ſonne,vntill it was now again recouered out of the hands of the Infidels by Godfry of Buillon and the other Chriſtian Princes of the weſt.

rour *Maurice* with his children, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelfe of the empire, gaue occaſion thereby G vnto *Choſroe* the Perſian King, in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law, with all his power to inuade Syria: who as a tempeſt bearing downe all before him, tooke alſo by force the city of Ieruſalem, hauing that yere, which was about the yere ſix hundred and ten, ſlain almoſt an hundred thouſand Chriſtians. But *Phocas* the vſurper beeing by them of his guard moſt cruelly ſlaine, and *Heraclius* ſucceeding in his ſtead, *Choſroe* was by him againe driuen out of Syria, and the holy city againe recouered, about the yere 624. In theſe great wars againſt the Perſians, *Heraclius* had vſed the help of the Arabians, called Scenite, a warlike people of Arabia Deſerta, altogether giuen to the ſpoile: who the wars now ended, expecting to haue receiued their pay, were contrary to their expectation, and without all reaſon rejected by them that ſhould haue paid them, with very foule and contumelious words; as, that there was H not mony enough to pay the Chriſtian ſoldiers of the Latines & the Greeks, much leſſe thoſe vile dogs (whom they ſo called, for that they had but a little before receiued the damnable doctrine of the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, the great ſeducer of the world, who euen in that time flouriſhed.) Vpon which diſcontentment they at their returne reuolted from the Empire, and joined themſelues vnto their great Prophet, and ſo afterwards vnto the Caliphs his ſucceſſors, extending his doctrine, together with his ſoueraigntie, to the vtmoſt of their power: and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in ſhort time they had ouerrun all Ægypt, Syria, the land of Promiſe, and taken the holy city. With theſe (the diſciples of *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the Saraſins, for ſo now they would be called) the Greeke Emperours inſuing had for certaine yeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the poſſeſſion of Syria. But at length wearied I out, and by them ouercome, they left the aforeſaid countries wholly to their deuotion. Hereby it came to paſſe, that the Saraſins for the ſpace of 370 yeres following held theſe countries, with many others in great ſubjection, oppreſſing ſtill the poore Chriſtians in Ieruſalem with moſt grieuous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the city for them to dwell in, with the Temple of the Sepulchre of our Sauior, and mount Sion; not for any deuotion, either vnto them, or thoſe places, but for that it yeelded them a great profit by the recourſe of deuout Chriſtians trauelling thither: reſeruing in the meane time vnto themſelues, the other two parts of the city, with the Temple of *Solomon*, before re-edified by the Chriſtians. Now whileſt the Saraſins thus triumph it in the Eaſt, and not in the Eaſt only, but ouer a great part of the Weſt alſo; contenting themſelues with ſuch tributes as they had impoſed K vpon the ſubdued nations and countries; vp ſtart the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruell people; who firſt breaking into Aſia (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aſpiring vnto the kingdome of Perſia, ſubdued the countries of Meſopotamia, Syria, with the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia and Iudæa, together with the Holy City: who both there and in all other places, held the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in ſuch ſubjection and thraldome, as that the former gouernment of the Saraſins ſeemed in compariſon of this to haue been but light and eaſie. Neither was there any end or releaſe of theſe ſo great miſeries to haue been expected, had not God in mercy by the weake meanes of a poore hermit, ſtirred vp theſe moſt worthy Princes of the Weſt to take vp arms in their defence, who hauing with their victorious armies recouered the leſſer Aſia, with a great part of Syria, were now come vnto this Holy City. L

Ieruſalem beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The gouernor of Ieruſalem vnderſtanding by his eſpials, of the proceedings of the Chriſtians, had before their approch, got into the city a very ſtrong garriſon of right valiant ſouldiers, with good ſtore of all things neceſſarie for the holding out of a long ſiege. The Chriſtians with their army approching the city, encamped before it on the North; for that toward the Eaſt and the South, it was not wel to be beſieged, by reaſon of the broken rocks and mountaines. Next vnto the city lay *Godfrey* the Duke, with the Germains and Loranois: neere vnto him lay the Earle of Flanders, and *Robert* the Norman: before the Weſt gate lay *Tancred* and the Earle of Tholous: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both abſent; the one at Antioch, the other at Edeſſa. The Chriſtians thus ſtrongly encamped, the fifth day after gaue vnto the city a fierce aſſault, with ſuch cheerefulneſſe, as that it was verily ſuppoſed, it might haue beene euen then woon, had they been ſufficiently furniſhed with ſcaling ladders: M for want whereof, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault and retire. But within a few daies after, hauing ſupplied that defect, and prouided all things neceſſarie, they came on againe afreſh, and with all their power gaue vnto the City a moſt terrible aſſault, wherein was on both ſides ſeene great valour, po-

licie

A licie,and cunning,with much ſlaughter,vntill that at length the Chriſtians weary of the long
fight,and in that hot countrey,and moſt feruent time of the yeare, fainting for lacke of water
were glad againe to forſake the aſſault,and to retire into their trenches: only the well of *Siloe*
yeelded them water, and that not ſufficient for the whole campe: the reſt of the wels which
were but few,being before by the enemie either filled vp or elſe poyſoned.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ieruſalem,a fleet of the Genowaies arriued
at Ioppa; at which time alſo a great fleet of the Ægyptian Sultans lay at Aſcalon, to haue
brought reliefe to the beſieged Turkes in Ieruſalem, whereof the Genowaies vnderſtanding,
and knowing themſelues to weake to encounter them at ſea,tooke all ſuch things out of their
ſhips as they thought good,and ſo ſinking them,marched by land vnto the campe. There was
B amongſt theſe Genowaies diuers engineers,men(after the manner of that time)cunning in making
of all manner of engines fit for the beſieging of cities: by whoſe deuice,a great mouing
tower was framed of timber and thick plancks,couered ouer with raw hides, to ſaue the ſame
from fire:out of which the Chriſtians might in ſafety greatly annoy the defendants.This tower
being by night brought cloſe to the wall, ſerued the Chriſtians in ſtead of a moſt ſure fortres
in the aſſault the next day:where whilſt they ſtriue with warlike valor & doubtful victory
on both ſides,from morning vntil mid-day, by chance the wind fauoring the Chriſtians,caried
the flame of the fire into the faces of the Turks,wherwith they had thought to haue burnt
the Tower,with ſuch violence,that the Chriſtians taking the benefit therof,and holpen by the
tower,gained the top of the wall:which was firſt footed by the Duke *Godfrey*, and his brother
C *Euſtace*, with their followers, and the enſignes of the Duke there firſt ſet vp, to the great encouraging
of the Chriſtians, who now preſſing in on euery ſide, like a violent riuer that had
broken ouer the banks, bare downe all before them. All were ſlain that came to hand, men,women
and children,without reſpect of age,ſex,or condition:the ſlaughter was great,& the ſight
lamentable,all the ſtreets were filled with bloud,and the bodies of the dead,death triumphing
in euery place. Yet in this confuſion, a wonderfull number of the better ſort of Turks,
retiring to *Solomons* temple,there to do their laſt deuoire,made there a great and terrible fight,
armed with deſpaire to endure any thing,& the victorious Chriſtians no leſſe diſdaining,after
the winning of the city,to find there ſo great reſiſtance.In this deſperat conflict,fought with
wonderful obſtinacie of mind,many fel on both ſides:but the Chriſtians came on ſo fiercely,
D with deſire of bloud,that breaking into the temple,the formoſt of them were by the preſſe of
them that followed after,violently thruſt vpon the weapons of their enemies,& ſo miſerably
ſlaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppreſſed,giue it ouer,but as men reſolued to die,deſperatly
fough[illegible] out with inuincible courage,not at the gates of the Temple only,but euen in the
midſt thereof alſo,where was to be ſeene great heaps,both of the victors and the vanquiſhed;
ſlaine indifferently together. All the pauement of the Temple ſwam with bloud,in ſuch ſort,
that a man could not ſet his foot,but either vpon ſome dead man,or ouer the ſhooes in bloud.
Yet for all that, the obſtinate enemy ſtill held the vaults and top of the Temple, when as the
darkeneſſe of the night came ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians were glad to make an end of the
ſlaughter,and to ſound a retreat. The next day(for that proclamation was made,for mercy to
E be ſhewed vnto all ſuch as ſhould lay down their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper
part of the Temple,came downe and yeelded themſelues. Thus was the famous City of Ieruſalem
with great bloudſhed, but far greater honor, recouered by theſe worthy Chriſtians,in
the yeare 1099, after it had beene in the hands of the Infidels aboue foure hundred yeares.

The next day after,hauing buried the dead,and cleanſed the city,they gaue thanks to God
with publike praiers and great reioycing. The poore Chriſtians before oppreſſed,now ouercome
with vnexpected ioy,welcommed their victorious brethren with great ioy & praiſe,and
the ſoldiers embracing one another,ſparing to ſpeake of themſelues,freely commended each
others valour. Eight daies after, the Princes of the army meeting together, began to conſult
about the choice of their king:among whom was no ſuch difference,as might wel ſhew which
F was to be preferred before the others. And although euery one of them for proweſſe & deſert,
ſeemed worthy of ſo great an honor,yet by the generall conſent of all, it was giuen to *Robert*
Duke of Normandie: who about the ſame time hearing of the death of the Conquerour
his Father, and more in loue with his Fathers new gotten Kingdome in England,in hope
thereof, refuſed the Kingdome of Ieruſalem, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he
found

The Genowaies came to the ſiege.

A moſt cruell and bloudie fight, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, euen in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

1099

found poſſeſſed by *William Rufus* his younger brother, and ſo in hope of a better, refuſing the worſe, vpon the matter loſt both.

Godfrey Duke of Buillon by the generall conſent of the Chriſtian army choſen firſt king of Ieruſalem.

After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* of Buillon Duke of Loraine (whoſe enſigne was firſt diſplaid vpon the walls) was by the generall conſent both of the Princes and the armie, ſaluted King. He was a great ſoldier, and endued with many heroicall vertues, brought vp in the court of the Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much emploied. At the time of his inauguration, he refuſed to be crowned with a crowne of gold: ſaying, That it became not a Chriſtian man there to weare a crowne of gold, where Chriſt the Sonne of God had for the ſaluation of mankind, ſometime worne a crowne of thorne. Of the greateſt part of theſe proceedings of the Chriſtians, from the time of their departure from Antioch, vntill the winning of the Holy Citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth:

Godfrey *of Buillon, to* Bohemund *King of Antioch, greeting.*

After long trauell, hauing firſt taken certaine townes, we came to Ieruſalem: which Citie is enuironed with high hils, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of Solomons, *and that a very little one. In it are many Ciſternes, wherein water is kept, both in the Citie and the Country thereabout. On the Eaſt, are the Arabians, the Moabits and Ammonits. On the South, the Idumæans, Ægyptians and Philiſtians: Weſtward alongſt the ſea coaſt, lie the Cities of Ptolemais, Tyrus, and Tripolis: and Northward, Tiberias, Ceſaræa Philippi, with the countrey Decapolis and Damaſco. In the aſſault of the Citie, I firſt gained that part of the wall that fell to my lot to aſſaile, and commanded* Baldwin *to enter the Citie: who hauing ſlaine certaine companies of the enemies, broke open one of the gates for the Chriſtians to enter.* Raymond *had the Citie of* Dauid, *with much rich ſpoile yeelded vnto him. But when we came vnto the Temple of* Solomon, *there we had a great conflict, with ſo great ſlaughter of the enemy, that our men ſtood in bloud aboue the ancles: The night approching, wee could not take the vpper part of the Temple, which the next day was yeelded, the Turkes pittifully crying out for mercie: and ſo the Citie of Ieruſalem was by vs taken, the fifteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our redemption 1099, thirtie nine daies after the beginning of the ſiege, foure hundred and nine yeares after it fell into the hands of the Saraſins in the time of* Heraclius *the Emperour. Beſides this, the Princes with one conſent ſaluted mee (againſt my will) King of Ieruſalem: who although I feare to take vpon me ſo great a Kingdome, yet I will doe my deuoire, that they ſhall eaſily know me for a Chriſtian King, and well deſeruing of the vniuerſall Faith; but loue you me as you do, and ſo farewell. From Ieruſalem.*

An hundred thouſand Turks and Saraſins ſlaine.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Ieruſalem, ſuch a multitude of the Turks, and Saraſins their confederates (now in their common calamitie all as one) were aſſembled at Aſcalon (a citie about fiue and twentie miles from Ieruſalem) to reuenge the injuries they had before receiued, as had not before met together in al the time of this ſacred war. Againſt whom, *Godfrey* (the late Duke, and now King) aſſembled the whole forces of the Chriſtians in thoſe countries, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon in the new woon citie, ſet forward: and meeting with them, joyned a moſt dreadfull and cruell battell; wherein (as moſt report) were ſlain of the Infidels, an hundred thouſand men, & the reſt put to flight. The ſpoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Chriſtians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after ſo great a victorie, returning to Ieruſalem, gaue vnto God moſt humble thanks. The reſt of the Princes returned either to their charge, as did *Bohemund* to Antioch, *Baldwin* to Edeſſa, *Tancred* into Galiley, whereof hee was created Prince; or elſe hauing now performed the vttermoſt of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others the moſt honourable expedition that euer the Chriſtians tooke in hand againſt the Infidels, and with the greateſt reſolution performed; for the moſt part, by ſuch voluntarie men, as moued with a deuout zeale, to their immortal praiſe, ſpared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion; all men worthy eternall fame and memory. Not long after, enſued a great peſtilence (the ready attendant of long war and want) wherof infinit numbers of people died, and among the reſt *Godfrey*, the firſt Chriſtian King of Ieruſalem, neuer to be ſufficiently commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Chriſtians, was honourably buried

Godfrey of Buillon firſt Chriſtian King of Ieruſalem, dieth of the plague.

A ried in the Church of the Sepulchre of our Sauior on the mount Calvary, where our Savior
ſuffered his paſſion; in which the Chriſtian Kings ſucceeding him were alſo afterwards buried.
He departed this life the eighteenth of Iuly, in the yeare of our Lord 1100, when hee 1100
had yet ſcarce reigned a full yeare. Whoſe tombe is yet at this day there to be ſeen, with an
honorable inſcription thereupon.

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Chriſtians made choice of *Baldwin* his brother, Countie of
Edeſſa; who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* ſyrnamed *Burgenſis*, his neer kinſman,
came to Ieruſalem honorably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on Chriſtmaſſe
day with all ſolemnitie crowned King, *Anno* 1101. He, aided by the Venetians and Genoa's
at ſea, and by *Bohemund* King of Antioch by land, took from the Infidels the city of Cæſaria 1101
B Stratonis, ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, and ouerthrew certain companies of the Egyptian Sultans
at Rama. But vnderſtanding that the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt were comming to
his aid with a new power, hee glad thereof went to meet them, and ſafely conducted them to
Ieruſalem alongſt the ſea coaſt, by the cities of Berythus, Sydon, Tyre and Ptolemais, all yet
holden by the Enemy. At which time the Turks at Aſcalon hauing receiued great ayd from
the Arabians and Egyptians, inuaded the country about Rama, where betwixt them and the
Chriſtians was fought a moſt cruell battell, wherein the Chriſtians receiued a moſt notable
ouerthrow, many of their great Commanders being there ſlain; and amongſt the reſt, *Stephen*
Earle of Charters (but lately returned home from the former expedition, and now come back
againe) and *Stephen* Earle of Burgondy and Tholous; yea the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped
C the Enemies hand, and after many daies came at length to Ioppa, after it had bin conſtantly
before reported him to haue been in that battell alſo ſlain. Who hauing there in haſt repaired
his army, came again ſpeedly vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing leſſe, and overthrew
them with ſuch a ſlaughter, as that they had ſmall cauſe to rejoice of their former victorie.
Neither were the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes in the other parts of Syria and Paleſtine
in the mean time idle, but ſought by all means to inlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince
of Galile hauing raiſed a great power, tooke Apamea the metropoliticall city of Cœloſyria,
and after much toile won alſo the city of Laodicea. *Baldwin* alſo the Gouernor of Edeſſa, beſieging
the city of Carras, had brought the beſieged Turks to ſuch extremity, that they were
about to haue yeelded the city; when ſuddenly he was ſet vpon by a great army of the Turks
D ſent from the Perſian Sultan for the reliefe of the beſieged; and being there ouerthrowne, was
himſelfe there taken, with *Benedict* the Biſhop, and one *Ioſceline* his kinſman: Who after fiue
yeares impriſonment, found means with the Turk that had taken them, to redeem themſelues,
to the great offence of the Perſian Sultan, and of the Sultan *Solyman*.

***Baldwin* County of Edeſſa, & brother vnto Godfrey, ſecond K. of Ieruſalem.**

King *Baldwin* after the late victory liued for a ſeaſon at ſome good reſt in Ieruſalem, vnmoleſted
of his enemies: but knowing his greateſt ſafety among ſuch warlike people, to conſiſt
in arms, he vpon the ſudden raiſed the whole ſtrength of his kingdom, and laid ſiege to Ptolemais,
otherwiſe called Acon, a city of Phœnicia, ſtanding vpon the riuage of the ſea; where
he found ſuch reſiſtance, that he was glad to raiſe his ſiege and depart, having done nothing
more than ſpoiled the pleaſant places about the city. By the way in his return backe again it
E fortuned him to meet with certain companies of the enemies adventurers, by whom he was in
a skirmiſh mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that
the wound was by his ſurgeons healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof ſo great, that at length it
brought him to his end. Yet he notwithſtanding the former repulſe, the next yeare encouraged
by the comming of the Genoa fleet, laid hard ſiege again to Ptolemais both by ſea and
land, which after twenty daies ſiege was by compoſition yeelded vnto him.

K. Baldwin mortally wounded.

Ptolemais won by K. Baldwin.

Shortly after, the Gouernor of Aleppo, with certain other of the Turks great Captains in
thoſe quarters, hauing joined their forces together, and ſo inuaded the countrey about Antioch,
were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into Italy had left Gouernor of that
city) notably encountred and put to flight. At which time alſo the Caliph of Egypt, ſending
F great forces both by ſea and land againſt the King of Ieruſalem, was in both places diſcomfited,
at land by the Chriſtians, and at ſea by tempeſt.

Bohemund in the mean time with a great army of voluntary men and others (wherein hee is
reported to haue had fiue thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot) returning towards the holy
Land, in reuenge of many injuries done by *Alexius* the Emperour, vnto the Souldiers of

G this ſacred war, contrary to his faith and promiſe to them before giuen; by the way landed his men in Epirus,and grieuouſly ſpoiled the countrey about Dirrachium part of the Emperors dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoiling,vntill he had inforced the Emperour for redreſſe of ſo great harms,to make peace with him,and again by ſolemne oath to promiſe all ſecuritie and kindneſſe vnto all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as ſhould haue occaſion to trauel to or fro thorow his countries during the time of this religious war. After which agreement hee put to ſea again,and ſo returned for Ieruſalem. But whilſt he ſtaid at Antioch,he ſhortly after there died in the yeare 1108, leauing the principalitie thereof unto his yong ſon ***Bohemund*** a child,vnder the tuition of his nephew *Tancred*.

Bohemund dies at Antioch.

H Yet were the cities of Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre, alongſt the ſea coaſt, in the enemies poſſeſſion: for the gaining wherof *Baldwin* the King raiſed a great army,and ſo came & laid ſiege to Berytus,which after many ſharp aſſaults he at length won the 23 day of Aprill,in the yere 1111,and put to ſword moſt part of them that he found therein. The ſame yeare alſo he,aſſiſted by a fleet ſent vnto him out of Norway, beſieged the city of Sydon; which the Citiſens (ſeeing themſelues now beſet both by ſea and land) at length yeelded vnto him by compoſition the 19 day of December. After which victorie he diſmiſſed the fleet,and returned himſelfe in triumph to Ieruſalem. Now of all the famous cities alongſt the ſea coaſt of Phœnicia and Paleſtine,from Laodicea to Aſcalon, was only the city of Tyre that remained in the enemies hand: which City *Baldwin* alſo hardly beſieged; neuertheleſſe it was ſo well defended by the Turks,that after he had all in vain lien before it the ſpace of 4 months,he was glad to riſe with his army and depart.

1111

Sidon won.

I It fortuned that within two yeares after, the Turks with a mighty army ſent from the Perſian Sultan,inuaded the country of Cœliſyria, where ſpoiling all before them as they went, they came and incamped vpon the ſea coaſt neere vnto Tyberias. Againſt whom *Baldwin* gathered the whole ſtrength of his kingdom;with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now reigned in Antioch,the yong ***Bohemund*** being dead) with the County of Tripolis,and the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, joined their forces: who all together marching forward, came and incamped not far from the enemy,being in number far more than they. *Mendus* Generall of the Turkes army (for ſo I find him called)vnderſtanding of their approch,ſent out certain companies of his men to skirmiſh with them; againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others, who incountring them, eaſily put them to flight, K beeing before commanded ſo to do, of purpoſe to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a great ſtrength lying in ambuſh to intrap them: which according to the Turks deſire fell out; for the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying enemy,fel into the ambuſh,and ſo before they were well aware,were beſet on all ſides by their enemies: to whoſe reſcue other companies of Chriſtians comming in, and others alſo from the Turks,both the great armies were at length drawn into the field, where betwixt them was joined a moſt fierce and terrible battell, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the multitude of the Turks preuailing,the Chriſtians were put to the worſe,and ſo glad to fly:after whom the fierce enemy hardly followed,not without great ſlaughter: in which flight the King himſelfe hardly eſcaped,with *Arnolphus* the Patriark. Whilſt *Baldwin* was thus buſied abroad,the Turkes and Saraſins from Aſcalon came and beſieged Ieruſalem, L beeing then but weakly manned: but hearing of the kings comming,and that the army of the Chriſtians daily increaſed with new ſupplies out of the Weſt by ſea,they retyred home again,hauing burnt certain ſtore-houſes full of corn,and ſpoiled ſuch things as were ſubject to their fury.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this king had with the Saraſins and Turks,which for breuitie I paſſe ouer,contented to haue briefly touched the greateſt. In the laſt yeare of his reign,hauing for certain yeares before liued in ſome reaſonable peace, he made an expedition into Egypt, where he with much difficultie won Pharamia a ſtrong city vpon the ſea coaſt,which he joined vnto his own Kingdome. After that,he went to the mouth of the riuer Nilus,and with great admiration learned the nature of that ſtrange riuer: and hauing therin taken abundance of fiſh,he returned into the city,and there with the ſame feaſted M himſelfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feel the griefe of his old wound, and growing therof ſicker and ſicker,returned with his army toward Ieruſalem, where by the way neere vnto a City called Laris he died (to the great griefe of all the Chriſtians) in the yeare 1118. His dead body being brought backe vnto Ieruſalem, was there royally buried, 1118

neere

A neere vnto his brother *Godfrey*, after he had reigned eighteen yeares: whoſe ſepulchre is yet there alſo to be ſeen, faſt by the ſepulchre of his brother.

Baldwin Brũgenſis choſen King of Ieruſalem.

The late King thus dead and buried, the Chriſtians with one conſent made choice of his couſin *Baldwin*, ſirnamed *Brugenſis*, gouernor of Edeſſa, who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond was the ſecond of Aprill, in the yeare 1118, ſolemnly crowned King of Ieruſalem. He was of 1118 ſtature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gratious, hauing his hair thin and yellow, his beard mingled with ſome gray haires, hanging downe to his breſt; his colour freſh and liuely for one of his yeares. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no leſſe redoubted of his enemies, than beloued of his ſubjects, who had in him repoſed great hope both for the defence and inlarging of that new gained kingdome. Againſt him the ſame B ſummer the Caliph of Egypt, aided by the king of Damaſco and the Turks, in reuenge of the loſſe he had in the expedition the yere before receiued, raiſed a great power to inuade him both by ſea and land. Againſt whom *Baldwin* alſo oppoſed himſelfe with his whole ſtrength, and ſo came and incamped within the ſight of his enemies. In which ſort when both armies had lien the one facing the other by the ſpace of three months, they both roſe; the Chriſtians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valor of the Chriſtians, and ſo retyred without any notable thing done.

This yeare died *Alexius* the Greeke Emperor, who euen from the beginning of this ſacred War, ſecretly repined at the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in Syria, although his Empire were thereby greatly inlarged: after whom ſucceeded *Calo Ioannes* his ſonne, who all the time C of his reign right worthily defended his territories in the leſſer Aſia, againſt the inuaſion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greateſt Princes of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, with the King of Damaſco, and *Debeis* King of Arabia, joining their forces together, with a great army inuading the country about Antioch, came & incamped not far from Aleppo: againſt whom *Roger* Prince of Antioch, not expecting the comming of *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian princes his confederats, but preſuming of his own ſtrength, went forth with greater courage than diſcretion, whereunto his ſucceſſe was anſwerable; for encountring with them at too much odds, he was by them in a great battell ouerthrown, where himſelfe was ſlain, with moſt part of his army. Of which ſo great a ſlaughter, the place wherein this battel was fought was after- D ward called the field of bloud. But whilſt the Turks after ſo great a victorie careleſly and at pleaſure rome vp and down the country, *Baldwin* ſetting vpon them ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and ſo put them to flight. After this victory gained by the Chriſtians the 1120 fourteenth of Auguſt, in the yeare 1120, King *Baldwin* in great triumph entred into Antioch, and ſo joined that principalitie vnto his owne kingdome.

The yeare following, the Turks with another army inuaded the ſame countrey againe: for repreſſing of whom, whilſt *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great Commander ſuddenly died of an Apoplexy; vpon 1122 whoſe death they retyred without any further harm doing. Neuertheleſſe the next ſpring, the King of Damaſco aided by the Arabians, entered againe with a great army into the countrey E about Antioch, and there did ſome harme: for the Antiochians now deſtitute of their owne Prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken vpon him their protection) beeing far off, and otherwiſe buſied at Ieruſalem, were much more ſubject vnto the inrodes of their enemies (ſtil at hand) than before when they had a Prince of their own ſtil preſent among them. But *Baldwin* aduertiſed therof, was making toward them with a puiſſant army, ſooner than they had thought it could haue bin poſſible. Of whoſe approch the Turks vnderſtanding, retyred again out of the Country: after whom the King thinking it not good to make further purſuit, turned a little out of the way, and took by force Garaze, one of the ſtrongeſt caſtles of the kings of Damaſco, built but the yeare before; which becauſe it was not without great charge and danger to be den, he raſed down to the ground.

F *Baldwin* notwithſtanding that he had many times thus honorably repulſed his enemies, wiſely conſidering how he was on the one ſide beſet with the Turks, and on the other ſide with the Saraſins which yet reigned in Ægypt (the Kingdome of Ieruſalem lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to craue aid of the Chriſtian Princes of Europe; and to that purpoſe had ſent diuers his Embaſſadors vnto diuers of them, but eſpecially vnto the Venetians, whom of all others hee thought fitteſt at his need to yeeld him reliefe by G ſea. It fortuned in the mean time, that *Balac* the Perſian Sultan with a great army of the Turks inuaded the country about Antioch; whereof *Baldwin* vnderſtanding (although he certainly knew he ſhould ere long receiue aid from the other Chriſtian Princes his friends, but eſpecially from the Venetians, and might therefore with great reaſon haue protracted the war vntil their comming; yet being therwith much moued, or elſe his deſtiny ſo requiring, raiſed ſuch forces as he had of his owne, and without longer ſtaying for his friends, with greater courage than good ſpeed ſet forward; and ſo joining battell with the enemy, was therein ouerthrown, with the greateſt part of his army, and himſelfe taken priſoner in the fight, with certain other of his beſt commanders, who all together were carried away captiues vnto Carras.

Ioppa beſieged by the Saraſins

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the King, the Caliph of Egypt on the H other ſide took occaſion with all his power to inuade the kingdom of Ieruſalem; and hauing in himſelfe purpoſed the vtter ruine thereof, beſide the great army which hee ſent thither by land (which lay incamped not far from Aſcalon) he put to ſea a huge fleet alſo of 700 ſail, for the diſtreſſing of the ſea towns, which he well knew were not otherwiſe to be won. This fleet of the Saraſin Kings (for Egypt with the kingdomes of Tunes and Morocco were yet in poſſeſſion of the Saraſins) ariuing at Ioppa, there put aſhore their land forces, and hardly beſieged the town both by ſea and land. But whileſt they thus lay in great hope to haue won the town, *Dominicus Michael* duke of Venice, ſtirred vp by *Calixtus* then Biſhop of Rome, came to Cyprus with a fleet of two hundred ſail for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in Syria and the holy land; and hearing of the diſtreſſe of Ioppa, nothing diſmaid with the number of the Ene- I mies fleet, haſted thither, and came ſo ſuddenly vpon them, that he had (as ſome report) ouerthrowne them before they could put themſelues in order or be in readineſſe to fight: or as ſome others ſay, after a great and doubtfull fight, hauing ſunk or taken many of them, and put the reſt to flight, he obtained of them a moſt glorious victorie. With like good fortune alſo were the Saraſins ouerthrowne in a fortunate battell at land neere vnto Aſcalon, by the Lord *Euſtace*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdom was committed after the taking of the King, who not long after ſo great a victory died.

Ioppa relieued as is aforeſaid, the Duke of Venice trauelled by land to Ieruſalem, where he was honorably receiued by *Guarimund* the Patriark, and the confederation before made betwixt King *Baldwin* and the Venetians, vpon the ſame conditions ſolemnly again renued. K

Tyre beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The Saraſins thus notably diſcomfited both by ſea and land, and the Chriſtians therby not a little encouraged, and joining their forces together with the Venetians, came and the firſt of March laid ſiege vnto the antient and ſtrong city of Tyre: which they hauing beſet both by ſea and land, gaue therunto many a ſharp aſſault, which the Turks as men fighting for their liues and wiues right valiantly repulſed. In which ſort the ſiege was continued longer than the Chriſtians had at the firſt thought ſhould haue needed: yet at length after four moneths ſiege, the Turks ſore weakened with often aſſaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their ſtore being ſpent, yeelded the city by compoſition. Thus was the city of Tyre (the moſt famous port of Phœnicia) yeelded vnto the Chriſtians the twenty ninth of Iune, *Anno* 1124 1124 The third part of this city was giuen to the Venetians, according to the compoſition made L betwixt them and the Kings of Ieruſalem, That of all ſuch cities as were by their helpe won from the Infidels in Syria, they ſhould haue a third part, with one ſtreet, and free traffick in all the reſt of the cities of the kingdom of Ieruſalem. Shortly after was King *Baldwin* ſet at libertie for the ranſom of an hundred thouſand ducats, after he had bin eighteen months priſoner among the Turks.

The Duke of Venice hauing now ſpent almoſt three yeares in this ſacred expedition, and well confirmed the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, returning home, by the way tooke the Iſlands of Chios, Rhodus, Samos, Mitylen, and Andrus, with the city of Modon in Peloponeſſus; all places belonging to the Greeke Emperour. Which he did in reuenge of the injuries done by the Emperor in the time of his abſence: who enuying at the ſucceſſe of the Chriſti- M ans in Syria, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the abſence of the Duke infeſted the territories of the Venetians, for the which he was now juſtly requited with the loſſe of a good part of his own.

Baldwin alſo not vnmindfull of the injuries vnto him before done by the Turks, in requitall thereof, inuaded the country about Damaſco, and there in three notable battels ouerthrew the King, and ſpoiled the country; wherein hee took ſo great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hoſtage with the Turks for the paiment of his ranſome. He alſo ouerthrew the Saraſins at Aſcalon, who aided by the Caliph of Egypt, had ſundry times inuaded the country about Ieruſalem. And ſo hauing wel repreſſed his enemies, for a ſpace liued in peace.

Damaſco in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* firſt Maſter of the Templers (an Order of Knights firſt begun in the reign of this *Baldwin*) before ſent to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt againſt the Turks and Saraſins, returned with a great number of zealous Chriſtians, ready to lay down their liues for defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion: with whom *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian Princes of Syria joining their forces, ſet forward and beſieged Damaſco, the regal city of the Turks in thoſe quarters. But ſuch was the ſtrength of this city, with the valor of the defendants, and contagiouſneſſe of the aire, that the Chriſtians (the heauens as it were then fighting againſt them) were glad to raiſe their ſiege, in vain begun, and ſo to retire.

Whilſt things thus paſſed in Siria, *Fulk* County of Turin, Mayn, and Anjou, a man almoſt of ſixty yeares, hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of his things at home, had for deuotions ſake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations Embaſſadors came vnto him from king *Baldwin*, offering him in mariage *Meliſenda* (or as ſome cal her *Margaret*) his eldeſt daughter, with ſucceſſion into the kingdom of Ieruſalem in dowry, if he ſhould ſuruiue the King; and in the mean time to content himſelfe with the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais. Of which offer he accepted, and ſo held on his journy before intended. It fortuned about three yeares after, that the King fell dangerouſly ſick, and feeling his death drawing on, hauing laid aſide all regal dignitie, cauſed himſelfe to be remoued out of his own palace, into the Patriarks houſe, which was neerer vnto the Temple of the Sepulchre, & there calling vnto him *Fulk* the County his ſon in law, with his daughter, and his ſon *Baldwin*, then but two yeares old, in the preſence of the Patriarke and diuers other Princes and great Commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdome, appointing *Fulk* to ſucceed him: and taking vnto himſelfe the habit and profeſſion of a Monke, if hee ſhould haue longer liued, preſently after gaue vp the ghoſt the two and twentieth day of Auguſt, *Anno* 1131; whereof he reigned with much trouble thirteene yeares, and was ſolemnly buried in the temple vpon mount Calvary, with the other two Kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* his predeceſſors.

The death of Baldwin the ſecond, the third King of Ieruſalem.

1131

The Kings funerall ended, the Princes of the kingdome with one accord made choice of *Fulk* the old County, Earle of Anjou, for their King: who the ſixt of September was with all ſolemnitie by *William* the Patriark crowned in Ieruſalem. This man in the beginning of his reign, beſide his troubles abroad, was alſo vext with domeſticall and inteſtine diſcord; *Pontius* County of Tripolis ſeeking by force of arms to haue rent the dukedom of Antioch from the kingdom. And *Hugh* County of Ioppa, for feare of due puniſhment for his treaſon, joining himſelf with the Saraſins of Aſcalon, and ſo with them infeſting the territories of Ieruſalem, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian State, and aduantage of the Infidels. Which troubleſome broiles were yet afterward by the King, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriark and other princes (who ſeeing the danger thereof like to enſue, had interpoſed themſelues) well appeaſed. Vengeance yet neuertheleſſe ſtill following both the aforeſaid traitors; *Pontius* being ſhortly after ſlain by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Beſides theſe domeſticall troubles, the Turkes alſo inuaded the countrey about Antioch, where they were by the ſudden comming of the King ouerthrown, with the loſſe of their tents and exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the diſquieting of the ſtate of that new erected kingdom, not long after, *Iohn* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor (together with the empire, inheritor alſo of his fathers malice againſt the proceedings of the Chriſtians in Syria) with a puiſſant army paſſing thorow the leſſer Aſia, and by the way taking by force Tarſus, the metropoliticall city of Cilicia, with the whole prouince thereunto belonging, came and beſieged Antioch, which *Fulk* but a little before had, together with *Conſtance* the daughter and Heire of the late Duke of Antioch, giuen in marriage to *Raimund* County of Poyton, for that purpoſe ſent out of France. But in this ſo dangerous a ſtate of that Chriſtian kingdom, the other zealous Chriſtian Princes interpoſed themſelues as mediators

diators betwixt the Emperor (pretending the ſame to belong vnto his Empire) and *Raimund* G that was in poſſeſſion thereof: and in fine brought it to this end, That *Raimund* for the preſent ſubmitting himſelfe vnto the Emperor, ſhould from thenceforth hold his dukedome of him, as of his Lord and Soueraign. Vpon which agreement the Emperour returned vnto Tarſus, where he wintered, and ſo afterwards to Conſtantinople.

Much about the ſame time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great Princes inuading the Countrey about Tripolis, beſieged the caſtle of Mont-Ferrand; vnto the reliefe wherof *Fulk* comming with his army, was by the Turks ouerthrowne, and for the ſafegard of his life glad to take the refuge of the caſtle, the County himſelfe beeing in that battell taken priſoner. After which victorie, the Turkes laid harder ſiege vnto the Caſtle than before; the beſieged in the meane time being no leſſe pinched within with famin, than pinched without by the enemy. In this H the Kings hard diſtreſſe, the other Princes hauing raiſed the whole power of the kingdome, were comming to his reliefe: whereof the Turk hearing, offered of himſelfe to giue them all leaue freely to depart, and to ſet the County at libertie, ſo that they would deliuer vnto him the Caſtle. Of which his offer they gladly accepting, yeelded vp the ſtrong Hold and ſo departed. The King by the way meeting with the army, thanked his friends for their forwardneſſe, and ſo returned to Ieruſalem.

Calo Ioannes the Greek Emperour ſeekes in vaine to haue ſurpriſed the city of Antioch

About foure yeares after, *Iohn* the Conſtantinopolitan Emperour with a great army came again into Syria, with purpoſe to haue vnited the famous City of Antioch vnto his empire, and ſo to haue made a way into the kingdome of Ieruſalem, whereafter hee had now a good while longed. But comming thither in hope to haue found the Cilicians and Syrians ready I to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being ſhut out of the Latines, and not ſuffered to enter but vpon his oath, and that with ſome few of his followers; and ſo after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart, without any ſtir or innouation in the city. In reuenge of which diſgrace, at his departure hee gaue the ſuburbs of the City as a prey to his greedy ſoldiers, pretending the ſame to be done for want of victuals: who made hauock of all that came to hand, not ſparing the very fruit trees, but cutting them down to dreſſe their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of neceſſitie reuenged the diſgrace receiued, he returned into Cilicia and there wintred: where one day for his diſport hunting of the wild boar, and hauing wounded him with his boar-ſpear, the wild beaſt therwith inraged, and with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the Emperours hand backward vpon the point of a K poiſoned arrow that was hanging in a quiuer at his back, and ſo was therewith lightly wounded. Neuertheleſſe as light as the wound was, ſuch was the ſtrength of the poiſon, that the griefe thereof ſtill increaſing, and his hand and arm more and more ſwelling, there was no remedie to be found, but that his arm muſt be cut off: which deſperat and vncertain cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his pain oftentimes ſaying, That the Greek Empire was not to be gouerned with one hand, ouercome with the ſtrength of the poiſon, died. In whoſe place ſucceeded his yongeſt ſon *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his two elder ſons being both dead at his ſetting forth vnto this ſo vnhappy an expedition.

The death of Calo Ioannes the Greeke Emperor.

It fortuned about this time alſo, that the kingdome of Ieruſalem beeing now at peace, that *Fulk* the King with the queen his wife lying at the city of Ptolemais in the time of Autumn, L it pleaſed the Queen for her diſport to walk out of the city, vnto certaine pleaſant fountaines there by in the country; for whoſe companie the King would needs go alſo, with certaine of his Courtiers: where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put vp an hare that was ſitting in a furrow; after which all the Courtiers on horſeback gallopped amain, with notable outcries and hollowing. Among the reſt, the King to be partaker of the ſport, forcing his horſe to the vttermoſt of his power, in the midſt of his courſe fell, together with his horſe foundring vnder him, and in falling chanced to fall his head vnder the horſe; with whoſe weight and the hardnes of the ſaddle he was ſo cruſhed, that the braines came out both at his noſe and ears. In this pittifull caſe being taken vp for dead, and with great heauineſſe being carried back, he yet breathing lay ſpeechleſſe three daies, and ſo died the thirteen M of November, *Anno* 1142. His dead body afterwards brought to Ieruſalem, was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his ſubiects, buried with the other Kings his predeceſſors.

The miſerable death of Fulk fourth king of Ieruſalem.

Now had the late King left behind him two ſons, *Baldwin* about the age of thirteen years, and

Baldwin, third of that name, fift King of Ieruſalem.

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and *Almerick* about the age of ſeuen. Of the elder of theſe two the Chriſtian Princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwin* the third, was (together with *Meleſinda* his mother, partner with him in the kingdome) vpon Chriſtmas day with great ſolemnitie crowned King of Ieruſalem, in the yeare 1142. About which time *Sanguin* the Turk, taking hold of the diſcord betwixt *Raimund* Prince of Antioch, and *Ioſcelin* county of Edeſſa, came & with a great power beſieged Edeſſa, the County being at the ſame time abſent; and did ſo much, that at length he took the city by vndermining it, where the bloudy Turk exerciſed all manner of crueltie vpon the poore Chriſtians in the city. By the loſſe of this famous city, ſo large a territory fel again into the hands of the Turks, as that three Archbiſhopricks were thereby drawne from the Church of Antioch. The Turke encouraged by this victory, ſtraitwaies after beſieged Cologenbar, another ſtrong town of the Chriſtians. One night drinking liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkenneſſe ſtabbed, and ſo ſlain, and the ſiege raiſed. In whoſe ſtead *Noradin* his ſon ſucceeded.

Baldwin in the firſt yeare of his reign recouered from the Turks the caſtle of Sobal, a ſtrong Hold beyond Iordan, which he notably fortified for the defence of that ſide of his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Turks. But the next yeare vndertaking an expedition againſt the King of Damaſco, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the Kings ſonne in law, ſo hardly beſet in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his army eſcaped his hands.

Conrade 3. Emperor of Germany, takes vpon him an Expedition into the holy land.

The report of the loſſe of Edeſſa, with the miſeries there endured by the Chriſtians, being bruted thorow all parts of Chriſtendom, greatly mooued the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt. Whom *Eugenius* the third then Biſhop of Rome, ceaſed not both by himſelfe and by his Legats, to ſtir vp to take that ſacred war in hand. And therein wrought ſo effectually, that almoſt in euery prouince of Chriſtendom preparation was made for the relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syrians. Of all others, *Conrade* the third, then Emperour of Germany was moſt forward, who aided by the German Princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie men out of all parts of Chriſtendom had raiſed a moſt puiſſant Army, and therewith ſet forward on this ſacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpoſe he had before certified *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour, thorow whoſe countries hee was to paſſe, crauing that hee might by his good fauor ſo do, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other ſuch things as hee ſhould haue need of for himſelfe or his people, promiſing in moſt quiet and peaceable maner to paſſe, without any harm doing vnto his territories or ſubjects. All which the Greek Emperor, commending his zeale, ſeemed in moſt large terms willingly to condeſcend vnto. Neuertheleſſe he inwardly repined therat, wiſhing indeed no better ſucceſſe vnto the Chriſtians in this ſo honorable an expedition, than did the Infidels themſelues, as by the ſequell of his doings well appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous army, indeed a terror vnto the Greekes, entring into the confines of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, found all things in ſhew friendly (for why, *Emanuel* had before giuen out ſtreit command, that good ſtore of victuals & all other neceſſaries ſhould be ready at all places to be ſold as the army was to paſſe) but they were not far come into the country, but that in the tail of the army ſtill followed certaine ſtrong companies of the Greeks, to keep the ſouldiers from ſtragling from their enſignes, roaming about in the country, now and then cutting them ſhort as they took them at aduantage. And ſtil the further they trauelled, the more it was to be ſeene in the countenances of the diſcontented Greeks, how vnwelcome gueſts they were. Yet ſtill on they went thorow the countries of their diſſembling friends, little differing from open enemies, vntil they came to Philippopolis; in departing from whence, ſuch diſcord roſe betwixt them that were in the rereward of the army & the Greeks that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plain battel, had not thoſe broils by the diſcretion of ſome of the wiſer ſort bin in good time appeaſed. So marching on they came to Adrianople, & in few daies after to the plain called Cherobachi, thorow which the riuer Melas hath his courſe; which in ſummer being almoſt dry, in Winter or any other great downefall of water, right ſuddenly ouerfloweth his bankes, and ſo drowneth the whole countrey, that then it ſeemeth no more a riuer but a ſea, and ſwelling with the wind, is not to be paſſed ouer but by great boats. This riuer then ſuddenly riſing by night, by reaſon of the great rain that then fell in ſuch abundance as if the floud-gates of heauen had bin opened, ſo ouerflowed the place wherein the army lay incamped vpon the ſide thereof, that with the

violence of the water were carried away not only many weapons, ſaddles, garments, and ſuch G
other the ſoldiors neceſſaries, but euen the horſes and mules, with their burthens, yea & great
numbers of armed men themſelues alſo, a moſt miſerable & lamentable thing to behold. Many
valiant men there fell without fight, and died, no man killing them: to be tall helped not,
neither did valor ſtand them in any ſtead; they periſhed like hay, and were carried away like
chaf, with ſuch outcries and lamentation, that they which ſaw it verily ſaid that the wrath of
God was broke into the camp: ſuch a ſudden inundation had ouerwhelmed all, that happy
was he could make ſhift for himſelfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune ſore
troubled the Emperor with his whole army: neuertheleſſe the water being again fallen, & all
put in ſo good order as in ſuch a confuſion was poſſible, he marched on to the imperiall City,
which the ſuſpitious and malitious Greek had before notably fortified, and ſtrongly manned H
with armed men gliſtring vpon the walls, as if it ſhould haue bin preſently aſſaulted.

Conrade the Emperor not ſuffred to enter into Conſtantinople.

Conrade approching the city, was not ſuffered to enter, but perſuaded by the Greek Emperour,
forthwith to tranſport his army ouer the ſtreight, with promiſe to ſupply his wants with
whatſoeuer he ſhould require. Which was done in ſuch haſt, as if nothing had bin further to
haue bin regarded, but only to haue them ſhipped ouer. In which ſeruice the Greekes ſpared
no labor or kind of veſſell that might ſerue to tranſport them. The Greeke Emperour in the
mean time, by men ſecretly appointed for that purpoſe, keeping account of the number that
paſſed, vntill that wearied with the multitude, they ceaſed further to number them. But when
they were once ſhipt ouer, then began the couert malice of the Greek Emperor forthwith to
appeare. For, beſides that they truſting to his promiſes, had brought little or no prouiſion I
ouer with them, the country people by his appointment brought nothing vnto them to ſell, as
before: and they of the towns and cities ſhut their gates againſt them as they marched, not affording
them any thing but at an extreme rate, for which they would firſt receiue their mony
by ropes caſt down from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleaſed therefore, yea and
oftentimes nought at all. Among many other vile practiſes not beſeeming Chriſtians, the
miſchieuous Greeks to poiſon the ſoldiers, mingled lime with the meal which they ſold vnto
the army, whereof many of the hungry ſoldiers greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke
Emperor were priuy therto or no, is not certainly known; but certain it is he cauſed counterfeit
mony to be coined, of purpoſe to deceiue them: and in brief, there was no kind of miſchief
to be practiſed againſt them, which either he himſelfe deuiſed not, or ſet not others to deuiſe; K
to the intent that their poſteritie, terrified by this ſo vnfortunat expedition, might for euer be
afraid to take the like again in hand. And that nothing might be wanting that malice could
deuiſe, he had ſecret intelligence with the Turks themſelues concerning the ſtrength of the
army, plotting vnto them the means how the ſame might beſt be defeated: whereby it came
to paſſe that ſome part thereof was by *Pamplano* a captain of the Turks, ouerthrown neere Bathis,
and many ſlain. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the army that paſſed
thorow Phrygia, they were themſelues ouertaken in their owne deuice, and ouerthrowne
with a great ſlaughter. After which, the Turks in great number, to ſtay the Chriſtians further
paſſage, kept the riuer Mœander, incamping vpon the further banke of that winding Riuer
with a moſt huge army. There theſe worthy Chriſtians right well declared, that it was but L
their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before ſo long followed them, with their
countries and cities they had paſſed by, were not to them become a prey. For the Emperour
comming to the riuer ſide, where was neither bridge nor boat to paſſe ouer, and finding the
great army of the Turks on the other ſide ready to giue him battel if he ſhould aduenture the
riuer, with their archers ſtanding vpon the very bank ſide; he retyred a little out of the danger
of the ſhot, and there incamping, commanded his ſouldiers to refreſh themſelues and their
horſes that night, and to be ready againſt the next morning to join battell with their enemies
they were ſo far come to ſeek for. Little reſt ſerued him that night: early in the morning before
day he aroſe, and arming himſelfe, put his whole army in order of battell, as did alſo the
enemy on the other ſide of the riuer, with their battalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon M
the bank ſide, ready to giue the firſt charge on the Chriſtians, if they ſhould aduenture to
come ouer. Both armies thus ſtanding in readineſſe, the one in ſight of the other, and nothing
but the winding riuer betwixt them; the Emperour before reſolued to fight, with cheerfull
countenance and ſpeech encouraged his men as followeth.

The Turks with a great Army ſeeke to ſtay Conrades further paſſage at the riuer Mæander.

A notable ſpeech of Conrade the Emperor to encourage his ſoldiers to aduenture the Riuer Mæander.

That this Expedition was of vs taken in hand for Chriſt his ſake, and for the glory of God, and not of man, you know right well, fellow Souldiors. For, for this Cauſe, hauing contemned a pleaſant life at home, voluntarily ſeparated from our neereſt and deareſt Friends, we endure miſeries in forrein Countries, wee are expoſed vnto dangers, wee pine with hunger, wee quake with cold, we languiſh with heate; we haue the Earth our bed, the Heauen our couering. And although wee be noble, famous, renowned, rich, ruling ouer Nations; yet weare we alwaies our Gorgets as neceſſary bonds, and are with them and our Armour loden, as was the greateſt Seruant of Chriſt (Peter) *ſurcharged with two Chaines, and kept with foure Quaternions of Souldiers. But theſe Barbarians (diuided from vs by this Riuer, to be the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt) whom we of long haue deſired to encounter withall, in whoſe bloud (as* Dauid *ſaith) we haue vowed to waſh our ſelues: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blockiſh, and will not with open eyes ſee, nor with open eares heare? If we wiſh to aſcend ſtraight way into heauen (for neither is God vniuſt, that he knoweth not the cauſe of this our iourney, or will not in recompence giue vnto vs the immortall fields, and ſhady dwellings of Paradiſe, which hauing forſaken our owne dwellings, haue choſe rather for his ſake to die than to liue) if we call to remembrance what things theſe men of vncircumciſed hearts do commit againſt our Friends and Countreymen, if wee remember what grieuous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if we be any thing touched with the compaſſion of their innocent bloud vnworthily ſpilt; ſtand now couragiouſly, and fight valiantly, and let not any feare or terror daunt vs. Let theſe Barbarians know, That by how much Chriſt our Maſter and Inſtructer doth excell their falſe Prophet and Seducer, Author of their vaine impietie; ſo much are we Superiors vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy Campe, and an Army gathered by the power of God, let vs not cowardly loſe our ſelues, or feare for Chriſt his ſake honorably to aduenture our liues. For if Chriſt died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him ſhould die alſo? Vnto this ſo honourable an Expedition let vs alſo giue an honourable end: let vs fight in Chriſts name with a moſt aſſured hope of an eaſie victorie. For none of them (I truſt) ſhall be able to able to abide our force, but ſhall all giue way euen to our firſt charge. But if we ſhall die (which God forbid) there ſhall be an honorable place of our buriall, whereſoeuer we ſhall for Chriſt fall. Let the Perſian Archer for Chriſt his ſake ſtrike mee, I will die with aſſured hope, and with that arrow, as with a Chariot, I will come vnto that reſt which ſhall be to me dearer, than if I ſhould with a baſe ordinary kind of death in my ſins end my dayes in a bed. Now at length let vs take reuenge of them, with whoſe impure feet our Kinſmen and Chriſtian brethren trodden downe, are gone into that common Sanctuarie, in which Chriſt our Sauiour, equall and aſſociate to his Father, is become a Companion of the Dead. Wee are thoſe mighty men, we all haue drawne our ſwords, which ſtand about the liuely and Diuine Sepulchre, as about* Solomons *Bed. Wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way theſe Agarens, the children of the Bondwoman; and let vs remoue them as ſtones of offence out of the way of Chriſt: whom (I know not why) the Grecians feed vp as greedy Wolues to their owne deſtruction, and with ſhame fat them with their bloud; when as with couragious mindes and thoughts beſeeming wiſe men, they ought ſo to haue been driuen from their Prouinces and Cities, as rauening wilde beaſts from their Flockes. Now foraſmuch as this Riuer (as it ſeemeth) is not but by ſome aduenture to be paſſed ouer, I my ſelfe will ſhew you the way, and be the firſt that ſhall take it. Let vs, ſerred together, forcibly breake into the Riuer, and wee ſhall well enough ride thorow it. I know that the water beaten backe by our force will be at a ſtand, and breake the courſe, returning as it were backward. By not vnlike meanes the Iſraelites in antient times on foot paſſed ouer Iordan, the courſe of the Riuer being ſtaid. This attempt ſhall be ſpoken of in all poſterities, it ſhall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but ſtill remaine in freſh remembrance, to the great diſhonour of the Turkes, whoſe dead bodies ouerthrowne at this Riuer, ſhall lie like a mountaine, and be ſeen as trophey of our victorie vnto the worlds end, and our immortal praiſe and glory.*

Hauing thus ſaid, and the ſignal of battel giuen, euery man hauing before by deuout praier commended himſelfe vnto almighty God, he was the firſt that put ſpurs to his horſe and took the riuer; after whom followed the reſt, ſo cloſe and forcibly, with ſuch a terrible outcry, that the courſe of the water being by the force of their horſes ſtaid, and as it were beaten back toward the fountain, the whole army paſſed ouer with leſſe trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turks, already diſcouraged to ſee them ſo deſperatly, and contrary to their expectation, to haue paſſed the riuer; after ſome ſmal reſiſtance put them to flight, wherin ſuch infinit numbers of them fel, the Chriſtians like fierce lions purſuing the chaſe, that al the vallies

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians with a mighty ſlaughter.

lies ran with bloud, and the fields were couered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the G Italians were wounded with the Turks arrowes, and but few or none ſlain: but what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the ſundry and huge heaps of bones, to be compared vnto great hils, did long time after well declare; whereat euery man that trauelled that way did worthily wonder, as did I my ſelfe, ſaith *Nicetas Choniates* in reporting this hiſtory. Not much vnlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, ſlain by *Marius* in ſuch number, that of their bones the country people about Marcellis where the field was fought, long time after made walls for the defence of their vineyards.

Nicetas Choniates Annali primo rerum à Manuel. Comneno Imperatore geſtar. fol. 139.

Iconium in vain beſieged by the Chriſtians.

After this ſo great a victorie, the Chriſtians without reſiſtance came to Iconium the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in the leſſer Aſia, which they hardly beſieged. Neuertheleſſe ſuch was the ſtrength of the city, being ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, together with the H valor of the defendants, that lying there long they little preuailed, preſſed in the meane time with greater extremities and wants in the camp, than were the beſieged in the city: wherupon enſued ſuch a mortality (people daily without number dying in the army) that the Emperor was glad to raiſe his ſiege and to return into his own country. The chiefe cauſe as wel of this ſo great a mortalitie, as of the ouerthrow of ſo notable an action, moſt men aſcribe vnto the malice of the Greekes, who not without the priuitie of their Emperour (as it was commonly bruted) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to ſell into the army, whereof the hungry ſouldiers deſirouſly feeding, were therewith poiſoned, and ſo miſerably died. Of the certain time of this journey of the Emperors into Aſia, Authors agree not; howbeit wee muſt I

1146 refer it vnto the yeare 1146.

This expedition, though not ſo fortunat as it was at the firſt well hoped of, yet profited the Chriſtian commonweal in this, that the Turkes therewith throughly buſied, and doubtfull of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the mean time fortified Gaza (ſometimes a famous city of the Philiſtims, but as then ruinous) which ſerued as a moſt ſure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome towards Egypt; and alſo for the diſtreſſing of Aſcalon, the only refuge of the Egyptians left in that country: which ſtrong city ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, hee with all the power of his kingdome afterward beſieged both by ſea and land: vnto the reliefe whereof the Caliph of Egypt (after he had beene fiue moneths by the Chriſtians beſieged) ſent a ſtrong fleet of ſeuenty gallies. At which time alſo on the other ſide *Noradin* the Turke (who K had now got into his hand all the kingdome of Damaſco) to withdraw the Chriſtians from the ſiege of Aſcalon, beſieged Paneada, from whence he was by the valour of the Citiſens repulſed, as was alſo the Caliphs fleet at ſea, and the ſiege at Aſcalon continued. Where at length the Chriſtians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall; but giuing thereunto an aſſault, they were with great loſſe of their men repulſed, and the breach again by the enemie repaired; who to the greater deſpight of the Chriſtians, hanged ouer the wals in ropes the dead bodies of their ſlain: with which ſpectacle the chiefe commanders of the army were ſo moued, that they with all their power returned againe to the aſſault, with a full reſolution to ingage thereon their whole forces; which they ſo couragiouſly performed, that the beſieged diſcouraged with the great ſlaughter of their men, and now with true valor ouercome, craued parley, and ſo couenanting that they might with their liues in ſafety depart, agreed to yeeld L vp the city, which they accordingly performed. The ſpoile of the city was giuen to the ſoldiers, and the gouernment thereof vnto *Almerick* the Kings brother, Earle of Ioppa. By this victory great ſecuritie was gained vnto that ſide of the kingdome, the enemy hauing now no place left in thoſe parts whereon to ſet his foot.

The honorable expedition of Lewis King of France, by the malice of the Greeks, and enuy of other Chriſtian princes of Syria, fruſtrated and brought to nothing.

About the ſame time alſo (or as ſome write, euen at the ſame time together with the Emperor) *Lewis* the French King the eighth of that name, took vpon him the like expedition for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Holy land: who ſetting forward with all the Chiualrie of France, and accompanied with diuers other great Princes, with a right puiſſant army came to Conſtantinople, where he was by *Emanuel* the Emperour honorably receiued with all the outward ſhews of feigned curteſie that could be deuiſed: but hauing paſſed the ſtreit, and landed M in Aſia, he found nothing anſwerable to that the diſſembling Greek had before moſt largely promiſed. And to diſtres him the more, he was by falſe guides before corrupted by the emperor, conducted thorow the moſt deſolate and barren countries, where by the way a wonderfull number of his Souldiors periſhed of hunger and thirſt: many of them alſo being cut off in the ſtreit and difficult paſſages,or as they ſtrayed from the army by the Turks themſelues,appointed by the malicious Emperor for that purpoſe. Yet after many dangers paſſed, and his army ſore waſted,he came at length into Syria, and laid ſiege vnto Damaſco the royal ſeat of *Noradin* the Turkiſh King ; which he ſo notably impugned, that the defendants were almoſt out of hope to be able for any long time to hold out. Neither had it otherwiſe hapned, had not Envy,the inſeparable attendant of all honourable actions,fruſtrated ſo great a hope: for the beſieged Turks beeing brought to great extremitie, and now euen at the point to haue yeelded the city,certain of the Chriſtian princes of that country,vnderſtanding that the king had promiſed the gouernment of that ſo famous a City vnto *Philip* Earle of Flanders, if it ſhould be won,and ſecretly grudging to haue a ſtranger preferred before themſelues, corrupted alſo(as ſome ſay)with the Turkes gold, fraudulently perſuaded the King to remoue from that part of the city where he lay, and might in fine haue taken the ſame, to another far ſtronger; where after he had lien a great while,ſtriuing with no ſmall extremities, he was inforced for want of victuals,to raiſe his ſiege and depart. And ſo without any thing done worth the remembrance,returned again into France, deteſting the very name of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor,by whoſe ſiniſter dealing ſo notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great diſcouraging of all other Chriſtian Princes for taking the like again in hand. 1147

Damaſco in vain beſieged by Lewis the French king.

Now had the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria,for certain years after the aforeſaid expeditions,reſted in good peace:when *Noradin* the Turk,moued with ſome injuries done by the Chriſtians vnto the Turks and Arabians who by the leaue of K. *Baldwin* dwelt in the forreſt of Libanus,came and ſtreitly beſieged Paneade a city of the Chriſtians there by : vpon whom the Chriſtians in the city,now brought vnto great extremity,made a moſt deſperat ſally,and had with the Turks a ſharp and cruel fight ; but oppreſſed with the multitude,and inforced to retyre,they were ſo hardly purſued,that the Turks together with them entred the city, and put to ſword all that came in their way. Neuertheleſſe the greater part of the Citiſens (by good fortune) had in good time before retyred themſelves into the Caſtle, which was of great ſtrength,and there ſtood vpon their gard. Of whoſe diſtreſſe,with the taking of the city,*Baldwin* hearing,raiſed a great army,and ſo ſet forward to relieue them. But *Noradin* hearing of his comming,and doubtful of his own ſtrength,after he had taken the ſpoil of what he could, ſet fire on the city and ſo departed. The citiſens thus deliuered,repaired again the wals of the city,the Kings power ſtill defending them : *Noradin* with his power all the while lying cloſe in the woods not far off, ſtill awaiting the offer of ſome good opportunitie to take the Chriſtians at aduantage: which ſhortly after fell out according to his owne deſire ; for the King doubting no ſuch matter,but ſuppoſing him to haue bin quite gon,hauing at his returne ſent away all his footmen,followed after himſelfe, accompanied only with his horſemen,and they alſo not very ſtrong ; but as he was paſſing the riuer Iordan,he was ſuddenly ſet vpon by *Noradin* & the Turks,and after a ſharp conflict ouerthrown. The king himſelf with ſome few hardly eſcaped to Saphet, a town there by ; moſt of his nobility being there either ſlain or taken priſoners:among the reſt,*Bertrand* of Blanquefort maſter of the Templers, with diuers others of great name fel at that time into the enemies hands,and ſo were caried away priſoners.

Paneade taken and ſacked by the Turks.

Paneade again repaired by the Chriſtians.

After this victory,*Noradin* ſtrengthned with new ſupplies from Damaſco,came againe and beſieged Paneade,in good hope that the Citiſens,diſcouraged with ſo great an ouerthrow of the King,and out of hope to be by them relieued,would now either yeeld the city,or elſe not be able long to hold it out.But the King contrary to his expectation,had in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible,raiſed a great power,and aided by the prince of Antioch and the Countie of Tripolis,was marching to the reliefe of the city. Of which approch *Noradin* vnderſtanding,although he had made diuers breaches in the walls, and brought the citiſens almoſt to vtter deſpair,roſe with his army and departed. And ſo *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the beſieged city,returned alſo to Ieruſalem.

Many an hard conflict with the Turks had this yong King afterwards, during the fortunat time of his reign,wherein that troubleſome Kingdome happily flouriſhed amidſt the miſcreants ; all which to recount were long and tedious. Yet among other things it is worth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then King of Damaſco, beſieging Sueta a Caſtle belonging to the Kingdome of Ieruſalem, was in a ſet battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his Army. King *Baldwin* had before married *Emanuel* the Greek Emperors neece: and now the ſame Emperor, by *Guido Stephanus* and *Triſtllus* his Embaſſadors, requeſted to haue giuen him again in mariage one of the Kings nigh kinſwomen. Vnto whom the King, after mature deliberation had concerning the matter, offered him *Matilde*, an honorable Lady, the ſiſter of the County of Tripolis; whom the Emperor refuſed: and afterward by the conſent of the King made choice of *Mary* the daughter of *Raimund* Prince of Antioch, lately dead. Which the County of Tripolis taking in euill part, in reuenge thereof, by certain men of war whom he put to ſea, grieuouſly infeſted the frontiers of the Emperours Dominions. Now during the time that the mariage was in ſolemniſing, the King made his abode at Antioch, at which time he fortified the caſtle of Pontiſfer vpon the riuer Orantes, againſt the incurſions of the enemies. But lying there, he according to his wonted manner, to preuent ſickneſſe, vpon the approch of Winter tooke phyſicke of *Barac* a Iew, the Countie of Tripolis his Phyſitian. After the taking whereof he fell preſently into the bloudy flix, and afterward into a conſumption: whereby it was verily ſuppoſed that hee was poyſoned by the Iew; and the rather, for that ſome little part of the ſame medicine that was left, being giuen to a Dog, he thereof in ſhort time died. The King thus languiſhing in pain, to change the aire, remoued firſt to Tripolis, and afterward to Berytus, where he departed this troubleſome life, to liue with his Sauiour Chriſt in bliſſe for euer. His dead body was afterwards with generall mourning of his Subiects conueyed to Ieruſalem, and there ſolemnly interred by the body of his father. He departed the thirteenth of February, in the yeare of Grace 1163, when he had reigned 21 yeares. He was a man ſo gratious, that not only his friends, but euen the Infidels themſelues (as it is reported) lamented his death. Inſomuch that *Noradin* King of Damaſco, his antient enemy, beeing incited by ſome of his Captaines to inuade his Kingdome at ſuch time as his funeralls were in ſolemniſing, refuſed ſo to do; anſwering, That compaſſion and regard was to be had of the juſt ſorrow of the Chriſtians his ſubiects, for that they had loſt ſuch a King, the like was hardly againe to be found in the world.

The death of King Baldwin lamented by his enemies.

1164

But leauing the Kingdome of Ieruſalem with the greater part of Syria thus victoriouſly gained from the Infidels; let vs for the orderly continuation of our Hiſtory againe returne to ſee the proceedings of the Turks at the ſame time in the leſſer Aſia alſo: wherein they yet held the ſtate of a kingdome, though not ſo great as before the comming of the Princes of the Weſt into thoſe countries. After the death of Sultan *Solyman* (with whom Duke *Godfrey* and the other Chriſtian Princes had much to do as they paſſed into Syria) as is aforeſaid, one *Mahomet* ſucceeded him: betwixt whom and *Maſut* Sultan of Iconium great diſcord aroſe, which at length broke forth into open war, to the further weakning of that late ſhaken kingdome. For the maintenance of which quarrell, as profitable for his ſtate, *Iohn Comnenus* the Greeke Emperour gaue ayd to *Maſut* againſt his enemy *Mahomet*. Neuertheleſſe in ſhort time the two Infidels (profeſſing both one ſuperſtition) became friends, and joining their forces, ouerthrew the Emperour with his whole Army as hee lay at the ſiege of Iconium; at which time he himſelfe with much ado eſcaped by flight. *Maſut* afterwards hauing got into his hands the whole kingdome of the Turks, at the time of his death diuided the ſame among his three ſons: Vnto *Clizaſthlan* his eldeſt ſon he gaue Iconium his chiefe city, with the towns and prouinces ſubiect thereunto. Vnto *Iagupaſan* his other ſon (or rather as ſome will haue it, his ſon in law) he allotted Amaſia and Ancyra, with the fruitfull country of Cappadocia, and the places adjoining. But vnto *Dadune* his other ſon or ſon in law, he gaue the great cities of Cæſaria and Sebaſtia, with the large countries thereabouts, all ſometime a part of the Greek Empire, but then a portion of the Turks. Long it was not after this diuiſion of the kingdom, but that theſe brethren after the manner of ambitious men, forgetfull of the bonds both of loue and nature, fell at diſcord among themſelues: the Sultan ſeeking the deſtruction of *Iagupaſan*, and he likewiſe of him, and that not by ſecret means, but euen by open force of armes. *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperor in the mean time wiſhing the deſtruction of them both, heartily rejoiced thereat, and by Embaſſadors ſecretly animating the one againſt the other, yet in open ſhew more fauouring the part of *Iagupaſan* than of the Sultan, by whoſe aid he obtained againſt him many notable and bloudy victories: inſomuch that the Sultan beeing weary of the quarrell, was glad not onely by his Embaſſadors to ſeeke the Emperors fauor, but euen in perſon himſelfe to goe and meet him, as he came with his army out of Syria,

Diſcord among the Turkes in the leſſer Aſia.

Maſut the Sultan diuides his kingdom amōg his three ſons.

and ſo to accompanie him vnto Conſtantinople, where he was together with the Emperour moſt honorably receiued, with all the ſignes of ioy and triumph that could poſſibly be deuiſed. The Emperor no leſſe reioycing to be ſued vnto by ſo great a Prince, than did the Sultan at his ſo honorable entertainment.

Another fooliſh Icarus.

Nicetas Choniates, rerum ab imper. Manuele Comneno, geſt. li. 3. fol. 143.

Among other queint deuiſes of many, for the ſolemniſing of ſo great a triumph, there was an actiue Turke who had openly giuen it out, That againſt an appointed time he would from the top of an high tower in the tilt-yard flie by the ſpace of a furlong: the report whereof had filled the city with a wonderfull expectation of ſo ſtrange a noueltie. The time prefixed being come, and the people without number aſſembled, the Turke according to his promiſe, vpon the top of an high tower ſhewed himſelfe, girt in a long and large white garment, gathered into many pleits and foldings, made of purpoſe for the gathering of the wind: wherwith the fooliſh man had vainely perſuaded himſelfe to haue houered in the aire, as do birds vpon their wings, or to haue guided himſelfe as are ſhips with their ſailes. Standing thus houering a great while, as ready to take his flight; the beholders ſtill laughing, and crying out, Flie Turke, flie, how long ſhall we expect thy flight? the Emperor in the meane time ſtill diſſuading him from ſo deſperate an attempt; and the Sultan betwixt feare and hope hanging in doubtfull ſuſpence what might happen to his countryman. The Turke, after he had a great while houered with his armes abroad, (the better to haue gathered the wind, as birds do with their wings) and long deluded the expectation of the beholders, at length finding the winde fit, as he thought, for his purpoſe, committed himſelfe with his vaine hope vnto the aire: but in ſtead of mounting aloft, this fooliſh *Icarus* came tumbling downe with ſuch violence, that he brake his necke, his arms, his legs, with almoſt all the bones of his body. This fooliſh flight of the Turke gaue ſuch occaſion of ſport and laughter vnto the vulgar people (alwaies ready to ſcoffe and ieaſt at ſuch ridiculous matters) that the Turks attending vpon the Sultan could not walke in the ſtreets vnderided; the artificers in their ſhops ſhaking their arms, with their tooles in their hands as did the Turke, and ſtill crying out, Flie Turke, flie: whereof the Emperor hearing, although he could not chooſe but therat ſmile himſelfe, as not ignorant of the ſcoffes and taunts of the vulgar people; yet in fauour of the Sultan, who was not a little grieued therewith, he commanded ſuch their inſolencie to be reſtrained.

The ſolemnitie of the triumph ouerpaſſed (which by an ominous earthquake at the ſame time hapning, was ſomwhat obſcured) the Emperor to ſhew his wealth, & to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich & royall preſents, with ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as that he much wondred thereat. In requitall wherof, and in token of his thankefulneſſe, he again honored the Emperor with the name of his father, and terming himſelfe by the name of his ſon, promiſed to reſtore vnto him the city of Sebaſtia, with the territory thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance. Neuertheleſſe, all this was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulation, as afterward by proofe appeared: for returning home, hee thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of Sebaſtia, which he ſpoyled, with the country thereabout; and forgetfull of his promiſe, kept it wholly to himſelfe; and by force tooke alſo from him the city of Cæſarea, with the country of Amaſia, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner he bent his forces alſo vpon *Iagupaſan* his other brother, who in the very preparation of thoſe wars died: by whoſe vntimely death the city of Ancyra, with all his dominions in Capadocia, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now poſſeſſed of all his fathers kingdome, and ſwelling with pride, forgetting all former curteſies, inuaded the Emperors territories, and took from him the city of Laodicea in Phrygia; where he did great harme, as alſo in the country therabouts, killing the people as he went, or elſe carrying them away with him captiues. For the repreſſing of which outrages, the Emperor with a ſtrong army paſſed ouer into Aſia, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified Dorileum againſt the incurſions of the Turks. In performing whereof, he, to the example and ſtirring vp of others, carried the firſt basket of ſtones himſelfe vpon his ſhoulders; and vſed ſuch further diligence, that in ſhort time the city was compaſſed about with ſtrong wals, and deepe ditches, maugre the Turks, who ceaſed not with continuall alarmes and skirmiſhes to haue hindred the worke. With like care, and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified Subleum, another ſtrong Hold; and leauing in either place a ſtrong garriſon, returned againe to Conſtantinople. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ceaſed not with continuall inrodes to doe what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the Empire, although not altogether with ſo good ſucceſſe as

Vnkindnes betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan.

before, being many times cut off by the garriſons of the late fortified towns : which grieuances ſtill increaſing, cauſed the Emperor to expoſtulate with the Sultan, as with an vnthankful man, and forgetfull of ſo great kindnes before done vnto him, as the eſtabliſhment of him in his kingdome came vnto : who with no leſſe vehemencie vpbraided him againe with inconſtancy & breach of promiſe, as wel for fortifying the aforeſaid places contrarie to the league betwixt them, as for that hauing promiſed much more, hee had thereof performed nothing. Thus vnkindnes daily growing vpon euery trifle (as it commonly falleth out among men of great ſpirit, and jealous of their owne honors) it was daily expected, when the matter ſhould fall out into open and bloody war; both of them being men of great valor, and apt to reuenge the leaſt iniurie to them offered. Yet was it the Sultans manner, warily to mannage his warres by his politique and expert captaines ; whereas the Emperour being of an hotter nature, and couragious aboue meaſure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his owne perſon, without reſpect what danger might thereof inſue vnto himſelfe or his ſtate. Long it was not but that the Emperour, fully reſolued to be reuenged of ſo many wrongs done to him and his ſubiects by the Turks, raiſed the whole power of his empire, both in Europe and Aſia, in ſuch ſort as if he had therewith purpoſed, not onely to haue raſed to the ground Iconium the regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultan, but euen vtterly to haue deſtroied the whole Nation of the Turks. Thus with a moſt puiſſant and populous armie, wel appointed of all things neceſſarie, he paſſed ouer into Aſia, and ſo in good order marching through Phrygia, Laodicea, Chonas, (called in antient time Paſſas) S. Archangel, Lampis, Cælænas, (where the head of the great and famous riuer Mœander riſeth, whereinto the riuer Marſyas falleth) and from thence to Chonia, he with euill lucke, and worſe ſpeed, paſſed by Myriocephalon, an old ruinous caſtle, ominous by the name thereof, as by the euent in ſhort time after it prooued. And albeit that he marched very circumſpectly, ſtill intrenching his armie in euery place where he lodged ; yet could he make but ſmall ſpeed, by reaſon of the multitude of his cariages, and of the baſe people that attended the ſame. The Turks in the mean while oftentimes ſhewing themſelues in troupes, and in places of aduantage ſkirmiſhing ſometime with one part of the armie, and ſomtime with another, but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a iuſt battell: yet by ſuch meanes were the victuallers of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the paſſages for the Emperor made very dangerous. And the more to diſtreſſe the Chriſtians in their long trauell, they found the countrey before them of purpoſe deſtroied by the Turkes, and the water in many places poiſoned, whereof the Chriſtians vnaduiſedly drinking, fell into many grieuous diſeaſes, eſpecially the flix, & therof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although he had in readineſſe a right puiſſant armie of his owne, and had procured great aid from the Perſian Sultan his kinſman and chiefe ſupporter; yet fearing the doubtfull euent of war, and loth to aduenture his whole eſtate vpon the fortune of a battell, ſought by his Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, to grow to ſome peace with the Emperour, and that vpon ſuch honorable conditions, as by the wiſer ſort were thought not to be at any hand refuſed : which large offers, the Sultan as deſirous of peace, made vnto him not once, but again and againe : which the Emperor neuertheleſſe (repoſing great confidence in his owne power, and prickt forward by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace, than the hard wars of the Turks) proudly reiected, and ſo diſmiſſing the Embaſſadors, ſcornfully willed them to tell their Maſter, That he would giue him anſwer to his requeſts, vnder the wals of Iconium. Which cauſed the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made betwixt the Emperour and him, with all his power to take the ſtraits of Zibrica, whereby the armie of the Chriſtians, departing from Myriocephalon, muſt of neceſſitie paſſe. The entrance into theſe ſtraits was by a long valley, on either ſide incloſed with high mountains, which towards the North riſing and falling according as the hils gaue leaue, opened into diuers large vallies, which by little and little growing againe ſtraiter and ſtraiter, with high and craggie rockes hanging ouer on either ſide, and almoſt touching one another, gaue vnto the painfull traueller a moſt hard and difficult paſſage.

A great ouerſight of the Emperour.

Into this ſo daungerous a valley the Emperor, not fearing the enemies force, deſperatly entred with his armie, hauing neither prouided for the clearing of the paſſages, or ſafetie of his carriages, in no other order than as if he had marched through the plain and champain countrey, although it were before told him (that which he ſhortly after, but too late ſaw) that the enemie had ſtrongly poſſeſſed both the ſtraits and mountaines to hinder his further paſſage. The vauward of his armie was conducted by *Iohn* and *Andronicus* the ſons of *Angelus Conſtantine*, accompanied with *Macroducas Conſtantine*, and *Lapardas Andronicus*: in the right wing was *Baldwin* the Emperors brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: after them followed the drudges and ſcullions, with an infinite number of carters and other baſe people, attending vpon the carriages, with the baggage of the whole armie: next vnto theſe came the Emperor with the main battell, conſiſting for the moſt part of right valiant and worthy ſoldiers: the rereward was ſhut vp by *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, with a number of moſt reſolute men. They were not far entred into theſe ſtraits, but that the Turks from the mountaines and broken cliffes, ſhewed themſelues on euery ſide, deliuering their deadly ſhot from the vpper ground, vpon the Chriſtians below, as thicke as haile: neuertheleſſe the ſons of *Angelus* with *Macroducas* & *Lapardas*, and the vantgard, caſting themſelues into a three ſquare battel in form of a wedge, with their targuets in manner of a penthouſe caſt cloſe together ouer their heads, and their archers on euery ſide luſtily beſtowing their ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies, by plain force droue them out of the ſtraits they had before poſſeſſed, and cauſed them to retire farther off into the mountains, and ſo hauing made themſelues way, with little or no loſſe paſſed thoſe dangerous ſtraits; till that at length hauing recouered the top of a hill very very commodious for their purpoſe, as the caſe ſtood, they there ſtaid, & preſently incamped themſelues. And happily with like good fortune might the reſt of the army haue paſſed alſo, had they in like order, & with like courage preſently followed after: but failing ſo to do, and troubled with the multitude of their carriages, which could not poſſibly make any way throgh thoſe ſtrait & rough paſſages, (but troubled themſelues one another, as alſo the whole armie) they were from the vpper ground miſerably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh archers, whoſe arrowes fell as thick vpon them from the mountains, as if it had bin a perpetual tempeſt or ſhoure of haile, to the great diſordering and diſmaying of the whole armie: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith incouraged, in great numbers came downe from the mountains, where they had before houered ouer the heads of the Chriſtians, and forcibly entring the plain ground, & comming to handy blows, firſt ouerthrew the right wing; where *Baldwin* himſelf ſeeking to reſtore his diſordered companies, and to ſtay the furie of the enemie (now raging in the bloud of the Chriſtians) with a troupe of valiant horſemen breaking into the thickeſt of them, as became a worthie captaine, was there compaſſed in with the multitude of his enemies, and ſlaine, together with all his followers, and the greateſt part of the whole wing by him commanded: with this victorie the Turks were ſo incouraged, that comming down with all their power, they ſtopped all the waies whereby the Chriſtians were to paſſe, who as men couped vp in thoſe dangerous ſtraits, were not able either to defend themſelues, or to help one another: but incloſed as deer in a toile, and one troubling another, were the cauſe both of the deſtruction of themſelues and others: for by reaſon of the ſtraitnes of the place, neither could they that were before, retire, neither they that were behinde in the rereward come forward to relieue the one the other, as need required: the carriages alſo, which were many, and in the midſt of the army, ſeruing them to no other purpoſe, than to the hurt of themſelues. There were the beaſts that ſerued for burden, together with the ſoldiers, ouerwhelmed with the Turks ſhot, the vallies lay full of dead bodies, the riuers ran mingled with the bloud of men and beaſts, in ſuch terrible manner as is not by pen to be expreſſed. For the Chriſtians not able either to go forward or retire, were there in thoſe ſtraits ſlain like ſheep: if any courage or ſparke of valour were by any ſhewed againſt the enemy, fighting at ſo great aduantage, it was but loſt, ſeruing to little or no purpoſe. And to increaſe their miſeries, the Turks in ſcorne ſhewed vpon the point of a lance the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the emperors nephew, who comming with an army out of Paphlagonia, and Heraclea Pontica, againſt the Turks of Amaſia, was now by the way by them ouerthrowne and ſlaine. The report whereof, confirmed by the ſight of his head, and the conſideration of the deſperat danger wherein the whole army preſently ſtood, ſo troubled the Emperour, that he was at his wits end; and with drie teares (if it may be ſo ſaid) diſſembling his inward griefe, as one out of comfort, ſtood doubtfull which way to turne himſelfe. For the Turks hauing ſuffered the vantgard to paſſe, with all their power charged the Emperors main battell, as his chief ſtrength, nothing doubting, but that hauing once ouerthrown it, they ſhould eaſily & at pleaſure ouerthrow the reſt.

Baldwin ſlain.

The miſerie of the Chriſtians, by the Turks incloſed in the ſtraits.

The Emperor in great perplexitie.

The deſperat reſolution of the Emperor.

Almoſt miſerable ſpectacle.

Oftentimes had the Emperour attempted to haue driuen the enemy out of thoſe ſtraits, and ſo to haue opened a way for his army to haue paſſed, but all in vaine, the power of the Turkes ſtil increaſing, and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the paſſages before by them taken: neuertheleſſe ſeeing no leſſe danger in ſtaying ſtil, than in going forward, he with a few of his beſt ſoldiers, armed with deſpaire, and reſolued to die, (to which kind of men nothing is terrible) ſet forward directly vpon his enemies, willing the reſt with like reſolution euery man to make for himſelſe the beſt ſhift he could. And ſo with many wounds & ſturdy blows both giuen and receiued, he by plaine force and might of hand brake through the thickeſt of his enemies, and ſo eſcaped out of thoſe ſtraits as out of a trap: but yet not without many wounds receiued in his perſon, and himſelfe ſo wearied, as that hee was not able to lift vp his helmet, being beaten cloſe to his head, and in his target were found ſticking 30 of the Turks arrows, or therabouts, the manifeſt tokens of his danger. The other legions ſeeking to follow the Emperor, (for other way they had none) were on euery ſide hardly aſſailed by the Turks, and infinit numbers of them ſlain, beſide many others that periſhed in thoſe ſtraits, ouerborn and trodden to death by their owne fellows. Yea ſuch as had the fortune to eſcape out of one of theſe perillous ſtraits, were forthwith ſlaine in the next: for this ſo daungerous a paſſage through the mountains, was diuided (as is aforeſaid into ſeuen vallies, which giuing fair and broad entrances, the farther a man went, grew ſtil ſtraiter & ſtraiter, al which ſtraits the Turks had before ſtrongly poſſeſſed. At which time alſo, the more to increaſe the terrour of the day, the light ſand raiſed with the feet of the men and horſes, was by the violence of a moſt tempeſtuous wind which then blew, carried ſo forcibly and thicke, that both the armies grapling together, as if it had bin in the darknes of the night, killed whomſoeuer they met with, without reſpect of friend or foe; by which errour many were euen of their owne friends ſlaine. In euery place lay great heaps of Turks ſlain together with the Chriſtians, and with them great numbers of horſes & other beaſts for cariage; ſo that thoſe vallies where this bloudy conflict was, ſeemed to be nothing elſe but a large burying place of the Turks & Chriſtians with their horſes: but the greateſt number was of the Chriſtians that periſhed, and they not altogether of the common ſort, but euen of the braueſt captaines, and the Emperors neereſt kinſmen: the violence of the wind ceaſing, and the day cleering vp, there was of all others to be ſeen (a moſt wofull ſpectacle) men yet aliue, ſome wounded, ſome whole, couered ſome to the middle, ſome to the neck, with dead carkaiſes, in ſuch ſort, as that they were not able with any ſtrugling to get out: who with their hands caſt vp towards heauen, with ruthfull voices cried out for help to ſuch as paſſed by; but all in vaine, for euery man poſſeſſed with the common feare, and by their danger meaſuring their owne, paſſed by them without compaſſion, as more carefull of their owne ſafety, leauing them yet liuing, as men to be numbred among the dead.

The Emperor in danger to haue beene taken valiantly defendeth himſelfe.

The Emperour himſelfe, as a man almoſt now ſpent, being got out of the danger, ſtood a while to breath himſelf vnder the ſhadow of a wild peare tree, without any page or man to attend him; whom a poore common ſoldier eſpying, and moued with compaſſion, came to him, and offering him the beſt ſeruice he could, helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his armor, which before hung dangling here & there about him: when in the mean while a Turke comming in vpon him, had taken his horſe by the bridle, in hope to haue led him away priſoner: whom for all that, the Emperor as weary as he was, with the trunchion of his broken lance which he had yet in his hand, ſtruck down to the ground, and ſo cleered himſelfe of him. Preſently after came alſo another ſort of the ſtragling Turks, ready alſo to haue ſeiſed vpon him, and to haue taken him priſoner; of whom he ſlew one with the aforeſaid horſemans ſtaffe, and with his ſword ſtruck off the head of another of them, and ſo kept them off, vntill that by the comming in of ten of his owne ſouldiers he was relieued. Departing thence with purpoſe to haue ioyned himſelfe vnto the legions that were gon before in the vauward, he had not gone farre, but that he was much troubled by other Turks that he met, and the heapes of the dead bodies that lay in his way: yet at laſt, hauing with much labour and more danger paſſed the ſtraits, and a riuer running thereby, being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of his own people, and ſome other of his owne ſoldiers now reſorting vnto him, he there ſaw *Iohn Catacuzene*, a noble and right valiant gentleman that maried his neece, fighting alone againſt a great number of the Turks, to be compaſſed in and ſlaine; whom he was no way able to relieue. Which Turks alſo ſeeing him paſſe by, followed after him, as after a moſt rich prey, in hope to haue either preſently taken or ſlaine him: whom neuertheleſſe he (encouraging the ſmall company he had about him) notably repulſed; and ſo ſomtime marching forward, and again as occaſion required making a ſtand, came at length long looked for, but moſt welcom, vnto the legions that were gon before, not ſo ſorry for their owne hard eſtate, as carefull of his danger.

But before he could come to thoſe his legions, he ready to faint for thirſt, commanded water to be brought him out of the riuer that ran faſt by; which after he had taſted, & by the vnpleaſant taſt therof perceiued the ſame to be infected, he fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *O how vnfortunately haue I taſted Chriſtian bloud!* whereunto an audacious and malapert ſouldier there preſent, and more bitter than the cruell time it ſelfe, replyed, *Emperour, thou didſt not now, thou didſt not now I ſay, firſt, but long ſince, and oftentimes drinke the bloud of the Chriſtians, euen vntil thou waſt drunke againe, at ſuch time as thou didſt with moſt grieuous exactions vexe and deuoure thy poore ſubjects.* Which reproachfull ſpeech the Emperour put vp in ſilence, making as if he had not heard it. With like patience he alſo forbare the ſame railing companion, at ſuch time as hee ſeeing his treaſures hardly beſet, and in danger to be taken by the Turkes, to animate his ſoldiers, willed them to do what they could to reſcue the ſame, and to take it for their labor: *This treaſure* (ſaid this impudent fellow) *ſhould before haue bin giuen vnto thy ſoldiers, rather than now, when as it cannot be recouered but with great danger and bloudſhed: and therefore if thou be a man of valor, as thou wouldſt be accounted, and as the preſent caſe requireth, valiantly charge the Turks (now ready to carry it away) thy ſelfe, and ſo recouer thine euill gotten goods.* Whereunto the Emperor anſwered no more but, *Good words ſouldier*, and ſo put it vp, as did *Dauid* the railings of *Shimei*. Shortly after the comming of the Emperor vnto thoſe legions of his vauntgard (the only remainder of his army that was left whole and vnbroken) came alſo *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers other of great place, who had by good fortune eſcaped the fury of the Turks. The miſeries of that day (not well to be expreſſed) being ended by the comming on of the night, the Chriſtians ſate in the camp, oppreſſed with a generall heauineſſe, leaning their heads vpon their elbows, and conſidering the preſent danger wherein they were, ſcarcely accounted themſelues among the liuing: the Turks in the meane time to increaſe their feare, all the night running about the camp, and crying aloud vnto ſuch of their countreymen in the camp, as had abiured their religion, or for other reſpects had taken part with the Imperials, that they ſhould that night get them out of the camp, whereas otherwiſe if they ſtaid vnto the morning, they ſhould be al but loſt men. In this ſo great an extremity the Emperour knowing not what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, declared vnto them the deſperat danger they were in, together with his reſolution; which was, ſecretly himſelfe to flie, and to leaue the reſt, euery man to make what ſhift he could for himſelfe. Which his baſe determination, ſo foule as fouler could not be, they all wondring at, as proceeding from a diſtraughted mind, and by chance ouerheard by one of the common ſoldiers that ſtood without the tent, the ſame ſouldier fetching a deep ſigh, in deteſtation thereof cryed out with a loud voice, *What means the Emperor?* And ſo turning himſelf vnto him, ſaid, *Art not thou he that haſt thruſt vs into this deſolate and ſtrait way, and caſt vs headlong into deſtruction? and haſt as it were in a morter incloſed vs in theſe rocks and mountains, ready as it were to ouerwhelme vs. What had we to do with this vaile of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came we into theſe miſchieuous and rough ſtraits? What can we particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in theſe inextricable windings and ſtraits haue thus intangled and beſet vs? Was it not thou that broughtſt vs hither? And wilt thou now, as ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter, thy ſelfe betray vs?* With which ſo ſharp a reprehenſion the Emperor throughly pierced, changed his former determination for flight, reſoluing now to ſtand by it, whatſoeuer hapned. But what ſhould he now do, beſet with his enemies ſtill ready to deuoure him? Help he ſaw none, either in himſelf, or to be expected from others, nought remained but death and deſpaire. In this extremity, al mans help now failing, it pleaſed the moſt mighty (which chaſtiſeth & healeth again, which ſtriketh, & yet giueth life, and ſuffereth not the ſtaffe of the ſinners always to rage into the portion of the iuſt) with mercifull eye to looke down vpon theſe diſtreſſed men, and with an vnwonted kind of clemency to touch the Sultans heart, in ſuch ſort, as that he which but the other day ſtood in dread of the Emperour, and now hauing him as it were in his power, was ouercome with his miſery: or as in times paſt he by *Huſai* ouerthrew the counſell of *Achitophel*, and changed

The malapert ſpeech of an inſolent ſoldier, to the emperor.

The great patience of the Emperor.

The fearefull reſolution of the Emperor.

A ſharp reprehenſion of a common ſoldier vnto the Emperor.

the mind of *Abſalon* to follow ſuch aduice as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then alſo he turned the minde of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certaine of the chieſe men about him, who in time of peace had vſed to receiue great gifts and Preſents from the Emperor) he of his owne accord by his Embaſſadors offered peace vnto the Emperour, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe ſued vnto him for any; and that vpon the ſelfe ſame conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were ready to aſſault the emperors camp, in hope at once to haue ouerthrown his whole power; and with a barbarous outcry ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their arrows they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their own trenches: againſt whom the Emperor ſent out *Iohn* the ſon of *Conſtantinus Angelus*, and after him, *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, but to little or no purpoſe. In the mean time came one *Gabras*, a man of greateſt reputation among the Turks, Embaſſador from the Sultan; by whoſe commandement the Turkes ceaſed further to aſſault the camp. This *Gabras* comming vnto the Emperor, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honoring him with reuerence done euen down to the ground; firſt preſented him with a goodly horſe, whoſe furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had bin for a triumph, and a rare two edged ſword: afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made and with many kind words as with an inchantment appeaſing the Emperors heauineſſe conceiued of his late loſſe; he among other pleaſant conceits then vttered, ſeeing the Emperor in a rich robe of yellow ouer his armor, told him, that the colour was not fit for war, as ominous, and portending euil luck: whereat the Emperor a little ſmiling, gaue it him, with the fortune thereof; and receiuing the horſe and ſword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the peace. Amongſt other conditions of the peace (which the daungerouſnes of the time ſuffered not the Emperor curiouſly to examine) one was, That Dorileum and Subleum, before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunat war, ſhould be again raſed.

The Emperor returneth.

Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the Emperor deliuered of a great feare, purpoſed another way to return home, to auoid the ſight of the ſlaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpoſe as it was thought, led backe the ſame way, to behold with his eyes thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the ſlain, which could not with any tears be ſufficiently lamented: for the ſtraits were made plain, the vallies were raiſed into hils, and the forreſts lay couered with the carkaſſes of the ſlaine: no man paſſed by, but with heauines and griefe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there loſt. Hauing againe paſſed thoſe dolefull ſtreits, the Turks were again in the taile of the army: for it was reported, That the Sultan repenting himſelfe to haue ſuffered his enemies ſo to ſcape out of his hands, had giuen leaue to ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelf with his whole power, as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his ſoldiers loaded with the ſpoile, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the army, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weak or wounded, and ſo vnable to follow the reſt: although the Emperor to help the matter, had for the repreſſing of them placed the beſt of his captains and ſoldiers in the rereward. Being come to Chonas, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto euery one of his hurt ſoldiers money to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their countries; and comming to Philadelphia, there ſtaid for the refreſhing of himſelf after ſo great miſeries.

The Emperor altogether performs not what he had promiſed to the Sultan.

In his return he raſed Subleum, according to his promiſe, but not Dorileum: whereof the Sultan by his Embaſſadors complaining, he anſwered, That what he had, inforced thereto by neceſſity, promiſed, he greatly forced not to performe: in reuenge whereof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant captains, called *Atapac*, with 24000 good ſoldiers choſen out of his whole army, with ſtreit charge to waſt and deſtroy all the emperors prouinces & towns euen vnto the ſea ſide, without ſparing man, woman, or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the ſea water, an oare, and ſome of the ſea ſand: who according to his charge ſpoiled Phrygia, with the cities along the riuer Mæander, euen to the ſea ſide: and ſo returning with a rich prey, by the way ſpoiled what before he had left vntouched.

Atapack with all his Armie ſlaine.

But in paſſing the riuer Mæander, when he feared leaſt, he fell into the hands of *Iohn Bataza* the Emperors nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine* a moſt valiant captain; of purpoſe ſent againſt him by the Emperour with a great power: where he was by them ſlain, together with all his army, and the rich booty he had taken, all again recouered. Many other hard conflicts paſſed after this, betwixt the Imperials & the Turks, the one continually ſeeking to annoy the other; all which, for that therein nothing fell out much worth the remembrance, I for breuitie willingly paſſe ouer. In theſe endles troubles did *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, whom he had by the ſpace of eight and thirty yeares worthily gouerned that great empire, hauing in the time of his ſickneſſe but a little before his death taken vpon him the habit of a Monk, in token he had forſaken the world. All the time of his reigne he was no leſſe jealous of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, than of the Turks in the Eaſt; and therfore euer dealt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was ſo laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicity but in pain; and againe in peace ſo giuen ouer to his pleaſure, as if he had neuer thought of any thing els: after whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance inuading the frontiers of the empire, tooke Sozopolis, with diuers towns thereabout in Phrygia, and long beſieged the famous city of Atalia, and ſo daily encroched more and more vpon the prouinces of the empire, ioining the ſame vnto his owne; which was no great matter for him to do, the Greek empire being then no better gouerned then was the chariot of the Sun (as the poets feigne) by *Phaeton*, far vnfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a childe of about 12 yeares old, ſucceeding his graue father in the empire, after the maner of children altogether following his pleaſure; his mother with his fathers kinſmen and friends, who aboue all things ought to haue had an eſpeciall care of his education, neglecting the old Emperors truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their own delights, without the regard of the ruine of the common-weale. Some enamored with the beauty of the young Empreſſe, gaue themſelues al to brauery, and the courting of her, otherſome in great authority, with no leſſe deſire in the mean time, with the common treaſures filled their empty coffers: and a third ſort there was (of all the reſt moſt dangerous) who neither reſpecting their ſenſual pleaſure, nor the heaping vp of wealth, looked not ſo low, aiming at the very empire it ſelfe. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all leaſt regarded. Among theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was old *Andronicus*, the couſin of the late Emperor *Emanuel*, a man of an haughtie and troubleſome ſpirit, whom he the ſaid Emperor *Emanuel* had for his aſpiring, moſt part of the time of his reigne kept in priſon, or elſe in exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for fear of raiſing new troubles, confin'd to liue far off from the court at Oenum: who now hearing of the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, of the factions in court, of the childiſhneſſe of the young emperor *Alexius*, giuen wholly to his ſports; and the great men put in truſt to haue ſeene to his bringing vp, and to the gouernment of the empire, ſome like Bees to fly abroad into the country, ſeeking after mony as the Bees do after hony; ſome others in the mean time like hogs, lying ſtill and fatting themſelues with great and gainfull offices, wallowing in all exceſſe and pleaſure, to haue no regard of the honor or profit of the common-weale: thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the ſtate) for him to aſpire vnto the empire after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the Conſtantinopolitans, yea and of ſome of the nobilitie alſo, he doubted not: for them he had long before by his popular behauior gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late Emperor, jealous of his eſtate; which as it coſt him his liberty, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his life alſo: but now that he was dead, wanted nothing more than ſome faire colour for the ſhadowing of his foule purpoſe. Among many and right diuers things by him thought vpon, was a clauſe in the oath of obedience which he had giuen to the Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſon, (which oath he had deliuered vnto him in writing) That if he ſhould ſee, heare, or vnderſtand of any thing dangerous or hurtfull to their honor, empire, or perſons, he ſhould forthwith bewray it, and to the vttermoſt of his power withſtand it: which words (not ſo to haue been wreſted) as beſt ſeruing for his purpoſe he took firſt occaſion for to work vpon. And as he was a ſtout and imperious man, therupon writ diuers letters vnto the young emperor his couſin, to *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, and other ſuch as he knew well affected vnto the late emperor *Emanuel*: wherin among other things which he wiſhed to be amended in the preſent gouernment, he ſeemed moſt to complaine of the immoderate power and authoritie of *Alexius*, then preſident of the Councell, who in great fauor with the young emperour, and more inward with the empreſſe his mother than was ſuppoſed to ſtand with her honour, ruled all things at his pleaſure, inſomuch, as that nothing don by any the great officers of the empire, or by the emperor himſelfe, was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was growne to ſuch an exceſſiue pride, hauing all things in his power as that no man could without danger, as vpon the venomous Baſiliſke, look vpon him. Of which his ſo

Andronicus aſpireth.

Ambition couered with the zeale of the commonweale.

exceſſiue

Andronicus departeth from Oenum toward Conſtantinople.

exceſſiue and inſolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, moued thereunto (as he would haue it beleeued) with the care he had of the yong Emperors ſafety, which could not (as he ſaid) long ſtand with the others ſo great power, which he therfore (as in duty bound) wiſhed to be abridged: aggrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much familiarity with the empreſſe; which firſt muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he ſaid) throughout the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the perſon of the Emperor, and diſhonor of the ſtate, he forſooth as one in conſcience bound, with great grauity and eloquence (beeing a very learned man) both in open ſpeech and writing moſt earneſtly deſired: and thereby ſo wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great experience (as indeed he was) and a faithful counſellor to the ſtate, a thing much to haue bin wiſhed. Wherefore leauing Oenum, the place whereto he was by the Emperour *Emanuel* in a ſort baniſhed, trauelling towards Conſtantinople, hee gaue it out in euery place where he came, what he had ſworne, and what he would for his oaths ſake do: vnto whom men deſirous of the change of the ſtate, and ſuch as gaue credit vnto the report long before giuen out, That he ſhould at length become Emperor; flockt in great numbers, as birds about an owle, to ſee him, and with vain praiſes to chatter about him. In this ſort he came as far as Paphlagonia; in euery place honorably receiued, as if he had bin a deliuer of his countrey ſent from God. And in the imperiall city he was not longed for of the vulgar people only, as their light and load ſtar, but diuers of the nobility alſo by ſecret meſſengers and letters, perſuaded him to haſten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernment; aſſuring him, that there would be none to reſiſt him, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt his ſhadow, but all ready to receiue him: eſpecially *Mary* the yong Emperors ſiſter by the fathers ſide, with her husband *Caſar*; who being a woman of great ſpirit, and grieuing much to ſee her Fathers Empire made a prey vnto *Alexius* the preſident, & the Empreſſe her ſtep mother, whom ſhe naturally hated, had raiſed a great and dangerous tumult in the city againſt them both, which was not without much bloudſhed appeaſed: and now ceaſed not by often and moſt earneſt letters (to her own deſtruction, and her husbands, as afterwards it fel out) to prick forward *Andronicus* and to haſten his comming: who by letters and meſſengers daily comming vnto him from the court ſtil more and more incouraged, leauing behind him the country of Paphlagonia, came to Heraclea in Pontus, and ſtil on towards the imperiall city, with great cunning and diſſimulation winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was ſo ſtony hearted; whom his ſweet words and abundant teares flowing from his gracious eyes, as from two plentifull fountaines down by his hoary cheeks, might not haue moued? All that he did or deſired, was (as he ſaid) for the common good and liberty of the Emperor. By which means he had drawne vnto him a wonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But comming into Bythinia, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernour of the great city of Nice, ſhut out as an enemy to the ſtate, and ſo at Nicomedia alſo. Neuertheleſſe, paſſing by thoſe cities, he held ſtill on his way, vntil at length he was neer to a caſtle called Charace, encountred by *Andronicus Angelus*, ſent with a great power againſt him, by the great preſident *Alexius*; who otherwiſe as an effeminat man, giuen ouer to his pleaſure, ſpending the greateſt part of the night in royoting by candle light, and moſt part of the day in his bed, with curtains cloſe drawn, as if it had been night: yet doubtfull now of the comming of his enemy, left nothing vndon which he thought might help for the aſſuring of his ſtate. Many of the nobility of whom he ſtood in doubt, he gained vnto him by means of the Emperors mother; who by her rare beauty, ſweet words, and gracious behauiour, as with a line drew all men to her. Other ſome hee ouercame with gifts and great ſummes of money, whereof he now made no ſpare: And ſo wrought the matter, that no man of any acount or marke went ouer to *Andronicus*. Who neuertheleſſe with ſuch followers as hee had, ioyning battell with *Angelus* (ſent againſt him, as is before ſaid) ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in great diſpleaſure and without reaſon, called *Angelus* (now fled to Conſtantinople) to an account for the money deliuered vnto him for the defraying of the charges of that vnfortunate warre: who ſeeing his misfortune to be ſo taken as if he had framed it himſelf and of purpoſe betraid the army committed to his charge; by the counſell of his ſix ſons, being all men of great valor and wiſedome, firſt tooke the refuge of his owne houſe: but finding himſelfe there in no ſafetie, with his wife and his ſaid ſonnes (two of which came afterwards to be Emperours) preſently fled ouer the ſtrait to *Andronicus*: who ſeeing of him comming towards him, is reported to haue vſed this text of Scripture, *Behold I will ſend mine Angell before thy face to prepare thy wayes*: alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the preſage of his good ſucceſſe. Wherefore incouraged with the comming of theſe noblemen his kinſmen, he without longer ſtay marched directly vnto the ſea ſide, and there a little aboue Chalcedon encamped almoſt right ouer againſt Conſtantinople: cauſing many great fires (moe than needed) to be made in his army, to make it ſeeme vnto them of the city greater than indeed it was; and with the ſight thereof to keep the citizens in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of ſome great matter to enſue. Wherein he was no whit deceiued; for they hauing him now as it were in ſight, leauing their worke, ran ſome to the ſea ſide, ſome vp to the hils and high towers to behold his army a far off, willing with their friendly looks, if it had bin poſſible, to haue drawne him ouer the ſtreit into the city. *Alexius* knowing himſelfe not able by land to encounter with ſo ſtrong an enemy, (for now ſome which on foot could not go ouer to *Andronicus*, were ſecretly in heart already with him; otherſome thought themſelues ſufficiently to ſhew their fidelity to the Emperor, if ſitting ſtill at home, they ſhould take part with neither: for ſo haue ſubtill heads and aſpiring mindes, for the furtherance of their deſires, taught the common people both to ſay and think) thought it beſt by ſea to auert the preſent danger: and therfore commanded all the emperors gallies (being before rigged vp and ready) to be ſtrongly manned and put to ſea, for the keeping of Propontis and the ſtreit of Boſphorus, that *Andronicus* ſhould not that way paſſe: now had he determined to haue made eſpeciall choice of ſome aſſured friend of his own to be General of this fleet, as he had done of the captains and maſters, being all his own kinſmen or domeſticall ſeruants: but as he was about to haue ſo done, *Contoſtephanus* (ſirnamed the great captain) oppoſed himſelf againſt it, challinging that place as due vnto himſelfe, before al others: ſo that ouercome by his authority (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to diſpute) he was glad to commit the charge and truſt of the whole fleet vnto him, as Generall. Thus hauing (as he thought) made the ſea ſure, he ſent ouer vnto *Andronicus*, as from the Emperor, (for al was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other inſtructions, whereof the effect was, to command him forthwith in peace to returne to the place from whence hee came, & not farther to trouble the ſtate: promiſing him in ſo doing, the Emperors fauor, with many great honours and preferments to be afterward beſtowed vpon him; which otherwiſe might turn to his vtter deſtruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and done his meſſage, is reported to haue ſecretly aduiſed *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpoſe, and not in any caſe to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherwith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly reiected the graces offred, and willed the meſſenger to tel them that ſent him, that if they would haue him to returne to the place from whence he came, they ſhould firſt diſplace the proud preſident *Alexius*, and call him to an account for the villanies he had done; then the Emperors mother they ſhould depriue of her honors, & ſhut her vp as a Nun into ſome cloyſter, there to learn to amend her life; and laſt of all, that the Emperor according to his fathers will, ſhould take vpon himſelfe the gouernment, and not be ouertopt by others, by whoſe too much authority, his maieſty and honor was (as he ſaid) too much impaired. But within a few days after, *Contoſtephanus*, the great captain & General, caried ouer al the gallies to *Andronicus* leauing nothing but their names for the preſident in his rols to look vpon: whoſe reuolt aboue all other things incouraged *Andronicus*, & caſt *Alexius* euen into the bottome of diſpaire. For now *Andronicus* his friends flocked together in the city, not ſecretly as before, but openly in all places: and ſuch as wiſht a change in the ſtate, impudently ſcoffing at *Alexius*, paſſed ouer the ſtreit to Chalcedon in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eys with beholding of his goodly perſon, his cheerfull countenance, & reuerent age; and their eares with his ſweet words & great promiſes, returned home merry & ioyfull, as if they had bin in ſome terreſtriall paradiſe, filling the city with his praiſes. After that, *Andronicus* his 2 ſons, *Iohn* & *Manuel*, with diuers others, whom the preſident had caſt in priſon, were ſet at liberty, & other of his chief fauorits laid faſt in their rooms. As for *Alexius* the preſident himſelf, with all his friends & faction in the court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the guard: a right ſtrange alteration: but about midnight, *Alexius* himſelf was ſecretly conueied out of the court to the Patriarchs houſe, & there kept with a ſtronger guard than before. A wonderfull change & worth marking, a man ſo honorably born, but yeſterday in greateſt honor, attended vpon

Andronicus encampeth in ſight ouer againſt Conſtantinople.

Xiphilinus ſent ouer to Andronicus, dealeth vnfaithfully in doing his meſſage.

The proud anſwer of Andronicus.

Contoſtephanus reuolteth to Andronicus. Alexius in deſpaire.

Alexius and his friends apprehended.

A ſtrange alteration.

vpon with many thouſands, all at his command, hauing the power to ſpill or ſaue: to day in G bonds, in diſgrace, in miſery and diſpaire, and not ſo much as a page to wait vpon him: which he taking very grieuouſly, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not ſuffer him to ſleep or take any reſt. Of whoſe miſery, the Patriarch taking pity (although he had of him very euil deſerued) yet cheered him vp with comfortable words, perſuading him with patience to eudure his hard fortune, and not with ſuch ſpeeches as fitted not his preſent ſtate, to prouoke his keepers to vſe him euill: within a few daies after, early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs houſe, and ſet vpon a very little bad Iade, and ſo with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed, in maner of an enſigne, caried before him in deriſion, was broght to the ſea ſide, and there caſt into a little boat, was ſo brought to *Andronicus*, by whoſe command, with the generall conſent of the nobility, he for his euill H gouernment ſhortly after had his eies put out. This was the miſerable end of the immoderat power, or rather of the inſolent ſoueraignty of *Alexius*: who, had he with more moderation and vigilancie gouerned, might both haue kept *Andronicus* out of the city, and himſelfe from ſo great miſery; hauing at his command all the Emperors treaſure, his gallies, with moſt part of the ſtrength of the empire. Now came the noblemen ouer apace to *Andronicus*: the laſt that came, was the reuerend Patriarch *Theodoſius*, with the chiefe of the clergy: of whoſe approch, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horſes feet, and in a while after ariſing again, kiſſed the patriarchs foot, calling him, the Emperors Sauior, the louer of vertue, the defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous father *Iohn Chryſoſtome*, omitted not any honorable title he could poſſibly deuiſe I to giue him. But the deuout patriarch, that had neuer ſeen *Andronicus* before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his ſtern countenance, his ſubtile nature, his crafty and diſſembling manners, his exceeding ſtature, being almoſt ten foot high, his ſtately gate, his proud looke, his continual ſeuerity, and melancholy ſilence; as it were pittying them that to their owne deſtruction had called ſuch a man in, ſaid, *Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue alſo ſeen, and plainly knowne:* and fetching a deep ſigh, adioyning thereunto that ſaying of the Prophet *Dauid: As we haue heard ſo haue we alſo ſeen:* in which words, he couertly quipped the diſſembling meeting and ſubmiſſion of *Andronicus*: and withall called to remembrance the words of the Emperor *Emanuel*, wherewith he had many times ſo painted forth *Andronicus* vnto the Patriarch, as if he would moſt liuely haue repreſented him vnto his view. K

Alexius brought to Andronicus, hath his eyes put out.

The meeting of the Patriarch & Andronicus.

Andronicus paſſeth ouer the ſtreit.

All things in the city and in the palace ſet in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two ſons, and leaue giuen vnto the Emperors friends to come ouer vnto him, and to be acquainted with him, at length *Andronicus* himſelfe departing from Damalum, in a gally croſſed the ſtrait, oftentimes by the way merily ſinging that ſaying of the heauenly Pſalmiſt: *Returne my ſoule into thy reſt, becauſe the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling.* The Emperor with his mother *Xene*, then lay not in the palace at Conſtantinople, but at another princely houſe of his in the country neer vnto Philopatium, as *Andronicus* had appointed: whither *Andronicus* firſt went, and comming vnto his preſence, moſt humbly proſtrat before him, with ſobbing and teares, as his deceitfull manner was, kiſſed his feet. As for the Empreſſe his mother, he lightly ſaluted her, and as it L were but for faſhion ſake, not diſſembling in his countenance the old grudge hee bare againſt her. And ſo without longer ſtay went vnto his tent prouided for him not far off; round about which all the great noblemen had pitched their tents alſo, flocking vnto him as chickens ſeeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there ſtaid with the Emperor a good while, he was deſirous to go vnto the imperiall city, and to ſee the late Emperour *Emanuel* his couſins graue. Where entring into the monaſterie of our Lady, where he was buried, and comming to his tombe, he wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainely out. So that diuers of the ſtanders by, ignorant of his diſſembling nature, by way of admiration ſaid; *O what a wonderfull thing is this! O how hee loued the Emperour, his couſin, although his fierce and cruell perſecutor!* And when one of his kinſemen would haue pulled him from the tombe, ſaying that hee had M ſorrowed for him enough; he would not be remoued, but requeſted them to ſuffer him yet a little to tarrie by the tombe, for that he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto the dead: and ſo with his hands caſt vp, and cloſe together, as if he had prayed, and his eies faſt fixed vpon the tomb, he mooued his lips, and ſecretly ſaid ſomething, but what, no man could tell. Some ſaid it was ſome charme or incantation. But others more pleaſantly conceited, ſaid, and (as it afterward appeared) more truly, that *Andronicus* did triumph ouer the dead Emperor *Emanuel*, and reuell with his ghoſt, with theſe or like words: *I haue thee now faſt, my cruell perſecutor, by whom I haue bin driuen to many great extremities: and hauing wandred almoſt all the world ouer, haue thereunto bin made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe riſing vp with ſeuen tops, & priſon, out of which thou canſt not ſtart, holdeth thee oppreſſed with a dead ſleep, out of which thou ſhalt not be awaked, but by the ſounding of the laſt trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy poſteritie, and ſatisfie my ſelfe as a lyon with a fat prey; and take ſharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou haſt done me, when I haue once poſſeſſed my ſelfe of this royall citie.*

After that, viſiting all the Emperors ſtately houſes, but ſtaying in no place long, he diſpoſed of all matters of ſtate, according to his owne pleaſure. To the young Emperor he allowed hunting, and other his vain delights, with keepers ioined to him, to watch not only his going in and out, but alſo that no man ſhould talk with him of any matter of importance: for all the gouernment of the ſtate he took vnto himſelf: not for that he wiſhed ſo well thereunto aboue others, but ſo to driue from the court all them of the contrarie faction to himſelfe, that were able to do any thing, and had before borne ſome ſway. The ſoldiers, whoſe help he had vſed in aſpiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bounty; all their offices & preferments he beſtowed either vpon his own children, or other his great fauorits; diuers of the nobilitie of whom he liked not, were by him in ſhort time driuen into exile: ſome were by him depriued of their ſight, and ſome others caſt in priſon, not knowing any cauſe why, more than that they were by him ſecretly condemned, for that they were of the nobilitie, or had done ſome good ſeruice for the ſtate, or exiled for their perſonage, or ſome other thing that grieued *Androvicus*; or els for the ſpark of ſome old diſpleaſure which yet lay hid as fire raked vp in the aſhes: ſo that the ſtate of that time began to grow moſt miſerable: & the trechery euen of men neereſt in bloud, ſeeking the deſtruction one of another, for to ſerue their owne turns, or to gratifie *Andronicus*, moſt horrible: not only one brother betraid another, but euen the father his ſon, and the ſon his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it ſo. Some accuſed their neereſt kinſmen, that they derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more fauoured *Alexius* the yong emperor, then a great offence. Yet ſuch was the miſchief of the time, that many in accuſing others, were themſelues accuſed; and charging others of treaſon againſt *Andronicus*, were themſelues charged by them whom they accuſed, and ſo clapt vp both together in one priſon: neither were they of the nobility onely (enemies to *Andronicus*) thus hardly dealt withall, but euen ſome of his great fauorits and followers alſo: for ſome whom but yeſterday he had vſed moſt kindly, and enrolled among his beſt friends, vpon them to day he frowned & tyrannized moſt cruelly: ſo that you might haue ſeen the ſame man the ſame day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his admirall) to be crowned and beheaded, to be graced and diſgraced: inſomuch that the wiſet ſort deemed *Andronicus* his praiſings, the beginning of a mans diſgrace; his bounty, his vndoing; & his kindnes, his death. The firſt that taſted of his tyranny, was *Mary* the daughter of *Emanuel* the emperor, who for the hate ſhe bare to *Alexius* the late preſident, & the empres her mother in law, had (as is aforeſaid) aboue all other, wiſht for his comming; but was now by one *Pterigionites* (ſomtime an Eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aſpiring mind purpoſed the vtter deſtruction of all *Emanuels* poſterity) cunningly poiſoned; as was her husband *Cæſar*, who liued not long after her, poiſoned alſo (as was ſuppoſed) with the ſame cup that his wife was. Now among others of the late emperors houſe, none had euer ſtood more in his light, than had the fair empres *Xene*, the yong emperors mother, whom now he ceaſed not moſt bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuſe, as an vtter enemie both to the emperor & the ſtate, making as if he would leaue all, & again depart, if ſhe were not remoued from the emperor her ſon: & by his cunning ſo inſenced the giddie headed vulgar people againſt her, that they came flocking to *Theodoſius* the good patriarch, ready to tear him out of his cloths, if he conſented not to the remouing of the empres, as *Andronicus* had deſired: ſo a dounſel being called of ſuch his fauorits & others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cauſe, but aſſuredly to condemne her; the guiltles empreſſe after many things falſly laid to her charge, was accuſed of treſon: as that ſhe ſhould by her letters haue ſolicited *Bela* K. of Hungary, her brother in law, to inuade Brantizoba & Belligrade, two ſtrong places belonging to the empire: whereupon ſhe was condemned, and ſhamefully

Andronicus taketh vpon him the gouernment

Andronicus tyrannizeth.

A miſerable ſtate of a common-weale.

Mary the daughter of Emanuel, with her husband Cæſar poiſoned by Andronicus.

Xene the Empreſſe accuſed of treaſon, and condemned.

caſt

Dangerous to ſpeak the truth to a tyrant.

A wicked counſell.

The miſerable death of the Empreſſe.

caſt into a moſt filthy priſon neere vr to the monaſtery of S. *Diomede*. Amongſt other noblemen called vnto this wicked counſell, were *Leo Monaſteriotes, Demetrius, Tornicius* and *Conſtantius Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the Empreſſe, ſaid, They would be glad firſt to know, Whether that counſell againſt his mother, were called by the Emperours conſent or not? With which ſpeech, *Andronicus* pierced to the heart as with a ſword, in great rage ſtart vp and ſaid, Theſe are they which encouraged the wicked Preſident to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Whereupon they of his guard in threatning manner ſhooke their weapons and ſwords at them, as if they would euen preſently haue ſlain them: and the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them ſome one way, ſome another, were ſo fierce vpon them, as that they had much ado to eſcape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire Empreſſe (but the other day one of the greateſt princes of the Eaſt, and honored of all her ſubiects) in great miſerie & deſpaire, ſcorned euen of her baſe keepers, euery houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* againſt her, ſo any thing aſſwaged, but grieuing that ſhe yet breathed, ſhortly after aſſembled the former counſell, the miniſters of his wrath, demanding of them, What puniſhment was by law appointed for ſuch as betraied any towne or prouince of the Empire? whereunto anſwer being giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death; he could no longer hold, but that he muſt in great choler break forth againſt the poore Empreſſe, as if it had bin ſhe that had done it: and thereupon the wicked counſellors crying out with one voice, That ſhe was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed; by and by without longer ſtay, a damned writing was ſubſcribed by the young Emperour her ſon, as if it had bin with the bloud of his owne mother, wherby ſhe was (I abhor to write it) moſt vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to ſee this moſt horrible and cruell execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldeſt ſon, and *Georgius Auguſtus*, his neer kinſman; who both diſmaid at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the Emperours command, ſaid plainely, that they neuer before conſented to the death of the Empreſſe, but had clean hands of ſo hainous offence, and therefore would now much leſſe ſee her innocent body diſmembred in their ſight. At which vnexpected anſwer *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himſelfe by the hoarie head, and with burning eies caſting ſometime vp his head, and ſometime downe, ſighed at his owne moſt miſerable tyrannical eſtate, fretting inwardly, that they which were neereſt vnto him, whom he thought he might euen with a beck haue commanded to haue don any miſchief, abhorring his crueltie, ſhould refuſe to do the thing he ſo much deſired to haue don: yet repreſſing his anger for a while, within a few daies after, he againe commanded her to be ſtrangled; which was accordingly done by *Conſtantinus Tripſicus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngracious eunuch, by whoſe help he had before poiſoned *Mary* the Emperors daughter, with *Cæſar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus periſhed this great Empreſſe, cruelly ſtrangled in priſon, by theſe two wicked men, the mercileſſe executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead body lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen to the admiration to the beholders, was without more adoe ſecretly raked vp in the ſand faſt by the ſea ſide: a poore ſepulchre for ſo great a perſon.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durſt thus cruelly to deale with the yong Emperors owne mother, and neereſt friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good & ſafety of the ſtate and empire. And the more to ſhadow *Andronicus* his ſecret purpoſes, as not proceeding of any priuate or hidden malice, or aſpiring humor, from which he of all men would ſeem moſt free; and the more to manifeſt his deuotion & loyaltie to the yong Emperor his couſin, he was the only perſuader to the reſt of the nobility, to haue him ſolemnly crowned (which as yet by reaſon of his tender age he was not;) and at the time of his coronation, with his own ſhoulders ſupported him vp, as he was (after the manner of that ſolemnitie) carried vnto the great Church, and ſo back again; the Crocodiles tears ſtill plenteouſly running down his aged face, as if it had bin for exceeding ioy: which many of the meaner ſort beholding, & deeming thereof the beſt, highly commended his kindnes, accounting the young Emperor thrice happy, in ſo graue a gouernour, and faithfull counſellor; who in loue and kind affection towards him, ſeemed not inferior to his natural father: ſo cunningly had he vnder the vaile of pietie, ſhadowed his moſt execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted moſt louing and kinde. But hidden treaſon, be it neuer

ſo

The ſly practiſe of Andronicus in aſpiring to the Empire.

ſo well diſſembled, muſt at length ſhew it ſelfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the Emperor and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late Emperor *Emanuel* being taken out of the way, or els driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himſelfe to aſpire vnto that high ſoueraigntie, after which he had ſo many yeres longed. Wherefore calling together a councell of his flatterers and fauorits, whom he had for ſuch purpoſe promoted vnto the higheſt places of ſtate (al or moſt part of the graue counſellors & friends of the late emperor *Emanuel* being now diſplaced, or otherwiſe taken out of the way) he as a man only carefull of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous ſtate of the Empire, by reaſon of a rebellion raiſed in Bythinia at Nice, by *Iſaac Angelus*, and *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; and another at Pruſa, by *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the ſuppreſſing thereof: who not ignorant of their lords purpoſe (as thereof before ſufficiently inſtructed) anſwered with one conſent, That of ſuch great miſchiefes there would be no end, except hee were joyned in fellowſhip of the Empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wiſedome to ſupply what wanted for the good gouernment of the State in the young Emperor his couſin. At which ſpeech the by-ſtanders (being in number many, and for the moſt part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great ſhout, as if it had beene already granted, with one applauſe crying out, *Long liue Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke Emperors*; and that with ſuch a vehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the very heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the city, forthwith you might haue ſeene euery ſtreet and corner of the city full of the vulgar people, with ſome alſo of better ſort, ſwarming together like Bees, and ſounding the praiſes of *Andronicus* (who now was come out his houſe into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long liue the Empeorors Alexius and Andronicus*. With which loud acclamation, mixt with the heauy ſighings of many good men, (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yong Emperor awaked, and ſeeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them ſaluted his fellow in the Empire; knowing now no other remedy, thought it beſt to yeeld vnto the time, and ſo with the reſt flattering the old tyrant, welcommed him full ſore againſt his will, by the name of his friend and companion in the empire: which he now in diſſembling manner ſeeming vnwilling to take vpon him, and refuſing the place offred, was by the rout of his flattering fauorits enforced to his own great contentment, to yeeld to their requeſt: ſome of them with both their hands carrying him vp, vntill they had as it were againſt his will placed him in the imperiall ſeat, prepared for him faſt by the yong Emperor: others in the meane time no leſſe buſied in pulling off his priuat attire, and putting vpon him the imperiall robes.

The next day, when this participation of the empire ſhould be publiſhed, & they both proclaimed emperors, the name of *Andronicus* was ſet before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauorits (though ſome others interpreted it otherwiſe) gaue this reaſon, that it fitted not with the majeſty of the empire, that the name of a boy ſhould be ſet before the name of ſo reuerend graue, wiſe, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then firſt began to ſhew to the people a cheerfull countenance, and ſetting aſide his ſterne look, after his long deuotion done, filled the vain peoples heads with many large promiſes of a more happy form of gouernment than before. All which proued nothing but meere diſſimulation and deep deceit, that cheerefulnes of countenance & ſpeech ſeruing but for a while to couer his inward, ſecret, & moſt inhuman cruelty. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation paſt, at ſuch time as he ſhould for conſummation & confirmation of al, receiue the ſacred & dreadful myſterie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerence to be named, much leſſe with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread, and taken the cup in his hand, he with a moſt deuout countenance framed of purpoſe to deceiue, & his eies caſt vp to heauen, as if his ſoule had there already bin (the faireſt maſke of hypocriſie) ſwore by thoſe dreadful myſteries, & moſt deeply proteſted in the hearing of the people ſtanding by, that he had taken vpon him the fellowſhip of the empire for no other end or purpoſe but to aſſiſt *Alexius* his coſin in the gouernment, and to ſtrengthen his power: whereas his ſecret meaning was nothing leſſe, as ſhortly after appeared. For after a few daies ſpent in feigned deuotions for the proſperous beginning of his Empire, he forthwith turned his mind vnto other his more ſecret, but moſt wicked and execrable deſignes. And hauing aboue all things purpoſed the death of the yong

Emperor, he called together them of the Councell, his owne creatures and corrupt miniſters G
of his wickedneſſe, who had now oftentimes in their mouthes that ſaying of the Poet,

Eſt mala res multos dominarier : vnicus eſto
———Rex dominuſque.

An euill thing it's to be rul'd by many :
One King and one Lord, if there be any.

Alexius depriued of the Empire.
Alexius condemned.
Alexius the emperor cruelly ſtrangled.

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Larke. So by the generall conſent
of that wicked aſſembly (vnworthy the name of a graue councel) a decree was made, That
Alexius ſhould (as a man vnfit to gouern the State) be depriued of all imperiall dignitie, and H
commanded to liue a priuat life. Which diſloyall decree of the conſpirators was yet ſcarcely
publiſhed, but that another more cruell came out of the ſame forge, That he ſhould forthwith
be put to death, as one vnworthy longer to liue. For the execution of which ſo horrible a ſentence
Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites (one of the chiefe miniſters of *Andronicus* his villanies, and
by him promoted euen vnto the higheſt degrees of the honours of the court) with *Conſtantinus*
Trypſicus, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captain of the tormentors) were ſent out; who entring
his chamber by night, without compaſſion of his tender age, or regard of his honour or innocency,
cruelly ſtrangled him with a bow ſtring: which deteſtable murther ſo performed, *Andronicus*
ſhortly after comming in, ſpurned the dead body with his foot, railing at his father
the late Emperor *Emanuel*, as a forſworne and injurious man; and at his mother, as a common I
whore. The head was forthwith ſtrooke off from this miſerable carkaſſe (the mirror of honors
vnſtabilitie) and left for the monſtrous tyrant to feed his eies vpon: the body wrapped vp in
lead, was in a boat carried to ſea by *Io. Camaterius*, and *Theodoſius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus*
his noble fauorits; who with great joy and glee returned with the ſame boat to the Court, as
if they had done ſome notable exployt. But long continueth not the joy of the miſchieuous,
vengeance ſtill following them at the heeles; as it did theſe two, who not long after, with the
reſt that conſpired the innocent Emperors death, all or moſt part of them came to ſhamefull
or miſerable ends. Thus periſhed *Alexius* the Emperor, not yet ful fifteene yeres old, in the
third yeare of his raigne: which time he liued more like a ſeruant than an Emperor, firſt vnder
the command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end. K

An vnequall marriage.
Andronicus ſeeketh by tyranny to eſtabliſh his eſtate.

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made yong again, as ſhould ſeem, by his new gained
honors? for ſhortly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French Kings daughter
(as ſome report) before betrothed to yong *Alexius*; a tender & moſt beautiful lady, not yet
full 11 yeres old, an vnfit match for threeſcore and ten. And in ſome ſort as it were to purge
himſelf & his partakers of the ſhameful murther by them committed, and to ſtop the mouths
of the people, he by much flattery & large promiſes procured of the biſhops a general abſolution
for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the Emperor
Emanuel, and *Alexius* his ſon. Which obtained he for a while had the ſame Biſhops in great
honor, & ſhortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. After
that, he gaue himſelfe wholly vnto the eſtabliſhing of his eſtate, neuer reckning himſelf thereof L
aſſured, ſo long as he ſaw any of the nobility or famous captains aliue, that fauored *Emanuel*
the late Emperor, or *Alexius* his ſon: of whom ſome he ſecretly poyſoned, as *Mary* the Emperor
Emanuels daughter, with her husband *Cæſar*; ſome for light occaſions hee depriued of
their ſight, as he did *Emanuel* and *Alexius* the ſons of that noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus*, *Andronicus*
Lapardus, whoſe good ſeruice he had oftentimes vſed; *Theodorus Angelus*, *Alexius*
Comnenus the Emperor *Emanuels* baſe ſon: ſome he hanged, as *Leo Syneſius*, *Manuel Lachanas*,
with diuers others: ſome he burnt, as *Mamalus* one of the Emperor *Alexius* his chiefe Secretaries;
all men of great honor and place. For colour whereof he pretended himſelfe to be ſorrie
for them, deeply proteſting that they died by the ſeueritie of the law, not by his will, and by
the juſt doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himſelfe (as he ſaid) to giue place; and that M
with tears plentifully running down his aged cheekes, as if he had been the moſt ſorrowfull
man aliue. O deepe diſſimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expreſſe the
heauineſſe of the heart, flowing from the eies as ſhowers of raine out of the Clouds: in good
men the moſt certaine ſignes of greateſt griefe, and ſureſt teſtimonies of inward torment:

but in *Andronicus* you are not ſo, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promiſe not vnto the diſtreſſed pittie or compaſſion, but death and deſtruction! how many mens eies haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Moſt of the nobilitie that fauored the late Emperor *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſon, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, ſtrooke ſuch a feare into the reſt, that for ſafegard of their liues they betooke themſelues to flight, ſome one way, ſome another, neuer thinking themſelues in ſafety ſo long as they were within the greedy Tyrants reach; whereof ſhortly after enſued no ſmall troubles, to the ſhaking of the ſtate of the whole Empire. *Iſaac Comnenus* the Emperor *Emanuels* nigh kinſman, took his refuge into Cyprus, and kept that Iſland to himſelf. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Emanuels* brothers ſon, fled into Sicilia, and there ſtir'd vp *William* king of that Iſland againſt *Andronicus*, who with a great army landed at Dyrrachium, tooke the city, and ſo from thence without reſiſtance paſſing thorow the heart of Macedonia, ſpoiling the country before him as he went, met his fleet at Theſſalonica, which famous city he alſo took by force, & moſt miſerably ſpoiled it, with all the country thereabout, ſo that he brought a great feare vpon the imperiall city it ſelfe. Vnto which ſo great euils *Andronicus* (intangled with domeſtick troubles, and not knowing whom to truſt) was not able to giue remedy, although for ſhew he had (to no purpoſe) ſent out certain of his moſt truſty miniſters with ſuch forces as he could well ſpare. For the majeſty of his authority growing ſtil leſſe & leſſe, and the number of his enemies both at home & abroad daily increaſing, and the fauor of the vnconſtant people (who now began to ſpeake hardly of him) declining; he vncertain which way to turn himſelfe, reſted wholly vpon tyranny, proſcribing in his feare, not only the friends of ſuch as were fled, and whom he diſtruſted, but ſomtimes whole families together, yea and that for light occaſions, ſometime thoſe who were his beſt fauorits, whoſe ſeruice he had many times vſed in the execution of his crueltie; ſo that now no day paſſed wherein he did not put to death, impriſon, or torture one great man or other. Wherby it hapned that the imperiall city was filled with ſorrow and heauines, euery man hanging the head, & with ſilence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to haue bin then vttered. Among many others appointed to this ſlaughter, was one *Iſaac Angelus* a man of great nobility, whom *Hagiochriſtopherites* (the chiefe miniſter of *Andronicus* his tirannie, and for the ſame by him highly promoted) ſuſpecting, as one that bare no good wil to the emperor (cauſe enough of death) came to his houſe to apprehend him; & finding him at home, after a few hot words commanded him to follow him: whereat the noble man making ſome ſtay, and abhorring the very ſight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous & fatal, *Hagiochriſtophorites* himſelfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not forthwith drawn him out of his houſe by the haire of his head, vnto the priſon by him appointed. For they, touched with the honor of the man, & moued with pitty, forced him not, but ſtood ſtil as beholders. *Iſaac* ſeeing himſelfe thus beſet, and no way now left for him to eſcape, reſoluing rather there preſently to die, than ſhortly after to be murdred in priſon, drew his ſword as the reſt were laying hands vpon him, and at the firſt blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochriſtophorites* down to his ſhoulders; and ſo leauing him wallowing in his own bloud, and like a deſperate man laying about him amongſt the reſt, made himſelfe way through the midſt of them. And ſo embrued with bloud, with his bloudy ſword yet in his hand, running thorow the midſt of the city, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for help in defence of his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the ſanctuarie: where he had not long ſit (in the place where the guilty flying thither for refuge vſed to ſit, & confeſſing their offence, craue pardon of ſuch as go in & out) but that the temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of al parts of the city, ſome to ſee the nobleman, ſome to behold what ſhould become of him: for all men thought that he would before Sun-ſet (notwithſtanding the reuerence of the place) be drawn thence by *Andronicus*, & put to ſome ſhamefull death. Thither came alſo *Iohn Ducas*, *Iſaacs* vncle, and his ſon *Iſaac*, to increaſe the tumult; not for that they were any thing guilty of the death of *Hagiochriſtophorites*, but for that they had before become ſureties vnto the ſuſpitious tyrant, for their kinſman *Iſaac*, and he likewiſe for them; by whoſe treſpas they well knew themſelues now brought into no leſſe danger than if they had bin abettors therunto. And beſide them alſo, many other there were, which doubting of their owne eſtate, and fearing the like might happen to themſelues, pricked forward with hard ſpeeches, the common people flocking thither, inſtantly requeſted them to ſtay

Exceeding crueltie.

Iſaac Angelus taketh Sanctuarie.

there, and to ſtand by them now at their need, being ſo injuriouſly wronged; whoſe pittifull G
complaints moued many to take part with them. At which time alſo, no man yet comming
from the Emperor (being as then out of the city) to repreſſe the ſedition, nor any of the Nobilitie
opposing themſelues, no friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloudy miniſters or
officers ſhewing themſelues, nor any that did ſo much as ſpeake a good word in his behalfe, or
in diſlike of the tumult, the boldnes of the ſeditious people increaſed, euery man in ſo great
liberty ſaying what he liſt, and after their rude maner one incouraging another. So ſpent *Iſaac*
that long night, not thinking (God wot) of an Empire, but ſtil expecting the deadly ſtroke of
Andronicus. Yet had he with great intreating ſo preuailed, that diuers of the aſſembly ſhutting
the church doores, and bringing lights into the church, ſtaied there with him all night, and by
their example cauſed ſome others to ſtay alſo. The next morning by breake of day were all H
the citizens flockt againe to the temple, curſing the tyrant to the deuil, as the common enemy
of mankind, wiſhing vnto him a ſhameful death, & the honor of the empire vnto *Iſaac*. At that
time by fortune, or rather God ſo appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the city at his palace
of Meludinum, on the Eaſt ſide of Propontis, where he was by nine a clocke at night certified
of the death of *Hagiochriſtuphorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night ſtirred he
not, neither did any thing more, but by ſhort letters aduiſed the people to pacifie themſelues,
and not by fooliſh rebellion to caſt themſelues into further danger. In the morning *Andronicus*
his fauorits began to ſhew themſelues, and to doe what they might to haue appeaſed the
tumultuous multitude; yea, and preſently after came *Andronicus* himſelfe, and landed with his
imperiall galley at the great pallace in the city. But with the inraged people nought preuailed I
either the perſuaſions of the one, or report of the preſence of the other: for they all, as vpon
a ſignall giuen, and as men inſpired with one ſpirit, or ſtirred vp with the ſame fury, flocked
together into the temple of S. Sophia, one incouraging another, and ſcoffing at ſuch as ſtood
by as idle lookers on, without weapons in their hands, reuiling them and calling them rotten
lymmes that had no feeling of the common harme. After that, they broke open the priſons,
and ſet at liberty the priſoners, as fitteſt inſtruments to increaſe the tumult, who were not all
notable offenders of the dregs of the people, but many of them borne of good houſes, and for
ſome light fault, or inconſiderate word (whereof euery man was in thoſe times bound to giue
an account) or for ſome friends offence againſt *Andronicus*, there laid faſt. Theſe of all others
moſt animated the people, in ſuch ſort, as they which before for feare of the danger did but K
ſoftly murmur to themſelues againſt *Andronicus*, did now openly joyne with the reſt of the
baſe ſeditious. Then might you haue ſeen ſome with their ſwords & targets, ſome alſo in their
armour, but the greateſt part armed but with clubs and ſtaues, and other ſuch like rude weapons,
armes of fury, haſtily taken vp in their ſhops as by chance they came firſt to hand, running
forth in euery place. By this aſſembly of the moſt furious and promiſcuous people was
Iſaac hoyſed vp, and with a generall applauſe ſaluted Emperor. At which time one of the Sextons
of the church, with a ladder tooke downe *Conſtantine* the great his crowne of gold, (which
for a monument hung ouer the holy altar, and ſet it on *Iſaacs* head: which he at the firſt ſeemed
vnwilling to weare, not for that he was not deſirous enough of the Empire, but for that hee
feared the extream danger of the matter, and thought thoſe things that were then done to be L
but as it were a ſicke mans dreame, like enough ſtraitway to vaniſh: beſides that, he feared in
ſo doing, the more to exaſperate *Andronicus*. Which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (as is ſaid before
ſtanding by him) perceiuing, plucking off his own cap, and ſhewing his old bald head, requeſted
the people, That if his nephew did refuſe it they would ſet it vpon his: whereunto they
with a great outcry anſwered, That they would no more yeeld their obedience to an old bald
man, as hauing receiued many harmes from the hoary haires of old *Andronicus*; and therefore
for his ſake hated euery old man, more fit for *Charons* boat, and his coffin, than for an Empire,
and eſpecially if he had a forken beard and bald head, as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus
was *Iſaac* by the tumultuous multitude inueſted in the Empire; and ſo royally mounted vpon
one of the Emperors horſes, richly furniſhed with a ſaddle and trappings of gold, which they M
had by chance gotten, was by them brought from the temple to the court; *Baſilius Camaterus*
the Patriarch waiting vpon him, whom the headſtrong people had inforced againſt his will to
confirme with his authoritie what was by them done for the eſtabliſhing of *Iſaac* in the Empire.
Andronicus at his comming to the palace, perceiuing firſt by the confuſed cry of the tumultuous

multuous

The people in a tumult reſort vnto Angelus.

Andronicus in vaine ſeeketh to appeaſe the tumultuous people.

Iſaac Angelus by the people in a tumult ſaluted Emperor.

multuous multitude, and afterward by that which he ſaw with his eies, how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauorits, thought firſt by their help to haue repreſſed the fury of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himſelfe, were now for the moſt part ſhrunk from him, and thoſe that were left ſo faintly comming on, as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to ſpend their liues: with which heartleſſe company *Andronicus* fearing to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the fury of the multitude, with his bow and arrows in his hand got him vp into the higheſt tower of the palace, called Centenaria, and from thence beſtowed certaine ſhot among the people. But ſeeing that to be to no purpoſe, and better perſuaded to do more with them by faire words, than ſuch vain force, he from the top of the tower cryed aloud vnto them, That if they would be quiet and depart, he would by their conſent reſigne the Empire vnto his ſon *Manuel:* wherat the people more inraged, ſpared not to poure forth moſt reprochfull words in contempt both of himſelf and his ſon, and ſo furiouſly brake into the court by one of the gates called Carea. Which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, caſting from him all his habiliments of honor, and diſguiſing himſelf fled againe to his gally, accompanied only with *Anna* his wife, and *Maruptica* his minion, and ſo returned to Meludium, his place from whence he came. *Iſaac* but yeſterday in the bottom of diſpaire, & ſhadowed as it were with the hand of death, by the ſtrange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the higheſt type of worldly honour, entering the palace, was there againe with the greateſt applauſe of the people that might be, ſaluted Emperor. From whence he forthwith ſent out certaine companies of his moſt aſſured friends and followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*; who now as a man at once forſaken both of his friends and of his better fortune, ſecretly fled with his wife and his paragon, before remembred, to Chele, attended vpon only with a few of his truſty ſeruants, which had a long time ſerued him before he was Emperor. There taking ſhip, with purpoſe to haue fled vnto the Tauroſcythes (as not thinking himſelfe ſafe in any Prouince of the Empire) he was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe againe, the wrought ſea abhorring (as it ſeemed) to carry him that had ſo polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him ſlain, and ſtil threatning (as it were) to deuoure him. Thus ſtrangely ſtaied by foule weather, or more truly to ſay, by the reuenging hand of the Higheſt, he was found by ſuch as were ſent to ſeek but after him, & being by them apprehended, was with two great yron chains faſt locked about his proud necke, and heauy gyues vpon his legs, caſt into the caſtle of Amena, and in that miſerable habit ſhortly after preſented to the Emperor *Iſaac*, yet buſied in appeaſing and reforming the diſordred city: where by the way as hee went, he was by the people moſt ſhamefully reuiled, and iniuriouſly vſed; ſome plucking him by the beard, ſome by the haire of the head, ſome other in the meane time playing with his noſe, and bobbing him in the face, with a thouſand other deſpights done vnto him; eſpecially by ſuch women, as whoſe husbands he had before murdred or depriued of their ſight. Afterward being committed to the hatefull fury of the people, he had his right hand cut off, and was again committed to the ſame caſtle, without meat, drinke, or other comfort: where after he had lien a few daies, hauing one of his eies put out, he was ſet vpon a foule leane cammel, with his face toward the taile thereof, and ſo (as it were in triumph) led through the Market place, his bald head all bare, as if it had been a dead mans ſkull taken out of a charnell houſe; in a ſhort old coat, ſo miſerable a ſpectacle, as might haue expreſſed a fountaine of teares out of the eies of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlam and moſt inſolent citiſens, eſpecially they of the baſer ſort, as cookes, coblers, curriers, and ſuch like, flocking about him like Bees (without regard that he had but the other day worne vpon his head the imperiall crowne, then honored by them as a god, and extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before ſolemnly ſworne vnto him obedience and loyaltie) ran now as men out of their wits, omitting no kinde of villanie they could deuiſe to do vnto him: ſome thruſt nailes into his head, ſome caſt durt in his face, ſome the dung both of men and beaſts, ſome prickt him in the ſides with ſpits, ſome caſt ſtones at him as at a mad dog, and other-ſome opprobious and deſpightfull words, no leſſe grieuous vnto him than the reſt: amongſt others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchen, caſt a pot full of ſcalding water in his face; and in briefe, their outrage ſo exceeded, as if they had ſtriuen among themſelues, who ſhould doe him the greateſt villanie. Hauing thus ſhamefully, as in a ridiculous triumph, brought him into the Theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by the heeles: where hauing ſuffered all theſe deſpightfull indignities, with

Andronicus forſaken of his flattering fauorits.

A ſtrange thing.

Andronicus the Emperor taken, and brought in bonds to Angelus.

Andronicus the Emperour hanged vp by the heeles.

with many moe, not without offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet ſtill held G his patience, not giuing one euill word, but ſometimes ſaying, *Lord haue mercy vpon me*; and otherwhiles, *Why do you breake a bruiſed reed?* Yet the furious people nothing moued with the calamity of ſo great a man, (of al others now the moſt miſerable) ſtript him of his bad clothes as he hung, and cut off his priuities. One among the reſt, to make an end of him, thruſt his ſword in at his throat vp to the twiſt as he hung: other two with their long ſwords proued their ſtrength, who could ſtrike furtheſt into his buttocks. Thus miſerably periſhed this famous Emperor, after he had reigned two yeares. That which was left of his body (for many had carried away ſome pieces thereof) being taken downe from the place where he hung, was caſt into a baſe vault in the Theatre, where it for a ſpace lay, as the loathſome carkaſſe of ſome wilde beaſt, and the miſerable ſpectacle of mans fragilitie; for *Iſaac* the Emperor would not ſuffer H it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards (the fury of the people ouerpaſſed) it was by ſome more charitable men remooued thence, and layd in a low vault neere vnto the monaſterie of the *Ephori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this hiſtory, ſpeaking of the time wherein he liued) ſaith, is yet there vndiſſolued to be ſeene. Hee was a man moſt honorably diſcended, of ſtature tall, and well proportioned; in his countenance ſate a certaine reuerend majeſtie, adorned with ſuch notable vertues, as might haue made him worthily to haue bin compared vnto the greateſt Emperors of his ſtocke and familie, had he not obſcured the ſame with too much ambition and cruelty; whereof the one cauſed him to lead the greateſt part of his life in priſon or exile; the other brought vnto him a moſt ſhamefull end.

Nicetas Choniates, Annal. lib. 1. fol. 161. col. 4.

Iſaac Angelus his ſucceſſor, by the fauor of the people thus exalted vnto the Empire, at the I firſt gouerned the ſame with great lenitie and moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred from the effuſion of his ſubjects bloud; but afterwards not a little troubled both with forrein enemies, and domeſticall rebellion, beſieged in the Imperiall City by ſuch of the Nobilitie as thought themſelues no leſſe worthy of the Empire than himſelfe: for repreſſing of which inſolencies, and the aſſuring of his State, he became ſo ſeuere in chaſtiſing the offendors, and ſuch others as he had in diſtruſt, that he was counted of moſt men not inferiour in crueltie to *Andronicus* his predeceſſor; few daies paſſing without the condemnation or execution of one great man or other, beſides them of the meaner ſort, of whom hee ſeemed to make no great reckoning: whereby he in few yeares loſt the loue and fauour of his Subjects, who before had him in great honour; and became vnto them no leſſe odious than was before *Andronicus*. K Vpon which generall diſlike of the people, his ingratefull younger brother *Alexius* (by him before for a great ſum of mony redeemed from the Turks) tooke occaſion to riſe vp againſt him, and by the fauour of the ſouldiers depriued him together both of the Empire and his ſight: and hauing put out his eies, thruſt him into a Monaſtery, there to liue as it were out of the world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darkeneſſe, after he had raigned nine yeres and eight moneths, being not yet full forty yeares old. Whether it were the reuenging hand of God, for the hard meaſure vſed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wiſer to conſider; who in his deepe prouidence, wherewith he beſt gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vſed in puniſhment of our moſt capitall enemies, as hauing alwaies before our eies the ſlippery ſtate of power and authoritie: and that as all worldly things are ſubject to change, ſo by the juſt L judgement of God it oftentimes falleth out, that what hurt we doe vnto others, the ſame wee may receiue againe from others. In theſe ſo great and ſtrange mutations of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire (which I haue ſomewhat more at large proſecuted, not ſo much for the nouelty of the matter, although it were right ſtrange, as for that out of the loſſes and ruine thereof, the greatnes of the Turks for the moſt part grew) *Clizaſthlan* Sultan of Iconium, after the death of the Emperor *Emanuel*, found meanes to take from the Empire diuers ſtrong Townes and caſtles in the leſſer Aſia, together with a great part of the country of Phrygia: *Alexius*, *Andronicus*, and *Iſaac* the ſucceeding Emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to oppoſe againſt him, but faire intreatie and rich preſents; ſo redeeming for a while an vnſure peace, with no leſſe charge in ſhort time to be renewed againe. This victorious Sultan (for ſo he may of right be called) M holding in his ſubjection a great part of the leſſer Aſia, now a man of great yeares, dying, left behind him foure ſonnes, *Maſut*, *Coppatine*, *Reucratine*, and *Caichoſroes*, all men growne. Amongſt whom he diuided his Kingdome: Vnto *Muſat* he bequeathed Amaſia, Ancyra, Doryleum, with diuers other pleaſant Cities of Pontus:

Iſaac Angelus the Emperour tyranniſeth.

Iſaac the Emperor thruſt from the Empire, and depriued of his ſight by his brother Alexius.

Clizaſthlan the Turks Sultan incroacheth vpon the Greeke Empire in the leſſer Aſia.

Clizaſthlan diuideth his kingdome amongſt his foure ſons.

vnto *Coppatine* he aſſigned Melytene, Cæſarea, and the colonie now called Taxara: vnto *Reucratine* he allotted Aminſum, Docea, with ſome other Cities vpon the ſea coaſt: but vnto *Caichoſroes*, he left Iconium his regall ſeat, and with it Lycaonia, Pamphilia, and all the countries thereabouts as farre as Cottianyum. Of theſe foure, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father; for whoſe inheritance *Reucratine* Prince of Docea, and *Maſut* Prince of Ancyra (his two brethren) fell at variance, and ſo at laſt into open warre. But *Maſut* finding himſelfe too weake for his warlike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories which hee ſaw he muſt needs forgoe; and glad now to keepe his owne, ſo made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie ſpirit, with his forces thus doubled, denounced war vnto his brother *Caichoſroes*; who doubting his owne ſtrength, fled vnto the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* for aid, as had his father done before him the vnto Emperour *Manuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the Emperour but of late hauing obtained the Empire, by the depoſing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, reputing alſo thoſe domeſticall warres of the Turks, ſome part of his owne ſafety; ſent him home without comfort, as one ſtrong enough of himſelfe to defend his owne quarrell againſt his brother.

The ſonnes of Clizaſthlan at variance among themſelues.

Howbeit, he was ſcarcely come to Iconium, but he was by *Reucratine* expulſed thence, and driuen to fly into Armenia, where he was by *Zebune* King of that countrey, a Turke alſo, honourably receiued and courteouſly vſed, but yet denied of the aid he requeſted: the King pretending that hee was already in league with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as ſome thought, fearing the dangerouſneſſe of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. Wherewith the poore Sultan vtterly diſcouraged, returned againe to Conſtantinople, and there in poore eſtate, as a man forlorne, paſſed out the reſt of his daies.

Now hauing thus paſſed through the Turkiſh affaires in the leſſer Aſia, together with the troubled eſtate of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, no ſmall cauſe of the Turks greatnes; the courſe of time calleth vs backe againe before we paſſe any further, to remember their proceedings alſo at the ſame time, and ſhortly after, in Syria, Iudæa, Ægypt, and thoſe more Southerly countries, where theſe reſtleſſe people ceaſed not by all meanes to enlarge their Empire, vntill they had brought all thoſe great kingdomes vnder their obeyſance.

Almericus ſixt King of Ieruſalem.

After the death of *Baldwin* King of Ieruſalem, of whom we haue before ſpoken, *Almericus* his younger brother, Earle of Ioppa and Aſcalon, beeing then about ſeuen and twentie yeares old, was by the better good liking of the clergie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected King: not for that there wanted in him any good parts worthy of a kingdom, but for that ſome of them enuied vnto him ſo great an honour. Neuertheleſſe he was (as we ſaid) by the generall conſent of the people, elected, proclaimed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with all ſolemnitie crowned, the 17 day of February, in the yeare of Grace, 1163. To begin whoſe troubled reigne, the Ægyptians firſt of all denied to pay vnto him their wonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant army entred into Ægypt; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to ſtay the further purſuit and paſſage of the Chriſtians, cut the bankes of the riuer Nilus, and ſo drowned the country, that the King was glad to content himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten, and ſo to returne to Ieruſalem.

The next yeare *Almericus* was againe drawne downe with his power into Ægypt, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him againſt *Saracon*; whom *Noradin* the Turke, King of Damaſco, had ſent as Generall with an army, to reſtore *Sanar* the Sultan before expulſed, and to depoſe *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being ſlaine, and *Saracon* hauing won certaine Townes, kept them to himſelfe: *Sanar* doubtfull of his good meaning, ioyned his forces with *Almericus*, and by his helpe expulſed *Saracon* out of Ægypt. But whilſt *Almericus* was thus buſied in Ægypt, *Noradin* the Turk making an inrod into the frontiers of the Chriſtians neere vnto Tripolis, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, maſter of the Templars in thoſe quarters, and the other Chriſtians, when he leaſt feared, ſo ſuddenly ſet vpon, that he had much adoe by flight to ſaue himſelfe, halfe naked for haſte, moſt of his followers being at the ſame time ſlain. In reuenge of which diſgrace, he not long after with a great power came and beſieged Arethuſa: for reliefe wherof, *Bohemund* Prince of Antioch, *Raymond* the younger, Earle of Tripolis, *Calamon* gouernour of Cilicia, and *Toros* Prince of Armenia, came with their power. Of whoſe comming the Turk hearing, raiſed his ſiege and departed. After whom theſe Chriſtian Princes ea-

Noradin the Turke diſcomfited by the Chriſtians.

gerly following, were by the Turkes ſhut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnaduiſedly to far entred) and there with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne. In which conflict all the chiefe commanders of the army were taken, except the Prince of Armenia, who forecaſting the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine diſſuaded the reſt from the further purſuit of the flying enemy. The Prince of Antioch there taken, was about a yeare after for a great ſum of mony redeemed; but the Countie of Tripolis was after eight yeres ſtraight captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victory returning againe to the ſiege of Arethuſa, in few daies won the towne: and encouraged with ſuch good ſucceſſe, and the abſence of the King, laid ſiege to the city of Paneade, which was alſo deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citiſens might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart.

At the ſame time *Saracon* Generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Chriſtians two caſtles; the one in the country of Sidon, the other beyond Iordan vpon the borders of Arabia, both in the cuſtody of the Templars: twelue of whom the King at his returne hanged vp for treaſon.

Shortly after *Saracon*, King *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turks, came downe againe into Ægypt, with purpoſe to haue fully ſubdued all that notable kingdome vnto his Lord and Maſter. Of whoſe power, *Sauar* the Sultan ſtanding in dread, praied aid of *Almericus*, promiſing vnto him beſide his yerely tribute, the ſumme of forty thouſand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readineſſe, *Almericus* ſet forward with his army, and encountring with *Saracon* and his Turks at the riuer Nilus, ouerthrew him in a great battell: yet not without ſome loſſe, for the Turkes in their flight lighting vpon the Kings cariages with the whole baggage of the army, & ouer-running them that had the charge thereof, carried away with them a moſt rich prey, wherby it came to paſſe that as the Chriſtians had the victory, ſo the Turks injoyed the ſpoile.

Saracon after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his diſperſed ſoldiers, tooke his way to Alexandria, where he was by the citiſens receiued: after whom the King following, gaue no attempt vnto the city, for that he knew to be but vaine, but incamped cloſe by the ſide of the ruer Nilus, from whence the city was chiefly to be victualled. Whoſe purpoſe *Saracon* perceiuing, and betime foreſeeing the diſtreſſe of his whole army for want of victuals, if he ſhould there long ſtay: leauing there his ſon *Saladin* (or as ſome call him his nephew) with a thouſand horſmen for the keeping of the city, ſecretly by night departed thence himſelfe with the reſt of his army: and paſſing through the deſarts, did great harme in the vpper parts of Ægypt. Of whoſe departure *Almericus* vnderſtanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwaies perſuaded by the Ægyptian captains to continue his former purpoſe for the gaining of the city: wherefore now after the departure of *Saracon* he began to approch the wals, and with diuers engines of war to diſturbe the defendants: wherewith the citiſens (better acquainted with the trade of merchandiſe, than the feats of war) diſcouraged, began now to conſult amongſt themſelues for the turning out of thoſe troubleſome gueſts whom they had ſo lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracon* his vncle thereof, requeſting his ſpeedy reliefe in that his ſo dangerous eſtate, & with much intreaty perſuaded the citiſens for a while to hold it out, vntil he might from him receiue anſwer: of al which the Chriſtians and Ægyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid ſo much the harder vnto the city. Gladly would *Saracon* haue done what he was by his nephew requeſted: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no leſſe danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh*, County of Caſarea, and one *Arnolphus* another noble Chriſtian, both then priſoners with him, concluded a peace with the King: whereupon the city was forthwith yeelded vp, and *Saladin* with his Turks ſuffred in ſafety to depart. At which time alſo all priſoners were on both ſides freely and without ranſome ſet at liberty. Thus *Saracon* for this time diſappointed of this his purpoſe for the conqueſt of Ægypt, returned backe againe to Damaſco: and *Almericus* with great glory to Aſcalon, where he arriued with his army the 21 of September in the yeere 1167.

Saladin left in Alexandria by Saracon, craueth ayd.

Alexandria yeelded to Almericus.

1167

In this late expedition, *Almericus* on the one ſide enflamed with the wealth of Ægypt, and on the other encouraged with the weaknes of that effeminat people, reſting for the moſt part vpon forraine ſtrength; had purpoſed himſelfe to inuade the kingdome, and ſo if poſſible he might, to joine it to his own. For color whereof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrary to his faith before giuen, had ſecretly ſought to joine in league and amity with *Noradin* the Turke, King of Damaſco. The chiefe ſtirrer vp of the King vnto this war, was one *Gerbert*, maſter of the Templars; who in reſpect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the King, after the victory gained, to haue the city of Peluſium with all the rich countrey about the ſame, giuen vnto him and his brethren the Knights of the order for euer: vpon which hope, he contrary to the mind of many of the Knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit, with all the treaſure of his houſe. So all things now in readineſſe for ſo great an enterpriſe, *Almericus* with his army ſet forward in October, and hauing in ten daies paſſed the ſandy deſart, came to Peluſium; which City he (after three daies ſiege) tooke by force, and put to ſword all them that were therein, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: which city, he according to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he began alſo to beſiege Caire, at which time his fleet ſacked the city of Tapium. In the meane time, *Sanar* the Ægiptian Sultan, conſidering the danger he was in, to ſatisfie *Almericus* his greedy deſire, offred to pay him twentie hundred thouſand ducats to withdraw his forces: and forthwith ſent him one hundred thouſand, for the ranſome of his ſon and his nephew taken priſoners at Peluſium: and for the reſt to be paid within fiue daies after, hee gaue two of his nephewes hoſtages. Neuertheleſſe the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpoſe in the meane time to raiſe the whole power of Ægypt, as alſo to receiue aid from the Turks by *Saracon*, which he daily expected: of whoſe ſpeedy comming, *Almericus* vnderſtanding, left part of his army at Peluſium, and with the reſt went to haue met him: but miſſing him by the way, *Saracon* with his Turks came in ſafety to Caire vnto the Sultan, as he had deſired. Wherfore *Almericus* diſmaid with the multitude of two ſo great armies now joyned together, retired backe againe to Peluſium, and there taking with him the garriſon before left, returned home to Ieruſalem: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeres after, it by proofe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turks, by that meanes brought downe into Ægypt.

Peluſium taken by Almericus.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, eaſily perceiuing a moſt fit time and opportunitie to be offered for him now to obtain that, which he had in vaine before both ſought and fought for, encamped with his army neere vnto Caire, and notably counterfeited himſelfe of all others the moſt deuoted friend of the Sultans: ſo that betwixt them two paſſed all the kind tokens of loue and friendſhip, that could poſſibly be deuiſed; the Sultan oftentimes feaſting the Turke, and in kindneſſe likewiſe being feaſted of him: but at length going as his manner was, vnto the campe to viſit him, he was by the Turks ſlaine. So *Saracon* hauing brought to paſſe what he deſired, and entring the city with his army, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Ægyptian Sultans, as from their ſuperiors, the true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the firſt of the Turks that euer enjoyed the ſame: which royall dignitie he had not poſſeſſed fully a yeare, but that he was taken away by death. In whoſe ſtead *Saladin* his brothers ſon, by and by ſtept vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend Majeſty of the Caliph (as had his vncle *Saracon*, and all the Ægyptian Sultans before him) with his horſemans maſe ſtruck out his brains; and not ſo contented, vtterly rooted out all his poſteritie, the better to aſſure himſelfe and his ſucceſſors the Turks in the poſſeſſion of his new begotten kingdome; and after that diuided the great treaſures of the Ægyptians among his Turks, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

The Sultan of Ægypt vnder the colour of friendſhip ſlain by Saracon.

This glorious kingdome ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture, and renowned of the learned hiſtoriographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Roman Empire, was ſometime part of the Conſtantinopolitan Empire, and a notable member of the Chriſtian commonweale; vntill that about the yeare of our Lord 704, the Ægyptians weary of the pride and couetuouſnes of the Grecians, reuolted from them to the Saraſins, whoſe ſuperſtition they alſo receiued: and ſo vnder the gouernment of the Saraſin Caliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe prophet *Mahomet*, liued about 464 yeres, vntill that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they praied aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of Damaſco: who to their reliefe ſending *Saracon* with an army, repulſed indeed the Chriſtians, but oppreſſing their libertie, took to himſelfe the kingdom, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladin*, in whoſe poſterity it remained vntill it was from them again taken by the Circaſſian ſlaues the Mamalukes: vnder whoſe ſeruile gouernment it was holden of long time, till that by the great Emperor of the Turks, *Selymus* the firſt, it was again conquered, and

How the Kingdome of Ægypt firſt fell into the hands of the Saraſins, with the notable alterations thereof.

the Mamalukes vtterly deſtroied: In the gouernement of whoſe proſperitie, the mighty Emperours of the Turks, it hath euer ſince remained as part of their Empire, vntill this day, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory God willing ſhall appeare.

1170 *Saladin* thus poſſeſſed of the great kingdome of Ægypt, and all things ſet in ſuch order as he thought beſt for the newneſſe of his eſtate, with a great army entred into the land of Paleſtine, in the yere 1170, and there beſieged Daron; which towne he woon, and ouerthrew ſuch as were ſent by King *Almericus* to haue relieued the ſame: with which ſmall victory contenting himſelfe, as with the good beginning of his riſing fortune, he returned backe againe into his kingdome: yet was his army ſo great and populous, as that the like army of the Turks had neuer before bin ſeen in the Holy-Land. Wherfore *Almericus* conſidering in what great danger he ſtood, his kingdome now being on both ſides beſet by the Turks, ſent out his Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to craue their aid for the defence of that kingdom which their fathers had woon: and for the ſame purpoſe went himſelfe in perſon vnto the Emperor of Conſtantinople, of whom he was royally entertained, and afterward ſent backe loded with the promiſes of great matters, as were alſo his Embaſſadors from the Princes of the Weſt. All which for all that ſorted vnto nothing, but vaniſhed into ſmoake.

1171 The yere following, *viz.* 1171, *Saladin* beſieged Petrea, the Metropoliticall City of Arabia: but hearing that *Almericus* with a great power was comming to the reliefe thereof, hee raiſed his ſiege and retired: as he did alſo the next yere after, hauing in vaine attempted the ſtrong caſtle of Mont-Royall, on the further ſide of Iordan. In like manner alſo the third yere he came againe into the Holy-Land, and ſpoiled the countrey beyond Iordan: but hearing of the Kings comming againſt him, he forthwith returned againe into Ægypt. All theſe light expeditions, this politique Prince made not ſo much for hope of victory, or to proue his enemies ſtrength, as to traine his ſouldiers, eſpecially the effeminate Ægyptians, and to make them fitter to ſerue him in his greater deſignes.

1173 Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of Damaſco, and in his time a moſt notable champion of the Turks, after he had raigned nine and twenty yeres. Vpon whoſe death *Almericus* forthwith beſieged the city of Pancade, in hope to haue againe recouered the ſame: but he was by the widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great ſum of money and the deliuerie of certaine noble priſoners, intreated to raiſe his ſiege and depart. So hauing ſent away his army, and trauelling with his ordinary retinue to Tiberias, where he had the Summer before been ſicke of the flix, feeling himſelfe not well, he returned on horſe backe by Nazareth and Neapolis to Ieruſalem, where his old diſeaſe increaſing vpon him, he was alſo taken with a feuer: wherewith after he had beene ſome few daies grieuouſly tormented, hee requeſted his Phyſitians, with ſome gentle potion to looſe his belly, which was now ſomewhat ſtaied: which they refuſing to doe, he commanded the potion to be giuen him vpon his owne perill, hap thereon what hap ſhould: which being giuen him, and his belly againe looſed, he ſeemed therewith to haue beene at the firſt well eaſed; but his wonted feauer with great vehemencie returning, before his weake and ſpent body could be with conuenient meats refreſhed, he ſuddenly died, the tenth of Iuly, in the yeare 1173, when he had raigned about ten yeares. His dead body was with the great lamentation of all his ſubiects, ſolemnly buried by his brothers. He was a moſt wiſe Prince, and withall right valiant, amongſt many moſt fit for the gouernement and defence of that troubleſome kingdom, ſo hardly beſet with the Infidels, if it had pleaſed God to haue giuen him longer life.

Baldwin the fourth of that name, ſeuenth King of Ieruſalem.

Foure daies after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his ſonne, then a youth about thirteene yeares old, by the generall conſent of the Nobilitie choſen King, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch, in the Temple with great ſolemnitie crowned in the yeare 1173: vnto whom as not yet by reaſon of his tender age, fit himſelfe to manage the weightie affaires of the kingdom, *Raymond* Countie of Tripolis, was by the whole conſent of the Nobilitie appointed Tutor to ſupply what was wanting in the young King.

Noradin Sultan of Damaſco (dead as is aforeſaid) left behind him *Melechſala* his ſonne, yet but a youth, to ſucceed him in his kingdome. Whoſe gouernment the Nobilitie diſdaining ſent ſecretly for *Saladin* Sultan of Ægypt, vnto whom at his comming they betraied the city of Damaſco, the regall ſeat of the Turks in Syria. Whereof *Saladin* poſſeſſed, and entring into Celeſiria without reſiſtance, tooke Heliopolis, Emiſſa, with the great Citie of

Cæſarea;

Ceſarea; and in fine, all the whole kingdome of Damaſco, the city of Arethuſa onely excepted. But thus to ſuffer *Melechſala* the young Prince to be wronged, and the kingdome of Damaſco to be ioyned to the kingdome of Ægypt, was of the wiſer ſort thought not to ſtand with the ſafety of the kingdom of Ieruſalem, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherfore the County of Tripolis, gouernor of that kingdom, made out certain forces to haue hindred his proceedings. At which time alſo, *Cotobed* Prince of Parthia, and *Melechſalas* vncle, ſent certaine Troups of Parthian horſemen to haue aided his diſtreſſed Nephew, who were by *Saladin* ouerthrowne and almoſt all ſlaine, neere vnto Aleppo where *Melechſala* lay. As for the County of Tripolis and the other Chriſtian Princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newneſſe of his kingdome had no deſire to fall out; hee appeaſed them with faire intreaty, and rewards: vnto the County he ſent freely the hoſtages, which yet lay for his ranſome at Emiſſa: vnto the other Princes he ſent rich preſents; and therewith ſo contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing againſt him. After which time, three or foure yeres paſſed in great quietneſſe, to the great ſtrengthning of him in thoſe new gotten kingdomes. At length vpon the comming ouer of *Philip* Earle of Flanders, the Chriſtian Princes of Syria encouraged, conſulted of an expedition to be made into Ægypt, whereof *Saladin* hauing intelligence, drew downe into that country the greateſt part of his ſtrength. But *Philip* diſliking of that expedition, and the rather for that hee ſaw no great cheerfulneſſe in the County of Tripolis and the reſt thereunto; they with one conſent changed their purpoſe for Ægypt, and turning their forces a quite contrary way, miſerably and without reſiſtance waſted the country about Emiſſa and Ceſarea.

Saladin ouerthrown by king Baldwin.

Whileſt the Chriſtians was thus buſied in Cæliſiria, *Saladin* on the other ſide tooke occaſion out of Ægypt to inuade the kingdome of Ieruſalem: of whoſe comming, King *Baldwin* hauing intelligence, with ſuch ſmall forces as he had left, haſtened himſelfe to Aſcalon. In the meane time *Saladin* with a great army was entred into the Holy-Land, where burning the countrey before him, and raging in the bloud of the poore Chriſtians, he came and encamped not far from Aſcalon: and ſtrucke ſuch a feare vpon the whole country, that they which dwelt in Ieruſalem, were about to haue forſaken the City: as for the King himſelfe, hee lay cloſe within the City of Aſcalon, not daring to aduenture vpon ſo ſtrong an enemy. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of feare of his enemies, diſperſed his army, ſome one way, ſome another, to forrage the country. Which the King perceiuing, ſecretly with all his power iſſued out of the City, if happily ſo he might ouertake the Sultan vnawares; neither was he deceiued in his expectation: for comming ſuddenly vpon him, and ſecretly charging him, he had with him for a good ſpace an hard and doubtfull battell, vntill that the victory by the power of God, at length inclining to the Chriſtians, *Saladin* with his Turks fled, ouerthrowne with a great ſlaughter, moſt part of his great army being either there ſlain, or loſt afterward with hunger and cold. This victory fell vnto the Chriſtians the 25 day of Nouember, in the yere 1177, not without the Almighty hand of God, the Turke hauing in his army aboue twenty ſix thouſand horſemen, and the King not paſt foure hundred horſe with ſome few footmen. After which victory, *Baldwin* in great triumph returned to Ieruſalem, and there ſhortly after with great care and diligence repaired the decayed wals of the City. 1177

The Chriſtians diuiding the ſpoile, ouerthrowne by the Turkes.

Saladin in reuenge of this ouerthrow, made diuers incurſians into the frontiers of the Chriſtians, and did great harme, eſpecially in the country about Sidon. For the repreſſing whereof, the king put himſelfe in armes, and going againſt him ouerthrew part of his army, as they were carrying away a great booty. Of which ouerthrow *Saladin* vnderſtanding, came in ſuch haſte with the reſt of his army as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt, vpon the Chriſtians, then in great ſecuritie diuiding the ſpoile; of whom they ſlew a great number, and put the reſt to flight: In which ſo ſudden a confuſion, *Otto*, grand maſter of the Templars, and *Hugh* the Earle of Tripolis his ſon in law, were both taken priſoners. The Earle himſelfe with a few fled to Tire: the King alſo at the ſame time, was glad to ſhift for himſelfe, and by flight to ſaue himſelfe as he might: after which victory, *Saladin* beſieged a ſtrong caſtle which the king but the yere before had built vpon the banke of the riuer Iordan, and giuen it to the Templars, with the country round about, which caſtle *Saladin* took by force, and put to ſword, all that were therein, except ſome few whom he carried away priſoners. By this victory *Saladin* became dreadfull vnto the Chriſtians in Syria, which cauſed them, eſpecially ſuch as had any charge, with more vigilancie to looke about them. Yet ſhortly after, a peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan G and the King: whereby their troubled eſtates breathed themſelues almoſt the ſpace of two yeares.

But this ſo welcome a calme was by domeſticall troubles againe by the Kings friends ſuddenly troubled: for the Countie of Tripolis, to whom the gouernment of the kingdome was committed, comming towards Ieruſalem, being by the ſuggeſtion of his enemies brought into ſuſpition with the King, as if he had affected the Kingdome, was to his great diſgrace by the way commanded to ſtay. The chiefe authors of which diſcontentment, were the Kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the Kings Steward; who in the abſence of the Earle, had wrought the Kings ſicke mind according to their owne appetites. But the reſt of the nobilitie wiſely foreſeeing vnto what great danger that diſcord might tend; in diſpight H of them, with much labor, cauſed him to be ſent for againe, and ſo reconciled vnto the King: by which meanes that dangerous fire of diſſention was for that time appeaſed, which afterwards brake out againe to the vtter ruine of that kingdome.

Saladin goeth out of Ægypt to Damaſco.

Saladin now weary of the league he had before made with King *Baldwin*, as no longer ſtanding with his haughty deſignes, renounced the ſame, and raiſing a great power in Ægypt, ſet forward toward Damaſco. Of whoſe comming King *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called Petra. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the Kings territorie, came and encamped before Mount-Roiall, a caſtle which *Baldwin* had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march from the place where the King lay. I

Galiley ſpoiled and the caſtle of Burie taken by the Turks.

There *Saladin* with the ſpoile of the country refreſhing his army, now weary of long trauel, ſet forward againe, and ſo without reſiſtance arriued with his army at Damaſco. At the ſame time, the Turks Captaines about Damaſco, Boſtrum, and Emiſſa, perceiuing the frontiers of the Chriſtians thereabout to be kept with ſmall ſtrength, paſſed ouer Iordan, and ſpoiling a great part of Galiley, beſieged the caſtle of Burie, at the foot of Mount Tabor, not farre from the citie of Naim; which caſtle they in few daies tooke, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them about fiue hundred priſoners. *Saladin* being come to Damaſco, called together all the garriſons of that Kingdome, and joyning them vnto the forces hee brought out of Ægypt, entred into the Holy-Land: at which time the Countie of Tripolis, Gouernour of the Kingdome, lay ſicke of burning feauer. Neuertheleſſe the King encouraged K by the Knights of the order, went out with his army againſt him; and encountring with him neere vnto a village called Frobolet, ouerthrew him in a great battell; wherein, and afterward in the flight, moſt part of the Sultans armie periſhed: *Saladin* himſelfe being glad by ſpeedie flight to eſcape the danger, and ſo by long marches to get him againe to Damaſco.

Beritus in vain beſieged by the Turkes.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, *Saladin* hauing repaired his Army, and ſent for his fleet out of Ægypt, came and beſieged Beritus both by ſea and land: at which time alſo his brother, whom he had left gouernour in Ægypt, beſieged Darum, a ſtrong Towne in the vttermoſt bounds of the Kingdome of Ieruſalem towards Ægypt: both whoſe forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to repreſſe, by the counſell of the nobilitie, thought it beſt firſt to relieue Beritus, L as the place of greateſt importance. And for that purpoſe ſet forward with his armie by land, hauing alſo rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at Tyre, for the reliefe thereof by ſea. Of which preparation *Saladin* vnderſtanding, as alſo of the Kings comming (by letters intercepted by his ſcouts, directed to the beſieged, for the holding out of the ſiege, with promiſe of ſpeedy reliefe) he preſently roſe with his army, and departed: whereof the King being aduerſed, retired to Sephor.

Saladin inuading Meſopotamia, is himſelfe inuaded by the King of Ieruſalem.

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, deſirous aboue meaſure to extend the bounds of his Kingdome, and ſeeing the ſucceſſe of his attempts againſt the King of Ieruſalem not anſwerable to his deſire, conuerted his forces vnto the Countries more Eaſtward; and paſſing the riuer Euphrates, and entring into Meſopotamia, partly M by force, partly by corruption, got into his hands the Cities of Edeſſa, Carras, and diuers others. In which time the King of Ieruſalem tooke occaſion firſt to ſpoile the Countrey about Damaſco, and after that diuers other places of the Sultans Kingdome, making hauocke of whatſoeuer came in his way, and ſo laded with the ſpoile of the Turks, retired to Ieruſalem.

Saladin

Aleppo betrayd to the Turks.

Saladin with victorie returning out of Meſpotamia, in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him in his abſence, marched directly to Aleppo, the ſtrongeſt city of the Chriſtians in that part of Syria, which aboue all other he longed after: where hee had not long lien, but that it was by the treaſon of the Gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the Countrie thereabouts; wherewith the Chriſtian Princes were ſo diſcouraged, that they euen then began to fear greater matters to enſue. The Prince of Antioch ſold Tarſus the metropolitical city of Cilicia, to *Rupinus* Prince of Armenia, for that he ſaw it was not without great charge & danger to be by him defended, being ſo far from him, and *Saladin* as it were now ſtept in betwixt him and it.

At the ſame time King *Baldwin* at Nazareth fell ſicke of a feuer, the leproſie alſo his old diſeaſe growing daily more and more vpon him: inſomuch as diſpairing of his life, he called vnto him *Guy Luſignan* County of Ioppa and Aſcalon, vnto whom he had before eſpouſed *Sybel* his eldeſt ſiſter, and in the preſence of his mother, the Patriark, and all the chief commanders of the ſoldiers of the ſacred war, appointed him Gouernor of the kingdom, reſeruing vnto himſelfe onely the title of a King, with the City of Ieruſalem, and a yearely penſion of ten thouſand ducats: all which was done to the great diſgrace and diſcontentment of the County of Tripolis the old gouernor.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* hauing breathed himſelfe a little, after ſo great labours, came again into the Holy land, where he took many caſtles, and did infinit harm; inſomuch that the country people were glad for fear, to forſake their houſes, & fly into cities: the Chriſtian army in the mean time lying faſt by at Sephor, not once mouing, although many a faire occaſion were offered. For the chiefe commanders affectionated vnto the County of Tripolis, and enuying at the preferment of *Guy* the new gouernour, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuſe or other, ſuffered the enemy at his pleaſure to ſpoil the country, and ſo in ſafety to depart; which he had neuer before done in thoſe quarters.

Petra in vaine beſieged by the Turks.

Within leſſe than a month after, *Saladin* with a great army well appointed with all the habiliments of war needful for the beſieging of a city or ſtrong caſtle, came again into the land of Paleſtine, and paſſing thorow the country beyond Iordan, ſate down at laſt before Petra, in hope by the taking thereof to haue made his paſſage betwixt Egypt and Damaſco more ſafe. Of which his purpoſe king *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, and taught by the euil ſucceſſe of late, to what ſmall purpoſe it was to commit the managing of his wars vnto a Generall ſo euil beloued, and leſſe regarded, as was *Guy* his brother in law; ſent againſt him with his army *Raymund* the County of Tripolis the old gouernor, whom he had again reſtored vnto the gouernment, and diſplaced *Guy*. Of whoſe comming *Saladin* hearing, raiſed his ſiege after he had lien there a moneth, and ſo departed.

Diſſention in the Court of Ieruſalem.

A little before this expedition, the King ſtill growing ſicker and ſicker, his foul diſeaſe ſtil increaſing, by the common conſent of the nobilitie, he appointed *Baldwin* his nephew by his ſiſter *Sybel*, a child but of fiue years old, to ſucceed him in the kingdome; and the County of Tripolis to haue the gouernment of the State during the time of his minoritie. This *Sybella* the Kings ſiſter was firſt maried to *William* the yonger, Marquis of Mount-Ferrat, who dying within three moneths after, left her with child of this his poſthumus ſon *Baldwin*, now by his vncle deputed vnto the hope of the Kingdome. After whoſe death ſhe was maried vnto *Guy Luſignan* County of Ioppa and Aſcalon the late Gouernor: who taking in euill part this the Kings deſinement, eſpecially for the gouernment of the Kingdome by the County of Tripolis, departed from the Court as a man diſcontented, vnto his City of Aſcalon. Whereof the Patriark and the Princes of the ſacred war fearing (and not without cauſe) great danger to inſue, came to the king, then holding a Parliament in the city of Acon, moſt humbly requeſting him, for auoiding of further danger, and the ſafety of his kingdom, to receiue againe into his fauour the County *Guy* his brother in law, and to make an attonement between him and the County of Tripolis. But this their requeſt ſorted to no purpoſe: ſo that the Parliament at that time was diſſolued without any thing for the good of the Commonweale in that point concluded.

After that time the kingdom of Ieruſalem began ſtill more and more to decline. In the old King *Baldwin* (ſick both in body and minde) was almoſt no hope: in the young King (yet vnfit for ſo great a burthen) much leſſe: and the diſſention betwixt the two Counties *Guy* and

Raymund with their fauorites, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the State. Beſides G
that, the County of Tripolis ſearing the power of *Guy* his enemy, was thought to haue ſecret
intelligence with *Saladin* the Turk: inſomuch as the King was almoſt in purpoſe to haue proclaimed
him traitor. Wherfore the King now reſted only vpon the counſel of *William* Archbiſhop
of Tyre, and the Maſters of the Knights of the ſacred war: by whoſe aduice hee ſent
King Baldwin ſends Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the West for aid.
Heraclius Patriark of Ieruſalem, *Roger Molins* Maſter of the Knights of S. *Iohns*, and *Arnold* maſter
of the Knights Templers vnto *Lucius* the third then Pope, vnto *Fredericke* the Emperour,
Philip the French King, and *Henry* the ſecond, King of England, to declare vnto them the dangerous
eſtate of that Chriſtian kingdome, and to craue their aid againſt the Infidels. Theſe
Embaſſadors comming vnto the Councell then holden at Verona, with great grauitie and diligence,
in the preſence of the Pope and of the Emperor, declared the hard eſtate of the Chriſtians H
of the Eaſt, with their humble petition vnto them for aid; in ſuch ſort that they moued
them, with all the Princes there preſent, to compaſſion. From thence they were by the Pope
directed vnto *Philip* the French King, with whom hauing diſpatched their affaires, they from
him paſſed ouer into England, and afterward into Germany: and had at length brought their
negotiation to ſo good paſſe, that in euery place great preparation was made for a great expedition
to be made againſt the Turkes, for reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt. With which
good newes the Embaſſadors returning to Ieruſalem, filled the ſicke King with hope of great
matters. But greater quarrels ſhortly after ariſing betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, and
ſharp war likewiſe betwixt the French King and the King of England, and the other Chriſtian
Princes alſo being at no better quiet; the notable expedition that had with the expectation I
thereof ſo filled the whole world, was again laid aſide and quite daſhed. Wherof K. *Baldwin*
vnderſtanding, both by meſſengers and letters from his friends, oppreſſed with griefe and
heauineſſe more than with the force of his diſeaſe (a man for his proweſſe and painfulnes not
1185 inferior to any his predeceſſors) died without iſſue the 16 day of May, *Anno* 1185, being but
25 yeares old, wherof he had reigned twelue. His body was afterward with the general mourning
of his ſubjects, ſolemnly buried in the Temple neer vnto mount Calvary, together with
his predeceſſors the Kings of Ieruſalem.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned King.
But then began the ſparks which had of long lien raked vp and hidden in the aſhes, to breake
out into a great fire: for *Raymund* County of Tripolis pretended the whole gouernment of the K
kingdom and the tuition of the king to be due vnto him, by appointment of the late king, and
conſent of the nobilitie: and did ſo much, that he had almoſt obtained it to haue bin confirmed
vnto him in open parliament. But *Sybella* a woman of a moſt haughty ſpirit (ſiſter to the
late King, and mother vnto the yong King yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no
caſe to giue place vnto his competitor *Raymund*; and ſo animated him, that by the help of his
own fauorits, and the countenance of *Boniface* Marquis of Mount-Ferrat (who euen then was
come with a great power into Syria) he extorted from the Nobilitie whatſoeuer hee deſired,
But ſeuen moneths were ſcarſe well paſſed, but that this yong King *Baldwin* was dead and buried,
poiſoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the deſire ſhe had of the kingdom her ſelfe.
Whoſe death ſhe with all ſecrecie concealed, vntill ſhe had obtained of the Patriark & other L
Guy the ninth and laſt king of Ieruſalem.
princes of the kingdom, that *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed King. So by her means
it was ſo wrought, that vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day, the yong King *Baldwin* was buried by
his vncle, and *Guy* the County crowned. This yong King *Baldwin*, by reaſon of his tender yeres
and ſhort reign, is of ſome not reckoned amongſt the Kings of Ieruſalem: howbeit, ſeeing he
was by his vncle and the princes of that time thought worthy of the kingdome, let him alſo
haue his place amongſt the reſt, as the eighth King of Ieruſalem.

When *Guy* was thus poſſeſſed of the kingdom, the County of Tripolis ſeeing himſelfe out
of all hope of the gouernment, and highly therewith diſcontented, did what hee might by all
means to croſſe the doings of the King: whoſe ſicke and aſpiring minde *Saladin* prickt dayly
more and more forward, promiſing him his helping hand whenſoeuer he ſhould need; which M
curteſie the County deſirouſly embraced. For now the fatall period of the Kingdome of Ieruſalem,
grew faſt on, and all things tended to deſtruction, diſcord reigning in euery place:
which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after he had compacted with the County) by meſſengers ſent
of purpoſe, inuited the Turkes, Saraſins, and Egyptians, as men agreeing in the ſame Religion,

gion,generally to take vp arms in ſo fit an opportunitie of the diſcord of the Chriſtians, aſſuring them of great prey and ſpoil,beſides the honor of the conqueſt. The city of Ptolemais was the place by him appointed,where all this power ſhould meet:whither ſuch a multitude of the barbarous Mahometans (partly for the hatred of the Chriſtian Religion,partly for the hope of the rich ſpoile which *Saladin* had promiſed them) came flocking out of all places, that in ſhort time there was met together about fifty thouſand horſemen, beſides an infinite number of foot: and vnto ſuch as could not ſafely paſſe by the borders of Ieruſalem, to them the falſe County gaue ſafe conduct by the countries of Tyberias,Nazareth and Galile.

Saladin vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtians, taketh occaſion to inuade the Holy land.

All the power of the Infidels thus aſſembled, *Saladin* laid ſiege vnto the city of Ptolemais; which the Templers and Knights Hoſpitalers had notably fortified and ſtrongly manned (as before vnto them giuen by the King of Ieruſalem to defend againſt the Infidels) and therein now were both the Maſters of both thoſe honorable Orders, with the whole floure of Knights of their profeſſion. Vnto this City *Saladin* gaue a moſt terrible aſſault vpon May day in the morning, *Anno* 1187. which was by the Chriſtians notably defended,& the enemy with great ſlaughter ſtill beaten down. In the heat of this aſſault, the two great Maſters ſallying with certain troups of their moſt ready horſmen,aſſailed the enemies camp, & beating down al before them, raiſed there a great tumult; and by and by turning vpon the backs of them that were aſſaulting the city,made there an exceeding great ſlaughter. Inſomuch that *Saladin* diſmaid,firſt with the confuſion in his camp,and now with the ſudden danger behinde him, was glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and to turn his whole forces vpon them, where was ſought a moſt bloudy and terrible battell. Amongſt others that there fought,the County of Tripolis, now an enemy vnto God and his country,diſguiſed in the habit of a Turk,notably helped the Infidels, and meeting with the Maſter of the Knights Hoſpitalers, vnhorſed him; who, ſurcharged with the weight of his armor,and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies,there died. Neuertheles ſuch was the valor of theſe worthy men, and new ſuccor ſtill comming out of the city,that *Saladin* hauing in that battell and at the aſſault loſt 15000 of his Turkes, was glad with the reſt to betake himſelfe to flight. Neither was this ſo notable a victory gained by the Chriſtians without bloud, moſt part of the worthy Knights Hoſpitalers being together with their grand Maſter there ſlain.

Ptolemais beſieged by Saladin.

1187

Saladin by this ouerthrow perceiuing,that by open force he ſhould not be able to do much againſt the Chriſtians,thought it good vnto his forces to join alſo policie. Wherein the falſe County of Tripolis was the man he thought beſt to make choice of, as his fitteſt inſtrument to work by. Him he compacted withall,to ſeek for grace at the King of Ieruſalems hand, as of his dread Soueraign,and after ſo long diſcord,to ſue to be reconciled vnto him,as now weary of the Turks amity,with whom he ſhould make ſhew to be vtterly fallen out. At which time alſo,to giue the matter the better grace, *Saladin* of purpoſe with a great army came and beſieged Tiberias,a city of the Counties juriſdiction: for the reliefe wherof the traiterous County craued aid of the King and the other Princes of the ſacred war. Who with an army,though not great, yet very well appointed, came according to his deſire, and incamped neer vnto the fountain of Sophor: where they had not long ſtaid,but that they met with the huge army of the Turkes,beeing in number ſix ſcore thouſand horſe and eight ſcore thouſand foot, with whom they joined a moſt ſharp and terrible battell, which by reaſon of the extremitie of the heate of the weather (it then beeing the twelfth of Iuly) and the approch of the night,was again giuen ouer,both armies as if it had bin by conſent retyring. The next day the battell was again begun,wherein the Turks,by the treaſon and ſhamefull flight of the falſe County of Tripolis,gained the victory. In this battell, *Guy* the King himſelfe, with *Gerard* maſter of the Templers, *Boniface* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat,and diuers others,men of great rank, were taken priſoners. And to ſay the truth, In this battel was broken the whole ſtrength of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

Guy king of Jeruſalem taken priſoner.

The Chriſtian commonweal by the treaſon of the falſe County thus betrayed to the Infidels, *Saladin* without any great reſiſtance,had the cities of Ptolemais,Biblis,and Berithus deliuered vnto him: in all which places hee vſed his victorie with great moderation, not inforcing any Chriſtian (more than the Latines) to depart thence,but ſuffring them there ſtil to remain as before,yeelding vnto him their obedience, with ſuch tribute as he had impoſed vpon them. With like good fortune he within the ſpace of one moneth tooke all the port Townes

betwixt Sidon and Aſcalon alongſt the ſea coaſt, excepting only the antient city of Tyre: vnto G
the city of Aſcalon alſo hee laid ſiege by the ſpace of nine daies: but loth to ſtay the
courſe of his victory, by the valor of the defendants reſolued there to ſpend their liues, he departed
thence, and marched directly vnto Ieruſalem the chiefe city of that kingdom: and approching
the ſame, gaue ſummons therunto, perſuading the citiſens yet whilſt they had time,
to yeeld themſelues together with the city vnto his mercy. Which they refuſing to do, he incloſed
the ſame with his army, and by the ſpace of 14 days layd hard ſiege vnto it, leauing nothing
vndone or vnattempted, that might ſerue for the gaining thereof. At which time the citiſens
conſidering the danger they were in, and that the ſtrength of the kingdome, with the
flour of their Chiualry were in the late battell loſt, and that they were not now to expect any
forein aid; agreed vpon certain conditions to yeeld vp the city: which were, That ſuch Chriſtians H
as would, might remain ſtill with their libertie and goods; and that ſuch as would not
might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their goods as they could carry vpon their backes.
Theſe conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the holy city was vnto him deliuered the ſecond of
October, *Anno* 1187; after it had been by the Chriſtians holden from the time that it was by
Godfrey of Buillon and other Chriſtians won, about 89 years. *Saladin* entring into the city, prophaned
firſt the Temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vſe of his Mahometan ſuperſtition:
the other churches he vſed as ſtables for his horſes, only the temple of the Sepulchre was
by the Chriſtians for a great ſum of mony redeemed, and ſo kept vndefiled. The Latine Chriſtians
he thruſt out of the city, yet with leaue to cary with them ſuch things as they were able
themſelues to bear: who trauelling with heauy burthens, but much more heauy hearts, ſome I
to Tripolis, ſome to Tyre, and ſome to Antioch (for only theſe three cities were now left vnto
the Chriſtians) were by the falſe County of Tripolis by the way lightned of their burthens,
to the increaſing of the heauineſſe of their hearts, moſt of them being by him and his followers
ſpoiled of that little they had by the mercy of their enemies ſaued in the ruine of their
ſtate.

Jeruſalem beſieged.

Jeruſalem taken by Saladin.

Vnto the other Chriſtians that were naturall Sytians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, and
ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certain places of the city for them to dwell in, where ſome of their
poſteritie were long time after to be found. All the monuments of the Chriſtians were by
the barbarous Mahometans and Turks defaced; onely the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauiour
Chriſt, with the monuments of *Godfrey* of Buillon and his brother *Baldwin*, for the reuerence K
of the men, were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles aboue 20000 of the Chriſtians
periſhed. Among the reſt, the County of Tripolis was ſhortly after found dead in his bed, and
as ſome ſay, circumciſed; a manifeſt token of his reuolt, not from the King only, but from the
Chriſtian faith alſo.

The death of Raymund the traitrous county of Tripolis.

Ieruſalem thus won, *Saladin* returned again to the ſiege of Aſcalon, which after hee had by
the ſpace of ten daies moſt ſtreitly beſieged, was to him by compoſition deliuered: wherin amongſt
other things agreed vpon for the ſafe departure of the Citiſens, was compriſed alſo,
That he ſhould freely ſet at liberty *Guy* the King, and *Gerard* maſter of the Templers, both before
taken priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed.

Thus the victorious Turk ſtil vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue L
taken Tripolis: but hauing made ſome proofe of his owne forces, and the valour of the defendants,
he was glad to giue ouer the ſiege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his
army, becauſe he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid ſiege vnto the city of Tyre, where
Conrade Marquis of Mont-Ferrat was a little before arriued with *Iſaac Angelus* the Greek Emperors
fleet, and a ſupply of certain companies of good ſoldiers. Vnto which place were come
great numbers of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, fled from Ieruſalem and other places, ſo that
the city was full of men.

This city *Saladin* moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not
without the great loſſe of his beſt ſoldiers. At which time alſo the Admirall of Sicilia diſcomfited
his fleet at ſea, and landing his forces came vnlooked for vpon the back of him. So M
that hauing his hands ful before by them of the town, and charged behind by theſe new come
enemies, he was glad to retyre in ſuch haſt, as that hee left his Tents, with all that therein was,
vnto the ſpoile of the Chriſtians.

Within a few dayes after, *Saladin* hauing againe repaired his army, inuaded the Countrey
about

about Antioch,with fire and ſword deſtroying whatſoeuer was ſubiect to his fury,euen to the gates of the city. But knowing that ſo ſtrong a city was not without great charge and a long ſiege to be won,he thought good to make proofe if it might by policie or corruption be gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriark,that he had by his meanes the Caſtle (otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for gold betraied to him. By means wherof he in ſhort time became lord & maſter of that famous city (about 90 years before hardly gained by the whole power of the Chriſtians,after eleuen months ſiege) and with it twenty fiue cities moe, that depended of the fortune thereof,with all the prouinces belonging thereunto,alwaies deemed to haue bin the third part of the kingdom of Ieruſalem.

The famous city of Antioch betrayd vnto the Turks.

The loſſe of ſo great a city,together with the ruine of the whole kingdome, had in a ſhort ſpace filled euery corner of Chriſtendom with the heauy report therof. Wherwith the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the German Emperour,with *Frederick* his ſonne duke of Suevia,*Philip* the French King,*Henry* the ſecond,King of England,*Otto* duke of Burgondie,*Leopold* Duke of Auſtria,with many other great Princes and Prelats of Germany,Italy,and other places)not a little moued,as alſo with the pittifull complaints of the Embaſſadors at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians,and the effectuall perſuaſions of *Clement* the third, then Pope; promiſed, and all or moſt part indeed made great preparations: which they afterward,though not all at once(as letted by other occaſions)but at diuers times imployed,for the moſt part with the danger of their own perſons, againſt the Turkes, for the reliefe of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians,and recouery of the Holy land: but with what ſucces ſhall hereafter (God willing) be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at liberty *Guy* King of Ieruſalem,who contrary to his promiſe made at Aſcalon,he had now detained a year in priſon; yet before his inlargement exacting of him an oath, Neuer by force of arms afterwards to ſeek to recouer his kingdom,or to reuenge the wrongs he had ſuſtained:hoping therby to ſtay the comming of the other Princes in his quarell. Which oath for all that,the Pope diſpenſed withall,as extorted by conſtraint from him,at ſuch time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in priſon than of right he ſhould.

Guy now at liberty,and yet in mind a King, came to Tyre, but could not be there receiued, the Citiſens hauing before ſworne their obedience to *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat, who had notably defended them againſt the fury of *Saladin*. Wherfore departing thence with ſuch power as he had,and the diſperſed Chriſtians daily repairing vnto him out of all parts of Syria,he came and beſieged Ptolemais: where he had not long lien, but firſt came vnto him the Venetian fleet,with them alſo of Piſa,and after them the Flemings with a fleet of fifty ſaile, who all joined their forces together for the winning of the city. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais,came *Saladin* with a great army for the reliefe of the beſieged; where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great battell, wherein the Chriſtians at the firſt had the better, but afterward fainting,and ready to fly,had there vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow,had not *Iefferey Luſignan* the Kings brother (left for the garding of the campe) in good time come in with new ſupplies,and not only ſtayd their flight,but alſo repreſſed the further purſuit of the fierce enemy,now almoſt in poſſeſſion of the deſired victorie. Neuertheleſſe there were 2000 Chriſtians there ſlain,and amongſt them *Gerard* Maſter of the Templers. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiuing how hard a matter it would be for him by land to relieue the city, ſent for the fleet which hee had ſtrongly rigged vp at Alexandria,and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of men and victuals into the beſieged city. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often ſallies vpon the Chriſtians, and in deſpight of the Chriſtian religion, whipped the image of Chriſt crucified,which they had for that purpoſe in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet vp vpon the top of the wall. With the ſaid fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the ſeas, that no victuals or new ſupplies of men could that way without great danger be brought vnto the campe: wherby ſuch ſcarcitie and want of all things began ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to endure the famin,fled vnto the Turks camp,then lying not far off,crying out for bread. Of which diſtreſſe in the campe of the Chriſtians *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch fugitiues as dayly came ouer vnto him,and by his own eſpials; yet made ſhew as if he vnderſtood nothing thereof, but ſuddenly riſing with his army, as doubtfull of his own ſtrength, departed, leauing his camp full of all maner of victuals: whereof the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, and ſuppoſing G him for fear to haue bin gon indeed, in great numbers haſted vnto the forſaken camp as vnto a moſt deſired prey: where whileſt they were gorging themſelues, *Saladin* ſuddenly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great ſlaughter. Neuertheles the Chriſtians hauing now lien before the city ſix months, continued the ſiege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardeſt difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Chriſtian princes, whoſe comming they expected with the firſt of the next Spring: during which time many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them and the Turks both by ſea and land.

1160

Fredericke the Emperour ſets forwards toward the Holy-land.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Frederick* the Emperor, with diuers of the great German princes and others, before reſolued vpon an expedition for the recouery of the Holy land, and the reliefe of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria: hauing now raiſed H a great army, furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo long a journey, ſet forward from Ratiſbone, and ſo comming to Vienna, and paſſing thorow Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thracia, arriued at length at Conſtantinople; where he was by *Iſaac Angelus* the Emperor that then reigned, honorably entertained, but indeed more for feare and faſhion ſake, than for any loue or good wil; for that he, after the ſuſpitious manner of the Greeks, hauing in diſtruſt ſo great a power of the Latine Emperors, wiſhed rather for his abſence than his preſence; and therfore ceaſed not in what he might, to haſten his paſſage ouer into Aſia, pretending for the colour thereof, the neceſſitie the Chriſtians had of his preſent aid. So the Emperour with his army paſſing ouer the ſtreit, and without reſiſtance marching thorow the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia, entred into Lycaonia, where meeting with a great power of the Turks, who were come from the I Sultan of Iconium to ſtay his further paſſage, he ouerthrew him in a great battell: and ſo marching directly on to Iconium, took it by force, and gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers, in reuenge of the injuries before done vnto his vncle the Emperor *Conrade*, by the Souldan of that city. Departing thence, and marching thorow Cilicia, hee in another battell ouerthrew the Turks, that hauing taken the ſtreits of the mountains, had thought to haue ſtayd his further paſſage into Syria. After that he took the city Philomela (which the Sultan had ſtrongly fortified) and raſed it to the ground, putting to the ſword all the people therein, for that they contrary to the law of Nations, had ſlaine ſuch meſſengers as hee had ſent vnto them for the ſummoning of the city. In like manner he entred into the leſſer Armenia, where he tooke the city Melitene, and ſubdued all the country thereabouts: vnto the relief wherof the Turks K comming with a moſt huge army, were by him with an exceeding great ſlaughter ouerthrown and put to flight. After that, entring into Comagena, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his ſon, with a great Army of the Turks, he ouerthrew him in the plain field, and diſcomfited his whole army. But whileſt he too eagerly purſueth his enemy hee had then in chaſe, his horſe foundring vnder him as he paſſed the riuer Saleph, hee was ſo ouerthrown, and his foot hanging faſt in his ſtirrop, drawne thorow the deepe riuer, and almoſt drowned; and at the farther ſide of the riuer was ſo plunged by his horſe at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead: yet breathing a little, and caſting vp his eies to heauen, with much adoe hee vttered theſe few words, *Lord receiue my Soule*; and ſo in the hands of them that tooke him vp, gaue vp the ghoſt, vnto the great griefe and hinderance of the Chriſtian commonweal. For *Saladin* hearing of L his approch, was ſo afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keepe that he had before got in Syria, but how to defend himſelfe in Egypt. Thus miſerably periſhed this worthy Emperor the tenth of Iune, in the yeare of Grace 1190, being then of the age of ſeuentie yeares, whereof he had with much trouble reigned eight and thirty. His dead body was carried along with the army, and afterward with all funeral pomp buried in the cathedral church at Tyre.

Fredericke the Emperours ſon choſen General of the Chriſtian Army.

Frederick the Emperor thus dead, *Frederick* his ſon Duke of Suevia, was by the general conſent of the Princes in the army choſen Generall in his ſtead: vpon whom, with the reſt of the army, yet mourning for the death of the Emperor, the Turks gaue a ſudden and fierce charge, in hope ſo to haue ouerthrown them; but finding greater reſiſtance than they had before ſuppoſed, M and hauing loſt ſome of their men, they with like ſpeed that they came, retyred againe. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great Armies) to encreaſe in the Campe: for why, the Turks for that purpoſe had before deſtroyed or carried away all that was in the country, leauing nothing for the Chriſtians more than the bare ground. Wherfore

Frederick turning a little out of the way, came to Antioch, which was eaſily deliuered to him, and his hungry ſoldiers well refreſhed by the citiſens, being as yet for the moſt part Chriſtians. But he had not there ſtayd paſt fifteen dayes for the refreſhing of his army, but that the plague (the hand-maid of Famin, and another ſcourge of the greateſt multitudes) began to rage among his ſoldiers in ſuch ſort, that he was glad with his army to forſake the city, & to get him abroad again into the open field: where forthwith newes was brought vnto him, that *Dodcquin* Generall of ſuch forces as *Saladin* had ſent for out of Egypt (which were not ſmall) was by great journies comming towards him. Againſt whom he in good order ſet forward, with his fathers Corſe ſtill caried in the midſt of his army. Theſe two armies meeting together, and both willing to fight, joined a great and doubtfull battell, fortune now inclining to the one ſide, and by and by to the other; the Chriſtians exceeding their enemies in valor, and they them again in number. At length the Chriſtians in the vantgard began to retyre, & they that ſeconded them were alſo hardly charged: when *Frederick* mindfull of his fathers valour, with a troup of valiant horſmen brake into the enemies battel with ſuch force, that the Turks were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria comming preſently on with his footmen, brought ſuch a feare vpon the whole army of the Turks, that they betook themſelues to ſpeedy flight. In this battell were 4000 of the enemies ſlain, with ſmall loſſe of the Chriſtians; and about 1000 more taken priſoners, with 15 of their enſignes. After which victorie, *Frederick* marching further into Cœlo-Syria, pacified Laodicea then in mutinie, and like to haue bin deliuered to the Turks. He alſo with a little labor took Berythus, with diuers other cities of Syria, which before belonging vnto the Kings of Ieruſalem, were now revolted vnto the Turks. So afterward comming to Tyre, he there ſolemnly buried his father, (dead as is before ſaid) and from thence certified *Guy* the King (ſtill lying with the other Chriſtian Princes at the ſiege of Ptolemais) of his comming: who forthwith ſent the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat with part of the fleet, to tranſport him with his people that were left, by ſea; for that by land he could not ſo ſafely haue come, being now but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*, who with a great army lay ſtill houering about his beſieged city, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was Duke *Frederick* with his ſoldiers yet left, ſafely by ſea conducted from Tyre to the camp at Ptolemais, and there joyfully receiued by the King and the other Princes, with the general applauſe of the whole camp.

A great battell betweene the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

In the mean time the Turks ſallying out of Ptolemais, had done great harme amongſt the Chriſtians, by whom they were not without ſome loſſe againe repulſed. But after the comming of duke *Frederick*, it was thought good by the general conſent of all the great commanders in the army, that the city ſhould be aſſaulted round, and to that purpoſe was euery mans regiment appointed what place to aſſail. The King himſelfe with the Templers and the Italians from Piſa, vndertook that part of the city which was toward the ſea: vnto duke *Frederick* and his Germans was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer the riuer Bele, and the Biſhops palace: the Venetians, Genoa's, and Knights Hoſpitalers were appointed vnto the reſt of the wall as far as the court of *Raymund*: the Friſelanders, Flemings and Hollanders tooke vp all the reſt of the wall vnto the ſea ſide. Thus was the City at once on euery ſide aſſailed by the Chriſtians, with ſuch fury, as if they had thereon purpoſed to ingage their whole forces, ſeeking by a thouſand wounds, and a thouſand kinds of death, to haue by their ſcaling ladders gained the top of the walls; the Turks with no leſſe courage ſtill beating them down again. But in the heate of this ſo dreadfull and deſperat aſſault, *Saladin* ſtil houering aloof, came now vpon the ſudden and aſſailed the camp of the Chriſtians, filling the ſame with fear and tumult: whoſe charge they that were left for the defence of the ſame, at the firſt notably receiued; but finding themſelues too weak, began to giue ground: by which means the Turks took certain tents with ſome enſignes, and fired ſome other of the pauilions of the Chriſtians, hauing ſlain aboue an hundred of the defendants.

Ptolemais aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians in the mean time little preuailing in the aſſault, and troubled with the danger of their camp, retyred to the reliefe thereof. But the Turk perceiuing himſelfe too weake for the whole power of the Chriſtians, retyred alſo; yet not with ſuch haſt but that hee had there almoſt loſt himſelfe. This notable aſſault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after which many light skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, but more for booty than for any other great purpoſe.

In the meane time diuers great Princes of the Weſt that had vowed themſelues to this ſacred war,came thither,whoſe number rather increaſed the want of victuals,than furthered the ſeruice. At which time alſo,the diſcord betwixt *Guy* the King (whoſe wife and children were now dead) and *Conrade* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat(who had maried *Iſabel* the late queens ſiſter, by whom he pretended a claim vnto the title of the imaginary kingdom)did much harm vnto the proceedings of the Chriſtians: ſo pleaſing a thing theſe hauty ſtiles be vnto the lofty minds of the ambitious. Shortly after,the Chriſtians yet lying at the ſiege,the contagion and famin ſtill increaſing,it fortuned that duke *Frederick* fell ſick of the plague, whereof he died, and with the great mourning of the whole army was afterward ſolemnly buried faſt by his father,in the Cathedral Church at Tyre: after whoſe death the Chriſtians attempted no great matter againſt the city,although they were by the Turks often prouoked; but lay ſtill ſtrongly intrenched,expecting ſome greater aid from the Princes of the Weſt.

Now all the hope of the Chriſtians affairs in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine,reſted vpon the comming of the two mighty Princes, *Philip* the ſecond of that name, King of France, and *Richard* the firſt,King of England: who hauing agreed betwixt themſelues,with their combined forces to relieue the diſtreſſed Chriſtians of the Eaſt,and again (if it were poſſible)to repair the broken ſtate of the kingdom of Ieruſalem, were now met together at Marſeilles in Prouence. From whence the French King firſt departing with his fleet for Sicilia,and with a proſperous gale for certain daies holding on his courſe, and now come nigh vnto the Iſland, was by force of a furious tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing,ſo toſſed and tumbled in the deep,that many of his ſhips there periſhed,eaten vp of the ſea; others by force of weather driuen vpon the ſands and rocks,were broken all to pieces; and the reſt, ſome with their maſts broken, ſome with their tackling and ſails rent,& all in generall ſore weather-beaten, with much ado arriued at Meſſena the deſired Port. At which place King *Richard* alſo (but with better fortune)arriued with his fleet alſo. Both the Kings now met together,reſolued there to winter; the French King inforced by neceſſitie ſo to do,for the repairing of the late loſſes he had receiued,as wel in his people and prouiſion, as in his ſhipping; all which was to be relieued by new ſupplies out of France: and the King of England ſtaying to take order for the dowry of his ſiſter *Ioan* (widow of *William* the late King of Sicilia) with *Tancred* the baſe ſon of *Roger*, who had now aſpired vnto the kingdom of that Iſland. About which matter great ſtirs aroſe betwixt King *Richard* the Queens brother,and *Tancred* the new king; inſomuch that it was like to haue broken out into open war,had it not to the good contentment of King *Richard* bin otherwiſe taken vp,and ſo the controuerſie ended. But whilſt theſe two great Kings thus wintred in this fruitfull Iſland, and oftentimes as good friends met together,ſomtime for their diſport, and ſomtime to confer of their ſo weighty affaires, (the way as was thought to haue appeaſed all former diſpleaſure,and to haue encreaſed loue) it fell out clean contrary, jealouſie and diſtruſt not only reuiuing the old,but alſo ſtill raiſing new quarrels betwixt them,to the great hinderance of the Common good by them intended. Which may ſerue for a warning to all great Princes, willing to continue in amitie, and to hold a good opinion one of another, neuer to ſee one the other; or comming ſo to an interview,not to conuerſe or ſtay long together: which as it is not often done without the danger of their perſons, ſo can it not poſſibly be long continued, but that it will ingender in themſelues, as well as in their followers, jealouſie, enuy, hatred and diſtruſt, as we haue before ſaid, and hereafter in the courſe of this hiſtorie may appeare.

An old grudge betwixt Philip the Frēch king and Richard K. of England.

There was an old quarrell betwixt theſe two great Kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French Kings ſiſter; whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet liuing) affianced, had now rejected,as her whom his aged father *Henry* the ſecond had too familiarly vſed: and in ſtead of her,to the great diſgrace of the French,eſpouſed the Lady *Berengaria*, daughter to the King of Nauar. Which indignitie with diuers others then ariſing betwixt the French and Engliſh, as then with great heart-burning ſmouldred vp in reſpect of the common cauſe then in hand,afterwards brake out again to the ſhamefull ouerthrow of this moſt honorable expedition, and lamentable diſturbance of both realms.

Winter paſt,and the Spring now come, the French King not altogether the beſt pleaſed, firſt looſed from Meſſena,and with his fleet in ſafety arriued at Ptolemais, where hee was by the Chriſtians,now the third yeare lying at the ſiege, ſo joyfully receiued, as if he had been

to them ſent with ſuccors from heauen. After whom ſhortly after followed alſo king *Richard*, of whoſe fleet (by force of weather ſore beaten and diſperſed) two ſhips by the rage of the tempeſt driuen aground vpon the coaſt of Cyprus, were by the Iſland people ſpoiled, and the men that in them had hardly eſcaped the danger of the ſea, with moſt barbarous inhumanity, ſome ſlain, and ſome taken priſoners: the reſt of the fleet arriuing there alſo, were with like inciuilitie forbidden to land; the Cypriots ready at hand in all places to keep them off. With which ſo great an indignitie the King juſtly moued, and by force landing his people, with incredible celeritie and ſucceſſe ouer-ran the whole Iſland, neuer ceaſing vntill hee had made a full conqueſt thereof, and taken *Iſaac Comnenus* (commonly called the king of that Iſland, and of ſome, for what reaſon I know not, Emperor of the Griffons) priſoner: yet was hee indeed neither King nor Emperor, but being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the honourable ſtock of the *Comneni*, had in the troubleſom reign of *Andronicus Comnenus* the Emperor his couſin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull Iſland, and there tyranniſed as a reputed King, vntill that now he was by King *Richard* taken priſoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing ſent faſt bound in chaines of ſiluer into Syria. The King thus poſſeſſed of the whole Iſland, there at Limozin maried the Lady *Berengaria* the King of Nauars daughter, brought thither by *Ioan* late queen of Sicilia, the Kings ſiſter. And ſo diſpoſing of all things as he thought beſt, for the ſafe keeping of the Iſland, ſet forward again with his fleet towards Syria: where by the way hee light vpon a great ſhip of the Sultans, laded with victuals and warlike prouiſions for the reliefe of the beſieged; all which became a prey vnto him. So holding on his courſe, he at length arri-
C ued at Ptolemais, where he was by the French King and the reſt of the Chriſtians there lying, moſt honorably receiued.

K Richard reuengeth the injury don to his people by the Cypriots.

K. Richard arriueth at Ptolemais.

Now had the city of Ptolemais bin three yeares beſieged by the Chriſtians, and notably defended by the Turks: during which time, many an hot aſſault and bloudy skirmiſh had paſſed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two Kings of England and France, vnto whom all the reſt offered their obedience and ſeruice. The Chriſtian campe was great, compoſed eſpecially of Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almanes; not them that were left of the Emperor *Fredericks* army, (for they were for the moſt part dead, or els returned home again into their countries) but of ſuch, as mooued with the zeal they bare to this religious war, came daily in great numbers thither; as did alſo many others of diuers nations, deſirous in ſome meaſure to be partakers of ſo honorable a war.

Theſe religious and worthy Chriſtians thus lying at the ſiege, had with much painfull labor vndermined one of the greateſt Towers of the city, called the accurſed Tower, with ſome part of the wall alſo; by means wherof they were in hope to find a way into the city. Wherefore all things being now in readineſſe for the firing of the mine, it was thought good by generall conſent, that an aſſault ſhould alſo at the ſame time be giuen vnto the city: and thereupon euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wal to aſſail, which they all with great courage vndertook. In the heat of which aſſault, the aforeſaid vndermined tower, with ſome part of the wall (the timber whereon it ſtayd, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a fair breach for the Chriſtians to enter: wherwith the Turkes diſmayed, forthwith craued to come to parley, which granted, they for ſafegard of their liues yeelded forthwith to giue vp the city, and to reſtore to the Chriſtians the holy Croſſe, with two thouſand captiues and 200 horſemen, ſuch as they ſhould require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; beſides 200000 Conſtantinopolitan ducats to be by him giuen to the two Kings, for the coſt by them beſtowed in the ſiege. For paiment whereof the Turks in the city were to remaine as hoſtages vnder the ſafe keeping of the Chriſtians: ſo that if all the couenants aforeſaid were not within forty days performed by *Saladin*, they ſhould all for their liues be at the kings mercie. So was this ſtrong city, after it had bin almoſt three years beſieged, deliuered vp vnto the
Chriſtians the 12 of Iuly, *Anno* 1191. The firſt that entred were the Germanes of Auſtria, who 1191.
as if they had bin the only men by whoſe valor the city was won, at their firſt entry preſumptuouſly aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the wals, to the great offence of all the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of King *Richard*, who (not vnworthily for his princely courage, commonly called *Richard Cueur de Lyon*) not brooking ſo proud an indignitie, cauſed the enſignes of *Leopold* their Duke to be puld down and foiled vnder foot; which ſhortly after gaue him occaſion of repentance, as ſhall hereafter be ſeen.

The two Kings poſſeſſed of the city, diuided the ſame, with all the people and ſpoil therof G betwixt them, without regard of the reſt of the other noble Chriſtians that had ſuſtained the whole trauel of that long ſiege: for which cauſe moſt of them, ſeeing themſelues ſo deluded, withdrew themſelues from them, & with one conſent ſent them word, that they would forſake them, except they were made partakers of the gains, as they had bin of the pains. Which the two Kings to content them promiſed they ſhould; howbeit they ſo long delayed their promiſes, that many worthy men, conſtrained by pouerty, departed diſcontented from them, into their own countries.

But long it was not that this one city ſo lately gained could contain theſe two kings, whom two large kingdoms could not retain in peace: for abeit they were in body together preſent, and in one, and that a moſt honourable action, combined, yet were they in hearts far aſunder, H and their ſecret deſignes much different; envy and diſtruſt ſtill reuiuing vnkindnes paſt, and miniſtring new matter of greater diſcontentments. King *Richard* according tõ his noble nature, was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue had the war continued vntill they had made a full conqueſt of Syria and the land of Paleſtine; and for that cauſe requeſted the French king to bind himſelfe together with him by ſolemne oath, there to ſtay yet three years, for regaining thoſe countries. But he in mind long before eſtranged from King *Richard*, and in his deep conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpoſe, would by no means be perſuaded ſo to do, but ſtill found one occaſion or other for to colour his departure. And ſhortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extremely ſicke, he requeſted King *Richard* and the other Chriſtian princes to come vnto him: vnto whom being come, hee in few words I declared his purpoſe of return, as followeth:

I cannot (my Lords) longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the aire in this extreame hot ſeaſon. If my death might profit the Chriſtian Religion, or any one of you, or the Chriſtian Commonweale, there ſhould be no diſtemperature whatſoeuer, that could ſeparate me from you, or could draw mee from hence. But more may the life of one abſent, ſerue and profit you, than the death of him preſent. I muſt of neceſſitie depart; yet at my departure I will leaue you fiue hundred men at armes, and ten thouſand footmen, the floure and choice of all the Forces of France, vnder the conduct of my Couſin Odo *duke of Burgondie, vnto whom I will giue pay and entertainment, with a continuall ſupply of all things for them neceſſary.* K

The King of France ſwears to K. Richard, in his abſence not to invade his Territories in France.

This excuſe of the French Kings, King *Richard* could not take in good part: but ſaid, That it was apparant to all men, that he abandoned the wars in Syria, to return into France, for no other end or purpoſe but the more eaſily to inuade the prouinces of Guyen and Normandy, now diſfurniſhed of their garriſons, and ſo ſubject to his malice. Which point hee ſo vrged, that the French King could haue no leaue with his honor to depart, vntill ſuch time as he had by ſolemn oath bound himſelfe vnto King *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud, againſt him or any thing of his, vntill fifty daies were expired after King *Richard* his return home: which how well it was by the French King obſerued, I leaue to the report of the hiſtories of that time. And ſo the French King, not to be intreated any langer to ſtay, leauing L behind him the aforeſaid number of men he had promiſed, imbarking the reſt of his army, and accompanied with three tall ſhips of the Genoa's his friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their Admiral, departed from Ptolemais to Tyre, the firſt of Auguſt, and two daies after looſing thence, ſailed alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and cutting through the Mediterranian, arriued at length in the mouth of the riuer of Tyber, and from thence went to Rome; where after hee had viſited Pope *Celeſtine*, and the famous places of that moſt renowned city, hee returned again vnto his fleet, and ſo by ſea arriued ſafely in France; hauing in that great expedition, ſo honorably by him vndertaken, performed nothing anſwerable to that the world looked for.

After the French King, followed *Leopold* Duke of Auſtria, with his Germans: and not long after him the Venetians alſo, with them of Piſa and Genoa. Of whoſe departure *Saladin* vnder- M ſtanding, & that the Chriſtian forces were thereby much impaired, refuſed either to pay the money, or to reſtore the priſoners, as was promiſed at the giuing vp of Ptolemais; threatning moreouer to chop off the heads of all ſuch Chriſtian captiues as he had in his power, if the King ſhould ſhew extremity to the pledges of the city. Neuertheles ſhortly, after he ſent his

mbaſſadors with great preſents vnto the King, requeſting a longer time for the ſparing of
s pledges: which his requeſt, together with his gifts, the King refuſed to grant or accept.
Vhereupon *Saladin* forthwith cauſed ſuch Chriſtian captiues as were in his power, to be be-
aded: which albeit King *Richard* vnderſtood, yet would he not preuent the time before a-
greed vpon for the execution of his priſoners, being the twentieth day of Auguſt; vpon which
y he cauſed the Turks priſoners (to the number of 2500 (or as the Germanes and French
e, to the number of 7000) in the ſight of *Saladins* army to be executed.

The loſſe of the ſtrong town of Ptolemais much impaired the reputation of *Saladin*, euen
ong his own people: as it commonly falls out, that the euill ſucceſſe of a great Comman-
r in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, eſpecially of the vulgar ſort,
ich iudge of all things by the euent. And albeit that his loſſes were great, and ſuch as much
unted him; yet he thought it beſt, as the caſe then ſtood, to make them greater, and with
own hands (as it were) to ruinat and ouerthrow ſuch towns and cities as as he ſaw he could
t keep, rather than to ſuffer them whole and vndefaced to fal into the enemies hand. So car-
d headlong with diſpaire, he cauſed all the towns he had along the ſea coaſt in Syria and
leſtine, to be ſacked and ruinated, and their walls ouerthrown; eſpecially ſuch as were of
oſt importance, and like to ſtand the Chriſtians in ſtead, namely Porphiria, Cæſarea, Ioppa,
ſcalon, Gaza, and Elam, with diuers other caſtles and citadels in the countries thereabouts;
oſt part whereof were again by King *Richard* and the Templers fortified and repeopled, al-
ough *Saladin* in the mean time did what he might to haue letted the ſame.

Nothing more hindered the good proceeding of the Chriſtian Princes in this and other
ir moſt honorable expeditions againſt the Infidels, than the diſcord amongſt themſelues,
ſtill enuying at at anothers honour, and euery one jealous of his owne. Great ſtrife and
t-burning there had been betweene the two Kings of France and England, during the
they were together in this ſacred expedition, to the great hinderance of the ſame. No
contention had there been betwixt *Guy* the late King of Ieruſalem, and *Conrade* Marquis
ont-Ferrat, about the title of that loſt kingdom; whereby the whole power of the Chri-
s in Syria was diuided into two factions. *Richard* King of England, *Baldwin* Earle of
nders, *Henry* Earle of Champaign, the Knights Hoſpitallers of S. *Iohn*, the Venetians, and
ans, taking part with *Guy*: and *Philip* the French King, *Odo* Duke of Burgondie, *Rodolph*
rle of Claremont, the Templers, the Genoa's, the Landtgraue of Thurin, *Leopold* Duke of
ſtria, and *Robert* County of Naſſau, taking part with *Conrade* the Marquis. But *Conrade*
ortly after the taking of Ptolemais being ſlain by two of the deſperat Aſaſſines, or (as ſome
hers ſay) by two deſperat ruffians, (ſuborned therunto by the Prince of Tyrone, in reuenge
the deſpight done vnto him by the ſaid Marquis, by taking from him *Iſabel* his eſpouſed
fe) as he was walking in his city of Tyre, and doubting no ſuch treaſon: King *Richard* ſeeing
a fit occaſion offered for the vtter extinguiſhing of that claime, and how to intitle him-
e vnto that kingdome; perſuaded the aforeſaid *Iſabel* (the widow of the late Marquis, and
whoſe right he had laid claim vnto the Kingdom) to relinquiſh that ſo troubleſome a title,
d to take to her husband *Henry* Earle of Champain his nephew, vnto whom he gaue the ci-
of Tyre: *Guy* the King exclaiming to the contrary, as of a wrong done vnto himſelf. Short-
fter he began alſo to temper with *Guy*, perſuading him to reſigne vnto him that little right
intereſt he had in the kingdome of Ieruſalem, and in lieu thereof to receiue at his hands
kingdom of Cyprus: which his offer the poore King was glad to accept. By which ex-
hange, *Guy* became King of Cyprus, and *Richard* King of Ieruſalem: which honorable ti-
he afterwards (as ſome report) vſed in his ſtile, as did ſome others his ſucceſſors, the Kings
England after him. So *Guy* with all his wealth paſſing ouer into Cyprus, took poſſeſſion of
kingdom, where he liued not long. Neuertheleſſe that pleaſant kingdome continued in
family of the Luſignans by the ſpace of about 283 years after: vntill at length that fami-
failing in the poſthumus ſonne of *Iames* the baſtard, laſt King of that Iſland, it fell into the
nds of the Venetians; by whom it was holden as a part of their ſeigniorie almoſt an hun-
ed yeares, vntill it was in our freſh remembrance again from them taken by *Selymus* the ſe-
ond, great Emperor of the Turks, in the yeare 1571, as in the proces of this hiſtorie ſhall in
e place (God willing) be declared.

Now was King *Richard*, for the increaſe of his honor, more deſirous than before of the city

King Richard marcheth with his army towards Ieruſalem.

of

A notable battell fought betwixt king Richard and Saladin.

of Ieruſalem,as the moſt pretious and honorable priſe of all that religious war. And thereupon with all the power of the Chriſtians then at his command,ſet forward from Ptolemais,and was come on his way as far as Arſua,a towne ſcituated betwixt Cæſarea and Ioppa. In the vauward was King *Richard* himſelfe with the Engliſhmen: after whom followed *Odo* Duke of Burgondie,with his French: and in the rereward *Iaques de Auenes*,with the Flemings,Brabanders,and Wallons,who after the death of their County *Philip* at the ſiege of Ptolomais, had put themſelues vnder his regiment. *Saladin* with a great army ſtil at hand,and as it were tending vpon them, firſt with certain ambuſcado's charged the rereward,and ſo afterwards came on with his whole power: vpon whom *Iaques* turning himſelfe, with his Flemings receiued the charge with great aſſurance, and ſo long themſelues endured the ſame, vntill the French came in to their ſuccours,and after them the Engliſh alſo. There was fought a notable battell,and great valour ſhewed both on the one ſide and on the other, but eſpecially by them of the Turks part, who knew well the purpoſe of the Chriſtians for the beſieging of Ieruſalem, and that thereon depended their onely hope,and that hee that could hold the ſame might almoſt aſſure himſelfe to carry away the glory of that war. The French and Engliſh in that battell honorably ſtroue who might ſhew the greateſt valour: neither would the Low-Countrey men vnder *Iaques* their Generall ſeem to be any thing behind them. This ſharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going down of the Sunne. King *Richard* (as ſome write) was there wounded with an arrow: and *Iaques* valiantly there fighting, was ſlaine, hauing ſold his life deare, to the great admiration of the Infidels, and dying left the victory vnto the Chriſtians. It is reported, That in this battell was ſlaine more Turkes and Saraſins, than in any one battell within the memory of man before. Of the Chriſtians were not loſt any great number,either any man of name,more than the aforeſaid *Iaques* the valiant Generall of the Flemings.

The next day the Chriſtians remoued to Bethlem,a town about the mid way betwixt Ioppa and Ieruſalem. But Winter now comming faſt on,and want of victuals like enough to increaſe,the King changing his mind for the ſiege, returned with the greateſt part of the army to Aſcalon, which hee that Winter newly fortified, the walls thereof beeing before by *Saladin* in his diſpaire demoliſhed. The Duke of Burgondy with his French men all that while quietly wintring at Tyre. In the mean time the power of the Chriſtians was greatly diminiſhed, ſome one way departing from the camp, and ſome another. The Italians for the moſt part,with them of Piſa (who in theſe three yeares wars had ſtriuen with the Venetians for the honor of their ſeruice) were now returned home,as were the Venetians themſelues alſo. Neuertheleſſe, Winter now paſt,and the Spring time come, King *Richard* tooke the field again, and came to Bethlem; where by the way he met with an exceeding great number of Camels, charged with great ſtore of victuals and munition,ſent by *Saladin* out of Egypt to Ieruſalem, all which he took:but purpoſing to haue gon on to the ſiege of Ieruſalem,he was by the backwardneſſe of the French glad to change his purpoſe, and to returne to Ptolomais. For the French men,perſuaded by the Duke their Generall (who well knew the French Kings mind) that if any thing worth remembrance were done, it was to be done by them, and that the glory thereof ſhould wholly redound vnto the King of England, as there in perſon preſent, and to his Engliſh men; ſhewed themſelues ſo vnwilling to the ſiege,as therein was nothing don, to the great griefe of that worthy Prince. At which time alſo newes was brought vnto King *Richard*, how that *Philip* the French King (forgetfull of his ſolemne promiſe made before his departure out of Syria) had now inuaded the Countrey of Normandie, and excited Earle *Iohn* the Kings brother (a man of an haughty and aſpiring nature) to take vpon him the kingdom of England in his abſence; as had before in like caſe *William* the yonger brother ſerued Duke *Robert* his eldeſt brother,then abſent at his father the Conquerors death, in the firſt ſacred expedition vnder *Godfrey* of Buillon. Wherefore King *Richard* beſides the preſent difficulties, fearing leſt while he was ſo far off in wars for defence of the Chriſtian commonweal, he might loſe his kingdom at home; thought it beſt to grow to ſome good end with *Saladin*, and ſo to make his return. But the politique and wary Sultan, not ignorant of the diſcord of the Chriſtians,and that their forces daily decaied in Syria: either of the troubled eſtate of the Kings affairs at home in his own kingdom, or of his deſire to returne, would not hearken to any other conditions of peace,but ſuch as might both for the preſent weaken the forces of

King Richard purpoſing to beſiege Ieruſalem, is by the backewardnes of the French inforced to retyre.

King Richard glad vpon hard conditions to conclude peace with Saladin.

Chriſtians in Syria, and diſcourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, en they ſhould ſee that for nought they ſhould trauell to conquer that, which in the end y muſt of neceſſity reſtore againe. The conditions he offered, were, That the Chriſtians uld forthwith reſtore whatſoeuer they had woon in thoſe three yeres wars,Ptolemais only epted ; and from thenceforth for the ſpace of fiue yeres, the Turks ſhould not in any thing leſt the Chriſtians,but to ſuffer them in peace to liue by them:which hard conditions(for no better could be had)the King was glad to accept,and ſo concluded a peace.Wherby labor and trauell of the two great Kings,and ſo many nations with them,were all become trate and vain;hauing now to no purpoſe loſt their men,their mony,their time,their hope, r bloud,their long trauell, to gaine that they muſt now in one houre forgo ; nothing more vnto the poore Chriſtians in Syria,than the cities of Antioch, Tyre,and Ptolemais.

This done, King *Richard* leauing the affaires of Aſia vnto the charge of *Henry* County of ampagne his nephew,ſhipping the greateſt part of his people,with his wife *Berengaria*,firſt Sicilia, and from thence for England, (where they in ſafety at length arriued) followed rtly after with ſome few himſelfe ; where by the way, by extremitie of weather he was in Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coaſt of Hiſtria:where trauelling with a ſmall retinue mewards in the babit of a Templar,he was diſcouered and taken priſoner by *Leopold* duke of ſtria, whom he had before diſgraced at the winning of Ptolemais, as is before declared : o now glad to haue him in his power, made priſe of him,and ſold him to *Henry* the Empe- ,for forty thouſand pounds ; by whom he was kept priſoner by the ſpace of a yere and three neths,and then ranſomed for the ſumme of an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

King Richard returning out of the Holy-land taken priſoner by Leopold duke of Auſtria

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greateſt terrour of the Chriſtians: who ndfull of mans fragility,and the vanity of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his h no ſolemnity to be vſed at his buriall, but only his ſhirt in manner of an enſigne, made vnto the point of a lance, to be carried before his dead body as an enſigne, a plaine Prieſt ng before,and crying aloud vnto the people in this ſort : *Saladin Conqueror of the Eaſt,of all reatneſſe and riches he had in his life,carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his* . A ſight worthy ſo great a King, which wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, e than the true knowledge of his ſaluation in Ieſus Chriſt. He raigned about ſixteene res with great honour, and dying left nine ſonnes, which were all murthered by *Saphradin* ir vncle,excepting one called alſo *Saphradin* Sultan of Aleppo ; who by the fauor and ſupt of his fathers good friends,ſaued himſelfe from the treacherous practiſes of his vncle.Of is *Saphradin* the vncle, deſcended *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt,and *Coradin* Sultan of Damaſco d Ieruſalem : *Saladin* his great Kingdome being by them now againe rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in ſhort time bruited abroad,with the diſcord amongſt the Turks and raſins about his dominions,put *Celeſtinus* (then Pope) in good hope,that the city of Ieruſan might in that change and hurly be eaſily againe recouered, and that kingdome eſtablid. But when he had in vaine dealt to that purpoſe with the Kings of France and England, hen altogether buſied in their wars the one againſt the other) he perſuaded *Henry* the ſixt, en Emperour,to take the matter in hand : who (for that he well could not, or elſe would not nſelfe in perſon vndertake that long expedition) ſent *Henry* Duke of Saxonie his Lieutent,with a great army into Aſia : vnto whom were joyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbiſhop Mogunſia another of the Electors,and *Conradus* the Biſhop of Herbipolis. At which time o many other great Princes tooke vpon them that holy war ; namely, *Herman* Lantgraue of urin,*Henry* Palatine of Rhine, *Henry* Duke of Brabant, *Conrade* Marqueſſe of Morauia, *Fre-icke* Duke of Auſtria,and *Albertus Hapſpurgenſis*, with ſome others : vnto whom alſo joyned emſelues the Biſhops of Rheme, Halberſtat, and Ratisbone, with diuers other great Prelats. Who hauing paſſed thorow Hungary and Thracia,and by the Greeke Emperor *Alexius Ange-lus* relieued with all things neceſſary, were by the Græcian ſhips tranſported vnto Antioch, nd ſo by land came to Tyre, and from thence to Ptolemais,with purpoſe to haue gone to relieue the Germans beſieged in Ioppe ; who before their comming were all by treaſon ſlaine, d the city raſed : wherefore being come to the ruines thereof, they departed thence to Sion,which they found alſo abandoned by the Turks. After that,they tooke Berithus, which ity they fortified, and ſo went to beſiege Torone ; which city when they had brought to the xtremity,as that it muſt needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or be taken, the Turkes came on ſo faſt to the reliefe thereof, that the Chriſtians were glad to raiſe their ſiege and to be gone: which they in garriſon at Berithus perceiuing, and ſeeing the enemy to approch them, they abandoned the city, and ioyning themſelues vnto the reſt of the army, marched all together to Ioppa, a little before ruinated, which they now againe fortified. But the enemy comming to Berithus, and finding it forſaken, raſed it downe to the ground, and ſo in few moneths ſpace was Berithus both repaired and raſed, in the yeare 1197. 1197

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians.

But whilſt the Chriſtians were repairing the city of Ioppe, the Turkes proud of that they had done at Berithus, came now to diſturbe alſo the fortifying of that place. Of whoſe comming the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, remoued by night about fiue miles from the city, of purpoſe to draw the Turks vnto a conuenient place for battell. The Turks thinking them to haue been fled for feare, ſent part of their army to aſſaile the city; and with the other followed after them diſorderly, as if it had bin after men they had had in chaſe. Vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, had with them at the firſt a ſharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight; in which conflict certain thouſands of the Turks fell; of whom the Chriſtians taking the ſpoile, and hauing put the reſt to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the city. But the ioy of this victory was by the ſudden death of two of the greateſt Princes in the army greatly diminiſhed: for the Duke of Saxonie hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a worthy Generall and valiant ſouldier, had ouer-heated himſelfe, and thereupon without regard of his health taken cold, died of a feuer the fourth day after. The Duke of Auſtria mortally wounded in the battell, died alſo the night following.

Ioppe repaired by the Chriſtiãs.

About this time or not long after, died *Celeſtinus* the Pope, author of this expedition, and *Henry* alſo the German Emperour: after whoſe death great troubles began to ariſe in Germany about the chuſing of a new Emperour. Whereof the Biſhop of Moguntia (then chiefe Commander of the Army of the Chriſtians in Syria) one of the Electors, and the other German Princes with him, hauing intelligence, could not by any intreaty of the poore Chriſtians (in whoſe quarrell they were come) be perſuaded longer ro ſtay, but that needs home they would, and indeed home they went the ſame way that they came. After whoſe departure the Turkes tooke Ioppe, hauing one of the ports betraied vnto them by one of the City, at ſuch time as the Germans there in garriſon, after the manner of their country, vpon S. *Martins* day were careleſly making merry together in their pots: vpon whom ſo ſurcharged with wine, the Turks entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the reſt of the Chriſtians to the ſword, and ſo afterward raſed the city downe to the ground. Of which victory they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to haue driuen the Chriſtians quite out of Syria: but by the comming of *Simon* County of Mont-Fort (a moſt valiant and expert captain, ſent thither by *Philip* the French King, with a regiment of tall ſoldiers, at the inſtance of *Innocentius* 3, that ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* in the Papacie) and by ciuill diſcord then raigning amongſt the Turks themſelues for ſoueraigntie, their fury was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of ten yeares; during which time the Turks promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in Tyre or Ptolemais: which hapned in the yere 1199, or as ſome others ſay, 1198. After which peace ſo concluded, the worthy County returned againe with his ſouldiers into France: with whom we alſo will repaire vnto the leſſer Aſia (whither the courſe both of the time and of the Hiſtory now calleth vs) to ſee the other great affaires of the Turks in thoſe Eaſterne countries; leauing for a ſeaſon theſe poore remainders of ſo many Chriſtians in Tyre and Ptolemais now for a while in peace, but to be ere long deuoured of the Infidels their enemies, as in the proces of this Hiſtory ſhall in due time and place appeare.

The Germane Princes return home.

1199

The ruine of the Turks firſt Empire in PERSIA: with the ſucceſſe of their ſecond Kingdome in the leſſer *Aſia, vnder the* Aladin *Kings.*

Kingdomes after the manner of other things, haue but their time to flouriſh in, and ſo againe decay.

AS no Kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer ſo flouriſhing or great) was euer yet ſo aſſured, but that in the reuolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a ſicke body beene ſubiect vnto many ſtrange innouations and changes, and at length come to nothing: ſo fared it now with the Turkiſh Empire, which firſt planted by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia, and the other farre Eaſterne Countries, increaſed by *Axan* his ſonne, and ſo by the Turkiſh Sultans their Succeſſours (although their names and doings, as too farre off, be not vnto vs all knowne) for the ſpace of one hundred d ſeuentie yeares continued, muſt now (I ſay) giue place vnto a greater power, and ſettle it lſe elſewhere, the ineuitable deſtiny thereof ſo requiring. It fortuned, that about this time hen in the ſpace of a few yeares ſuch mutations as had not before of long beene ſeene, chan- d in diuers great Monarchies and States) that the Tartars, or rather Tattars, inhabiting large, cold, and bare Countries in the North ſide of Aſia (of all others a moſt bararous, ce, and needy Nation) ſtirred vp by their owne wants, and the perſuaſion of one *Zingis* (or ome call him, *Cangis*) holden amongſt them for a great Prophet, and now by them made ir Leader, and honoured by the name of *Vlan-Chan*, that is to ſay, The mighty King, (com- nly called the great *Cham*) flocking together in number like the ſand of the ſea, and con- ering firſt their poore neighbours, of condition and qualitie like themſelues, and eaſie ough to be entreated with them to ſeeke their better fortune, like ſwarmes of Graſhoppers nt out to deuoure the world, paſſed the high Mountaine Caucaſus, part of the Mountaine aurus, of all the Mountaines in the world the greateſt; which beginning neere vnto the Ar- ipelago, and ending vpon the Orientall Ocean, and running thorow many great and famous ngdomes, diuideth Aſia into two parts: ouer which great Mountaine, one of the moſt aſſu- d bounders of nature, that had ſo many worlds of yeares ſhut vp this rough and ſauage peo- e, they now paſſing without number, and comming downe as it were into another World, ll of ſuch Natures pleaſant delights as neuer were to them before ſeene, bare downe all be- re them as they went, nothing being now able to ſtand in their way. Old *Zingis* their for- nate Leader dead in this ſo great an expedition, *Hoccata* his ſonne, eldeſt of his twelue bre- eren, a man of great wiſdome and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who ſending t of his great Army for the ſubduing of the Countries Weſtward, turned himſelfe with world of people toward the Eaſt: where hauing ſubdued the Bactrians and Sogdians, with ers others, he entred into India, and ſubduing that rich country on both ſides the riuer In- s, euen to the Eaſt Ocean, there in the country of Cathai built the famous city of Camba- , in circuit eight and twenty miles about; for pleaſure and plenty of all things neceſſary the life of man, of all the cities of Aſia the chiefe: where the great *Cham* of Tartarie ſtill ſiant, as in his Imperiall City, commandeth ouer one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Empires the World. In whoſe Kingdome alſo, in the Prouince of Mangy more towards the Eaſt, e hath another moſt famous City called Quinſay, of all the Cities in the world the greateſt, circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himſelfe dwelt therein bout the yere 1260. It is ſcituate in a lake of freſh water, and hath in it twelue thouſand brid- es; of which ſome are of ſuch an heigth, that tall Ships with their ſailes may eaſily paſſe nder them. In this populous city the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof alwaies thirty houſand men in garriſon. The Tartar Kingdome thus planted in Cambalu, *Hoccata* conten-

The Turkes driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars.

ting himſelfe with the rich pleaſures of India, afterward managed his wars by his lieutenants, G being for the moſt part his brethren, or other his nigh kinſmen; of whom he ſent out with his armies ſome Northward, ſome Weſtward, and ſome toward the South : by whom he ſubdued the Arachoſians, Margians, and diuers other great nations ; and entring into Perſia, ſubdued the country, with all Parthia, Aſſiria, Meſopotamia, and Media. At this time in the city Balch or Belch in the country of Choraſan in the fartheſt part of Perſia, reigned ouer the Turks one *Curſumes*, of the Greekes called *Corſantes* ; who finding himſelfe farre too weake to ſtand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leauing vnto them both the city and the country, which hee and the Turkes his predeceſſors had euer ſince the time of *Tangrolipix* poſſeſſed: which city the Tartars raſed, and tooke the Country vnto themſelues. In this generall flight of the Turks, when as euery man was glad to make what ſhift he might for himſelfe, *Curſumes* H their Sultan died, the laſt of the Kings of the *Selzuccian* family that reigned ouer the Turks in Perſia : whoſe ſonne *Vgnan-Chan* taking vpon him the leading of ſuch multitudes of Turks as followed his father, ſeiſed vpon the great city of Babylon, now called Bagadat, neere vnto the ruines of the old Babylon: where hauing put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, he there and in the country thereabout ſeated himſelfe with the Turks his followers : but long he had not there reſted, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, purſued him, tooke him priſoner, and expulſed thence all his people. There was at the ſame time alſo another kingdome of the Turks at Nachan a city in Perſia, giuing name vnto the country wherein it ſtood, not farre from Choraſan : wherein then raigned one *Solyman*, of the *OguZian* family, as had diuers other of his progenitors before him ; who terrified with this dreadfull ſtorme ſo ſuddenly riſen I out of the North, and warned by the ſudden fall of the *SelZuccian* Sultan and his kingdom, of far greater fame and power than himſelfe or his, fled alſo with ſuch his ſubjects as would follow him, into the leſſer Aſia. But of him and his proceedings more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the riſing of the victorious *Othoman* family, as deſcended from him. After this, the Tartars together with their good fortune ſtill extending the bounds of their Empire, conquered Armenia the greater, with the Countries of Colchis and Iberia : ſo that now their Empire was become of all others the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing. This great Conquerour the Tartar, had in his proud conceit purpoſed to haue ſubdued all Aſia, and to haue made the ſea the only bounder of his Empire : but ouercome with the delicacies of India, hauing diuided amongſt his people thoſe great prouinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities & pleaſant fields, K he ſo reſted, embracing the manners and ſuperſtition of the people he had ouercome. Long it were, and far from our purpoſe, to recount all the famous victories and conqueſts of this bare Northerne people : ſufficeth it to the Hiſtory we haue in hand, that the Turkes were by them then driuen out of Perſia, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as 1202 they call it) firſt founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguiſhed, about the yere of our Lord 1202. The Turks thus driuen out of Perſia, and their kingdome ouerthrowne, retired themſelues into the leſſer Aſia, poſſeſſed by the Turks their country-men, long before brought thither by *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſons, (as is before declared) and by them euer ſince in ſome part, though with diuers fortune holden. Where theſe Turks now arriued out of Perſia vnder the leading of *Aladin* the ſonne of *Kei Huſren*, deſcended alſo of the *Selzuccian* family in Perſia, and taking L the opportunitie offered them by the mortall diſcord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greeks among themſelues, ſeiſed vpon Cilicia with the countries thereabouts, and there firſt at Sebaſtia, and afterward at Iconium, erected their new Kingdome ; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the Kingdome of the *Aladin* Kings, although their names were not all ſo.

The beginning of the Aladinian kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, at Sebaſtia and Iconium.

Now about this time, and within the courſe of ſome few yeres after, ſuch great and ſtrange mutations happened in the Conſtantinopolitane Empire, as had not therein any time before bin ſeene : whereby the whole eſtate of that great Empire, which ſometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almoſt vtterly ſubuerted, and a fit opportunity giuen vnto the Turks and infidels for the ſure ſetling of themſelues, and eſtabliſhing of their kingdoms both M in Syria and the leſſer Aſia : which briefly to run thorow ſhall not be from our purpoſe ; their affaires proſpering by theſe troubles, and their proud and ſtately Empire that now braueth all the reſt of the world, being raiſed out of the ruines of that Chriſtian Empire ; and at this preſent triumphing euen in the ſame Imperiall city wherein theſe ſo great innouations happned

ough the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and deſtruction of a great
t of the Chriſtian Common-weale.

Alexius the young Prince craueth ayd of Philip the Emperour and the Latine Princes, againſt his Vncle the Vſurper.

Alexius the vſurper, but now Emperor, not contented (as is before declared) traiterouſly to
ue depriued *Iſaac* his elder brother of his Empire and ſight together, ſought alſo after the
of the yong Prince *Alexius* his brothers ſon, and heire apparant of the empire, who ſeeing
villany committed in the perſon of his father, ſaued himſelf by flight from the fury of his
le, and ſo accompanied with certaine great Lords of the Greeks his fathers friends, fled to
e aid of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, whom the Grecians commonly call the La-
. And firſt he took his way to *Philip* the German emperor, who had married *Irene* his ſiſter,
Emperor *Iſaacs* daughter, by whom he was moſt honourably receiued & entertained. This
t lady not a little moued with the miſery of her father, and the flight of her brother, cea-
not moſt inſtantly to ſolicite the Emperor her husband, not to leaue vnreuenged ſo great a
any, by the example thereof dangerous vnto himſelfe, and others of like majeſty and ſtate.
declared to him what an execrable indignity it was, to ſee her father the Emperor vnwor-
ly impriſoned, depriued of his empire and ſight, and of the ſocietie of men, by his brother
t had by him receiued and recouered his life, his light, and his liberty: and to ſee the heire
arant of the Empire baniſhed by the wickednes of his vncle, to wander vp and down here
there like a begger: a great part of which diſgrace, as ſhe ſaid, redounded vnto her ſelfe the
ghter of *Iſaac*, and ſiſter to the young wandring Prince, and to himſelfe alſo, the ſon in law
o the vnfortunat Emperour her father. Moreouer ſhe ſaid, that the murdred *Alexius* durſt
er haue bin ſo hardy as to commit ſo great and deteſtible a villany, if he had not lightly re-
ded and contemned the majeſty of the ſaid *Philip*; whom if he had had in any reuerence or
or, or at all feared, he durſt not haue attempted ſo villanous an act. This Greeke lady, mo-
with juſt griefe, with theſe & ſuch like complaints ſo preuailed with her husband, that he
niſed her to be in ſome part therof reuenged; which he could not for the preſent perform,
d by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitor of the Empire. At the ſame time it
ned, that great preparations were making in France and Italy, and diuers other places of
iſtendome, for an expedition to be made againſt the Turks into the Holy-land. The chiefe
wherin were *Theobald* County of Champaigne, (a man of great fame, and General of the
riſtian army) *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders and Henault,
Henry his brother Earle of S. *Paul*, *Henry* Duke of Louain, *Gualter* Earle of Breame, with di-
s other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious: vnto whom reſorted alſo many va-
t and deuout Chriſtians out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, ready to haue ſpent their
es iu that ſo religious a war: ſo that now the number of them was great, and the army right
pulous. But being thus aſſembled together, they thought it not beſt to take their way to
nſtantinople, thorow Hungary and Thrace, and ſo to paſſe ouer into Bythinia, for that the
eeks had ſtill in all former times ſhewed great vncourteſie vnto the Latines, in paſſing with
ir armies that way: and therefore they thought it much better now by the way of Italy to
e their journey by ſea into the Holy-land; and for their tranſportation, eſpecially to vſe the
pe of the Venetians, whom they found much the eaſier to be intreated, for that by the
ans of ſo great an army, they were in hope to ſcoure the Adriaticke (then much infeſted by
Dalmatians) as alſo to recouer Iadera, with ſome other cities vpon the coaſt of Sclauonia,
ore reuolted from their ſtate to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterwards did. But by the
as this army was marching out of France, and come into Piemont, the noble County of
mpaigne Generall therof, there fell ſicke & died, to the exceeding griefe & ſorrow of the
le army: in whoſe ſtead, the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, a man of great nobility, and wel ac-
inted with the wars of the Eaſt, was choſen Generall. This great army, tranſported by the
etians into Sclauonia, tooke Iadera, with diuers other port townes along the ſea coaſt, and
ing there done what the Venetians moſt deſired, was about again to haue bin imbarkt for
ria, & ſo into the Holy-land. But the yong Prince *Alexius* in the mean time had by himſelfe
d the noble Grecians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) ſo wrought the matter with the
tin Princes of the Weſt, eſpecially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperor
s brother in law, & *Philip* the French king, that they pittying his eſtate, & induced alſo with
me other conſiderations more proper to themſelues, tooke him as it were into their prote-
ion, commending by letters & meſſengers for that purpoſe ſent vnto the army, (which they

Great preparations made by the Chriſtians, for an expedition into the Holy-Land.

Alexius commeth vnto the Army.

might command) the defence both of himſelfe and his cauſe: who with the commendation of three ſo great Princes, comming to the army yet lying at Iadera (expecting but a faire wind to haue paſſed into Syria) was there of them all moſt honorably receiued, as the ſon of an Emperor, and as became one to them ſo highly commended. And he himſelf alſo, as one knowing his good, was not wanting vnto himſelfe, but recommended his perſon to their protection, as a poore exiled Prince in diſtreſſe; yet was he of a liuely ſpirit, gratious in ſpeech, beautifull to behold, and very young, and withall fully inſtructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might ſerue to further his purpoſe. And foraſmuch as this great Army conſiſted of diuers nations, ſpecially of the French, Italians, & Venetians, not all to be by one mean moued; he fitted euery one with ſuch motiues as he thought might beſt preuaile with them: Vnto the French he promiſed to pay the great ſums of money they had borrowed of the Venetians for the furniſhing of themſelues in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promiſed recompence for all the injuries they had ſuſtained by the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, eſpecially by the Emperor *Emanuel* (who for that they refuſed to aid him in his wars againſt *William* king of Sicily, did in one day confiſcat al the goods of the Venetian merchants within his empire, of a great value; and afterwards contrary to the law of nations, ſhamefully intreated their embaſſadors ſent vnto him, amongſt whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the army: who moued as well with the wrong in particular done vnto himſelfe, as with the common, deſired to be reuenged both of the one and the other; which although he could not haue of *Emanuel* himſelfe, being long before dead, yet was he ſtill deſirous to haue it of ſome one of the Greeke Emperors, whoſoeuer he were:) Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he and the noble men with him, had before promiſed, that the Greek church ſhould euer acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Church of Rome, and from thenceforth ſubmit it ſelfe therunto, as vnto the ſoueraign judge of all the Chriſtian Churches: which cauſed the Pope *Innocentius*, by letters, by legats, by embaſſadors, and by all other means poſſible, to further the cauſe of the yong Prince *Alexius*, ſo combined with his own; alledging the diuerſity of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greeks and the Latines, to haue been the chiefe cauſe that the Mahometans had not been long agoe by their vnited forces ſubdued, or vtterly rooted out. In briefe, the young Prince ſpared not to promiſe moſt bountifull rewards in generall, to all that ſhould take his part againſt his vncle the vſurping Emperor.

A great fleet of the Latines before Conſtantinople.

By this means, the deuout war taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Chriſtians in Syria, was laid aſide, and the ſame forces that ſhould haue bin therin imploid, now conuerted againſt the Greeke empire, to the great weakning of that ſide of the Chriſtian commonweale, and aduantage of the common enemy; who might then eaſily haue beene oppreſſed, had he with the vnited forces of the Chriſtians bin on this ſide charged home, as he was one the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian war thus reſolued vpon, it ſeemed beſt vnto the great Commanders of the army, to march directly to Conſtantinople, as to the head of the Grecian ſtate, and place where the tyrant whom they ſought after was reſiant. In the meane time it was by them giuen out thorow all the Greeke cities which the Emperor had ſtrongly manned and fortified for the ſtaying of their paſſage, that their purpoſe was not to make war againſt the Grecians their friends, but only to reſtore their lawfull Emperor vnto his former ſtate and honor: And that foraſmuch as euery city and town in antient Greece had appointed rewards, and almoſt diuine honours vnto ſuch as had deliuered them from tyrants, they ſhould now more fauourably receiue and intreat them that came to reſtore vnto euery city, and to euery man in generall, their former liberty and honor. And ſo vpon the reſolution for Conſtantinople imbarking their army, and paſſing thorow the Ionian ſea into the Ægeum, and ſo without let thorow the ſtreits of Heleſpontus into Propontis, and entring the ſtreits of Boſphorus Thracius, which diuide Europe from Aſia, they came to an anker euen in the face of the city. In this fleet were two hundred and forty ſaile of tall ſhips, ſixty gallies, ſeuentie ſhips for burthen, and one hundred and twenty ſaile of Victualers: which all together made a moſt braue ſhew, couering that ſtrait in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed rather a wood than a part of the ſea. Thus for a ſpace they lay facing the City, attending if happily vpon the comming and ſight of ſo great a fleet, and the report of ſo puiſſant an army as the young Prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any tumult or ſedition might ariſe in the City. But the wary Tyrant had ſo well prouided therefore before hand, that the Citiſens, although they in heart fauoured the young Prince, and wiſhed him

well, yet durſt they not once moue or ſtirre in his quarrell. Whilſt the fleet thus lay,
baſſadors came from the Iſle of Creet, in two great gallies, with three banks of oars, yeel-
g vnto the young Prince that goodly Iſland, with all the towns and cities therin: which he
with gaue vnto the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the army, thereby to encou-
the other great commanders of the army to do the vttermoſt of their deuoire, in hope of
mpence and rewards anſwerable to their deſerts and valour.

efore the arriuall of this fleet, *Alexius* the Emperour had with a great chaine made faſt
ntrance of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, and appointed twenty great gal-
vell manned for the keeping therof: but a great gale of wind ariſing, the Generall ſent out
reateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhip in the fleet (of her greatnes and ſwiftnes called the Eagle) which
all her ſailes vp, carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chane, and
e a way for the reſt of the fleet to enter; which the Greeks in their gallies ſeeing, for feare
, leauing the gallies for a ſpoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not
an found in them. The hauen thus gained, *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Emperors ſon in law, was
ſently ready vpon the ſhore with a ſelect company of the braueſt gallants of the city and
he court, to haue hindred the Latines from landing; who running their ſhips a ground,
led with ſuch cheerfulnes and courage, and with ſuch haſt, that in one moment you might
e ſeene them leape out of their ſhips, take land, enter into the battell, and lay about them
mad men. This hot skirmiſh endured a great while, for that they were only footmen that
ained this brunt, for the horſes could not ſo ſoone be landed, and the Greeks were brauely
nted. All this great fight the Conſtantinopolitans beheld, with doubtfull hearts, expe-
g what ſhould be the euent thereof. There were in the city ſix thouſand of the flower of
ece, which brauely ſallying out, made the battell much more doubtfull; yet ſuch was the
r and reſolution of the Latines, that in fine the Greeks diſcomfited, were glad to retire
ſelues againe into the city, but with what loſſe was not certainely knowne: eaſie it were
eſſe, that it was right great, for that the old tyrant *Alexius* diſcouraged therewith, and
tfull of his owne eſtate, with *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſon in law, and ſome few others of his
y friends (hard to be found in ſo dangerous a caſe) the next night following ſecretly fled
of the city, carrying away with him a wonderfull maſſe of treaſure (which he againſt all
h euents had cauſed to be ſecretly hidden by his daughter *Irene*, in a monaſtery of Nuns
hin the City, whereof ſhe was the abbeſſe) and ſo ſaued himſelfe.

The Latines by force enter the hauen of Conſtantinople.

A hot skirmiſh betwixt the Greeks and the Latines at their landing.

he flight of the tyrant once bruted, the next morning the Conſtantinopolitans taking the
Emperor *Iſaac* out of priſon, ſaluted him againe for their Emperor, rejoycing greatly for
deliuerance and the ſafegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the city to the
ines, calling and ſaluting them by the names of the reuengers and ſauiors of the liberty of
Greekes, as alſo of the life and majeſtie of their Emperor: they requeſted them that they
ht ſee and ſalute *Alexius* their young Prince, whom they had ſo long deſired: and ſo was
city of Conſtantinople, by the ſubmiſſion of the Citiſens, for that time ſaued from ſac-
e and ſpoile. The old Emperor thus deliuered, and together with his ſon *Alexius* again pla-
in the imperiall ſeat, gaue the moſt hearty thankes that poſſibly he could vnto the Latine
nces, for that by their bounty, charity, and valor, the Greeke Empire had bin deliuered out
long and miſerable ſeruitude: and for his own particular, that he had receiued of them ſo
t good, that albeit his ſight could not be reſtored to him againe, neuertheleſſe he acknow-
ed his life, his liberty, his empire, his country, his ſon, to haue bin vnto him by them re-
d, and he likewiſe to them; for which their ſo great deſerts he could not (as he ſaid) render
condigne thanks, or deuiſe rewards or honors anſwerable to their demerits and valour:
that therefore he did ratifie and confirme whatſoeuer his ſon had before promiſed vnto
m for his deliuerance: and not only that, but further promiſed, That if they were not there-
h contented, hee would of his owne bounty giue them better contentment, not meaning
y ſhould go diſcontented, that had ſaued his life, and otherwaies ſo highly pleaſured him.
reupon this good old Emperor began to conſult with his friends about the meanes where-
he might ſatisfie & content the Latines in ſuch things as the yong Prince his ſon had vnto
em promiſed. And to the intent that the Citiſens of Conſtantinople might the more wil-
gly doe that he was to command them, and the more cheerefully pay ſuch impoſitions as
was to lay vpon them, he intreated all the Latines to retire themſelues out of the city into

Iſaac the old Emperor taken out of priſon, & againe ſaluted Emperor, together with yong Alexius his ſon.

their campe or about their ſhips, which they accordingly did. But the impoſition being ſet downe, and what euery man was to pay, ſeemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accuſtomed to receiue tribute of others, and not to pay tribute to others) a matter moſt heauie and intolerable. In this very inſtant that this exaction was required, died the old Emperor *Iſaac*, who hauing of long beene kept in a darke and ſtinking priſon in continuall feare of death, and now deliuered and reſtored to his Empire, could not indure ſo ſudden and vnexpected a change, both of the aire and of his manner of liuing, but ſo ſuddenly died.

At this exaction impoſed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Conſtantinopolitans grieuouſly murmured and exclaimed, ſaying, That it was a villanous thing to ſee the Greeke Empire ingaged and bound (by a yong boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation, and ſo to be ſpoiled and bare of coyne: That the great and rich Iſland of Creet lying in the midſt of the ſea, was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the city of Conſtantinople and the Greeke Church, had by him beene enforced and conſtrained to yeeld vnto the See at Rome, to receiue the opinions of the Latine Church, to ſubmit it ſelfe vnto the obeyſence of old Rome, from whence it had once happily departed euer ſince the time that the Empire was by *Conſtantine* the Great tranſlated thence to them. Thus euery one ſaid for himſelfe in particular: thus all men ſaid in generall. And therof the noble men in their aſſemblies, and the vulgar people in their meetings, grieuouſly complained: whereupon a great ſedition and tumult was raiſed in the city. Some preſently tooke vp armes, and the common people all enraged ran furiouſly diſordered vnto the palace, with a purpoſe ro haue committed ſome great outrage vpon the perſon of the yong emperor *Alexius*: who in that ſo ſudden an inſurrection, as might well haue troubled a right conſtant man, without longer ſtay reſolued vpon a moſt wholſome and neceſſarie point for the appeaſing of the peoples fury; vnto whom (aſſembled in a wonderfull multitude) he ſhewed himſelfe from aboue in his palace, promiſing them to remain in their power, and not from thenceforth to doe any thing without their aduice and liking, but wholly to depend vpon them: with which good words the people held themſelues well content, and ſo was the tumult for that time appeaſed. But forthwith the yong Emperor conſidering the iujury done vnto him, began to burn with the deſire of reuenge, and to change his purpoſe. He could not together ſatisfie the citiſens and the Latins: for if he would keepe his promiſe with the Latines, he muſt of neceſſitie offend his owne people; neither was there any means to be fonnd to ſatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himſelfe more bound to keep his promiſe with the Latines, whoſe forces he knew not how to withſtand, he ſent ſecretly to requeſt the Marques of Mont-Ferrat, Generall of the army, to ſend him about midnight certaine companies of ſoldiers vnto the city, aſſuring him to receiue them in by a gate neere vnto the palace, which ſhould be opened vnto them by certaine of his truſtie ſeruants there left for that purpoſe. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle browes ſurnamed *Murzufle*, whom of a baſe fellow the Emperor *Iſaac* had promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court) was not ignorant, who being a man of an aſpiring mind, and in thoſe troubleſome times hauing long thirſted after the Empire, tooke now this occaſion to worke vpon.

Alexius ſeeketh to bring the Latines againe into the Citie.

The Conſtantinopolitans againe in an vprore.

The night following, he by his agents, men inſtructed for the purpoſe, raiſed a tumult in the city, not inferiour vnto that which had hapned the day before: and at the ſame inſtant, as if he had had nothing to do in the matter, came ſuddenly to the yong Emperor in the dead time of the night (which he might at all times do, by reaſon of the great confidence the Emperor had in him) and with a ſad countenance told him, That the people were vp againe in an vprore, and eſpecially they of his guard, & that they were comming toward him to do him ſome violence for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected news the yong Emperor terrified, demanded of him as of his his moſt faithfull counſellor, What were beſt in that caſe for him to do? Who preſently embracing him in his night gowne, led him out by a ſecret doore into a tent he had of his owne in the court, as if he would there haue kept him ſafe: but far was that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appeaſe the tumult, had before taken order, that he ſhauld preſently after his departure, be caſt into bonds, & ſo be clapt vp into a cloſe ſtinking priſon: which done, the falſe traitor openly ſhewing himſelfe, made an oration to the people, wherin he ſhewed himſelf to haue great compaſſiou of the Greek empire, & of the Greeks his countrymen themſelues, ſpecially in that they were gouerned by a youth vnfit for the gouernment, who ſuffered himſelfe to be miſ-led according to the

pleaſure

ſure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the city of Conſtantinople, the ſeat of
Greeke Empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eie vnto it ſelſe, ſith it was betraied and
by them which ought to preſerue and keepe the ſame: that they had now need of a man
loued his country and countrymen, before that which yet remained of the Græcian name
vtterly extinguiſhed by the Latines.

is his ſpeech, fitted of purpoſe vnto the humour of the ſeditious, was receiued with the
outcry and applauſe of the windy headed people. Some cried out, that he, and none
e, was to be made chiefe of the common-weale that was by them to be eſtabliſhed:
ſome cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the ſtate: but
reateſt cry was to haue him choſen and created Emperour; whereunto the reſt giuing
, he was by the generall conſent of the tumultuous people, without longer ſtay, choſen
roclaimed Emperour.

Murzufle attempteth to burne the Venetian fleet.

lexius the traitour, by no lawfull election or rightfull ſucceſſion, but onely by the fury of
umultuous people, thus created Emperour; was of nothing more carefull than how to
ke the forces of the Latines, of whom only he now ſtood in dread. And therefore to begin
all, he firſt attempted by certaine gallies filled with pitch, flax, brimſtone, and ſuch like
er apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which gallies ſo ſet on fire and carried
a faire gale of wind among the fleet, had bin like enough to haue done great harm, had it
by the warineſſe of the Venetians bin preuented: who being good ſea-men, and not vnac-
inted with ſuch deuices, eaſily and without danger auoided the ſame, by keeping them-
s aloofe one from another in the ſea. This finenes ſorting to no purpoſe, he to color the
er ſent certaine meſſengers to the Generall, and other commanders in the army, to giue
to vnderſtand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had bin done without
iuity, by the malice of the tumultuous people, and that for his part he would be glad of
fauor & friendſhip, aſſuring them likewiſe of his, and promiſing them to aid them both
men and mony, and whatſoeuer els they ſhould haue need of in their wars againſt the in-
Whereunto an anſwer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, that he would be-
it, when *Alexis* the ſon of the Emperor *Iſaac*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire,
ld aſſure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage
aid: which anſwer the more moued the traiterous tyrant, to rid himſelf cleane of the feare
e yong Prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the people of the
and great deſire they had to grow to ſome peace with the Latines, by taking him out of
n, and receiuing him again for their Emperor: For the people (by nature mutable, and not
ous of the good of themſelues, but according to the occurrents preſent, without any great
d of that they had already done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themſelues
t they had done againſt the yong emperor *Alexis* in the fauor of the tyrant, and common-
id, That they muſt finde ſome meanes, whatſoeuer it were, to remedy their fault together
their troubles. Wherefore *Murzufle* fearing the ſudden mutation of the people, with his
hands moſt villanouſly ſtrangled the young Prince *Alexis* in priſon, hauing as yet not
ed much aboue ſix moneths, and immediatly after cauſed it to be bruited abroad, That
aid young Prince deſpairing of his eſtate, had as a man deſperat hanged himſelfe.

Murzufle encourageth his ſouldiers.

he tyrant in vain hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, & ſtil fearing the reuen-
ſword of the Latines, reſolued now by plain force to meet them in the field, and there to
hem battell. So hauing made ready and armed the whole ſtrength of the imperiall city,
h cheerefull ſpeech encouraged his ſoldiers, requeſting them valiantly to maintain and
d their country of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glory of their anceſtors,
preſent honor, and the future hope of their poſterity: that hauing before their eies the
of their city, within which they were borne, nouriſhed, and brought vp in hope of great
ters, they would haue pity and compaſſion of their temples, their wiues, their children, and
o caſe to ſuffer them to fall againe into ſo miſerable and wretched a ſeruitude, but rather
ie a thouſand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterpriſe taken in hand for the de-
e of his country (as he would haue the world to beleeue it) with the colour of a ſuperſti-
s deuotion alſo, he cauſed the Prieſts in their eccleſiaſtick attire and ornaments, to march
h in the army, with an enſigne, hauing in it diſplayed the picture of the virgin *Mary*. So
ragiouſly marching forward, hee firſt charged that quarter of the campe where *Baldwin*
the

Conſtantinople hardly beſieged.

Conſtantinople ſet on fire.

the County of Flanders lay,where at the firſt was fought a right fierce and doubtfull battell, But afterward the alarum running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new ſupplies comming in on euery ſide, the Greeks were put to the worſe,and inforced againe to retire into the city,hauing loſt a great number of men,together with their ſuperſtitious enſigne. It was a wonderfull thing to ſee,with what rare agreement the Latines,being of diuers nations,continued this expedition vndertaken againſt the Greekes. Seuenty two daies was this City of Conſtantinople ſtreightly beſieged by the Latines both by ſea and land, without giuing any time of reſt or repoſe day or night to the beſieged, freſh men comming ſtill on to the aſſault, as the other fell off,and in ſuch ſort troubled the Greekes in the city, that they knew not well what to do or which way to turne themſelues. The Venetians vnto whom was committed the charge to aſſault that ſide of the City which was toward the hauen, vpon two great gallies made faſt together, built a ſtrong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiars of the towne,out of which they both with ſhot and fireworks much troubled the defendants, wherewith they in the time of the aſſault approching the wall,by their fine deuices fired that ſide of the city : by the rage whereof, a great number of houſes were burnt,with many other ſtately buildings and ancient monuments of that famous city:and had at that preſent gained a great tower neere vnto the port, deſtitute of defenders, had not the tyrant himſelfe in good time come with new ſupplies to the reſcue thereof. In like manner,the French,with the reſt,aſſayled the other ſide of the city by land, where they were to fight not againſt the defendants only,but againſt deepe ditches,high and ſtrong wals,and bulwarkes alſo:neuertheleſſe,ſuch was the valour and fury of the Latines,with the deſire of victory, as that they were not with any difficulties to be diſmaied ; but preſſing ſtill on,by a thouſand dangers,at length after a moſt ſharpe aſſault,they gained one of the greateſt baſtilions on that ſide of the city,called the Angels tower,and ſo by plaine force opened a way both for themſelues and the reſt into the city, Whereof *Alexius* vnderſtanding, and ſtrucke with preſent deſpaire both of his ſtate and life, the night now comming on,fled with *Euphroſina* the Emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudocia* her daughter, whom he had married when he had raigned about a moneth and ſixteene daies.

The tyrant,author of all this miſchiefe,and of the calamities enſuing,thus fled,and the Latins furiouſly entring,the Prieſts and religious men in their ſurplices,and other eccleſiaſticke ornaments with their croſſes & banners (as in ſolemne proceſſion) met the Latines:and falling downe at the ſoldiers feet,with floods of teares abundantly running downe their heauy countenances,beſought them,but ſpecially the captains and commanders,to remember the condition of worldly things,and contenting themſelues with the victory,the glory, the honour,the empire,the immortality of their name,to abſtain from ſlaughter,from burning,from ſpoiling & ranſacking of ſo beautifull a city:and that ſeeing they were themſelues men,they would alſo haue pity of men : and being themſelues captains and ſoldiers,they ſhould alſo haue compaſſion vpon captaines and ſoldiers ; who although they were not ſo valiant and fortunate as they were, yet neuertheleſſe were both captains and ſoldiers : and that they would keepe and preſerue their city,whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might haue much more pleaſure and commodity,than if they ſhould deſtroy the ſame:which as it had bin the principal ſeat of the Greek empire,ſo might it now be of the Latines : That ſeeing they had thereof a carefull regard,as then belonging to another man,they ought now vpon better reaſon to haue more care therof,being their own: That the authors of all thoſe troubles and miſchiefes, *Alexius* the elder,and *Murzufle*, had already receiued a reward anſwerable to their follies, in that they were driuen into exile : That they would haue pity and compaſſion of an innocent and vnfortunate multitude of poore people, oppreſſed and grieuouſly tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous lords and gouernors : That in ſo doing, God the Lord of hoſts, the giuer and guider of battels, the God of mercy,would therefore reward them: To conclude, they humbly beſought them to pardon their citiſens,to put on the hearts of gratious & mercifull lords and fathers,not of enemies and rough maſters;of forgiuers,not of reuengers;and to vnderſtand by their tears,their miſerable eſtate and woes paſſed. With this ſo humble a ſubmiſſion & complaint of the religious,ſome of the better ſort were happily moued:but with the common ſoldiers,breathing nothing but victory,with their weapons in their hands,& the ſpoile of an empire in their power,what auaileth praiers or tears? Euery man fell to the ſpoile,and in ſo great choiſe & liberty of al things,fitted his own diſordred appetite, without reſpect of the wrong injury done to others : onely from the effuſion of innocent bloud they abſtained ; they oſe liues they ſought after, being already fled, together with the tyrant. Other injuries outrages (ſo great, as that greater none could be) were in euery place ſo riſe, that euery et, euery lane, euery corner of the City was filled with mourning and heauineſſe. There ht a man haue ſeene noble men earſt of great honor, and reuerend for their hoary haires, other citizens of great wealth, thruſt out of all they had, walking vp and downe the city ing and wringing their hands, as men forlorne, knowing not were to ſhroud their heads. ther ſtaied the greedy rage of the inſolent ſouldiers within the wals of mens priuate hou- ut brake out into the ſtately palaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes alſo, where all good prize, and nothing dedicated to the ſeruice of God, left vnpolluted and defaced, no e vnſought, no corner vnrifled : right lamentable and almoſt incredible it were to report he miſeries of that time. Some of the Greeke Hiſtoriographers, men of great marke and e, and themſelues eie-witneſſes and partakers of thoſe euils, haue by their writings com- ined to all poſterity, of the inſolencie of the Latines at the winning of the City, to their nall diſhoner : but that diſordered ſouldiers in all ages in the libertie of their inſolent vi- y, haue done ſuch outrages, as honeſt minds abhorre to think vpon. Thus Conſtantinople moſt famous City of the Eaſt, the ſeat and glory of the Greeke Empire, by the miſerable ition and diſſention of the Greekes for ſoueraigntie, fell into the hands of the Latines, twelfth of Aprill, in the yeare 1204, or after the account of others, 1200.

Nicetas Choniates, annalium, fol. 180.

1204

onſtantinople thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the Princes and great commanders he Army held a counſell, to conſider what were beſt to be done concerning the City and new gained Empire : for after ſo great a victory, they thought it not good to raſe ſo an- t and important a City, ſeated as it were a watch tower vpon the theatre of the World, looking both Aſia and Europe from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuerſall, and mmodiouſly planted, as was no other city of the world, for the keeping vnder of the ene- of the Chriſtian Religion : but that it were much better to place there a Latin gouernor, abliſh there the Latine lawes and cuſtomes, and to vnite the Greeke church as a member the Church of Rome. In which conſultation, ſome were of opinion, not to haue any Emperours in Chriſtendome but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the Ger- e Emperour, author of this warre, whoſe wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of late Emperour *Iſaac Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers Em- belonged. But the greater part, conſidering that the troubled affaires of Greece, in ſo t a change and newneſſe of the Empire, had need of the perſonall preſence of a Prince; ught it better to make choice of one among themſelues, who there ſtill reſiant in that e, might at all times giue aid vnto the Latines in their ſacred wars, taken in hand againſt Infidels : which opinion as the better, was approued of them all. The chiefe men in this ion of the new Emperour, were *Baldwin* County of Flanders and Hainault, *Henry* his bro- *Lewis* County of Bloys, *Symon de Montfort*, *Iohn de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* nty of S. *Paul*, *Iohn* County of Brenne, *Boniface* Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, *Stephen* nty of Perch, and fiue gentlemen of Venice : vnto whom alſo were joyned two Biſhops yria, the one of Bethlem, the other of Ptolemais, who had oftentimes come to the campe e Latines, to ſtirre them vp for the taking in hand the ſacred warre in Syria ; with two ops of France alſo, namely, of Soiſſon and Troy in Champagne, and the Abbot of Leme- Theſe great Lords and Prelates aſſembled into the Church of the holy Apoſtles, after had there with great deuotion craued of God to inſpire them with his ſpirit for the ce of a good and juſt Prince fit for ſo great a charge ; with one conſent made choice of *win* County of Flanders and Haynault, for Emperour of Greece : a braue and valiant ce, about two and thirty yeares old, who was afterward the ſixteenth day of May in the e 1204 (or after the computation of others, in the yeare 1205) in the great Temple of *ophia* ſolemnly crowned by *Thomas Maurocenus* a Venetian, firſt Patriarch of the Latines Conſtantinople. From which time the Greeke Church in Conſtantinople began to re- ne the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the urch of Rome.

The Greeke empire diuided amongſt the Latines.

It was not long after that Conſtantinople was thus taken by the Latines, but that they iding their forces, without any reſiſtance tooke in the moſt part of the great countries and prouinces on Europe ſide, belonging to the Greeke Empire in the time of *Iſaac Angelus* the late Emperour: the fortune of the whole Empire, as it were following the fortune of the imperiall city. Which large countries ſo gained from the Greeks, the Latins diuided amongſt themſelues, as good prize taken from their enemies. Vnto *Baldwin* the emperor and his ſucceſſors in the Empire, was aſſigned the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, and the countrey of Thracia, with a limited ſoueraigntie ouer all the reſt of the prouinces by the Latines already or afterwards to be gained. Vnto the Venetians in this diuiſion of the Empire, was allotted for their ſhare all the rich Iſlands of the Ægeum and Ionian, with the famous Iſland of Candie alſo; which although it were before by the young Emperor *Alexius* in the beginning of theſe warres, giuen vnto the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat, yet in this diuiſion of the Empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and giuen to the Venetians, as for them more fit: in ſtead and lieu whereof, the Marqueſſe had the city of Theſſalonica with all the kingdome of Theſſalie, and a great part of Peloponeſus aſſigned vnto him, with the Royall title of a King. Of the aforeſaid Iſlands in(number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the ſtate, fortified ſome few of the greateſt with conuenient garriſons, the reſt they left to be poſſeſſed and defended by the better ſort of the citizens at their priuate coſt and charges; who according to their ability, tooke into their poſſeſſion, ſome one Iſland, ſome another, and ſome two or three, one, as they were able to ſet out their gallies, one, two, or moe, for the keeping of the ſame: ouer all which, the ſeigniorie neuertheleſſe had a generall care, ſtill keeping a fleet with one of their Admirals at Sea: by whom they not onely repreſſed the Genoa pirats then buſie in thoſe ſeas, but alſo tooke in certaine ſtrong townes in the maine vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus, namely, Modon and Corone; all which they of long time after held as a part of their ſeignorie. Some other particular places, yet parts alſo of the empire, were giuen vnto particular men: as the dukedom of Athens vnto one *Geffrey* of Troy in Champaigne, a French man, a Valiant Captaine, whom they alſo made Prince of Achaia: Another Dukedome was alſo giuen vnto the County of Bloys; as were diuers other countries and townes alſo vnto other more priuate men: who neuertheleſſe were bound to hold the ſame of the Emperor, as of their Lord, and to pay him yerely a fourth part of the reuenue ariſing thereof, towards the maintenance of his ſtate. Yea the Greekes themſelues in this ſhipwracke of their ſtate and empire, although they diſdained nothing more than the ſtrange gouernement of the Latines, yet could they not be perſuaded to joyne together in ſo common a calamitie, but after their wonted manner ſought euery man how to ſhare out ſomthing for himſelfe, without regard of the common good: one ſeized vpon one ſtrong Towne or Citie, and ſo likewiſe another; which for all that, they held not long, driuen thence for the moſt part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their owne countrymen.

The man whom the diſcontented Greekes moſt looked after, was *Theodorus Laſcaris*, the Emperour *Alexius Angelus* his ſonne in law; who at the taking of the city, fled to Adrianople, and afterward into Bythinia, where he was of the people, not of that country onely, but of others alſo farther off, joyfully receiued and honoured as their Emperor. So taking into his hands the countries of Bythinia, Phrygia, Miſſia, Ionia, and Lydia, euen from the windings of the famous riuer Mæander Southward, vnto the Euxine Sea Northward; he with the generall good liking of the people, tooke vpon him the eſtate of an Emperour, and ſo in the renowned city of Nice made the ſeat of his Empire. At the ſame time alſo *David*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the nephewes of the tyrant *Andronicus* (ſometime Emperour of Conſtantinople) by his ſonne *Manuel*, poſſeſſing the more Eaſterne countries of Pontus, Galatia, and Capadocia, erected vnto themſelues another Empire in Trapezond, where their poſteritie of the honourable houſe of the *Comneni* raigned in great glory many yeares after, vntill their Empire, together with the Empire of Conſtantinople, was by the great Emperour of the Turkes, *Mahomet* the ſecond, ſubuerted and brought to nought, as ſhall hereafter in due time and place be declared. Thus the Greeke Empire expoſed (as it were) to the generall ſpoile, was no longer one, but many Empires: *Baldwin* raigning in Conſtantinople, the Marqueſſe of Mont-Ferrat in Theſſalie, *Theodorus Laſcaris* at Nice, *Alexius Comnenus* in Trapezond, and the Venetians in the Iſlands, all in royall dignitie. Beſides whom were many other leſſer Princes, which had heere and there according to their abilitie ſeiſed vpon ſome one or other part of the Empire, and there erected their Toparchies, raigning therein as

The beginning of the empire of Trapezond by the Comneni.

petty

y Kings : as did *Aldebrandinus* in Attalia, *Michael Angelus* in Epirus, with diuers others long to rehearſe.

Adrianople beſieged by the Emperor Baldwin.

Baldwin,as is aforeſaid,created Emperour of Conſtantinople, by the help of the Venetian mirall *Dandulus*,and other great commanders of the army; in ſhort time brought vnder his iſance all the cities of Thracia,except the city of Adrianople,wherunto the better ſort of iſcontented Greeks,together with *Theodorus Laſcarus* (diſdaining the gouernment of the ines) were fled,as vnto a moſt ſafe ſanctuarie. Which *Baldwin* knowing,and withall deſi- whileſt yet he had his friends about him,to ſet his new Empire in ſome good ſtay, with- farther delay laid hard ſiege to the ſame. Now the Greekes generally euill entreated by Latines, and grieued to be gouerned by them, ſome were fled into their neighbour prin- countries,but eſpecially into Bulgaria,otherwiſe called Myſia,a large kingdom lying be- t the great mountain Æmus and Danubius : by whoſe perſuaſion,*Iohn* king of that coun- aided by the Scythians (a fierce Northern people but lately come into thoſe quarters) and he fugitiue Greeks themſelues, tooke vpon him to relieue the City : and ſo with a great y approching the ſame,ſent before certain troups of Scythian archers on horſebacke, to h in ſuch booty of horſes or cattell as they ſhould find neer vnto the Emperors camp;and hall commanded them,that being charged by the Imperials,they ſhould forthwith retire, o draw them out of their trenches,into the place where the King with the greateſt part of Army lay couertly to intrap them. Which the Scythians (wel acquainted with ſuch ſer- e) ſo well performed vnder the leading of one *Cozus* their Generall, that hauing once or ce drawn their enemies vnto ſome light skirmiſhes,and ſo retiring,and ere long again with eater number returning,they at length cunningly drew the Emperor with all his army (in e to do ſome great matter vpon them euen as they wiſhed) into the place wheras the king his army lay in wait among the woods and mountains for them;where they,wearied and of breath with the former purſuit, and now on euery ſide beſet with freſh enemies, were throwne with a great ſlaughter. In which conflict,to encreaſe the loſſe,*Baldwin* the Em- himſelfe was taken, and ſent priſoner in bonds to Ternoua; where afterwards by the mandement of the barbarous King he was moſt cruelly put to death, hauing his hands feet cut off,and ſo diſmembred was caſt out into a deep valley, where hee yet lay miſera- breathing three dayes after,and ſo died; leauing his body as fortunes ſcorne, for a prey o the wild beaſts and birds of the aire, no man vouchſafing to bury it. Thus periſhed this thy Prince, for his vertues commended euen of the Greekes themſelues, (beeing about age of three and thirty yeares,and not hauing reigned yet a full yeare) in the yeare of our rd 1206.

1206

The victory thus gained,and the city relieued, the barbarous King with his ſauage ſouldi- hauing taſted the wealth of the Latines ouerthrown in the late battell,and the pleaſures of racia now ſubject to their luſt; greedily purſued their good fortune without reſpect of all manity : the open countrey they ouer-ran,ſpoiling whatſoeuer came to hand; the rich and ous cities they rifled,and afterward raſed them downe to the ground : namely Serræ,Phi- popolis, Apri,Rhedeſtum,Perinthus,Daonium,Arcadiopolis,Meſena,Zurulus,& Athyra. e citiſens and country people fled into the cities for refuge,they put all to the ſword,with- t reſpect of age,ſex or condition,except ſome few,whom they caried away with them priſo- s;ſo that of all the prouinces of that rent and ruinated empire,the countrey of Thrace was ſt miſerable, as firſt ſpoiled by the Latines, and now laid deſolate by the Bulgarians and ythians.Only ſome few of the ſtrongeſt cities,as Didymoticum and Adrianople (valiantly ended by the Greeks and Latines) eſcaped this fury of the Barbarians, all the reſt that fell o their hands being laid waſt and deſolate.

Henry ſecond Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople.

In this ſo troubled a ſtate of the new erected empire of the Latines in Conſtantinople,the tines made choice of *Henry* the late emperor *Baldwins* brother,as of all others the fitteſt to ucceed him in the empire : who aided by the Marquis, now King of Theſſaly, and the other atine princes,notably repulſed the Barbarians,and left them not vntill that at length he had ecouered from them all ſuch towns and cities as they had before taken,& driuen them quite t of the country,and ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelfe in his new empire.

But to leaue this diſmembred empire now in the hands of many, and to come neerer to our urpoſe: *Alexius Angelus* the Vſurper,driuen out of the Imperial city by the Latins,to ſaue

himſelfe, fled into Theſſaly, and from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among G
the Greeks) who tyranniſing at Nauplus, as had his father before him, was in theſe troubleſome
times grown greater, by ſurpriſing of the two famous Cities of Argos and Corinth: by
whoſe means he cunningly intrapped *Alexius Ducas*, ſyrnamed *MurZufle*, the traitor, and for a
ſecret grudge not commonly known, put out his eies: himſelfe an exiled man beeing a moſt
heauy enemy vnto the other alſo exiled: and himſelfe thruſt out of the empire, a deadly foe
vnto the other oppreſſed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which loſſe of his ſight, hee
was by chance taken by the Latines, and ſo brought backe to Conſtantinople, where hee was
for murthring the yong Emperour *Alexius*, worthily condemned vnto a ſtrange and horrible
kind of death; for caſt off from an high tower, and tumbling heels ouer head downward, he
was with the weight of himſelfe and violence of the fall cruſhed all to pieces, and ſo miſerably H
died, a death too good for ſuch a traitor. Not long after it fortuned alſo, That *Alexius*
himſelfe wandring vp and down in Thracia, was by the Marquiſſe of Mont-Ferrat (going againſt
Scurus) taken and ſtript of his great treaſure, and whatſoeuer elſe hee had, and ſo ſent
away naked; long time after in beggars eſtate wandring about in Achaia and Peloponneſus,
now far vnlike that *Alexius* which ſomtimes proudly reigned in Conſtantinople: but ſuch is
the aſſurance of euill gotten honor. He hearing that *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſon in law reigned
in Aſia, and there held the ſtate of an Emperor, rejoiced not therat as a kind father in law, but
inwardly grieued thereat as an enemy; ſory that any other but himſelfe ſhould be honoured
with the title of the Greek Emperor. In which malicious humor he ſailing out of Greece into
Aſia, ouer the Ægeum, came ſecretly vnto the Turks Sultan *Iathatines* his old acquaintance I
then lying at Attalia, (which famous city he had not long before taken from the Chriſtians)
vnto whom he declared his heauy eſtate, and how his empire had bin rent from him, as well by
the Greeks as the Latines, requeſting that by his means he might be reſtored again into ſome
part thereof, eſpecially that in the leſſer Aſia, which was by *Theodorus Laſcaris*, together with
the honour of the Greeke Emperour, vniuſtly (as he ſaid) detained from him. This *Iathatines*
now Sultan of Iconium, was the younger ſonne of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long ſuruiuing
his father *Cai-Choſroë*, left his Kingdom vnto his two ſonnes *Azadin* and *Iaſſadin*, of the Greeks
called *Azatines* and *Iathatines*: where long it was not, but that theſe two brethren falling out
for the ſoueraignty (which admitteth no equalitie) *Iathatines* was by *AZatines* his elder brother
driuen into exile, and for the ſafegard of his life glad to fly vnto this *Alexius* then reigning K
at Conſtantinople, by whom he was honourably entertained, and as ſome write, conuerted
and baptiſed. But *Azatines* the Sultan ſhortly after dying, this *Iathatines* returning home
again, and renouncing the Chriſtian religion, was by the Turks receiued for their Sultan: of
whom the Emperor *Alexius* now in the like extremitie craueth aid. The Sultan not forgetfull
of his own troubles before paſſed, or of the kindneſſe he had receiued, and mooued with
the pittifull complaint of his old friend, together with his large offers, beſides that he was in
hope to ſhare out ſome good part of whatſoeuer he got, for himſelfe; took him into his protection,
and forthwith ſent Embaſſadours to *Laſcaris*, threatning vnto him all extremities, except
he did forthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law, vnto whom as vnto the Greek
Emperor, thoſe countries which were by him poſſeſſed, of right (as hee ſaid) appertained. L
With which vnexpected meſſage *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans
power, and the inclination of the people to their old Emperour. Neuertheleſſe hauing
propounded the matter in Councell, and finding the minds of his ſubjects well affected towards
him, and a readineſſe in them, in his quarrell to aduenture their liues; hee encouraged
therwith, accompanied only with two thouſand choice horſemen, together with the Sultans
Embaſſadour, without further ſtay ſet forward to Philadelphia: the Sultan at the ſame time
with *Alexius* (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceiue the people withall) and twenty
thouſand Turks beſieging the city of Antioch, ſcituate vpon the winding banks of the Riuer
Mœander. Which the Emperor *Theodorus* wel vnderſtanding, and that the Sultan by gaining
that ſtrong city (ſtanding on the paſſage of the great riuer the bounder of his Empire) ſhould M
open a faire way for himſelfe into the heart of Romania Aſiatica, to the great hazard of his
whole Empire; reſolued with thoſe few he had to do what he might to relieue his beſieged
city: and ſo ſetting forward vpon the ſpur, carying nothing with him more than a little victuall;
and now come neere vnto the City, ſent before the Sultans Embaſſadour, following him

Antioch beſieged by Iathatines.

e heels. Who comming to the Sultan,and telling him of the Emperors approch with ſo ll a power, could hardly perſuade him that it was ſo, although hee bound it with many es: yet at length perſuaded of the truth of the matter,and that indeed it was ſo, he in all put his army in the beſt order he could vpon ſuch a ſudden, but not to his beſt aduan- ge,being hindred ſo to do by the ſtreitneſſe of the place wherin he lay. Of the two thouſand horſmen in the Emperors army were eight hundred Italians,all moſt reſolute men,who g the firſt charge, brake through the midſt of the Sultans Army, diſordering his whole ll as they went: after whom followed alſo the Greekes, though not with like courage. hoſe Italian horſemen now diuided from the reſt, and in number but few, in comming again,were by the diſordered Turks,ſome on horſebacke,ſome on foot, ſo beſet on eue- le as that there was no way left for them to paſſe,but valiantly there fighting,were all to- er ſlain,hauing both before and at the time of their deaths made ſuch a ſlaughter among Turks,as is hardly to be beleeued to haue bin poſſible for ſo few men to haue made. The eks alſo hardly laid to by the Turks,and diſcouraged by the ſlaughter of the Latins,were at the point to haue fled: when as the Sultan,now almoſt in poſſeſſion of a certain victo- deſcrying the Greek Emperor,and truſting to his own great ſtrength,ſingled him out,be- as ready as himſelf to meet him; when as at the firſt encounter,the Sultan with his horſ- s mace gaue him ſuch a blow vpon the head,as might haue killed a Bull: ſo that the Em- r therewith aſtonied,fell down from his horſe; who yet euen in the fall comming ſome- g again to himſelfe,and although diſmounted,yet quickly recouering his feet, with his chion hoxed the hinder legs of the Mare wheron the Sultan rid, beeing a moſt beautifull ,and of a wonderfull height: which now ſuddenly falling vnder him, and ſo the Sultan bling down as from an high tower; before he could recouer himſelf,had his head cut off e Emperor,which by and by put vpon a lance and ſo holden vp,with the ſight thereof ſo ied the Turks,that ſtriken with a ſudden fear they preſently fled,leauing the victory to mperor,before more than halfe ouercome: who for all that,conſidering his ſmall num- urſt not farther purſue them,but entring the city,gaue thankes to God for ſo great a vi- y. Vnto whom the Turks ſhortly after ſent their Embaſſadors, and ſo upon ſuch reaſo- e conditions as it pleaſed him to ſet down,concluded with him a peace. *Alexius* himſelfe or of theſe troubles,taken in this battell and caried to Nice,was by the Emperor his ſon w,notwithſtanding his euill deſerts,wel intreated and vſed.

Jathatines the Sultan ſlain by Theodorus Laſcaru the Greek Emperor.

Whilſt the Latines thus ſpend their forces in ſubuerting the Greek empire,which ſhould e bin imploid for reliefe of the Chriſtians in Syria, and that the Greek Emperor *Laſcaris* thus troubled with the Turks,the Chriſtians affairs in Syria and the Holy land grew ſtil ſe and worſe. Wherof the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templers (the chief Champions of Chriſtian religion in thoſe countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* King of Cyprus,for that eing ſo neer at hand,and hauing married *Iſabel* the heir of that kingdome, and ſo in her t taken vpon him the title of King of Ieruſalem, gaue himſelfe wholly vnto pleaſure,do- nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians, or repreſſing the In- els; who although they were yet in league with the Chriſtians there,and at ſome diſcord amongſt themſelues,yet ſpared not as occaſion ſerued, ſtill more and more to incroach n them,and by building of new Caſtles and fortreſſes to cut them ſhort. Of all which gs the aforeſaid Knights by their Embaſſadors certified Pope *Innocentius*, requeſting his erly care for the remedie thereof: Certifying him withall,that there was yet liuing one ,the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-Ferrat,a Lady of rare beauty, whom they as her ors had brought vp in hope of the Kingdome, and now were ready to beſtow her vpon e ſuch man as he ſhould thinke worthy of her, together with the right ſhee had vnto the gdom. Herupon *Innocentius* diſcharging *Almerieus* of the title of the kingdom of Ieruſa- m,gaue it to *Iohn* County de Brenne of Daulphine in France, a man of great fame and va- ,then in arms with the other Latin princes againſt the Greeks. Who now returning home mmended his Earldom unto his brother, and with ſuch power as he was able to make, ſet- g forward, came firſt to Venice,where he was roially entertained: and from thence ſailing Conſtantinople, was with like honour receiued by the Emperour *Henry*; and ſo at length e fift of September arriued at Ptolemais in Syria,where he was with the great applauſe and joycing of the people receiued as their King. And the laſt of the ſame moneth marrying

Iohn Brenne by Pope Innocentius appointed K of Ieruſalem

1209

the aforeſaid Lady *Mary* at Tyre, was there together with her with a great ſolemnitie crowned King in the yeare 1209. Which *Almericus* the old King of Cyprus hearing, ſhortly after died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honored with the title of a kingdom, ſome that enuied at his promotion, and therefore commonly called him in deriſion, a King, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, Without a town.

Now was the ten years peace, before made betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians in Syria, at the comming ouer of *Symon* Marquis of Mont-Ferrat (as is before declared) almoſt expired: which had not ſo much giuen to thoſe poor remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord among the Turks themſelues, which hauing for the ſpace of nine years continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the ſoueraignty, was now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelfe with the gouernment of Aleppo, and *Corradin* and *Meledin* the two ſons of *Saphadin* diuiding their fathers kingdome betwixt them, the one taking to himſelf Damaſco and Syria, and the other the great kingdom of Egypt, but all enemies vnto the Chriſtians.

Corradin and Meledin diuide their fathers kingdom betwixt them.

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius* yet Pope, ſummoned a generall Councel to Lateran, wherunto, beſides a multitude of great Biſhops and other reuerend prelats, repaired alſo the honorable Embaſſadors of moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom. Vnto whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, and how the ſame was by the help of the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt to be relieued. Wherunto all the Fathers and Princes there aſſembled eaſily gaue their conſent; and therupon were ſome appointed in euery country and prouince, to publiſh this Decree of the Councel, for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtirre vp the deuout people for the vndertaking of ſo religious a War. The chiefe furtherers of this ſacred expedition, to be thus taken in hand againſt the Infidels, were the Biſhops of Germany, eſpecially the three great Biſhops of Mentz, Cullen, and Triuers, whoſe example mooued alſo many others, all which to rehearſe were tedious. Out of France alſo were ſent *Henry* the County of Niuers, and one *Gualter* the Kings great Chamberlaine, with a great number of the gallant youths of France, and ſo out of diuers other places alſo: ſo that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at diuers ports of the Adriatick, as made vp a fleet of 200 ſail: which with a proſperous wind caried ouer into Syria, arriued in ſafety at Ptolemais the chief city of the Chriſtians, now that Ieruſalem was loſt. After whom followed alſo *Andrew* King of Hungary, long before bound both by his fathers commandement and his owne promiſe, for the vndertaking of that ſacred Expedition: with whom came alſo *Lewis* Duke of Bavaria, and *Leopold* duke of Auſtria, with their forces all well appointed: vnto whom alſo *Iohn* King of Ieruſalem joyned himſelfe with his power. Great hope and expectation there was for ſome great matter to haue been done, now that ſo great forces of the Chriſtians were thus met together. Who ſetting forward from Ptolemais, and the firſt day marching into Galile, by the way met with certain companies of the Turks, whom they eaſily ouerthrew and put to flight. The next day they came to the riuer of Iordan, where they alſo diſtreſſed certaine of the Turkes garriſons. There the King of Hungary bathing himſelfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one diſcharged of his vow and promiſe) returned with all his power vnto Ptolemais, and ſo from thence backe again into his own country, all the reſt of the army of the Chriſtians crying out to him to the contrary: who after the Kings departure ſtill marching on, came to the mount Thabor. But ſhortly after, Winter now comming on, and many of their cattell dying for cold and want of meat, they returned, ſome to Ptolemais, and ſome to Tyre, and there wintred. King *Iohn* and the Duke of Auſtria in the meane time tooke a Caſtle betwixt Cæſarea and Caipha, called the Caſtle of *Pilgrims*, from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts all that winter. Vpon the appearance of the Spring, and the army again met together, it was thought beſt by all the great Commanders, That foraſmuch as the kingdom of Egypt was the chiefe maintenance of the Mahometan ſuperſtition againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts, and that ſo long as it ſtood vpright, they ſhould not be able to do any great matter in Syria, to attempt the conqueſt therof, as an exploit beſt beſeeming their valour and ſo great preparation: for that that land being once ſubdued, the city of Ieruſalem with all the land of Paleſtine would of themſelues without more adoe ſtraightway yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous City of Damiata, called in antient time Peluſium, not much inferiour vnto Alex-

andria,

ia, was the firſt and moſt commodious port for their purpoſe, as neereſt vnto Syria; and by the taking thereof they ſhould haue a fair entrance into the great Riuer Nilus, with ommand of a moſt rich and pleaſant countrey about it; they reſolued there to begin the And therupon imbarking themſelues with all things neceſſary for ſo great an enterpriſe, olemais, and caried with a fair wind, they in ſhort time ariued at the deſired port. Now ch and antient city, the key of that ſide of the kingdom, ſtood about a mile from the ſea mwhat diſtant alſo from the great riuer, invironed with a nauigable ditch or cut drawn the Nile in maner of an Iſland, as a man commeth from Syria by land; and compaſſed with three ſtrong ſtone walls, the worke of that good Emperor *Ælius Pertinax*, and of s ſome affirm, called alſo Æliopolis. At the mouth of this cut, as you ſhould enter into ty, ſtood a ſtrong watch-tower for defence therof, and round about it a number of faire s, in manner of a pretty town intrenched. Beſides that, for the more ſafety thereof, the cut was barred with a great ſtrong iron chaine, in ſuch ſort as that it was impoſſible for hip without breaking the ſame, to enter. The Chriſtians with their fleet entering the h of the riuer, and comming to this cut, by great ſtrength brake the chain. But thinking haue made their paſſage to the city, they found a greater ſtay at the watch-tower, which gly built of ſquare ſtone, and well ſtored with warlike engins of all ſorts, and a good gar- of valiant ſoldiers, ſtayed their farther paſſage, ouerwhelming them as they approched, ſhot, fire, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, before prouided for that purpoſe.

The ſcituation of Damiata in Egypt.

e Chriſtians, after the maner of the fight of that time, had vpon certain flat veſſels built in high towers of wood for the aſſailing of the watch-tower: in the approching wherof, were not only troubled with the enemy, but with the tumult and ſtir of their owne peo- ſo; ſome crying that they ſhould yet draw neerer vnto the tower; otherſome crying out , to haue the bridges caſt out, therby to enter: and the enemies likewiſe with much cla- couraging one another for the repulſing of the Chriſtians. So the ſoldiers hindred the rs to do their buſines, and the mariners the ſoldiers. In the midſt of this hurly-burley ult, one of the woodden towers ſurmounting the reſt in height, ouercharged with the of men, fell, and in falling made ſuch a noiſe, as if heauen it ſelfe had fallen: where in a nt as it were was preſently to be ſeen a moſt heauy ſpectacle; many ouerwhelmed with ll of the tower, lay there cruſhed to death; ſome grieuouſly hurt, and yet not dead, lay ſt with the timber, crying out for help; others bruiſed or hurt, but not ouerwhelmed, for f further harm, leapt ſome into the Nile, ſome abord the other ſhips neer by, ſome cry- ut of his arm, ſome of his leg, ſome of his head or other part of his body, to the great diſ- fort of the reſt, inſomuch that the aſſault was for that time giuen ouer.

ing *Iohn* (as well for his valor, as for the title of the King of Ieruſalem, choſen General of rmy) after he had appeaſed this tumult, and giuen the charge of them that were maimed rt, vnto ſkilfull ſurgeons, and buried the bodies of ſuch as were found drowned or ouer- med; with cheerfull ſpeech incouraged the reſt of his ſoldiers, perſuading them not to ſcouraged with the accident of the fall of a tower, which was neither to be imputed vnto cowardiſe, or the valor of the enemy, but only to the chance of war.

the mean time *Meledin* the Egyptian Sultan had with a great Army incamped himſelfe in the ſight of Damiata, therby to encourage the beſieged, and to fill them with hope of fe; ſending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, meſſages, victuals, ſoldiers, armour, and ſoeuer elſe they wanted. The chief cauſe of his ſtaying there, was to take occaſion for rpriſing of the Chriſtians, if any ſhould be offered either by chance or their own negli- e. Euery day ſome skirmiſh or other paſſed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, ours carying away the victory: yet could theſe Barbarians neither be drawn forth to battell, ould our men keepe them from victuals, foraſmuch as they had the riuer Nile at com- d, wherby victuals were out of the vpper part of Egypt in great abundance conueighed the Sultans Campe. Whereas on the contrary part, the ſame Riuer diuiding it ſelfe in- many armes, in ſome places here and there ouerflowing, in another cut into many Ditches channels, and in ſome other pent vp by walls and cauſies, gaue to our men a thouſand diſ- ſures. And therfore ſeeing that the Sultan would neither giue nor accept of battel, they lued againe to lay ſiege to the Tower. Wherefore hauing with great cunning, vpon two ps faſtned together, framed a tower of moſt ſtrong timber in hight equall to the Watch-tower, they brought the ſame neer vnto the Turks tower, and the ſuburbs adjoining therunto, after which followed alſo the reſt of the fleet well appointed for the aſſault. At which time all the reſt of the army at land ſtood in battell ready ranged, as well to diſcourage them of the town, as that the Sultan ſhould not be able to help them without the haſarding of battell. There began a fierce and cruell aſſault, they of the ſuburbs right valiantly defending themſelues againſt their enemies. Within theſe ſuburbs, the tower, and the trenches, dwelt not only Egyptians (the naturall inhabitants of the country) but alſo Arabians, Perſians, Syrians, Indians, Moores, and Ethiopians, who were there reſiant; becauſe that City was a publique mart, wherunto al ſorts of merchandiſe was brought from far out of the remoteſt parts of the world, and ſo from thence in like maner tranſported alſo: which incouraged them the more to fight for the defence of their liues and goods, the two things which men hold moſt deare; & in like ſort animated our men to the aſſault, as wel in the quarrel of the Chriſtian religion as to inrich themſelues with the ſpoils of thoſe rich nations. The Chriſtians with their ſhips drew as neer as poſſibly they could vnto the land, to the intent that vpon the bank of the riuer they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and ſo come cloſe vnto their Enemies: but the Barbarians on the other ſide ſought by ſhot and all other means they could, to keep them farther off, and ſo from landing.

A deſperat act of a Chriſtian.

That which moſt feared the Egyptians, was, that as one of our ſhips by chance ran aground vpon that ſide of the riuer where the enemy lay, and being borded by the enemy, thronging in as faſt as he could, and there making a cruell ſlaughter; one of the Chriſtian ſouldiers going down vnder hatches made there a great hole, wherby the water abundantly comming in, ſunk the ſhip before the enemy was aware, and ſo drowned a great number of the Egyptians together with the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the high tower built vpon the two ſhips, joining now cloſe to the Watch-tower, and mating the ſame, diſmaied the defendants with the ſtrangeneſſe therof as with a miracle, in ſuch ſort as they now ſtriken with a great fear, as beeing to fight with a ſtrange, hardy, and cruell kind of men, without any great reſiſtance forſook the tower and fled. The watch-tower thus taken, & they that ſhould haue defended the ſame, ſome taken, ſome ſlain, and ſome fled; they in the ſuburbs diſcouraged, and flying away, were many of them wounded from aboue, out of the watch-Tower but now gained by the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the other ſhips landed the ſouldiers, who entring the ſuburbs, put all they found there to the ſword, euen vnto the laſt man. There was found great abundance of victuals, but far greater ſtore of riches, inſomuch as it ſeemed to haue bin the ſpoil of Arabia, Perſia, and the rich Indies.

Damiata in vain aſſaulted.

Now yet remained the ſtrong Towne of Damiata, which was forthwith aſſaulted by the Chriſtians, more to proue if in that heate and ſudden fear it would be yeelded, than for any hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both by ſcaling & other engins, they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds, and ſo retyred. Neuertheleſſe they lodged themſelues in the ſuburbs, and laid a great part of the army betwixt the Sultan & the beſieged city, to the intent that no ſupply of victuals ſhould be brought vnto it: yet both the enemy oftentimes attempted to haue entred the city, and the beſieged to haue ſallied out; but both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, and that not without great loſſe of their men: for why, the town was now on euery ſide ſo incloſed by the Chriſtians, as that no man could enter in or out therof. Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege it fortuned that the riuer of Nile ſwelling with a great Eaſt wind, roſe aboue the banks, and ſo ouerflowed the places wherin the Chriſtians lay, that they could keep nothing dry, moſt part of their victuals being therwith ſpoiled. With which vnſeaſonable riſing of the riuer the Chriſtians not a little troubled, by commandement of *Pelagius* the Legat, gaue themſelues to faſting and prayer by the ſpace of three daies. But the wind falling the fourth day, and the riuer again decreaſing, they gaue themſelues more earneſtly to prayer than before, thanking the Almighty, that as hee had put them in a great fear, ſo he had in mercy againe comforted them.

Now with long lying, victuals began to grow ſcant in the Sultans Camp, ſo that hee was glad to ſend away halfe his Army vp againe into the Country of Caire. At which time alſo it chanced (as if it had been an extreame and common danger of the Mahometane ſuperſtition) that Embaſſadors ſent from *Corradin* Sultan of Damaſco and Ieruſalem, vnto the

Princes

nces of the Chriſtian Army, came to ſue for peace both for himſelfe and his brother the
ptian Sultan; promiſing in regard therof againe to reſtore vnto them the Holy-Croſſe,
what ſoeuer elſe himſelfe, his father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them. Of
h their offer moſt part of the Army liked well, ſaying, That they had therefore taken vp
for the recouery of that which had bin before gotten & gained by the valor of the wor-
hriſtian captains, and had of late been taken from them; and to blot out the ignominy
loſſe thereof, to the end it ſhould not be ſaid, that they could not leaue whole & entyre
heir children, what their fathers had got, when they had the keeping therof; neither ha-
loſt it, be able again to recouer it: that all theſe things beeing reſtored, there reſted not
urther occaſion of war, or let to ſtay them as moſt victorious conquerors to return home
ertheles *Pelagius* Pope *Honorius* his Legat (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the wars
efore dead at Peluſium) with King *Iohn*, the Maſters of the Knights Hoſpitalers and
plers, the Duke of Auſtria, and the Germans were of opinion to the contrary: alledging
this ſacred Warre was vndertaken generally againſt the Infidels, and for religions ſake,
nſt the Mahometan ſuperſtition, wherof the kingdom of Egypt was the chiefe ſeat and
and that therefore they ought eſpecially to impugn that. Which perſuaſion, together
the authority of the perſuaders, ſo preuailed, that the Sultans large offers were rejected,
the Embaſſadors diſpatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Wher-
Corradin fearing that the Chriſtians would at length come to Ieruſalem, as the place
moſt deſired, and doubting how he ſhould be able to defend the ſame, forthwith raſed
alls thereof, and the more to deface it, ouerthrew and pluckt downe moſt of the goodly
es and other ſtately buildings therin; ſparing yet the tower of *Dauid* and the holy ſepul-
which he is ſaid to haue done at the humble requeſt and interceſſion of the Chriſtians
ers countries, which yet dwelt there, mixt with the Turks and Saraſins.

A faire offer euill refuſed.

hileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Damiata, the plague began to ariſe in the
wherof ſo many died, that it began to repent the great Commanders of the army, that
had ſo much hearkened to the perſuaſion of the Legate (a man making no profeſſion of
rather than to the ſound aduice of others, who by long experience taught the ſudden al-
on of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers. So be-
Pelagius the Legat to be generally euill ſpoken of. There were now already ſix moneths
ſince the beginning of the ſiege, and the Sultan lying in ſight had not with him ſo great
rmy as before, but only the floure and choice of his people, hauing (as is before ſaid) for
of victuals ſent away the reſt vp again into the country. Now it fortuned that the Chri-
s, as men weary of the long ſiege, ſtood not ſo carefully vpon their gard, with watch and
as before, but gaue themſelues more to eaſe: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew neerer
e town, in hope vnder the couert of the ſilent night to ſend new ſupplies to the beſieged;
h companies by him appointed for that ſeruice, couragiouſly ſet forward, in hope to de-
the Chriſtian ſentinels, and ſo indeed came neer to the town unſeen or diſcouered: and
the formoſt of thoſe companies were already entred the town; when the Chriſtians per-
ing them, raiſed an alarm, and put themſelues in arms, and ſo furiouſly aſſailed the hind-
of them, and in ſuch ſort, that they which were before within, and thoſe that were but
entred, fearing leſt the enemy in that hurly burly ſhould pell mell enter in with the reſt,
them out of the gates, expoſed to the butchery, where all were preſently cut in pieces.

Succours ſent vnto the beſieged.

he Chriſtians incouraged with this victory, the next day leauing a great part of the army
e the town to continue the ſiege, preſented themſelues before the Sultans camp to giue
battel. Who for all that, well conſidering that the loſſe of a battell might endanger the
e ſtate of his kingdome, would by no means be drawne out of his trenches, but lay ſtill:
erwith the Chriſtians, eſpecially the French men (in the firſt charge naturally furious)
ly incouraged, attempted to haue forcibly entred their rampiers, but not with ſucces an-
rable to their courage. For the Egyptians perceiuing the ſmall number of their enemies,
ably repulſed them, and in fine forced them to retyre, hauing loſt *Gualter* one of their chief
mmanders, with diuers others: yea King *Iohn* in aſſailing the campe loſt many of his men,
grieuouſly burnt in his face, hardly eſcaped himſelfe with life. After which diſcomfiture
y reſolued not to think of any thing elſe but of the ſiege, and aboue all things to prouide
t no ſuccours ſhould be brought into the town. They in the city more ſtreitly beſet and

beſieged than before, and now brought vnto extreme neceſſity and famin, and out of all hope of reliefe, aſſembled themſelues to conſult of their affairs, and what were beſt for them to do in ſo dangerous a ſtate; ſome one or other of them by night or otherwiſe ſecretly flying into the camp. And that more was, the city had vndoubtedly bin yeelded by the greater part, had not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates, and commanded that none of the inhabitants vpon pain of death ſhould come vpon the wals or rampiers, to the intent that they ſhould not get out, or caſt themſelues from aboue ouer the wals into the ditches. The chiefe commanders and captains went here and there vp and down the City, to ſearch and view all things, eſpecially the ſhops and ſtore houſes, where finding ſmal ſtore of wheat, they diuided it in ſmal portions among themſelues. The common people inforced with want, eat whatſoeuer came to hand, were it lawfull or vnlawfull, or elſe forbidden by their ſuperſtition, wholeſome or vnwholſome, good or bad, ſalt or freſh, roſt or raw; and ſo prolonged their liues with ſuch things as they could find. Now the beſieged not able to endure theſe extremities of the famin (being the paſſion that moſt grieuouſly and often troubleth mankind) they were alſo attached by the wrath of God: for the plague (the fury wherof had before attainted the camp of the Chriſtians, and afterward quite ceaſed) was now got into the city, where it made great ſlaughter; which mortalitie day by day in ſuch ſort encreaſed, that men were not onely now no more to be found, to viſit, comfort, ſuccor, ſerue, and help the ſick; but were wanting alſo to bury them, to draw them out of their beds and houſes, and to ſeperat the liuing from thoſe that were dead: the ſtreets and houſes being full of dead bodies, gaue forth a moſt horrible ſtinke, with a moſt grieuous & infectious aire: there was not any place cleer from the plague or any man that could boaſt he had not bin attainted therwith, or the fear therof, and remedy was there none. The rage and fury of theſe two deuourers, the famin and the plague, deuoured them without number, chuſing rather ſo to die, than to ſubmit themſelues vnto their enemies, or to humble themſelues ſo low as to craue their fauor. That they within were thus pinched with famin the Chriſtians knew, but that the plague ſo raged amongſt them they knew not. Now the Chriſtians had of purpoſe caſt vp certain trenches and barricado's, for the keeping in of ſuch as the famin ſhould inforce to come out of the town; thinking that the beſieged, to eaſe their wants, would thruſt the baſer ſort of people and vnprofitable mouthes out of the city, vnto whom the Chriſtians meant not to giue any paſſage: for they hauing long before ſo ſtreitly inuironed the city, as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it, lay now ſtill expecting when the beſieged, inforced by neceſſitie, ſhould yeeld themſelues, and ſo without loſſe of any man, to become maſters of ſo ſtrong and rich a town. It was now more than a year that the Chriſtians had thus lien at the ſiege of Damiata; when as certain of the ſoldiers vpon a brauery aduentured with a few ſcaling ladders to mount the wal: in which doing, finding no reſiſtance, and withall hearing ſo great ſilence as if there had bin no body within the city, they ſtood ſtill a great while hearkning: but ſeeing that dumb ſilence ſtill to continue, they returned vnto the camp, giuing the captains to vnderſtand how the matter ſtood: who at the firſt thought it to be ſome policie and fineneſſe of the deceitfull enemy; yet afterward they thought it good to aduenture certain men, to proue their fortune, and to cauſe certain Companies well appointed to ſcale one of the bulwarks of the City, in ſuch ſort as if they ſhould haue gon againſt a puiſſant enemy that had had power to reſiſt them. And hereupon were ſcaling ladders brought forth, and all things made ready as for a great aſſault. So the Chriſtians couragiouſly mounting the ladders, without reſiſtance took the bulwarke. But as they were entring farther into the town, a ſmall company of the Turks and Barbarians (all the ſoldiers that the fury of the plague had left, and they alſo with the famin and infection of the air very weak and feeble) met them, and began to make ſome ſmal reſiſtance, but to no purpoſe, being forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done, the matter wherwith the gates of the city were mured, was preſently remoued, the gates ſet open, and the Chriſtians with enſignes diſplayed let in. But euen at the very entring in at the gates they were attainted with a moſt grieuous and horrible ſtink, they ſaw a fair city diſpeopled, and that which was moſt fearfull to behold, the ſtreets couered with bodies of the dead, and ſuch a dreadfull deſolation, as might moue euen the enemy himſelf to compaſſion. The Chriſtians were entred as men appointed to have don a great execution, and to haue made the chanels run with bloud, as men juſtly prouoked with the long ſiege and the pains they had endured; they had their ſwords and weapons in their

Damiata being vnpeopled by the plague, is without reſiſtance taken by the Chriſtians:

hands,

ds,but found none againſt whom to vſe them;for a man could not enter into any houſe,or
nto any ſtreet, but he muſt paſſe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether
,were miſerably drawing toward their end. Of ſeuenty thouſand perſons in the city were
found aboue three thouſand aliue,and thoſe for the moſt part yet yong children ; for all
reſt were dead,taken away either with the ſword,famin,or the plague,the greateſt part of
h lay yet ſtinking aboue the ground vnburied. Theſe three thouſand that were left were
egre and poor,that pitty it was to behold them : vnto whom their liues were granted,vp-
ndition that they ſhould make clean the city,and bury the dead,which they were three
ths in doing.

hus was Damiata taken by the Chriſtians the fift day of Nouember, in the yeare 1221, 1221
it had bin more than a yeare by them beſieged. The ſpoil there taken was great, for be-
the rich merchandiſe brought thither from far,was found great ſtore of gold, ſiluer,and
ious ſtones. The Chriſtians thus inriched,and the city made clean,ſtayd there more than
r after,as in a Colony wherin they had bin willing to dwel,forgetfull of their own coun-
In the beginning of theſe wars,the Princes of the army had with one conſent agreed,that
ſoeuer city or territory ſhould by them be taken from the Turkes or infidels,ſhould bee
n vnto the King of Ieruſalem , whom after the departure of the King of Hungarie they
made Generall of the whole army. But now that the City was taken, *Pelagius* the Legat
nding, That by vertue of his Legation it belonged vnto him to diſpoſe of all things ta-
in that ſacred war ; as a man not vnmindfull of his maſter, adjudged the city from thence-
to belong vnto the See of Rome. With which indignitie and wrong the King inward-
ſcontented,and yet for the Legats authority diſſembling the matter,withdrew himſelfe,
o retyred to Ptolemais.

e year following, *Pelagius* weary to ſee the Arms of the Chriſtians to corrupt with ruſt, 1222
othing doing,conſidering the deſire and hope he had vtterly to haue ruinated the Infi-
ogether with their ſuperſtition;commanded that euery man ſhould again take vp arms
proſecuting of this war againſt the Sultan,and the beſieging of Cair. But for all that,
e had commanded what he would or could,the ſoldiers little regarding his command,
one voice cried out,that they would not be commanded by any but by the King of Ieru-
only. So that the Legat,inforced by the ſoldiers,was glad to ſend vnto the King to re-
him again to return vnto Damiata,and to take vpon him the charge for the mannaging
t war,taken in hand for the defence of the Chriſtian religion. Who for all that, excu-
imſelfe from ſo doing,one while by his own particular affairs,another while by his own
ſpoſition : yet in fine,preſſed and ouercome by the prayers and requeſts of the other La-
Princes,he returned to Damiata at the ſelfe ſame time that the Duke of Bauaria arriued
with a goodly company of braue men,brought thither out of his own country,after hee
in now from thence ten moneths abſent.

Pelagius the legat perſuadeth the Princes of the Christian Army to proceed for the conqueſt of Aegypt.

e Legat deſirous of the proſecution of this War,requeſted and vrged the King,with the
f the Princes and great Commanders,without delay to take the field ; telling them that
nterpriſe of the Holy war was grown old and cold,by thoſe long delayes and protracting
e time : and that they which kept wars ſo far from home,ought to make haſt to force the
y,to take all occaſions,to loſe no time,but euer to be doing,and to proue all things for
ng the Enemy. And that that was the way wherby the Worthies of antient times,both
and Emperours, had gained vnto themſelues Empires, glory, greatneſſe and wealth :
it was for them that were inuaded and aſſailed,vpon whoſe liues depended the ſafety of
country,their wiues,children, and goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might,
ude the enemy,to fruſtrat his deſignes,to defeat his attempts, and with delaies to dally
off,till that hauing therby weakned his forces, he ſhould together with his courage loſe
his hope. Cair indeed (he ſaid) was a great city, but yet that the greateſt cities that euer
,had by wars become great deſarts,forced by the power of their puiſſant and ſpeedy ene-
: and that great empires(as were thoſe of the Sultans) ought not to be inuaded or aſſai-
y any forrein force, if they were not at the firſt onſet ouerthrown, or at leaſt ſo weakned,
at they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recouer themſelues : for otherwiſe,
y which had prepared a deſtruction for others,ſhould fal into the ſame themſelues. That
houed either not to haue attempted or aſſailed Egypt at all ; or elſe now, after it had bin

once aſſailed, not ſo to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The King of Ieruſalem, whether G
it were that he were pricked with grief, that being called the King of the Holy land, he could
not haue the city of Damiata (vnder his leading and conduct won by the Chriſtians come to
the ſacred War) giuen vnto him by the Legat; or that he had before proued, that the higher
Country of Egypt was not without great and manifeſt danger to be attempted; ſaid, That he
would not go: alledging that honorable and ſacred War to haue bin taken in hand onely for
the recouery of the Holy land, and not for the winning of Memphis, Babylon, or Thebes in
Egypt; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their fidelitie
and obedience, nor could they poſſibly be kept by force. Wheras Syria, by *Godfrey* of Buillon
and other great Princes his aſſociats entred into, conquered and poſſeſſed, and ſince his time
by diuers other Chriſtian Kings and Princes holden, was in right their own: And that therefore H
he greatly commended the forwardneſſe, the diligence, the courage, the deſire, and whatſoeuer
thing elſe *Pelagius* commended; but that he ought to employ the ſame in Syria, and
not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawn or expected. Neuertheleſſe
the Legat, wedded to his own opinion, by the power of his Authoritie commanded
the King of Ieruſalem, the Duke of Bauaria, with the reſt of the great Commanders & Captaines,
to take vp their Arms, to get them into the field vpon the expedition by him appointed
againſt the Sultan; threatening the paine of the high ſentence of Excommunication againſt
him or them that would ſhew themſelues backeward or vnwilling to do what hee had
commanded. So as it were inforced by the Legat, they began with euill will & worſe ſpeed
to ſet forward in Auguſt, in the very hotteſt time of the yeare. At which time the Sultan beholding I
the great army of the Chriſtians, in number about ſeuenty thouſand, retyred as a
man afraid, into ſuch places as he thought beſt, farther off. Which the Legat ſeeing (as one
not acquainted with the feats of war) rejoiced greatly as if the victorie had bin already more
than half gained; commending to the heauens them that he ſaw couragiouſly marching forward,
ſaying, That fortune alwaies fauored the Valiant, and that vnto Cowards all things fell
ſtill out to the worſt. By the way the Chriſtians ſeiſed vpon a bridge which the Enemy had
made ouer the Nile, and cut in pieces ſuch companies as were left for the keeping therof. So
marching on they drew neer vnto Cair, and there in the ſight of that great and rich City incamped:
where running vp and down, the more to terrifie them of the city, prouoked them to
battel, vpbraiding vnto them their lazineſſe, cowardiſe, and ſloath, brauing them (if they were K
men) to come out. Yet for all that, they would not ſo do, but keeping themſelues cloſe & couert
within the city, let them alone to brag and boaſt at their own pleaſure. This ſiege continued
long, of purpoſe protracted ſtill from day to day by them of the city: and the great
opinion the Chriſtians had of their own valor, with the ſmal regard they had of the enemies,
made them ſo proud and careles, that they remembred no more to take good care of the war,
of their duty, their watch or their ſentinels: their confidence was in their own valor and good
fortune, not conſidering or remembring that they were come into Egypt, or that they had
put themſelues within the trenches, ſallies, channels, and cuts of a deceitfull riuer, which not
only brought victuals vnto their enemies, but alſo fortified them; who by how much they
were the leſſe valiant, and leſſe vnderſtood the art of war, the more they vſed craft and ſubtiltie L
for their own preſeruation: ſo the cunning enemies drew the Chriſtians out at length, abuſing
them with many delayes and deceits, ſhewing ſemblance of great fear, to make themſelues
the leſſe to be feared, and the more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they
knowing the paſſages and ſtreits of the country, and reſeruing themſelues vnto the occaſions
and aduantages both of the time, and of their enemies, might circumuent them and intrap
them at ſuch time as they leaſt feared any ſuch matter. The Chriſtians at all aduenture had
incamped in a low ground, within the banks and cauſies of that fenny country, vnder the couert
therof thinking themſelues ſafe as in their trenches, againſt al ſudden ſallies or attempts
of their enemies. But theſe places wherin they lay were ſoft & durty, foraſmuch as the country
people vſed at their pleaſure to water them by channels and ſluces out of the riuer Nile; M
which now pluckt vp and opened, the riuer began to riſe and ouerflow all. Then too late they
perceiued themſelues taken as in a grin, without power to defend themſelues, or to make any
reſiſtance, or by any other means to ſhew their valor. So the riuer ſtill ariſing and ouerflowing,
gaue to the Turks and Egyptians good hope of their wars, and of a victory more deſired

The Chriſtians entrapt within the Sluces of the riuer Nile.

than

A than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Chriſtians lay incamped was couered with water, ſo high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to ſtand or lie dry in.

Now at the ſame time the Egyptians had taken the high places, with the paſſages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned country, to the intent that the Chriſtians ſhould not be able to retyre or ſaue themſelues out of the bogs and mariſhes couered ouer with water. So was their raſh valour and preſumptuous confidence in themſelues, expoſed vnto the enemies ſhot and fury; and when they would by force haue defended themſelues, their hardineſſe was ouercome by the crafty ſubtiltie of the weake enemy. Then began euery man to cry out againſt *Pelagius* the Legat, accuſing, condemning, and railing at him: the King himſelfe they blamed B not, for that he had done his duty in diſſuading of this expedition, and was contrary to his good liking himſelfe drawn into this war, the charge wherof he had not without great intreatie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit well complain of this misfortune, leſt in ſo doing he might ſeem to haue had no comfort in himſelfe. But as for the Legat, What counſell could he then giue? What counſell could he then take for himſelfe? They of Venice, Piſa, and Genoa, left at Damiata, were indeed ſtrong at ſea, but how could they come to relieue him at Cair? And how or by what forces could the Chriſtians break out of the banks and ſluces of the cuts and channels, which winding in and out with a thouſand inextricable turnings, incloſed them, beſet alſo on euery ſide with the victorious enemy? After they had bin thus coupt vp and enuironed with the waters 3 daies, you might haue ſeen the poor ſouldiers C in euery place fall down dead for want of food and ſleepe, and ſo periſh in the water: the like miſerable kind of death the reſt were alſo in ſhort time after to expect: other helpe there was none, but to yeeld vnto neceſſitie, and to accept of ſuch conditions as it ſhould pleaſe the proud enemy to propound. Now the Sultan deſired not ſo much their liues, as the liberty of his Country; and therefore required to haue the City of Damiata again reſtored vnto him, and all things elſe in ſuch ſort as were before the beſieging thereof: and ſo the Chriſtians without more ado to depart his Countrey. Hard conditions, if a man reſpect the hope wherupon the Chriſtians had vndertaken this War, and were ſo come into Egypt, with the toyle there by them endured. But vnto him that will but enter into the conſideration of mens affairs, and eſpecially in martiall matters, it will ſeem but an accident to be yeelded to, the like D wherof hath oftentimes hapned vnto the greateſt men of the world. Theſe conditions (ſuch as they were) were by the diſtreſſed Chriſtians accepted of. But when they were brought to Damiata, and there propounded to the Chriſtians there left, a great contention began to ariſe among them; ſome ſaid they would not accept of them, or ſurrender the towne, which beeing kept would be a ſtay for all the affairs of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and a moſt commodious place for them to haue recourſe vnto: but being reſtored and loſt, caried away with it all the hope of the Chriſtians: and that therfore it were better to endure all extremities, than to receiue ſuch diſhonorable and hurtfull peace. Others of the contrary opinion ſaid, That they ought not to forſake them that were in danger before Cair, nor to expoſe them to the butcherie, but to haue a Chriſtian compaſſion of ſo many thouſand ſouls as there lay diſtreſſed, ſeeing E they might be ſaued by ſurrendring that one town: Townes, as they ſaid, conſiſted of the number of men, and not men of the incloſures of walls and ditches. They that were of this opinion for the deliuering vp of the town, ſeeing the other obſtinately ſet down to the contrarie, withdrawing themſelues from the councel, preſently took vp arms, and by force entred the houſes of them of contrary opinion, and took from them their weapons, by that means & perforce to conſtrain them to yeeld to their deſire. As ſoon as they that lay before Cair (almoſt drowned in the waters) vnderſtood of this diſſention at Damiata about the deliuerie of the town, they ſent them word, that if they would not yeeld the Towne to the Sultan, they would forthwith ſend to Ptolemais, which would not fail to do what ſhould be commanded, to haue it in ſtead of Damiata rendred to the Egyptians. So was Damiata again yeelded to the Infidels, F and ſo great labors of the Chriſtians taken at the ſiege & winning therof, all loſt. That which made this indignity more tolerable, was, that Sultan *Meladin* hauing without bloudſhed gained ſo great a victory, did neither by word or deed any thing in deſpight or reproch of the Chriſtians, but vſed them with all curteſie, relieuing them alſo with victuals and other things as they wanted, and by faithfull guids conducting them in ſafety out of the Country.

The miſerie of the Chriſtians in the drowned land.

In like maner alſo *Corradine* his brother, Sultan of Damaſco, made truce with the Latins for eight years. Wherupon the King of Ieruſalem went ouer into Italy, and there by the perſuaſion of *Honorius* the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter *Yoland* (now crowned Queen of Ieruſalem in the right of her mother) in marriage to *Frederick* King of Sicilia, and Emperor of the Latines, the rather thereby to ſtir him vp for the taking in hand of the ſacred war. Euer ſince which time, he and his ſucceſſors Kings of Sicilia haue bin called Kings of Ieruſalem, albeit they haue euilly proſecuted that their pretended right and title, as ſtil buſied in more prophane wars againſt other Chriſtian Princes. King *Iohn* afterwards departing from Rome for France, was by the way honourably entertained at Piſa: but arriuing at the French court, he found *Philip* the French King deſperatly ſick, who by his laſt will and Teſtament gaue vnto the Knights Hoſpitalers and Templers ſixty thouſand crownes for the maintenance of their wars againſt the Infidels; which mony was to their vſe afterward payd vnto King *Iohn*. Who ſhortly after, to diſcharge himſelfe of a vow he had made, to viſit the pilgrimage at Compoſtella; going into Spain, by the way married *Berengaria* the King of Caſtiles daughter: and there ſtaying a great while, returned again into France, where he lay long, expecting the ſetting forward of the Emperor *Frederick* his ſon in law, for recouery of his wiues right to the kingdom of Ieruſalem: which although hee ſolemnly vowed at ſuch time as hee with all princely magnificence maried the ſaid Lady at Rome, yet otherwiſe letted with troubles neerer home, performed not the ſame vntill almoſt ſeuen years after. All which time the Chriſtians in Syria enjoying the fruit of the late concluded peace for 8 yeares, liued in great reſt and quietnes: where ſo leauing them vntill the ariſing of new troubles, let vs in the mean time return again vnto the troubled affairs of the Turks, Greeks, and Latins at Conſtantinople and in the leſſer Aſia.

The death of Henry emperor of Conſtantinople.

Peter Emperor.

Henry the ſecond Emperor of the Latines at Conſtantinople, after he had (as is aforeſayd) with much ado repreſſed the fury of the Bulgarians and Scythes his barbarous enemies, and ſo giuen peace to the miſerable country of Thracia, died, hauing reigned a moſt troubleſom reign about the ſpace of eleuen yeares. After whom ſucceeded *Peter* County of Auſſerre, his ſonne in Law, third Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople. Who in the beginning of his Empire, willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himſelfe of *Theodorus Angelus* a great Prince of Epirus, Competitor in his empire, beſieged him in Dirrachium; which ſtrong City the ſaid *Theodorus* had but a little before ſurpriſed, belonging vnto the Venetian Seigniory. At which ſiege *Peter* the Emperour lying, was ſo cunningly by the wyly Greeke vſed, that a peace was vpon moſt honorable conditions betwixt them concluded, and a familiar kind of friendſhip joined. Inſomuch that the Emperour at his requeſt, not well aduiſed, came vnto him as a gueſt: who now of his enemy became his hoſt, entertaining him with all the formalities that feigned friendſhip could deuiſe. But hauing him now in his power, and fearing no harme, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hoſpitalitie, he moſt traiterouſly ſlew him as he was yet in the midſt of his banquet. Of whoſe end ſome others yet otherwiſe report, as that he ſhould by the ſame *Theodore* haue bin intercepted about the pleaſant woods of Tempe in Theſſaly, as he was trauelling from Rome to Conſtantinople, and ſo afterwards to haue bin by him cruelly put to death. Of whoſe misfortune *Tepulus* Gouernor of Conſtantinople vnderſtanding, for the more ſafety of the ſtate in that vacancie of the Empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for fiue years, and with the Turks for two. Shortly after came *Robert* (ſon to the aforeſaid vnfortunat Emperour *Peter*) with his mother to Conſtantinople, and there in his fathers ſtead was ſolemnly ſaluted Emperor, but not with much better lucke than was his father before him: for ſhortly after his comming, he took to wife a fair yong Lady, the daughter of a great rich and noble matron in the city, but before betrothed vnto a gallant Gentleman a Burgundian born. With whom the old Lady broke her promiſe, and more carefull of her daughters preferment, than her fidelity, gaue her in marriage vnto the yong Emperour. The ioy of which ſo great an honour was ſhortly after conuerted not into a deadly heauines, but euen into death it ſelf: for the yong Burgundian more inraged with the wrong done him, than diſcouraged with the greatneſſe and power of the Emperor, conſorted himſelfe with a company of luſty tall ſouldiers acquainted with his purpoſe, and awaiting his time when the Emperor was abſent, by night entred the court with his deſperat followers, and firſt meeting with the beautifull yong Empreſſe, cut off her noſe and her ears, and afterward threw her old

Robert Emperor of Conſtantinople.

An horrible outrage committed vpon the perſon of an Empreſſe.

mother

A mother into the ſea,and ſo fled out of the city into the woods and mountains,with thoſe deſperat
cut-throats the miniſters of his barbarous crueltie. The Emperor pierced to the heart
with this ſo great a diſgrace, ſhortly after went to Rome, to what purpoſe was not certainely
known;but in returning back againe thorough Achaia,he there died,leauing behind him his
yong ſon *Baldwin*, yet but a childe, begotten by his firſt wife, to ſucceed him in the empire;
who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond, was crowned the fift and laſt Emperor of the Latins
in Conſtantinople.And for becauſe he was as yet but yong and vnfit for the gouernment,he
was by conſent of the Nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the younger
daughter of *Iohn Brenne* King of Ieruſalem,a worthy old captaine,(but as then Gouernour of
Rauenna,which city,he being certaine yeres before ſent for out of France for that purpoſe,by
B *Honorius* the Pope,he notably defended againſt the emperor *Frederick* his ſon in law,but that
affinity was before broken off by the death of the ſaid Emperors wife) who now ſent for out
of Italy vnto Conſtantinople, had committed to his charge and protection, both the perſon
and empire of the yong Emperor *Baldwin*,now his ſon in law. Which great and heauy charge
he for certain yeares after worthily and faithfully diſcharged, vntill ſuch time as that *Baldwin*
was himſelfe grown able to take vpon him the gouernment. Now although the imperial city
of Conſtantinople,with the countries of Thracia, Theſſalia, Macedonia, Achaia, Peloponeſus,and
the reſt of the prouinces of Greece;were al or for the moſt part vnder the gouernment
of *Baldwin* the Emperour, the Venetians, or other the inferiour Latine Princes; yet were the
oppreſſed Greekes, the naturall inhabitants thereof,in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing
C more than that their forrein gouernment;but wholly deuoted to their owne natural Princes,
Theodorus Laſcaris and *Alexius Comnenus*, the one raigning at Nice in Bithynia, the other at
Trapezond in Pontus,both called by the Greeks,Emperours, and ſo of them generally reputed.*Laſcaris*
of the two the better beloued, and by farre of greateſt power, had during the time
of his gouernment fought many an hard battell, (as is in part before declared) and ſtrongly
fortified his chiefe cities againſt the inuaſion of his enemies,as well the Turks as the Latins:
and ſo hauing as it were erected a new empire in Aſia,and there reigned eighteen yeres,died,
leauing behind him one *Iohn Ducas Batazes*,that had maried the faire Lady *Irene* his daughter
and heire, to ſucceed him in the Greeke empire in Aſia. This *Iohn* was a man of a great wit
and ſpirit,and of more grauity for his yeres,than was *Theodorus* his father in law,neuer vndertaking
D any thing before he had thereof well conſidered; and once reſolued, not omitting or
neglecting any thing for the performance therof:ſo that it was not vnfitly ſaid of the Greeks,
The planting of this new empire to haue required the celeritie of *Laſcaris*,but the ſtay therof
to haue been the grauity of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his reign in very ſhort time hauing
ſet all things in good order,greatly augmented his legions,and ſhooting at a fairer mark than
the empire he held,euen the imperiall city it ſelfe, and the recouery of all Thracia & Grecia
out of the hands of the Latines, which could not be done without a fleet at ſea, built a great
number of gallies in the ports of the leſſer Aſia. And ſo hauing rigged vp & manned a ſtrong
fleet,and ſcouring the ſeas, in one Summer took in moſt of the Iſlands of the Ægeum,namely
Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Icaria, Coos, with the famous Iſland of the Rhodes,and many others
E alſo. And not ſo contented, to haue increaſed his empire, the next Spring croſſing the
Helleſpont, and landing his forces firſt inuaded Cherſoneſus; and afterward to terrifie the
Latines, forraged the countrey farre and neere, euen to the gates of Conſtantinople, no man
daring to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him. At which time alſo he tooke many cities and ſtrong
towns alongſt the ſea coaſt,as, Calliopolis,Ceſtus,and Cardia,with diuers others therabout,
ſome by force,ſome by compoſition, the Greeks almoſt in euery place yeelding themſelues,
where they were not ſo oppreſſed by the Latines, as that they could not help him. Now by
theſe proceedings of the Greek Emperor in Europe, was plainly to be ſeene again the ruine
of the Latine Empire in the Eaſt, all things proſpering in his hand according to his hearts
deſire. *Aſſan* the Bulgarian King (no ſmall terror both vnto the Latines and the Greeks) moued
F with the fame hereof,by his Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe vnto *Iohn* the Greek Emperor,
offered his daughter *Helena* in mariage with young *Theodore* his ſonne:of which offer the Emperour
gladly accepted. For being buſied in his great affaires, he was loth to haue ſo great a
King as was *Aſſan*,his enemy, able at his pleaſure to call in the Scythes;who with their multitude,as
a great flood breaking ouer the banks,had oftentimes carried away whole countries

Baldwin the laſt Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople.

Iohn Batazes made Emperor of the Greekes in Aſia.

Plenty enſuing of peace.

An Imperiall Crowne bought with egge mony

before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great Princes by appointment met together about Cherſoneſus, where *Helena* king *Aſſans* daughter, being then about ten yeares old, was with great ioy and triumph ſolemnly married vnto *Theodore* the Emperors ſon, much of the ſame age. Not long after, Embaſſadors were alſo ſent vnto the Emperor from the Sultan of Iconium, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the Tartars not contented to haue driuen the Turks out of Perſia and the far Eaſterne countries, began now alſo to cut them ſhort in their Prouinces in the leſſer Aſia. Wherefore the Sultan of Iconium, fearing leſt whiles he had his hands full of thoſe his moſt dreadfull enemies, of themſelues too ſtrong for him, he ſhould behind be ſet vpon by the Greeke Emperor, and ſo thruſt out of all; ſent theſe his Embaſſadors vnto him for peace: which he for many cauſes eaſily granted. Firſt, for that he foreſaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintaine warre at once both in Aſia againſt the Turks, and in Europ againſt the Latins: then by this warlike nation, as by a moſt ſure bulwarke, to keep his owne countries ſafe from the incurſion of the barbarous Tartars, vnto whoſe fury he ſhould himſelfe lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both ſufficient reaſons for the Emperor to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: ſo was the peace concluded, and the Embaſſadors diſpatched. This peace exceedingly comforted, and afterwards enriched the Emperors countries: for now the people generally deliuered of the feare and miſery of continuall war, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours of peace. Yea the Emperor himſelfe, to the ſtirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie, cauſed ſo much land to be ploughed vp for corne, and ſo many vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully ſuffice his owne houſe, and ſuch poore as he daily relieued; with a great ouerplus, which he cauſed to be carefully layd vp in ſtore: hee kept alſo great herds of cattell, flocks of ſheep, and fowles of all ſorts, without number. The like he cauſed his kinſmen and other of the nobility to do, to the intent that euery great man hauing ſufficient for his owne ſpending at home, ſhould not take any thing from the poore country men, that ſo euery man contenting himſelfe with his owne, might liue in peace without the grieuance of others. By which meanes in a few yeares euery barne and granarie was full of corne, euery cellar full of wines, euery ſtable full of cattell, euery ſtore-houſe full of victuals; the fields were couered with corn and cattel, and in euery mans yard were to be ſeen all kinds of tame fowles, without number. About which time alſo there fortuned a great famine among the Turks, inſomuch as that they were inforced to fetch their greateſt reliefe from out of the Chriſtian countries. Then might you haue ſeen euery way full of Turks, men, women, and children, trauelling too and fro into the Emperors countrey for victuals; their gold, their ſiluer, their other rich commodities, they gaue vnto the Chriſtians for food; a little corn was worth a good commodity, euery bird, ſheep, and kid, was ſold at a great rate: by which meanes the countrey mens houſes were ful of the Turks wealth, and the emperors coffers ſtored with their treaſure: the greatnes of the profit ariſing of this plenty of the Chriſtians, and penury of the Turks, may hereby eaſily be gathered, for that of egges daily ſold, ſo much money was in ſhort time gathered, as made the Empreſſe an Imperiall crowne of gold, richly ſet with moſt orient pearle and precious ſtones of great price; which the Emperor called *Ouata*, for that it was bought with egge money. Thus flouriſhed the Greeke empire in the leſſer Aſia, vnder the good Emperor *Iohn Ducas*: the Turks at the ſame time declining as faſt, daily pilled in one corner or another by the Tartars, and conſumed with famine at home.

1227

Frederick the German emperor had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition into the Holy land; for performance whereof he was hardly called vpon, firſt by *Honorius quartus* the Pope, & afterward for his long delay excommunicated by *Gregory* the ninth: not ſo much for the zeale they had vnto the ſacred war, as to buſie the Emperour afar off in warres abroad, whilſt they in the meane time, to increaſe their owne power, drew from him ſome one part or other of his empire: which he not without cauſe fearing, from day to day, & yere to yeare, delayed the performance of his vow, ſo much vrged by the Pope; by his preſence & power ſtill diſappointing all the ſlie deſignes of the Popes, conceiued or put in practiſe againſt him: but now at length mooued, or more truly to ſay, inforced with the thundering and lightning of Pope *Gregorie*, he reſolued to ſet forward in the yeare 1227. About which time, *Iolenta*, or *Yoland* his wife, the king of Ieruſalem his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of a faire ſonne. Now were met together at Brunduſium an exceeding great number of couragious

A gious and deuout ſouldiers out of all parts of Chriſtendome, eſpecially out of Germanie, vnder
the leading of *Lodwick* Lantgraue of Thuringe, and *Sigefride* Biſhop of Anguſta; al ſtirred
vp with the fame of ſo notable an expedition. But whileſt they there ſtaid ſomewhat long, the
plague aroſe among the Germanes, whereof in ſhort time after, both the Lantgraue and the
Biſhop died, with many of the other beſt ſoldiers. The emperor himſelfe was vpon his way as
far as Malea, vpon the further ſide of Peloponeſus, where falling deſperatly ſicke of a burning
feuer, and put back with contrary winds, he returned againe to Brunduſium, and there ſtaid a
great while after. Then began the Pope againe to fret and fume, and to caſt out his excommunications
againſt the emperor, as if it had bin thunder and lightning, accuſing him of periury,
infidelity, and many other grieuous crimes; of all which the Emperor was ready to haue cleered
B himſelfe in an open aſſembly of the Princes of Germany to be holden at Rauenna, had it
not bin by the Pope and the troubles of Lombardy diſturbed. Neuertheleſſe, he by open proteſtations
and writings, fully anſwered all the Popes vniuſt accuſations, wherewith hee had
been ſo hardly charged: and yet deſirous to performe the expedition by him taken in hand,
hauing ſet all things in good order, and put himſelfe againe in a readines, he ſet forward from
Brunduſium in Auguſt, in the yeare 1228, leauing the charge of his territories in Italy vnder 1228
the care of *Reynold* Duke of Spaleto. The Pope diſpleaſed, for that the Emperor at his departure
had neither reconciled himſelfe, nor taken his leaue of him; and deeming therein his excommunications
and fulminations to be contemned and ſet at naught, fell into ſuch a rage
and choler, that he forbad all the Chriſtian forces that were in Syria, to follow him, or to
C yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters alſo vnto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement
with the Emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy Land: which letters the
Sultan afterwards ſent vnto the Emperor. Neither yet ſo contented, immediatly after his departure,
ran vpon his kingdome of Naples, and ſo filled all Italy with troubles. Neuertheles
the Emperour arriuing at Ptolemais, was there honorably receiued of the Chriſtian forces,
notwithſtanding the Popes threats and curſings. Of whoſe arriual Sultan *Meledin* hauing intelligence,
and loth to draw ſo mighty an enemy as was the emperor, vpon him, by his embaſſadors
offered him moſt honorable conditions of peace, which before he would accept of, he
by conuenient meſſengers ſent vnto the Pope, to haue his conſent and approbation. But ſuch
was his rage, as that he would not ſuffer the Meſſengers to come into his preſence, or vouchſafe
D to read the Emperors letters, being brought vnto him, but like a mad man preſently rent
them in pieces. All which indignities the Emperor neuertheleſſe took in good part, and concluded
a peace with the Turks for ten yeares, vpon theſe conditions: Firſt, That he ſhould be
anointed and accounted king of Ieruſalem: then, That the Holy City, with all the land of Paleſtine
ſhould be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That he might at his pleaſure fortifie the cities
of Nazareth and Ioppe: fourthly, That all ſuch places as were ſometime in the power of *Baldwin*
the fourth King of Ieruſalem, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, ſhould be reſtored:
and laſt of all, That all priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty without ranſome. So
the peace concluded, the Emperor with his army came to the deſolate city of Ieruſalem, and
there vpon Eaſter day with great ſolemnity was crowned king thereof, in the yere 1229. And 1229
E ſo hauing repaired the wals of the city, with certain Churches, fortified Nazareth and Ioppe,
and furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and appointed *Reynold* Duke of Bauaria, his lieutenant
in Syria, he with two gallies only returned into Italy. Euer ſince which time the kings
of Sicilia haue beene alſo called Kings of Ieruſalem, and haue oftentimes borne the armes of
both Kingdomes.

Fredericke the Emperor crowned King of Ieruſalem.

The next yeare Pope *Gregory*, in deſpight of the emperor *Frederick*, more than for any zeale 1230
to the Chriſtian Religion, did by the Dominicans and Franciſcans (two orders of Friers but
then lately erected) as by his trumpeters, ſtir vp a wonderfull number of zealous and deuout
Chriſtians, almoſt in euery part of Chriſtendome, to take vpon them the croſſe (as they termed
it) the cogniſance of ſuch as had by vow bound themſelues to take vp arms againſt the
F Turks and Saraſins, for a recouery or defence of the Holy land. Theſe deuout men met together
in great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* K. of Nauar, *Almericus* County of Montfort,
Henry County of Champaigne, and others too long to rehearſe, (of purpoſe ſtirred vp to
trouble the ten yeares peace before concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Turks in Syria)
ſet forward, and after long trauell paſſing the ſtreight of Boſphorus, not far from Conſtantinople,

The vnfortunat expedition of the King of Nauarre into the Holy Land.

nople into Bithynia, came to the riuer Sangarius, & there ſtaid a while to refreſh themſelues. G Afterwards paſſing through Galatia, and ſo from country to country through the leſſer Aſia, they came at length to the ſtreits of the mountaine Amanus (a part of the mountain Taurus) which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of Iconium himſelfe not far off incamped with a ſtrong army. Neuertheleſſe the valiant County of Montfort, which had the leading of the vantgard, couragiouſly marching forward, by plaine force opened the paſſage of the mountain, hauing ſlain or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof: the king of Nauarre in the meane time (though in vain) aſſailing the Sultan in his camp, who fearing the great power of the Chriſtians, kept himſelfe within his owne ſtrength, and would not ſtir. Wherefore the King ſeeing it to no purpoſe there longer to ſtay, diuiding his army into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the County, placing his baggage in the H midſt, and the beſt of his ſouldiers in the rereward. But whilſt they thus march vp the great mountaine, the Turks better acquainted with thoſe paſſages, were ſtil at hand, aſſailing them ſomtime behind, ſomtime on the one ſide, ſomtime on the other, as they ſaw occaſion: and at length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine, ſet vpon them, now before almoſt ſpent with hunger and trauell, and there ſlew of them an exceeding great number. But by the comming on of the night the battell was broken off, and the Chriſtians repairing vnto their enſignes, paſſed the ſtreits, and ſo at length arriued at Antioch, hauing loſt by the way the greateſt part of the army, with all their wealth, their victuals, and moſt part of their horſes: the remnant yet left, hauing a little refreſhed themſelues, were by ſea tranſported to Ptolemais; from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to Gaza, where they lay, and of I the ſpoyle of the countrey greatly enriched themſelues. As for any other great matters, they were not able of themſelues to take in hand; and help of ſuch forces as the emperor had before left at Ieruſalem, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expreſſe charge from the Emperor himſelfe, not to do any thing againſt the enemy, tending to the breach of the tenne yeares league: which the Turks well perceiuing, and that they had to do but with theſe new come gueſts, and ſome few others their partakers; hauing gathered together their forces, lay in ambuſh for them in euery corner, to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that theſe of Gaza going far into the country, and returning laded with ſpoile, were ſet vpon by the Turks; whom they (caſting away the ſpoyle they had before taken) notably repulſed & put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a far greater number of K Turkes than before; which now putting on, charged the Chriſtians, who all that night had ſtood watching in their armor, and ſo ioined with them a moſt cruel battell: wherin the Chriſtians ſhewed ſo much valour as was poſſible for men to do, but wearied with the long fight, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, they were ouercome and ſlaine almoſt euery mothers ſon. Among the reſt, the two Counties, *Americus* and *Henry* fell: the King of Nauarre himſelfe hardly eſcaped by the exceeding ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and by vncertaine wayes wandring vp and downe the countrey, not knowing well which way to take, after two dayes came by good fortune to Ioppe: ſome few others eſcaped by flight to Ptolemais, the heauy meſſengers of the misfortune of their fellowes. The King afterwards viſiting the holy places at Ieruſalem, returned home into his countrey, with ſome few of his followers, hauing L performed nothing of that the world expected.

The Chriſtians by perſwaſion of the Templers breake their League with the Turks.

About foure yeares after, *Reynold* Duke of Bauaria, whom *Fredericke* the Emperor had left his lieutennant in Ieruſalem, died, hauing by the ſpace of fiue yeres peaceably gouerned that bruiſed kingdome. After whoſe death, the Templers (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes haue broken the League, but that they were by his wiſedome reſtrained) now tooke occaſion to ſtirre vp the people to take vp armes againſt the Turks, without reſpect vnto the league yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to inſue. Wherof the Ægyptian Sultan hearing, raiſed a great army, ſending alſo for the Choraſines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto Babylon, to come vnto his aid. Thus become very ſtrong, hee firſt layd ſiege to Gaza, but a little before repayred and fortified by the King of Nauarre and the Templers, which he at length M tooke by force, and put to ſword all that were therein, as well the citiſens, as the garriſon ſouldiers: in like manner he dealt alſo with them of Aſcalon and other places as he went. To repreſſe this his fury, the Templers and Hoſpitallers had aſſembled the whole ſtrength of that weake Kingdome, and neere vnto Tyberias came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon

their

A their approch haſtily retyred, as if he had for feare ſhunned battell. But whiles the Chriſtians as victors the night following lay negligently incamped along the riuer ſide, hee returning backe again with his army, came vpon them before they were well aware, halfe ſleeping, halfe waking, but altogether vnarmed, with a moſt horrible outcry. The Chriſtians now altogether awaked, and not a little troubled with the ſuddennes of the matter, haſtily and diſorderly (as muſt needs in ſo great a confuſion) tooke vp their weapons, ſuch as came firſt to hand, and ſo couragiouſly oppoſed themſelues againſt their enemies. There was fought a moſt terrible and doubtfull battell, and that alſo for a long ſpace, the Chriſtians ſtill incouraging one another to do their laſt deuoir: but the Turks ſtil keeping their order againſt the diſordred Chriſtians, and far moe alſo than they in number, preuailed, and there ouerthrew them with a great B ſlaughter, but not without the loſſe of many thouſands alſo of their owne men, which there lay dead vpon the ground. Moſt part of the beſt commanders both of the Templers and Hoſpitallers were there ſlaine, ſuch as eſcaped fled to Tyre.

1234 *Ieruſalem take and raſed by the Turks.*

The Sultan incouraged with ſo great a victory, marched forthwith to Ieruſalem, which he tooke without reſiſtance, and there put to ſword all that he found therein, men, women, and children, without reſpect of ſex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the ſame, raſed it downe to the ground, burning the buildings, and ouerthrowing the wals not long before repaired by the emperor *Frederick*, and much beautified by his lieutenant *Reynold*. And carried with an infernall fury, defaced and moſt ſhamefully polluted the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauior, neuer before then violated or defiled, but of all nations vntouched & reuerenced; which for all that C may ſeem to haue bin done not ſo much for the hatred vnto the Chriſtian religion, as for that it was the place of all others moſt deſired of the Chriſtians; and for the gaining whereof they had vndertaken ſo many hard aduentures, and ſo much troubled the Saraſins and Turks.

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league, the moſt antient and famous city of Ieruſalem, ſometime the terreſtriall ſeat of the moſt Higheſt, and glory of the world, fell againe into the power of the Turks and Infidels, in the yeare 1234, in whoſe hands it hath euer ſince remained euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous city, gouerned by one of the Turks Sanzacks, and for nothing now more famous, than for the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauiour againe repaired and much viſited by the deuout Chriſtians, and not vnreuerenced by the Turkes themſelues.

D The loſſe of this ſo famous a city, together with the dangerous ſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, much grieued the other Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, eſpecially *Fredericke* the Emperor, by whom it had bin but a few yeares before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedy the matter according to his deſire, being himſelfe grieuouſly intangled with the endles troubles which Pope *Gregory* had as it were by tradition left vnto the other Popes his ſucceſſors, for the troubling of his ſtate, vntill at length they had depriued him of his Empire, and not long after of his life alſo. Among other the great Princes, carefull for the poore Chriſtians in Syria, was *Lewis* the ninth, the French King, a Prince of great power, but of all others of that time moſt famous for his zeale vnto the Chriſtian Religion, and for his deuout maner of life: who abounding in wealth and all things elſe of a great Prince to be deſired, and E oftentimes conſidering the notable expeditions many Chriſtian Princes had (to their immortall glory) made, ſome into Syria, ſome into Ægypt, againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, was many times about to haue taken vpon himſelf the like. But in theſe his deuout motions, before he could reſolue vpon ſo great an enterpriſe, hee fell dangerouſly ſicke, inſomuch that for certaine dayes he lay ſpeechleſſe, deuoid of ſence and motion, without any ſigne of life, but that he did a little faintly breath: when comming a little vnto himſelfe, (whether moued by deuotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weake braine, is vncertaine) the firſt thing he asked for was the Croſſe (the cogniſance of ſuch as vowed themſelues vnto the ſacred war) which he ſolemnly receiued at the hands of the Biſhop of Paris. At which time alſo his three brethren, *Alphonſus* County of F Poitiers, *Charles* County of Aniou, and *Robert* County of Arthois, with *Hugh* Duke of Burgondy, *William* Earle of Flanders, *Hugh* County of Saint *Paul*, and afterwards moſt of the nobility of France, to accompany the King, tooke vpon them the ſame charge. Neuertheleſſe it was not by and by taken in hand, but ſome few yeres let paſſe in the conſultation and preparation for ſo great an enterpriſe: many in the mean time diſcharging their vow, by dying before 1248 at home in peace in their owne countries. At length the deuout King ſtill reſolute in his former G determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readines for his iourney, came to Lyons to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, (who for feare of the Emperor *Frederick*, then lay there for his more ſafty) and from thence to Marceilles; where imbarking himſelfe with his army the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt, the yeare 1248, he the twentieth day of September following arriued in ſafety in the Iſland of Cyprus, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Luſignan* then King of that countrey.

King Lewis ſetteth forward toward the Holy Land.

Now was the French King deſirous to haue gone directly for Ægypt, without longer ſtay in Cyprus, had he not been otherwiſe perſuaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yere began to grow vnſeaſonable, and the weather tempeſtuous: but H whilſt he there ſtaid, paſſing the Winter, the plague (one of the ready attendants of great armies) began to ariſe in the camp, which daily increaſing, had in ſhort time taken away a great number of men, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort. Among whom were *Robert* Biſhop of Beauvais, *Iohn* County Montfort, the Counties of Vendoſme and Dreux, *Archambaut* Lord of Burbon, with diuers other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 240. ſo that by force of the infectious contagion, the King was conſtrained to diuide his army into diuers places of the Iſland, attending vntill the infection ſhould ceaſe. In the meane time the Templers hauing in ſuſpect both the French and the Turks, (the Turks, for feare they ſhould ouerrunne all; the French, leſt hauing gotten the victory, they ſhould take all into their own hands, and ſo diminiſh I their power and authority wherewith they tyrannized ouer the other poore Chriſtians) ſent Embaſſadors ſecretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of Ægypt, to perſuade him betimes to come to ſome good agreement for peace, ſo to auert the power of the French King from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, ſent one of his noblemen to intreat with the maſter of the Templers concerning a peace, ſo that it might be by conſent of the French. The Templers glad of ſo honourable a meſſage, writ vnto the French king out of Syria, how the matter ſtood, perſuading him to accept of the peace offred, ſetting out in great words the Sultans great preparations and power. And ſo indeed had abuſed the king, had not the King of Cyprus, acquainted with his doings, perſuaded him that it was but a fineneſſe of the great Maſter, and that he had firſt ſent vnto the Sultan, and procured that nobleman to be ſent: which the King vpon conſideration perceiuing to be K true, fed the Turks Embaſſador with hope of peace, but writ to the Maſter of the Templers, vpon the price of his head, from thenceforth not to receiue any embaſſage from the enemy, or to haue any further intelligence with him.

Winter now paſt, and the plague well ceaſed, diuers noble gentlemen and great commanders which following the king, and ſetting forth ſomwhat late, or for feare of the plague had ſtayed by the way, and wintred ſome in one place, ſome in another, began to repaire vnto Cyprus: as *Robert* Duke of Burgondy, who hauing wintred in Achaia, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the King, with a number of good horſemen, and with him *William* Prince of Achaia, with a great fleet out of Peloponeſus, which countrey, with moſt part of Grecia, was then vnder the command of the Latines; among others came alſo *William* ſyrnamed *Longeſpie*, L Earle of Saliſbury, with a band of luſty tall ſouldiers. So the army being met together, and all things againe in readineſſe, King *Lewis* departing from Cyprus, and toſſed at ſea with contrary winds, about fiue days after fell with the coaſt of Ægypt, and there with all his fleet came before the ſtrong towne of Damiata, being (as we haue ſaid) the key of that kingdome. The Sultan long before vnderſtanding of the French Kings purpoſe for the inuaſion of his country, had ſtrongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them ſtrong garriſons, beſide the great power, he kept with himſelfe in readineſſe at all aſſaies, as occaſion ſhould require. Vpon the Chriſtians approch, the Gouernour of Damiata was ready vpon the ſhore, with a number of braue ſouldiers to keep them from landing; who neuertheleſſe, reſolutely before ſet down for the performing of that they came for, manning forth their long boats with their M archers and croſſebowes to beat the enemie from the ſhore, ranne a ground with their other ſmal boats, made of purpoſe for the landing of men, and ſo without longer ſtay came to handy blowes; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharp and cruell battell, the Chriſtians ſtriuing to land, and the Turks to keep them off, many falling on both ſides. But what ſhould an handfull

A full doe againſt ſo many? The Turks oppreſſed with the multitude ſtill landing more and
more, and hauing done what was poſſible for them to do, fled into the towne, leauing behind
them their gouernour, with fiue hundred of their beſt ſouldiers dead on the ſhore.

This city of Damiata was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not
bin taken but by more than a yeares ſiege, (as is before declared) and that not ſo much by the
valour of the Chriſtians, as by the extremity of the plague and famine: ſince which time it
had bin ſtrongly fortified by the Turks, with deep ditches, high wals, and ſtrong bulwarkes,
and was at that time wel ſtored with victuals alſo, and all things els for the induring of a long
ſiege. Neuertheles, the ſoldiers that were left, and the citizens (diſcouraged with the loſſe of
their gouernor, and remembrance of the miſeries before endured in the former ſiege, and ſee-
B ing the Chriſtians now ready again to beſiege the ſame) the night following, a little before
the breake of day, ſet fire euery man vpon his owne houſe, and ſo by a bridge which they had
made of boats fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare
their enemies ſhould thereby haue followed after them. The Chriſtians perceiuing their
flight, without reſiſtance entred the city, and being ſtrangers, did what they could to quench
the fire, and to ſaue that which the inhabitants themſelues would fain haue with fire deſtroid;
and ſo afterwards found great aboundance of riches, with plentifull ſtore of all manner of vi-
ctuals, wherwith the ſouldiers both inriched and refreſhed themſelues. This ſo happy and
vnexpected a victory hapned to the Chriſtians about the beginning of October, in the yeare
1249. Sultan *Meledin* himſelfe, diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo ſtrong a city, offered vnto the
C French King for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territory in Sy-
ria and the land of Paleſtine, than the Chriſtians had of long time before: which large offer
was by the French, eſpecially by the Earle of Arthois the Kings brother, proudly reiected,
and Alexandria, the moſt famous port and metropoliticall city of Ægypt, further demanded,
to the great diſcontentment of the Turks and Saraſins. In theſe troubles died *Meledin* the old
Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whoſe ſtead *Melech ſala* (or *Melexala*, as ſome
call him) a valiant and couragious Prince, well beloued of his ſubiects, and but euen then re-
turned out of Syria and Arabia, where he had bin to craue aid of the other Mahometan Prin-
ces, was choſen Sultan. Which Princes, eſpecially the Sultan of Damaſco, although they had
not of long bin at any good accord among themſelues, or with the Ægyptian, yet in this com-
D mon danger of their ſuperſtition, which by the loſſe of Ægypt was like to bee greatly weak-
ned, they ioyned hands together, and ſo ſent him great ayd.

The citizens of Damiata ſet fire vpon the city, and ran away by the light.

The new Sultan thus ſtrengthned, drew neerer to the Chriſtians, which then lay encamped
not far from Damiata, and had with them a hot ſkirmiſh, wherin he was put to the worſe, and
ſo with ſome loſſe glad to retire. But the Chriſtians the next day, in hope of like ſucceſſe ſal-
lying out againe, were ouerthrowne, with ten times more loſſe than was he the day before, and
ſo fain to fly vnto the camp. By which victory the Sultan incouraged, began now to conceiue
better hope of the ſucceſſe of his wars; and by ſtopping the paſſages both by water and land,
to prouide, that no victuals could without great perill be brought either vnto the city or the
camp, inſomuch that at length victuals began to grow ſcarce in both: whereof the Sultan was
E not ignorant, as being thereof throughly informed by ſuch fugitiues, as for want or other
cauſes, oftentimes fled out of the French camp into his.

Winter thus paſſing, and wants ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that the gouernour of the great
city of Caire (vpon the fortune whereof depended the ſtate of the whole kingdome) a man
not euill affected to the Chriſtian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan,
for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed; by ſecret meſſengers perſuaded the
French king to come on with his army to the city, the regal ſeat of the Sultan, promiſing him
to deliuer it into his power, with full inſtructions what he had in all points to do for the gai-
ning therof. Wherupon the King, who had before of himſelfe purpoſed the ſame exploit, but
now filled with a greater hope, aſſembled together the greateſt forces he was able to make.
F At which time alſo he ſent for the Earle of Saliſbury, with the reſt of the Engliſhmen, who
for many proud indignities offered them by the French (eſpecially by the Earle of Artois the
kings brother) whereof they could haue no redreſſe, were gone to Ptolemais, without purpoſe
to haue any more ſerued in thoſe wars: but now being ſent for by the King, with promiſe of
better vſage and honorable recompence for the wrongs paſt, returned againe into Ægypt,

A faire offer fondly refuſed.

there to do their laſt endeuor. With whoſe comming the King ſtrengthned, but more by the G
new ſupplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonſus* out of France, leauing the Duke of
Burgondy with a conuenient garriſon, with the Queene his wife, *Odo* the Popes Legate, and
diuers other great Ladies in Damiata, he himſelfe ſet forward with his army toward Caire.
Of whoſe comming the Sultan hearing, and loth vpon the fortune of one battell, to aduenture
his whole eſtate, offred by his Embaſſadors to reſtore vnto him all the land of Paleſtine,
with a great ſumme of mony for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars, and all the priſoners
he had taken, ſo that he would redeliuer vnto him the city of Damiata, and ioyne with
him in league and amity. Which faire offer for all that, the French King, by the perſuaſion of
Legat and others, refuſed. So the King marching ſtill on, was to paſſe an arme of the great
riuer Nilus (the Sultan on the other ſide ſtill ready with his army to ſtay his paſſage) which H
he had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the ſame purpoſe: but better
conducted by a fugitiue Saraſin vnto a foord, before to him vnknowne, ſent his brother *Robert*
Earle of Artois, with the third part of the army before him, accompanied with the maſter of
the Templers and the Earle of Salisbury, with their followers. Who paſſing the riuer at the
aforeſaid foord, ſuddenly aſſailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then abſent in ſolemniſing
one of their prophane feaſts) & put them to flight. With which victory the French
Earle aboue meaſure incouraged, would needs on forwards, as if hee would himſelfe alone
haue carried away the glory of the whole conqueſt. Whom for all that certain of the antient
Templers, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than hee, and better
conſidering alſo of their owne ability and ſtrength, perſuaded him to content himſelfe with I
the honour he had already got, and not to proceed any further in proſecuting of the enemie,
vntill the comming of the reſt of the army, eſpecially in that deſperat eſtate of the enemie,
wherein he was to win or loſe all. Vnto whom the proud Earle in great deſpight replyed, that
he would proſecute his victory, and follow his good fortune; calling them daſtards and cowards,
opprobriouſly obiecting vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported,
That the Holy land might long ſince haue been againe vnited vnto the body of the
Chriſtian common-weale, but for the foule colluſion of the falſe Templers and Hoſpitallers
with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull ſpeech, the maſter of the Templers not
without cauſe moued, anſwered for himſelfe and his fellowes, that he ſhould, when he would
and where he durſt, diſplay his enſignes, and he ſhould find them as ready to follow as he was K
to goe before them. The Earle of Salisbury alſo willing to ſtint this ſtrife, perſuaded Earle
Robert not to be ſo wedded in his owne opinion, but to liſten to the graue and wholſom counſell
of the Templers, being men of great experience: and ſo turning vnto the maſter of the
Templars began likewiſe with gentle words to pacifie him alſo. But whilſt he was yet ſpeaKing,
the Earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him daſtard and coward,
and wiſhed that the army were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countreymen.
Whereunto the Earle of Salisbury anſwered, *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and whereſoeuer you
dare ſet your foot, mine ſhall be as far as yours; and I beleeue we go this day, where you ſhall not dare to
come nigh my horſes taile*; as afterward indeed it proued. How be it the Earle ſo ſaid, for that
Earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and diſdaine, after their manner L
called him and his followers Engliſh tailes.

The proud earle conſtant in his former purpoſe, and not to be otherwiſe perſuaded, ſet forward;
and firſt aſſaulted a little towne or caſtle, not far off, called Manſor, wherunto he inconſiderately
approching, was notably repulſed; and hauing loſt a number of his men, was as a man
diſcouraged, about to haue retired. When ſuddenly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the Earle
had thought, ſtirred vp with the noiſe of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding
the army of the Chriſtians now diuided (as he had long wiſhed) with the multitude of
his people incloſed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherin though
the Chriſtians right worthily behaued themſelues, for the ſmall number they were, yet oppreſſed
with the multitude, and on euery ſide beſet, they were ſlaine down right. Then but all M
too late, it repented the Earle of his fooliſh raſhnes, and that he had not harkened vnto better
counſel, and ſeeing the Earle of Salisbury valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to fly, ſeeing
God as he ſaid fought againſt them. Whereunto the noble Earle anſwered no more, but *God
forbid that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Saraſin.* The French Earle thin-

A king by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe to haue ſaued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking
the riuer of Thaſnes,ouerladed with his armour,was there drowned. The Earle of Salisbury
couragiouſly enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully ſlew many a Turke
and Saraſin that day, vntill that at length hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe ſo
wounded in the legs, as that he was not able longer to ſtand, yet vpon his knees laying about
him like a deſperate man,and ſelling his life as deere as he could,was there ſlain,but not
vanquiſhed. With him periſhed the whole army,ſo incloſed by the Sultan, that ſcarce any one
eſcaped aliue, more than two Templers,one Hoſpitaller,and one common ſouldier, the
meſſengers of this heauy newes.

Earle Robert in flying drowned.

The Earle of Salubury valiantly fighting ſlaine.

About the ſame time alſo ſicknes daily increaſing in the French camp,the king purpoſing
B to march forward to Caire, ſent a great number of ſicke and weake people downe the riuer of
Nilus to Damiata:of whoſe going the Sultan vnderſtanding,cauſed a great number of ſmal
boats to be carried in carts by land vnto the riuers ſide,which wel manned,and meeting them
by the way,ſet vpon them,and burnt or drowned them euery mothers ſonne, ſauing one only
Engliſhman,called *Alexander Giffard*,who wounded in fiue places of his body,eſcaped yet
into the French camp,reporting there what had hapned vnto the reſt.

Now had the Sultan alſo got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernor of Caire
and the King, for the betraying of the city:and thereupon had cauſed him to be ſuddenly
apprehended and put in ſafe keeping,vntill he were at better leaſure to vnderſtand farther of the
matter:which no leſſe troubled the French King,than did the former misfortune;al his hope
C for the yeelding vp of the city,being therby cut off:thus his hopes together with his ſtrength
daily decreaſing,he would haue gladly accepted of the conditions which he before refuſed,
which the Sultan,now growne very ſtrong, would by no meanes heare of,but in ſtead thereof,
by way of deriſion ſent to know of him,what was become of all his mattockes, forkes, rakes,
ſyths,plows, and harrows,which he had brought ouer with him? and why he ſet them not to
work,but ſuffred them like an euil husband to rot and ruſt beſide him? All which with much
more,the good king was glad to put vp:for now his forces greatly diminiſhed,as wel by
ſickneſſe,as by the former loſſes,finding himſelfe far to weake, he would fain haue retired backe
again to Damiata:which the Sultan foreſeeing,got ſo betwixt him and home,that now there
was no remedy,but either to fight it out,or yeeld. The king himſelfe had bin often before
D intreated by his nobility, whilſt the riuer was yet vnpoſſeſſed by the enemy, to haue conueyed
himſelfe by water to Damiata,for that in the ſafety of his perſon conſiſted(as they ſaid)the
ſafety of his kingdom, whatſoeuer became of them:whereunto he could neuer be perſuaded,
ſaying,that he would neuer forſake his people,becauſe he would not be forſaken of them,but
was reſolued to indure with them whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon him : ſo
paſſing the riuer by the ſame foord wherby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly paſſed,
and comming to the place where the battell was fought, he might ſee the dead bodies of the
Chriſtians pitifully mangled,with their heads & hands cut off:for the Sultan,the more to
incourage his ſoldiers,had before the battell proclaimed,that whoſoeuer ſhould bring him the
head or hand of a Chriſtian,ſhould haue a great reward for his labor;in hope wherof,they had
E ſo diſmembred them. But long he had not there ſtaid, but that the Sultan began ſuddenly to
appeare,with a moſt huge great army,as if he would euen with the ſight thereof haue
diſcouraged the Chriſtians:againſt whom for al that,the French men in good order oppoſed
themſelues,and for the ſpace of 3 houres made great reſiſtance:but what could one do againſt ten,
& he alſo fainting for ſicknes & food? the hard plight wherin the greateſt part of the French
army then was. In concluſion, oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies,and no way left
to flie,they were all ouerthrowne and ſlain,except ſome few,ſaued in hope of great ranſome.
The king himſelfe,with his two brethren, *Alphonſus* and *Charles*,and ſome few others,were
taken priſoners,and brought vnto the Sultan: who demanding of him,what had moued him ſo
to make war againſt him? was anſwered by the King,that it was for religion,and the defence
F of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battel,fought the 5. of Aprill,in the yere 1250,
beſides the common ſoldiers, were ſlain moſt of the nobility of France,& all their tents taken.

The Gouernour of Caire apprehended.

The Sultan preſently vpon this ouerthrow,ſent of his owne ſouldiers the like number that
the French were of,with French enſignes, and diſguiſed in the attire of the ſlain Frenchmen,
to Damiata,where the Duke of Burgondy,the French Queene,and the Popes Legate lay; in
hope

hope to haue bin ſo let in for frenchmen:but they were not ſo wel masked,but that they were G
by them of the city diſcouered for enemies, and ſo kept out and deceiued of their purpoſe.

The Chriſtians thus ouerthrown, and the French King taken priſoner, *Melech-ſala* the Sul-
tan taking compaſſion vpon him,and yet minding of his life to make his own gain;cheering
him vp with comfortable ſpeeches, began to talk with him of his deliuerance, and of a good
attonement to be made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan
were,That the King ſhould forthwith deliuer again vnto him the city of Damiata,and more-
ouer pay vnto him for the ranſome of himſelfe and his, and for the charges of the war, eight
thouſand pound of gold:That all priſoners ſhould on both ſides be frankly ſet at liberty,and
ſo a peace to be taken for ten yeres:for the more aſſurance whereof, the Sultan offred to ſwear,
That if he failed in the performance thereof, to renounce his *Mahomet*: requiring alſo of the H
king to ſweare,If he failed in any thing that he had promiſed,to deny his Chriſt to be God:
which prophane oath the King deteſting,and wiſhing rather to die than to giue the ſame,the
Sultan wondring at his conſtancy, tooke his word without any oath at all, and ſo publiſhed
the league. But whilſt they were comming together to Damiata,*Melech-ſala* now in the pride
of this victory,fearing nothing leſſe than the ſudden change of fortune,or the miſchief han-
ging ouer his head,was in the preſence of a number of his noblemen ſuddenly ſlain by two deſ-
perat Mamulukes; and one *Turquiminus* a ſturdy ſlaue of their owne order and vocation (by
whoſe procurement it was ſuppoſed to haue beene done) by the conſent of the whole armie
created Sultan in his ſtead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-ſala*, made
another in his owne name with the King,much vpon the ſame conditions that the other was; I
which after he had receiued Damiata,he cauſed openly to be proclaimed. Neuertheles after
that King *Lewis* had payed his ranſome, and was with the remnant of his army by the Geno-
waies tranſported from Damiata to Ptolemais, the falſe miſcreant performed not the half of
that he had promiſed,of twelue thouſand Chriſtian captiues that ſhould haue beene ſet free,
ſcarce inlarging foure thouſand; and killing all the ſicke ſouldiers whom by his promiſe hee
ought to haue relieued,neither ſuffering any Chriſtian to cary any of his goods with him out
of Ægypt,which by the league he ought to haue done alſo.

The French King comming to Ptolemais, and purpoſing to haue returned home, was in-
treated by the maſter of the Templars and Hoſpitalers,and other the nobility of the Chriſti-
ans, to ſtay, which he did almoſt by the ſpace of foure yeres: in which time he repaired the K
cities of Cæſarea and Ioppe, and fortified many ſtrong places for the defence of the Chri-
ſtians againſt the infidels:and ſo commending the protection thereof vnto the Knights of the
ſacred war,and ſending his brethren away before him, followed after himſelfe,greatly lamen-
ted for by all the Chriſtians in Syria,and ſo arriued in France the ſixt yeare from the time of
his departing thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the
French King,wherin as ſome write,were eighty thouſand Chriſtians loſt:howbeit the French
Chronicles extenuating their loſſe,report,of two and thirty thouſand French,ſix thouſand to
haue returned againe into France. The City of Damiata in the ſpace of a few yeares twice
woon,and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, was ſhortly after the deliuering vp therof,by the Sul-
tan raſed down to the ground, becauſe it ſhould no more ſerue the Chriſtians for an entrance L
into his kingdome.

The beginning of the Mamalukes and their kingdome.

The late Ægyptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Chriſtian princes,& repoſing
no great aſſurance in the prowes of the effœminate Ægyptians, a people fitter for merchan-
dize and other baſe occupations than for chiualry and war,had for the ſtrengthening of their
kingdome,bought an infinite number of ſlaues,eſpecially of the poore and hardy Circaſſians,
called in antient time *Geta* & *Zinchi*,neer to Cholchis & the Euxine ſea,brought vnto Alex-
andria and other ports of Ægypt out of thoſe bare cold countries, by Merchants, and from
thence tranſported to Caire & other cities of Ægypt:of which poore ſlaues, the late Ægyp-
tian Sultans taking their choice,& culling out from the reſt ſuch as were like to bee of grea-
teſt ſpirit & ability of body,deliuered them vnto moſt skilful and expert teachers;by whom M
they were carefully taught to run,to leap,to vaut,to ſhoot,to ride,with all other feats of acti-
uity,and withall cunningly to handle all manner of weapons,as wel on horſeback as on foot,
and ſo inſtructed,and become cunning, were taken out of their ſchooles into pay, and inrol-
led together as the Sultans choice horſemen, and commonly called by the name of Mama-

A lukes:in whoſe good ſeruice the late Sultans finding great vſe,ſpared for no coſt,both for their
maintenance and increaſing of their number; daily erecting new nurſeries ſtored with yong
frie,which growing vp and ready, was ſtill ioined to the other. It is wonderfull to tell, vnto
what a ſtrength and glory this order of the Mamalukes was in ſhort time growne by the care
of the Ægyptian Kings:by them they mannaged their greateſt affaires, eſpecially in time of
wars;and by their valor,not only defended their countrey,but gained many a faire victorie a-
gainſt their enemies,as they did now againſt the French:but as too much power in ſuch mens
hands,ſeldome or neuer wanteth danger,ſo fel it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech ſala*,
and thoſe maſterfull Mamaluke ſlaues;who proud of their preferment, and forgetful of their
duty,and ſeeing the greateſt ſtrength of the kingdom in their hands,traiterouſly ſlew *Melech-*
B *ſala* their chiefe founder, ſetting vp in his place (as aforeſaid) one *Turquiminus*, a baſe ſlaue,
one of their owne order and ſeruile vocation,but indeed otherwiſe a man of a great ſpirit and
valour. This *Melech ſala* murthered by the Mamalukes,was the laſt of the free borne kings of
Ægypt;in whom the Turks kingdome in Ægypt, erected by *Saracon* and the great Sultan *Sa-*
ladin(as is before ſaid)and in his ſtock and family euer ſince continued,took end,as did alſo
al the power of the Turks in that great & rich kingdome. For the proud Mamalukes hauing
now got the ſoueraigntie into their hands,& exalted a Sultan out of themſelues,imperiouſly
commanded as great Lords ouer the reſt of the people, not ſuffering them to haue the vſe ei-
ther of horſe or armor, or to beare any ſway in the common-weale: but keeping them vnder
with moſt heauy impoſitions,and ſtill preferring their owne ſlaues(wherwith the countrey of
C Ægypt now ſwarmed)made the natural countrey people,of all others moſt miſerable,not da-
ring to meddle with any thing more than Merchandiſe,their Husbandry, or other their baſe
mechanicall occupations:whereof the greateſt profit ſtill came vnto the Mamalukes,who as
Lords of all,with great inſolency, at their pleaſure tooke it from them as their owne. As for
the great Sultan,they ſtill choſe him from among themſelues, not ſuffering any the Sultans
children to ſucceed their fathers in the kingdome; for feare leſt they in the proceſſe of time,
proud of their anceſtors and parentage,ſhould reckon of them as of his ſlaues(as indeed they
were)and ſo at length bring in another more free kind of gouernment.

The ruin of the Turks kingdom in Ægypt.

Againſt which they prouided alſo,not only by this reſtraint of their Sultans children,but
of their own alſo:taking order and eſtabliſhing it as an immutable law, That though the ſons
D of the Mamalukes might enioy their fathers lands, and wealth after their death, yet that it
ſhould not be lawfull for them in any caſe to take vpon them the name or honor of a Mama-
luke: ſo debarring them from all gouernment in the common wealth, to the intent it might
ſtill reſt with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahometane parenrs
(which could not be ſlaues)or of the race of the Iews,to be admitted into that order;but only
ſuch as being borne Chriſtians and become ſlaues,had from the time of their captiuity been
inſtructed in the Mahometane ſuperſtition;or elſe being men growne, and comming thither,
had abiured the Chriſtian Religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right
ſtrange it is to conſider,vnto what honour and glory this ſlauiſh empire in ſhort time grew:
many of theſe poore ſlaues by rare fortune or ſecret diuine power, exalted out of the duſt to
E the higheſt degree of honor, prouing moſt excellent and renowned Princes, of ſuch ſtrength
and power, as was dreadfull euen to the greateſt Princes of the world. In which great glory,
this ſeruile empire (to the worlds wonder) flouriſhed from this time among the greateſt by
the ſpace of 267 yeares; vntill that hauing run the appointed race,it was with a great deſtru-
ction by *Selymus* the victorious Emperor of the Turks,ouerthrown in the yeare 1517,and the
kingdome of Ægypt,with all Syria and the land of Paleſtine,brought into the forme of pro-
uinces,vnited vnto the Turks empire,as they are at this day,and as in the courſe of this hiſto-
ry ſhall in due time and place(God willing)at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdome of the Turks thus ouerthrowne in Ægypt, and the Mamalukes
there triumphing,the French King returned into France,& the Chriſtians in peace in Syria;
F let vs againe returne into the leſſer Aſia, and vnto the imperiall City of Conſtantinople,
whether the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Chriſtians now call vs. All this while the
Greeke Empire (for ſo the Greekes will haue it called) flouriſhed both in peace and plenty
in the leſſer Aſia, vnder their Emperour *Iohn Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the meane
time declining as faſt at Conſtantinople, vnder the gouernment of the Latine Emperour

Baldwin the ſecond. As for the Turks whom we left grieuouſly troubled both with famine and the often incurſions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet alſo, enough and more than enough to do to withſtand the ſame enemy. At length it fortuned that *Iohn Ducas* the Greeke Emperor died, being at the time of his death about threeſcore yeares old, whereof he had happily reigned three and thirty: by whoſe good and diſcreet gouernment, the Greeke empire before brought low and almoſt to nought by the Latines, began againe to gather ſtrength and to flouriſh both in Aſia and ſome little part of Europ alſo. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpoſe I could willingly paſſe ouer, were I not by the worthy remembrance of one of them ſtaid a while by the way.

The Emperor in loue with Marceſina.

This noble and famous Emperour hauing long lamented the death of the faire Empreſſe *Irene* his firſt wife, at laſt married another young Lady, the ſiſter of *Manfred* King of Sicilie, called *Anne*, with whom amongſt other honourable and beautifull dames, ſent by the King her brother for the acompanying of her to Conſtantinople, was one *Marceſina*, a rare paragon, of ſuch a feature as if nature had in her meant to beſtow her greateſt skil. From whoſe mouth alwaies flowed a fountaine of moſt ſugred words, and out of her eyes iſſued (as it were) nets to intangle the amorous in: vpon this ſo faire an obiect, the Emperor not fearing further harme, took pleaſure oftentimes to feed his eyes, vntill that at length caught with her looks, he had loſt his liberty, and was of a great Emperor cocome her thrall, in ſuch ſort, as that in compariſon of her he ſeemed little or nothing to regard the yong Empreſſe his wife; but ſo far doated vpon her, that he ſuffered her to be attired and honored with the ſame attire and honour that the Empreſſe was her ſelfe; whom ſhe now ſo far exceeded both in grace and fauour with the Emperor, and honor of the people, as that ſhe almoſt alone enioyed the ſame, without regard of her vnto whom it was of more right due. Whilſt ſhe thus alone triumpheth, at length it fortuned that ſhe in all her glory, attended vpon with moſt of the gallants of the court, and ſome of the Emperors guard, would needs go (whether for her deuotion or for her recreation, I know not) to viſit the monaſtery and fair church, which *Blemmydes* (a noble man of great renowne, both for his integrity of life, and learning) had of his own coſt and charges but lately built in the country, where he together with his monks, as men weary of the world, liued a deuout and ſolitary contemplatiue life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the people in generall. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his vpright life & profound learning choſen Patriarch of Conſtantinople: which great honor, next to the Emperor himſelfe, he refuſed, contenting himſelfe with his cel. *Marceſina* comming thither in great pomp, and thinking to haue entred the church, had the doores ſhut againſt her by the Monks, before commanded ſo to do by *Blemmydes* their founder: and ſo was to her great diſgrace kept out. For that deuout man deemed it a great impiety, to ſuffer that ſo wicked and ſhameleſſe a woman, againſt whom he had moſt ſharply both ſpoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet to tread vpon the ſacred pauement of his church. She inraged with this indignitie, hardly by ſo proud a woman to be with patience diſgeſted, and prickt forward by her flattering followers alſo, returning to the court, grieuouſly complained thereof vnto the emperor, ſtirring him vp by all means ſhe could to auenge the ſame, perſuading him to haue bin therein himſelfe diſgraced. Whereunto alſo were ioyned the hard ſpeeches of her pickthanke fauorites, who to curry fauor, ſpared not as it were to put oyle vnto the fire, for the ſtirring vp of the Emperor to reuenge. Who with ſo great a complaint nothing moued to wrath, but ſtruck as it were to the heart with a remorſe of conſcience, and oppreſſed with heauineſſe, with tears running down his cheeks, and fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *Why prouoke you me to puniſh ſo deuout and iuſt a man? Whereas if I would my ſelfe haue liued without reproch and infamy, I ſhould haue kept my imperiall maieſty vnpolluted or ſtained. But now ſith I my ſelfe haue been the cauſe both of mine owne diſgrace, and of empires; I may thanke mine owne deſerts, it of ſuch euill ſeed as I haue ſowne, I now reap alſo an euill harueſt.*

Marceſina the Emperors concubine ſhut out of the Church.

Theodorus Laſca is choſen Emperor.

After the death of this good Emperour, *Theodorus* his ſonne, borne the firſt yeare of his fathers reigne, being then about three and thirty yeares old, was by the generall conſent of the people ſaluted Emperor in his ſtead: who in the beginning af his empire renewed the league which his father had made with *Iathatines* the Turkiſh Sultan: & ſo hauing prouided for the ſecurity of his affairs in Aſia, he with a puiſſant army paſſed ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus, into Europe, to appeaſe the troubles there raiſed in Macedonia and Thracia, by the King of

A of Bulgaria his brother in law, and *Michael Angelus* the Deſpot of Theſſalia; who vpon the
death of the old Emperor began to ſpoile thoſe countries,not without hope at length to haue
joyned them vnto their own: by whoſe comming they were for all that diſappointed of their
purpoſe,and glad to ſue to him for peace. But whileſt he was there buſied, he was aduertiſed
by letters from Nice,that *Michael Paleologus*, whom he had left their gouernor in his abſence,
was ſecretly fled vnto the Turks:with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cauſe of
whoſe flight, as *Paleologus* himſelfe gaue it out,was, for that he perceiued himſelfe diuers
waies by many his enemies brought into diſgrace,and the Emperors eares ſo filled with their
odious complaints, ſo cunningly framed againſt him, as that they were not eaſily or in ſhort
time to be refelled: and therfore fearing in the Emperors heauy diſpleaſure to be ſuddenly
B taken away, to haue willingly gone into exile, if ſo happily he might ſaue his life from the
malice of them that ſought after it.

At his comming to Iconium,he found *Iathatines* the Sultan making great preparation againſt
the Tartars; who hauing driuen the Turks out of Perſia and other the far Eaſterne countries,
(as is before declared) and running ſtill on,did with their continuall incurſions ſpoile a great
part of their territories in the leſſer Aſia alſo; and now lay at Axara, a towne not far off from
Iconium:againſt whom the Sultan now making the greateſt preparation he could,gladly welcommed
Paleologus, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthy captain,commending to
his charge the leading of certaine bands of Greekes, whom he had retained to ſerue him in
thoſe wars,as he had others of the Latines, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Moline* a Nobleman
C of Venice: and ſo hauing put all things in readineſſe, and ſtrengthned with theſe forrein ſupplies
of the Greekes and Latines,ſet forward againſt his enemies the Tartars: who at the firſt
ſight of the ſtrange enſignes and ſoldiers were much diſmaied,fearing ſome greater force had
bin come to the aid of the Turks;neuertheleſſe,joining with them in battel,had with them at
the firſt a moſt terrible and bloudy conflict, wherein that part of the army that ſtood againſt
Paleologus and his Greeks,was put to the worſe,to the great diſcomfiture of the Tartars,being
euen vpon the point to haue fled,had not one of the greateſt Commanders in the Turks army,
and a nigh kinſman of the Sultans,for an old grudge that he bare vnto the Sultan,with all his
regiment,in the heat of the battell reuolted vnto the Tartars:whereby the fortune of the battel
was in a moment as it were quite altred, they which but now were about to haue fled,fighting
D like lyons;and they that were victors now glad to turne their backs & fly:in which flight
a great number of the Turks fell, the fierce Tartars moſt eagerly purſuing them. *Paleologus*,
with the Generall of the Turks, hardly chaſed by the Tartars, and glad euery houre to make
a ſtand,and to fight for their liues,with much adoe, after many daies flight recouered a caſtle
of the Generals, neere vnto Caſtamona,and ſo ſaued themſelues. The Tartars after this ſo
great a victory (wherein they had broken the whole ſtrength of the Turks,and brought in hazard
the whole ſtate of their kingdome)without reſiſtance forraged all the countries and prouinces
ſubject vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, making ſpoile of whatſoeuer they light vpon: inſomuch
that the Sultan diſcouraged, and hauing now no ſtrength left to oppoſe againſt them,
fled vnto the Greeke Emperor *Theodorus* for aid;who moſt honourably entertained him, with
E all his traine, and comforted him with ſuch ſmall aid as he thought good then to ſpare him:
which for his more ſafety he ſent home with him, vnder the leading of *Iſaacius Ducas*, ſyrnamed
Murtzufle,a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindneſſe, the Sultan
gaue vnto the Emperor the city of Laodicea, whereinto he preſently put a ſtrong garriſon:
neuertheleſſe, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the Turks, being a place
not to be holden by the Greeks. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himſelfe ſtil too weak to
withſtand the continuall inuaſions of the Tartars, and weary of the harmes he dayly ſuſtained,
by the aduice of his chiefe counſellors made a league with them,yeelding to pay them a
certaine yerely tribute,thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted
of the Turks as of their tributaries and vaſſals.

F Not long after this, *Michael Paleologus* was by the Emperors kind and gratious letters called
home;with his faithfull promiſe alſo before giuen for his ſecurity: who before his return
bound himſelfe alſo by ſolemne oath, to be vnto the Emperour and his ſonne alwaies loyall,
and from thenceforth neuer to ſeeke after the Empire, or giue cauſe of new ſuſpect for ſuch
matters as he had beene before charged with: but for euer to yeeld vnto the Emperour, his

ſon,or other his ſucceſſors in the Empire, his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which G conditions he was again made great Conſtable,and ſo receiued into the Emperors fauor, and liued the reſt of his reign in great honor and credit with him.

The death of Theodorus the Greek emperor.

Enuy in Court.

Now *Theodorus* the Emperor hauing reigned 3 years,fell ſick and died,leauing behind him his ſon *Iohn*,then but a child of 6 years old,to ſucceed him in his empire : whom he vpon his death bed,together with the empire,commended to *Arſenius* the Patriark,and one *George Muzalo* his faithfull counſellor,as to his truſty tutors,to ſee him ſafely brought vp,and the Empire well and peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of mean parentage,but for his familiar acquaintance and ciuil behauior,of a child brought vp in the court with the Emperor as his play-fellow:with whom he growing vp,ſo framed himſelfe to his maners and diſpoſition,that he alone was to him in ſtead of all, ſtill at hand, ready to ſay or do whatſoeuer might H be gratious or pleaſing to the Emperor. And the elder they grew,ſo increaſed this their mutual affection and loue : in ſuch ſort,that with him now Emperor,he was of all others in greateſt fauor & authority,a wary obſeruer of his delights, a ready miniſter of his affairs,& faithful partaker of his ſecrets : for which he was in ſhort time promoted vnto the greateſt honors of the court,and honorably maried to one of the Emperors nigh kinſwomen ; and now at his death,by his laſt will,with the reuerend Patriark appointed tutor to the yong emperour and his two yong ſiſters. And for more aſſurance therof,a ſolemn oath of obedience to the yong Prince as emperor and vnto them as his tutors,was exacted of all ſorts of men,both high and low,of what condition ſoeuer;and that not once,but firſt a little before the Emperours death, and again after he was now dead:for many of the nobilitie honorably deſcended, ſeeing the I ſudden change of *Muzalo's* fortune, amongſt themſelues murmured thereat,as grieuing at his preferment,ſeeing there were many among them,to whom both the tuition of the yong Emperor and adminiſtration of the empire of better right appertained , ſeeing they were both neerer of kin to the Emperor,and fitter (as they thought) for ſo great a charge than was *Muzalo*,whom(as they ſaid)they had many cauſes both to contemn and hate : for, beſide that he was not honorably born,and had ſerued the late emperor *Theodore* as the miniſter of his wrath againſt ſome of the nobility (cauſes ſufficient for the peoples hatred) if he ſhould now alſo in ſo great authoritie affect the empire,it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted,that he would not ſpare to commit any maner of villany for the effecting of his inordinat deſire. Of all which *Muzalo* was not ignorant,a man at all other times of a moſt quick apprehenſion for K ſuch matters, but as then eſpecially, his wits being awaked with theſe ſo great motiues and dangers. Wherfore ſpeedily calling together all the nobility into the court,hee welcommed them one by one,and curteouſly diſcourſing with them, offred to diſcharge himſelfe both of the adminiſtration of the Empire, and tuition of the yong Emperor, & willingly to yeeld the ſame to any one of them,whom the reſt ſhould think fitteſt for ſo great a charge. Which although they all with one conſent as it were refuſed, ſaying, That hee of all others was to bee preferred,vnto whom the Emperor,lord both of the empire and the child,had committed the ſame:yet *Muzalo* erneſtly requeſted the contrary,and ſtifly withſtood their deſire,wiſhing indeed rather to haue led a quiet priuat life in ſecuritie,than to haue bin ſo ouercharged;not ſo much for doubt of the enuy then ariſing,as for fear of ſome great danger therof to enſue. But L would he,would he not,remedy there was none,but that as the late emperor had appointed,ſo muſt he take the charge vpon him. And now was euery one,as well the nobility as the inferior ſort,again with greater ſolemnity than before,the third time ſworne,to their vtmoſt power to defend the yong emperor in his empire,and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him, and adminiſtration of the affairs of ſtate, and faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience : which if they ſhould fail religiouſly to perform,they wiſhed to themſelues euery man,and to all theirs,a ſhamefull end and deſtruction. Yet notwithſtanding all this ſolemn ſwearing, mixt moſt times with much forſwearing,there was not fully 9 daies paſt, but that certain of the chief nobility,forgetfull or els careleſſe of their Oath, and full of enuy, ſeldom ſatisfied but with bloud, conſpired the vnworthy death of *Muzalo* the Protector both of the Emperor M and the Empire. The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the Emperor was now come ; at which time were met together at Soſandra (an Abbey by himſelfe built in the honor of the Virgin *Mary* at Magneſia) many great Ladies and graue Matrons, to mourne as the manner was ; all the great Princes of the Nobility,and among them the conſpirators alſo : thither re-

A paired alſo a number of ſoldiers prepared for the ſlaughter, with an infinit number of the common people, as at ſuch ſolemnities is vſuall. But what needs many words? whileſt the Hymns were yet in ſinging,and the obſequies performing,the ſouldiers as before inſtructed, ſuddenly breaking into the Church with their drawn ſwords in their hands,ſlew *Muzalo* (then fled to the altar for refuge) with his two brethren *Andronicus* & *Theodorus*,both men of great account,and diuers others appointed for the ſlaughter. So the matrons & the reſt of the multitude breaking off their mourning,and for fear thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as faſt as they could,ſome one way,ſome another,as they thought for their beſt ſafety. But the Prieſts and Monks thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious ſouldiers again inforced into the church; where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with great force B and violence,and ſcarſe able to ſtand by reaſon of the ſlipperines of the bloud there ſhed vpon the pauement,they in great fear made an end of thoſe bloudy obſequies. This outrage appeaſed, *Arſenius* the Patriarch and only Tutor of the yong Emperour now left,was therewith yet much troubled,as with a thing dangerous both to the perſon of the yong Prince,& peace of the ſtate: but what good courſe to take therein he could not tell; for as hee was a man for his learning and integritie of life not inferior to the beſt,ſo in matters of ſtate he was as far to ſeek. As it commonly hapneth,the contemplatiue man buried in his meditations,to be vnfit for temporall gouernment: wheras he that ſhould perform both, muſt to his rare vertues and great learning join a ciuill conuerſation,with great experience in worldly affairs,not to bee learned but by great and long practiſe. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wiſhing C all wel) calling together the nobility,conſulted with them what were beſt to be done for the gouernment both of the yong Emperor and the empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead:not conſidering in the mean time,who they were with whom he conſulted,or,That counſell grounded vpon no wiſe foreſight or approued experience, was more dangerous to him whom he would haue prouided for,than all the enemies murthering ſwords,as ſhortly after appeared.

Muzalo traiterouſly murdered in the Church.

Among others of the nobility called to councel,was *Michael Paleologus* (of whom we haue before ſpoken) much ſuperior to the reſt,as deſcended from the Imperiall houſe of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerfull countenance, gratious and curteous,and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall,wherby he eaſily won the hearts of all men in generall, but eſpecially of the Colenels,Captains,and other martial men commanders in the army:of whoſe aſpiring to the D empire,many preſages and common rumors (not alwaies vain) had formerly paſſed alſo, to the moouing of many; yea the Patriark himſelfe,not conſidering his hauty and aſpiring nature,made no leſſe account of him than did the reſt, but vpon an eſpecial fauor,committed to his only truſt the keys of the common treaſure,at ſuch time as mony was to be deliuered out for paiment of the armies,or other like great occaſions of the ſtate;the moſt effectual meanes for the furtherance of his ſecret practiſes,and the readieſt way to effect that which hee had ſo long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring ſuch a maſſe of treaſure,as he might wel haue wiſhed,but neuer reaſonably hoped for,he poured it out as it were by buſhels,among the nobilitie and martial men,and ſuch others as he thought were able to do moſt with the people; amongſt whom were many of the Clergy alſo. Of which his fauorits were made many meetings, E and by them was the Patriarch continually ſolicited,but yet in general terms, without delay (according to the neceſſitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the ſtate,which now as a great ſhip in the midſt of the ſea without a maſter,was (as they ſaid) in danger to periſh,and being once loſt,was not again to be recouered. At which time alſo the name of *Paleologus* was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wiſdom and experience fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the Empire vntil the yong Emperor were come to age. Vnto which common good liking the Patriarch alſo (ſeeing no more, or peraduenture not ſo much as the reſt) gaue his conſent; and ſo without longer ſtay, to the great content both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him Gouernor of the empire, and Tutor to the yong Emperor, wanting nothing now of an Emperor himſelfe,more than the title F and Imperial ornaments. This was the firſt ſtep whereby the aſpiring man (twice before in diſgrace with the two late Emperors, *Iohn Ducas* and his ſon *Theodorus*) mounted at laſt to the Empire.

Michael Paleologus aſpireth.

It was not many days after but that his fauorits held another councel,wherein it was alledged, That it was not ſeemly for him that was Tutor vnto the Emperour, Gouernor of the ſtate

Michael Paleologus crowned emperor by Arſenius the Patriarch.

and empire, and to giue audience vnto the Embaſſadors of forrein Nations, to want the honour G
next vnto the Emperor, as well for the magnificence of the ſtate, as for the credit of his
place. Whereupon he was both by the Patriarch and the yong Emperor honored with the
title of the Deſpot, another ſtep vnto the Empire. But what contentment find the Ambitious
euen in the greateſt honours, ſo long as there is one aboue them? Little ſure, or none at
all, more than that it ſerueth them to ſtep at next vnto the higheſt: as did this new made Deſpot,
who was ſhortly after by certain of the Nobility his great Fauourits, neere vnto Magneſia,
with the great applauſe of the people, hoiſed vp and ſaluted Emperor. Whereof *Arſenius*
the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of
the yong childe the right heir of the Empire. And firſt he was about to haue excommunicated
as well him that was made Emperor, as them that had ſo made him. But afterward changing H
his purpoſe, for fear of greater troubles, he thought it better, by ſolemne Oath to binde
both him and the reſt, that they ſhould not ſeek after the life of the Child, or by any force or
colour go about to depriue him of the Empire; which was ſo done. Yet it was not a ful moneth
after, but that euen he that had ſo great a care of the yong child, and ſo prouided for his
ſafety, (perſuaded by them of the Nobility and Clergy) with his own hands, and all the accuſtomed
ceremonies, ſet the Imperiall Crown vpon this Vſurpers head; yet not as vpon him
that ſhould ſtill enjoy the empire, but as vpon a man according to the preſent neceſſity of the
time and ſtate, thought fitteſt for ſo great a charge vntill the yong Child came to age; vnto
whom then he was to giue place and reſigne the empire. All which being by more ſolemne
oath than before confirmed, good news (as the certain ſign of his fortunat gouernment) were I
brought vnto him, of a great victory obtained by his captains againſt *Michael Angelus* deſpot
of Ætolia and Epirus; who hauing maried the late Emperors daughter, and hearing of his
death, with the troubles in Aſia, aided by the King of Sicily and the Prince of Peloponeſus
and Achaia his ſon in law, had thought in that hurly and perturbation of the ſtate, to haue
taken to himſelfe the greateſt part of the Emperors Territories in Macedonia and Thracia;
and for the ſame purpoſe was with a great Army entred into them, burning and ſpoiling the
country before him: wherof *Michael Paleologus* (then but newly made Deſpot) vnderſtanding,
ſent his brother *Iohn* with ſome other his beſt captains, with a great army againſt him, by
whom he with his Complices were put to the worſe, and not without great loſſe inforced to
retyre: the joyfull newes whereof he receiued euen as he was crowned. Which was ſhortly K
after confirmed by the comming of the great Commanders themſelues, bringing with them
the Prince of Peloponeſus and Achaia, by them taken priſoner; who for his ranſome was afterwards
glad to giue vnto the Emperor *Paleologus*, Monembaſia, Main, and Sparta, three of
the beſt cities of Peloponeſus: whereinto he put ſtrong gariſons vnder the command of *Conſtantinus*
his brother by the mothers ſide, a right valiant captain: by whoſe good ſeruice, and
the commodious ſcituation of the places, hee gained diuers other townes and Cities, and at
length the greateſt part of Peloponeſus, out of the hands of the Latines. For the vtter rooting
out of whom, he ſhortly after with a great army paſſed ouer into Thracia, with purpoſe
(as was thought) to haue beſieged Conſtantinople: but finding it to be a matter of more difficultie
than was before ſuppoſed, he left that, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Pera ouer againſt L
it on the other ſide of the hauen, in hope by winning of that caſtle to haue become maſter alſo
of the towne; where he was notably repulſed, and inforced with loſſe to retyre. So riſing
with his army, he fortified diuers caſtles and ſtrong holds in the country about Conſtantinople,
and putting into them ſtrong garriſons, charged them with continual incurſions, to trouble
the Conſtantinopolitans, and to cut them ſo ſhort (if it were poſſible) as that they ſhould
not dare to look out at the gates of their city. Which they ſo well performed, that in ſhort
time the Latines in the city were driuen to ſuch extremity, that for want of wood they were
fain to burn many of the faireſt houſes in the city, in ſtead of fuel. Which done, he returned
again to Nice, the chief ſeat of the Greeke Emperors euer ſince that Conſtantinople was taken
by the Latines.

Now reigned in Conſtantinople the Latine Emperor *Baldwin* the ſecond (as is before declared) M
a man of ſmal courage and leſſe power, and therefore not much regarded either of the
Greeks or Latines: who for the maintenance of his ſtate was glad to ſell the publique Ornaments
of the City, and to pawn his ſon vnto the Bruges merchants for money; by whom he
was

A was left at Venice to be brought vp: which gaue occaſion for ſome writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the Venetians.

1260

Haalō the Tartar ſent with a great Army againſt the Turks.

About this time *Mango* the great Cham of Tartary, ſtirred by *Aitonius* the Armenian King, (by whoſe perſuaſion he had alſo receiued the Chriſtian Religion) ſent his brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great Army againſt the Turks and Saraſins in Syria and the land of Paleſtine. This *Haalon* (conuerted alſo to the Chriſtian faith by his wife) ſetting forward with a world of people following him, in the ſpace of ſix moneths ouer-ran all Perſia with the countries adjoyning, excepting one ſtrong place in the mountains (which ſome ſay was Samarchand, afterward the royal ſeat of the great terror of the world, the mighty *Tamerlane*) which beſieged by ten thouſand horſemen by him appointed for that purpoſe, and ſo continued by B the ſpace of ſeuen and twenty years after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himſelfe writeth) yeelded by the defendants, only for want of cloaths to couer their nakedneſſe. *Haalon* (in whoſe Army thoſe ten thouſand left behind were not miſſing) marching on, and as a violent tempeſt bearing all down before him) entred at length into Aſſyria, and there layd ſiege to the great city of Babylon, then the Seat of the great Calyph; whom all the Mahometane Princes honoured aboue all others, as the true ſucceſſor of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth the interpretation of their Law as moſt diuine Oracles. Which great City *Haalon* won, and putting to ſword al he found therin, men, women and children, with the ſpoil therof and the rich treaſures of the Calyph inriched his ſoldiers. The Caliph himſelfe (reſerued for that purpoſe) he commanded to be ſet in the midſt of the infinite Treaſure which C he and his predeceſſors had moſt couetouſly heaped vp together, and that hee ſhould of that gold, ſiluer, and pretious ſtones, take what it pleaſed him to eat; ſaying by way of deriſion, that ſo gainfull a gueſt ſhould be fed with nothing but things of greateſt price, whereof hee willed him to make no ſpare. In which order the couetous wretch kept for certain dayes, miſerably died with hunger in the middeſt of thoſe things whereof he thought he ſhould neuer haue had enough: which though they were in value great, and with care layd together, yet ſerued they him not now to ſuffice nature, beſt contented with a little. Babylon thus ſacked and almoſt raſed, the Tartar marching on thorow Meſopotamia, took the City Rhoais: where *Aiton* the Armenian King, and author of this the Tartars expedition, came to him with twelue thouſand horſemen and forty thouſand foot, as reporteth *Aiton* the Armenian D Kings Nephew then there preſent. So entring into Syria, he in few dayes took Aleppo, which Towne hee ſacked and raſed, in the yeare of our Lord 1260: with diuers other ſtrong towns ſomtime belonging vnto the kingdom of Antioch. Then was one *Malacneſar* Sultan of Damaſco, commanding ouer all Syria and the land of Paleſtine: who terrified with the loſſe of his Cities, and the feare of further danger, with his wife and children came and humbled himſelfe before the Tartar Prince, in hope ſo to haue ſaued to himſelfe ſome good part of his Kingdom: wherin he was much deceiued, being (as ſome ſay) caried away afar off into exile, becauſe he ſhould not hinder the Tartars further proceedings. Or as others report (and haply with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his priſoner, and afterwards to the terror of his ſon, cut in pieces in his ſight vnder the walls of Damaſco, after that it had in vaine E bin twice aſſaulted by the Tartars. Which ſtrong City for all that, hee afterwards tooke by ſtrong hand, and ſacked it, and by the perſuaſion of his Wife, ouerthrew all the Mahometan Temples, as he had before done in euery place where he came. But purpoſing to haue gon on forward to Ieruſalem, and to haue conquered the whole land of Paleſtine, newes was brought him of the death of his brother *Mango* the great Cham. Whereupon he ſtayd his journy, and returned back again, in hope of that great Empire, hauing in this expedition ſpent almoſt ſix years.

Aleppo raſed by the Tartars.

Damaſco won.

Thus by the Tartars was the Kingdom of the Turks at Damaſco ouerthrown. At which time the broken affairs of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine might eaſily haue bin repaired, and thoſe two goodly kingdomes againe reſtored vnto the Chriſtian F Commonwealth, had the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt then in time put to their helping hand on the one ſide, as did the Tartars on the other. But they then at fatall diſcord among themſelues, and buſied with their Wars at home, let ſlip that ſo fair an opportunity, the like wherof they ſeldom or neuer had ſince. *Haalon* the Tartar Prince, in token of his good will towards the Chriſtians and their affairs, at his departure from Damaſco left his ſonne *Abiga* there with twenty thouſand horſemen to aid them in the Wars, if they ſhould come (as was expected) G for the recouery of the Holy land; who hauing there ſtayd ſome while, and hearing of his fathers troubles at home, followed himſelfe after him; but yet left behind him *Guirboca* a valiant captain, with ten thouſand of his horſemen, to like purpoſe as his father had him. Who by the inſolencie of certain Chriſtian ſoldiers in garriſon about Sidon, was of a friend, together with his Tartars made a foe. Theſe garriſon ſoldiers hauing by chance ſet in ſome bootie out of the Tartars territory, not only refuſed to reſtore the ſame again, but alſo foulely intreated ſuch as the Tartar had ſent for the demanding therof. Wherupon further quarels ariſing, it fortuned a nephew of *Guirboca's*, a valiant yong gentleman, to be ſlain: in reuenge wherof he beſieged Sidon, and hauing taken it, ſacked it, and burnt it down to the ground. After which time he and his Tartars became vtter enemies vnto the Chriſtians, doing them all the H harm they could deuiſe.

The Egyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria.

This diſcord betwixt the Tartars and the Chriſtians gaue occaſion to *Melech* the Egyptian Sultan, now jealous of the Tartars neerneſſe, with a great army of his Mamalukes & others to enter into Syria and to ſpoil the countrey of Damaſco. Againſt whom *Guirboca* with his Tartars, although both in ſtrength and number far inferior, went out. But joining battel with him at too much ods, and the victory inclining to that ſide where moſt ſtrength was, he there valiantly fighting was ſlain, with moſt part of his Tartars: ſuch as eſcaped fled into Armenia vnto the friendly King. By this victory, all Syria with the land of Paleſtine, excepting ſome few places holden by the Chriſtians, fel again into the hands of the Egyptian Sultans, as did ſome of them ſhortly after alſo. For *Bandocader* ſucceeding *Melech* in the Mamaluke Kingdom, I comming into Syria with a great army, tooke Antioch from the Chriſtians, and with it moſt of the places before by them defended. The city he burnt, and raſed the caſtle down to the ground; and afterward entring into Armenia, did there great harm alſo.

Antioch taken from the Chriſtians.

Whilſt the Turks kingdom thus goeth to wrack in Syria, ruinated by the Tartars, but poſſeſſed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the leſſer Aſia, now the whole hope of that Nation, went not at that time much better. For *Iathatines* the Turks Sultan, there alſo inuaded by the Tartars, and hauing loſt Iconium his regall City, fled with his brother *Melech* to the Greeke Emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in hope to be of him relieued for the kindneſſe he had not long before ſhewed him in like caſe, when as he fled from the late Emperor *Theodore*; wherof now putting him in remembrance, he requeſted him either with ſome conuenient force to aid him K or els to aſſigne him ſome corner in his large Empire, where he might in ſafety reſt, with his wife and children, and other followers, whom with much wealth he had brought with him in great number. The Emperor on euery ſide himſelfe incumbred with wars, thought not good in ſo great newneſſe of his empire to diminiſh his owne forces; and to aſſigne vnto him any place to inhabit, ſeemed no leſſe dangerous: for that he hauing bin a great Prince, and commanding ouer many great Countries, and brought vp in all princely royalty, was not like to content himſelfe with a little: beſides that, his nobility diſperſed by the Tartars, were likely enough to reſort vnto him as vnto their head, ſo ſoon as they ſhould once heare that hee was ſeated in any place: and vnkindely to caſt him off, that had ſo nobly vſed him in like extremitie, the Emperor was loth. And therfore feeding him vp with fair words, and foording him L on from time to time with delayes, he held him a great while as a man in ſuſpence, betweene hope and deſpair. At length in the abſence of the Emperor (though haply not without his priuity) he was commanded with all his train, in number about twelue hundred, to get him to Ænus a city of Thracia ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt: where he much diſcontented, liued like an honorable priſoner at large; but with the watchfull eies of ſo many vpon him, as that hee could by no means, as he deſired, eſcape. In which caſe we will for a while leaue him, to feed vpon his own melancholy thoughts.

1261 Now had *Michael Paleologus* the emperor reigned at Nice two years, when new troubles began again to ariſe in the Weſt part of his Empire on Europ ſide, by the treachery of *Michael Angelus* Deſpot of Epirus. For the ſpeedy repreſſing wherof he ſent one *Alexius Strategopulus*, M a worthy captain, and a man of great nobility (who for his good ſeruice againſt the ſaid Deſpot, he had in the beginning of his reign made *Cæſar*) with little aboue 800 Bithynian Souldiers, and Commiſſion for the taking vp of ſo many more as he ſhould want for that ſeruice, in Macedonia and Thracia. Commanding him when hee had paſſed the ſtreight with

thoſe

A thoſe ſoldiers, to take his way through the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, to terrifie the Latines
whom he was loth to ſuffer too long to liue in reſt and quiet, and to ſtirre too far out of the
gates, but to keep them as priſoners coupt vp within the walls of the City. This warlike cap-
tain with this handfull of men paſſing ouer Propontis, incamped at Rhegium not farre from
Conſtantinople; where by chance lighting vpon certain labouring men, Greeks born in the
City, and there dwelling, he diligently inquired of them the ſtate therof, and of what ſtrength
the Latines were, with many other things ſuch as he was deſirous to know. Who not onely
told him that the ſtrength of the Latins was but ſmall, but alſo that the greateſt part therof
was gon to the ſiege of Daphnuſia, a Town not far off, vpon the ſide of the Euxine ſea. And
withall (as Greeks euill affected to the gouernment of the Latines, and deſirous of the liber-
B ty of their Countrey) offered of themſelues to ſhew him a means how to giue him entrance
into the City. Theſe poore men dwelt within the City, cloſe by one of the Gates, neere
vnto which place by an old ruinous mine almoſt ſwarued vp, was a ſecret vnſuſpected way
into the City, not known to any but to themſelues. By this blinde hole they promiſed him
by night to receiue in fifty of his beſt ſoldiers, which ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Watch faſt
by, and diſpatching them out of the way, might preſently breake open the gate, and ſo let in
the reſt of the Army. Wherunto they promiſed themſelues with their friends to put to their
helping hands, aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof. This plot for the betraying of the
City thus laid and agreed vpon, *Alexius* and *Caſar* well rewarding the men, and filling them
with greater promiſes, ſent them away. Who as if they had bin about their countrey work,
C were after their wonted maner receiued into the city without ſuſpition at all. And within a
few dayes after, according to their promiſe, at an appointed hour receiued in by night the a-
foreſaid fifty ſoldiers; who aided by them, preſently ſlew the watch, and brake open the gate,
wherby *Alexius* entring a little before day, in conuenient place put his men in order of battel,
and afterward to the greater terror of the Latines, cauſed the city to be ſet on fire in four pla-
ces, which increaſing with the wind burnt in moſt terrible maner, and was in ſhort time come
almoſt to the Emperors palace. Who ſcarſe well awaked, and ſeeing the city all on a fire
about his ears, and the enemy comming on, was about at the firſt with thoſe few Latines that
he had (for Greeks he had none) to make reſiſtance. But better aduiſed, and perceiuing it to
be now to no purpoſe, he (the laſt of the Latine Emperors that euer reigned in Conſtantino-
D ple) with *Iuſtinian* the Latine Patriarch and ſome other of his friends, fled by ſea into Eu-
bœa, and ſo from thence afterwards to Venice, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French King, in
hope to haue bin by him and the Venetians relieued. After whom fled alſo all the reſt of the
Latines. Thus the Imperial city of Conſtantinople by great fortune fell again into the hands
of the Greekes, in the yeare 1261, after that it had bin in the poſſeſſion of the Latines about
58 years.

The joyfull newes of the recouery of the Imperial City was in ſhort time carried vnto *Mi-
chael Paleologus* the Greeke Emperour at Nice, who at the firſt beleeued it not, as thinking it
ſcarſe poſſible, ſo ſtrong a city to haue bin by ſo weak a Power ſurpriſed; whereas he himſelfe
not long before was not able with a right puiſſant Army and much other like prouiſion, to
E win the Caſtle of Galata ouer againſt it. But afterwards aſſured of the truth therof, with his
hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen gaue moſt hearty thanks vnto God therefore, cauſing
Hymns and Pſalms of thankſgiuing to be ſolemnly ſung in euery Church, with all the other
ſignes of joy and triumph that could be deuiſed. So ſetting all other things apart, he wholly
buſied himſelfe in making preparation for his going vnto Conſtantinople, now once againe
the ſeat of the Greek Empire: wherin and in trauelling hauing ſpent many daies, he at length
with the Empreſſe his wife, and *Andronicus* his ſon, then but two years old, as if it had bin in
ſolemn proceſſion, on foot entred into the City by the Gate called the Golden Gate; and ſo
after prayers and thankſgiuing went to the place prepared for him neere vnto the Tilt-yard:
for the other Imperial Palaces of far greater beauty (ſomtime the ſtately dwellings of the
F greateſt Emperors of the Greeks) had now of long during the reign of the Latines lien rui-
nous, or altogether defaced. And ſhortly after, becauſe Vertue and true Deſert ſhould not
want their due honour, he cauſed the aforeſaid *Alexius Caſar* (by whoſe means the Citie was
recouered) in ſolemn triumph in his robes of honour, with a Crown vpon his head not very
much inferior vnto the Imperiall Crowne, with great pomp to bee carried thorowout all the
City:

Paleologus the Greek emperor takes poſſeſſiō of Conſtantinople.

city: and further commanded, that his name for one year next following, in all ſolemn prayers and hymns of thankſgiuing, ſhould be joined with the name of the emperor himſelf. And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, cauſed his liuely image afterward to be moſt curiouſly made, & as a trophy to be ſet vpon a fair marble pillar before the great church of the holy Apoſtles, in perpetuall remembrance of him and that he had don for the deliuery of his Country; which ſhortly after ouerthrown by an earthquake, was by his ſon againe reſtored.

Now was this great and famous city, ſomtime the beauty of the world, by theſe ſtrange and fatall mutations wonderfully defaced, and brought to great deſolation. In euery place was to be ſeen great heaps, or rather (to ſay the truth) great hills of rubbiſh, the eternall witneſſes of the ruin therof: the houſes ſtood, ſome quite fallen down, ſome ready to follow after, & ſome other great and ſtately buildings now the ſmall reliques of great fires: for the chiefe beauty therof was before, at ſuch time as the Latins took it, moſt defaced with fire; who all the time they had it, ceaſed not night and day to deſtroy ſome part or other of it, as if they had known they ſhould not long keep it. Neither did this laſt fire, raiſed by the Greeks themſelues to terrifie the Latins, a little deform it: for which cauſe the Emperors chief care now was to clenſe the city, in beſt ſort he could to reform ſo great a confuſion of things, not to be all at once amended: firſt beginning wirh the Churches, which ruinous or ready to fall he repaired: and next to that, filled the empty houſes with new inhabitants. And albeit the chiefe of the Latines were together with the emperor fled and gon, yet was the moſt part of the artificers and tradeſmen in the city, Venetians and them of Piſa mingled together; vnto whom alſo to join the Genoa's, and ſo to fill the city with Latines, he thought it not altogether ſafe, although that by them he reaped great profit: wherfore he aſſigned to them the city of Galatia, now called Pera, on the other ſide of the hauen, for them to inhabit, granting them great priuiledges, and euery of thoſe companies to be gouerned by a Conſul or poteſtate of their own. As for the Imperial city it ſelfe, he ſtored it as neer as he could with natural Greeks born.

Paleologus jealous of his ſtate

Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the Emperor could himſelfe haue wiſhed, yet could he not reſt ſo contented, for fear leſt thoſe which now did eat their own hearts, and with great griefe ſmouldred their anger, ſhould at length as the rightfull heires of the Empire by him vſurped, break out into open force, and ſo breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps work his confuſion. For ſuch is the tormenting ſtate of vſurping Tyrants, neuer to thinke themſelues ſafe ſo long as any one liueth whom they may ſuſpect. Wherfore at once to rid himſelfe of this feare, he thought it beſt ſo to diſpoſe of the children of the late Emperour *Theodorus Laſcaris*, as that he ſhould not need of them to ſtand in doubt. To take them out of the way, beſides that it was a thing odious, he ſaw it likewiſe to be vnto him dangerous; *Mary* and *Theodora* (two of the eldeſt daughters) being before by their father maried to two great Princes (the Deſpot of Epirus and the Prince of Bulgaria) with whom he had before much to do, and of them yet ſtood in ſome doubt; but theſe were ſafe enough out of his reach. Other two yonger ſiſters there were in his cuſtody, *Theodora* and *Irene*, with their brother *Iohn*, the onely heir of the Empire: *Theodora* he maried to one *Belicurt* a gentleman of Peloponeſus; and *Irene* to one *Vigintimilio* of Genoa: both Latines, men of no great birth or power, ſuch as he needed not to ſtand in doubt of. Theſe two Ladies, the daughters of ſo great an Emperour as was *Theodor*, thus baſely beſtowed; there remained only their brother *Iohn* ſole heir of the empire, then but ten years old, whom *Paleologus* long before, euen in the beginning of his reigne, had ſent vnto Magneſia, there to be ſafely kept far off from the court, for fear leſt in his right and quarrell ſome diſcontented perſons deſirous of innouation, ſhould now begin ſome new ſtirs which might bee dangerous vnto his eſtate. Which indignitie done vnto the yong Prince, *Arſenius* the Patriarch (put in truſt by his father for the bringing of him vp) took in ſo euil part, that he forſook the Court with all his Eccleſiaſticall dignity, and as a man weary of the world, retyred himſelfe vnto a little Monaſtery of *Paſcaſius* in the country, there to ſpend the remainder of his dayes. From whence for all that, he was after the taking of Conſtantinople from the Latines, almoſt againſt his will drawn thither by *Paleologus* the Emperor, and made Patriarch therof, there together with ſo great an honour to find his greater diſcontent. For *Paleologus* the Vſurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith ſo ſolemnly before giuen for the ſafety and preſeruation of the yong Prince, and the reſtoring vnto him of his Empire; and

now

Paleologus cauſeth the yong Emperors eys to be put out.

now fully reſolued to eſtabliſh to him and his poſteritie the ſoueraignty of ſo great an Empire,
howſoeuer it was got, cauſed the yong Princes eyes moſt cruelly to be put out: the vſual
practiſe of the Tyrants of the Eaſt vpon ſuch as they are loth or feare to kill, and yet would
make them vnfit for gouernment. Of which barbarous cruelty his ſiſter *Theodora* (maried to
Conſtantinus Prince of Bulgaria) hearing, ceaſed not with tears and prayers, and all other Womanly
perſuaſions, to ſtir vp her husband in reuenge thereof. Whereunto alſo *Iathatines* the
Turks Sultan gaue no ſmall furtherance; who weary of exile, and to be ſo into a corner confined
as into a priſon from whence he might not ſtart; by ſecret meſſengers intreated the Bulgarian
Prince to make war vpon the vſurping Emperor: promiſing him a great ſum of mony,
if by his help he might recouer his former libertie. Wherwith he the rather moued, with a
B great power of his own, and aboue twenty thouſand Tartars which then lay by the riuer Iſter,
ſuddenly brake into the Emperours territories, and in ſhorter time than was to haue beene
thought, ouer-ran all the Countrey of Thracia, euen vnto the ſea ſide, leauing neither man
nor beaſt in all the Countrey as hee went: in good hope alſo to haue by the way ſurpriſed the
Emperor himſelfe, euen then returning from his Wars againſt the Deſpot in Theſſaly. Who
hearing of his ſpeedy comming, beeing got vnto the ſea ſide, and hauing no way left to haue
eſcaped by land) ſhipped himſelfe into a Galley of the Latines, which with another her conſort
bound for Conſtantinople, by good hap put in there for to water, and ſo within two days
after arriued in ſafety at the Imperiall City. Thus diſappointed of the Emperour, all his
care was for the deliuery of the Turks Sultan. Wherfore marching in haſt to Ænum, he ſo
C terrified the Citiſens with his comming, that they without further delay deliuered him into
his hands, that they might therby redeem their owne peace. In his returne you might haue
ſeen the Souldiers, eſpecially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men
and Cattel, in ſuch ſort as that in the open Countrey of Thrace for a ſpace was hardly to bee
ſeen either Countryman or beaſt, it was ſo clean ſwept both of inhabitants and likewiſe of
Cattell.

Iathatines dieth:

Iathatines the Sultan by the Tartars caried ouer Iſter, and ſo by them ſet at liberty, ſhortly
after died. In whoſe kingdom ſucceeded not his ſon *Melick* (as ſome write) but two others (as
the Turks themſelues report) the one called *Meſoot*, the ſon of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other
Kei-Cubades the ſon of *Feramcine*, born alſo of the *Selzuccian* Family, as were all the other
D Turks Sultans; but how neer in bloud they were vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they make no
mention. Betwixt which two as his Vaſſals, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whom they
were ſo preferred) for the paiment of a yearly tribute diuided the Turks Kingdom; apportioning
vnto *Meſoot* the Cities of Amida, in antient time called Amiſus, and Aminſus, in
Galatia; Melatia, otherwiſe called Meletine, in the leſſer Armenia; Siuaſte, in antient time
Sebaſtia, and Harbarie, before Satabria, both in Cappadocia, with all the Countrey about
them. And vnto *Kei-Cubades*, Iconium the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all Rumilia
Aſiatica, or the Countries of the leſſer Aſia alongſt the ſea Coaſt: Which theſe two
Princes held as the Tartars Tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill
ſuch time as he was by the ſame Tartars again expulſed. So that the Turks kingdom, which
E had of long time formerly flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* Family, in Perſia, Syria, Paleſtine, and
Ægypt, were quite ouerthrown by the Mamalukes and the Tartars (as is before declared) and
now brought vnder foot in the leſſer Aſia likewiſe, where only reſted all the hope of that Nation,
was now at a low ebbe, diuided betwixt two weak Princes reigning but at the deuotion
of the Tartar Chan. In which confuſion of the Turkiſh Empire, ſo rent, not only diuers
men of great power and authority mongſt them, ſhared vnto themſelues, ſome one corner
of the declining kingdome, and ſome another; but many of the obſcure and baſeſt people
alſo, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the ſtrait paſſages of
the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incurſions, did much harme in the countries
of the Chriſtians ioyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the
F garriſons which were wont to defend the ſame, beeing for want of pay quite diſbanded, and
the Caſtles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the firſt, as a thing of ſmall
importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cauſe of the ruine and decay
of the greateſt part of their eſtate in Aſia. Theſe miſchiefes vnregarded, grew dayly more
and more, the Turks ſtill gaining vpon the Greekes what they loſt vnto the Tartars. Whoſe

inuaſions (the glory of the kingdom only excepted) was not ſo hurtfull to them, as the cauſe G
of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned that a great power of theſe
aduenturous Turks meeting together in Paphlagonia, were about to haue inuaded the territories
of the Chriſtians: againſt whom *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor ſent out a ſtrong and
puiſſant army to ſtay their further comming on, leſt breaking in that way, they ſhould without
reſiſtance at their pleaſure forrage the country before them. Which army conducted by
vnſkilful captains, incountring with the Turks, was by them in a great battel ouerthrown and
vtterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude eſcaping: for whilſt the Greeks vnaduiſedly
purſued the Turks, retyring of purpoſe before them, they were by them drawne into
the danger of a great power lying in ambuſh for them, and ſo intrapped, were ſlain with an
exceding great ſlaughter. After which ſo great a victory (the beginning of the miſery of the H
Chriſtians in the leſſer Aſia) the Turks without let or ſtay ouer-ran all the country vnto the
riuer Sangarius; vpon the banks wherof the Greek Emperor was glad to fortifie diuers towns
and forts to keep them out of Bithynia. Neuertheleſſe they in ſhort time after ſubdued all
the countries from Pontus and Galatia, vnto the Lycian and Carian ſea, and the riuer Eurymedon,
which they diuided among them into diuers Toparchies; little or nothing acknowledging
the ſoueraigntie either of *Meſoot* or *Kei-Cubades*.

Whilſt the Turks in the leſſer Aſia thus win from the Chriſtians on the one ſide, and loſe
to the Tartars on the other, many an hard conflict in the mean time paſſed betwixt the Ægyptian
Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the ſouerainty of Syria: the poor
remainder of the Chriſtians all that while there in doubt both of the one and the other; from I
whom and from the Armenians (then alſo much infeſted with the Mamalukes) diuers Embaſſadors
were ſent vnto the Pope and the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to craue their ayd
and help in that their hard eſtate. Whoſe prayers little preuailing with the reſt, yet ſo mooued
Lewis the French king, and *Henry* the third then reigning in England, that they both promiſed
them aid. Whereupon *Lewis* a man of great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that ſeruice
againſt the Infidels, took vpon him the Croſſe, the cogniſance of the ſacred War; cauſing
his three ſons, *Philip* that ſucceeded him in the kingdome, (ſyrnamed the Faire) *Peter*
County of Alanſon, and *Iohn* County of Neuers, ſyrnamed *Triſtan* (for that his mother was
in her greateſt heauineſſe for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in Egypt) and
moſt of the Nobilitie of France to do the like. Vnto whom alſo *Theobald* King of Nauar his K
ſon in Law, *Alphonſus* his brother, and *Guido* Earl of Flanders, joined themſelues. And ſo
hauing put all things in readineſſe, took his way to Marſeilles, and from thence embarking
himſelfe with his Army in the Genoa ſhips hired for that purpoſe, ſet forward the firſt day of
1270 March, in the year 1270. But being at ſea, he was by force of weather conſtrained to land in
Carthage beſieged by K. Lewis Sardinia, and there to ſtay a while. Departing thence, he at length arriued at Carthage, the
place by him deſired: where in the entrance of the hauen he ſurpriſed certain of the Enemies
ſhips; but landing his men, and aſſaulting the town, he was notably repulſed. This is not that
antient, great, and famous City, which ſomtime ſtroue with the proud Miſtres of the World
for ſoueraigntie, but another built long after in the ruines, or at leaſt not far from the ruines
of the ſame. In the beſieging wherof the Frenchmen found ſuch reſiſtance, as wel put them L
in remembrance of the antient glory of the Carthaginians. One day it hapned as the king lay
thus at the ſiege, that the defendants made a great and fierce ſally out vpon the Frenchmen;
who before commanded ſo to doe, by little and little retyred, to draw their enemies further
on. Betwixt whom and the City the Conſtable with a great power comming and charging
them behinde, and they which were before retyred, now ſtanding cloſe vnto them, they were
on both ſides hardly beſet; who for all that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themſelues,
and made there a great fight, though not without extream perill. Which they in the
City beholding, gaue out a moſt hideous and pittious cry, a certaine ſigne of their hard
eſtate within; aſtonying with the ſuddenneſſe thereof both their friends and enemies. But
whileſt they of the Towne betwixt hope and deſpair ſtood thus beholding the fight at land, M
the French-men by ſea aſſaulting a Bulwarke on that ſide of the Towne, tooke it without
Carthage won. reſiſtance. Which ſo diſmayed them without, that they forthwith began to flie; of
whom the greateſt part caſting away their weapons, were by the Kings commandment receiued
vnto mercy. And they likewiſe of the Town vpon promiſe of their liues, yeelded the
ſame

A ſame vnto the King. Carthage thus won,the King layd ſiege vnto Tunes, the chiefe City of that Kingdom,being not far off. Where by the way he was encountred by the King of that Countrey,who hauing there loſt ten thouſand of his Moores, betook himſelfe to flight with the reſt. Who thus ouerthrowne,reſolued no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himſelfe ſafe within the walls of his city, if happely ſo he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his enemies by lying ſtill and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which their purpoſe King *Lewis* perceiuing,reſolued not to ſtir from thence vntill that hee were become maſter of the City,which as it ſeemed could not hold out for want of victuals, conſidering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuertheleſſe thus beſieged both by ſea and land,and ſo ſtreitly hemmed in on euery ſide,as that no reliefe could poſſibly bee B brought vnto it, yet held it out by the ſpace of ſix moneths. After which time, wants dayly more and more encreaſing amongſt the beſieged, Embaſſadors were ſent out to the King, to intreat with him of peace. But whileſt theſe Embaſſadors go to and fro,and reaſon vpon the capitulations of the deſired peace, behold, a great and furious plague aroſe in the French Camp,which began to cut them down by heaps: There died *Iohn Triſtan* County of Nevers, the Kings yongeſt ſonne, born in the firſt expedition that the ſaid King his father made into the Holy land,euen at ſuch time as he was taken priſoner; which *Triſtan* died the twenty fiſt day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1270. The good King hauing ſcarſely performed the obſequies of his ſon,fell ſick of the bloudy flix,whereof he there ſhortly after died alſo. About which time arriued there *Charles* King of Sicilie,the French Kings brother,with a great C number of freſh ſoldiers; whoſe comming ſomwhat lightned the Frenchmens hearts (heauy for the death of their King) and daunted the Moores,before brag of the ſame. Shortly after whom arriued there alſo Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the third his eldeſt ſon; who trauelling thorow France,and taking ſhipping at Aqueſmort, not far from Marſeilles, was now in ten dayes with a braue company of Engliſh men come to Tunes;and there of the other Chriſtian Princes, namely of *Philip* the French King (his father *Lewis* being now dead) of *Charles* King of Sicilie,and of the two Kings of Navar and Arragon, ioyfully receiued. But theſe princes had a little before his arriuall concluded a peace with the Moores King and the Infidels,vpon condition that he ſhould pay a yearly tribute of forty thouſand Crownes vnto the King of Sicilie, and to ſuffer the Chriſtian Religion to bee freely preached within his D Dominions, by ſuch deuout perſons as ſhould be there left for that purpoſe: and that vnto ſuch as ſhould by their preaching be conuerted vnto the Faith in Chriſt Ieſus,it ſhould be lawful for them to be baptiſed,and to profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion.

Of which Peace Prince *Edward* vnderſtanding,did what he might to haue diſſuaded them from the ſame; ſaying, That the War was by them all taken in hand againſt the Infidels, as enemies vnto the Croſſe of Chriſt (with whom they were not to haue peace) and for the recouery of the Holy City. But ſay what he would,and do what he could,the peace to his great diſcontentment was now concluded,which they might not (as they ſaid) again break. And therupon with the firſt fair wind hoiſed ſail and returned towards Sicilie, with purpoſe the next Spring to haue gon into Syria. Which their determination was ſhortly after by the E hand of God diſappointed: for beeing come vpon the Coaſt of the Iſland not far from Drepanum, moſt of the great Princes and other Nobilitie in their long boats went on land, the reſt of the Fleet lying at Anker about a league off; for that being for the moſt part ſhips of great burthen, they were not able to put into the Harbor. But as they ſo lay,by force of a violent and ſudden Tempeſt then ariſing, ſome were eaten vp with the rough ſea; ſome falling foule one of another,there periſhed together; others driuen vpon the Main, were there beaten in pieces. So that of that great Fleet, before the ſtorme ceaſed, periſhed about an hundred and twenty ſail,with all the people as well mariners as ſouldiers left in them, and great ſtore of Armour and munition. In ſuch ſort that moſt of the common Souldiers and Mariners which had eſcaped the Plague at Tunes, there vpon the Coaſt of Sicilie periſhed by F ſhipwrack. Only Prince *Edwards* fleet, beeing in number but thirteene ſhips, eſcaped free without loſſe either of ſhip or man. Neither were they that were got to land at Drepanum in much better caſe,the plague ſtill following them; wherof died *Theobald* King of Navar, and *Iſabel* his wife,King *Lewis* his daughter, *Elizabeth* the French queen,with a maruelous number of Noble Gentlemen and other common Soldiers; in ſuch ſort,that *Philip* the French King

The Chriſtian Princes returning from Tunes, ſuffer ſhipwracke vpon the coaſt of Sicily.

diſcouraged with the greatnes of the mortalitie, and the miſerable loſſe at ſea, reſolued there G to make an end of the intended war, and ſo returned into France, as did the reſt that were left, euery man into his own country. Only Prince *Edward* hauing paſſed that Winter in Sicilie, with the firſt of the next Spring ſet forward again on his voyage, and in 15 dayes arriued with his fleet at Ptolemais: where after he had by the ſpace of a month reſted himſelf and his ſoldiers after their long trauel, and fully inquiring of the ſtate of the country, he with ſix or ſeuen thouſand ſoldiers marching from Ptolemais about twenty miles into the land, took Nazareth, and put to ſword all them he found therein, and ſo again returned. After whom the enemies following, in hope to haue taken him at ſome aduantage, he vnderſtanding thereof, turned back vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the reſt to flight. And after that about Midſummer, vnderſtanding that the Saraſins were again making head at a place called H Cakhow, about forty miles off, he ſet forwards toward them, and comming vpon them early in the morning before they were aware, ſlew aboue a thouſand of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Aided alſo by the Nobilitie of Cyprus, he with like ſucceſſe as before, made a third expedition againſt the Turks and Infidels: inſomuch that his fame began to grow great amongſt them, and they to ſtand of him in no little dread. But whilſt he thus preuailed, he was by foul treacherie almoſt taken out of the way. The Admirall of Ioppa feigning himſelfe deſirous to become a Chriſtian, and willing to further the princes proceedings, had by a ſecret meſſenger and letters ſundry times intelligence with him, as well concerning his own good entertainment, as the effecting of that which hee had promiſed. This meſſenger by the Admirall thus employed, was (though to the Prince vnknown) one of the Aſſaſines, a company of moſt I deſperat and dangerous men amongſt the Mahometans, who ſtrongly deluded with the blind zeal of their ſuperſtition, and counting it meritorious, by any meanes to kill any great enemy of their Religion; for the performance therof, as men prodigall of their liues, deſperately aduenture themſelues vnto all kinds of dangers. So now this meſſenger being reſolued to die, comming the fift time vnto the Prince, and being ſearched for hauing any weapon about him (as the manner was) had acceſſe vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon his bed, in his jerkin bare headed, becauſe of the heate of the weather. Where after due reuerence done, hee pulled out certain letters from his Lord to the Prince, which hee read with great delight, as penned of purpoſe for to pleaſe. But as hee was further queſtioning with him of many matters, and all the company voided, the deſperat meſſenger making as though hee would haue K pulled out ſome other ſecret letters, ſuddenly pluckt out an inuenomed knife which hee had ſecretly hidden about him, thinking to haue ſtruck him into the belly as he lay, for the auoiding of which ſtroke the Prince lifting vp his arm, was therein grieuouſly wounded. But as the Villaine was about to haue doubled the ſtroke, the Prince with his foot gaue him ſuch a blow that he felled him to the ground; and with that ſtarting vp, caught him by the hand, where in ſtrugling with him for the knife, in wreſting it out of his hand, hee hurt himſelſe therwith in the forhead: but getting it from him, preſently thruſt it into the murtherers belly and ſo ſlew him. The Princes ſeruants being not far off, and hearing the buſtling, came running in; where finding the meſſenger dead on the floor, one with a ſtool beat out his brains; wherat the Prince took ſome diſpleaſure for ſo ſtriking a dead man. This danger of the prin- L ces much troubled and grieued all the Chriſtians in Syria; and the more, for that the wound in his arm, after it had bin certain daies well dreſſed by the skilfull Surgeons and Phyſitians, began to mortifie and grow blacke, inſomuch that they and others about him began to mutter amongſt themſelues, and to looke heauily vpon the matter, as not without great danger. Which Prince *Edward* perceiuing, ſayd vnto them, Why whiſper ye thus amongſt your ſelues? What ſee you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth and feare not. Wherunto one of them anſwered, May it pleaſe your Highneſſe, we doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painfull for you to ſuffer. If ſuffering (ſayd hee) may again reſtore my health, I commit my ſelfe vnto you, worke on me your skill and ſpare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poiſoned fleſh that was in his arm, and within fifteene dayes M after perfectly cured his wound, to the great rejoicing of all his people. The great Sultan to cleere himſelfe of this ſo diſhonorable a treacherie, ſent three of his Noblemen vnto the Prince, calling to witneſſe his falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, That the ſame was done neither by him nor his conſent. Which his Embaſſadours the Prince honourably vſed, but ſuffered

1271

Prince Edward arriueth at Ptolemais.

Prince Edward wounded.

them not to come nigh him. So hauing tarried eighteene moneths at Ptolemais, and no ayd comming from the other Chriſtian Princes, as was expected, he tooke ſhipping, and returning homeward, landed firſt in Sicilia, and from thence croſſing ouer into Apulia, and ſo trauelling to Rome, was there honourably entertained by *Gregory* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence by the way of France arriued in England, where he was ſhortly after crowned King, in the yere 1272, his father the old King, *Henry* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

1273

Rodulph the Emperour taketh vpon him the Croſſe.

The yeare following, *Gregory* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard eſtate of the Chriſtians in Syria, (as hauing there beene of late himſelfe with Prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his abſence elected Pope) and now deſirous to procure them ſome reliefe, ratified the election of *Rodulphus* of Hapſpurge vnto the Empire; vpon condition, That he ſhould promiſe to take vpon himſelfe the Croſſe, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof he offered vnto the Emperour two hundred thouſand crownes, with the tenths both of the Clergie and Temporaltie for ſix yeres: and many goodly bleſſings were in his name alſo, by the preachers of that time, promiſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould with him take vpon them that ſacred warre. Whereupon the Emperour with all his family tooke vpon them the Croſſe, the ſigne of the ſacred expedition intended: as did alſo the Duke of Lorraine ſhortly after, with ſome others. Neuertheleſſe the Emperour, otherwiſe buſied in warres againſt the Bohemians and Bauarians, and delaying ſtill the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him ſo long and dangerous a iourney, and the Pope ſtill threatning his high ſentence of excommunication, the time paſſed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the Emperour hauing C happily finiſhed his warres in Bohemia, and finding himſelfe at ſome good leiſure in ſome part to diſcharge his vow, and to ſatisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of him, ſent *Henry* Prince of Megapolis, or as the Germanes call it, Meckelbourg, with a ſtrong power into Syria, to performe what himſelfe had promiſed. Who comming to Ptolemais, made many notable incurſions into the country about Damaſco, with fire and ſword deſtroying all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at length he was by the Mamalukes circumuented and taken priſoner, and ſo carried vnto the Sultan at Caire, where he remained in ſtrait priſon ſix and twenty yeares after; vntill that by chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate Germane) being choſen Sultan, cauſed him to be brought before him, and at his comming demanded of him, If it would not do him good to D celebrate the remembrance of the natiuity of his Chriſt with his friends in Germany? (for now that time of the yere was at hand) And I know (ſaid the Sultan) that thou art ſo addicted vnto thy ſuperſtition, that thou reſpecteſt the ſame more than thy liberty. Truth (ſaid *Henry*) mighty Prince; for liberty would auaile me nothing, if Chriſt by his moſt mild incarnation had not taken away our captiuity: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, ô King, didſt alſo vnderſtand; which as I moſt heartily wiſh, ſo I would I could thereof perſuade thee. God forbid (ſaid the Sultan) for I remember that when as I was a chiefe enginer vnto thy father at Kneſe-Fenicke in Liuonia, and there did him good ſeruice, I was altogether of the Chriſtian perſuaſion; but now hauing left that common error, haue therewith alſo changed my priuate fortune. But as for thy Reli- E gion I haue nothing to ſay, my talke is onely concerning thy liberty: Wouldeſt thou therefore gladly be free, and ſo returne home to thy friends? That, Nature craueth (ſaid *Henry*) although my fortune gaineſayeth, which yet dependeth of your pleaſure: I deſire indeed to returne home, which if you ſhould deny me, I muſt as I haue done, take it in good part; aſſuring my ſelfe, that my wife *Anaſtaſia*, with my beloued ſons, *Henry*, *Leo*, and *Iohn*, haue long ſince celebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceiued (ſaid the Sultan) for I am ſure that they know thou yet liueſt, and pray moſt heartily for thy returne. Truly I owe much vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy liberty. And hauing ſo ſaid, furniſhed him with all things neceſſary, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin* his ſeruant, who taken with him, had borne him company all the long time of his captiuitie. F So taking his leaue of the Sultan, he came to Ptolemais: but ſhipping himſelfe for Cyprus, he was by the way, by certaine Pyrats taken at ſea, and as a fugitiue Captiue brought backe againe vnto the Sultan: who pittying his hard fortune, ſet him againe at liberty, and by a ſhip ſet out for that purpoſe, tranſported him into Cyprus: where he was by the Queene of that

Henr. the prince taken priſoner, & ſent to Caire

Iſland his aunt (as ſome ſay) honourably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his eſtate. Departing thence he came to Marſeilles, where after he had ſome few daies refreſhed himſelfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his own Country: where at the firſt he was not knowne of his owne children and friends, as being growne old in priſon, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found againe, and by them knowne, he was of his children joyfully receiued as their father, and of his ſubjects as their Prince. Howbeit he ſhortly after died, and was honourably buried in the Monaſtery of Dobran.

Thus in the whole courſe of this Hiſtory it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions euen the greateſt Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to their immortal glory, from time to time vndertooke againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and his moſt ſacred word, & for the reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine: whereof as diuers of them had right glorious ſucceſſe, vnto the great profit of the Chriſtian Commonweale; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too ſmall ſtrength, or otherwiſe ouerthrowne by the diſcord or malice of the Chriſtians themſelues, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuertheleſſe, how vnfortunatly ſoeuer they fel out in the hands of ſuch worthy men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glory, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the Son of God, Chriſt Ieſus, and the defence of his verity, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, and his moſt blaſphemous doctrine; ſo honorable and juſt a quarrel as might well beſeeme the greatnes of the greateſt Prince, yea, of all the Princes of Chriſtendome. Yet could not the worthines therof, euen in thoſe more zealous times, or the dangerous eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian commonweale, euen then like to periſh, (as ſome others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, crying out vnto their Chriſtian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Chriſtian Princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any ſuccor or reliefe: for they little feeling thoſe harmes ſo far off, and more regarding their owne hereditary quarrels, employed thoſe forces one againſt another, vnto the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud, as might haue ſufficed not for relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria onely, but alſo to haue regained whatſoeuer had beene before from them taken by the Turks or Saraſins. The German Princes were ſtill at a jarre about the choice of their Emperors: the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low-countries: neither the Engliſh with the Scots: the Arragonians were at odds with the French: and in Italy were almoſt as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt occaſion of their ruine and decay) *Melechſares* the Egyptian Sultan vnderſtanding by his eſpials, raiſed a great army of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpoſe to haue vtterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, and ſo to haue entirely joyned thoſe two great countries vnto his owne kingdome. But what he had ſo miſchieuouſly deuiſed, hee liued not to bring to paſſe, being in the midſt of thoſe his great deſignes taken away by ſudden death. After whom *Alphix* (or as ſome call him, *Elpis*) ſucceeding him in the kingdome, & with a puiſſant army entring into Syria, laid ſiege to Tripolis, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to ſword all the Chriſtians therein (except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight had in time got themſelues out of the danger) & raſed the city down to the ground: which calamitie betided vnto the Chriſtians the ninth of Aprill in the yeare 1289. Preſently after, he had the ſtrong caſtle of Neleſine yeelded vnto him, whereinto he put a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building again the late deſtroied city. In like manner alſo he took the cities of Sidon and Berythus, which he ſacked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, he remoued to Tyre, which after three moneths ſtrait ſiege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of reliefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. With like good fortune hee in good time, and as it were without reſiſtance, tooke all the reſt of the ſtrong Townes and Caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, excepting onely the Citie of Ptolemais; whereunto all the poore Chriſtians fled as vnto a Sanctuarie, to be there defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that ſtrong City, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the ſpace of fiue yeares, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Chriſtian

1289

Tripolis woon and raſed by Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan.

Sidon and Berythus raſed. Tyre yeelded.

Princes of the Weſt, if he ſhould at once haue then vtterly rooted out all the Chriſtians in thoſe countries together.

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Iſland his aunt (as ſome ſay) honourably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his eſtate. Departing thence he came to Marſeilles, where after he had ſome few daies refreſhed himſelfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his own Country: where at the firſt he was not knowne of his owne children and friends, as being growne old in priſon, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found againe, and by them knowne, he was of his children joyfully receiued as their father, and of his ſubjects as their Prince. Howbeit he ſhortly after died, and was honourably buried in the Monaſtery of Dobran.

Thus in the whole courſe of this Hiſtory it appears, by that which is already written, what notable expeditions euen the greateſt Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to their immortal glory, from time to time vndertooke againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and his moſt ſacred word, & for the reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria and in the land of Paleſtine: whereof as diuers of them had right glorious ſucceſſe, vnto the great profit of the Chriſtian Commonweale; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too ſmall ſtrength, or otherwiſe ouerthrowne by the diſcord or malice of the Chriſtians themſelues, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuertheleſſe, how vnfortunatly ſoeuer they fel out in the hands of ſuch worthy men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glory, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the Son of God, Chriſt Ieſus, and the defence of his verity, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, and his moſt blaſphemous doctrine; ſo honorable and juſt a quarrel as might well beſeeme the greatnes of the greateſt Prince, yea, of all the Princes of Chriſtendome. Yet could not the worthines therof, euen in thoſe more zealous times, or the dangerous eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian commonweale, euen then like to periſh, (as ſome others be now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, crying out vnto their Chriſtian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Chriſtian Princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any ſuccor or reliefe: for they little feeling thoſe harmes ſo far off, and more regarding their owne hereditary quarrels, employed thoſe forces one againſt another, vnto the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian bloud, as might haue ſufficed not for relief of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in Syria onely, but alſo to haue regained whatſoeuer had beene before from them taken by the Turks or Saraſins. The German Princes were ſtill at a jarre about the choice of their Emperors: the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low-countries: neither the Engliſh with the Scots: the Arragonians were at odds with the French: and in Italy were almoſt as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt occaſion of their ruine and decay) *Melechſares* the Egyptian Sultan vnderſtanding by his eſpials, raiſed a great army of the Mamalukes and others, with a full purpoſe to haue vtterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, and ſo to haue entirely joyned thoſe two great countries vnto his owne kingdome. But what he had ſo miſchieuouſly deuiſed, hee liued not to bring to paſſe, being in the midſt of thoſe his great deſignes taken away by ſudden death. After whom *Alphix* (or as ſome call him, *Elpis*) ſucceeding him in the kingdome, & with a puiſſant army entring into Syria, laid ſiege to Tripolis, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to ſword all the Chriſtians therein (except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight had in time got themſelues out of the danger) & raſed the city down to the ground: which calamitie betided vnto the Chriſtians the ninth of Aprill in the yeare 1289. Preſently after, he had the ſtrong caſtle of Neleſine yeelded vnto him, whereinto he put a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building again the late deſtroied city. In like manner alſo he took the cities of Sidon and Berythus, which he ſacked, and laid them flat with the ground. And after that, he remoued to Tyre, which after three moneths ſtrait ſiege, was by the Citizens (now out of all hope of reliefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. With like good fortune hee in good time, and as it were without reſiſtance, tooke all the reſt of the ſtrong Townes and Caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, excepting onely the Citie of Ptolemais; whereunto all the poore Chriſtians fled as vnto a Sanctuarie, to be there defended by the honourable Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that ſtrong City, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the ſpace of fiue yeares, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Chriſtian

1289

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moſt inclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars,as both for their neerneſſe and power moſt like
of all other to ſtand them in ſtead. All theſe aimed at one marke,which was, the gouernment
and command of the City; and moſt of them had in the ſame their owne proper lawes and
courts,to decide their cauſes and controuerſies in. Whereby it came to paſſe,that euery man
might without checke or controlement almoſt do what he liſt, the offendors from one court
to another remouing their ſuits as beſt ſerued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is before
ſaid) dayly committed in the ſtreets,men abuſed,houſes robbed, ſhops broken vp,and many
other outrages done,to the haſtning of the wrath of God, and griefe of all good men.

1291 Diuiſion and diſſention(the ruine of all Common-weales) thus raigning in the City, the
ſouldiers of late ſent thither, or in zeale come of themſelues for the defence thereof, gaue H
occaſion for the more ſpeedy deſtruction of the ſame: ſuch is the power of the Almightie,
in his wrath and iudgements for ſinne, euen by thoſe things werein we moſt truſt and ioy, to
worke our vtter ruine and deſtruction. Theſe ſouldiers, for want of ſuch pay as was promiſed
them, were enforced to ſeeke abroad; and therefore contrary to the league before made with
the Ægyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties vnto the frontiers of his territo-
ries,taking the ſpoile of ſuch things as they light vpon. Whereof the Sultan vnderſtanding,
demanded by his Embaſſadors, That reſtitution might be made,and the offendors deliuered
vnto him to be puniſhed, according vnto the League. But in that ſo ſicke a ſtate of a dying
Common-weale,neither was reſtitution made,as reaſon would, or yet the Embaſſadors cour-
teouſly heard. With which inſolencie the Sultan prouoked, ſent *Emilech Araphus* a nota- I
Ptolemais beſieged. ble Captaine, (and as ſome ſay, his ſonne) with an hundred and fifty thouſand men, to be-
ſiege the City: who comming thither, and hauing made his approches, had by a mine in
ſhort time ouerthrowne a piece of the wall; but in ſeeking to haue entred by the breach, he
found ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, that he was glad with loſſe to retyre. Whileſt *Araphus* thus
lay at the ſiege of Ptolemais, *Alphir* the Sultan died at Damaſco: in whoſe ſtead the Mama-
lukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan; who more deſirous of nothing than of
the glory of the vtter rooting vp of the Chriſtians in Syria, was ſo farre from raiſing of his
ſiege, (either for the death of the Sultan,or the newes of his Kingdome) that he more ſtraitly
beſet the city than he had in the three moneths ſpace that he had there lien before. Now had
they in the city choſen *Peter* the maſter of the Templars,their gouernor,a man of great expe- K
rience and valour: vnto whom, and the reſt of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards,
and vnto the ſoldiers their pay, with free liberty to depart, ſo that they would without more
adoe yeeld vnto him the city,which they could not long hold.Which his offer the maſter re-
iected,and flatly told him, that he had not learned of his anceſtors, to ſell for mony vnto the
Infidels a City bought with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; either did ſo much regard his vaine
threats,as therefore to forget his ſeruice due vnto his Sauior Chriſt and the Chriſtian Com-
monweale. With which anſwer the tyrant inraged, the next day with all his forces aſſaulted
Ptolemais in vain aſſaulted by the Sultan. the city, and that in ſuch deſperat and furious manner, as if he would euen then haue carried
it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promiſed the ſpoile vnto his ſouldiers, the more to
encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could,and loſt a number of his men,ſlaine both in L
the aſſault, and in a ſally which the Chriſtians made out at the ſame time, he was inforced to
retyre backe againe into his trenches.In this ſo terrible an aſſault,not repulſed without ſome
loſſe alſo of the Chriſtians, the grand maſter and gouernour of the city was wounded with a
poiſoned dart,wherof he in three daies after died. With whom the courage of the Defen-
dans fainted alſo, no man being left like vnto him to vndertake ſo great a charge, although
many there were,that ouerweening of themſelues deſired the ſame. In the beginning of this
ſiege the Chriſtians had ſent away all their aged and weak people vnfit for ſeruice, into Cy-
prus,where they in ſafety arriued. But now many of the better ſort both Captains and others
diſcouraged,one after another conueyed themſelues away out of the City. Of whom a great
number in paſſing thence to Cyprus, were vpon the Coaſt of the Iſland together with the M
Patriarch drowned. In the City remained only twelue thouſand, which were thought ſuf-
ficient for the defence thereof. Who afterwards (as ſome report) fled alſo by ſea after their
Fellowes, and ſo left the City empty vnto the barbarous Enemie. Some others reporting
of

of them more honorably, as that they ſhould right valiantly defend the city againſt the aſſault of their enemies, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them being ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt by force driuen from the wals into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themſelues, in flying thence vnto the ſhips, were by the way all cut in ſunder, or els drowned. But how ſoeuer it was, the Sultan entring the city (by the Chriſtians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers; who after they had rifled euery corner thereof, by his commandement ſet it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, Churches, and other publike or priuate buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no ſigne of any city at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the ſtones and rubbidge left of the raſed city, made it a fit place for huſbandmen to plow and ſow corne in; which he did both there, at Sydon, Beritus, and other Townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer more ſerue for a refuge vnto the Chriſtians, or giue them footing againe into thoſe Countries. Thus together with Ptolemais was the name of the Chriſtians vtterly rooted out of Syria and the Land of Paleſtine, in the yeare 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of Ieruſalem by *Godfrey* of Buillon and the other Chriſtian Princes his confederates.

Caſſanes the Emperour inuadeth Syria.

This loſſe, as tending to the great diſgrace of the Chriſtians in generall, moued not a little euen the greateſt of the Chriſtian Princes; wronged all or moſt part of them in the perſons of the Templars or Knights Hoſpitalers, their ſubjects, ſo ſhamefully now quite caſt out of Syria and the land of Promiſe; howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires at home or with their neighbour Princes not farre off, none of them once ſtirred for the redreſſe or reuenge thereof. Onely *Caſſanes* the great Tartar Prince, hauing of late ſubdued the Perſians, and married the daughter of the Armenian King (a Lady of great perfection, and of a Mahometane became a Chriſtian) at the requeſt of his wife and his father in law, tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpoſe hauing raiſed a moſt puiſſant army of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and ayded by the Armenians and Georgians, paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus into Syria, not farre from the City Hama met with *Melcenaſer*, the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, with a mighty army, whom he ouerthrew in a great and mortall battell, wherin forty thouſand of the Ægyptians are reported to haue beene ſlaine, and ſo draue him quite out of Syria: ſending *Molais*, one of his Captaines, with part of his Army to purſue him, who neuer left him vntill he had chaſed him ouer the deſart ſands into Ægypt. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the City of Hama, where lighting vpon the great treaſures of the Sultan, hee bountifully diuided it, together with the ſpoile, amongſt his ſouldiers; reſeruing nothing thereof vnto himſelfe, more than a ſword and a casket full of ſecret letters. The Ægyptian thus put to flight, he without reſiſtance tooke in moſt of the Cities of Syria, with the City of Ieruſalem alſo; which in many places by the Turks and Ægyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the Temple of our Sauiour gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Chriſtians, repairing thither out of Cyprus, Creet, and other places, to inhabit. And hauing himſelfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his army to Damaſco, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him. But lying there, with purpoſe in Autumne following to haue gone into Ægypt, and to haue vtterly deſtroied that kingdome, he was certified of new troubles ariſing in Perſia, and ſome other parts of his Empire: for repreſſing whereof, he with the greateſt part of his Army returned himſelfe into Perſia, leauing one *Capcapus* gouernour of Damaſco; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans Army had reuolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before ſpoken) Gouernour of Ieruſalem: commanding them at his departure to re-edifie the City of Tyre, and to ſend Embaſſadors vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, to joyne in league with them, for the more ſure holding of thoſe new gained countries. And ſo Tyre was indeed repaired as he had commanded, and deliuered to the Chriſtians, with a conuenient garriſon for the keeping thereof: but the Embaſſadors comming to the proud Biſhop *Boniface* the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it beſeemed to haue furthered their buſineſſe, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For hee at the ſame time fallen out with *Philip* the French King, thundering out his excommunications, diſcharging his ſubjects of their loyaltie, and ſo much as in him was, depriuing him of his Kingdome, had giuen the ſame vnto *Albertus* Duke of Auſtria, whom he had declared Emperour: whereof

Ieruſalem taken and repaired by Caſſanes.

ariſe great troubles. Beſides that,he being of the *Guelphes* faction,was not in any thing more G
carefull, than of the vtter extinguiſhing of the contrary faction of the *Gibellines*, eſpecially of
the moſt honorable family of the *Columnij*, of whom ſome he had ſlaine, ſome he had depriued
of their honours, ſome he had impriſoned, and driuen otherſome into exile ; ſo that thus
wickedly buſied for the maintenance of his owne proud eſtate, he had no leiſure to further
the good of the Chriſtian commonweale : which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulneſſe of
duty long eſcaped not the reuenging hand of God ; being when he thought leaſt, ſuddenly
taken priſoner at his fathers houſe in the city of Anagnia (where he was borne) by *Sara Columnius*
his mortall enemy ; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirats gally, the French
King had ſent for that purpoſe, with one *Longaret* (or as ſome call him, *Nogaret*) a French
Knight : by whom the proud Prelat brought to Rome, in the caſtle of S. *Angelo*, within fiue and H
thirty daies after moſt miſerably died, in his madnes (as ſome report) renting himſelfe with
The deſcription of Caſſanes.
his teeth, and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthy Tartar Prince *Caſſanes* (by whom the
Chriſtian commonweale might haue againe riſen in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, had not
the pride of the great Biſhop, and the diſſention of the Chriſtian Princes hindred the ſame)
was (as *Aitonus* writeth, who was preſent in this war, following his vncle the Armenian King)
a man of a very ſhort ſtature, and exceeding hard fauor ; but with valor, bounty, and other vertues
of the minde, plentifully recompencing what wanted in the feature of his body. After
whoſe departure into Perſia, *Capcapus* Gouernour of Damaſco, conſidering that the power of
the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Chriſtian
Princes of the Weſt ; to recompenſe his former treaſon of reuolting from the Sultan, I
with a new reuolt from the Tartar, roſe vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely
the city of Damaſco, but the greateſt part of Syria alſo. Whereof *Molois* gouernor of Ieruſalem
vnderſtanding, was about to haue gone againſt him with his Tartars ; but aduertiſed by
his eſpials, that *Capcapus* in this his conſpiracie had compacted with the Ægyptian Sultan alſo,
perceiuing himſelfe too weake to withſtand ſo great a power, retyred with his Tartars into
Meſopotamia, there expecting new ſupplies both from *Caſſanes* and the King of Armenia. Of
The city of Ieruſalem, with all Syria again recouered by the Ægyptian Sultan.
whoſe departure out of Syria the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding, came directly with his army
to Ieruſalem, which he tooke, (being forſaken of the inhabitants) and prophaned the temple,
ſparing onely the Sepulchre of our Sauiour, at the humble ſuit of the religious, making
there a greater ſhew of deuotion, than of cruelty. After that, he woon all the other leſſer K
townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themſelues, or giuen to the other Chriſtians,
and vtterly raſed all the forts of the Hoſpitallers and Templars, which valiant men, without
other helpe, for the ſpace of almoſt a yeare held out againſt the tyrant, in which time moſt of
them were honorably ſlaine : the reſt that were left aliue being taken by the enemy, had neuertheleſſe
leaue giuen with bag and baggage in ſafety to depart, hauing before by ſolemne oath
for euer abiured the country of Syria : and ſo theſe worthy men, the great ornaments of the
Chriſtian commonweale, the Hoſpitalers and Templars, which to the vtmoſt of their power
had by the ſpace of 300 yeres right worthily defended both the Chriſtians and the Chriſtian
religion, againſt the Infidels in Syria and the Holy-land, were now for euer driuen out thence
1300 about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great diſhonour of all Chriſtendome. L

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of Syria and the Holy-land, leauing the ſame
in the poſſeſſion of the Ægyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were ſhortly after
like enough to haue bin againe recouered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the
great Tartar Prince *Caſſanes*, and their domeſticall troubles letted : we will againe returne to
the troubled affaires of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, whither the courſe of the time had ſomewhat
before called vs, with the occurrents thereof, more proper to our purpoſe and the argument
we haue in hand, but that all cannot be at once told : and for the better vnderſtanding of
the deſirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the courſe of the aforeſaid
Hiſtory, drawing ſo neere to an end, but to make him partaker of the heauineſſe thereof.

Now had the Turks no kingdome left in the leſſer Aſia, and that alſo at the pleaſure of *Gazan* M
The death of Meſoot and Cei-Cubades.
the great Tartar *Chan* diuided betwixt *Meſoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his vaſſals, bound vnto
him by a yerely tribute, as is aforeſaid: who both kept in awe by the greatnes of the Tartar, did
nothing worth the remembrance, but as they liued, ſo alſo died, almoſt buried in obſcurity.
Of theſe two, *Meſoot* died without iſſue ; but *Cei-Cubades* departing, left behind him his ſonne

A *Aladin*, who by the name of *Aladin* the ſecond ſucceeding in the Kingdome, vnited againe
the ſame before diuided, yet paying ſtill tribute vnto the Tartar his Soueraigne, as had his
father with the other late Sultans of the Turks before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin*
did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, and not to lie ſo heauy
vpon the Turks as before. He was a man of a quiet ſpirit, and therefore much delighted in
peace: a great friend vnto *Othoman* the firſt founder of the glorious and mighty *Othoman* Empire,
as in his life ſhall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the laſt of the Turks Sultans of the *Selzuccian*
family, dying without iſſue; one *Sabib* his Veſir-Azemes or chiefe Counſeller, and then
a man of greateſt authority, aſpired vnto the kingdome, which he had for moſt part himſelfe
ſwaied all the reigne of the late Sultan his maſter: which vſurped ſoueraigntie, no way vnto
B him due, he could neither himſelfe long hold, or deliuer vnto his poſterity; for that many
others of the nobility, men of great power, and borne of greater families than he, enuying at
his honour, and diſdaining to be gouerned by him, or any other no greater than themſelues,
layed hold ſome vpon one country or prouince, ſome vpon another, where they were able to
do moſt, erecting vnto themſelues greater or leſſer Satrapies, according to the meaſure of
their owne ſtrength and power, without reſpect of any ſuperioritie one ſhould haue ouer another,
but euery one of them abſolutely commanding ouer ſo much as he was able by ſtrong
hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, that the great Monarchies deſtitute
of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preyes vnto ſuch as could firſt lay
ſtrong hand vpon them; euen ſo fell it now out in the great kingdome of the Turks, euery one
C of their great Princes, meaſuring the greatneſſe of his territory, not by the meaſure of his
right, but by the ſtrength of his owne power. Wherein they ſhared ſo well for themſelues,
that *Sahib* at firſt in poſſeſſion of all, was in ſhort time thruſt quite out of all: and ſo the great
kingdome of the Turks in the leſſer Aſia, brought into a meere Anarchie; no King now left
among them, the whole kingdome being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other leſſer
Toparchies. The greateſt of thoſe Princes that thus ſhared the Turks kingdome amongſt
them, was one *Caraman Aluſirius*; who as ſtrongeſt tooke vnto him the city of Iconium, the
regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all the great country of Cilicia, and ſome part of the
frontiers of the countries of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia, as farre as
Phyladelphia, and the city of Antioch vpon the riuer Mæander: all which large territory,
D was of him afterward called Caramania, and by the ſame name is commonly at this day
knowne, and by our late Geographers deſcribed. Of this *Caraman* alſo deſcended the Caramanian
Kings, who of long time after vnfortunately ſtroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the
Soueraigntie of their Empires; vntill that at length they with their Kingdome, and all the
reſt of the Turkiſh Satrapies, were in the fatall greatneſſe of the *Othoman* Empire, ſwallowed
vp and deuoured, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall (if God ſo will) in due time and
place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Sarchan*,
of whom the Countrey of Ionia-Maritima was and yet is called Saru-Chan-Ili, and Saruchania,
that is to ſay, *Saruchans* Countrey. The greateſt part of Lydia, with ſome part alſo
of the greater Myſia, Troas, and Phrygia, fell to *Calumus* and his ſonne *Caraſius*, of whom it is
E called Caraſia, or Caraſi-Ili, (or as we might ſay) *Caraſius* his Countrey. The greateſt part
of the antient Miſia, with ſome part of Lydia, was poſſeſſed by *Aidin*, and was of him called
Aidinia, or Aidin-Ili, as his Country. Some part of the great Countrey of Pontus, with
the Cities of Heraclea-Pontica, Caſtamona, Synope, and others neere vnto the Euxine, and
the Countrey of Paphlagonis, fell into the hands of the ſonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes
call him, *Amur*: of whom that Countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of ſuch Princes
as poſſeſſed them, but is commonly called Bolli, of a City in that Countrey by the
Turkes ſo named. As was alſo Mendeſia, or as ſome call it Menteſia, a Countrey in the leſſer
Aſia, ſo by the Turkes called of Mendos or Myndus, a City in Caria. There were beſide
theſe, diuers other places and Toparchies in the leſſer Aſia, which in the renting of this
F great Kingdome, from the Turkes receiued names, before vnto the World vnknowne; all
which to proſecute were tedious. Sufficeth it vs, for the manifeſting of the Turkes Anarchie,
and the ruine of their Kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, as in part alſo for the more euidence
of the heauy Hiſtory following, to haue remembred theſe as the chiefeſt; eſpecially ſuch as
tooke their names from ſuch great Princes or Captaines as in that ſo great a confuſion of

The Turks kingdome rent in ſunder by themſelues.

The Turkes Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Caraſia.

Aidinia.

Bolli.

Mendeſia.

the Turks kingdome, by ſtrong hand firſt ſeiſed vpon them, and ſo left them to their poſteritie of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter. Theſe Princes one and all that thus ſhared the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were deſcended of the better ſort of the Turks, which with the *Selzuccian* and *Aladinian* Sultans driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars, had vnder them ſeated themſelues in the leſſer Aſia, as is before at large declared. Now among theſe great men that thus diuided the Turks kingdome, moſt of them that write of the Turks affaires, both Greeks and Latines, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiſer of his houſe and family) for one, who indeed in the latter time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flouriſh, and was of him for his valour extraordinarily fauoured (as in this Hiſtory ſhall appeare) but of his kingdome held no more than one poore lordſhip, called Suguta in Bythinia, not farre from the mountaine Olympus, (long before giuen vnto his father *Erthogrull*, for his good ſeruice) with ſuch other ſmall holds thereabout, as he had himſelfe gained from the weake Chriſtians his neighbours. For although he were a Turke borne, yet was he not of the *Selzuccian* family, as were the reſt, but of another houſe and tribe, and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue ſo good right to any of the late Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who being of his houſe, and holpen with the preſcription of time, enuied at the ſudden riſing of this *Oguzian* Turk, being to them as it were a meere ſtranger: whoſe fortune for all that (I know not by what ſecret foreknowledge) they ſeemed to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their poſteritie; wherein they were no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be ſaid hereafter: leaue we him now therefore with the reſt vnto their fortunes in this the Turkes Anarchie, and ſo conclude this part of our Generall Hiſtory: Glad when I looke backe to haue waded thus far, yet fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; ſuch a ſea of matter and world of troubles yet remaining, not without much labour and toile, and that in long time to be paſſed through.

Othoman none of the Selzuccian family.

⁂

FINIS.

THE LIVES OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS.

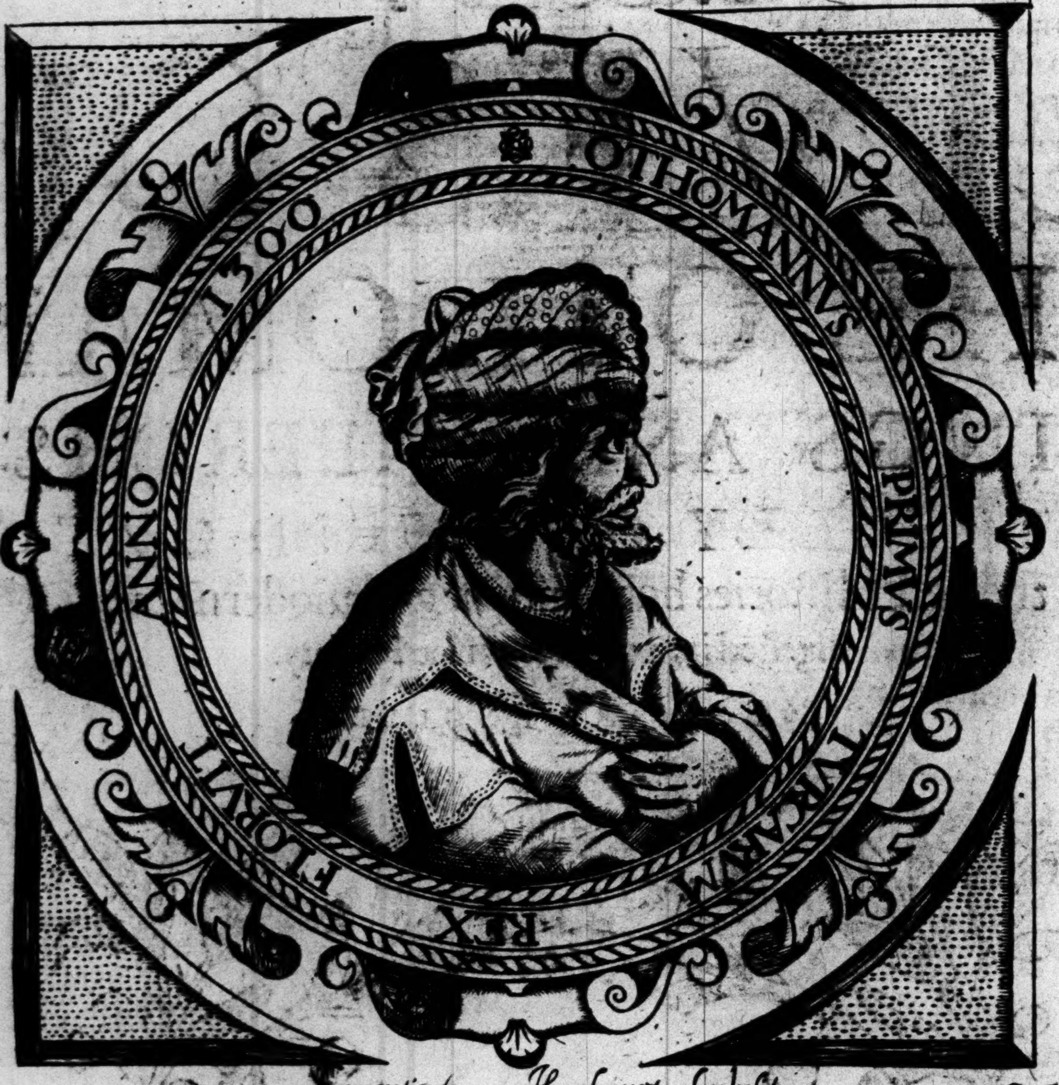
FAITHFVLLY GATHERED OVT OF
the beſt Hiſtories both antient and moderne, and
digeſted into one continuat Hiſtory:

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

ECCLES. 10. 4.

*The
government
of the earth is in the
hand of the Lord, [and
all iniquity of the nations
is to be abhorred:] and
when time is hee will
ſet vp a profitable
Ruler ouer
it.*

LONDON,
Printed by ADAM ISLIP,
1638.



Laurentius Jhonsonus Sculpſit. 1603

Phi. Lonicerus Hiſt. Turc. Lib. 1.

Multiplici laſſatæ Aſiæ res clade premuntur:
Hinc Sarracenus, Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Chriſticolæ gladios in vulnera ſtringunt:
Græcia funeſta ſeditione perit.
Impiger interea noua concipit Ottomannus
Concilia, & valida ſurgit in arma manu.
Et vaſtatricis regno fundamina turbæ
Ponit: & in multo ſanguine ſceptra lauat.

With endleſſe wars the Aſian ſtate farre ſpent and ouerworne,
By Saraſins and Tartars force, is all in pieces torne.
The Chriſtians draw their bloudy ſwords, wherewith themſelues to wound:
And Greece with ciuill diſcord ſeekes it ſelfe for to confound.
Meane while the warlike *Othoman*, new counſels doth deuiſe,
And with a crue of Martiall men doth vp in armes ariſe:
And layes the fatall plot whereon the waſtfull Turkes ſhould raigne,
And bathes his ſcepter in much bloud of people by him ſlaine.

THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF THE TVRKES VNDER *OTHOMAN*, FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF: WITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.

WHAT ſmall aſſurance there is in mens affaires, and how ſubject vnto change euen thoſe things are wherein we for the moſt part repoſe our greateſt felicitie and bliſſe, (beſide that the whole courſe of mans fraile life, by many notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainly manifeſt the ſame, than the heauy euents and woefull deſtructions of the greateſt Kingdomes and Empires: which founded vpon great fortunes, increaſed with perpetuall ſucceſſe, exalted by exceeding power, eſtabliſhed with moſt puiſſant armies, wholeſome lawes, and deepe counſels; haue yet grown old, and in time come to nought: So that euen as men, all things elſe belonging vnto man, are ſubject vnto the ineuitable courſe of deſtinie, or more truly to ſay, vnto the fatal doome of the moſt Higheſt, prefining vnto euery thing that in time begun, a time alſo wherein to take heed, being himſelfe without time, the great commander thereof, and of all things elſe done therein. The fame of the firſt Aſſyrian Monarchy, is very antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuertheleſſe found an end; and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with ſo much glory and valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with ſhame and cowardiſe by *Sardanapalus* ſubuerted. With like neceſſitie fell the great empire of the Medes and Perſians, the time thereof being come. And after them, the Macedonians alſo. Neither hath the great Roman Empire, or the proud City of Rome it ſelfe (ſometime the miſtreſſe of the world) herein found any exemption, but run the ſame courſe with the reſt: which grown great with continuall triumphs, and ſo ſtrong as that it was not with forrein power to be ſhaken; conuerted the forces of it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, to the ouerthrow of the antient liberty thereof, together with the vtter ſubuerſion of the ſtate. After which time that mighty Monarchy (of all that euer yet were, the greateſt) vnder the Romane Emperors felt many an hard and perillous ſtorme, and by little & little ſtil declining (though ſometime like a ſicke aged body, by the valor or vertue of ſome one or other her worthy Emperors, a little relieued, and by and by againe caſt downe by the folly or negligence of ſome others ſucceeding) it became at length a prey vnto a fooliſh, rude, & barbarous nation, which it had before oftentimes ouercome, and ouer which many the Roman captains had triumphed, and thereof taken their glorious ſurnames: which now again without compaſſion, burning and ſacking it, cauſed it to ſtoop, and to yeeld vnto the ſeruile yoake which it had in former time proudly impoſed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then ſitting at the helm (although that may alſo much help

All wordly things ſubject to change.

The greateſt kingdoms haue in time taken end, & ſo come to nought.

the matter as a meane) but the inſtabilitie of wordly things neuer permanent, but alwaies changeable, and the ſooner for their height; and that ſo forcibly, as that no man knoweth how to remedy the ſame, either if he did, were he able to performe it; the greateſt means that men could poſſibly deuiſe for the ſtay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from aboue, conuerting vnto the more ſpeedy effecting of that, againſt the which they were by mans wiſedome prouided. The like might be ſaid of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not? What maruell then, if the ancient kingdomes of the Turks likewiſe in Perſia, and the leſſer Aſia, in Syria, Paleſtina, and Ægypt, hauing run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Chriſtians, oppreſſed on the one ſide by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themſelues rent in ſunder (their deſtiny ſo requiring) loſt at laſt their wonted majeſty, and ſo fell into a meere Anarchy, as in the former part of this Hiſtory is at large declared? Yet in this far more than any other people fortunate, That after the ruine of their former kingdomes, ſtraightway out of themſelues ariſe another, namely, this *Othoman* monarchy, the chiefe object of this Hiſtory: which at the firſt ſcarce of the world perceiued, or of themſelues regarded, in ſhort time ſo proſpered, as that the power and glory thereof obſcured not their former kingdomes only (nothing, in compariſon of this) but euen the greateſt monarchies of the world; ouer a great part of which, it now ſo proudly triumpheth, as if it ſhould neuer haue end: at the beauty wherof the world wondereth, and at the power thereof quaketh: within the greatneſſe whereof are contained no ſmall portions of Aſia, Europe, and Africke, but euen the moſt famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof: no part of the world left vntouched but America onely; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than in that ſhe is ſo farre from ſo great and dangerous an enemy. The foundation of this ſo great a kingdome (and now ſo mighty an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was firſt laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turks call him, *Oſman*; not deſcended of the *Selzuccian* family, as were al the former Turks Sultans, but of the *Oguzian* tribe & kindred: in whoſe line this glorious empire hath euer ſince, by the ſpace of three hundred yeares and three, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, wonderfully flouriſhed; and ſo yet doth at this day, vnder the gouernment of *Mahomet* the third, which now raigneth thirteenth in deſcent from him, knowing none in this world greater than himſelfe. But foraſmuch as both his greatneſſe, and the greatneſſe of the reſt of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors his progenitors, tooke their beginning from this worthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whoſe life and doings we purpoſe to begin this part of our Hiſtory, it ſhall not be amiſſe both for the continuation of that we haue in hand, with that we haue already written, and for the more manifeſting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fetch his race and deſcent alſo: not meaning with a long and faigned pedegree to ſet him out of *Noah* his arke, (which continuall ſucceſſion of Princes, no nation of the world, be it neuer ſo antient, the Iewes only excepted, and they alſo by writings and Hiſtories as much as was poſſible eternized, could truly and juſtly chaledge) but onely ſo farre as ſhall be pertinent vnto our purpoſe, and by the authority of good Hiſtories to be auerred.

At ſuch time as the Turks kingdom founded by *Tangrolipix* in Perſia, flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* Princes his ſucceſſors, there was alſo another kingdome of theirs at the city of Machan, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other either in glory or power. In this city, and ouer this ſmall kingdom, raigned one *Solyman*, by his ſubjects honored alſo with the name of a Sultan or King; at the ſame time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old *Zingis* their great Captaine, leauing their own countrey, and beating downe the world before them, hauing conquered the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt, and there ſeated their kingdome, turned their forces into Perſia, and there ouerthrew the Turkes kingdome at Balch in Coraſan, and draue the Turks with *Curſumes* their laſt King, out of the country: after that they had there from the time of *Tangrolipix* reigned about an hundred and ſeuentie two yeres.

Solyman, Sultã of Machan forſaketh his kingdome for feare of the Tartars.

This *Solyman* of whom we ſpeake, then raigning at Machan, was not of the *Selzuccian* family (as were all the other Turks Sultans, the ſucceſſors of *Tangrolipix*) but of the *Oguzian* tribe, a family famous alſo amongſt the Turks; who ſeeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Curſumes* (or as ſome call him, *Cuſſumes*) his countryman, beaten out of his kingdom by the Tartar, and his country ouerrun, and the great Caliph of Babylon alſo ouerthrowne; thought it not good longer to ſtay in that countrey which he could not hold, but by ſpeedy flight betimes to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and of ſuch his ſubjects as would follow him: and hearing that *Aladin* the ſon of *Kei-Huſreu*, or as the Greeks call him, *Cai-Coſroe* (a great man of the *Selzuccian* family, & neere of kin vnto the late Sultan *Curſumes*) who for feare of the Tartars but lately come into Romania Aſiatica, had there by force of armes moſt honourably ſeated himſelfe and the Turks his followers, among the Chriſtians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale towards his ſuperſtition (accounting all wel gotten that was gained from the Chriſtians) took his way after him, with ſuch of his kinſmen and ſubiects as would accompany him in his new aduentures. And comming to Artezerum, a city in the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia, thereabout in the countrey according to the ſeaſon of the yeare ſeated himſelfe with his followers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children, after the manner of the Tartar Nomades their anceſtors, in poore tents and carts couered with a courſe kind of cloth, had followed him, being indeed nothing els but a very rude and rough kind of ſturdy heardſmen, not wedded to any place, but ſtill remouing with their tents and carts vp and downe, as beſt ſerued for their purpoſe and the feeding of their cattell, as do the Turcoman nation, the true diſcent of the Turks, in many places of Aſia at this day, and were thereof not only called Nomades, that is to ſay, Herdſmen, (by which name the proud Ianizaries will oftentimes in contempt call euen the greateſt of the naturall Turks) but *Hamaxophoreti*, and *Hamaxobij*, that is to ſay, people carried or liuing in carts. *Solyman* hauing ſtaid a while about Erzerum, remouing thence came to Amaſia; and there ſpoyling the country, then inhabited by the Chriſtians, did them much harme, oftentimes encountring them in the plaine field, and ſometimes ſeiſing vpon their towns and cities, vntil he had ſubdued vnto himſelfe a right large territory: yet at length hauing in ſo many battels by him fought, and cities by him beſieged, loſt a great number of his people, and ſo wearied the reſt, as that they were not willing further to follow him; and fearing alſo with ſuch ſmall power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the country by him already gotten, in the midſt of ſo many enemies, he thought it beſt to depart thence, and to ſeek his better fortune elſewhere. At the ſame time it was rifely reported, that the affairs of Perſia, after ſo long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow again to ſome good quiet, the fury of the Tartars being now well abated, and that ſtorm ouerblown: wherefore *Solyman* reſolued now to returne home again, and to viſit his natiue country, of him and his people aboue all others deſired. So paſſing through Syria, (for thas was now his way) neer Aleppo he ſeiſed vpon a caſtle called Ziaber-Cala, and there ſtaid a ſpace for the refreſhing of his people. Afterward ſetting forward again, he came at length to the great and famous riuer Euphrates, ouer which he muſt needs paſſe, but finding there neither bridge nor foord, or other meanes to get ouer, he ſtood ſtill as a man diſmaid, not knowing what to doe. Stay there he would not, and go further he could not: his deſire bid him go, but the great riuer ſaid not ſo. In this perplexity *Solyman* himſelfe with his horſe oftentimes taking the riuer, in hope to haue found ſome paſſage; but finding none, aduenturing too far, was with the force of the ſtreame carried away, and ſo together with his horſe drowned. His body after long ſeeking being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people buried neere vnto the caſtle Ziaber, not long before by him taken: whereof they ſay the place is now in their tongue called *Meſari-Zuruc*, (*viz.*) the Turks Graue. Some of theſe *Oguzian* Turks, after the death of their Sultan, weary of their long trauell, ſeated themſelues in the countrey thereabouts, vnto whom the Turks that now hold that caſtle do refer their beginning. The reſt of that great tribe and family diuerſly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their fortunes led them; ſome of them into the waſt ground and deſarts of Arabia and Syria, and are at this day called the Damaſcene Turcomans: other ſome returned back againe into Romania, the ſame way that they came, of whom are diſcended the Turcomans of Iconium, and Anatolia: who yet with their wiues and children, as heardſmen in great companies wander vp and downe the countrey, after the manner of their anceſtors.

Romania Aſiatica.

Solyman thus loſt, left foure ſons, *Sencur Teken*, *Iundogdis*, *Ertogrul*, of ſome called *Orthobules* (the father of this *Othoman* founder of the Turks empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With theſe foure brethren, moſt part of theſe *Oguzian* Turks that were left, returning into Romania (as is aforeſaid) after they had there reſted themſelues a while, marching vp along the riuer Euphrates, came to a place called Paſin-Ouaſi, about ten miles aboue Arterum, where *Ertogrul* and his brother *Dunder*, with foure hundred families, not willing to goe any further, ſtayed with their tents and carts, their beſt dwellings. *Sencur* and *Iundogdis* their other two bre-

The ſonnes of Solyman, and their firſt aduentures.

thren in the meane time paſsing the riuer, returned with the reſt into Perſia : whom we there leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his brother and his three ſons ſtaid a while, and had diuers conflicts with the country people therabout, vntill that at length he thought it beſt to returne again into Romania. So ſetting forward, he came to Ancyra, and from thence vnto the blacke mountaines, and ſo to a plaine called of the Turks *Sultan Vngi*, about 75 miles Eaſtward from the city of Nice in Bithynia, where he had many skirmiſhes with the Chriſtians.

Now a great while before this, *Aladin* the elder (of whom we haue before ſpoken in the former part of this hiſtory) fled out of Perſia, had ſubdued diuers great prouinces and countries in Romania Aſiatica, or the leſſer Aſia, for ſo it is more truly called : ſo that he was of all the people thereabouts accounted a great Prince, and of the Turks themſelues honored with the name of their *Vlu Padiſchach*, *viz.* their great King or Emperor. Hauing placed his regall ſeat firſt at Sebaſtia, and afterwards at Iconium; which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein reigned, as did ſome few of his poſterity after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the honor, glory, and power of this great Sultan : but hauing three ſons, namely *Iundus*, *Serugatin*, and *Othoman*, ſent *Serugatin* his ſecond ſon (a bold well ſpoken man) to him, to requeſt him in that his ſo large a kingdome, as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to grant vnto them his poor exiled countrymen, of long time oppreſſed with diuers fortunes, ſome ſmall corner for them with their families and cattell to reſt in. Which his requeſt, the Sultan not forgetfull of his owne diſtreſſe ſometime in like caſe, graciouſly heard, and with great courteſie vſed the meſſenger. Now for the furtherance of his ſuit it fortuned that this Sultan before driuen out of Perſia by the Tartars, and by them alſo much troubled in theſe his new gotten countries in the leſſer Aſia, had with them diuers hot skirmiſhes and ſharpe conflicts : in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himſelfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beſet by his enemies, and in danger to haue loſt the day: when as *Ertogrul*, but newly come into the country, and willing to do the Sultan ſeruice, and awaiting all opportunities for the commending of himſelfe and his followers; vpon the ſudden vnlooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs of the Tartars, then almoſt in poſſeſsion of a great victory, and ſo forcibly charged them, that vnable to endure the charge, and to maintaine the fight againſt the Sultan (whoſe men encouraged by this vnexpected aid, as by ſuccour ſent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage, being both before and behind hardly beſet) they as men in diſpair of the victory they had before aſſured themſelues of, turned their backs and fled. After which good ſeruice, the Sultan honorably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kiſſe, as the manner of the nation is; and highly commending his valor, commanded a rich cloake to be caſt vpon him (amongſt thoſe Eaſtern nations a great honor) and all his ſouldiers to be bountifully rewarded ; and preſently after gaue vnto *Ertogrul* and his Turks a country village called Suguta, betwixt the caſtle Belezuga and the mountain Tmolus in the greater Phrygia : in which village they might liue in Winter, and vpon the aforeſaid mountain, and the mountain Ormenius, betwixt the riuers Sangarius and Licus, feed their cattell in Summer. And yet not ſo contented thus to haue honored him, in whom he ſaw ſuch approued valor, committed to his protection that ſide of the countrey wherin he dwelt, being in the very frontiers of his kingdome : which his charge he ſo well looked vnto, that all the countrey thereabout, before much infeſted with the often incurſions of the enemy, was by his vigilant care and proweſſe well ſecured.

The Chriſtians of Cara Chiſar fall out with the Turks.

Thus is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely heardſmen, become a petty Lord of a country village, and in good fauour with the Sultan : whoſe followers, as ſturdy heardſmen, with their families, liued in Winter with him in Suguta; but in Summer in tents, with their cattell vpon the mountains. Hauing thus liued certaine yeres, and brought great peace to his neighbors, as wel the Chriſtians as the Turks, before much troubled with the inuaſion of the Tartars; it fortuned that the Chriſtians of Cara-Chiſar (a caſtle thereby, called by the antient Greeks, *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time *Maurocaſtron*, that is to ſay, the blacke tower or caſtle) weary of their owne eaſe, and of the peace they had by his cares enioyed, fel out with him, and euill intreated both him and his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euil part, thereof and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turkes, ſo grieuouſly complained vnto the Sultan, that hee therewith mooued, raiſed a great army, and ſo himſelfe in perſon came and

beſieged the caſtle. But lying there at the ſiege,news was brought him, that the Tartars with
a great army,vnder the leading of one *Baintzar*,were entred into Caria,and there ſpoiling the
country, had taken Heraclea. For the repreſſing of whom,the Sultan was glad to riſe with his
army ; yet leauing a ſufficient ſtrength behind him for the continuing of the ſiege,vnder the
charge of *Ertogrul Beg*,for ſo the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountring
with the Tartars at Baga,ouerthrew them in a great battell:whilſt *Ertogrul* in the mean ſpace
hardly beſieged Cara-Chiſar,wherein fortune ſo much fauoured him, that at length he took
the caſtle,the ſpoile whereof he gaue vnto the ſouldiers,reſeruing only the fift part thereof,as
due vnto the Sultan;which he ſent him for a preſent,together with the Captain of the caſtle,
who he had taken aliue:which Captaine the Sultan afterward inlarged,and reſtored again to
him his caſtle,for the payment of a yerely tribute, which he truly payd during the life of the
Sultan ; but he dying about two yeares after, he refuſed any more to pay it, and ſo reuolted
from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the Aladinian kingdome(for ſo the Turks call it)being dead at
Iconium, after him ſucceeded *Azatines* his eldeſt ſon, and after him *Iathatines* his yonger bro-
ther : who ſlaine by *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Greeke Emperor, (as is before declared) after him
ſucceeded in that kingdome another *Iathatines*, the ſon of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars
expulſed, and his kingdome ſubdued,as in the former part of this hiſtory it appeareth. After
which time alſo the *Selznocian* family there by the Tartars in the leſſer Aſia depreſſed, retai-
ned ſcarce the name and ſhadow of their former maieſty and glory. In which troubleſome
C times,and confuſion of the ſtate,*Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himſelfe
cloſe in his houſe at Suguta,as well contented therewith as with a kingdome ; ſeeking by all
means to keep peace on euery ſide with his neighbours,as well Chriſtians as others. In which
quiet kind of life he ſweetly paſſed ouer the troubleſome times of *Meſoot* the ſon of *Kei-Cu-
bades*,and of *Kei-Cubades* the ſon of *Feramuzin*,both Sultans,but the great Tartars tributaries,
and reigning but at their pleaſure,vntill the time of the ſecond *Aladin*, the ſole and laſt heire
of the Iconian kingdome,before by the Tartars diuided,which was no few yeares. All which
time *Ertogrul* liued quiet at Suguta, as one amongſt many other of the Iconian Sultans ſub-
iects,wiſely conſidering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in Perſia and at Iconium ; as
alſo the ruine of his own houſe and family,both from royall ſtate brought almoſt to nothing:
D and therfore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of neceſſity,con-
tenting himſelfe with a little,bare himſelfe kindly towards al men. In which contented kind
of life he grew to great yeares, with his three ſons, great beloued and honored of their neigh-
bors,as well Chriſtians as Turks;and no leſſe fauoured by the ſecond *Aladin* then Sultan,than
he had been of all the Sultans before him:whom the young men his ſons,after the manner of
their nation (forbidding them with empty hands to ſalute their Princes) oftentimes viſited
with one preſent or other. In all which his ſons were many good parts to be ſeen,yet ſo,as that
in *Othoman* was eaſily to be ſeene a greater courage and ſpirit than in the other two his bre-
thren:which was the cauſe that he was the more of them of his tribe regarded, but eſpecially
of the youthfull and warlike ſort,which commonly reſorted vnto him when he went to hawke
E or hunt,or to other delights of the field(the counterfeits of war)and was of them commonly
called *Oſman Gazi*,*viz*.*Oſman* the Warlike.

Smal things in time of trouble yeeld vnto the Wiſe great content.

In this frontier countrey neer vnto Suguta,the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan
Aladin diuers lieutenants and captaines, gouernors of his caſtles and ſtrong holds vpon thoſe
frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendſhip ſake of-
tentimes reſorted:but eſpecially to the captain of In-Vngi, for that he knew himſelfe to be of
him well beloued,and therfore vnto him very welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *O-
thoman*,being yet but yong,was going to make merry with the gouernor of Eski-Chiſar(a ca-
ſtle about 24 miles off, called of the Greekes, *Palaocaſtron*) by the way as he went, at a place
called Itburne(a towne in Phrygia)chanced there to ſee, and afterwards to fall in liking of a
F faire maiden, called *Malhatun* : vnto whom his affection dayly increaſing, he without his fa-
thers knowledge ſent a ſecret friend of his to intreat with her of marriage. Which after long
diſcourſe to her made concerning *Othomans* affection and requeſt, gaue him anſwer, that be-
twixt *Othoman* and her was great inequality, a thing eſpecially to be regarded and eſchewed
of ſuch as wiſhed to liue a happy life in wedlock bands:ſhe was (as ſhe ſaid) but meanly born,

Othoman amarous of Malbatun a Countrey Maid.

and therefore was not to expect ſo great a match : whereas he could not want choice of other maids of more worth, & in all reſpects more anſwerable vnto himſelfe. But among other cauſes why ſhe gaue him this anſwer, one was, for that ſome that wiſhed her wel, had put into her head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but vnder that color to obtain of her ſome few days pleaſure, and ſo hauing diſhonored her, afterward again to caſt her off: which was indeed far from his thought ; for he the more inflamed with her modeſt deniall, the more deſired her for his wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going againe to the gouernor of Eski Chiſar, and courteouſly by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar friends in their merriments) to fall in ſpeech of his Loue, with greater affection than diſcretion, commending her beauty, her feature, and gracious perfections, not diſſembling alſo, to her greater praiſe, the repulſe by him receiued at her hands: which the gouernor hearing, ſeemed greatly to like of his choice, ſaying, that ſhe was by the diuine prouidence (for ſo the Turks religiouſly vſe to ſpeake) appointed only for him to haue. But in the meane time ſecretly inflamed with the immoderat commendation of *Othoman*, without reſpect of friendſhip, hee began to grow amorous of her himſelfe, whom he had neuer ſeen ; ſo light is that fooliſh affection: and that ſo farre, as that being otherwiſe a man of good diſcretion, he was not able to conceale or couer theſe new conceiued flames, but that *Othoman* by certain coniectures & tokens perceiued the ſame: and yet diſſembling the matter, as if he had ſuſpected nothing, being riſen from the banquet, calling vnto him one of his truſty ſeruants, ſecretly ſent him away to certain of the maids friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, preſently to ſend her away to ſome place further off, for feare ſhe were not ere long taken from them by a great man more amorous of her perſon, than reſpectiue of her honour. And by and by after taking leaue of his vnfaithfull friend, and bidding him farewell, tooke his way to the Captain of In-Vngi, whom he knew to be his deere friend. But whilſt he there ſtayd certaine days, paſſing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthful diſports, with the captain his friend, the gouernor of Eski-Chiſar, who commanded all the country therabout called Sultan-Vngi, ſent one of his truſty ſeruants to Iburne, to ſee faire *Malhatun*, and how all things went there. Who comming thither, and vnderſtanding of her ſecret departure, and that by the aduertiſement from *Othoman* ſhe was conueighed to certaine of her friends afar off, at his returne, from point to point certified his maſter thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting aboue meaſure to ſee himſelfe ſo deluded by *Othoman*, preſently ſent vnto the Captaine of In-Vngi, (being within his iuriſdiction) to command him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreaty be perſuaded ſo to do. Wherefore the gouernour in a great rage preſently raiſing the greateſt power he was able to make, came to the caſtle of In-Vngi, requiring to haue *Othoman* forthwith deliuered vnto him. Where among the ſouldiers there in garriſon with the captaine, began to ariſe diuers opinions ; ſome wiſhing, for the auerting of the preſent danger for which they were now vnprouided, to haue him deliuered ; and other ſome abhorring ſo treacherous a fact, willing rather to indure all extremities. In the end, after much conſultation honeſty preuailed, and it was generally reſolued, that he ſhould be defended, who could not without their great infamy be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuerſity of opinions, which had euen at firſt ſhewed it ſelfe; and thinking it not for his ſafety, to commit himſelfe to the truſt of ſuch wauering men, entred into a deep conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a ſudden ſally to make himſelfe way through the midſt of his enemies. Wherewith hauing made his brother *Iundus* and thoſe few his followers there preſent acquainted, & thereupon reſolued; he fiercely ſallyed out, and by plain force brake through the midſt of them, and ſo took his way towards Suguta, ſtil notably repulſing them that were ſent to purſue him: but being come into the frontiers of his fathers territory, & the report of his dangers known, and that being but weakely accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies purſued; preſently all the luſty youths and ſuch as loued him well, tooke horſe to come to his reſcue: who meeting with the gouernors ſoldiers, that had *Othoman* in chace, in a ſharp conflict ſlew diuers of them, and put the reſt to flight. Of whom ſome were alſo taken priſoners, & among the reſt one *Michael Coſſe* a Chriſtian, Captain of a little caſtle in that country, called Hirmen-Caia, or the rocke of *Ormeni* : Of whom *Othoman* taking compaſſion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which vnexpected courteſie he was ſo moued, that euer after he tooke part with him,

A folly common vnto Louers.

No friendſhip in Loue.

Othoman beſieged, & in danger for his loue.

him,and did him great ſeruice in his wars:whoſe poſterity hath euer ſince euen vntil this our age continued,next vnto the *Othoman* family,moſt honourable and famous among the Turks; by the name of *Michael Oglies, viz.* the ſons or poſterity of *Michael.*

Ertogrul,now ſpent with age,ſhortly after died,in the yere of our Lord 1289. hauing liued 93 yeares,and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* family after the death of his father *Solyman*,52. His death was of all his tribe and kinred generally lamented, and his body after the Turkiſh manner honorably buried at Suguta,where he had of long time liued.

After whoſe death, theſe plaine *Oguzian* Turkes, in a generall aſſembly conſulting whom they might chuſe for their Lord and gouernor in ſtead of old *Ertogrul*,caſting their eyes eſpecially vpon two, ſtood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although moſt men were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of body as mind, was to be preferred before the reſt of his brethren the ſons of *Ertogrul*;yet were there ſome, and they alſo men of great grauity and experience,who had in ſuſpect the yong mans age,as of it ſelfe ſlippery,and for the moſt part prone to vice,eſpecially in the liberty of great power,and therfore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauity, iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himſelfe being indeed a wiſe man,and far from all ambition,perſwaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all to his honor or preferment,but to conſider what were beſt for their ſtate and welfare in generall. For he prouidently foreſaw in what danger the *Oguzian* ſtate ſtood, expoſed on the one ſide to the mortall hatred and trecheries of the Greeks,grieued to ſee themſelues ſpoyled by the Turks,and naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion:and on the other ſide not ſurely backt by the Sultans of Iconium,brought in thraldome to the Tartars,and dayly grown weaker & weaker. Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he ſaid) an old, weake and ouergrown body (as his was) could giue no help or remedy at al,but required the help of a wiſe,politick, vigilant,ſtirring, and valiant man, ſuch as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers ſonne. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* family: and afterward at their requeſt comming to the generall aſſembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he firſt of all (by his example to encourage the reſt) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his ancient houſe and family, ſaluted him their great Lord and Gouernour,promiſing vnto him all loyalty,with the vtmoſt of his ſeruice: whereunto by and by enſued the great applauſe of the reſt of the people,as vnto a Gouernor ſent vnto them by God,vnto whom they ioyfully wiſhed all happy ſucceſſe, with long life, and a proſperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turks,and ſo became among them a great commander, and honoured with the title of *Æſman-Beg*,or the Lord *Oſman*. Yet was this his honor included in a ſmall circuit,plain and homely,without any great pomp or ſhew,as commanding amongſt rough & rude heardſmen and ſhepheards,not acquainted with the courteſie of other more ciuil nations:for as yet they were the ſame homely Scythian Nomades that they were before,and could not as yet be perſwaded to forſake their woonted rude and vnciuill manners, by long tradition receiued from their anceſtors,and ſo beſt agreeing with their nature & calling. Amongſt which rude E herdſmen,this new gouernor himſelfe, not too far exceeding the reſt in ciuility,commanded much like to another *Romulus*, of whom alſo the Turks report many ſuch things as do the Romanes of their founder, which for breuity I thought good to paſſe ouer.

The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whome to make choice for their gouernor.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment fell firſt at oddes with one *Hagionicholaus*, or S. *Nicholas* (captaine of Einegiol, a caſtle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpoſe troubled and moleſted theſe *Oguzium* heardſmen, in paſſing to and fro with their cattell by his caſtle. For which cauſe *Othoman* was inforced to requeſt the captain of Bilezuga (another caſtle therby, alſo his neighbor and friend) that his people in paſſing that way to the mountains,might with their goods and cattel,as occaſion ſhould require,take the refuge of his caſtle,which the courteous captain (wel acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans* F father) eaſily granted;yet with this prouiſo, that none ſhould with ſuch goods or cattell haue acceſſe into his caſtle:but the Turks women only:which his courteſie *Othoman* refuſed not:ſo was the caſtle of Bilezuga from that time forward a refuge to the Turks women, who paſſing that way,and there ſhrouded with their goods and cattell,vſually preſented the captain with ſome one homely countrey Preſent or other, which afterwards was the loſſe of the caſtle.

A folly common vnto Louers.

No friendſhip in Loue.

Othoman beſieged, & in danger for his loue.

and therefore was not to expect ſo great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other G
maids of more worth, & in all reſpects more anſwerable vnto himſelfe. But among other cauſes
why ſhe gaue him this anſwer, one was, for that ſome that wiſhed her wel, had put into her
head, that *Othoman* meant not indeed to marry her, but vnder that color to obtain of her ſome
few days pleaſure, and ſo hauing diſhonored her, afterward again to caſt her off: which was indeed
far from his thought; for he the more inflamed with her modeſt deniall, the more deſired
her for his wife. In the mean time *Othoman* going againe to the gouernor of Eski Chiſar,
and courteouſly by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth among familiar friends in
their merriments) to fall in ſpeech of his Loue, with greater affection than diſcretion, commending
her beauty, her feature, and gracious perfections, not diſſembling alſo, to her greater
praiſe, the repulſe by him receiued at her hands: which the gouernor hearing, ſeemed greatly H
to like of his choice, ſaying, that ſhe was by the diuine prouidence (for ſo the Turks religiouſly
vſe to ſpeake) appointed only for him to haue. But in the meane time ſecretly inflamed
with the immoderat commendation of *Othoman*, without reſpect of friendſhip, hee began to
grow amorous of her himſelfe, whom he had neuer ſeen; ſo light is that fooliſh affection: and
that ſo farre, as that being otherwiſe a man of good diſcretion, he was not able to conceale or
couer theſe new conceiued flames, but that *Othoman* by certain coniectures & tokens perceiued
the ſame: and yet diſſembling the matter, as if he had ſuſpected nothing, being riſen from
the banquet, calling vnto him one of his truſty ſeruants, ſecretly ſent him away to certain of
the maids friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, preſently to ſend her
away to ſome place further off, for feare ſhe were not ere long taken from them by a great man I
more amorous of her perſon, than reſpectiue of her honour. And by and by after taking leaue
of his vnfaithfull friend, and bidding him farewell, tooke his way to the Captain of In-Vngi,
whom he knew to be his deere friend. But whilſt he there ſtayd certaine days, paſſing the time
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truſty ſeruants to Iburne, to ſee faire *Malhatun*, and how all things went there. Who comming
thither, and vnderſtanding of her ſecret departure, and that by the aduertiſement from *Othoman*
ſhe was conueighed to certaine of her friends afar off, at his returne, from point to point
certified his maſter thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting aboue
meaſure to ſee himſelfe ſo deluded by *Othoman*, preſently ſent vnto the Captaine of In-Vngi, K
(being within his iuriſdiction) to command him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him.
But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreaty
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their great infamy be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuerſity of opinions, which
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ſo took his way towards Sugura, ſtil notably repulſing them that were ſent to purſue him: but
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that being but weakely accompanied, he was by a great number of his enemies purſued; preſently
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After whoſe death, theſe plaine *Oguzian* Turkes, in a generall aſſembly conſulting whom they might chuſe for their Lord and gouernor in ſtead of old *Ertogrul,* caſting their eyes eſpecially vpon two, ſtood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although moſt men were of opinion, that *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of body as mind, was to be preferred before the reſt of his brethren the ſons of *Ertogrul;* yet were there ſome, and they alſo men of great grauity and experience, who had in ſuſpect the yong mans age, as of it ſelfe ſlippery, and for the moſt part prone to vice, eſpecially in the liberty of great power, and therfore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauity, iudgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himſelfe being indeed a wiſe man, and far from all ambition, perſuaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all to his honor or preferment, but to conſider what were beſt for their ſtate and welfare in generall. For he prouidently foreſaw in what danger the *Oguzian* ſtate ſtood, expoſed on the one ſide to the mortall hatred and trecheries of the Greeks, grieued to ſee themſelues ſpoyled by the Turks, and naturally hating them for the *Mahometan* religion: and on the other ſide not ſurely backt by the Sultans of Iconium, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and dayly grown weaker & weaker. Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he ſaid) an old, weake and ouergrown body (as his was) could giue no help or remedy at al, but required the help of a wiſe, politick, vigilant, ſtirring, and valiant man, ſuch as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers ſonne. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the chiefe of the *Oguzian* family: and afterward at their requeſt comming to the generall aſſembly, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman,* he firſt of all (by his example to encourage the reſt) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his ancient houſe and family, ſaluted him their great Lord and Gouernour, promiſing vnto him all loyalty, with the vtmoſt of his ſeruice: whereunto by and by enſued the great applauſe of the reſt of the people, as vnto a Gouernor ſent vnto them by God, vnto whom they ioyfully wiſhed all happy ſucceſſe, with long life, and a proſperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turks, and ſo became among them a great commander, and honoured with the title of *Æſman-Beg,* or the Lord *Oſman.* Yet was this his honor included in a ſmall circuit, plain and homely, without any great pomp or ſhew, as commanding amongſt rough & rude heardſmen and ſhepheards, not acquainted with the courteſie of other more ciuil nations: for as yet they were the ſame homely Scythian Nomades that they were before, and could not as yet be perſuaded to forſake their woonted rude and vnciuill manners, by long tradition receiued from their anceſtors, and ſo beſt agreeing with their nature & calling. Amongſt which rude herdſmen, this new gouernor himſelfe, not too far exceeding the reſt in ciuility, commanded much like to another *Romulus,* of whom alſo the Turks report many ſuch things as do the Romanes of their founder, which for breuity I thought good to paſſe ouer.

The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whome to make choice for their gouernor.

E

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment fell firſt at oddes with one *Hagionicholaus,* or *S. Nicholas* (captaine of Einegiol, a caſtle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpoſe troubled and moleſted theſe *Oguzian* heardſmen, in paſſing to and fro with their cattell by his caſtle. For which cauſe *Othoman* was inforced to requeſt the captain of Bilezuga (another caſtle therby, alſo his neighbor and friend) that his people in paſſing that way to the mountains, might with their goods and cattel, as occaſion ſhould require, take the refuge of his caſtle; which the courteous captain (wel acquainted with old *Ertogrul, Othomans* father) eaſily granted; yet with this prouiſo, that none ſhould with ſuch goods or cattell haue acceſſe into his caſtle: but the Turks women only: which his courteſie *Othoman* refuſed not: ſo was the caſtle of Bilezuga from that time forward a refuge to the Turks women, who paſſing that way, and there ſhrouded with their goods and cattell, vſually preſented the captain with ſome one homely countrey Preſent or other, which afterwards was the loſſe of the caſtle.

F

Yet was not *Othoman* vnmindfull of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbor G the captain of Einegiol:but purpoſing to be thereof reuenged,made choice of ſeuenty of his beſt and moſt able men, whom he appointed ſecretly to paſſe the mountain Ormenius,and ſo if it were poſſible, to ſurpriſe or ſet on fire his enemies caſtle. Of which his deſignement the wary Captaine hauing intelligence by one of his eſpials, in place conuenient vpon the mountain laid a ſtrong ambuſh for the cutting off of ſuch as were by *Othoman* ſent to haue ſurpriſed his caſtle:whereof *Othoman* (no leſſe wary than he) before warned by his ſcouts,and augmenting the number of his men,marched directly to the place where the enemy lay. Where betwixt them (for ſo ſmall a number) was fought a right bloudy and cruell battell, and many ſlain on both ſides; amongſt whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victory neuertheles fell vnto *Othoman* : after which time his people in much more ſafety, fed their cattell in the H Summer time on the mountains,as the manner was, and ſo in quiet paſſed to and fro.

The Caſtle of Chalce ſurpriſed by Othomã.

The Chriſtians complain of the wrong don vnto them by the Turks.

Shortly after,*Othoman* by night ſurpriſed the little caſtle of Chalce,not far from Einegiol; and there without mercy he put to the ſword all the Chriſtians he found therein,and ſo afterward burnt the caſtle:which outrage was the beginning,and occaſion of great troubles thereof enſuing :for the Chriſtians of the countries adioyning, much grieued therewith, and aſſembling themſelues together,complained vnto the Captaine of Cara-Chiſar the greateſt commander thereabout,That theſe Turks,which not many yeres before were of meer pitty receiued as poore heardſmen into that country,began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the antient lands and poſſeſſions of the Chriſtians ; which inſolency (as they ſaid)if it were longer winked at, and ſuffered by him, and other ſuch men of account and authority as I were to reforme the ſame, they would no doubt in ſhort time driue both them and all the reſt of the Chriſtians out of their natiue countries : wherefore it were now high time, and more than neceſſary for him,and all the reſt,to awake (as it were) out of the dead ſleep wherein they had long time drowſily ſlept; and ioyning their forces together, to expulſe thoſe vnthankfull, incroching,and mercileſſe ſtrangers out of their countries:the miſchief(they ſaid)being now ſpred far,therefore needed ſpeedy remedy ; and that repentance would come too late when it was paſt cure. The Captaine moued with the indignity of the late fact,and iuſt complaint of the poore country people,ſent with all ſpeed a ſtrong company of ſouldiers,vnder the leading of *Calanus* his brother;with commandment that they ſhould march to the caſtle of Einegiol, and there to ioyne with the reſt of the Chriſtian forces. K

Othoman vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him,gathering his ſoldiers together,marched to a place called Opſicium, neere to mount Tmolus in Phrygia;where between him and the Chriſtians was fought a ſharp battell,wherein he loſt his brother *Sarugatin*(whom the Turks account for a Saint or Martyr at this day)with many other of his ſoldiers. In this battell was alſo *Calanus* ſlaine, whoſe belly *Othoman* cauſed to be ripped, and his intrals to be pulled out,naming the place where he was buried, *Meſari-Repec*,*viz.* the Dog-graue,by which name the place is at this day known. The body of his brother *Sarugatin* he carried to Suguta, and there honorably buried it neer to the body of his father *Ertogrul*. *Aladin* Sultan of Iconium vnderſtanding of this conflict,was very ſorry for the loſſe happened vnto *Othoman*,being a Mahometan of his owne religion:wherefore in token of his good wil and fauour,he gaue vnto L him the city of Paleopolis,with all the territority thereunto belonging;giuing vnto him alſo leaue to beſiege,take or ſpoile,the ſeigniory and caſtle of Cara-Chiſar:for accompliſhment whereof he ſent vnto him both ſouldiers and munition. *Othoman* incouraged with this great bounty of the Sultans,ſtraightly beſieged the caſtle of Cara-Chiſar, which at laſt he woone, and ſlew all the Chriſtians therein:the captain he tooke aliue,whom he cruelly executed:the ſpoile of the caſtle he gaue vnto his ſoldiers,reſeruing only the fiſt part therof,which he ſent for a preſent to the Sultan. All this hapned in the yeare of our Lord 1290. This caſtle of Cara-Chiſar,with the reſt of Einegiol,Bilezuga,Chalce, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned,were all ſcituate in the borders of the greater Phrygia, or els neere therunto in the confines of Bithynia and Myſia:In which pleaſant countries (but lately M part of the Conſtantinopolitan empire)the Chriſtians the antient inhabitants thereof,as yet dwelt,intermingled with the Turks at the riſing of the *Othoman* empire ; with whom they liued at continuall jarres, vntill that at length they were by them altogether vtterly oppreſſed and extinguiſhed.

Othoman conſulteth with his brother Iundus what courſe to take for the oppreſſing of the chriſtians his neighbors.

Othoman encouraged with this good ſucceſſe, and ſupported by the great Sultan of Iconium, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit great matters, for the further increaſe of his honor and territory: yet not truſting altogether to his owne aduice, he entred into conſultation with his brother *Iundus*, which way was beſt to take to diſtreſſe and bring in ſubiection his neighbous the Chriſtians. In which caſe, *Iundus* a man of greater courage than diſcretion, aduiſed him with al celerity to vrge his good fortune, and preſently to inuade the Chriſtians already diſcouraged with the loſſe of Cara-Chiſar. But this counſell altogether pleaſed not *Othoman*; for (ſayd he(the caſtles and forts by vs gained, muſt be kept with ſtrong garriſons, otherwiſe they will againe be recouered of the enemy; which garriſons cannot be maintained and kept, if we ſpoyle or diſpeople the countries adioining vpon vs, for in ſo doing we ſhal (as it were) with our hands cut our owne throats: wherefore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amity and friendſhip with the Chriſtians round about vs; which league we will keep with ſome, and break with others, as ſhall ſerue beſt for our purpoſe. And according to this reſolution, he made peace indeed with all the Chriſtians, but ſpecially with *Michael Coſſi*, captain of Hirmen-Caia caſtle, of whom we haue before ſpoken, who afterward ſerued him to great vſe in the managing of his wars, and became alſo a renegat of the Mahometan religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, becauſe he was then at great variance with one *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzuccian* family) who enuying at the riſing of *Othoman*, ſought by all means poſſible to hinder his greatnes, as did alſo the others his quietneſſe: which diſcord the Chriſtians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more reſt by.

C In the meane time, *Othoman* deuiſed with all carefulnes to beautifie and ſtrengthen his new common people: and for the greater concourſe of people, built a faire temple in Cara-Chiſar for the exerciſe of the mahometan religion; appointed markets to be kept in al peaceable manner, in his great townes, granting great priuiledges to ſuch as reſorted thither, as well Chriſtians as Turks: vſing therein ſuch iuſtice, that all ſorts of people without feare, in hope of gaine reſorting thither, furniſhed his countrey and towns with all things neceſſary: yet this care of ciuill policy and gouernment, could not ſo withdraw him, but that according to his aſpiring mind, he had alwaies a greater deſire and care to inlarge his poſſeſſions and territory. Wherfore intending to make a rode into Bithynia, he requeſted *Michael Coſſi*, the Chriſtian captain before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was beſt to be done: who ſo politickly directed D him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great ſpoyle and more honour. This road ſo terrified moſt of the Chriſtians therabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cauſe of offence, for feare leſt they ſhould by him be ſpoyled.

Othoman ſetteth in order his little commonweale.

It fortuned about this time, that the captains of Bilezuga and Cupri-Chiſar falling at ods, he of Cupri-Chiſar firſt taking vp armes fiercely inuaded the captain of Bilezuga: who thereupon ſent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which he eaſily granted, and ſo without further delay preſently came to him with certaine companies of luſty tall ſouldiers. By whoſe comming, the captaine of Bilezuga not a little incouraged and ſtrengthened, ſet vpon his enemy: where betwixt them was made a ſharp conflict, and diuers on both ſides ſlaine: but the victory by the help of *Othoman* the Turke, at length inclining to the Bilezugian, the other vanquiſhed Cap- E taine in all haſt fled vnto his owne caſtle. After whom *Othoman* following, layd ſiege vnto the Caſtle, which at length he tooke together with the Captaine, whom he cauſed to be preſently ſlaine. It is ſtrange to tell, how proud the Lord of Bilezuga was, to haue ſo reuenged himſelf of his enemy, and to haue gained the victory: although it were indeed gotten, not ſo much by his owne valour as by the proweſſe of the Turke: for whom and his followers in token of his thankfulneſſe, he cauſed a great feaſt to be prouided in the countrey there, whereby he honourably entertained them: and in the end of the feaſt, cauſed garments of great price (according to the manner of the Eaſterne nations) to be giuen to *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his ſouldiers to be alſo bountifully rewarded: but this was done with ſuch a preſumptious ſtate and grace, as if he had been ſome great Prince, offering vnto the common ſouldiers F of the Turkes, in paſſing by them, his hand to kiſſe, as a great fauour. With which exceeding inſolency, *Othoman* was ſo much offended, that he had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repreſſing his anger, hee in ſecret imparted his diſcontentment vnto his couſin *Dunder*, his vncle *Dunders* ſonne, grieuouſly complayning of the intollerable pride of the Chriſtian captain, and of the diſgrace by him done to the Turks, in offering them his hand to kiſſe; requiring his opinion how he were for the ſame to be corrected: who but a little before, G being by the ſaid captaine made his lieutenant, franckely told his kinſman, That as then nothing was to be attempted againſt him: firſt, for that on the one ſide they had *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the *Selzuccian* Turks) their enemy, and round about them beſides they were enuironed with the Chriſtians, whom he ſhould haue al in his neck at once if he ſhould offer the Bilezugian captaine any wrong. By which anſwer, *Othoman* perceiuing his coſins great affection towards the Chriſtian captain, and doubting to haue the miſchiefe he had imagined againſt him, by him reuealed, or at leaſtwiſe hindered; without more ado ſuddenly taking vp his bow in his hand, with an arrow ſhot him quite through, and ſo ſlew him.

Michael Coſsi inuiteth Othoman to the mariage of his daughter.

Not long after, *Michael Coſsi* the captaine of Hirmen-Caia, *Othomans* great friend, hauing concluded a marriage between a gentleman of that countrey and his daughter, inuited all the H Chriſtian captaines of the caſtles thereabouts, requeſting them to come to the marriage, and the rather, that ſo they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whoſe power began now to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that ſuch means might be found at that merry meeting, that all being made friends, euery man might in more ſecurity poſſeſſe his own without feare of being ſpoiled by him. Vnto this mariage came all theſe bidden gueſts, bringing with them ſuch preſents as they thought good to beſtow vpon the new married folkes, according to the maner of the country: but *Othomans* gifts far exceeded al the reſt, who beſides many other rich things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of ſheep and cattel: which thing drew all the Chriſtian captains into no little admiration of his bounty; inſomuch that they began to ſay among themſelues, that *Othomans* wealth and good fortune did portend ſome greater matter, I to their vtter ruin and fall: which to preuent, they thought it beſt by ſecret means to compaſſe his death. The execution of which deuice they referred to the captaine of Bilezuga, as vnto one with him beſt acquainted. This captain was of great wealth, credit, and authority among the Chriſtian rulers thereabouts, but very full of craft and diſsimulation: which his euill diſpoſition, *Othoman* of long time well perceiued; yet hauing occaſion to vſe him, in ſubtill manner gaue him (in outward ſhew) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debaſing himſelfe as plaine and poore in compariſon of him. But to giue a beginning to this trecherous deuiſe, the captaine meeting with *Othoman*, in friendly manner told him, how that he intended ſhortly to marry the daughter of the Captaine of Iar-Chiſar, earneſtly requeſting him to honour that his marriage with his preſence, of the time whereof, he ſaid he would giue K him farther knowledge afterwards: and all was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any ſuch treaſon. *Othoman* vnderſtanding that the time of the marriage drew nigh, ſent thither a preſent of certain fat oxen and ſheep, in the name of his brother *Iundus*, for the captains prouiſion againſt the marriage; certifying him, that *Othoman* himſelfe, with his ſimple retinue, would be preſent at the marriage; and then preſent him, not with ſuch preſents as were agreeable vnto his honour, yet ſuch as his poore ability could afford. This meſſage with the Preſents were wonderfull welcome to the Captaine, hoping aſſuredly that his deuiſed trechery would take ſuch effect as he wiſhed: and therefore calling vnto him *Michael Coſsi*, in whom he had repoſed an eſpeciall truſt, declared to him his whole deuiſe (whereof he was not before altogether ignorant) requeſting him to take the pains to go vnto *Othoman* to bring L him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed & at hand; which he knew *Coſsi* might eaſily do, being of his familiar acquaintance: and in token of great friendſhip, he ſent to *Othoman* by the ſame meſſenger, a preſent of gilt plate. *Coſsi* tooke vpon him this meſſage, which when he had deliuer'd to *Othoman*, he found him very willing to go, as a man not doubting any harme. But *Coſsi* inwardly grieuing to ſee ſo braue a man, and his kind friend, by ſuch trecherous maner to be brought to his end, moued with compaſsion, diſcouered vnto him the whole conſpiracy of the captaine againſt him, and of the plot laid for his deſtruction, willing him to take heed vnto himſelfe: for which verture, *Othoman* gaue *Coſsi* great thankes, as to his friend for ſauing his life; and withall richly rewarded him, promiſing greater matters if he would continue that his faithfull friendſhip. Now concerning the captain of Bilezuga (ſaith M he) at your return recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my ſelfe much bound vnto him for many courteſies, but eſpecially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in moſt friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the ſafegard of his caſtle: which his friendſhip I moſt humbly requeſt him to continue for one yeare more, inforced thereunto by reaſon of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the Prince *Germean-Ogli*, as he well knoweth: wherfore if it might ſo ſtand with his good pleaſure, I would preſently ſend vnto his Caſtle ſuch things as I make moſt reckoning of, requeſting him once more to be the faithful keeper therof, as he hath bin before: and telling him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter my wife, deſire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honourable Lade his mother; for which cauſe, if it pleaſe him, I will bring them both with mee to the mariage. This *Othomans* requeſt when the Captain of Bilezuga vnderſtood by *Michael Coſſi*, he ſent the ſame *Coſſi* back again to haſten his comming, willing him to bring with him what gueſts he pleaſed; appointing the certain time and place when and where the mariage ſhould be ſolemniſed. And becauſe the caſtle of Bilezuga was thought to be too little, conueniently to receiue the multitude of people that were expected at the mariage, there was another open place of greater receit appointed in the country for that purpoſe, about 3 miles diſtant from the caſtle. The mariage day drew nigh, wherunto *Othoman* muſt repaire for his promiſe ſake: and therfore prepared with all diligence to ſet forward, and to put in execution what he had deuiſed for his own ſafety, and deſtruction of his enemy. *Othoman* had of long accuſtomed in dangerous times to ſend by cariage the beſt of his things made vp in packs, to be kept in ſafety in the caſtle of Bilezuga: vnder colour wherof he now made great packs in form as he was wont; but in ſtead of his rich houſhold-ſtuffe and other things of price he thruſt in armed men, couering thoſe packs with homely couerings; ſending them by cariages to the caſtle of Bilezuga, charging that they ſhould not come thither before twilight. After that, he apparelled certain of his beſt ſoldiers in womans attyre, as if it had bin his wife & mother in law with their women: ſo caſting his journy, that he with theſe diſguiſed ſoldiers and the other ſent in packs, might at one inſtant meet at the caſtle aforeſaid. The captain being now in the country, & vnderſtanding that *Othoman* was comming in the euening with a great train of gentlewomen; thought the cauſe of his late comming to be, for that the Turkiſh women vſe to ſhun the ſight of Chriſtian men by all means they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the country where the mariage was the next day to be ſolemniſed, hauing done his humble reuerence to the Captain, requeſted him to do him the honor, that his gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment be ſent to his Caſtle, there to haue ſome conuenient lodging, where they might alight and beſtow themſelues apart from others, according to the homely manners of their nation, leſt peraduenture the preſence of ſo honourable a company of noblemen and gallants might put them out of countenance: Which the Captain granted, & hauing ſaluted them afar off after the Turkiſh maner, commanded them to be conueied to his caſtle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the ſame time that theſe diſguiſed ſouldiers arriued at the caſtle, came thither alſo the other ſoldiers couered in packs in the cariages; who ſo ſoon as as they came into the caſtle, ſuddenly leaping out of the packs and drawing their ſhort ſwords, with the help of their diſguiſed fellows ſlew the warders of the caſtle, and without more ado poſſeſſed the ſame; the greateſt part of the Captains people being before gon out of the caſtle to the place of the mariage. *Othoman* hauing taried ſo long with the Captaine, as he ſuppoſed the Caſtle at that time was by his men ſurpriſed; ſo ſoon as the Captain had taken his chamber, ſuddenly took horſe with all his followers, accompanied alſo with *Coſſi*, taking his way directly to the caſtle of Bilezuga. Of whoſe ſudden departure the Captain vnderſtanding, preſently took horſe and purſued him with all his train (which were for the moſt part drunk) and ouertaking him before he came to the Caſtle, ſet vpon him; in which conflict he was by *Othoman* ſlain, and the reſt put to flight.

The captaine of Bilezuga treacherouſly ſeeking the death of Othoman, is by him, himſelf ſlaine.

The ſame night *Othoman* vſing great celeritie, early in the morning ſurpriſed the Caſtle of Iarchiſar, where alſo he took priſoner the Captain therof, with his fair daughter *Lulufer* (who ſhould haue bin maried vnto the Captain of Bilezuga the next day) with all her friends, as they were ready to haue gon vnto the mariage: which fair Lady he ſhortly after maried vnto his eldeſt ſon *Orchanes*, who had iſſue by her *Amurath* third King of the Turkes, and *Solyman* Baſſa.

Othoman omitting no opportunitie, preſently ſent one of his Captains called *Durgut-Alpes*, a man of great eſteem and valor, to beſiege the caſtle of Einegiol. Wherin he vſed ſuch celeritie, that preuenting the fame of that was done at Bilezuga, hee ſuddenly enuironed the Caſtle in ſuch ſort that none could paſſe in or out; vntill ſuch time as that *Othoman* hauing brought his priſoners and prey to the caſtle of Belizuga, and there hauing ſet all things in good order, came with the reſt of his men of war to Einegiol, which he preſently by force took promiſing the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiers. The captaine called *Hagio Nicholaus* his antient enemy, he cauſed to be cut in ſmall pieces, and all the men to be ſlaine; which crueltie he vſed, becauſe they a little before had vſed the like tyranny againſt his Turks.

Othoman by adminiſtration of iuſtice ſtrengthneth his gouernment

When *Othoman* had thus got into his ſubiection a great part of the ſtrong caſtles and forces of the greater Phrygia, with the territory to them belonging, he began with all carefulnes to make good lawes, and to execute iuſtice to all his ſubiects as well Chriſtians as Turkes; with great indifferencie ſtudying by all means to keep his countrey in peace and quietneſſe, and to protect his ſubiects from the ſpoile of others, as well Chriſtians as Turks: whereby it came to paſſe, that the old inhabitants which had for the moſt part forſaken the countrey, by reaſon of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their antient dwellings; and not only they, but many other ſtrangers alſo, ſupplying the places of them whom the late warres had conſumed. So that by his good gouernment, that waſted countrey in ſhort time grew to be againe very populous.

The city of Nice beſieged by Othoman.

The ciuill gouernment of his countrey well eſtabliſhed, he beſieged the city of Iſnica, in antient time called Nice, a city of Bithynia, famous for the generall Councell there holden againſt *Arius* in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great. This city he brought into great diſtreſſe, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euery paſſage and way leading to the ſame, ſo that nothing could be brought out of the countrey for the reliefe of the poore citiſens. They in this extremity by a ſecret meſſenger certified the Emperour of Conſtantinople (vnder whoſe obedience they were) in what diſtreſſe the city ſtood; and that except he ſent them preſent reliefe, they muſt of neceſſity either periſh with famine, or yeeld themſelues into the hands of their enemies the Turks. The Emperor moued with the pittifull complaint of this meſſenger, with all expedition embarked certain companies of ſouldiers from Conſtantinople to relieue his beſieged city. But *Othoman* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, where theſe ſouldiers were appointed to land, in ſecret manner withdrawing moſt of his forces from the ſiege, lay in ambuſh neer to the ſame place where the Emperors ſoldiers (caſting no perill) landed; who before they could put themſelues in order of battell were by *Othoman* and his Turks in ſuch ſort charged, that moſt part of them were there ſlaine, and the reſt driuen into the ſea, where they miſerably periſhed. *Othoman* hauing thus politickely ouerthrown the Conſtantinopolitan ſouldiers, returning to the ſiege, continued the ſame in ſtraiter maner than before. The beſieged citiſens driuen into great penury, and now diſpairing of al help, yeelded themſelues with the great and rich city of Nice into the hands of *Othoman*, with the ſpoile wherof he greatly inriched his men of war.

Aladin the great Sultan of Iconium, glad to heare of the good ſucceſſe of *Othoman* againſt the Chriſtians, in token of his fauour and loue, ſent vnto him a faire enſigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a ſword and princely robe, with large charters, That whatſoeuer he took from the Chriſtians ſhould be all his owne; and alſo that publicke prayers ſhould be ſaid in al the Turks temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and proſperous eſtate; which two things properly belonged to the dignity of the Sultan. Theſe extraordinary fauours gaue occaſion for many to think, that Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue ſon and ſucceſſor in his kingdome.

The preſents and charters ſent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, ſending to *Aladin* the fifth part of the ſpoile of Nice, taken from the Chriſtians; but the princely honors due to the Sultan only, he vſed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gon himſelfe in perſon to viſit the Sultan, and ſo to haue grown into his further fauor. But hauing prepared all things for ſo honourable a iourny, at what time as he was about to ſet forward, he was certainly informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sahib* (one of his great counſellors) had taken vpon him the dignity of the Sultan (as is before declared:) which newes much diſcontented the aſpiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turk, in good hope to haue ſucceeded him in the kingdom, or at leſtwiſe to haue ſhared the greateſt part thereof vnto himſelfe, whereof he was now altogether diſappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honours before graunted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modeſty ſake had forborn, *Aladin* yet liuing; wherefore he made one *Durſu* ſirnamed

named *Fakitche*, (*viz*. a man learned in the Turkiſh law) Biſhop and Iudge of Cara-Chiſar, commanding the publick praiers which were wont to be made for the health and proſperous reigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was firſt openly done by the ſaid Biſhop in the pulpit of Cara-Chiſar. At the ſame time alſo he began to coin money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or a King: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Ertogrul*, and in the yere of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turks is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun.

1300

Neapolis the firſt regall city of the Othomā Kings.

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the maieſty of a King, hee made his ſon *Orchanes* Prince and gouernor of Cara-Chiſar; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours of other ſtrong caſtles and forts, diuers of which places retaine the name of thoſe captains at this day. He himſelfe made choice of the city Neapolis, about twenty miles from Nice, to ſeat his regall Palace in; where alſo diuers of his nobility built them houſes, and changed the name of the city, calling it Deſpotopolis, as who ſhould ſay, the city of the Lord or Prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceaſed not to deuiſe by all meanes he could, to augment his kingdome: and for that cauſe being accompanied with his ſon *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countries adioyning vpon him, ſurprizing ſuch places as might beſt ſerue his purpoſe, for the enlargement of his kingdome, all which in particular to rehearſe were tedious.

Pruſa beſieged by Othoman.

The Chriſtian Princes, rulers of the countries bordering vpon this new kingdome, fearing leſt the greatnes of *Othoman* might in ſhort time be their vtter confuſion, agreed to ioyne all their forces together, and ſo to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne eſtates with his: according to which reſolution, the Chriſtian confederate Princes, which were for the moſt part of Myſia, and Bithynia, leuying the greateſt forces they were able to make, with fire and ſword inuaded *Othomans* kingdome: who hauing knowledge before hand of this great preparation made againſt him, had in a readineſſe all his captains and men of warre: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with him in the confines of Phrygia and Bithynia, fought with them a great and mortall battell, wherein many were ſlain on both ſides, as well Turks as Chriſtians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloudy victory. In this battell *Caſtelianus*, one of the greateſt Chriſtian captains was ſlain: another called *Tekenſis* of the countrey which he gouerned in Phrygia, chaſed by *Othoman* vnto the caſtle of Vlubad, not farre diſtant from the place where the battell was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the captaine of the ſame caſtle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commandement moſt cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his chiefe caſtle: which *Othoman* afterward ſubdued, with all the country thereabouts. The other Chriſtian Princes and captaines ſaued themſelues by flying into ſtronger holds farther off. The Prince of Bithynia chiefe author of this warre, fled into the ſtrong city, Pruſa, which the Turks now call Buruſa, whether *Othoman* not long after led his army, in hope to haue woon the ſame: but finding it not poſſible to bee taken by force began preſently at one time to build two great and ſtrong caſtles vpon the chief paſſages leading to the city, which caſtles he with great induſtry finiſhed in one yeare: and in the one, placed as captaine *Actemeur* his nephew; in the other one *Balabanzuck*, both men of great courage, and ſkilfull in feats of warre: and in this ſort hauing blocked vp the city of Pruſa, ſo that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he ſubdued the moſt part of Bithynia; and ſo returned home, leauing the two caſtles well manned with ſtrong garriſons, vnder the charge of the captaines before named.

Othoman returning home to Neapolis, honorably rewarded his ſoldiers, according to their deſerts, eſtabliſhing ſuch a quiet & pleaſing gouernment in his kingdom, that people in great number reſorted from far into his dominions, there to ſeat themſelues: whereby his kingdom became in few yeares exceeding populous, and he for his politick gouernment moſt famous. And ſo liuing in great quietneſſe certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled with the gout; his old ſoldiers accuſtomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came to him, requeſting him as it were with one voice, to take ſome honourable war in hand, for the inlarging of his kingdom, with great cheerfulnes offring to ſpend their liues in his ſeruice, rather than to grow old in idlenes: which frowardneſſe of his men of war greatly pleaſed him, and ſo giuing them thanks, for that time diſmiſt them, promiſing that he would not be long vnmindfull of their requeſt. But yet thinking it good ro make all things ſafe at home before he took G any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Coſſi* the onely Chriſtian Captain whom for his great deſerts he had at all times ſuffred to liue in quiet with his poſſeſſions, as it were in the heart of his kingdome; and by faire means (if it might be) to perſuade him to forſake the Chriſtian Religion, and become a follower of *Mahomets*, ſo to take away all occaſion of miſtruſt: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then forgetting all former friendſhip, to make war vpon him as his vtter enemy. Wherupon *Coſſi* was ſent for, being perſuaded by the meſſenger, that *Othoman* had ſent for him, becauſe he had occaſion to vſe his wonted faithfull counſell & ſeruice in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Coſſi* thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which enſued, came accompanied with ſuch ſoldiers as he thought to vſe in that ſeruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnder- H ſtanding the very cauſe why he was ſent for, and ſeeing danger eminent on euery ſide, kiſſing *Othomans* hand, after the maner of the Turks, requeſted him in courteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometan religion, which he promiſed euer after to embrace: And ſo ſaying certaine words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* & his nobility. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* preſently gaue him an enſigne and a rich robe, tokens wherby the Mahometan Sultans aſſure their vaſſals of their fauour and the vndoubted poſſeſſion of ſuch land and liuing as they then hold.

Michael Coſſi turneth Turk.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his ſouldiers, inuaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many ſtrong caſtles and forts, ſubdued the moſt part of Phrygia, Miſia, and Bithynia, and other great regions, vnto the Euxin ſea: and being now very aged and I diſeaſed as is aforeſaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to go into the field in perſon himſelfe, oftentimes ſent his ſonne *Orchanes* againſt his enemies; who to the imitation of his father atchieued many great enterpriſes, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the conſiderate reader (and not without iuſt cauſe) maruel, what dead ſleep had ouerwhelmed the Greeke Emperors of thoſe times; firſt *Michael Paleologus*, and afterwards his ſonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and ſtill reſiant at Conſtantinople, thus to ſuffer the Turks (not *Othoman* for he as yet bare no ſway; but others the ſharers of Sultan *Aladins* Kingdome) to take their cities, ſpoyle their countries, kil their ſubiects, and daily to incroch vpon them in the leſſer Aſia, and eſpecially in Bithynia, ſo neere vnto them, and as it were euen vnder their noſes: But let him with me, here as in a moſt conuenient place but K breathe a little, and conſider the troubled ſtate of that declining Empire, now haſting to an end; and he ſhal plainly ſee the cauſes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diſeaſed body quite ouerthrown and ſicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aſpiring Turks. *Michael Paleologus* hauing by great trechery obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recouered alſo the city of Conſtantinople from *Baldwin* the Emperor (as is in the former part of this Hiſtory declared) fearing the power of the Princes of the Weſt, but eſpecially of *Charles* king of Sicilia, then a prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late Emperor) ceaſed not to ſolicite for the reſtitution of him againe into his Empire, and to haue alſo ioyned with him a neere bond of affinity, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his ſonne: to auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, by his Embaſſadors offe- L red vnto *Gregory* the tenth, then Biſhop of Rome, to vnite and confirme the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the Biſhops ſupremacy, in ſuch ſort as that it ſhould be lawful for any man to appeale vnto the Court of Rome, as vnto the higher and moſt excellent Court; of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promiſing to performe what he had before requeſted, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwiſe buſied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of Religion in the Greek Church ſhould be made, *Ioſeph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, and ſhortly after forſaking the city, retired himſelfe into a monaſtery neer vnto the ſtreit of Boſphorus, where he at quiet deuoutly ſpent the reſt of his life. The reſt of the clergy alſo diſcontented with this innouation, in their ſermons openly inueighed againſt it, perſuading the people not to receiue it; crying out, That M now was come the time of their trial, the time of their martyrdome, and the time wherin they were to receiue the glorious crown of their painfull ſufferings; inſomuch, that great tumults were therupon raiſed, and all the city and country in an vproare: for it was not the clergy only, and the vulgar people by them moued, which diſliked & abhord theſe the Emperors proceedings,

Alteration of religion in the Greek Church.

ings, & made theſe ſtirs, but many of the better ſort, yea, of the chiefe magiſtrats themſelues lſo. So that *Michael Paleologus* the Emperor leauing all other forrein buſines, was enforced to onuert all his power and ſtudy vnto the appeaſing of theſe domeſticke troubles, as deeming hem of greater danger than thoſe abroad. And firſt to perſuade his diſcontented ſubjects, he old them, That this alteration was made not for any good liking he had thereunto, but in reſpect of the dangerouſnes of the time: and that it was a point of wiſedome, to foreſee dangers hanging ouer our heads, & not to delay, if any thing were to be altred, for the auerting therof: for if the enemies (as he ſaid) ſhould come, the city yet in many places rent, or but lately repalred, and as it were but newly raiſed from death to life, the preſent miſchiefs would be far greater than thoſe forepaſſed, and that then their enemies would become lords not of their religion and ceremonies only, but of all at once, their wiues, their children, & whatſoeuer els they had: where their liberty changed into bondage, they ſhould be conſtrained to conforme themſelues not with their bodily ſeruice only, but euen with their minds alſo, vnto the wills of the Latines their enemies. And that ſo it would come to paſſe, that no man ſhould be able to keep the old cuſtoms and maners of their anceſtors, but ſhould ſee euen their moſt ſacred rites and ceremonies changed & quite ouerthrown. Which he carefully foreſeeing, had not (as he ſaid) refuſed to yeeld vnto neceſſity, and as wiſdome would, neglected a little harme in reſpect of a greater benefit; and in the leſſe to haue yeelded vnto his enemies, to enjoy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperors perſuaſion ſome were moued, and ſo held themſelues contented: and ſome others not; againſt whom he was inforced to vſe other more ſeuere remedies, as againſt his rebellious ſubjects: of whom ſome he impriſoned, ſome he baniſhed, ſome he tormented, ſome he diſmembred, ſome he bereft of their ſight, or confiſcated their goods, vſing (in briefe) all the means whereby the minds of the reſolute or the weake were to be moued. All which things, they whoſe zeale was grounded vpon knowledge (in number feweſt) with patience indured: but the greater part void of judgement, and the refuſe of the people in ſimple attire, ranne rogueing abroad, ſome into Peloponeſus, ſome into Thracia, ſome into Achaia, & ſome as far as Colchos, as men perſecuted for their conſcience, not regarding greatly whither, ſo it were out of the emperors juriſdiction, and ſomthing fitting their own humors; neither conforming themſelues vnto the religion then commonly by the emperor eſtabliſht, neither yet agreeing among themſelues, but taking vnto them diuers names, ſome as the diſciples of *Arſenius*, ſome of *Ioſeph*, and ſome of others; ſome of them, themſelues deceiued, and deceiuing others alſo. Thus for the auoiding of forrein danger out of the Weſt, was the Empire at home no little indangered, and the ſtate therof ſhaken. Wherewith the Emperor was ſo encombred, as that he had no leiſure to prouide for the tempeſt ariſing by the Turks out of the Eaſt, but was inforced wholly to imploy himſelf & al his indeauors to the keeping of his people & ſubjects in their due obedience at home. All whoſe deep deuiſes, firſt in aſpiring to the empire, no way vnto him due, & great trauels afterwards for the aſſuring of the ſame to himſelfe and his poſterity, againſt all right, euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeelding him in the winding vp of all, not ſo much as credit of an honorable ſepulture: but dying in theſe troubles not far from Liſymachia, as he was making preparation againſt the prince of Theſſalie, was there by his ſon *Andronicus* his commandement (for whoſe aduancement he had ſtrained both his faith and honor) obſcurely buried in a field, a good way from his camp, as vnworthy of a better ſepulture, for reuolting from the antient religion of his anceſtors, although his obſequies were for faſhion ſake afterward with ſome ſolemnity celebrated. This was the end of the great emperor *Michael Paleologus*, in whoſe time the Turks, the ſucceſſors of *Aladin*, greatly incroched vpon him in the leſſer Aſia, as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the body and the mind, had he not for the aduancement of himſelfe and his poſterity, ſtained the ſame with foule treachery and apoſtacie: for which (as ſome ſay) he euer after liued in conſcience troubled, and dying was euen by his own ſon not thought worthy of an honorable funerall. *A notable example vnto all ſuch as with agreedineſſe ſeeke after vaine glory, and fooliſhly expoſe themſelues vnto ſuch aduentures, as oftentimes ouerwhelme their deepeſt deuices, hauing in themſelues no certainty, preferring their inordinate deſires (either for themſelues or their poſterity) before that which is good and vertuous. Twice wretched in ſo doing; firſt in their folly, and then in their indeauors: who beſide that they finde God himſelfe againſt their deſignes and purpoſes, they by and by alſo euidently meet with other things than what they had for-*

Perſecution in the Greeke church for matters of religion.

caſted, contrary vnto them; and ſo themſelues oftentimes, contrary to their expectation, caſt headlong into extreame miſery: for lo, euen he of whom we now ſpeake, otherwiſe a man of great wiſedome, and happie in his doings, ouercome with his affection towards his children, in deſiring to leaue vnto them the Empire, when as he ought to haue caſt all the care both of himſelfe and of them, eſpecially vpon the prouidence of God; he like a blind man following his owne deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the feare of God, but vpon mans wiſedome onely, caſt himſelfe before he was aware, into miſerable troubles, and became odious euen vnto his ſubjects, and them alſo for whom he had forgot himſelfe. For whereas God had euen from his childhood allotted vnto him the Empire (as was by many euident ſignes and tokens to haue beene gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely deſires, kept his tongue from perjury, and his hands from blood, and not turned out of the way after ſtrange doctrine; he had by many degrees excelled euen the beſt Emperors his predeceſſors: whereas now he lieth obſcurely buried, ſhrouded in the ſheet of defame, H *the report of his foule and faithleſſe dealings far exceeding all his other worthy vertues.*

Andronicus ſparing to maintain his nauy, weakneth his empire.

Andronicus Paleologus ſucceeding his father in the Empire, and thinking by reſtoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and cuſtomes of the Greeks, to haue appeaſed all ſuch troubles as were before by his father raiſed, by bringing in thoſe of the Latines; found himſelfe therein much deceiued, and his troubles no leſſe than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine cuſtomes, and well liking of them, with great obſtinacie defending the ſame; and the other of the contrary faction now countenanced by the Emperor, without modeſty or meaſure inſulting vpon them: whereof aroſe exceeding great ſtirs and troubles, eſpecially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the incroching Turks, who in the mean time ceaſed not by all means to increaſe their territories in Aſia; and I not only there, but in the Iſlands of the Mediterranean ſea alſo. For *Andronicus* by the death of *Charles* King of Sicily, deliuered of the greateſt feare for which both he and his father before him had to their great coſt and charge both built and maintained a ſtrong fleet of gallies; now perſuaded by ſome, whoſe action and ſpeeches were after the manner of the Court, all framed vpon the Princes appetite, (as the readieſt way to thriue, without reſpect of the common good) to ſpare that needleſſe charge (as they termed it) which yerely coſt him more than any thing elſe; had diſcharged all his mariners and ſea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laid vp, ſome in one creeke, ſome in another; where neglected and not looked vnto, they in time for the moſt part rotted and periſhed. As for the marriners, they went ſome one way, ſome another, as their fortunes led them, to ſeeke for their liuings in forrein countries, euen K with the Emperors enemies; and ſome gaue themſelues to husbandry, thinking it better by doing ſomething to liue, than by ſitting ſtil to periſh. Which good husbandry at the firſt ſeemed to be very profitable vnto the Emperour, but eſpecially vnto ſuch as being neere vnto him, and couetouſly giuen, made ſmall reckoning of all other the moſt neceſſary defences of the empire, in compariſon of hoording vp of mony, vntill that it was afterward too late by experience found hereof to haue ſprung many great miſchiefes, vnto the great weakning of the Greeke Empire. For beſides, that the Turks without let did great harme on the ſea; the Pyrats now out of feare of the Emperours gallies, at their pleaſure tooke the ſpoile of the rich Iſlands in the Mediterranean, and robbed the towns all along the ſea coaſt, to the vnſpeakable griefe of the poore country people: and yet not ſo contented, came with their gallies, ſome- L time two, ſometime three, and ſometime moe, as it were in contempt, euen cloſe vnto the Imperiall city. Yea, the Venetians were ſo bold, as vpon a right ſmall diſpleaſure to rifle and afterward to ſet fire vpon the ſuburbs thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the Emperors fleet been preſerued and maintained in the wonted ſtrength.

At the ſame time alſo *Andronicus* the Emperor (to the great hindrance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forrein enemy) was not a little troubled with a jealous ſuſpition of his brother *Conſtantine* (commonly called *Porphyrogenitus*) as if he had ſought to haue aſpired vnto the empire; ſeeking by all means to win vnto himſelfe the loue and fauor of all men, but eſpecially of the nobility both at home & abroad, and ſo by that means to mount vnto the height of his deſires: All which (as moſt men thought) were but meere ſlanders, maliciouſly M deuiſed by ſuch as enuying at his honor, & taking occaſion by the emperors ſuſpition, ceaſed not to increaſe the ſame, vntill they had wrought his vnworthy deſtruction. The firſt ground of this falſe ſuſpition in the Emperors head, was, for that, that this *Conſtantine* euen from his childehood, was for many cauſes, better beloued of the old Emperour his father, than *Andronicus,*

dronicus, as better furniſhed with thoſe gifts of nature which beautifie a Prince, and of a more urteous behauior than was his brother: inſomuch that had he not bin the yonger brother, his father could willingly haue left him his ſucceſſor in the empire. This was one and the chiefeſt cauſe of the emperors grudge, and the ground of his ſuſpition. Yet was there another alſo, and that not much leſſe than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue ſeparated from the empire a great part of Theſſalia & Macedonia, and to haue made him abſolute Prince thereof; and had haply ſo done, had he not bin by death preuented: which thing alſo much grieued *Andronicus*, and the more inſenced him againſt his brother. Which his ſecret hatred he for all that, according to his wiſedome, cunningly diſſembled, not only during the time that his father liued, but three yeres after his death alſo, making ſhew of the greateſt loue and kindeneſſe towards him that was poſſible. *Conſtantine* in the meane time, of ſuch great reuenues as were by his father aſſigned vnto him, reaping great profit, moſt bountifully beſtowed the ſame vpon his followers and fauorits, and others that made ſute vnto him, as well the meaner ſort as the greater, and with his ſweet behauiour woon vnto him the hearts of all men: for affability and curteſie in high degree eaſily allureth mens minds, as do faire floures in the ſpring the paſſengers eies. This was the precept of the wiſe Indians, That the higher a Prince was in dignity, and the more curteous he ſhewed himſelfe vnto his inferiors, the better he ſhould be of them beloued. He therfore that ſhould for the two firſt cauſes blame *Conſtantine*, ſhould do him wrong; as both proceeding not of himſelfe, but of his fathers too much loue: but in the third he was not altogether blameleſſe; for if for want of experience he prodigally gaue ſuch gifts, as for the moſt part might haue beſeemed the Emperor himſelfe, he ignorantly erred, yet did he no little offend: but if he knew, that for his too profuſe bounty he could not be vnſuſpected of his brother, and yet without regard held on that courſe, he was greatly to be blamed therein. For if nothing elſe might haue moued him, yet he ſhould haue conſidered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had ſorted, and how many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that *Conſtantine* meant no harme vnto his brother, or any way to ſupplant him, yet did not theſe things a little increaſe and aggrauate the former ſuſpitions, and open the eares of the Emperour his brother vnto ſuch calumniations as commonly attend vpon immoderate bounty. But to returne to our purpoſe, this honorable *Conſtantine* then liued in Lydia, but lately married, and in good hope long to liue, being not paſt thirty yeres old: but pleaſantly ſpending the time with his wife at Nymphea in Lydia, at ſuch time as he was thus ſecretly accuſed vnto his brother, the Emperour thought it good, as vpon other occaſions of buſineſſe, to paſſe ouer into Aſia himſelfe, but indeed with a ſecret reſolution, vpon the ſudden to oppreſſe his brother vnawares, as by proofe it fell out. For at his comming ouer, *Conſtantine* fearing nothing leſſe, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greateſt fauorits, of whom one *Michael Strategopolus* (ſomtime a man in great authority with the emperor his father, and of all other, for wealth, honot, and noble acts moſt famous) was chiefe: who together with *Conſtantine* were faſt clapt in priſon, where we will leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiſcated. But theſe worthy men, eſpecially *Conſtantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid faſt: who many times in great battels diſcomfited the Turks, and notably defended the frontiers of the Empire a long the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Meander; they now finding none to withſtand them, forraged not only all the rich country beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude paſſing the ſame, did there great harme alſo: ſo that there was no remedy, but that the Emperor muſt of neceſſity make chice of ſome other worthy captaine for the defence of thoſe his cities and countries, by the incurſion of the Turks then in danger in that part af Aſia.

Immoderate bounty in great men dangerous.

There was then in the Emperours court one *Alexius Philanthrepenus*, a right valiant and ronowned captaine, and then in the floure of his youth; of him the Emperour thought good to make choice for defence of thoſe frontiers of his empire in the leſſer Aſia (againſt the Turks) which were before, the charge of his brother *Conſtantine* and *Strategopulus*, ioyning to him one *Libadarius*, an old famous captain, and a man of great experience alſo: appointing vnto him the gouernment of the cities of Ionia; and vnto the other the frontiers along the winding bankes of Meander. Where *Alexius* hauing now gotten a charge worthy his valor, and in many great conflicts with the Turks ſtill carrying away the victory, became in ſhort time of great fame: beſides that, he was exceeding bountifull and curteous vnto all men; a coſtly, but a ready way vnto dangerous credit and renown. Thus at the firſt all things proſpered in his hand according to his hearts deſire: yea the Turks themſelues, bordring vpon him, hardly beſet on the one ſide by the Tartars, & on the other by himſelfe; and yet not ſo much feared with their enemies behind them, as moued with his courteſie, came ouer to him with their wiues and children, and ſerued themſelues (many of them) in his camp. But as they ſay, That in *Iupiters* court no man might drinke of the tun of bliſſe, but that he muſt taſte alſo of the tun of wo: ſo fell it out with this great captain, who hauing but taſted of the bitter tun, had the worſe all poured full vpon his head. For *Libadarius* ſeeing all to proſper with him, and ſomewhat enuying thereat, began to feare & ſuſpect, leſt he, proud of his good fortune, and now grown very ſtrong, caſting off his allegiance, ſhould aſpire vnto the empire, and ſo firſt begin with him, as the neereſt vnto him: which thing many of the nobility ſecretly ſurmiſed alſo, but how truly many doubt. But this enuious plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked vp in the aſhes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropenus*, certaine companies of Cretenſians, whom for their good ſeruice and fidelity he both honored and truſted aboue others, vſing them all for the gard of his own perſon. Theſe men proud of their credit, hearing of the ſurmiſed aſpiring of their Generall, & in hope by his aduancement to raiſe their own fortunes alſo, ceaſed not continually to ſuggeſt vnto him high conceits of himſelf, and to perſuade with all ſpeed to take the matter vpon him; the very conceit whereof (as they ſaid) would be vnto him no leſſe danger, than if he ſhould enter into the action it ſelfe, as he might well ſee by the wofull examples of the noble *Conſtantine* and *Strategopulus*, both in extreame perill but for the jealous conceit ſurmiſed againſt them. Which quicke ſuggeſtions wrought in his great mind diuers, & thoſe moſt contrary motions, ſo that he ſcarce knew himſelfe what he would or would not. *For they which are vnto themſelues in conſcience guilty of any grieuous crime, if any miſchiefe hang ouer their heads therefore, it happeneth vnto them as foreknowing and expecting the ſame euen from the time that they offended: vnto whom, if nothing elſe, yet that ſame very foreknowledge eaſeth not a little the griefe and miſery: whereas contrariwiſe, they which are with ſudden miſchiefes, and vnlooked for, ouerwhelmed, not knowing any juſt cauſe why, muſt needs ſtand as men diſmaid, and almoſt beſide themſelues.* But at length after diuers great conflicts with himſelfe, the euill perſuaders of rebellion preuailed with him. Yet did he at the firſt forbid any mention to be made of him in the army as Emperor: which cauſed the Cretenſians, the chiefe authors of his rebellion, almoſt to force him forthwith to take vpon him the imperiall ornaments, therby to confirme the minds of his followers and fauorits: for that ſuch reſolutions were (as they ſaid) forthwith to be put into execution; neither that any thing required ſo joynt celerity and dexterity both of the mind and the hand; and for that longer delay would but fill his ſoldiers heads with doubts, and diſcourage them with the feare of the vncertainty of the euent: all which for all that moued not him ſo to do; but whether for feare of the greatnes of the danger, or for that he ſecretly thought how firſt to circumuent *Libadarius*, of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt is vncertaine. The report of all which his doings and deſignes were in ſhort time carried firſt vnto *Libadarius*, as the neereſt, and ſo in poſt vnto the emperor: who were therewith not a little both diſquieted. And had *Alexius* (as ſome perſuaded him) at the firſt ſet vpon *Libadarius*, then vnprouided, no doubt but he had done much: but God, by whom all Princes reign, and whoſe power confoundeth the deuiſes of the proud, turned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppreſſed, to follow after *Theodorus* the Emperors brother, of whom he was to haue feared no harme. This *Theodorus*, the firſt man that *Alexius* ſhot at, warned by his brother *Conſtantines* harme, liued a pleaſant priuat life in Lydia, far from the ambition of the court, and therefore ſo much the more beloued of the Emperor: but *Alexius* fearing leſt in that hurle many ſhould reſort vnto him, as vnto the Emperors brother, and ſo hinder his proceedings, thought beſt firſt to make him ſure, and afterward to oppreſſe *Libadarius*: not aware, that in ſtead of the body, he followed but after the ſhadow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his ouerſight, and knowing mony to be the ſinewes of warre, gathered together all the coyne he poſſibly could, both of his owne and his friends, ſending alſo for the Emperours Treaſures to Philadelphia, and with all ſpeed raiſed the greateſt power he poſſibly could out of Ionia, which he furniſhed with all things neceſſary, promiſing vnto his ſouldiers great matters, and filling them with greater hopes, and that within ten daies he would with a great army meet the Rebell in the heart of Lydia, and there dare him battell. But withall conſidering that the Cretenſians, men

Alexius Philanthropenus aſpireth.

Libadarius oppoſeth himſelfe againſt the proceedings of Philanthropenus.

but of a mercinary faith, had always the gard of *Alexius* his perſon, he thought good to make prooſe if they might with gold be woon to betray him: and ſo well wrought the matter by great ſums of mony preſently giuen, and promiſes of greater preferments with the Emperor, that they (ſomwhat before diſcontented with *Alexius* his ſlacknes, and now doubting alſo his ſucceſſe) yeelded vnto his deſire, promiſing in the beginning of the battel to deliuer him into his hands, which they ſhortly after in the very ioyning of the battell accordingly performed, deliuering him faſt bound vnto *Libadarius* his enemy. Who not a little proud thereof, vſed him with great inſolency, and within three daies after put out his eies, for feare the Emperor according to his curteous nature ſhould haue giuen his pardon; and ſo kept him in priſon vntill the Emperors pleaſure were further knowne. Thus through falſe ſuſpect and ambition were the greateſt champions of the Greeke Empire brought to confuſion.

Andronicus the Greeke emperor repoſing more truſt in forreine aid, than in his owne Subiects greatly hurteth his ſtate.

Now after this rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became ſo jealous of his own people, as that he wiſt not whom to truſt, repoſing greater confidence in ſtrangers, than in his own ſubiects, to the great hurt of his eſtate. At the ſame time it fortuned, that the Meſſagetes (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond Iſter, being Chriſtians, but oppreſſed by the European Tartars, weary of their ſlauery, ſent ſecretly vnto the Greeke Emperor *Andronicus*, offring that if he would aſſigne vnto them a conuenient place for them to dwell in, they would come ouer vnto him with ten thouſand of their families, and faithfully ſerue him in his wars againſt the Turks (who then grieuouſly waſted his countries in Aſia, deſtitute of good captains and commanders:) which their offer he gladly excepted, as ſtanding then in need of aid, & not greatly truſting his own people. But when theſe Maſſagets, in number aboue 10000, comming ouer with their wiues and children, were to be furniſhed with all things, and ſpecially the men with horſes, armor, and pay, (all which the Emperor could not of himſelfe doe) the ſubiects were therewith hardly charged, and Commiſſion ſent out into euery country and prouince, for the taking vp of horſes and armor; euery city, euery country towne and village, euery gentlemans houſe and poore mans cottage, was ſearched and ranſacked, and all things taken from them, that was there found fit for ſeruice, to their great diſcontentment, euery man murmuring and grudging to haue his armes taken from him, and giuen to ſtrangers: but when they were alſo to be contributers vnto their pay, they then openly curſed and banned them euen vnto their faces. Yet at length (though with much ado) theſe ſtrangers well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, were with ſome other forces alſo, ſhipped ouer into Aſia, vnder the leading of *Michael Paleologus* the Emperors eldeſt ſon, and then his companion in the Empire. Who marching alongſt the country, came and incamped about Magneſia. Where the Turks at the firſt, after their wonted manner retyred themſelues into the high mountains and thick woods, that from thence they might more ſafely learne what ſtrength their new come enemies were of, and what diſcipline of war they kept: for they knew that vpon the comming of great armies many falſe reports did run, and that things were made far greater than indeed they were, as did of theſe alſo, as of a people inuincible: and therefore they thought it beſt ſo to protract the time, vntill they might ſee in what ſort beſt to deale with them. But ſo houering ouer their heads, and perceiuing them oftentimes without order to roame abroad in the country ſeeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercinary men ſpoiled their friends no leſſe than if they had beene their enemies) they came downe in good order from the mountaines, from whence at the firſt they aduentured but a little; but afterwards they came on further, and with greater confidence, in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed they would ere long aſſault the yong Emperor in his camp. Wherewith he with the reſt diſcouraged, without any ſtroke giuen retyred; the Turks ſtill following him at the heeles. For neither he, neither the reſt, any thing conſidered the ſmall number of their enemies: but as drunken men, whoſe heads filled with groſſe vapors, are deceiued in the greatneſſe of the obiect that they ſee, and oftentimes think one thing to be two; ſo were they alſo in like manner with their owne feare blinded. Beſide that, moſt commonly it falleth out, that the army which inſolencie and injury forerunneth, is appointed to deſtruction, and by the fearefulneſſe of it ſelfe ouerthrowne before the enemy ſet vpon it, they themſelues becomming enemies to themſelues and Gods juſt vengeance appointing vnto them ſuch an end as their deeds haue deſerued: neither was it like that they ſhould doe any great good, that at their firſt ſetting forth, in ſtead of prouiſion, carried out with them the bitter curſes and execrations of their friends. *Michael* the Emperor ſeeing

the Maſſagets fly, and not daring with thoſe few hee had left, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt his G
enemies,retyred himſelfe into the ſtrong caſtle of Magneſia, there to expect what would become
of theſe miſchiefes. But the Maſſagets ſpoiling the country of the poore Chriſtians as
they went, marching directly to the ſtreit of Heleſpontus, and there againe paſſed ouer into
Europe,as if they had beene therefore only ſent for ouer the riuer Iſter,to ſhew the Turks the
ſooner the way vnto the ſea in Aſia. For it was not many daies after,but that *Michael* the Emperor
being returned to Conſtantinople,the Turks comming downe with a great power,ſubdued
all the Countries,euen vnto the coaſt of Lesbos,to the great ruine and weakening of the
Greeke Empire.

It was not long after theſe great ſtirs made by the Maſſagets,but that one *RonZerius* (ſometime
a notable pirat,but as then a moſt famous Captaine) hearing of the great entertainment H
that the Greeke Emperor gaue vnto ſtrangers, by meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe offred vnto
Ronzerius what he was.
him his ſeruice in his wars againſt the Turks,as had before the Maſſagets. This *Ronzerius* of
whom we ſpeake, had out of Catalonia a Prouince of Spaine, and out of that part of France
which is called Narbonenſis,aud ſome other places alſo, gathred together a great number of
baſe needy naked men, yet luſty able bodies, and fit for ſeruice either by ſea or land: with
whom he manned foure tall gallies, and ſo as a notable pirat long time robbed, not onely the
merchants trading to and fro in the Mediterranean,but landing his men oftentimes in the rich
Iſlands, carried away thence much rich ſpoile alſo; vntill at length by the miſchiefe he did
being become famous, and great wars then ariſing betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and *Theodorus*
King of Sicilia, he was by *Theodorus* ſent for and requeſted of aid: which he (liuing of I
the ſpoile) eaſily granted, and ſo came vnto him with a thouſand horſe and as many foot, all
old expert ſoldiers,whoſe good ſeruice ſtood the King in thoſe wars in great ſtead. But as the
end of war is peace,ſo at length vpon the euill ſucceſſe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt
the two Kings,and confirmed by a marriage betwixt their children; *RonZerius* liuing altogether
by his fortunes, was to ſeeke for new entertainment, both for himſelfe and his men,
as hauing neither houſe nor certain dwelling place to repaire to;but being as needy men met
together, ſome out of one place, ſome out of another, in hope of booty as their fortune led
them. In which caſe *RonZerius* their Generall thought it beſt to offer his ſeruice to the Greeke
Emperor in his wars againſt the Turks, whereof he gladly accepted,and ſo ſent for him: vnto
whom he ſhortly after came with two thouſand good ſoldiers,called (after the proud Spaniſh K
manner) by the name of Catalonians, for that they were for the moſt part Spaniards of the
country of Catalonia. Of whoſe comming the Emperor rejoycing more than he had cauſe
(as afterward by proofe it fell out) in token of his great fauor, honored him with the name of
the Great Captaine,and afterwards gaue him his neece *Mary* in marriage. But within a while
after, when as one *Tenſa* another Catalonian Captaine ſent for by *Ronzerius*,was come thither
alſo with more aid,the Emperor to gratifie them both,gaue vnto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cæſar*,
and vnto the other,the name of the Great Captaine. But when theſe new Captains with their
followers were to be tranſported into Aſia, it is not to be ſpoken what harme they did by the
way vnto the country people, and in the villages alongſt the ſea coaſt; abuſing the men and
women as their ſlaues, and ſpending their ſubſtance at their pleaſure, for which they had many L
a bitter curſe: and this was their firſt yeares entertainment. The next ſpring they ſet forward
to relieue the great City of Philadelphia, being as then long beſieged by the Turkes,
and hardly beſtead without with the enemy; and within, with extreame penury and famine:
which good ſeruice they moſt valiantly performed, and raiſed the ſiege. For the Turks beholding
the good order of theſe Latine ſouldiers, their bright armour, and couragious comming
on,roſe preſently and departed, not only from the city, but quite out of the Emperours
territorie. Beſides that, in this army were joyned vnto theſe Catelonians great numbers of
the beſt ſouldiers of the Greeks, and all the power of the Maſſagets: ſo that had not the Emperor
expreſſely before commanded, not to purſue them too farre, it was by many thought,
all thoſe cities and countries might then againe haue beene in ſhort time recouered from M
the Turks, which they had before taken from him. But in Kingdomes appointed vnto ruine,
faire occaſions helpe not for the ſtay thereof; yea the greateſt helpes prouided by the worldly
wiſe,by a ſecret commanding power aboue,being oftentimes conuerted to the deſtruction
of that they were prouided for the ſafegard of; as it now fell out with the Emperour and

theſe Spaniſh ſouldiers: for this ſeruice done, the Greekes returned home, as did the Maſſagets alſo. But theſe Catalonians with *Ronzerius* their Generall, roaming vp and downe the Emperours territories in Aſia, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies) vpon them whom they were ſent for to relieue: alleadging that they had not their pay according to the Emperors promiſe; and that therefore they muſt liue vpon them that had ſent for them and deceiued them. So were the poore people in euery place ſpoiled, their wiues and daughters rauiſhed, their Prieſts and aged fathers tortured to confeſſe ſuch ſecret ſtore as they had: all was ſubiect to theſe diſſolute ſoldiers rage and luſt; yea many of them that had nothing to redeeme themſelues, vpon the greedy ſoldiers imagination, hauing their hands or feet, or ſome other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies ſide begging an halfepenny or a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themſelues with, more than their miſerable voice and fountaines of teares: with which their wrongs and miſeries, worſe than thoſe they had ſuſtained by the Turks, the Emperor much grieued, and well the more, for that they were done by him by whom he had entertained to relieue them: but what remedy, his coffers were ſo bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redreſſe thereof. *Ronzerius* hauing thus ſpoiled the Emperors country in Aſia, and left nothing that pleaſed either him or his, with all his power paſſed ouer into Europe: and leauing all the reſt his army at Calipolis, with two hundred of his men went to the young Emperour *Michael* (then lying with a ſmall power at Oreſtias in Thracia) to demand of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats: with whoſe inſolencie at his comming, the Emperor more offended than before, his ſouldiers there preſent perceiuing the ſame, with their drawne ſwords compaſſing him in, faſt by the court, ſlew him, with certaine of his followers, the reſt fled in all haſte to Calipolis to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Ronzerius for want of pay ſpoileth the Emperors ſubiects.

Ronzerius ſlain.

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the young Emperor had thought to haue diſcouraged the Catalonians and abated their pride, as like enough it was to haue done: yet in proofe it fell not out ſo, but was the cauſe of far greater euils. So when God proſpers not mens actions, the beſt falleth out vnto the worſt, and their wiſeſt deuiſes turn to meere follies: for the Catalonians at Calipolis hearing of the death of *Ronzerius* their Generall, firſt ſlew al the citiſens in the city, and notably fortifying the ſame, tooke that as their refuge. Then diuiding their ſoldiers into two parts, with the one part of them manned with eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the great captain *Tenza*, robbed and ſpoiled all the Merchants ſhips, paſſing the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, to or from Conſtantinople: the other part left in the city, in the mean time forraging the country all about them. But *Tenza* ſhortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaies, well prouided for him, was by them ouerthrown, and moſt of his gallies ſunk, and himſelfe taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellows, and ſo againe inlarged. Now the Catalonians at Calipolis ſomwhat diſcouraged with the loſſe of their fleet and ſo many of their men, for certain days kept themſelues in quiet within their wals, not knowing wel what courſe to take, for they feared both the Maſſagets and Thracians: them for that they had vpon light cauſes abuſed them, and ſlain diuers of them in the late Aſian war; and theſe, for that they had but euen the other day burnt their houſes and ſpoiled their labors in the country there by: for E which and other their outrages, they vtterly deſpaired of the Emperors fauor, whom they had ſo highly offended. But that which moſt of al terrified them, was, for that they looked for euery day, when *Michael* the yong Emperor, who as then lay not far off, ſhould with a great power come to aſſault them: for feare of whom they caſt a deepe ditch about the city, with a ſtrong counterſcarfe, ſo preparing themſelues, as if they ſhould haue beene euen preſently beſieged. But the time ſo paſſing, and the Emperor delaying his comming, they began to think of other matters: for being brought to that ſtreit, that they could not wel tell which way to turn them, but that they were on euery ſide beſet with danger, they vpon a malicious reſolution, and vnto the Greekes moſt fatall, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, craued aid of the Turks that dwelt on the other ſide of the ſtreit ouer againſt them, in Aſia; who preſently ſent them fiue hundred F good ſoldiers, after whom followed alſo many other fugitiues and looſe companions, in hope of ſpoile; with whom the Catalonians for the preſent ſtrengthned, and being themſelues three thouſand ſtrong, iſſued out of the city, and forraged the country therabouts, bringing in with them great heards and flocks of ſheep and other cattel, together with their keepers: wherwith both the Emperors & their ſubiects incenſed, prepared themſelues for reuenge. This was the

firſt

The Turks firſt called into Europe by the Catalonians.

firſt calling in of the Turks into Europe (that I read of) and the beginning of thoſe endleſſe miſeries wherewith the Chriſtian commonweale hath beene euer ſince moſt grieuouſly afflicted, and a great part thereof ouerwhelmed; few or none grieuing thereat, but ſuch as themſelues feele the heauineſſe thereof, whom God in his mercy comfort.

The Turcopuli.

The vnfortunat battell of Michael the Emperor againſt the Catalonians and Turks.

The Catalonians and Turks now lying about Cypſella and Apri in Thrace, *Michael* the Emperor with his Macedonian and Thracian ſouldiers, the Maſſagets and the Turcopuli encamped at Apri. Theſe Turcopuli were Turks, alſo in number about a thouſand (who as is in the former part of this Hiſtory declared) beeing fled with their Sultan *Iathatines* vnto the Greeke Emperor, and left behind him at ſuch time as he was by the Europian Tartars deliuered, had forſaken their Mahometane ſuperſtition, and ſo being become Chriſtians, were inrolled amongſt the Greeke ſoldiers. Shortly after the Emperor (aduertiſed by his ſcouts of the approch of his enemies) commanded euery man to be in readineſſe, and his captaines to put his army in order of battell: who ſeeing the enemies battell diuided into three parts, put theirs alſo in like order, placing the Turcopuli & Maſſagets in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choice horſemen in the right wing, and the reſt with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the Emperor himſelfe riding from place to place, with comfortable ſpeeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly againſt their enemies. The Sun riſing, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferiour vnto the Emperors, yet in like order; the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians well armed in the midſt. But the ſignall of battell being giuen on both ſides, the Maſſagets, whether it were by agreement ſo before made with the enemy, or vpon a ſudden conceiued treaſon, preſently withdrew themſelues aloofe off, and ſo ſtood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did alſo their Turcopuli their companions; which greatly diſmaid the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes diſmaied with that ſudden defection of their fellowes, were euen in the joyning of the battell diſcouraged. Which the Emperour perceiuing, with great inſtancy intreated the captaines and commanders of his army, calling them oftentimes by name, not to be ſo ſuddenly diſcouraged: but they in ſo great a danger little regarding his words, and ſtil ſhrinking from him, when as the greateſt part of the footmen were troden vnder foot and ſlaine, turning himſelfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, he ſaid, *Now worthy men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more better than death.* And hauing ſo ſaid valiantly charged the enemy: in which charge his horſe was ſlaine vnder him, and he in danger to haue bin taken, had not one of his faithfull followers remounted him vpon his owne horſe, and ſo ſaued his life with the loſſe of his owne. The Emperor flying to Dydimotichum, where *Andronicus* his father then lay, was of him joyfully receiued, but ſharpely reproued for aduenturing his perſon ſo far. The enemies purſuing the chace, ſlew ſome, tooke others, vntil that by the comming on of the night, and weary with the long fight they retired: and the next day diuiding the ſpoile, afterwards at their pleaſure forraged the country. The renegat Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting to the Catalonians, were of them joyfully entertained, and inrolled into the regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks Generall.

Shortly after this victory, the Catalonians began to mutiny among themſelues, the great captaine *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his companion, diſdained to be commanded by *Recafort* their Generall: in which tumult, the matter comming to blowes *Tenza* was ſlaine, and *Pharenza* for ſafegard of his life glad to fly vnto the Emperor *Andronicus*; of whom he was, contrary to his expectation, right honourably entertained. About this time alſo the Maſſagets hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turks againſt whom they were entertained, and enriched themſelues with the ſpoile of their friends both in Aſia and Europe, were about with their wiues and children, and wealth, to returne again vnto their old dwellings beyond Iſter. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderſtanding, and bearing vnto them a ſecret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had of them oftentimes beene wronged in the diuiſion of the ſpoile of the Greekes, lay now ſecretly in wait for them, as they ſhould paſſe the ſtraits of the great mountain Hemus, which bounded the Greeke Empire from thn Bulgarians: where ſetting vpon them, fearing no ſuch danger, they ſlew them almoſt all; and with the ſpoile of them, recompenced themſelues for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued.

The Catalonians proud of their victory at Apri, and well ſtrengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli with continuall rodes ſpoiled not onely all alongſt the Sea coaſt of Thracia, but

A but all the inland country alſo,as far as Maronea, Rhodope,and Bizia, laying all waſte before
them. And hauing forraged moſt part of Thracia, brake into Macedonia, and there wintred
about Caſſandria,ſomtime a famous city,but as then all deſolate and ruinous. But the Spring
being come,they remoued thence, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled the cities of Macedonia, and
eſpecially the rich city of Theſſalonica,where the empreſſe *Irene* then lay: wherein they were
by the Emperors good care and foreſight preuented; who doubting ſuch a matter,had fortified
his cities in that country,and furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and all other things
needfull for their defence:which they quickly perceiuing,and finding the country al deſolate
and forſaken by the inhabitants,were about to haue againe returned into Thracia:but as they
were thereupon reſoluing,they were informed by one that was with them captiue,how that the
B Emperor by a mighty ſtrong wall built at a place called Chriſtopolis, from the ſea ſide euen
vnto the top of the mountains,had ſo ſhut vp the paſſage,as that it was not poſſible for them
that way to enter. With which vnexpected news they were at the firſt exceedingly troubled,
as foreſeeing,That if they ſhould there long ſtay in that ſpoiled country,they ſhould in ſhort
time be driuen to exceeding wants (for they were now in number aboue 8000 fighting men)
and afraid alſo by a generall conſpiracie of the people about them, to be oppreſſed. Thus beſet,
and not well knowing what to doe, or which was to turne themſelues, they deſperatly reſolued,
no longer there to ſtay,but forthwith to ſet forward, and to breake into Theſſaly, with
the plentifulneſſe thereof to relieue their wants, or into ſome other country further off, towards
Peloponeſus,and there to ſeat themſelues, and to end their long trauels:or at leaſtwiſe,
C if they could not ſo do, to enter into league with ſome that dwelt vpon the ſea coaſt, and ſo
returne againe into their owne country. Wherefore leauing Theſſalonica,and deliuering the
Emperour of a great feare, they in three daies came to the Theſſalonian mountaines, Olympus,
Oſſa,and Pelius; where they at the foot of them found ſuch plenty of all things neceſſary
for their reliefe,that they there wintred. But Winter paſt,and the Spring being come,they
paſſed ouer thoſe high mountaines and the pleaſant vallies called Tempe, and ſo at laſt came
downe into the fruitfull plaines of Theſſaly, where they ſpent that yeare at their pleaſure
without reſiſtance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke
of whatſoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the ſtate of that country was but weake,
the Prince thereof being but young, and withall very ſicke and like to die, and the ſucceſſion
D ſo ending in him,as that it was feared,who after his death ſhould lay hand thereon; and every
man therfore more carefull of his own priuat than of the common good. Yet to auert theſe
forreine enemies, who like a conſuming fire deuoured the country before them; the nobility
thought it good, with great gifts to ouercome their Captains and Commanders, and then to
offer them guides to conduct them into Achaia and Bœtia, Countries more pleaſant and
fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in:promiſing alſo to giue
them aid for the ſeating of them there,if they ſhould ſo need. Of which their offers the Catalonians
accepted,as thinking it better with their hands full of gold ſo eaſily gotten,to go ſeek
their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and ſtrong, and help alſo if need were, than
to hazard all vpon the ſucceſſe of a doubtfull victory,and ſo fooliſhly to preferre an vncertain
E hope before a moſt certaine benefit. So making peace with the Theſſalians,and the Spring
being come, receiued of them their promiſed rewards, and guides to conduct them, paſſing
ouer the Mountaines beyond Theſſaly, and the ſtreits of Thermopile, they encamped neere
vnto Locris and the riuer Cephiſus: which riſing out of the Mountaine Pernaſſus, and running
towards the Eaſt, hath on the North ſide of them Locris and Opus; and on the South
the inland country of Achaia and Bœtia: and being a great riuer vntill it come to Lebadia
and Haliartes, is there diuided into two riuers; the one called Æſopus, and the other Iſmenus;
whereof the former runneth thorow the Country of Attica, vntill it come into the Sea;
and the other neere vnto Aulis (where the noble Græcians, as they ſay, being about to goe
vnto Troy, met, and their ſtaied) falleth into the Eubœan Sea. But the Duke of Thebes and
F Athens, and of all that Countrey, hearing of their comming, and (as he thought) well prouided
alſo for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readineſſe)
with great pride and contempt denied them paſſage thorow his Countrey, at ſuch
time as they asked the ſame;making no more reckning of them,than as of a ſort of looſe wandering
rogues that could find no place to reſt or thriue in: wherewith they inraged, reſolued

Caſſandria.

The Catalonians ſhut out of Macedonia.

among

A notable ſtratagem of the Catalonians.

among themſelues, either there to ſeat themſelues in his country, or to die therefore. And ſo G
paſſing the riuer into Beotia, not far from the ſame encamped themſelues, being in number
about 3500 horſe, and 4000 foot. But ſo lying and expecting the comming of their enemies,
they cauſed all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed vp,
which they with certaine ſmall cuts out of the riuer ſo watered, as that it differed but a little
from a deepe mariſh or bog. Hither about the middle of the Spring commeth the Prince of
the Countrey, with a gallant army raiſed out of Athens, Thebes, Platea, Locris, Phocis, and
Megara, in number about 6400 horſe, and 4000 foot, an army too ſtrong he thought for ſo
contemptible an enemy. But the weakeſt enemy not feared, doth oftentimes the greateſt
harme, as here by proofe was to be ſeene: for the Prince comming into the aforeſaid plaine,
now growne greene with graſſe, and caſting no perill, encouraging his men, came brauely on H
with all his horſemen to haue charged his enemies: who ſtood faſt vpon the firme ground, a
little without their trenches, as ready to encounter him. But before he was come to the middle
of the plaine, his horſes ſinking deepe into the rotten and new plowed ground, and there
intangled as in a marſh, lay for the moſt part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders;
or elſe plunging in the deepe, and hauing caſt them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune
led them; otherſome ſticking faſt, ſtood with their riders vpon their backs, as if they had bin
very images, not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encouraged,
ouerwhelmed them with all manner of ſhot, and ſlew them at their pleaſure, vntill they
had almoſt made an end of them: and with their horſemen ſo ſpeedily purſued the reſt in
chace, euen vnto the cities of Thebes and Athens, that they without more adoe euen at that I
inſtant ſurpriſed them both, with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were
at a caſt at dice won a moſt goodly country, garniſhed with faire towns and cities, which they
neuer built; and ſtored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer ſweat for, there ended
their long trauels, and ſeated themſelues: not ceaſing (as ſaith *Nicephorus Gregorias*, the reporter
of this hiſtory, ſpeaking of the time wherein theſe things were done, and wherein he himſelfe
liued in Conſtantinople) vnto this preſent day, by little and little to extend the bounds
of their territory. Where leauing them, with whom we haply haue too long ſtraied from
our purpoſe, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

In the army of the Catalonians, at ſuch time as they were about to haue beſieged Theſſalonica,
were three thouſand Turks, of whom eleuen hundred were of them (as we ſaid) which K
remained with *Melech* at Ænum, after the flight of *Iathatines* their Sultan vnto the Tartars, and
renouncing their ſuperſtition, became Chriſtians; and ſo being baptized, and hauing wiues
and children, were enrolled among the Emperors ſouldiers; but at the battell of Apri reuolted
vnto the Catalonians, and were commonly knowne by the name of Turcopuli: the other
being the greater part, were ſuch Turks, as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of Aſia, being
ſent for by the Catalonians. Now all theſe Turks, as well the one as the other, at ſuch time as
the Catalonians were about to inuade Theſſalia, and to ſeeke their new fortunes in the countries
more Weſtward, and ſo farther off from Aſia: partly diſtruſting the ſociety of them, as
dangerous vnto them; and loth alſo further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into countries
farther off, amongſt people to them vnknowne, began to riſe in mutiny, and to refuſe to L
go. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requeſted of the Generall of the Catalonians
to giue them leaue with quietneſſe to returne: which their reqneſt he eaſily granted, (as
now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the Emperors dominion)
and ſo they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and ſpoiles they
had taken in that long war, according to the number of both parts.

The Turks diuided into two factions.

Theſe Turks after their departure from the Catalonians, diuided themſelues into two parts,
the Turcopuli or renegat Turks following *Melech*, and the reſt *Chalel* their General. But *Melech*
being before becom a Chriſtian, as were his followers alſo; & after that hauing receiued moſt
honorable entertainment at the Emperors hands, and yet again moſt ſhamefully breaking his
faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had reuolted to his enemies; deſpairing of the M
Emperors further friendſhip, which he had ſo euill deſerued, made choice rather to goe vnto
Charles Prince of Seruia, by whom he was ſent for, than to come again into the ſight of *Andronicus*
the Greeke Emperour. And ſo going vnto him with a thouſand horſe, and fiue hundred
foot, was there of him well entertained himſelfe: but his ſouldiers all commanded to deliuer

vnto

A vnto the Prince both their horſes and armour, and to fall to other trades, and not to beare
armes but at ſuch time, and ſo many of them as ſhould ſeeme good vnto the Prince, that had
receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turkes his followers, in number about 1300 horſe and eight hundred
foot, ſtaying at Macedonia, offered vnto the Greeke Emperour quietly to depart his country,
ſo that he would giue him paſſage by the ſtreits of Chriſtopolis by him fortified; and in ſafetie
transport him and his ſoldiers with all their ſubſtance, ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus into
Aſia: vnto which his requeſt, the Emperour conſidering the great harme done in his prouinces,
and deſirous alſo to be diſcharged of ſo great a burthen, eaſily granted; and ſo ſent *Sennacherib*,
one of his moſt valiant captaines, to conduct them out of Macedonia into Thracia, vnto
B the ſtreits of Helleſpontus. Where the Greeke captaines and ſouldiers ſeeing the great
multitude of horſes, and abundance of money and other ſpoiles, which they hauing taken
from the Greekes, were now about to carry away with them into Aſia; they thought it a great
indignitie to ſuffer them ſo to do: and allured alſo with the hope of ſo rich a prey, as had bin
of long in gathering, they entred into a deuice far different from that which was vnto the
Turks before promiſed; neither prouiding them of ſhipping, neither carefull of their ſafety,
but purpoſing vpon the ſudden by night to deſtroy them. Whereof the Turks hauing got vnderſtanding,
ſuddenly riſing, ſurpriſed a caſtle in the country there by, which they notably fortified
for the defence of themſelues, to the great aſtoniſhment of them that had purpoſed
their deſtruction; who now not able to force them, were glad to get them farthar off, and to
C certifie the Emperor what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued cuſtome of the
Greek Emperors his predeceſſors) ſlowly diſpatching things requiring greateſt haſt, careleſly
delaid the time, to the great trouble of his ſtate, and aduantage of his enemies. For they wiſely
conſidering the danger and diſtreſſe they were in, by ſpeedy meſſengers ſent ouer the ſtreit,
craued aid of the Turks their countrymen in Aſia, which they preſently ſent them; wherwith
they not a little both encouraged and ſtrengthned, with their often & ſudden incurſions grieuouſly
waſted the country round about them, to the great diſcontentment of the Greeke captains,
not able without greater help to remedy the ſame. Who thereof certified the yong Emperour
Michael Paleologus, requeſting him with all the power he could make, to come and beſiege
the caſtle, and to ſuppreſſe theſe ſo dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof
D not only the captains with their ſoldiers, but the country people in generall with their ſpades
and mattocks came flocking to the Emperor; not as if they would haue beſieged the caſtle,
but haue digged it downe and ouerthrowne it together with the Turks their enemies.

The vnfortunat battell of the Emperour Michael Paleologus with the Turks in Cherſoneſus.

Now the Emperor with his captains and ſouldiers, and a multitude of thoſe country people,
being come thither, who all gladly followed him, moſt part of them fooliſh, thinking of
nothing but of the ſpoile of their enemies; not conſidering with what danger the ſame was to
be gained: ſo that the more the enemies prouided for the neceſſary defence of themſelues, as
in number but few, and ſhut vp in their enemies country, the more careleſly & negligently, and
without all order, the Greeks proceeded in their ſiege, for that they were in number far more,
and better prouided of all things than their enemies: not reputing with themſelues, nothing in
E this world to be firm and ſure; and al worldly things (as ſaith the diuine Philoſopher) to be but
the mockery of God, and to be haſtily turned vp-ſide downe, and with moſt vncertaine courſe
this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the very fame of their
comming, accounting themſelues rather among the dead than the liuing, ſeeing their confuſed
and diſordered raſhnes; therewith much more than before encouraged, beſtowed all their
wealth, their women, and other things vnneceſſary for battell, in good ſafety within their trenches:
but themſelues, with eight hundred choſen horſemen onely, and they very well armed,
ſallied out euen to the place where the imperial enſigne ſtood; being neither of any great ſafety,
neither guarded with any ſuch ſtrength or carefulnes as beſeemed: with which ſudden and
deſperat eruption of the enemies, the Grecians terrified, eſpecially that ruſtical and vplandiſh
F company, began to fly: after whom by little and little others followed, vntill at length all the
reſt without further reſiſtance fled alſo: which the Emperor ſeeing, did what he might to haue
ſtaid their flight: but in ſo generall a confuſion and feare, when euery man was to ſhift for one,
who regarded him? wherefore wearied and ſeeing no other remedy, he was glad to take the
ſame courſe and to fly with the reſt: yet many of the more expert captaines, aſhamed of ſo

foule a flight, made diuers ſtands: and ſo ſtaied the barbarous enemy from further purſuit of G
the Emperour and the other flying Greekes. In which doing, many of them incloſed by the
Turks, were of them taken priſoners: vnto whom all the Emperors treaſure became a prey alſo,
and whatſoeuer honourable enſignes of the Empire elſe that were found in the Emperors
tent; yea, the Imperiall crowne it ſelfe, richly ſet with pearle and pretious ſtones, was there
taken alſo, which (they ſay) *Chalel* putting vpon his head, pleaſantly ſcoffed at the Greeke
Emperor that but late before wore it.

Thracia ſpoiled by the Turks.

After this victory, the Turks with great pride ſpoiled almoſt all Thracia, in ſuch ſort as
that the people for two yeres together durſt ſcarcely go out of their ſtrong walled townes to
plow and ſow their land; which exceedingly grieued both the Emperors, the father and the
ſon: for in their owne power they had no great confidence, God hauing (as it were) taken from H
their people, both their hearts and courage, ſo that all their hope was to entertaine forrein aid
(the miſerable ſhift of the great diſtreſſed ones) wherin alſo they found many difficulties and
lets, whilſt they conſidered the greatnes of their charge, their coffers being then, if euer, empty
by reaſon their territories were ſo long and grieuouſly by their enemies waſted: yet need admitted
no law, *Andronicus* the old Emperour was glad to ſend to *Charles* Prince of Seruia, his
ſon in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no haſt (as men in relieuing others
commonly do) and the miſery more and more increaſing, it pleaſed God to ſtir vp the heart
of one *Philes Paleologus* the Emperours neere kinſman, to vndertake the protection and deliuerance
of his Prince and Countrey; and was afterward for his great valour by the Emperour
worthily made Lord great martiall of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now ſpeake, had all I
his life time bin brought vp in the court, and was for his vpright dealing and integrity of life
beloued of all men, but ſpecially of the old emperor his kinſman, whom he with like affection
honored; but was a man altogether vnskilful of the wars, as being by nature of a weake conſtitution
of body, and ſo very ſickly, and withall more giuen to deuotion and the ſeruice of God,
than the affaires of the world, oftentimes ſpending moſt part of the day at his praiers in the

Philes Paleologus requeſted of the Emperor that he might goe againſt the Turks.

church. He now grieued to ſee the perplexed Emperor, and the miſery of his country, requeſted
of him that he might with ſome ſmall power, and ſome few captains of his owne choice,
goe out againſt theſe proud Turks: hoping (as he ſaid) by Gods grace to reuenge the wrong
by them done, and to returne to him againe with victory. Vnto which his requeſt, the Emperor
eaſily yeelded, ſaying, that God was iuſt, which delighted not in many legs, neither in the K
greatnes of any mans ſtrength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind: not ſo giuing his help
vnto *Michael* the Emperour, his ſon, for the offences of his parents: as happily he might vnto
this ſo vpright and deuout a man, regarding more his integrity of life, than his skill in armes:
for turning me about, I haue ſeen in this world (ſaid he) I haue ſeene, the ſwift not to gaine the
prize, neither the valiant the victory; wiſe men to want bread, and men of vnderſtanding,
wealth; the ſimple to gain fauor, and the ſubtill to fall into diſgrace: ſuch alteration worldly
things in time find. So the emperor (as is aforeſaid) yeelding to his requeſt, furniſhed him with
mony, horſes, and armor, and ſuch a conuenient power, as he himſelfe deſired. Which he hauing
receiued, firſt of all incouraged his captains and ſoldiers with all manner of courteſie and
kindnes, giuing vnto them mony, horſes, armour, jewels; yea, ſometime he gaue vnto one his L
purſe, vnto another his cloke, his rapier, or ſome other ſuch thing, as he had about him, to encourage
them in their forwardnes: after that, he perſuaded them to an honeſt temperate courſe
of life, and valiantly to play the men, promiſing according to their deſerts to reward euery one
of them, the war once happily ended: and before his ſetting forth, vnderſtanding by his eſpials,
that *Chalel* with a thouſand foot & two hundred horſe was forraging the country about Bizia,
he haſted his departure, that ſo he might by the way encounter them, laded with the ſpoile of
the country: and ſo ſetting forward, came the third day to a little riuer, which the inhabitants
call Xerogipſum, and there in a great plain neer vnto the ſame, encamped. Where after he had
ſet all things in order fit for battel, he with cheerfull ſpeeches as a great commander, encouraged
his captains and ſoldiers; leauing nothing vnſaid or vndone, that might ſerue for the animating M
of them to fight. But he had not ſo lien two daies, but that his ſcouts about midnight
comming in, brought him tidings, that the enemy laden with ſpoile, was euen faſt by at hand:
who by the riſing of the Sun were come within ſight, and had themſelues a far off alſo diſcouered
the Chriſtian army, all gliſtering in bright armor. Wherfore ſtaying a while to prepare

them-

A themſelues for battell: and firſt of all compaſſing themſelues round with their waggons and
other cariages, they beſtowed in them all their captiues faſt bound together, with their booty
taken; and afterwards as their manner was, caſting duſt vpon their heads, and their hands
vp toward heauen, they came on. And now the Chriſtian Army came on forward alſo; *Philes*
ſtill encouraging borh the horſemen and the footmen, and right well conducting them, as
the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing
of the army, gaue the firſt charge vpon a ſquadron of the enemies, and at the firſt onſet vnhorſed
one of the enemies, and after him another. But hauing his horſe ſore wounded vnder him,
he haſtily retyred out of the battell: which ſomewhat troubled the Chriſtians, and encouraged
the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcry began moſt fiercely to preſſe vpon the retyring
B Chriſtians: *Philes* in the mean time with many cheerful words and comfortable perſuaſions
ſtil encouraging them to play the men; and with his eies oftentimes caſt vp to heauen,
with tears running down his face, moſt heartily beſought God, the giuer of all victory, no
longer to ſuffer thoſe his enemies, and the miniſters of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people:
as did alſo the poor captiues which lay bound, doubtfully betwixt hope and feare expecting
the euent of the battell. The Chriſtian footmen at the ſame time encountring hand to hand
with the Barbarians, aſſailed them, and were aſſailed; ſlew of them, and were themſelues ſlain
by them: ſo that there was a cruel fight made on both ſides. But *Philes* with the multitude of
his men hauing almoſt incompaſſed the Barbarian horſmen, with a company of his moſt valiant
ſoldiers broke in vpon the ſide of the enemies battel, and ſo made way thorow the midſt
C of it: which ſo troubled the Turks, as that they well knew not how to ſtay, or what to do. So
being on euery ſide circumuented and hardly charged, moſt of them there fell, except ſome
few horſmen, whom the Greek horſmen purſued vnto the entrance of Cherſoneſus, with purpoſe
there to ſhut them vp. *Philes* comming thither alſo, there vpon thoſe ſtreits incamped.
At which time the Emperor preſently ſent out fiue gallies to keep the ſtreit of Helleſpont, ſo
that no aid might be brought vnto theſe Turks out of Aſia. Whilſt theſe things thus went,
two thouſand choice horſmen came to the aid of *Philes* out of Servia: and the Poteſtate of
Pera came by ſea alſo with eight gallies more into Heleſpontus, to the aid of the Chriſtians.
Wherefore when the Grecians and Servians had thus on the one ſide ſhut them vp by land,
and they that were in the gallies on the other ſide by ſea; *Philes* with all his power came and
D camped about the town and trenches wherin the Turks lay; planting his battery againſt the
caſtle, wherwith he greatly ſhook the ſame, and made great ſlaughter of the Turks and their
horſes, and that not only by day, but by night alſo. But the Turks ſeeing death now preſent
before their eies, and no way left for them to eſcape, for that they were on euery ſide both by
ſea and land incloſed, thought good thus to aduenture their liues, reſoluing by night to ſet
vpon the Grecians, rather than vpon the Servians, whom they had hitherto accuſtomed to
ouercome, and whom they had with often ſlaughters much terrified; that ſo the reſt by them
alſo haply diſcouraged, might ſo delay the aſſault. But in attempting the ſame they perceiued
themſelues much deceiued, finding them euen at their firſt ſallying out ready in arms to
receiue them: wherfore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt as againſt a ſtrong fortreſſe, they
E were ſhamefully inforced to retyre. Yet were they not therwith ſo diſcouraged, but that the
ſtreit ſiege ſtill continuing, they made the like attempt vpon the Servians: but being alſo by
them in like maner with loſſe repulſed, they began now vtterly to deſpair. Wherfore the next
day about midnight caſting away their arms, they with their boſoms and pockets ful of coin
ran down to the ſea ſide towards the Gallies, with purpoſe to yeeld themſelues vnto the Genowaies
that were therin, as fearing of them leſſe harm, as of men whom they had neuer hurt:
but the night being dark and miſty, and the Moon giuing little light, many of them vnawares
came unto the Greek gallies, and there flying the ſmoke, fell into the fire: for being lightned
of their mony, they were by them forthwith without any pitty ſlain alſo. But the Genowais
ſlew not all their priſoners, but only ſuch as had brought with them the moſt coin; leſt afterward
F bewraying the ſame, it ſhould haue bin ſought after by the Greeks. The reſt they caſt
into bonds, of whom ſome they ſent vnto the Emperor, otherſome they kept to themſelues as
their own priſoners. Thus by the valor and good conduct of this worthy deuout Captain, the
Turks were for that time again chaſed out of Europ, and the country of Thracia deliuered of
a great fear.

The battell betwixt Philes and the Turks.

The Turks ouerthrowne.

The cauſes of the decay of the Greeke Empire.

Now by that we haue already written is eaſily to be ſeen the chief cauſes of the decay and G ruin of the Greek Empire to haue bin, firſt, The innouation and change of their antient religion and ceremonies by *Michael Paleologus*, wherof enſued a world of wo. Then by Couetouſneſſe, couered with the name of good husbandry, the vtter deſtruction of the chief ſtrength of the Empire. Next to that, by Envy, the ruin of the Great: by falſe Suſpect, the loſer of friends; Ambition, Honors ouerthrow; Diſtruſt, the great minds torment; and Forrein aid, the Empires faithleſſe porter, opening the gate euen vnto the Enemy himſelf: wherunto foul diſcord joined (as ſhall be forthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemy could deſire, for the helping of them in the ſupplanting of ſo great an empire? But again to our purpoſe.

Michael companion with his father *Andronicus* in the Empire, had by his Wife *Mary* two ſons, *Andronicus* who had afterwards the Empire, and *Michael* ſyrnamed the Deſpot, and two H daughters, *Anne* maried to *Thomas* prince of Epirus, and *Theodora* maried to the prince of Bulgaria. Of all theſe, the old Emperor *Andronicus* their grandfather ſo intirely loued *Andronicus* his nephew, as that in compariſon of him he ſeemed little to regard either his own children, or the reſt of his nephews, wiſhing them all rather to periſh than him. Which many ſuppoſed him to do, as purpoſing by him the better to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the empire in his houſe, as alſo for his excellencie of wit, and comlineſſe of perſon; the likeneſſe of name alſo haply furthring his kind affection. For which reaſons he cauſed him to be honorably brought vp in his court, as not willing to ſpare him out of his ſight either day or night. But when he was out of his childhood, and grown to be a luſty youth (at which time mens hot deſires are commonly moſt vehement) he began to contemn all chaſtiſement and gouernment, eſpecially I in ſo high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Beſides that, his Companions became vnto him the miniſters and perſuaders of all thoſe vain delights which vnſtaid youth moſt deſireth; and at the firſt began to lead him forth to walk the ſtreets, to hawk, to hunt, and haunt playes, and afterwards to night walks alſo, not wel beſeeming his ſtate. Which riotous courſe of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine ſpare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himſelfe with the rich merchants of Genoa which dwelt at Pera. Hereof aroſe hard taking vp of mony, great debt, fine deuices how to come by Coin, with ſecret conſultations and purpoſes of flight. For when he ſaw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, and his father *Michael* like to ſucceed him, he had no hope of aſpiring to the Empire: wherupon his ambitious thoughts and impotent K deſires long time tormenting his haughty heart ſuggeſted vnto him ſuch purpoſes. For when as he would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens counſels, as a child, he ſought after the Imperial liberty, and abundance of wealth, that he might haue that was ſufficient for himſelf, and wherwith to reward others as the followers of an Emperor. Which ſeeing he could not do, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father reigning, he ſought after the ſoueraignty of other Principalities and Countries: one while after Armenia, as belonging vnto him in the right of his mother the King of Armenia's Daughter: Another while after Peloponeſſus; and ſomtimes he dreamed of Lesbos and Lemnus, and other the fruitful Iſles of the Ægean ſea. Which when it was ſecretly told, ſomtime to his Father, and ſometime to his grandfather, he was now croſſed and reprooued of the one, and afterwards of the other. L And to paſſe ouer many other his youthfull prancks, he vſed in his night walks ſecretly to repaire vnto a certaine Gentlewomans houſe, more honourably borne, than honeſtly qualified; which woman, a certaine Gallant (and another *Adonis*) no leſſe affected than himſelfe. Wherewith he highly offended, as with his Riuall, appointed certaine Ruffians and Fencers to watch her houſe. But vpon a certain time about midnight, *Manuel* the Deſpot (his yonger brother) ſeeking after him, chanced to paſſe that way where theſe Watchmen lay; who ſeeing him haſten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and ſuppoſing him to haue bin the man which they looked for, the Gentlewomans beſt beloued, ſet vpon him, and ſo wounded him that he fell down for dead from his horſe: but beeing by and by after known by others comming in, he was taken vp and halfe dead caried vnto the Court. Which outrage in the morning M beeing knowne vnto the Emperour, caſt him into a great heauineſſe, as beholding not the time preſent only, but wiſely conſidering what was like to inſue in the time to come alſo. But *Manuel* the Deſpot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report thereof brought vnto *Michael* the yong Emperor his father, then lying at Theſſalonica, ſtrooke him

to

A to the heart with ſo great a griefe, that falling ſick with the conceit thereof, he ſhortly after
died.

Andronicus the vnſtayd Youth neuertheleſſe holding on his wonted courſe, with a ſecret
purpoſe to haue fled, became thereby ſtill more and more ſuſpitious to his aged grandfather,
not a little carefull vnto what end thoſe his violent paſſions would at length tend. And therefore
appointed one *Syrgiannes*, a man of great credit and authority in the Court (in whom as
in a reconciled enemy, he had vnaduiſedly repoſed too much truſt) to inſinuate himſelfe into
the youthfull Princes acquaintance and fauor; that ſo ſounding him and his ſecret deſignes,
he ſhould not poſſibly be able without his knowledge to ſtep aſide: which of all things
the old Emperor feared moſt, as the beginning of greater troubles. This *Syrgiannes* beeing a
B man of great place, and of a ſubtill wit, was ſomtime himſelf ſuſpected of aſpiring, and therfore
as vpon the miſpriſion of treaſon, was by the old Emperor impriſoned: but afterwards
by him againe inlarged and receiued into fauour, was now by him put in truſt, warily to obſerue
the doings of the yong Prince. But he not vnmindefull of the wrong before done vnto
him, and in hope by troubling the State, either to aſpire vnto the empire himſelfe, or at leaſtwiſe
to ſome good part therof; thought now a fit occaſion to be miniſtred vnto him, for him
to work vpon, both for the one and the other, by ſetting the old Emperour and his ambitious
yong Nephew together by the ears. Which opportunitie he not minding to let ſlip, taking
the yong Prince one day aſide, diſcouered vnto him all his Grandfathers deuices, in briefe as
followeth.

C

Syrgiannes his craſty ſeditious ſpeech vnto yong Andronicus.

Your Grandfather, Noble Prince (ſaid he) *hath ſet me as a Watch ouer your actions, or more truly
to ſay, as a Bloud-hound, to ſeeke after not your doings only, but if it were poßible, euen after your moſt
ſecret thoughts alſo: and ſo whilſt he maliciouſly prepareth for you ſnares and fetters, you not aware
thereof, fooliſhly follow your ſhallow and childiſh conceits. For what ſhall it auaile you ſecretly to fly away?
wheras if the beſt chance, yet muſt you (as the common ſaying is) put your feet vnder another mans
table, and liue at his charge; if it fall not out worſe, that you be ſlain or made away by them you fly vnto
for reliefe, or els fall into the ſnares by your Grandfather layd for you. But if ſo be that caſting behind
you theſe your fond deuices, you will hearken to my counſell, I will ſhew you a ready way, how you ſhall in
ſhort time, and without any danger, aſpire vnto the Imperiall ſeat and dignitie: The only way whereunto
D is this, If you leauing the City of Conſtantinople, ſhall flie out into the Cities and Prouinces of Thracia:
For ſeeing men are commonly by nature deſirous of change, and the miſerable Thracians are by often exactions
grieuouſly vexed; if you ſhall but once proclaim a redreſſe of their grieuances, with immunity for
euer, they will all with one accord follow you whitherſoeuer you will, your grandfathers long and heauy
yoke being caſt off, as if it were* Siſiphus *his heauy ſtone, which they had long rolled, and neuer the neere.
If you like of this aduice, I will be vnto you both the Author and leader of this exploit, and will eaſily
bring to good effect the whole matter · ſo that you again on the other ſide promiſe vnto mee vpon your
Faith, to reward this my trauell according to my deſert therin. But what rewards ſhall theſe be? Honourable
preferments, large poſſeßions, great reuenues, the firſt place in your fauor, and that no great matter
be done or concluded without my conſent and knowledge. For you ſee how willingly I make my ſelfe partaker
E of your calamity, and companion of your dangers, no neceßity inforcing me therunto; forgetting euen
my very faith, in compariſon of the loue and Zeal I bear towards you; wherin if any miſhap ſhall by the
mutabilitie of fortune betyde me, I haue ſet down my ſelfe with patience to endure it: all which conſidered,
you need not to grudge to yeeld to my requeſts, if you tender your owne ſafety. And foraſmuch as the
ſhortneſſe of time will ſuffer no long conſultations, and that delay bringeth extream danger; let vs ſpeedily
impart the matter vnto ſuch others as for the hatred of the Emperor are like to keep our counſell, and
may yet much further our deſignes.*

The yong Prince mooued with this ſpeech as if it had bin with a Charm, eaſily conſented
to his deſire, confirming the ſame by his Oath conceiued in writing. At which time were preſent
F ſuch as were eſpecially to be acquainted with the plot of the conſpiracie, namely *John
Catacuzenus* and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honor, and the old Emperors antient
ſuppoſed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himſelfe) and *Alexius Apocaucus*
the third (not of like honor with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a moſt ſubtill and
deep wit) who all vnderſtanding the matter, ſhewed themſelues not as miniſters, but as Ring-

leaders and captains of the intended rebellion. This conſpiracy with moſt ſolemn oaths and G promiſes on euery part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter: and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and moſt gratious courtiers, procured to themſelues the gouernment of ſuch cities and prouinces in Thrace, as they thought fitteſt for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* hauing the gouernment of the ſea coaſt, and the inland country euen from the ſea ſide to the top of mou͂nt Rhodope; and *Catacuzenus* the gouernment of the country about Oreſtias. In all which places they muſtred ſouldiers, prouided armor, entertaining alſo ſtrangers and other vagrant and maſterleſſe men, as for ſome great War. Beſides that, in the gouernment of the Cities they placed their truſtieſt friends, remouing ſuch others as they had in ſuſpect. All which they colored by rumors falſly raiſed, one while of the comming of the Europian Tartars from Danubius, and another H while by the comming of the Turks out of Aſia: againſt whoſe inuaſions theſe preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of ſuſpition; and the traitors for their prouident care highly commended euen by the Emperor himſelfe, againſt whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably diſſembled, oftentimes withall certifying the yong Prince, what he had done, and what was likewiſe of him to be performed.

Yong Andronicus commeth ſecretly armed to his grandfather.

But the old Emperor ſeeing his youthful Nephew not to hearken to his graue aduice, but ſtil to proceed in his diſſolute kind of life, was about ſolemnly to haue reproued him before the Patriark and ſome others of the chiefe nobility, if haply ſuch open reproofe might haue wrought in him ſome change of maners; if not, then to haue committed him to priſon. And like enough he was to haue ſo done, had he not bin otherwiſe perſuaded by *Theodorus Mitochita* I (who of all others was able to do moſt with him) by reaſon of the liberty of the time; for then it was almoſt Shrouetyde, when as the people diſtempered with the exceſſe of meat and drink, were of all other times moſt fit, vpon any light occaſion to be drawn into a tumult or vprore: for fear wherof, he was contented at that time to let him alone. But Shrouetyde paſt, and a good part of Lent alſo; the old Emperor ſeeing no amendment in his Nephew, calling vnto him *Geraſimus* the Patriark, and the reſt of the reuerend Biſhops then preſent in the city, ſent for his Nephew, openly before them all to chide and ſchoole him for his diſorderly life, but eſpecially for his purpoſed flight; that aſhamed of ſuch open reproof before ſuch Reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at leaſtwiſe of all men be thought iuſtly puniſhed for the ſame, if he ſhould ſtill proceed therin. So the yong Prince being ſent for, came, K accompanied with many of his fauorits and followers, moſt of them being ſecretly armed, and he himſelfe not altogether vnprouided: for it was agreed among them, that if the Emperour ſhould vſe gentle and fatherly admonitions toward him, that then they ſhould bee quiet, without any ſhew of inſolency or diſcontent: but if he ſhould in anger reproue him, or threaten to puniſh him, then vpon a ſign giuen, forcibly with their ſwords drawn to break in vpon him, and to kil him in the Imperial ſeat, and without more ado to place yong *Andronicus* his nephew in his ſtead. But comming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next his aged grandfather, his deſperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grieuouſly blamed and reproued for his former follies and euil courſe of life; yet with ſuch moderation and grauity, as all ſeemed (as it did) to come of a moſt fatherly care and regard: ſo that then no L ſuch outrage was committed as was by diuers his followers wiſhed; but the aſſembly quietly diſmiſſed, and a ſolemn oath taken on both ſides: of the grandfather, That he ſhould not appoint any but his nephew to ſucceed him in the Empire: and of the young Prince, That hee ſhould neuer ſeeke to attempt any thing to the ſhortning or hurt of his Grandfathers life or empire. But the conſpirators thronging about him at his comming out, fretted and fumed at him as if he had broken his faith and oath before giuen them; ſaying, *What greater wrong couldeſt thou do vs, than being by vs made ſtrong, and become dreadful to thine enemies, to diſpoſe of thine affairs at thy pleaſure, to thine own ſafety, and to leaue vs thy moſt faithfull friends and ſeruants in the Diuels mouth to be deuoured?* For now they both doubted & feared leſt their conſpiracie was diſcouered. With which ſpeeches he both diſcouraged and aſhamed, ſent for *Theodorus Metochita* M his Grandfathers chiefe Counſellor, requeſting him to deal with his Grandfather for the pardoning of all his Followers, as he had done for himſelfe. Of which motion he diſliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks, for that he himſelfe had eſcaped ſo great a danger; and to him alſo, as a mean for the ſafegard of his life: although hee treated not for ſuch

traiterous

A traiterous perſons, with whom if he were well aduiſed he would haue nothing to do, either
thinke that they would euer be faithfull to him, who reſpecting neither God nor man, had ſo
fouly broken their faith before giuen vnto the Emperour his Grandfather. With which vn-
expected anſwer of ſo great and graue a Counſellor the Prince not a little troubled, & with-
all diſcontented, ſtood a while as in a muſe all ſilent, reaſoning as it were with his own paſſi-
ons: but afterwards commanding him without further reply to depart, and the old compani-
ons of his follies reſorting vnto him, he by their perſuaſions entertained again his former diſ-
loyall thoughts and deſignements: which his grandfather vehemently ſuſpecting, and there-
with not a little grieued, would (as if it had bin by inſpiration) oftentimes in his heauineſſe
ſay vnto them that were about him, *In our time is loſt the Majeſty of our Empire, and the deuotion*
B *of the Church.* Yet to preuent the worſt, he thought it good betimes to lay hands vpon his ſu-
ſpected Nephew, and ſo to detain him in ſafe keeping: acquainting none therwith but *Gera-*
ſimus the Patriarch, and his Ghoſtly Father; who preſently acquainted the Prince therwith,
and was the cauſe that he haſtned his flight, flying himſelf before. For he now certainly vn-
derſtanding the danger he was in, the night before he ſhould haue bin apprehended, with all
the reſt of the conſpirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the City,
by the gate called Gyrolimnia; which Gate (all the reſt being ſhut) was ſtill at his com-
mand, for that he vſed commonly therby at his pleaſure very early to go out on hunting, as he
now pretended to do; but the next day after, came to *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus* Camp, who
then both lay with a great power at Hadrianople, expecting his comming. The old Empe-
C ror before the riſing of the Sun aduertiſed of the flight of his nephew, the ſame day comman-
ded him to be proclaimed Traitor, and proſcribed, with all his Conſpirators, and whoſoeuer
els ſhould take his part. And for the more ſurety, euery man in the city was ſworn to be loy-
all and faithfull vnto the old Emperor, and enemy vnto his Nephew and his adherents. But he
on the other ſide proclaiming liberty and immunitie abroad in all the Cities and Villages in
Thracia, ſo won the hearts of the Countrey people in generall, that they reſorted vnto him
from all places in great numbers, ready armed to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command them.
And to begin withall, they firſt layd hands vpon the Collectors of the Emperors mony (then
abroad in the Country) whom they ill intreated, taking from them their money. After that,
and yet not ſeuen dayes expired, almoſt an incredible number of horſemen, footmen, archers
D and others departed from Hadrianople toward Conſtantinople, vnder the leading of *Syrgian-*
nes, in hope at their firſt comming to take the City, being at diſcord within it ſelfe, and moſt
part of the meaner ſort, in hope of gain, fauoring their rebellious proceedings, ſuch as the ſe-
ditious find in ſuch rebellious tumults. So hauing marched four days, they came and incam-
ped at Selyrbia: but as they were about to haue gon on farther, the old Emperour doubting
leſt the citiſens ſeeing ſo great an army before the City, ſhould therein raiſe ſome tumult or
ſtir to the indangering therof; thought good before to ſend Embaſſadors vnto his Nephew,
to proue if haply theſe ſo dangerous troubles might by their means in ſome good ſort be ap-
peaſed. The chief of theſe Embaſſadors was one *Theoleptus* Biſhop of Philadelphia, a man no
leſſe famous for his vertue than his wiſdom, and yet for both of all men honored; & with him
E alſo was ſent *Syrgiannes* his mother, as of all others fitteſt to appeaſe her ſon, and to perſuade
him not to approch the city, for that therof might enſue much bloud-ſhed, and the deſtructi-
on of the city, or at leaſtwiſe the vtter vndoing of many: wherof if he ſhould bee the author,
how could he euer after liue in conſcience quiet, but that the torment therof would follow
him euen into his graue; and therfore to requeſt him to retyre a little, and ſo to come to talk
and to demand what he pleaſed. *Syrgiannes* moued as well with the preſence of the reuerend
Biſhop, as the prayers of his mother, retyred to the yong Prince which then lay about Oreſti-
as; whither the Emperors Embaſſadors came alſo: with whom, after long debating, it was a-
greed, That the yong Prince ſhould in all royall maner hold all Thracia, from Criſtopolis to
Rhegium, and the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople: and withal, that ſuch lands as the yong prince
F had already giuen vnto his followers, in Macedonia, ſhould ſtill remaine vnto them (which
were ſuch as yearly yeelded vnto them a right great reuenue:) And that the old Emperour
ſhould hold vnto himſelfe the Imperiall City, with all the Cities and Prouinces of Macedo-
nia beyond Criſtopolis: and that he alone ſhould haue the honour to heare Embaſſadors ſent
from forrein Princes, and to giue them their diſpatch; for that the yong Prince took no plea-

Thracia revolteth vnto Andronicus.

Articles of Agreement betwixt the old Emperor and his Nephew.

The Greeke empire in Europe diuided.

Whilſt the Grecians are at diſcord among themſelues, Othoman layeth the foundation of the Turkes Empire, & the other Turks incroach vpon them alſo.

The Iſland of the Rhodes was by the Knights Hoſpitallers recouered frō the Turkes in the yeare 1308.

ſure in thoſe weighty affairs, as by nature more delighted in hawking, hunting, and his other G youthfull pleaſures. Vpon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the yong Prince than of the old Emperour, who although he was deſirous otherwiſe to haue redreſt ſo great wrongs, yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to what his nephew would requeſt. Thus was the Greeke empire in Europe (as then all or the moſt part incloſed within the bounds of Macedonia and Thracia) now diuided betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: Aſia in the meane time (wherein the Greek Emperors their predeceſſors ſomtime held great kingdoms) being left for a prey to the greedy Turks. *Othoman* on the one ſide euen in the heat of theſe troubles laying the foundation of his empire in Phrygia & Bithynia; and the other the Turks Princes the ſucceſſors of Sultan *Aladin* encroching as faſt vpon the emperors territories and countries on this ſide the riuer Mœander. And not ſo contented, at the ſame time alſo built H great ſtore of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Chriſtian Merchants trading to Conſtantinople, and ſpoyled the coaſts of Macedonia and Thracia, and the Iſlands of the Ægeum, and among others took the famous Iſland of the Rhodes; which they held not long, before they were againe driuen out of the ſame by the Kings Hoſpitallers, vnder the conduct of *William Willaret*, aided by the Genowaies and the King of Sicilia, which they from that time held (to the great honor and benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale) by the ſpace of 214 yeres, known by the name of the Knights of the Rhodes: vntill that in the memory of our fathers it was (I ſay no more, but grieue therefore) ſhamefully loſt vnto the Turke, for want of reliefe; neuer place being more honorably defended, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall appeare: euer ſince which time thoſe honorable men (the flower of chiualry) haue ſeated themſelues in the I Iſle of Malta, which they to their immortall glory, and the comfort of all good Chriſtians, haue moſt notably defended againſt the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, and all the fury of the Turks, as ſhall be alſo in due place declared.

But to turne againe vnto the troubled eſtate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the Greeke captain & author of all the aforeſaid ſtirs betwixt the old emperor and his nephew, had euen from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yong Prince, to haue ruled al with him at his pleaſure, and that nothing either great or little ſhould haue bin don without him: but ſeeing it now to fall out far otherwiſe than he had before expected, and the Prince to be wholly ruled by *Catacuzenus*, and himſelfe of all others leſt regarded, & not ſo much as called to any counſell; inwardly tormented with griefe and enuy, he began ſecretly with himſelfe to deuiſe K how he might be reuenged of the vngratefull Prince, which vnmindfull of his former promiſes, had ſo vnthankfully caſt him off. Wherefore he reſolued again to reuolt to the old Emperor, not doubting but ſo in ſhort time to ouerthrow all the councels and deuices of the young Prince, together with his ſtate alſo, by himſelfe before raiſed. For he, as worldly wiſe, excluding God from his councels, had ſuch an opinion of himſelfe, that which way ſoeuer he went, thither muſt all things follow alſo. Wherfore by one of his truſtieſt friends he ſecretly made the old Emperor acquainted with his purpoſed reuolt, and how all things ſtood: for the greater credit thereof alleadging, That he could not abide the ſight of him that ſought to corrupt his wife, meaning the young Prince. This newes from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old Emperour moſt welcome: for it grieued him (as an old man of a great ſpirit) to ſee himſelf ſo contemned L and deluded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old ſeruitors of all ſorts, by him ſpoyled of their lands and poſſeſſions in Macedonia and Thracia. So a ſolemne oath in ſecret paſſed from the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer ſtay ſecretly fled to Conſtantinople: which there bruted abroad, reioyced many, now well hoping the whole gouernment would againe come vnto the old Emperour, and that ſo they ſhould againe recouer their poſſeſſions wrongfully taken from them by his nephew. But God not ſeeing it ſo good, all this hope was but in vaine, as ere long it appeared: for the yong Prince, who of long knew how much he was beloued of the Conſtantinopolitans, and by them ſecretly ſent for, taking occaſion vpon the flight of *Syrgiannes*, with all the power he could make, marched towards the city: and being come within ſight therof, incamped, laying ambuſhes vpon euery way and paſſage therabout, M for to haue intercepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at Perinthus, and the third night after, with three hundred ſelect ſoldiers, deceiuing them that lay in weight for him as if they had bin all aſleepe, before the riſing of the Sun came to Conſtantinople: and if the old Emperor would haue giuen him leaue, he had ſuddenly charged them that did lie in wait for him, before they

A were aware of his comming. But as ſoon as it was day, the Prince hearing of the eſcape of *Syrgiannes*, and no ſuch tumult in the city as he had expected, preſently without more ado retyred with his army the ſame way he came, back again into Thracia.

By and by after, *Conſtantine* the Deſpot was by the old Emperor his brother ſent by ſea to Theſſalonica, to take vpon him the gouernment of Macedonia, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the Empreſſe, the yong Princes mother; and after, with all the power he could make, to inuade the yong Prince in Thracia: that ſo ſetting on him on the one ſide out of Macedonia, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turks (for the emperor in this ciuil diſcord was glad to vſe their help alſo) and the Bithynian ſoldiers on the other, they might ſo ſhut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which reſolution, the Deſpot comming to Theſſalonica, there took B the Empreſſe, whom with all her family he thruſt into a gally, and ſo ſent her to Conſtantinople, where ſhe was in the palace kept cloſe, as too much fauouring the Princes proceedings. And afterward raiſing all the power he could in Macedonia, inuaded the Prince in Thracia, breaking by force thorow the walls of Criſtopolis.

The yong Prince ſeeing himſelfe by this means now like to be driuen to a great ſtreit, ſent *Synadenus* with his Thracian army to defend the frontiers of his empire toward Conſtantinople, againſt *Syrgiannes* with his Turks and Bithynians: in hope himſelfe by many ſubtle deuices and ſleights to be able to incounter his vncle the Deſpot. And firſt he cauſed diuers Edicts and proſcriptions to be written in haſt, wherin great rewards and preferments were with great ſolemnitie of words promiſed to whomſoeuer could bring vnto him the Deſpot either C quick or dead: which were of purpoſe giuen to the country people paſſing to and fro, to be diſperſed abroad in the highways, and about in the country neer the Deſpots camp. And after that, he cauſed the death of the Emperor his grandfather to be euery where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Conſtantinopolitans in a tumult ſlain: which the deuiſers thereof in euery place reported. Yea ſome there were that ſwore they were themſelues preſent at his wofull death, and ſaw it with their eies: other ſome, more certainely to perſuade the matter, ſhewed long white goats hair, or ſuch like gathered out of white wool, as if they had been by the furious people pluckt from the old Emperors head or beard, at ſuch time as he was ſlaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery town and village, but eſpecially in the Deſpots camp, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers ſtrange and doubtfull thoughts. Then D diuers alſo of the diſperſed edicts being found and brought to the Deſpot, ſtruck him, and not without cauſe, into a great fear; inſomuch that by the perſuaſion of his beſt friends, he without longer ſtay retyred in haſt to Theſſalonica: whither ſhortly after came a gally from Conſtantinople, with ſecret letters from the Emperor to the Deſpot, for the apprehenſion of twenty fiue of the chiefe citiſens, vehemently ſuſpected for the ſtirring vp of the people to rebellion, and ſo to haue deliuered the city to the Prince. All which perſons the Deſpot ſhould haue ſent bound in that Galley to Conſtantinople. But they in good time perceiuing the danger they were in, ſecretly ſtirring vp the people, and by and by after ringing out the bells, (the ſignal appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a ſhort time raiſed a wonderfull tumult within the city, inſomuch that all the citiſens was vp in armes, who running headlong E vnto the houſe of the Deſpot, found not him (for he forewarned of their comming, was fled into the caſtle) but ſlew all they met of his, or els robbing them, caſt them in priſon. As for the Deſpots houſe, they pillaged it, & afterward pulled it down to the ground. Then comming to the caſtle they fired the gates: which the Deſpot ſeeing, and not able to defend the place, took horſe and fled to a monaſtery not far off, where being taken by them that purſued him, he ſore againſt his will, for the ſafegard of his life, tooke vpon him the habit of a Monk. Neuertheles he was from thence caried priſoner to the yong Prince his nephew, who ſhewed himſelf much more curteous to him than all the reſt of the Nobilitie and Waiters; for they as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen forthwith ready to haue torn him in pieces, had not the Prince embracing him in his arms ſaued his life. Yet the next day after, by perſuaſion F of his Counſel, he ſent him to Didimoticum, where he was caſt into a moſt lothſome priſon, being very deep and ſtreit in manner of a Well, no body to attend vpon him but one boy; where he lay in miſerable darkneſſe and ſtink: they which drew vp his ordure from him and the boy oftentimes (either by chance or of purpoſe) pouring it vpon his head. Where after he had lien a great while in moſt extreme miſery (wiſhing to die, and could not) hee was at

length by the Princes commandement, intreated thereunto by certain Religious men, remoued G
into a more eaſie priſon, where we will for euer leaue him.

Andronicus the old emperor ſeeks counſel of the Pſalter, as of an heauenly Oracle, and ſo maketh peace with his Nephew.
Pſal. 68. v. 14.

Things falling out croſſe with the old Emperor, and although they were neuer ſo well deuiſed,
ſtill ſorting out vnto the worſt, he became very penſiue and doubtful what to do. So it
fortuned, that one day in his melancholy minde hauing a Pſalter in his hand, to reſolue his
doubtfull mind he opened the ſame, as if it were of that heauenly oracle to ask counſel: wherin
the firſt verſe that he light vpon was, *Dum cœleſtis diſſociat Reges, nive conſpergentur in Salmon:*
When the Almighty ſcattered Kings (for their ſakes) then were they as white as ſnow in Salmon. The
which he applying to himſelfe, as if all thoſe troubles and whatſoeuer els had happened, proceeded
from the will of God, although for cauſes to him vnknown: hee by and by ſought to
reconcile himſelf to his nephew, contrary to the mind of *Syrgiannes*, who deſired nought but H
trouble. For (as we haue before ſaid) the yong Prince, although he was deſirous of the power
and liberty of an empire, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: and
had he not oftentimes and erneſtly bin egged forward by his companions to affect the whole
Empire, haply could and would haue contented himſelfe with the former Pacification. For
being now ſent for, he came firſt to Rhegium, and there viſited his mother (now ſet at liberty,
and ſent thither for the furtherance of the deſired pacification) where he with her and by her
counſel did whatſoeuer was there done. So within few daies the matter was brought into ſo
good terms that an attonement was made, and he himſelfe went and met the Emperour his
grandfather before the gates of the city; the old Emperor ſitting then vpon his horſe, and the
Prince alighting from his a good furlong before he came at him. And although his Grandfather I
was very vnwilling, and forbad him ſo to do, yet he came to him on foot, and kiſſed his
hand and foot as he ſate on horſeback; and afterward taking his horſe, embraced him, & there
kiſſed each other, to the great contentment of the beholders. And ſo hauing talked ſome few
words, departed; the old man into the city, and the yong man into his campe, which then lay
neer to Pega: where ſtaying certain days, he came diuers times into Conſtantinople, and ſo
went out again; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her ſon, lay
at Pega.

But *Syrgiannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and his nephew,
walked vp and down ſick in mind, with an heauy countenance, eſpecially for that in time of
peace his buſy head ſtood the Commonweal in no ſtead. Wherfore in all meetings and aſſemblies K
he willingly conuerſed with them who moſt diſliked of the preſent ſtate, & ſpake
hardly as well of the Emperor as of his nephew, wronged (as he thought) by both; wheras in
the time of their greateſt diſtreſſe, he had (as hee ſaid) ſtood them in good ſtead. But ſeeing
one *Aſanes Andronicus* walking melancholy vp and down as a man with heauines oppreſſed;
who hauing don good ſeruice to the yong Prince, and not of him regarded, had fled to the old
Emperor, and there found no ſuch thing as he expected, for the eaſe of his grief, although hee
were a man honorably born, and otherwiſe endued with many good parts: with him *Syrgiannes*
acquainted himſelfe, as grieued with the like griefe that hee himſelfe was, with whome as
with his friend, without diſſimulation he plainly diſcourſed of all ſuch things as his grief deſired.
But *Aſanes* handling him with great wiſdom, did himſelf with like words ſpeak hardly L
both of the Emperor and his nephew; but yet curiouſly noted whatſoeuer *Syrgiannes* ſayd,
for he had before hated him for his ambition, and as then took it in diſpleaſure, that hee was
enemy to *Catacuzenus* his ſon in law, who was all in all with the yong Prince, & did oftentimes
comfort him. But the ſong being thorowly ſet, *Aſanes* came ſecretly vnto the old Emperour,
and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except he in time layd hold on *Syrgiannes*, affecting
the empire, he ſhould in ſhort time be by him brought to his end. Wherupon *Syrgiannes*
was forthwith clapt faſt in priſon: whoſe houſe with all his wealth the common people
took the ſpoil of; and not contented to haue raſed it downe to the ground, conuerted the ſite
therof, together with the pleaſant Vineyards adjoining vnto the ſame, into a place to feed
goats and ſheep in: a worthy reward for his manifold treacheries. The yong Prince ſhortly M
after going to Conſtantinople, was there crowned Emperor, as fellow in the Empire with his
grandfather: vnto which ſolemnitie in the great temple of *Sophia*, both the Emperors riding,
it fortuned the old Emperor by the ſtumbling of his horſe to be ouerthrowne and fouly berayed
in the mire; the ſtreets being then very foul by reaſon of much rain but a little before
fallen:

A fallen; which many took as ominous, and portending the euill fortune which ſhortly after
befell him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yong Prince was a hunting
in Cherſoneſus, ſeuenty Turks aduenturers were by force of weather driuen on ſhore: who before
they would yeeld themſelues priſoners, made a great fight with the Emperors men, and
ſlew diuers of them: in which conflict the yong Emperor himſelfe was wounded in the foot,
wherwith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late Prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged Grandfather, held
not himſelfe long ſo contented, but after the maner of ambitious men (and continually prickt
forward by his aſpiring fauorits) longed to haue the whole gouernment to himſelfe, which
hardly brooketh any partner. And therfore weary to ſee his grandfather liue ſo long, reſolued
B no longer to expect his naturall death (although it could not by courſe of Nature be far off)
but by one deuice or other to thruſt him from the gouernment: or if that might not bee effected,
at once to diſpatch him both of life & ſtate together. And the ſurer to lay the plot wheron
ſo foul and horrible a treaſon was to be built, he by the counſell of his mother and others,
by whom he was moſt directed, ſent for *Michael* the Prince of Bulgaria his brother in law (although
before to him vnknown, as was his wife his ſiſter alſo) to make with him a firm league,
to the intent by him to prouide, that if the Prince of Servia (who had but lately maried the
old Emperors nigh kinſwoman, and ſo to him much deuoted) ſhould take part with him, hee
ſhould by the Bulgarian his neighbor be intangled. Who ſo ſent for, with his wife the old
Emperors daughter, came to Didymoticum, where they were many dayes honorably entertained
C both by the yong Emperor and his mother. For why, this meeting plotted vpon great
treaſon, was finely colored with the deſire the yong Emperor had to ſee his ſiſter and her huſband,
as before to him vnknown; and the Empreſſe her daughter, whom ſhe had not ſeene in
23 years before: but the ſecret concluſion betwixt them was, That the Bulgarian prince to
the vttermoſt of his power ſhould aid the yong emperor againſt his grandfather, and he likewiſe
him againſt the Servian, as he ſhould haue need. And further, That if his grandfather
being depoſed, he ſhould recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great ſumme of mony
with certain ſpeciall cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowry to his kind brother
in law and companion in his labors. So *Michael* the Bulgarian prince honorable entertained
by the yong Emperor and the old Empreſſe his mother in law, loded with rewards, and promiſes
D of greater, returned home into his own country.

A trecherous meeting.

This matter thus diſpatched, the yong emperor therwith incouraged, & knowing alſo the
Conſtantinopolitans, beſides the other cities of Thrace, exceedingly to fauour him and his
proceedings (by whom alſo he was ſecretly inuited to haſten his comming thither) as weary
of the long life and lazines, as he termed it, of his grandfather, thought it beſt cunningly to
go about the matter, that ſo his grandfather being with as little ſtir as might be depoſed, hee
himſelfe might alone enjoy the Empire. But needing mony for the effecting of ſo great matters,
he by force took all the mony from the collectors, whom the old Emperor had ſent into
Thracia for the taking vp of mony there; telling them, that he was an emperor alſo, & in need
of money, and that the common charge was likewiſe by the common purſe to be diſcharged.
E After that he took his way toward Conſtantinople, pretending vpon ſpeciall cauſes hee had
occaſion to ſend Embaſſadors to the Sultan of Egypt, for the tranſporting of whom hee was
there to take order for the ſetting forth of a great ſhip & other things neceſſary for the journey.
Neither went he ſlenderly appointed, but with a great power, the Cities of Thracia before
well aſſured vnto him, ſuch as he ſuſpected being thruſt out of office, and others more aſſured
vnto him being placed in their ſteads. But whileſt he thus beſtirred himſelfe, one of
thoſe that were moſt inward with him, deteſting ſo foul a treaſon, ſecretly fled from him to
his Grandfather, from point to point diſcouering vnto him all the intended trecheries; and
withall, that his nephew had determined to depoſe him from his empire, or otherwiſe to bereaue
him of his life, if he ſhould ſtand on his gard: but if in the attempt he ſhould find eaſy
F ſucceſſe, then to ſpare his life, and depriuing him of the Imperiall dignity, to thruſt him as a
Monk into a Monaſtery. And therfore aduiſed him to beware how he ſuffered him after his
wonted manner to come into the City (for fear of a generall reuolt) but rather by force to
keep him out. Which the Emperour hearing, and comparing with other things which hee
had heard of others, yet ſounding in his ears, deeming it to be true, ſtood vp, and in the an-

anguiſh

guiſh of his ſoul thus complained vnto God: *Reuenge my quarrell, ô God, vpon them that do mee* G
wrong, and let them be aſhamed that riſe vp againſt me: and preſerue thou vnto me the Imperial power,
which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me, whom I my ſelfe begot and aduanced. After,
he began to conſider what courſe to take for the aſſurance of himſelf and his ſtate in ſo great
a danger. And firſt he ſent vnto his Nephew (come half way) to forbid him from entring the
City; and to tell him, that it was a great folly for him, being ſo manifeſt a traitor both vnto
his Grandfather and the State, to think his traiterous purpoſes to be vnknown to the World.
And beſide, in way of reprooſe to rehearſe vnto him, how many occaſions he had giuen for
the breaking of the League with his Grandfather; firſt, in taking away the money from the
Collectors, wherof the State neuer ſtood in more need, by reaſon of the diuiſion of the Empire,
which required double charge. Then, in that hee had in the City euery where diſplaced H
ſuch gouernors and magiſtrats as his grandfather had ſent thither, and placed others at his
pleaſure. With many other like facts declaring his treacherous aſpiring mind, for which he
was, not without cauſe, by his grandfather forbidden to enter the city. After that, the old emperor
by ſecret letters craued aid of *Charles* Prince of Seruia, and *Demetrius* the Deſpot his
ſon, who was then Gouernor of Theſſalonica and the countries adjoyning, commanding him
with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephews (gouernors of Macedonia) with all the forces they
were able to raiſe, and ſuch aid as ſhould bee ſent them out of Seruia, with all ſpeed to joine
together, and to go againſt the yong Emperor. But theſe letters thus written vnto the Prince
of Seruia, the Deſpot, and others (as is before ſaid) were for the moſt part intercepted, by ſuch
as the yong emperor had for that purpoſe placed vpon the ſtreits of Criſtopolis and the other I
paſſages, eſpecially ſuch as were written in paper; yet ſome others in fine white linnen cloth,
and ſecretly ſowed in the garments of ſuch as caried them, eſcaped for all their ſtreit ſearch,
and ſo were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done or about to be don in Conſtantinople,
but that the yong Emperor by one or other was aduertiſed thereof: Wheras the old Emperor
on the other ſide vnderſtood nothing what his Nephew did abroad, or intended. For all
men of their own accord inclined to him, ſome openly both in body and ſoul, as they ſay, and
ſuch as could not be with him in perſon, yet in minde and good will were euen preſent with
him: and that not only the common ſort of the citiſens of Conſtantinople, but the chief Senators,
the great Courtiers, yea and many other of the Emperors neereſt kinſmen alſo: Who
curiouſly obſeruing whatſoeuer was done in the city, forthwith certified him therof. Among K
whom there was alſo *Theodorus* the Marquis, one of the old Emperours own ſons, who many
years before by the Empreſſe his mother ſent into Italy, and there honorably maried, was by
his prodigall courſe of life there grown far in debt; ſo that leauing his wife and children behind
him, he was glad after the deceaſe of his mother, to fly vnto his father at Conſtantinople
and there now liued; who beſide that he moſt honorably maintained him in the Court, and
beſtowed many great things vpon him, payd alſo all his debts, which were very great. All
which fatherly kindneſſe he forgetting, went about moſt *Iudas* like to haue betrayed his aged
father. For he alſo dreaming after the Empire, and for many cauſes (but eſpecially for that
he was in mind, religion, manners and habit become a Latine) by him rejected, thought hee
could not do him a greater deſpight, than by reuolting vnto the yong Emperor. So that the L
neerer he was in bloud, the more he was his fathers vnnaturall enemy. Shortly after, *Demetrius*
the Deſpot hauing receiued the Emperors letters at Theſſalonica, called vnto him *Andronicus*
& *Michael* his Nephews, gouernors of Macedonia; with whom joining all his Forces,
and daily expecting more aid out of Seruia, he firſt ſpoiled the yong Emperors Friends
and Fauorits in Macedonia, giuing the ſpoil of them in all the Cities and towns of Macedonia,
vnto their ſoldiers, who made hauock of whatſoeuer they light vpon: and whoſoeuer ſeemed
any way to withſtand them, or diſlike of their proceedings, their goods and lands they
confiſcated, and draue the men themſelues into exile. Neither was the yong Emperor *Andronicus*
in the mean time idle, but ſecretly ſent out his Edicts into all parts of the Empire,
yea into the very Cities of Conſtantinople and Theſſalonica, and ouer all Macedonia: wherby M
he proclaimed to the people in generall, a releaſment of them from all tributes, impoſitions
and paiments; and franckly promiſed vnto the Souldiers and men of War, the augmenting
of their penſions and pay. Which newes no ſooner bruted abroad, but that moſt men
were therwith moued both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing whatſoeuer
they

A they could to further the ſame, and by ſecret letters inuiting him to haſten his comming into
the City. Who thereupon comming to Rhegium, by his Embaſſadours ſent from thence
requeſted the old Emperor, either to giue him leaue according to the League made betwixt
them, to come into the City, or elſe to ſend him certain of the chiefeſt of the Nobilitie and
Clergy, with ſome of the better and more vnderſtanding ſort of the Bourgers and Citiſens
alſo, vnto whom hee might franckly ſpeake his minde, for them faithfully to deliuer the ſame
again vnto the Emperor his Grandfather, and the people. Which requeſts the old Emperour
perceiuing to be full of deceit and treacherie, for a good ſpace anſwered thereunto nothing
at all, but ſtood all ſilent, as doubting which to grant. For, to ſuffer his Nephew to
come into the City, he ſaw was dangerous, the citiſens, as hee well knew, being for the moſt
B part inclined to reuolt to him ſo ſoon as they ſhould once ſee him within the gates. And to
ſend any forth to him (as he deſired) might be, as he feared, an occaſion of ſome tumult to be
after raiſed in the City: for hee knew that his Nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire
words, and ſecretly with great gifts and large promiſes, firſt to gain them, & by them the reſt
of the Citiſens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the eaſier, and ſent
forth vnto him two of the moſt noble Senators, two of the moſt reuerend Biſhops, two other
graue Prelates, and foure of the chiefe Burgeſſes of the City: vnto whom at their comming
vnto him, hee in the open heating of all there preſent, deliuered this premeditated and crafty
ſpeech:

The yong emperor ſends Embaſſadors to his grandfather.

The yong emperours ſpeech to his Grandfathers Embaſſadors.

C *It is not vnknowne vnto the world, you my Subjects to haue alwayes been more deare vnto mee than I
haue been vnto my ſelfe; and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or deſire of the ſole Gouernment
againſt my Grandfathers good will, gon out. For you ſee that I neither ſpare myne own life, or
attend my pleaſure, for the care I haue of you: I come not vnto you compaſſed about with a gard of armed
men, as is the manner, not of Kings only, for the envy of their High place, but of others alſo of farre
meaner Calling, whom diſaſter fortune, baniſhed from their Parents and Kindred, hath inforced to wander
here and there, with death alwayes before their eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by theſe wounds
which I yet beare in my body, but in fight with the Enemies of my Countrey which paſſe ouer out of Aſia
into Thracia: as alſo dwelling neere vnto Iſter, do with their incurſions from thence miſerably waſt that
ſide of Thracia which is next vnto them. For I (to tell you the very truth) ſeeing the old Emperour by
D reaſon of his great yeares to become ſloathfull and blockiſh, and not poſsible to be awaked out of his drowſie
ſleepe, neither any whit to grieue, when as the poore Chriſtians his Subjects were both by day and
night, ſome as Sacrifices ſlaine by the barbarous Enemies, ſome carried away into moſt miſerable captiuitie,
and the reſt poore and naked to be violently driuen out of their Houſes and Cities: not to ſpeake
in the meane time of the greater miſchiefes in Aſia, and how many Cities haue been there loſt through
the old Emperours ſloath and negligence. When I ſaw theſe things (I ſay) ſtrucken with a piercing grief
which my heart could not endure, I went out for two cauſes, either by ſome kinde of honourable death to
end my griefe together with my life, or elſe to the vttermoſt of my power to ſtand my Countrey in ſome
ſtead. For by no meanes it can come to paſſe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time reigned, muſt
at length become loathſome vnto his Subjects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath
E made nothing in this life immutable and firme; whereby it commeth to paſſe, as we ſee, that all worldly
things ioy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force Fortune to his deſire, and ſtriue to
binde things vnto a certain firm and conſtant courſe, he ſhall but loſe his labour, and in vain ſtriue againſt
Nature. But whatſoeuer is contrary vnto Nature, or exceedeth the iuſt bounds thereof, hath in it neither
comfort nor delight. This was it that cauſed the wiſe men to ſay, and to leaue vs as rules, Not to
dwell too long vpon any thing; and, A meaſure to be the faireſt vertue. For you ſee how that my grandfather
beeing grown vnto great yeares, and hauing reigned ſo long, I may almoſt ſay, as neuer did any but
he, is become hatefull euen vnto all his People: and yet he regardeth not, either how to diſcharge himſelf
of ſo great a burthen, or how to relieue the declining ſtate of the Empire, or ſo much as grieueth to ſee
the Succeſſors of the Empire die before him. For my father is dead without any fruit of the Empire, except
F the bare title only; and others alſo neereſt to him of bloud, and far yonger than hee, are dead likewiſe;
and haply I my ſelfe may die alſo before I ſhall receiue any profit therof: for what can more eaſily
happen, eſpecially to a man that ſhunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But ſome perhaps will ſuſpect
me of ambition, for departing from the Emperor my Grandfather, and refuſing to be ruled by him:
Which thing I neither flatly deny, nor altogether confeſſe; for might I ſee the Empire encreaſe, and the*

bounds thereof inlarged, I would willingly content my ſelfe, and at my eaſe take my reſt; cheering my ſelfe vp with ſuch hope as do they that beare with their Cooks, making them to ſtay long for their dinner, in hope therby to fare the better. But ſeeing the ſtate of the Empire daily to decline from euill to worſe, and the miſerable people carried away Captiues, or ſlain by their enemies euen at the gates, and vnder the walls of the Imperiall City; what deem you me then to thinke? For moſt men eaſe their preſent grief with the hope of future good, although the ſame be but vain. But vnto me is not left euen ſuch vain hope vnto my falſe comfort. And can you maruell at the impotent affection of the great Alexander *of Macedon, grieued and diſpleaſed to ſee his Father heap victory vpon victory, and to cut off all hope of his ſons glory, by leauing him ſo few occaſions of Warre; and not thinke me (to whom the quite contrary is chanced, and from whom not only the hope of the Empire is cut off, for the waſting thereof, but euen the courſe of a quiet life) to fret and grieue therat? Moued herwith, and not able longer to indure it, at length I aroſe vp, and requeſted of the Emperour my Grandfather but a thouſand men at Armes, promiſing him by the power of God, with them to preſerue the Cities in Bithynia, and to driue his Enemies farther off, before that (hauing them) they ſhould paſſe ouer the Streight, and beſiege the Imperial City of Conſtantinople. Which ſo ſmall a requeſt he not only denied mee, but hath euer ſince taken mee for his mortall Enemy. But this and many other things let paſſe: I haue now another requeſt vnto him by you, which is, That he would giue me eight thouſand Ducats to content my Souldiers withall, who of long time haue from place to place roamed vp and down with mee, following myne vncertaine fortune. Which granted, I will no more be vnto my Grandfather troubleſome, but diſmiſſing my Forces, hold my ſelf right wel contented.*

G H I

Hauing thus ſaid, he roſe out of his ſeat, and taking them apart one after another, curteouſly diſcourſed with them, and ſo filling them with great hopes, ſent them away. Who departing from him, and comming into the City, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praiſes, inflaming the people with a greater deſire of him than before. Which the old Emperor hearing, and perceiuing almoſt all his friends in the City to be in heart reuolted from him; and withall fearing to be of them in ſome ſudden concourſe ſlain, was therewith exceedingly perplexed. Yet he thought it beſt before any ſuch thing ſhould happen, to proue their mindes, and to heare the counſell of the Patriarch and *Aſanes*, and the other Biſhops alſo: Vnto whom, being by one of the Senators called together, hee declared his minde as followeth: K

The ſpeech of the old Emperour vnto the Patriarch and the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobilitie, concerning the young Emperour his nephew.

Were I aſſured, that hauing depoſed my ſelfe of the Imperiall dignitie, I ſhould my ſelfe liue in ſafetie, and ſee my people well gouerned, I would I ſhould neuer be of the company of the Faithfull, if I did not by much prefer a pleaſant quiet contented life before an Empire. For if a man would ſeeke for the pleaſure of the minde, what can be more pleaſant than to be diſburthened of all cares, and free from ſuch dangers as attend high eſtates? But if for my ſinne and the ſinnes of my people, as alſo for the ſinne of mine anceſtors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempeſt raging againſt vs, ſubuerteth our Empire: and I yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the ſtate of the Empire, grieuouſly troubled with diſcord in the Church, and the often inuaſion of the enemy; and taught by long experience, know not how in ſo great hurle and tempeſt which way to turne my ſelfe: How can I with ſafety commit vnto my nephew ſo great a charge, who as yet is both an vnſtaied youth, and ſo careleſſe of his owne good, as that hee knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne priuate affaires? For giuing ouer his power to young vnskilfull men, and hauing flung away his imperiall poſſeſſions amongſt them, he himſelfe liueth in penury and want; neither regarding any thing more than his dogges and kites, of whom hee keepeth few leſſe than a thouſand curres, and as many hawkes; and not much fewer men to looke vnto them. Wherefore vnto ſuch a man, how may I ſafely commit either my life, or the adminiſtration of mine Empire, by God committed vnto mee? But I will neuer witting and willingly caſt away either my ſubjects or my ſelfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not onely more than my wife and children, but (to ſay the truth) more than my ſelfe alſo; as you well know how tenderly I haue brought him vp, how carefully I haue inſtructed and aduiſed hem, as purpoſing to haue left him the heire and ſucceſſour both of my wiſedome and mine Empire, that ſo hee might the better pleaſe both God and man. But hee, contemning my good counſell, hath ſpent whole nights in banqueting, and riot, and brothelhouſes; wherein hee hath alſo ſlaine his owne brother: and to bee briefe, hee hath riſen and lifted vp his hand againſt mee his grandfather, and a grandfather that

L M

had

A *had of him ſo well deſerued, attempting ſuch a villany as the Sun neuer ſaw. Wherfore you ought alſo to hate and deteſt his wickedneſſe, and to riſe vp to reſtrain his impudent diſloyaltie, and by your Eccleſiaſticall cenſure to denounce him vnworthy of the Empire and the communion of the faithfull, as one ſeparated from God; that ſo aſhamed and corrected, he may louingly thither return, from whence he is ſhamefully departed, and again bee made heire both of myne Empire and ſtaidneſſe: for there is no man aliue, whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the Empire, ſo that he would hear my precepts, and obey my counſell. As for the concluſion vſed in his former ſpeech, it was altogether feigned, crafty and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches hee hath giuen me in all that ſpeech, wherewith his concluſion agreeth not; but the more to ſtirre vp the hearers thereof againſt mee, did of purpoſe ſo conclude his ſpeech.*

B

Vpon this, moſt of the foreſayd graue and learned Biſhops agreed, That the yong Emperor ſhould no more be named in the prayers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed himſelf. Howbeit the Patriarch and ſome others ſecretly fauouring both him and his proceedings, liked not therof, and therfore ſaying nothing therunto, returned home vnto their owne houſe. But meeting once or twice afterwards in the Patriarchs houſe, they there conſpired againſt the old Emperor: with whom alſo diuers of the nobilitie conſented, and therupon an oath was conceiued in writing, wherby they bound themſelues to continue conſtant in that their wicked reſolution. Wherupon about three days after, the Patriarch cauſing the bels to be rung, and a great number of the common people flocking together, pronounced the ſen- C tence of excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould in their publique prayers omit the name of the yong Emperor, or refuſe to do him all honor due vnto an Emperor. Which thing not a little grieued the old Emperor, as appeared by his ſpeech in ſaying, *If the Doctor of peace be ſo mad againſt vs, in hope of reward promiſed by my Nephew, that caſting off all ſhame and grauitie, he doubts not to be the author of ſedition; who ſhall repreſſe the raſh attempts of the vulgar people againſt vs, if we reſpect but mans help? for the Patriarch ſo much as in him lieth, is (I ſee) the murtherer of vs.* So the Biſhops of the contrary faction, moued with the notable inſolencie of the Patriarch, excommunicated him likewiſe, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authors of ſedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the State: for which cauſe alſo he was by the Emperors commandment committed vnto ſafe keeping in the Monaſtery D called Manganium. But about two days after, the yong Emperor came to the wals of Conſtantinople, to know how his grandfather had accepted the meſſengers ſent vnto him, erneſtly requeſting, that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the City, to doe his duty to his grandfather. But neither he nor his words were any whit at all regarded, but was by ſuch as ſtood vpon the walls himſelfe with ſtones driuen away: who could not abide to heare him ſpeak, but ſhamefully railed at him, ſaying all his talk to be nothing els but deceit & fraud: and ſo for that time he retyred a little from the walls. But night beeing come, certain buſie heads amongſt the common people, and they not a few, ſecretly meeting together, gaue him knowledge, that about midnight when as all the citiſens were aſleep, and the watchmen in ſecuritie, he ſhould come vnto the walls, where they would be ready to draw him vp with ropes, E vnto the top of the bulwarks: which done, the matter (as they ſaid) were as good as diſpatched; for that they were perſuaded, that the Citiſens ſo ſoon as they ſhould once ſee him in the midſt of the city amongſt them, would forthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according to this appointment, about midnight approching the wals, found there no ſuch matter as he had well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the city; but contrariwiſe, the watchmen carefully watching all alongſt the wall, and calling one vnto another. Wherfore finding there no hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus* his chief counſellors, leauing the South ſide of the city, in a little boat rowed ſoftly all along the wall that is toward the ſea, if haply they might there find their friends, and ſo be receiued in. But there the Watchmen alſo deſcrying them from the walls, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no anſwer, began to caſt ſtones at them, and to F make a noiſe. So that deceiued of their purpoſe, and out of hope, they were glad to get them farther off, and to depart as they came.

The Patriarch with other Biſhops conſpire againſt the emperor.

But the euil ſucces of this exploit was ſhortly after with his better fortune recompenced: for by and by after, ſecret letters were ſent vnto him from Theſſalonica, requeſting him with all ſpeed to come thither; aſſuring him in the name of the Biſhop, with diuers of the Nobilitie

Theſſalonica yeelded to the yong emperor.

tie, and the good liking of the people in general, at his comming to open the gates of the city G
vnto him: wherupon he leauing a great part of his army with *Synadenus*, to keep the Conſtantinopolitans
ſhort, hee himſelfe with the reſt of his power ſet forward toward Theſſalonica,
where in the habit off a plain country man he entred the city vnſuſpected: but being got within
the gate, and there caſting of that ſimple attyre, wherwith he had couered his rich & royal
garments, and preſently known to be the yong Emperor, the people came flocking about him
and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued him as their Lord and Soueraign: yet ſome
few more fauoring the old emperor, fled into the caſtle, and there ſtood vpon their gard, which
after they had for a ſpace notably defended, was at length taken from them.

Theſſalonica thus yeelded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*, and *Aſan Michael*, the old Emperors chief
captains, then lying with his army not far off, and not well truſting one another, fled; moſt of H
whoſe ſoldiers preſently went ouer vnto the yong Emperour: who departing from Theſſalonica,
came to Serre, which by compoſition was deliuered vnto him alſo, but not the caſtle, for
that was by *Baſilicus Nicephorus* the captain therof, ſtil holden for the old Emperor. This *Baſilicus*
was a man honorably deſcended, but of no great capacity or wit, as the finer ſort ſuppoſed;
and therfore not of them much regarded, or thought fit for the taking in hand of any
great matter: whom yet the old Emperor for his plain ſincerity, more than for any thing elſe,
had made captain of that caſtle, and gouernor of the Countrey therabouts, which he yet ſtill
held, and in theſe moſt troubleſome times ſhewed himſelfe wiſer than them all that had ſo
thought of him; of whom ſome died in deſpair, ſome fled, ſome were taken priſoners, and ſo
ſuffered a thouſand euils; the reſt with the loſſe of their honor traitrouſly reuolting from the I
old Emperour to the young: wheras he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegeance,
with his truſt in God, ſo long as the old Emperor liued, oppoſed himſelfe againſt theſe troubles,
and ſtood faſt, and was not to be moued with any faire promiſes or cruell threats of the
yong aſpiring Emperor, wherof he lacked none. But hauing ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle
committed to his charge, there kept himſelfe, vntil that hearing of the death of the old Emperor,
he then reconciling himſelf vnto the yong, as vnto his right Soueraign, deliuered vp to
him the caſtle; who in reward of his fidelitie gaue it him again to hold for him, in as ample
manner as he had before held it for his grandfather. (For wiſe men honor vertue euen in their
enemies, as did King *Philip* in *Demoſthenes*, when as he ſaid, *If any Athenian liuing in Athens*
doth ſay that he preferreth me before his country, him verily would I buy with much mony, but not thinke K
him worthy my friendſhip: but if any for his countries ſake ſhall hate me, him will I oppugne as a caſtle,
a ſtrong wall, or a Bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the city happy in hauing ſuch a man.
And ſo in few words to conclude a long diſcourſe, the Emperor in ſhort time hauing romed
thorow all Macedonia, and without reſiſtance taken all the ſtrong towns and cities therin, he
there took alſo *Demetrius* the Deſpots wife & children, with all his treaſure, as alſo the wiues
of *Andronicus* and *Aſanes*, and of all the Senators that followed them: after whom, the great
commanders their husbands were alſo for the moſt part taken & caſt in priſon, ſome at Theſſalonica,
ſome at Didymoticum, ſome of the reſt afterward moſt miſerably periſhing in exile.
Wherwith the old Emperor diſcouraged, was about to haue ſent Embaſſadors to his nephew
for peace, whilſt he was yet thus buſied in Macedonia; and had indeed ſo done, had not L
another hope ariſing in the mean time quite altered that his better purpoſe. It fortuned at the
ſame time, whilſt the old Emperor was thus thinking of peace, that *Michael* the Bulgarian
Prince, in hope of great profit thereof to ariſe, ſecretly offered his aid vnto him againſt the
young Emperour his Nephew. Of which his offer the old Emperour gladly accepted, and
Embaſſadours were ſent to and fro about the full concluſion of the matter, no man being acquainted
therewith, more than two or three of the Emperor his moſt ſecret friends and truſty
Counſellors. Yet in the mean time diſdaining to be ſo coupt up as he was by *Synadenus*
one of the yong Emperor his Nephews chiefe Captaines, euen in the Imperial city of Conſtantinople;
ſent out one *Conſtantinus Aſſan* with the greateſt part of his ſtrength againſt
him: who incountring him at the riuer Maurus, was there by him in plain battel ouerthrown M
and taken priſoner, the reſt of his diſcomfited army flying headlong back again to Conſtantinople.
All things thus proſperouſly proceeding with the young Emperour, and the countries
of Macedonia and Thracia now almoſt al at his command, hee returned in haſt with all
his power, vnto Conſtantinople, to preuent the comming of the Bulgarians thither, as fearing
leſt

A leſt that they finding the city weakly manned, ſhould trecherouſly kil the old Emperor, with ſuch as were about him, and ſo ſeiſe vpon the city themſelues; or at leaſtwiſe giue him ſuch aid as might keepe him out, and ſo cut off all his hope for obtaining of the ſame. At which time alſo there was great want of victuall in the City, he with his army hauing ſhut it vp on the one ſide by land, and the Venetians with their gallies on the other ſide by ſea: who then at ods with the Genoa's dwelling at Pera, kept all that ſtreit ſea betwixt Europ and Aſia, in ſuch ſort as neither victuals nor merchandiſe could be brought that way, either to Conſtantinople or Pera. The yong Emperor comming to Conſtantinople, attempted ſtraitway to enter the city, in hope without any great reſiſtance to be receiued: but being repulſed by the Deſendants, he was glad to get him farther off. About this time came alſo to the city 3000 horſmen, B the appointed aid of the Bulgarian Prince, vnto the old Emperour: who although hee wanted men, and was right glad of their comming: yet remembring the harms he had before receiued by forein aid, & not now daring to truſt them too far, ſuffered them not to come into the city, more than their Generall and ſome few others of the Commanders with him. Now the yong Emperor vpon the comming of this aid, leſt ſome great harm might betyde either the old Emperor or himſelf, to the vtter ſubuerſion of their ſtate; ſecretly ſent vnto his grandfather, requeſting him to be well aduiſed how he truſted thoſe forrein people too far; offering himſelfe to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command, rather than ſo great a harme ſhould happen vnto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the truſt the old Emperor had conceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had ſo confirmed his mind, as that he little liſtned vnto his Nephewes C requeſt: Beſides that, how could he well truſt him that had ſo often deceiued him. Wherwith the yong Emperor much grieued, and now again almoſt deſpairing of his further ſucceſſe, diſlodged, and drew neer vnto the place where theſe Bulgarian horſemen lay incamped: from whence he ſent certaine Embaſſadors with great gifts and preſents vnto the Generall and the reſt of the chief Commanders, promiſing them far greater, if they would without further troubling themſelues returne home again. Whereunto they willingly granted, and ſo were of him honourably feaſted, and the next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

Conſtantinople betrayd to the yong Emperor.

It fortuned that the yong Emperor returning back again from the Bulgarians, and incamped in the ſame place where he before lay; two of the Watchmen of the City, the one called D *Camaris*, and the other *Caſtellanus*, both ſmiths, fled ſecretly vnto him. Who admitted to his preſence, and all others commanded to depart, except *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the City vnto him, ſo that he would vnder his hand writing aſſure them of ſuch a ſum of mony, & ſuch poſſeſſions as they required. Which he eaſily granting, and the hour and maner of performing the ſame being by them declared and agreed vpon, they by and by without longer delay, for fear of ſuſpition, returned again into the city. But the Emperor ſtaying four days in the ſame place, cauſed certain ladders to be made of great ropes, ſuch as they vſe in great ſhips. But the appointed night beeing come, the two Traitors hauing before prouided great ſtore of good wine, liberally gaue the ſame by way of curteſie vnto the Watchmen their companions neer vnto them: who drank ſo plentifully therof, that not able any longer to hold vp their heads, E they fell into ſo ſound a ſleep, as that but for breathing, they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certain ſoldiers of the yong Emperors, with the foreſaid ladders, which the traitors by and by drawing vnto them by a rope caſt downe, and making them faſt vnto the top of the wall, receiued by the ſame 18 armed men: who being got into the City, without more ado brake open the Roman gate, wherby the yong Emperor with his Army preſently entred, no man letting him. But it is worth the marking, how things appointed to befall vs, are by no means to be auoided, although we be thereof before neuer ſo plainly forewarned: for the ſame night the city was ſurpriſed, immediatly after the ſetting of the Sun, the gates being ſhut, a certain countryman came running in al haſt from out of a village therby, and knocking hard at the gate called Girolimna, required to ſpeak with ſome of the ſoldiers; F who beeing come, hee told them that a little before, hee had ſeen a great number of the yong Emperours men marching towards the City, by the way that leadeth vnto the Roman gate. Which being told vnto the old Emperor, did not a little trouble him: and therefore thought it good to ſend forth certaine Scouts, to ſee if all were cleere along the Walls towards the land, from ſea to ſea. Which his purpoſe *Metochita* his chieſe Counſellor letted, ſaying, it not to beſeem a couragious mind to be vpon ſo light an occaſion ſo much moued; for that G either the rumor was falſe, or the indeauor of ſo few vain, the wals and gates of the city being ſo filled with armed men: which haply he ſaid not ſo much vpon ignorance of martial affairs, as blinded by a certain commanding power; that the ſupernall decree giuen by God himſelf againſt the old Emperor, might at length take place. And again, the third part of that night yet ſcant paſt, diuers other countrymen came running vnto the ſaid gate Gyrolimna, and told the watchmen vpon the walls, that a great number of men were met together at the Romane gate. Wherof the Emperor hearing, was therewith much more troubled than before; inſomuch that ſharply rebuking *Metochita*, he ſaid vnto him, Thou ſeemſt to be ſtrangely metamorphoſed into a man of iron, which art become ſo ſecure as not to haue any feeling of the danger wherwith we are incloſed: Seeſt thou not that the matter requireth, that wee ſhould H not thus ſit ſtill and take our reſt? For the noiſe of my nephew ſoundeth in myne ears as the ſound of a great drum, and diſquieteth my mind: I feel a ſea of calamitie broken out againſt me, which ouerwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Neuertheles he, firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of thoſe reports, and therfore roſe to go to bed, to ſhew indeed that he accounted nothing of them but as falſe alarms. But the Emperor left alone, and no body with him to whom he might breake his griefe, laid him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his cloaths, but as if he had together with them put on extreame deſperation, lay tumbling to and fro, as a man in mind troubled with diuers ſad and heauy thoughts. In the mean time he heard a great noiſe at the Court gate, and the report of the entring of the yong Emperor his Nephew, with a great clattering of armour, for there were aboue eight hundred I ſoldiers entred with him; and withall, they of the City on euery ſide ſaluted him with moſt joyfull acclamations. But the old Emperour hearing the great tumult and outcry, roſe from his palat, exceedingly troubled; and deſtitute of all help from his captains and ſoldiers (for why, his palace was altogether deſolate, except of ſuch as were his ordinary waiters) betooke himſelfe vnto his prayers, beſeeching God not to forſake him in ſo great a danger, but in his mercy to defend him from the fury of theſe wicked men. Who preſently heard him, & ſent him preſent relief; for whilſt he was thus praying in the palace, the yong Emperor without, calling together all his Captains and lieutenants, ſtreitly charged them vpon pain of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the majeſty of the old Emperor his grandfather, nor any K other about him: for this victory (ſaid he) God hath giuen vs, and not we our ſelues: his will ordereth all things, wherunto all things obey; the ſtars, the air, the ſea, the earth, men, flouds, tempeſts, plagues, Earthquakes, ſhours, dearth, and ſuch like, ſomtime to our blis, & ſomtime to our correction and deſtruction: wherfore vſing vs as the inſtruments of his chaſtiſement, he hath giuen vnto vs this preſent victory, which peraduenture to morrow hee will giue vnto others to vſe againſt vs, and then as we haue bin vnto them we haue ouercome, ſuch will they alſo ſhew themſelues vnto vs again. Wherfore if neither nighneſſe of bloud, nor that we bee all of one country, will moue vs, yet in reſpect of our ſelues let vs vſe mercy, that we feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like caſe. In the mean time a Courtier opened a wicket vnto the yong Emperor, with this meſſage from his grandfather:

L

The pittifull ſupplication of the old Emperor to his Nephew.

Foraſmuch as God this day (my ſonne) hath giuen vnto thee the Imperiall Scepter, taken from mee, I requeſt of thee this one good turne, for many which I haue euen from thy birth beſtowed vpon thee, (for in this my hard eſtate I let paſſe, that I next vnto God haue been the author of thy natiuitie and increaſe) giue me my life, ſpare thy fathers head, and with violent weapon ſpil not that bloud from which thou thy ſelfe haſt taken the fountain of life. Man truly beholdeth heauen and earth, and heauen and earth behold mens actions: wherefore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of ſo wicked an outrage as neuer any man euer committed. If Brothers bloud long agoe cried out vnto the Lord againſt Cain, *how much louder ſhall the fathers bloud cry vnto the Lord, and declare ſo great a wickedneſſe vnto the earth, the Sunne, and Starres, and make it abhorred of all the Princes of the world? Regard my miſerable old age, which of it ſelfe promiſeth vnto me ſhortly death, but vnto thee a reſt after long* M *cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes moſt louingly embraced thee, yet crying in thy ſwathing Clouts. Reuerence thoſe lips which haue oftentimes moſt louingly kiſſed thee, and called thee my other ſoule: Haue pitty vpon a bruiſed reed, caſt downe by fortune, and do not thou againe tread vpon it. And ſeeing thou art thy ſelfe a man, be not too proud of thy preſent fortune, but conſider the vn-*

certainty

A *certaintie and varietie of worldly things,taking by me example : ſee in me the end of long life,and maruell,how one night hauing receiued me an Emperor of many years, leaueth mee now ſubiect vnto another mans power for euer.*

The yong Emperor *Andronicus* mooued with this ſpeech, and taking great care of his grandfathers ſafety, ſcarſe abſtaining from tears,entred the palace, and comming to his grandfather,humbly ſaluted him,embraced him and with cheerful words comforted him. Streitway after,he went vnto the monaſtery Manganium,where(as is aforeſaid) the Patriark *Eſaias* was by the old Emperors commandement kept ſafely : whom the yong Emperor now tooke from thence,and carying him away in one of the Emperours richeſt Chariots,reſtored him B again vnto his Patriarchal dignity; wherin he afterwards ſpared not to reuenge himſelf to the full,and moſt cruelly to perſecute the old Emperours friends. That day from morning vnto night,a man might haue ſeen the riches and wealth of ſuch noblemen as had taken part with the old Emperor,caried away,and their goodly houſes ouerthrowne and made a ſcorn of the baſe common people : but eſpecially the houſe and wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greateſt fauor with his Prince,and of all others next vnto the Emperor himſelf,of greateſt authority and credit; whoſe whole wealth (not that only which was found in his houſe, but that alſo which he had put in truſt with his friends, diſcouered by notes found in his ſtudy)became moſt part a prey vnto the common people, and the reſt confiſcated vnto the Prince. Thus he which erſt of all others next vnto the Emperor was accounted moſt C fortunat,was now vpon the ſudden with his wife and children brought to extream beggery; and after many years felicity,in one day caſt into the bottome of deſpaire and miſery. Where a man might haue heard many complaining ſay,all that wealth and treaſure to haue beene the bloud and tears of the poor oppreſſed Subiects,brought to him by them whom hee had made rulers and gouernors of the prouinces and cities of the Empire; to the intent that when they had dealt cruelly with the people, as with their ſlaues, hee might ſtop them for comming to complain of their griefs vnto the Emperor : and that the Reuengers eye had not always ſlept, but was now at length awaked,and had of him yet ſcarſly taken ſufficient puniſhment:which euery where to hear,increaſed not a little his grief. As for himſelf,he was confined to Didimoticum,as the place of his exile and baniſhment; where after he had a certain time poorly D liued,hee was ſent for backe againe to Conſtantinople, where hauing nothing left to relieue himſelfe(for his houſe at the comming of the young Emperour,was in the fury of the people pluckt down to the ground,and the very pauement therof digged vp)he went vnto the Monaſtery of Chora there by,which long before built by the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, and become ruinous,he in the time of his proſperity had with great charge repaired,and therin now (hauing made ſhipwrack of al that he had) quietly ſhrouded himſelf,to the great comfort both of his body and afflicted mind,where he not long after died.

Niphon inſenceth the young emperor againſt his grandſier.

But to return again vnto the old Emperor,as yet in doubt what ſhould become of himſelf: it fortuned that the ſame day the city was taken, the yong Emperor at night returning to the Palace,by the way met with *Niphon* ſometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to E deal with his grandfather. Wherunto the yong Emperor anſwering, that he would deal with him honorable and Emperor like,he was by him therfore blamed and reproued. For this *Niphon* being of a crafty ſubtill wit and malicious nature,beſides that he ſecretly hated all them vpon whom Fortune greatly either fauned or frowned, bare an eſpeciall grudge againſt the old Emperor : firſt, For that at ſuch time as he was right worthily,for his ſhameful couetouſneſſe and extortion,by the reſt of the Biſhops and Clergy thruſt out of the Patriarkſhip, hee was not by him(as he looked for)defended:and ſecondly, For that dreaming again after the Patriarchal dignity,he thought it one good ſtep therunto,to haue him,as his greateſt enemy, taken out of the way. Wherfore he ſaid now vnto the yong emperor, *If thou deſire to reign without fear,giue not thine honor vnto another; but taking all the ornaments of the empire from the old man,* F *caſt hair cloath vpon him,and ſo clap him vp faſt in priſon,or elſe thruſt him out into exile.* This miſchieuous counſell this wicked man gaue againſt the poore old diſtreſſed Emperour, not remembring how vnworthily hee had by him beene before preferred vnto the higheſt degrees both of honour and wealth, if he could there haue kept himſelfe. Vnto which vngracious counſel diuers others of the Nobility alſo conſenting,ſo wrought the matter amongſt them, that although they could not quite draw the yong Emperors mind from his grandfather, yet they much changed the ſame, ſo that he could no longer endure to take him for his companion in the empire. Wherupon after many meetings & conſultations had, it was decreed, That the old man ſhould ſtill retain the name and ornaments of an Emperor, as before, but not to meddle in any matters, nor to come abroad, but to ſit ſtill quietly in his chamber, with the yearly maintenance of 10000 ducats, for the maintenance of himſelfe and ſuch as tended vpon him; to be raiſed of the fiſhing before the city of Conſtantinople; a poore penſion for the maintenance of ſo great an Emperor. Of which ſo ſhameful a decree *Eſaias* the Patriark was alſo a furtherer: who ſeeing an Emperor that had reigned ſo long, caſt down, and ſhut vp as it were in priſon, was ſo far from grieuing thereat, that fooliſhly rejoicing, hee in token thereof abſurdly wreſted this text of Scripture, ſaying in his merriment, *Lætabitur juſtus cum viderit ultionem*; The Iuſt ſhall rejoice when he ſeeth the reuenge; calling himſelf juſt, and the Emperor Reuenge. But the old Emperor thus ſhut vp in his chamber (differing in nothing but in name from a priſon) not long after, the ſtate of his body ouerthrown with griefe, and corrupt humors diſtilling out of his head, firſt loſt one of his eies, and ſhortly after the other alſo; and ſo oppreſſed with eternall darknes, mingled (as ſaith the Scripture) his drink with teares, and ate the bread of ſorrow, being oftentimes to his great griefe moſt bitterly mocked & derided; not by them only which were by his enemies ſet to gard him, but of his owne ſeruants alſo. Not long after, the yong Emperor falling ſicke, in ſuch ſort as that it was thought hee would not recouer, *Catacuzenus* and the reſt of his greateſt fauorites and followers, carefull of their own eſtate, & yet doubtfull of the old blind Emperor, deuiſed many things againſt him, but al tending to one purpoſe, for the ſhortning of his daies. But in the end, all other deuiſes ſet apart, they put him to his choice, either to put on the habit of a Religious, and ſo for euer to bid the world farwel, or els to take what ſhould otherwiſe enſue, the beſt wherof was either death, exile, or perpetual impriſonment in the loathſom caſtle of obliuion. For the putting wherof in execution, *Synadenus* (of all others to him moſt hatefull) was appointed. At which hard choice the old emperor, as with a world of woes ſuddenly oppreſt, lay a great while vpon his bed as a man ſpeechles: for what could he do els, except he had had an heart of ſteel or adamant? being then compaſſed about with many barbarous and merciles ſoldiers, and his domeſticall ſeruants took from him, and no man left that would vouchſafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go, or where to ſtand. But to make the matter ſhort, would he, would he not, they made choice for him themſelues, polling & ſhauing him, & caſting a Monks habit vpon him, changed his name after the maner of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthony* the Monk. Glad was *Eſaias* the falſe Patriark of this the hard eſtate of the old Emperor, for that now that he was profeſſed a religious, there was left no hope for him to recouer again the Empire, either cauſe for himſelf to fear. Yet hee thought it good to be aduiſed, in what ſort remembrance ſhould be made of him in the Church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Wherof to be by the old Emperor himſelfe reſolued, he (ſeeming to be very ſory for that which was don, but purpoſing indeed therin to deride him) ſent two Biſhops vnto him, to know what his pleaſure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demand, he (oppreſſed with heauineſſe, and fetching a deep ſigh from the bottom of his heart) anſwered:

The old Emperor becommeth blind.

Andronicus the old Emperor againſt his will made a Monk, & named Anthony.

The notable anſwer of the old Emperor to the catching queſtion of the proud Patriark.

As in poore Lazarus *appeared a double miracle, that being dead hee roſe, and being bound, walked; euen ſo was it to be done in mee, though in quite contrary manner. For lo, beeing aliue I am dead, as ouerwhelmed with the waues of calamitie and wo: And beeing looſe, I am bound, not my hands and feet only, but my tongue alſo; wherewith vnable to do any thing elſe, I might yet at leaſt bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire, and ſuch as by chance ſhould heare mee, and vnto this moſt wofull darkeneſſe wherin I muſt for euer ſit. But ſhame hath cloſed my mouth; my Brethren abhor me, and my Mothers ſons account me as a ſtranger vnto them, and the very light of myne eye is not with him. My Friends and Neighbours ſtood vp againſt me, and all that ſaw me laughed mee to ſcorne. My feet had almoſt ſlipped, and my foot-ſteps were almoſt ouerthrown: for I fretted againſt the Wicked, when I ſaw the peace of the vngodly. The Emperors long ago gaue great priuiledges vnto the Church, euen thoſe which it at this day enioyeth: and the Church gaue to them again power to chuſe whom they would to be Patriarks. Now concerning him that ſent you, I not only nominated him vnto the Patriarchall Dignitie, but I my*

A *ſelfe made choice of him, and preferred him before many other right worthy and famous men, being himſelf a man grown old in a poore priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous. I will not ſay how often I haue holpen him and don him good: but now when he ſhould again haue relieued me in my calamity, he joineth hands with myne enemies againſt me, more cruell vpon me than any other bloudy handed executioner; not aſhamed to ask me how I would be remembred in the Church: feigning himſelf to be ignorant and ſory for myne eſtate, much like vnto the Egyptian Crocodile of Nile, which hauing killed ſome liuing beaſt, lieth vpon the dead body & waſheth the head therof with her warm tears, which ſhe afterwards deuoureth together with the dead body. But what to anſwer him vnto this his catching queſtion I know not: for if I ſhall ſay, As an Emperor I ſhall forthwith be ſlaine by them which for that purpoſe haue me in hold: but if I ſay, As* Anthony *the Monke, it ſhall bee taken as the free confeſsion of* B *my eſtate, by them who haue craftily contriued myne ouerthrow; as if I had not by compulſion, but euen of mine own free will put on this monaſticall habit, which God knowes was neuer in my thought.*

Hauing thus ſaid, he ſent them away without any other anſwer; but ſitting down vpon his bed ſide, ſaid, *My ſoul return again into thy reſt, for the Lord hath dealt well with thee:* and ſpake no more in declaration of his grief, his tongue there ſtaying by his ſingular wiſedome, or elſe with the greatneſſe of his ſorrow, and ſo againſt his wil in ſilence paſſing ouer his heauineſſe; his mind with the greatneſſe of his woes ouercome, and as it were aſtoniſhed, before the humors gathered into the brain could be diſſolued into tears. For as the Sun ſending forth his moderat beams, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but caſting them forth more C plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat conſume the ſame before they can be drawne vp: ſo the moderat affections of the mind may haue their griefs by words and tears expreſt; but ſuch as exceed all meaſure, and with their vehemencie as it were ouerthrow the mind, vſually make men to ſtand ſtil mute and ſilent, or if they ſpeak at all, to ſpeak idly and nothing to the purpoſe, as men beſide themſelues or in an extaſie. But for the reſolution of the queſtion by the Biſhops demanded, the deuout Patriark decreed, That in the church praiers he ſhould be remembred before the Emperor his Nephew, by the name of the moſt religious and zealous Monk *Anthony*: which was done (God wot) for no good zeal to the poor blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if he weary of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that ſilly profeſſion. Neuertheles within 4 days after, *Synadenus* vnder- D ſtanding them in euery place to whiſper amongſt themſelues, and ſecretly to mutter againſt the hard dealing with the old Emperor, who had long reigned ouer them, and ſo was by right again to do if his nephew ſhould chance to die; and that the Eccleſiaſticall laws inforced no man againſt his wil to enter into religious orders: he therwith inraged, ſent to him certain of his own confederacie to exact of him an oath in writing, That he ſhould neuer after that time ſeek after the empire, or yet accept of the ſame if it were offred him, neither to ſubſtitute any other: which if he refuſed to do, to put him in fear of his life. And the more to terrifie him, ſet a gard of inſolent barbarous ſoldiers ouer him; for fear of whom he yeelded to do whatſoeuer they required: and ſo his oath being ſolemnly conceiued in writing (another man leading his hand becauſe he was blind) he ſigned the ſame with a red croſſe aboue, and a black croſſe be- E neath, after the maner of the Religious. Hauing thus liued in darknes diſgraced, ſhut vp in his chamber as a man forſaken of the world, with a ſure gard euer to attend him, by the ſpace of two years, it fortuned that the twelfth of February towards night (a day in the Greeke church dedicated to the vigil of S. *Anthony*, whoſe name they had giuen him) certaine of his friends that were ſuffered to haue acceſſe vnto him, going as their maner was once in three or four daies to viſit him (among whom was his daughter, ſomtime the Prince of Servia his wife, but as then a widow, and *Nicephorus Gregoras* author of this hiſtory) he entred with them as with his friends, into a familiar diſcourſe of many matters, wherin he ſo deceiued the time that it was paſt midnight before they perceiued how the time paſſed. But the cocks crowing he brake off the talk, and bidding them farwell, gaue them leaue to depart, pleaſantly ſaying, F that to morrow they would make an end of their diſcourſe. Who all thereupon tooke their leaue and departed, no ſign of any ſicknes as then appearing vpon him: who after they were gon, called for meat and did eat: the meat he eat was certain ſhel fiſh, for it was with them a faſting day, & he had not eat any thing. After which when as he ſhould haue drunk a cup of wine for the comforting of his cold ſtomacke, & diſgeſting that ſo hard meat, he drank cold water,

The old Emperors death.

water,as his maner was when he felt any inward heat, to drink the ſame immoderatly:which hurtfull kind of diet he then vſing alſo,began by and by to feel a great paine in his ſtomacke, and ſo preſently after became very ſick,falling withall into a great looſnes of body,ſo that in the ſpace of one quarter of an hour he was glad oftentimes to ariſe,and to go vnto an homely houſe of office in an inner chamber,therby to diſcharge natures burden : where after many euacuations,ſitting down vpon an homely bed faſt by,and not able to recouer his own bed,hauing as then none to help him,there before it was day died,after he had reigned 43 years. His death was by many ſtrange ſigns and accidents as it were foretold : firſt a great eclipſe of the Sun appeared iuſt ſo many daies before his death as he had liued years : and after that, another eclipſe of the moone, and with it an earthquake, the day before hee died at night,beeing Saint *Anthonies* euen, whoſe name his enemies had thruſt vpon him : at which time alſo the ſea with a great tempeſt ariſing aboue the wonted bounds, made diuers breaches in the walls of the city toward the ſea,as if it had bin ſome violent enemy, & ouerflowed alſo diuers houſes in the city. Many croſſes and pinacles were then alſo from the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrown;and with them a great pillar, ſometime one of the ornaments of the city,ſtanding before the church commonly called the Church of the 40 Martyrs ; which being very high,and below burnt & worn away with time,had put many in a fear as they paſſed by it,leſt it ſhould haue fallen vpon them : inſomuch that the Emperor vpon a time paſſing that way,was requeſted by ſome of the nobilitie there preſent,to ride farther from it, for fear of falling vpon him : who ſmiling at their vain fear, by chance anſwered, *O would to God I might liue ſo long as this pillar will ſtand.* Which now falling out according to his ſpeech, gaue many of them that had heard him ſo ſay,occaſion to maruell. His dead body was honorably buried in the monaſtery of Libe,which his mother *Theodora* the Empres had not long before new built,and his obſequies there(after the maner of that time) yearly ſolemnly kept by the ſpace of nine daies.

The Turkes kingdom founded by Othoman in Aſia,at ſuch time as the Greek Emperors were at variance betweene themſelues in Europe.

Thus at length hauing paſſed through the troubled ſtate of the Greek empire,during the long reign of the old Emperor *Andronicus*,the conſiderat Reader may eaſily ſee the cauſes of the declining and ruin alſo of this famous empire: and how that the Greek Emperors, troubled with their tempeſtuous affairs neerer home in Europe, yea in the very Imperiall City it ſelf,and in their own palaces,were not at leiſure to look ouer the ſtreit into Aſia, but glad to leaue their territories there vnto the weak defence of themſelues. At which time,and euen in the midſt of the foreſaid trouble, *Othoman* on the one ſide with great induſtry layd the foundation of his Empire in Phrygia and Bithynia, (now the greateſt terror of the World) and then did thoſe things which we now haue written of him. The other Princes of the Turkes alſo,the ſucceſſors of Sultan *Aladin*, at the ſame time on the other ſide alongſt the riuer Meander incroching as faſt : vntill that at laſt amongſt them they had thruſt the Greeke Emperours quite out of Aſia ; and in fine became themſelues, together with the Greeke Empire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* Kings;as in the further proceſſe of this hiſtory ſhal more at large appeare.

Pruſa yeelded to the Turks.

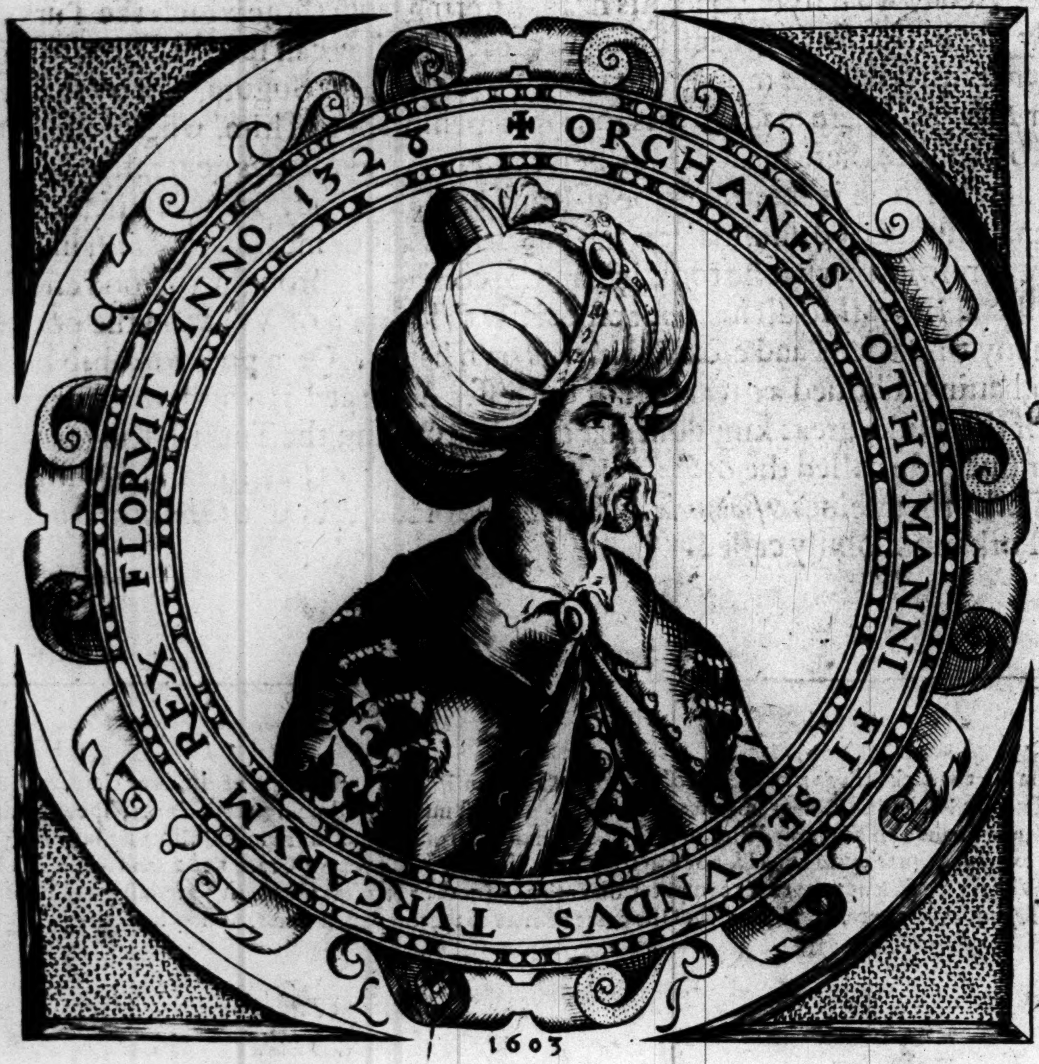
But again to return to *Othoman* himſelf,who all this while that *Andronicus* the Greek Emperor was thus troubled,had with his ſon *Orchanes* ſought by all meanes on euery ſide to enlarge his kingdom. The garriſons by him left in the two late built caſtles neer to the great city of Pruſa,vnder the charge of the two valiant Captains *Actemur* and *Balabanzuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certain years,had by ſhutting vp the paſſages,and ſpoiling of the country,brought the city into ſuch diſtres and penury,that many of the Citiſens and other the poor Chriſtians fled into the city,died of famin. The reſt now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greek Emperor,not then able to relieue himſelf,came to compoſition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then ſick of his old diſeaſe the gout) couenanting with him, that they might in ſafety with life & liberty depart, and ſo much of their goods as they themſelues could carry ; and ſo yeelded to him the city. Which conditions (as moſt write) were on the Turks behalf wel and faithfully performed : yet ſome there be that report them to haue bin in moſt part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was Pruſa,one of the greateſt cities of that part of Aſia,yeelded vnto the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1327:and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royal ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings.

About this time,or very ſhortly after,*Othoman* in the eight and twentieth year of his reign died, A died at the age of 69, *Anno Dom.* 1328. and lieth buried at Pruſa, where his Tombe is yet at this day to be ſeen in a certain chappell of an old Monaſtery, in a caſtle ſtanding in the midſt of the city; couered with a mantle of greene Chamlet, and a little tulipant or Turkiſh hat (ſuch as he vſed to wear) lying ouer his head, differing from thoſe which the Turks now wear, eſpecially the better ſort of them, being ſo great that they can ſcarſe therewith come in at a dore. There is alſo another monument of him to be ſeene at Suguta, faſt by the ſepulchre of his father *Ertogrul*, there made by his ſons in remembrance of him, whereof ſome haue reported him to haue bin there buried. Howbeit the Turks themſelues generally ſuppoſe the true monument wherin he is interred, to be at Pruſa, as is aforeſaid. He was wiſe, valiant, politick and fortunat, but ful of diſſimulation, and ambitious aboue meaſure; not raſh in his attempts, B and yet very reſolute: what he took in hand he commonly brought to good effect. He was bountifull and liberall to all men, but eſpecially to his men of War, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloath with his own hands. Of a poor lordſhip he left a great kingdom, hauing ſubdued a great part of the leſſer Aſia: and is worthily accounted the firſt founder of the Turks great kingdom and empire. Of him, the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors haue euer ſince bin called the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, as lineally of him deſcended: and the Turks themſelues *Oſmanidæ*, as the people or ſubjects of *Othoman* or *Oſman*, for ſo he is of the Turks commonly called.

The death of Othoman.
Othoman buried at Pruſa.

Note, that in the reckoning vp of certain of the great Chriſtian Princes and Prelats of the ſame time, at the end of euery the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors liues, the firſt and greateſt number following their names, ſheweth the year of our Lord, wherin ſuch an Emperor, King, or Biſhop, began to reign or ſit; and the number following, how long he reigned or ſate. As for example, *Andronicus* the elder began to reign in the Eaſt in the year of Grace 1282, and reigned 43 years. And ſo of the reſt. Wherin we ſeek not the exact computation vnto a moneth or day, (as not much materiall to our hiſtory, or any part of our purpoſe) but only the reaſonable view of the great Princes of the forepaſſed times, as they liued in ages together.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Othoman.	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Andronicus Palæologus the elder,*	1282.	43
			Andronicus Palæologus the younger	1325.	29
		Of the Weſt	*Albertus of Auſtria*	1298.	10
			Henry of Lucelbourg	1308.	6
			Lewis the fourth, of Bavaria	1314.	32
	Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the firſt*	1272.	34
			Edward the ſecond	1307.	20
			Edward the third	1327.	50
		Of France	*Philip het Faire*	1286.	28
			Lewis	1314.	2
			Philip the Long	1316.	5
			Charles the Faire	1321.	7
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Baliol*	1292.	
			Robert Bruce	1306.	24
	Biſhops of Rome		*Boniface the VIII.*	1295.	8
			Benedict the XI.	1304.	2
			Clement the V.	1306.	11
			Iohn the XXII.	1317.	18


✠ ORCHANES OTHOMANNI FI SECVNDVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT ANNO 1328
1603

Suſcipit Orchanes *defuncti Sceptra parentis:*
Major ut ingenio, ſic magis arte valens.
Bithynos, Phrygiamque domat, Pruſamque ſuperbam:
Et populos late (Marte favente) premit.
Sic lætus tantis Aſiam turbaſſe ruinis;
Tranſit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.
Rident interea Græci ſua damna: ſed ecce,
Dum ſua contemnunt, in ſua fata ruunt.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his Scepter vp in hand,
As one of deeper wit and reach his foes for to withſtand.
The Phrygians and Bithynians he by force of arms brought low;
Proud Pruſa, with fair Nicomede, and many cities moe.
And glad in Aſia to haue made ſuch hauock and ſuch ſpoil,
His Forces into Europ ſends, the Grecians there to foil.
Who mean while laughing at their loſſe, did make thereof a game,
Not thinking what a world of wo was to enſue the ſame.

THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TVRKES.

AFTER the death of *Othoman*, his two ſons, *Orchanes* (whom
the Turks call *Vrchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing
with great ſolemnitie interred their father at Pruſa, immediatly
ſummoned a Parliament; whereunto both the
C brethren came, accompanied with the chiefe of their nobilitie.
This parliament was called eſpecially for the eſtabliſhing
of the ſucceſſion in this new kingdom, and for
the diuiſion of *Othomans* treaſure & goods betwixt them
two his ſons. But vpon view taken, there was no money,
plate, or jewels found in the Kings coffers, for that he had
in his life time moſt bountifully beſtowed it vpon his
men of war: ſo that all the wealth hee left vnto them his
ſons, was the honorable remembrance of his life for them
to imitate, large dominions for their poſſeſſions, ſtore of ready horſes & armor fit for ſeruice,
D with great herds of beaſts and cattel for houſhold prouiſion. Wherupon *Orchanes* demanded
of his brother *Aladin*, what order he thought was beſt to be taken with thoſe things by their
father ſo left? To whom *Aladin* anſwered, That it was moſt requiſit firſt to eſtabliſh a King
in their fathers Kingdome; which like a good Sheepheard might gouerne and defend his
people, rule and maintaine his men of War, and prouide all things meete and neceſſarie for
defence of his kingdom: and that vnto him of right belonged all theſe other things by their
father left, as the patrimonie of his ſucceſſor, for the common good; and maintenance of his
eſtate. As for myne own part (ſaid *Aladin*) I claime no intereſt therein, you being my elder
brother, and ſo vnto me in ſtead of a father; by whom alſo you haue bin theſe two years as it
were already put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, all things being committed to your gouernment
E during the time of his late ſicknes. This modeſty of *Aladin* was greatly commended
of all the antient counſellors; by means wherof the kingdom in all peaceable maner deſcended
to *Orchanes*. In regard of which curteſie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother
Preſident of his Councell. Which honor hee would in no wiſe accept, but requeſted rather
that he would giue him the lordſhip of Fodore in *Tekences* country; which *Orchanes* freely
granted. In which lordſhip of Fodore *Aladin* for moſt part liued a priuat and quiet life,
and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an abby at Pruſa, there yet at this day to
be ſeen.

The wealth Othoman left to his two ſonnes, Orchanes and Aladin.

Some Latine Hiſtoriographers otherwiſe report this beginning of *Orchanes* his reigne; as
that *Othoman* ſhould haue three ſons, and that *Orchanes* the yongeſt obtained the kingdom by
F murthering his other brethren. A practiſe of late much vſed amongſt the Turkiſh Princes,
but not before the time of *Bajazet* the firſt of that name, who firſt of the Turkiſh Monarchs
embrued his hands with his brothers bloud. Where before they vſed all brotherly loue one
vnto another, as the moſt probable hiſtories collected out of the Turks own Chronicles do
affirm.

When the barbarous murdering of their brethren firſt began amongſt the Turks Sultans.

The city of Nice with diuers other caſtles recouered from the Turks after the death of Othoman.

The Chriſtian princes and captains preſently vpon the death of *Othoman* recouered the city of Nice,with diuers other caſtles and forts,out of the Turks hands: as it commonly chanceth,that dominions lately won with great perill,are ſoon again loſt,the conqueror dying before there be a firm gouernment eſtabliſhed. Amongſt other ſorts by the Chriſtians repoſſeſſed,the caſtle of Tzuprichiſer,ſcituate vpon the paſſages of the riuer Sangarius,moſt grieued the Turkes, for thereby their paſſage into that part of Bithynia was much impeached. Wherfore *Orchanes* deſirous to recouer this caſtle,diſguiſed himſelfe with a few other of his beſt ſoldiers,in the apparell of Chriſtian merchants, and came to the caſtle, crauing leaue to paſſe as merchants. The warders of the caſtle verily ſuppoſing them by their attire to be merchants,opened the gates and let them into the caſtle: who preſently drew their ſwords, ſlew the warders,and ſo by force poſſeſſed the caſtle,to the great benefit of the Turks,and the hurt of the poor Chriſtians yet left in the country of Bithynia: for they hauing now opened a way ouer the riuer Sangarius, and as it were broken down the ſtrongeſt defence of that ſide of the Greek empire,at their pleaſure forraged the countrey in ſuch ſort,as that the great city Nice for want of victuals to relieue ſo great a multitude as for fear of the Turks was fled out of the country into it, was brought to great extremitie and want. For the relief wherof,and for the repulſing again of the Turks, *Androvicus* the yong Emperor, who then commanded all, with ſuch an army as he was then able to raiſe, paſſed himſelf in perſon ouer the ſtreit of Conſtantinople,into Aſia: the greateſt ſtrength of his army conſiſted in 2000 choice horſemen, the reſt,as well horſe as foot,being for the moſt part artificers taken vp in the City, men altogether vnacquainted with arms (who in token of their cowardiſe,& that they were more mindfull of flight than of fight,caried ouer with them almoſt as many long boats and ſuch other ſmall veſſels,as they were men,to be ready to receiue them at ſuch time as they ſhould flie) or els abject raſcals taken vp here and there,men of whom no great thing was to be expected, and of all others moſt vnfit for ſo great a Prince as was the Emperour, to commit the defence of his perſon and honor vnto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his comming, ſent certain of his moſt expert Captains to forelay the ſtreit paſſages of the countrey wherby the Emperour was to paſſe; following alſo himſelfe after with his army,of purpoſe to incounter the Emperor:who in three days march after his landing in Aſia, being come to Philochrene a little town in Bithynia,and vnderſtonding that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the ſtreits,lay not far off incamped with his army; he there at Philochrene pitched his tents,and ſtaid that night alſo. But the next morning,the Sun as yet ſcarſely riſen,he ſeeing diuers companies of the Turks comming down from the mountains faſt by,put his army in order of battell,and ſo ſet forward to meet them: where to begin the fight,the Turkes archers freely beſtowed their piercing ſhot among the Chriſtians,ſtill keeping themſelues aloof off,ſo to do the more harm. Which the Emperor miſtaking,and ſuppoſing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of fear, incouraged therwith,commanded certain looſe companies diſorderly to march forward,and to skirmiſh with them. Which his more expert Captains not liking,would haue otherwiſe perſuaded him,as to haue kept his ſtrength together againſt the danger of the battel. Neuertheleſ ſuch was his youthful heat,as that he could by no means be otherwiſe intreated,but that forward needs they muſt. But all the forenoon ſpent in this light and tumultuary kind of ſkirmiſhing,and the Sun at the higheſt now ſhining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the mountains perceiuing the Chriſtians well wearied with the heat of the day and long ſkirmiſhing, came down from the hils with a world of men following him; who with a moſt hideous cry charged the Chriſtians on euery ſide,ſome afar off with their arrowes,and ſome hand to hand with their ſwords and other weapons: whoſe aſſault the Chriſtians at the firſt moſt valiantly receiued,and a great while right worthily defended themſelues, hauing wounded and ſlain a number of their enemies. Which hard fight was on both ſides courageouſly maintained till the approching of the night,with great ſlaughter on both ſides;at which time the Chriſtians weary of the long fight, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, diſorderly retyring toward their trenches,and hardly purſued by the Turkes, receiued there a great loſſe as well of their horſmen as of their foot:but by the comming on of the night the battell was at length ended with uncertain victory. Among others there hurt,the Emperour himſelfe was wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night hapned a ſad miſhap,and a manifeſt token of Gods wrath:for *Orchanes* hauing to his coſt made proof of the ſtrength and valor of the Chri-

The Emperor wounded.

A ſtians and doubting they would the next day come on further into the country, left three hundred horſemen as ſcouts, to attend the enemies remouing: and himſelfe with his army retired before hand to take aduantage of ſuch places as the Chriſtians were to paſſe by. But the Emperor in the euening leauing his campe, and going to Philocrene, a little town faſt by, the better to haue his wound dreſſed; the reſt of the army vnderſtanding of his departure, and ſuppoſing him to haue fled for feare (as if *Orchanes* with a great army would that night haue ſlaine them all) fled themſelues alſo out of the campe, euery mothers ſon; ſome to their long boats and other little veſſels they had for that purpoſe brought ouer the ſtreit; ſome haſting toward the town gates, were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, ouerborne and trodden to death; otherſome hanging one at anothers taile, like a chain, got ſome part of them B vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; otherſome drawne backe by them that hung vpon them, falling downe together by heaps, and trod vpon by others, there periſhed; ſome (as is reported) died there for very feare, no man either chaſing or hurting them, ſo weake is mans courage, when God withdraweth from him his ſtrength. But in the morning the Sun ariſing, the three hundred Turks left for ſcouts, perceiuing the flight of the Chriſtians, entred the forſaken campe, where they found horces, armor, and empty tents, yea the Emperours owne furniture, and his horſes ready ſadled: of all which, two hundred of theſe Turks tooke the ſpoile at their pleaſure, and the other hundred purſuing the diſperſed Chriſtians, like heartleſſe men wandring here and there, ſlew a great number of them. The Emperor himſelf ſeeing his army thus (as it were by the hand of God) ouerthrown and diſperſed, tooke ſhipping alſo, and ſo C returned to Conſtantinople. After whoſe departure, the Turkes ſeiſing vpon many ſea townes alongſt the coaſt of Bythinia, and there ſeating themſelues, layd heauy tributes vpon the other country townes and villages; for the benefit whereof they ſpared to deſtroy them, together with the inhabitants, which they might at their pleaſure full eaſily haue done.

Now lay the great city of Nice in the ſuds, the enemy commanding all the country about it, liuing as ſicke men do by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thouſand horſemen which the Emperor (notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture) had promiſed forthwith to ſend, there to lie in garriſon for the ſuppreſſing of the Turks. Of which aid ſo promiſed *Orchanes* vnderſtanding, furniſhed eight hundred of his horſemen after the manner of the Chriſtians; and fetching a great compaſſe about, came at length into the high way that leadeth from D Conſtantinople to Nice, and ſo trouped directly toward the city, as if they had come from Conſtantinople. At the ſame time he ſent 300 of his other horſemen in the habit of Turks, to forrage and ſpoyle the country as much as they could within the view of the city, now for want of victuals brought into great extremity; which whileſt they were a doing, the other eight hundred horſemen in the attire of Chriſtians, following vpon them, as if it had bin by chance, charged them, and in the ſight of the citizens put them to flight: which done, theſe counterfeit horſemen returned directly againe towards Nice. The citizens which with great pleaſure had in the meane time from the wals ſeen the moſt part of the skirmiſh, and how they had put the Turks to flight, ſuppoſing them to be the Conſtantinopolitan horſemen, whom they dayly expected, with great joy opened the gates of the city to receiue them as their friends. But E they being entred the gates, preſently ſet vpon the Chriſtians, fearing no ſuch matter: & being ſeconded with the other three hundred, which in diſſembling manner had fled before, & were now ſpeedily returned, bringing alſo with them other companies of Turkes, before laid in ſecret ambuſh not far off, they won the great and famous city of Nice, which they haue euer ſince vntill this day poſſeſſed: the ſpoile whereof was giuen to the ſouldiers for a prey, and the citizens all led away into miſerable captiuity and thraldome. Whileſt *Orchanes* was thus buſied, his other captains did with great courage & ſucceſſe inlarge his dominions on al ſides, dayly incroching vpon their weake neighbors the Chriſtians. *Cunger-Alpes* one of his valiant captains, ſubdued the country of Mudurn, or Modrin, in Phrygia; and Bolli in Paphlagonia: appointing one *Abdürachman* a man of great valour, to gouerne the country. And at the ſame F time another of his old captains called *Accecozza*, brought Candara in Paphlagonia, and Ermeni, a country neer vnto the mountain Horminius, into the Turkiſh ſubjection; placing garriſons in all the Caſtles and forts which he had won, of whom ſome part of thoſe Countries was after his name called *Cozza Ilini*, that is to ſay, The old mans country. So that *Orchanes* his kingdom grew daily greater & greater, as wel by the induſtry of his chieftains, as of himſelfe.

The Citie of Nice ſurpriſed by the Turks.

About this time it fortuned, the captains ſon of Scamandria (a town not far from the ruins G
of the antient city of Troy, and about a daies journy from the renowned caſtle of Abydus) to
depart out of this world: vnto whoſe funerals, being kept in the country, whileſt his wofull father
the captaine with his friends out of Scamandria reſorted, the old crafty Turke *Accecozza*
lying alwaies in wait, as a fox for his prey, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe heauy Chriſtians, whereof
he ſlew the moſt part, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Amongſt whom he alſo tooke the Captain
of Scamandria, with his caſtle and country: whom he afterwards led priſoner vnto the caſtle
of Abydus, which is one of the moſt famous caſtles ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt of Aſia, ouer
againſt Seſtus in Europe; where the ſea of Helleſpontus by the narrow ſtreit falleth into the
ſea of Ægeum: two caſtles much renowned by reaſon of their nigh ſcituation, and yet placed
in diuers parts of the world; eterniſed alſo by the euer-liuing wits of Poets, for the aduenturous H
paſſage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the ſea, to his loue *Hero*: which caſtles are now called
Dardanella. *Accecozza* hauing brought the captiue Captaine of Scamandria (lately a man of
great account in that countrey) ſo neere as he could vnto the caſtle of Abydus, offered to ſet
him at liberty if they would ſurrender their Caſtle, otherwiſe they ſhould ſee him cruelly
ſlain before their faces. Theſe Turkiſh threats nothing moued them of Abydus, more than to
ſay, That they might if they would cut off his head, ſeeth him and eat him, but the caſtle they
intended not to deliuer. The ſame Captaine was afterward by the commandment of *Orchanes*
profered to the Emperor of Conſtantinople to be redeemed, which he refuſed: yet at the laſt
he was ranſomed by the gouernor of Nicomedia, and againe ſet at liberty. *Accecozza* of long
time held the caſtle of Scamandria; yet ſo contiuually moleſted with the gariſon of Abydus, I
and men of war ſent from Conſtantinople, that he with his followers were glad for the moſt
part to liue on horſback, to be alwaies in more readines againſt the attempts of their enemies.
The captain of the caſtle of Abydus had at that time a faire yong gentlewoman to his daughter,
who (as ſhe ſaid) chanced to dream (what ſhe had happily waking for the moſt part wiſhed)
That being fallen into a deep myry ditch, out of which ſhe could by no means help her ſelfe,
a luſty yong gallant comming by, did not only help her out, but alſo in friendly manner made
her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and coaſtly attire. The danger of this dream
much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the young gentleman was ſo well
phantaſied in her brain, that waking, ſhe thought ſhe ſtil ſaw him, and ſleeping longed ſore for
what ſhe ſaw not. Thus whileſt this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this K
imaginary man, the old gray headed Turke *Accecozza* came, and with a ſtrong company beſieged
her fathers caſtle of Abydus. During which ſiege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vp
into the high turret of the caſtle, from whence ſhe might at pleaſure ſee the martiall deeds on
both ſides, and take ful view of all the enemies camp. But ſee the chance, as *Abdurachman* with
great courage and no leſſe brauery, approched neere to the ſiege of the caſtle, ſhe thought
(vpon the firſt ſight of him) that he was the very man whom ſhe had before dreamed of, and
whoſe Idea was in her heart ſo deepely imprinted: wherefore ſhe fully reſolued to performe
what ſhe had without witneſſe with her ſelfe determined. And waiting another time when
Abdurachman approched the caſtle, ſhe caſt downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and
made faſt vnto a ſtone: which letter he taking vp, deliuered the ſame to the generall *Accecozza*. L
Wherein after ſhe had diſcouered her paſſionate affection, ſhe promiſed to deliuer the caſtle
into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turks would raiſe their ſiege, and *Abdurachman* himſelfe
with ſome few would ſecretly returne to the caſtle in the dead time of the night, and then follow
her direction. *Accecozza* like an old foxe, which is ſeldome taken in the trap, gaue ſmall
credit to theſe louing lines, for feare of treaſon; yet for ſo much as you are the man (ſaid hee
to *Abdurachman*) whom ſhe vpon ſpeciall liking hath made choice of for the purpoſe, wil you
aduenture your perſon? And he armed with a manly courage, a ſurer defence than any armor
of proofe, incited alſo with hope of honour, riches, and beauty, all worthy prizes for martiall
minds; ſaid, he would vndertake the atchieuement of that exployt, if it were his pleaſure ſo.
Whereupon *Accecozza*, becauſe nothing ſhould be ſuſpected by his ſudden departure, gaue M
a ſharpe aſſault to the caſtle, as if he would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retyred,
and preſently brake vp his ſiege, as deſpairing of the winning thereof. The defendants of
the Caſtle thinking themſelues deliuered of a great danger, greatly rejoyced: and as in the
like caſe it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jolity ſurcharged themſelues that night with
exceſſe

Abydus beſieged by the Turks.

A exceſſe both of meat and drink. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed, put himſelfe vpon the way with certaine ſelect ſouldiers, and about midnight came to the appointed place of the caſtle, where the yong gentlewoman was attending his comming: and he by her means was conueyed into the caſtle, and ſo by her directed to the porters lodge; where hee ſlew the porter being faſt aſleepe, and opening the gates, let in his followers; which went directly to the captains lodging, and there took him priſoner, being before their comming ouertaken with wine, and faſt aſleep. Thus was the caſtle of Abydus ſurpriſed by the Turks, from whence they had a faire proſpect out of Aſia into Europe. The captaine with his faire daughter, and the greateſt part of the rich ſpoile of the caſtle, was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to be preſented to *Orchanes* at his court, then lying at Neapolis. Who wonderfull glad of ſo good B news, gaue the faire gentlewoman, with the greateſt part of the prey to *Abdurachman*. The poſteritie of this man (as they ſay) yet remaine among the Turks. Amongſt others of the warlike captaines there was alſo one *Cararachman*, whoſe name was ſo dreadfull to them of Conſtantinople, that when their children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by ſaying, *Cararachman* comes. Not long after, the two valiant aforenamed worthy captaines, *Cunger-Alpes*, and *Accecozza* died. After whoſe death, *Orchanes* made his ſons, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, lords and gouernors of thoſe countries and prouinces. And intending (by the perſuaſion of *Abdurachman*) to beſiege Nicomedia, he leuied a great army, wherwith he tooke diuers ſmall caſtles and forts as he marched towards the city. Nicomedia was at that time gouerned by an honorable lady, kinſwoman vnto *Andronicus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople: C but ſhe ſeeing her city beſieged by the Turks, and doubting her own forces not to be able to hold out the ſiege, by a truſty meſſenger offered to yeeld the city vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condition, That ſhe with ſo many citiſens as would, might in ſafety depart with their liues, liberty, and goods: which being granted, ſhee with ſo many as would follow her, departed out of the city by night, taking ſhipping for Conſtantinople.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Orchanes hauing taken Nicomedia, made his ſon *Solyman* gouernor of the ſame. The churches of the Chriſtians he conuerted vnto Turkiſh Meſchitas or temples. The greateſt church (being of wonderfull beauty) he conuerted into a colledge or ſchoole, for the learned profeſſors and ſtudents of *Mahomets* law, which is yet called in Nicomedia, *Orchanes* his ſchoole or colledge. And becauſe the Countrey neere vnto Nicomedia, lying vpon the ſea, was euer in D danger to be ſpoiled by the gallies of Conſtantinople, he placed in thoſe countries diuers of his moſt experienced ſoldiers to defend the ſame, appointing to euery of them poſſeſſions and penſions, according to their degrees and merit. After this, *Orchanes* by the councell of his brother *Aladin*, commanded all his men of war to weare white caps, thereby to be knowne from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vſe at this day. The Turks alſo in *Orchanes* raigne, and long time after, vſed not to cut or ſhaue their beards, but did weare them long: ſo that if the King would diſgrace any man, hee would in his diſpleaſure command his beard to be cut or ſhauen. The maner of cutting and ſhauing their beards which they now vſe, they learned of the Italians; of whom they haue alſo borrowed many other faſhions, not only differing, but quite contrary to their antient manners and cuſtomes. *Orchanes* E about this time remoued his court to Nice, where he lay a long time after. There he built a ſumptuous church, appointing a preacher to preach to the people euery Fryday: he erected in Nice alſo two faire abbies, in the one of which, he with his own hands ſerued the ſtrangers and poore the firſt dinner. He was the firſt that builded abbies or monaſteries among the Turks; whoſe example moſt of his ſucceſſors haue imitated, and is amongſt them vſed vnto this day.

Orchanes remoueth his Court to Nice.

The gouernment of Nicomedia *Orchanes* committed to his eldeſt ſon *Solyman* (as is beforeſaid) a Prince of great towardlineſſe; giuing him in great charge to haue a vigilant eie to the towns of Taraxa, Gouinuca, and Mudurne, which were nigh vnto Nicomedia, yet in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians: all which townes, with the countries adjoyning, *Solyman* in ſhort time got without force, by compoſition. This *Solyman* was of a princely diſpoſition, ſo tempring juſtice F with clemencie in his gouernment, that many Chriſtians allured with his vertues, became of his religion, and gladly put themſelues vnder his ſubjection: the politicke lawes of the country he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had been of antient time accuſtomed, whereby he greatly woon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his younger ſonne, *Orchanes* made lord and gouernor of Pruſa, after he had remoued his court to Nice. And the caſtle of Chara-chiſar, with the ſeigniorie thereto belonging, he gaue to his couſin *Artemure*, the ſonne of his vncle *Iundus*.

Orchanes inuadeth the Country of Caraſina.

The country of Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes.

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court a noble yong gentleman called *Turſon-beg*, the ſon of *Dharaſis* King of Charaſia; by whoſe perſuaſion *Orchanes* in perſon himſelfe with a ſtrong army, made an expediton into that country: for that his fathers ſubiects after the death of the King his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, wiſhing rather to haue *Turſon* for their ſoueraign. In whoſe behalfe *Orchanes* taking that iourny, ſurpriſed by the way many caſtles and townes to his owne vſe. *Orchanes* was no ſooner entred the country of Charaſia, but *Turſons* elder brother fled to Pergamum, whither the Turks ſhortly purſued him: where *Turſon* deſirous to ſpeake with his brother, vnwarily approching the city, was wounded with an arrow ſhot from the wals, and there ſlaine. With whoſe death *Orchanes* was ſo greatly offended, that he threatned to deſtroy the whole countrey with fire and ſword, if they did not by a day prefixed, generally ſubmit themſelues to his mercy. The people terrified with this proclamation of ſo great a Prince already in armes, yeelded themſelues vnto his ſubiection. The Kings ſonne alſo that was fled into Pergamum, vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded himſelfe vnto *Orchanes*, who ſent him to Pruſa, where after he had there liued two yeares, he died of the plague: after whoſe death *Orchanes* made his ſon *Solyman* Prince of Caraſina. Neither is this taking in of the country of Caraſina to be accounted a ſmall conqueſt; one of the greateſt houſes of the Turks the ſucceſſors of the Iconian Sultan *Aladin*, now therby taking end, and their dominions (which were not ſmall, as containing almoſt Lydia, with ſome good parts of Miſia, Troas, and the leſſer Phrygia) now vnited vnto the *Othoman* Kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his returne, for the good ſucceſſe of this iourney, built a Church and Monaſterie at Pruſa, placing therein religious men, with all diligence ſought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious the Turks write many fables, better worth the ſmiling at, than the ſerious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his ſon, was contained within the bounds of the leſſer Aſia, which the Turks call Anatolia.

Now it reſteth to be ſhewed, vpon what occaſion *Orchanes*, or rather his ſon *Solyman Baſſa*, as it were fatally, with a ſmall power firſt paſſed ouer Helleſpontus into Europe; where they and their ſucceſſors haue by little and little ſo enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrown the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdomes, and are at this preſent a terror to all Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie of the Greekes, who for want of courage, and buſied with ciuill diſcord, neuer ſought in time to impeach their greatneſſe.

Orchanes hauing now ſo augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts thereof out of Aſia take view of the pleaſant borders of Europe, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow ſea of Helleſpontus; and continually incited with the inſatiable and reſtles deſire of ſoueraignty, began to deuiſe how he might poſſibly paſſe that ſtreit ſea, and ſet foot into Europe another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his ſon *Solyman*: who preſently anſwered his father, That if it would pleaſe him to giue him leaue, he would not doubt to paſſe the ſtreit of Helleſpontus, and in time to plant the Mahometan religion in thoſe countries of Europe poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians. Which anſwer of *Solyman* much pleaſed his father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his country, & in that matter to proceed further as he thought beſt, & as occaſion ſhould beſt ſerue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father took his iourny into Caraſina, where riding vp and downe the country, as it had bin for his pleaſure onely, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous city of Troy ſometime ſtood; where yet (as the Turks and ſome others ſay) are to be ſeen the wonderfull ruins of that vnfortunate city by the ſea ſide. In this place *Solyman* ſtood ſtill a great while, as it were in a ſtudy, forecaſting (as it ſeemed) ſome great matter, without ſpeaking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chieftains called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts, boldly ſaid vnto him, My lord and great ſoueraign, what ſtrange thing is this, that you are ſo deeply drowned in theſe your melancholy thoughts? vndoubtedly it is ſome great matter that you are ſtudying vpon. Truth it is (ſaid *Solyman*) for I was thinking how it were poſſible to paſſe ouer this ſea of Helleſpontus into the borders of Europe, and to take view of that country, and ſo to returne vndiſcouered. If this be the matter, (ſaid *Ezes-beg*, ioyning vnto him one *Fazil-beg*, a man of no leſſe valour than himſelfe) we two will by the power of God performe vnto

A vnto you this enterpriſe. Then was *Solyman* deſirous to know of them, about what place they
would paſſe ouer: which they well knowing the ſea coaſt, ſhewed him not far off. Wherefore
Solyman giuing them leaue, they departed: and ſhortly after making a little boat, or rather as
ſome ſuppoſe a raffe, paſſed ouer Helleſpontus by night, and arriued in Europe ſide, neer vnto
a caſtle, of the Turks called Zemenic or Zembenic, but of the Greeks *Coiridocaſtron*, that is to
ſay, the hogs caſtle, not far from Seſtus: where going aſhore, they tooke priſoner a Greeke in
a vineyard neere vnto the caſtle, whom they finding to be a good ſenſible fellow, without delay
put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, preſented him to *Solyman*. This
Chriſtian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteouſly, giuing him great gifts, and rich apparell,
to diſcouer vnto him the eſtate of his country: and in fine, learned of him a means to take the
B caſtle Zembenic, before the Chriſtians ſhould thereof be aware. For atchieuement whereof,
certaine boats were ſpeedily made ready by *Solymans* commandement, and he with eighty
choſen ſoldiers eaſily paſſed ouer in them by night, with their Chriſtian guide the Greeke:
for in that place, the ſtreit betwixt Aſia and Europe, is not paſt an Italian mile ouer. This guid
brought *Solyman* directly to the aforeſaid caſtle, where was a great dunghill, ſo high, that from
the top thereof *Solyman* with his ſoldiers eaſily got into the caſtle, which they won without
any great reſiſtance; for it was then harueſt time, and moſt part of the people were in the vineyards,
or treading out of their corne all night, as the vſe of thoſe countries is. *Solyman* thus poſſeſſed
of the caſtle of Zembenic, vſed no extremity againſt the inhabitants thereof, ſeeking
rather by courteſie to gaine their good wils, than by extremity to force them to his: yet ſuch
C gentlemen as he tooke, with ſome others alſo of the better ſort, he ſent by ſhipping into Aſia,
and by the ſame ſhips returned ſoldiers as faſt as he could into Europe: ſo that he had in one
day two hundred ſouldiers more brought ouer vnto him: and manning ſuch ſmall veſſels as he
had left about the caſtle, ſent *Ezes-beg*, alongſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, to burn ſuch ſhipping
or veſſels as he could finde, leaſt the Chriſtians ſhould by them hinder his paſſage vpon the
ſtreit of Helleſpontus. So in a few daies *Solyman* had tranſported into Europe two thouſand
good ſouldiers of the Turks, whom he ſo gouerned, that they did not in any violent ſort iniurie
the vulgar Chriſtians, by reaſon whereof the common people began to like reaſonable
well of the Turks, and to conuerſe with them without feare. This was the firſt comming ouer
of the Turks into Europe, with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the
D *Othoman* kings. For albeit that ſome of that nation had at ſundry times before come ouer, as
men ſeeking after ſpoile, or otherwiſe ſent for, yea ſomtimes by the Greeke Emperors themſelues,
yet neuer ſtaid they long, but hauing done what they came for, or els loſt themſelues,
returned backe againe into Aſia; vntil that now conducted by *Solyman*, and poſſeſſed of the little
caſtle of Zembenic (as is aforeſaid) they there tooke ſo faſt footing, as that they and their
poſterity after them, were neuer thence to be ſince that time remoued, but ſtil more and more
encroching vpon the Chriſtians, haue vnto their Aſian Kingdome ioyned a great part of Europe
alſo, to the terrour of the reſt that yet remaineth, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall
(if God will) at large appeare.

About two miles from Zembenic in Cherſoneſſus was another caſtle called Maito, or more
E truly Maditus, which *Solyman* alſo tooke: ſo that now he had gotten two caſtles in Europe,
both which he ſtrongly manned. After which time, the Turks in great numbers came out of
Aſia into Europe ouer that narrow ſtreit of Helleſpontus, to dwell in Cherſoneſſus: and *Solyman*
in ſtead of them to make roome for his Turks, ſent Chriſtians out of Europe to be placed
amongſt the Turks in Aſia. The report of this comming ouer of the Turks into Cherſoneſſus,
and of the taking of the caſtle of Zembenic, carried in poſt to Conſtantinople, was ſufficient
to haue ſtirred vp any prouident or carefull men, preſently to haue taken vp armes for
the recouery of the loſt caſtle, and the driuing out againe of the barbarous enemies out of Europe,
before they had gathered any greater ſtrength, or ſetled themſelues in thoſe places: but
ſuch was the careleſſe negligence and great ſecurity of the proud Greekes, that inſtead thereof,
F they to extenuate the greatneſſe of the loſſe, commonly ſaid, that there was but a hogſtie
loſt; alluding vnto the name of the caſtle: and vainely (as ſaid a graue father of their owne)
ieaſting at that was not to be ieaſted at, and laughing at that was not to be laughed at, but lamented
for, as in few yeares it proued; their fooliſh laughter being not without good cauſe
conuerted into moſt bitter teares.

The Caſtle of Maditus taken by the Turks.

Callipolis taken by the Turks.

Solymans ſtrength ſo ſtill increaſing by the dayly comming ouer of the Turks, he proceeded G further to ſpoile the country of Cherſoneſus, almoſt as far as Callipolis, diſtant from the caſtle Zembenic about two and twenty miles: after which pleaſant city the proud Turk began now to long. Which the gouernor thereof perceiuing by the Turks continuall incroaching vpon him, raiſed what power he was able to make, and ſo went out againſt them; all the reſt of the Greeks in the mean time lying ſtill, as if they had bin aſleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turks, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrown, and for ſafegard of his life glad to fly into his city: after whom the Turks following, ſpoiled the country round about, and in their returne, by plaine force tooke the city, together with the caſtle alſo, which hapned in the yeare of our Lord 1358. Where the madneſſe of the Greeks was againe more than before to be wondred at; for the news of the loſſe of Callipolis H being brought to Conſtantinople, the people there made ſmall account thereof, although it was indeed a right great loſſe, and much concerned the ſtate: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke thereof, in ieaſting wiſe commonly ſaid, That the Turks had but taken from them a pottle of wine. But by taking of ſuch hogſtyues and pottles of wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few yeres after had gone ſo far in Thracia, that *Amurath* (the ſame *Solymans* nephew which now tooke from the Greeks the city of Callipolis) euen in the heart as it were of the Greeke Empire, placed his royall ſeat at Hadrianople: and immediately after him, *Bajazet* his ſonne (hauing ſubdued all the country euen to the wals of Conſtantinople) for certaine yeres laid hard ſiege vnto the Imperiall city it ſelfe; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expectation of the mighty Tartar Prince *Tamerlane* (vnto *Bajazet* fatal) I in the meane time happened: whereby (God ſo appointing it) the proſperous ſucceedings of the Turks were for a ſpace well ſtaied, that they ſhould not before the time by him prefined, deuoure the reliques of the Greeke Empire. And it were to be wiſhed, that the Chriſtians of our time alſo (by their example warned) would at length awake out of their dead ſleep: who of late hath loſt vnto the ſame enemy, not the caſtle of Zembenic, or the city of Callipolis, but whole kingdomes, as Hungary and Cyprus, and are ſtill faire in the way: I ſay no more for griefe, and foreboding of euill fortune. But againe to our purpoſe: *Solyman* hauing made this proſperous entrance into Europe, and there got ſtrong footing, by ſpeedy meſſengers certified his father what hee had done, and that it was expedient for him with all ſpeed to ſend vnto him a great ſupply of men of warre, as well for the ſure defence and keeping of K thoſe caſtles and forts by him already gotten, as for the further inuaſion of the Countrey. This meſſage was wonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Saraſins at that preſent were come into the country of Caraſina, to poſſeſſe the dwelling and places of them, which in hope to better their eſtate were before gone ouer into Europe; all theſe Saraſins he commanded to paſſe ouer into Europe likewiſe: which they did accordingly, ſeating themſelues for a time in the country neere to Callipolis. In the meane time *Solyman* omitted no opportunity to enter further into the country, winning ſmall forts and holds, and ſtill peopling the ſame with his Turks. And on the other ſide, they of Caraſina paſſed ouer into Europe, placing themſelues as it were in a new world. For which cauſe, and for the great deſire they had to extend the Turkiſh Dominion and Religion, they refuſed no paines of L warre: ſo that all things at that time proſpered with the Turks, and went backeward with the Chriſtians.

In the time of theſe wars, not far from Callipolis was a little caſtle called Congere, the captain whereof was by a Greeke name called *Calo Ioannes*, a valiant and painfull man: this captain continually moleſted and troubled the Turks which lay on that ſide of Callipolis, vnder the leading of *Ezes beg*, many of whom he ſlew and tooke priſoners, as he could finde them at any aduantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by crafty and ſecret eſpials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his caſtle to do ſome exployt vpon the Turks. Whereupon he preſently ſo beſet the Caſtle with ſouldiers, that he could by no meanes returne thither, but he muſt firſt fall into their hands; and for more aſſurance placed others alſo in by-waies, M leſt he ſhould by any way eſcape. The Captaine ignorant of all this, proſecuted his enterpriſe, and hauing taken a Turke priſoner, thinking to returne to his caſtle, was haſtily purſued by *Fazil-beg*; for which cauſe making the more haſte, he ſuddenly fell into the danger of the Turkes layd in ambuſh: where his men were all ſlaine, and himſelfe taken and brought

A before his own caſtle, and had there his head preſently ſtrucke off: whereupon the caſtle was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now loſt their captaine) ſurrendred, and *Chazi Ili beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turks placed therein: who from thence neuer ceaſed to trouble the country, euen to the wals of Didymotichum, as did *Solyman* out of Callipolis.

Thus in the ſpace of one yere the Turks got ſtrong footing in Europe, poſſeſſing diuers caſtles and towns, with the country about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captains and ſoldiers, as appeareth by the graues and tombes of *Ezes-beg* and *Fazil-beg*, the two which firſt came ouer into Europe, which are there yet well knowne.

About this time it fortuned, that as this martial Prince *Solyman* was for his diſport hawking
in the fields of Bolayre on Europe ſide, galloping in to his faulcon, was with his horſe ouer-
B throwne in a ditch, of which fall he being ſore bruiſed, ſhortly after died. The newes of his
death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, gaue vnto him (then being ſicke) iuſt occaſion of
great ſorrow; ſo that within two moneths after he died alſo, being foureſcore yeres old, when
he had raigned thereof 31 yeres; and died about the yere of our Lord 1359. Some hiſtories
report otherwiſe, both of his death, and of the time werein he liued: as that he ſhould be ſlain
in a battell againſt the Tartars: or as others write, with an arrow at the ſiege of Pruſa, in the
yere of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Leunclauius* in his hiſtory collected out of the Turks owne
chronicles (whom we follow as moſt probable) reporteth it as before.

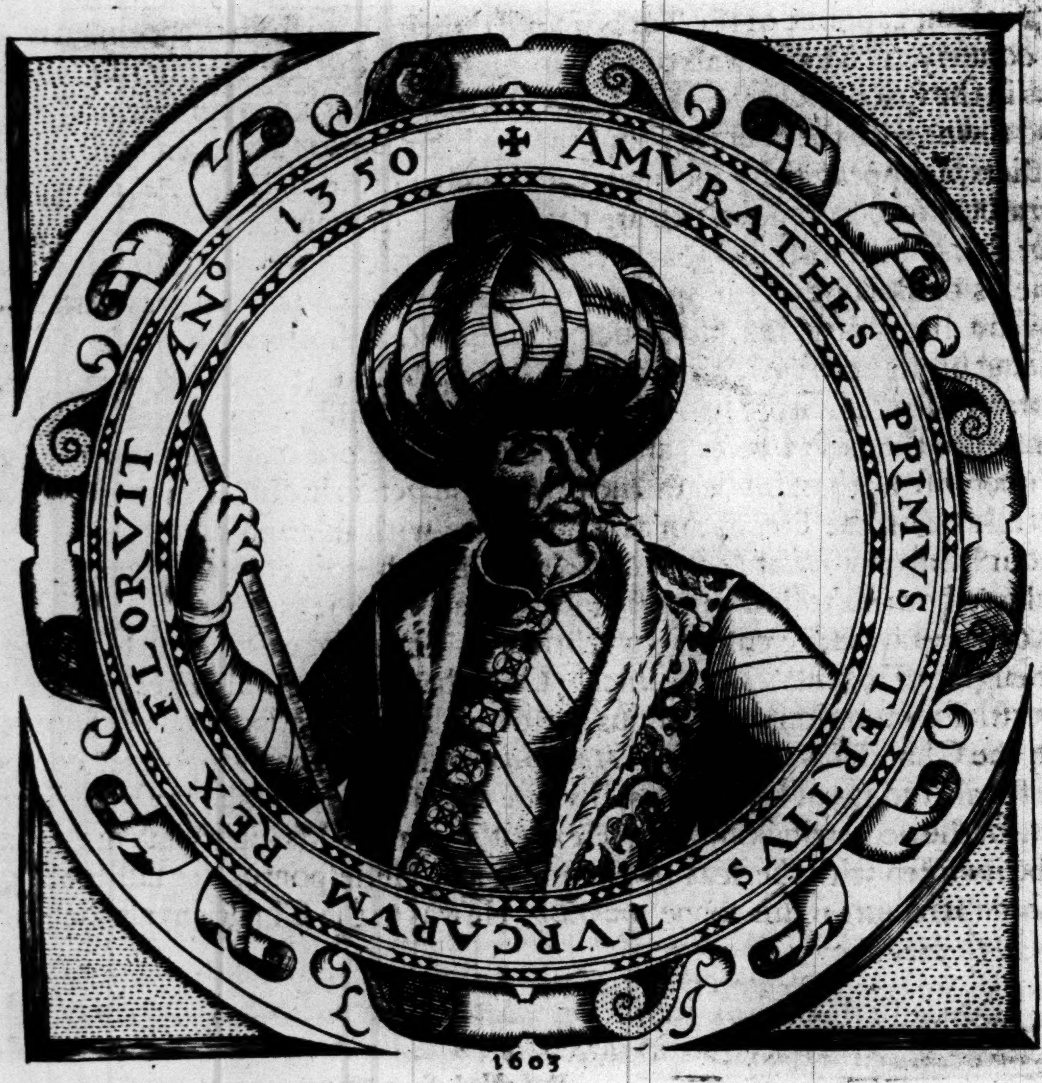
The death of Solyman Baſſa, Orchanes his eldeſt ſonne.

The death of Orchanes.

This *Orchanes* was wiſe, curteous, and bountifull, more ingenious than his father in deuiſing
warlike engines. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbies, Colledges, and Cels, and was in
C his ſuperſtitious religion very zealous: in ſo much that he appointed penſions to all ſuch as
could in the Church ſay the book of *Mahomets* law by heart: and appointed competent main-
tenance for all Iudges of his Courts, becauſe they ſhould not take any thing in reward of his
ſubiects, for the peruerting of iuſtice. He greatly inlarged his kingdome in Aſia, and not con-
tent to be incloſed with the ſeas of Euxinum and Helleſpontus, ſet faſt footing in Europe,
which ſome attribute to his ſonne *Amurath*. He was to the Chriſtians alwaies a moſt mortall
enemy, and ſo died.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Orchanes.	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Andronicus Palaologus the younger.*	1325.	29
			Iohn Palaologus.	1354.	30
		Of the Weſt	*Lewis the fourth, of Bauaria.*	1314.	32
			Charles the fourth, ſonne to Iohn King of Bohemia.	1346.	10
	Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the third*	1327.	50
		Of France	*Philip Valois.*	1328.	22
			Iohn Valois.	1350.	14
		Of Scotland	*Robert Bruce.*	1306.	24
			Dauid Bruce	1341.	
	Biſhops of Rome		*Iohn the XXII.*	1317.	18
			Benedict the XII.	1335.	7
			Clement the VI.	1354.	12
			Innocent the VI.	1354.	10


AMVRATHES PRIMVS TERTIVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT Aº 1350
1603

Scævus Amurathes, *animo dum maxima verſat:*
Diſcordes Græcos ſternere Marte parat.
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni:
Europam penetrans, obuia quæque rapit,
Atoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces:
In medio quorum, ſceptra ſuperba locat.
*Hinc Mæſos premit ille feros, * miſerumque* Dynaſten
Coſſoui in campis, obruit atque necat.
Sed non longa fuit ſceleris tam dira voluptas:
A ſeruo cæſus, concidit enſe ferox.

* *Lazarum Seruiæ principem.*

RIÇH. KNOLLEVS.

Whileſt *Amurath* in his deepe thoughts, of greatneſſe plots the ground:
The wrangling Greekes by force of armes he ſeekes how to confound.
And wholly bent for to extend his Kingdome with his power,
Piercing the confines of Europe, doth what he meets deuoure.
As men diſmaid, the Thracians quake, to ſee their foule diſgrace:
Amiddeſt whom, the tyrant ſtout his ſcepter proud doth place.
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field ſubdue:
And in Coſſoua's fatal plaines, the woſull Deſpot ſlue.
But long is not the wickeds joy, which they in miſchiefe take:
Stab'd by a ſlaue, the wretch his end in that ſame place did make.

R. K.

Lazarus Deſpot of Seruia.

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT AVGMENTOR OF THEIR KINGDOME:

Amurath the younger ſonne of *Orchanes* ſucceeded his father in the Turkiſh kingdome, his elder brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his father. This *Amurath* with greater zeale than any one of the Turkiſh Kings, aduanced the Mahometan religion, and had therein wonderfull ſucceſſe. In C the beginning of his reigne, he gathered a great army out of all parts of his kingdome, to Pruſa; purpoſing to paſſe ouer Helleſpontus, to inuade the Chriſtians in Thracia. But vnderſtanding, that the other Mahometan Princes in Aſia had combined themſelues againſt him, he was thereby inforced to leaue his former determination for Europe, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which wars he mightily preuailed againſt them, and returned with victory to Pruſa. But hauing ſo ſubdued thoſe confederate Princes, he the next yeare after proſecuted his wars before intended againſt the Chriſtians in Europe. For which purpoſe hauing leuied a ſtrong army in Aſia, he paſſed ouer to Callipolis, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schahin:* whoſe graue aduice and counſell he moſt followed in all his weighty affaires, being at that time one of D his chiefe counſellors. From Callipolis he marched to the caſtle of Benutum, which was by compoſition yeelded vnto him. From thence he went to Tzurulus, where the Chriſtians gaue him a ſharpe encounter: but in the end he woon the towne, and carried away the victory. And ſo proceeding farther, tooke diuers other ſmall caſtles and townes in that part of Thracia, which of the antient Romane colonies was then called Romania, and now of the Turks Rumilia, namely, Meſine, Burgos, and others; whereof ſome he vtterly raſed, and into the reſt put ſtrong garriſons. At this time alſo, *Chaſi-Ilbeg* and *Eurenoſes*, two of his moſt valiant captains, tooke certaine forts ſtanding vpon the riuer Meritza, in antient time called Hebrus: whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the country thereabouts. Wherewith the captaine of Didymotichum offended, gathered his ſouldiers together, intending to haue intercepted E the great captaine *Chaſi-Ilbeg:* in which attempt he loſt moſt of his followers, and was himſelfe there taken priſoner. For whoſe ranſome and certaine other conditions, the citizens of Didymotichum yeelded the city vnto the Turks.

Amurath ſucceedeth his father Orchanes in the Turkiſh kingdome.

Didymoticum yeelded vnto the Turks.

Shortly after, *Amurath* ſent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to beſiege Hadrianople, now called Andrianople, but in antient time Oreſtias: of whoſe comming the Chriſtians hearing, encountred him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battell, wherein many were on both ſides loſt: but in the end the Chriſtians being put to the worſt, retired againe to the city. Of this victory *Schahin* ſent newes vnto *Amurath*, with certaine of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians: who therupon ſending *Chaſis* and *Eurenoſes* before, he himſelfe with a great army followed after to the ſiege of Hadrianople: of whoſe comming, the gouernor of Hadrianople vnderſtanding, F fled ſecretly out of the city by night to Ænus. The citizens ſeeing themſelues ſo forſaken of their gouernour, yeelded their city vnto *Amurath*, in the yeare of our Lord, 1362.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turks.

The taking of theſe ſtrong cities in Thracia, eſpecially of Didymotichum and Hadrianople, is (by ſome of the Turks own Hiſtories) otherwiſe reported: which, becauſe it is neither improbable nor diſagreeing from the ſubtill dealings of the Turks, and of themſelues alſo

receiued, I haue thought good to ſet downe as their owne Hiſtoriographers report the ſame. G
The Turkiſh King *Amurath* had (as they ſay, and as truth was) in the beginning of his reigne
concluded a peace with the Chriſtians of Thracia: during which peace, the gouernor of Didymoticum
intending to fortifie his city with new and ſtronger fortifications againſt the aſſaults
of the Turks, entertained all the maſons, carpenters, and other workemen he could by
any meanes get: which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſecretly cauſed two hundred good and luſty
workemen and labourers to come out of Aſia, to offer their ſeruice vnto the gouernour; who
gladly entertained them, vſing their help in that his great and haſty work. Which thing ſome
of the wiſer ſort of the citiſens diſliking, wiſhed the gouernor to be aware of thoſe Aſian workmen,
as by them ſuſpected. But he preſuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and conſidering
they were but baſe workmen and no ſoldiers, had the leſſe care of them: neuertheleſſe H
(vſing their worke all day) he commanded them to lodge without the wals of the city euery
night. *Amurath* vnderſtanding that theſe workemen were thus by the gouernor entertained,
ſent for the valiant captaine *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, and requeſted him with thirty other good ſouldiers
diſguiſed as poore labourers, to go to Didymotichum to ſeeke for worke, and in doing thereof
to ſpy if any opportunitie might be found for the ſurpriſing of the city. *Chaſis* with theſe
thirty according to *Amurath* his direction, comming as poore men lacking worke, found entertainment
at Didymotichum, where they carried ſtones, morter, and ſuch like things, euer
ſhewing themſelues very diligent in their worke: *Chaſis* with vigilant eie ſtill awaiting what
might beſt ſerue his turne for the ſurpriſing of the city. When night was come, the Turkiſh
workemen and labourers after their accuſtomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour I
appointed, went out of the city into the ſuburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chaſis* ſecretly
departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and ſhewed him how one of the gates of the city
might vpon the ſudden be taken, if it would pleaſe him to place a ſufficient number of Turks
in ambuſh neere vnto the city, to ioyne with him and the other Turkiſh labourers when occaſion
ſhould ſerue. Which being reſolued vpon, *Amurath* ſent him backe againe to put this his
deuice in execution: So *Chaſis* returning to Didymotichum, brake the matter to ſo many of
the Aſian workemen as he thought conuenient, fully inſtructing them what was to be done.
The next day (according to his appointment) the Chriſtians being then at dinner, theſe Turkiſh
workemen and labourers fell at words among themſelues, and from words to faigned
blowes: in which counterfeit brawle and tumult, they ſuddenly ran to one of the gates of the K
city faſt by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vpon the warders weapons, as if
it had been to defend themſelues againſt their fellowes, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe warders, being
in number but few, and then at dinner alſo, and ſo preſently ſlew them: which done, they
opened the gate of the city, and let in the other Turks which lay in wait not far off: who with
great celerity entring the city, preſently tooke the ſame, and there put the chiefeſt of their citizens
to the ſword, ſparing the reſt of the meaner ſort.

Rhodeſtum ſurpriſed by the Turks.

The city of Rhodeſtum (of the old writers called Rhœdeſtum) was by *Amurath* his commandement
in this time of peace, by ſudden aſſault giuen in the night by the Lord *Eurenoſes*,
taken alſo.

With this foule dealing and breach of league, yet in force, the Chriſtians hardly charged *Amurath*; L
who turned it ouer to the vnrulines of his captains and men of war, whom he threatned
with great ſeuerity to puniſh: and to giue the better color that it was done without his priuity,
he had ſaigned himſelf ſick all the while theſe things were in doing: but being requeſted to
reſtore thoſe cities ſo wrongfully taken from the Chriſtians, he vtterly refuſed ſo to do, ſaying
That it was againſt the law of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, to deliuer againe to the Chriſtians,
any towne or city wherein the *Mahometan* religion had bin once openly taught. Whereupon
wars began again to ariſe on freſh betwixt the Chriſtians and him, wherein ſometime the one
preuailed, and ſometime the other: in ſuch ſort, as that thoſe warres at length became vnto
them both very tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Chriſtians of Hadrianople,
Selybria, and Conſtantinople: yet deſiring nothing more in heart, than to take the M
city of Hadrianople: which the better to bring to paſſe, he cauſed *Chaſis-Ilbeg* as a diſcontented
captaine to fly to Hadrianople, pretending himſelfe to haue beene hardly vſed by the
tyrant his maſter: where hauing in his company other ſuch diſſembling fugitiues as was himſelfe,
he oftentimes iſſued out of the city and valiantly skirmiſhed with the Turks; which ſo
greatly

A greatly pleaſed the gouernour of Hadrianople, that he thereby grew into his great fauour.

Many other Turks alſo vnder pretence of like diſcontentment, reſorted vnto *Chaſis*: wherewith finding himſelfe well ſtrengthned, he writ letters ſecretly vnto *Amurath*, That he would deliuer one of the gates of Hadrianople vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if he would againſt the ſame time be ready to ſend him preſent ſuccors. All things being agreed vpon, *Chaſis* at the time appointed came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the city, accompanied but with ten of his followers, as if he would haue gone forth to hunt, as he had before accuſtomed. But ſo ſoone as the gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpoſe, furiouſly ſet vpon the warders, whom they ſlew; and being aided by the reſt of the fugitiue Turks (which with all ſpeed by appointment before made, reſorted vnto them)
B they poſſeſſed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambuſh neere vnto the city, hauing knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarme, ſpeedily came on, and by that gate entred the city: where was fought a cruell fight all that day, euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turks preuailing, tooke the city, which they haue euer ſince poſſeſſed vnto this day.

These great cities of Thracia thus taken, or otherwiſe as aforeſaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaſeth) *Amurath* appointed the ſeat of his royall court at Hadrianople, as a place of all others moſt fit for the further inuaſion of the Chriſtians, and inlarging of his kingdome in Europe: from whence ſuch a world of miſchiefes and woe hath ſince that time ouerflowed a great part of Chriſtendome, & drowned ſo many goodly kingdoms in
C Europe, as that both they, and moſt part of the reſt that yet remain (daily in dread of like deſtruction) might juſtly accurſe and deteſt the woefull careleſnes and degenerate cowardiſe of the Greekes, were not they themſelues together with the glory of their church and empire, ſwallowed vp in the ſame gulfe of calamity and wo, and ſo become of al others moſt miſerable: but what auail vain complaints, but to increaſe old griefs? wherfore again to that we haue in hand.

Hadrianople the royal ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in Europe.

The proud Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus ſeated himſelfe at Hadrianople, in the middeſt of Thracia) preſently ſent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about Philippopolis, with the country of Zagora, which lyeth towards the great mountain Hœmus, where the beſt Turkiſh Scimitars were made; giuing like charge vnto *Eurenoſes*, for the ſubduing of the territory of Ipſala; who both notably performed what
D he had commanded, and in ſhort time brought al thoſe countries vnder his ſubjection, wherein he ſhortly after placed diuers ſanzacks or gouernours, for the better aſſurance thereof, being ſo lately gained.

About this time (by the ſuggeſtion of *Cara Ruſtemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then Cadeleſher or chiefe Iuſtice among the Turks, but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Catradin Baſſa*, by the commandement of *Amurath*, took order, that euery fifth captiue of the Chriſtians, being aboue fifteen yeres old, ſhould be taken vp for the King, as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fiue, then to pay to the King for euery head 25 aſpers, by way of tribute: appointing officers for collecting both of ſuch captiues and tribute mony, of whom the aforeſaid *Cara Ruſtemes* himſelfe was chief, as firſt deuiſer of the matter.
E By which means great numbers of Chriſtian youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues, which by the counſell of the ſame *Zinderlu Chelil*, were diſtributed among the Turkiſh husbandmen in Aſia, there to learn the Turkiſh language, religion, & maners, where after they had bin brought vp in all painfull labour and trauell by the ſpace of two or three yeares, they were called vnto the court, and choice made of the better ſort of them to attend vpon the perſon of the Prince, or to ſerue him in his wars: where they daily practiſing al feats of actiuity, are called by the name of Ianizars (that is to ſay, new ſoldiers.) This was the firſt beginning of the Ianizars vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the firſt, but had great increaſe vnder *Amurath* the ſecond, inſomuch as *Iouius* with ſome other Hiſtoriographers, attribute the beginning of this order to him: which neuertheles (as appeareth by the Turks own Hiſtories) had the beginning
F as is aforeſaid; and hath euer ſince bin continued by the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors, by the ſame and ſome other greater means; ſo that in proceſſe of time they be grown to that greatnes as that they are oftentimes right dreadful to the great Turke himſelfe: after whoſe death they haue ſomtime preferred to the Empire ſuch of the Emperors ſons as they beſt liked, without reſpect of prerogatiue of age, contrary to the wil of the great Sultan himſelf; & are at this day

the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greateſt cauſe of the ruine thereof: the finger of the Higheſt oftentimes (as we haue before ſaid) turning euen thoſe helps which were by mans wiſedome prouided for the eſtabliſhing of kingdomes, vnto their more ſpeedy deſtruction: and eſpecially theſe continuall garriſons of martiall men, no leſſe to be feared than truſted, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appeare.

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at Hadrianople, determining now to returne vnto Aſia, he made *Schahin* his tutor *Beb-Lerbeg* or viceroy of Romania; and *Eurenoſes* lord gouernor of the marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* he made Vezir Azemes or lord preſident of his counſell, and changing his name, called him *Cairadin Baſſa*, that is to ſay, The *Baſſa* that had well deſerued, his name witneſſing his good deſert. After this he returned into Aſia, where he ſpent that winter at Pruſa. Theſe two great men *Cairadin Baſſa* and *Cara Ruſtemes* before named, ſometimes two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkiſh Hiſtories report) the firſt that corrupted the Turkiſh court with couetouſneſſe and bribery, and are therefore of them euen yet much blamed.

Boga taken by Amurath and recouered againe and raſed by the Chriſtians.

Boga new built by the Turks.

Whileſt *Amurath* thus wintred in Aſia, newes was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of Seruia and Bulgaria had gathered a great army for the beſieging of Hadrianople; which cauſed him to prepare great forces in Aſia, to aid his captaines in Europe. But in returning out of Aſia, he by the way tooke the towne of Boga; where he put to ſword all the Chriſtians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the reſt into captiuity, and with the ſpoile rewarded his ſouldiers. This ſtrong towne was not long after againe recouered by the Chriſtians, who requited the Turkes with like meaſure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raſed it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this preſent to be ſeene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord, 1365.

In the meane time, the Chriſtian army of Seruia and Bulgaria, in number betwixt forty and fifty thouſand, marching towards Hadrianople, and now come very neere the ſame, fell in mutiny among themſelues. Whereof the Turks by their eſpials hauing intelligence, ſuddenly in the night ſet vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no leſſe fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to ioyne their forces againſt them, but were ready to turne their weapons one vpon another; and ſo by their owne diſcord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey to the Turkes, by whom they were put to flight, and ſlaine with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the place wherein they fell, not far from Germia, is thereof at this day called *Zirf-Zindugi*, that is to ſay, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrown. The news of this ſo notable a victory, with a fifth part of the ſpoile, and a great number of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) ſent to *Amurath* into Aſia, being now ready with a great power to haue come ouer to Callipolis: who ioyfull thereof, and glad to ſee ſuch a preſent, the aſſured witneſſe of the victory, returned againe to Pruſa. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare alſo *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumciſed his two ſons, *Bajazet*, & *Iacup*. At which time he alſo built a temple, with a monaſtery & a colledge, at Bilezuga: and another faire church at Neapolis: at Pruſa he alſo built a ſtately palace in the caſtle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which city he alſo founded an abbey and a colledge. *Germean Ogli*, a great Mahometan Prince in Aſia (whoſe territory for the moſt part lay in the greater Phrygia, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the *Othoman* kingdom) hauing alwaies enuied at the riſing of the *Othoman* kings (as did all the reſt of the Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* family) & fearing that their greatnes might after his death grow dangerous to his ſon *Iacup*, being now himſelfe very aged, thought good for the more ſafety of his ſtate to ioyne in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpoſe ſent *Iſaac* (a learned doctor of the Mahometan law) embaſſador to him, with many rich preſents, & to offer his daughter, the Lady *Hatun*, in marriage vnto his ſon *Bajazet*: promiſing with her in dowry diuers great cities and townes, with their territories in Phrygia and Bythinia, adioyning vpon the *Othoman* kingdom; namely, Cutaie, Simau, Egregios, Tauſanle, & others. Neither was this a ſmall dowry, but well beſeeming ſo great a Prince: the city of Cutaie being at that day the place whereat the Turkiſh emperors great lieutenant or viceroy in Aſia is alwaies reſiant, as in the heart of his Kingdome in the leſſer Aſia. Of which match ſo offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his ſon *Bajazet* vnto the ſaid lady: and for ſolemniation of the marriage, prepared all things with great magnificence, ſending his Embaſſadors to moſt of the Mahometane

A tan kings and princes both far and neere, to inuite them therunto: commanding alſo moſt of
the nobilitie of his kingdom to honor the ſame with their preſence. The time of this marriage
drawing neer, Embaſſadors came to *Amuraths* court from all the Princes before inuited:
amongſt whom the Embaſſador from the Egyptian Sultan had the higheſt place. Theſe embaſſadours
brought with them many great and rich Gifts, ſuch as well beſeemed the great
Princes their maſters, which they with all reuerence preſented vnto *Amurath*. At length
amongſt the reſt of his own nobility came the Lord *Eurenoſes*, whom he had before left gouernor
of the frontiers of his kingdom in Europ: who beſides many other rich gifts not eaſily to
be valued, preſented vnto *Amurath* a hundred goodly boys, with as many beautiful yong maidens,
all Chriſtian captiues, ſutably attired in garments richly embroidered with gold & ſiluer,
B euery one of them carying a cup of gold in the one hand, and a cup of ſiluer in the other;
the cups of gold hauing in them diuers pretious ſtones of great value, and the cups of ſiluer
being filled with gold. The richnes of this preſent was ſo great, that all the forrein Embaſſadors
wondred therat: all which rich gift *Amurath* moſt bountifully beſtowed on the ſtrange
Embaſſadors; and the preſents which were ſent vnto him from other Princes, hee liberally
gaue to *Eurenoſes*. The learned and religious which came to that mariage hee ſo bountifully
rewarded alſo, that none came to the ſame poor, but he went away rich. He had before ſent diuers
of his nobility, with an hundred ladies and gentlewomen, and a gard of three thouſand
horſmen, to attend the comming of the bride. On the other ſide, the old prince *Germean Ogli*
meeting this honorable company vpon the way, ſaluted euery man of account according to
C his degree, and bringing them to one of his cities, in moſt royal maner feaſted them, beſtowing
vpon them many rich and princely gifts. All which things with great ſolemnity performed,
he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the moſt antient Ladies, whereof one had
bin *Bajazets* nurſe: and ſo taking leaue of his daughter, ſent her away, accompanied with his
wife *Ienſes*, and other of his courtiers; who conueying her to Pruſa, ſhe was there in moſt roial
maner maried to *Bajazet*. The cities and towns promiſed in dowry were accordingly deliuered
vnto *Amurath*, who ſhortly after took poſſeſſion of the ſame, and furniſhing them with
his own garriſons.

At this mariage, *Chuſun Beg* Prince of Amiſum in Galatia, by his Embaſſador ſold his territory
of Amiſum vnto *Amurath*, with many fair cities and towns, doubting (as was thought)
D now to be able to keep them, ſeeing *Amurath* was come ſo neer him, whom he ſaw not to let
ſlip any occaſion offered vnto him for the inlarging of his kingdom. When *Amurath* had in
this ſport ſpent great time in Aſia, he gathered a ſtrong army to return into Europ: but before
his departure, he committed the gouernment of his kingdom in Aſia (which the Turkes
call Anatolia) vnto his ſon *Bajazet*, joining with him *Temurtaſes* a valiant man of great experience.
And hauing ſet all things in order in Aſia, paſſed ouer Helleſpontus to Callipolis,
from whence he marched toward Hadrianople: and becauſe he would take ſomething in his
way, he beſieged Magalgara, which he in ſhort time won. Where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenoſes*
with all their forces came to him; which two captains he ſent to beſiege the city Pherœ and
was by them after a few daies ſiege taken. But he himſelfe to be reuenged vpon *Lazarus* the
Amurath inuadeth Seruia.
E Deſpot, led his army into Seruia, where after he had without reſiſtance forraged the country
fourteen daies, vnderſtanding by his captains, That the ſtrong city of Niſſa, being the metropolitical
city of Seruia, was as it were the key of that kingdom, he preſently marched thither,
and laid ſiege vnto the ſame; and by the aduice of *Iaxis Beg* the ſonne of *Temurtaſes*, in ſhort
time won it. Which thing ſo daunted *Lazarus* Deſpot or Lord of Seruia, that he diſpairing
Niſſa taken by the Turks.
in his own forces, hauing ſo ſoon loſt one of his ſtrongeſt cities, forthwith ſent Embaſſadours
to *Amurath* to intreat a peace; offering to pay him a yearly tribute of fifty thouſand pound,
and to aid him with a thouſand men in his wars, whenſoeuer he ſhould require. Vpon which
conditions *Amurath* granted him peace, and ſo departed out of Seruia. In this expedition
he alſo with much ado won the great City of Appolonia, neere vnto the mount Athos, and
Appollonia won by the Turks.
F gaue leaue vnto moſt of the Chriſtian inhabitants with their wiues and children to depart,
with ſuch part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof ſpoiled by the ſoldiers. This
done, he returned back to Hadrianople, leauing *Eurenoſes* vpon the marches, who ſhortly after
took Berrhea, with diuers other Townes. At the which time alſo *Lala Schahin* won Zichne
and Seres, in the confines of Macedonia, with many other ſtrong Townes vpon the Frontiers

of Theſſaly and Thrace. In the City Seres *Eurenoſes* made his abode, as in a chiefe frontier G
town: and becauſe the Chriſtians for fear of the Turks were all fled out of the country about
Seres, great numbers of people were ſent for out of Aſia, to inhabit that country by the Chri-
ſtians forſaken in the confines of Macedonia. *Amurath* had not long continued at Hadriano-
ple, but that he was aduertiſed out of Aſia, that *Aladin* his ſon in law King of Caramania, did
with fire and ſword inuade his dominions in Aſia. With which newes hee was exceedingly
troubled; and for that cauſe ſending for his counſellors and nobility to the court, told them,
how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and allyance, with all hoſti-
litie inuaded his prouinces in Aſia, whilſt he with great danger of his perſon, and greater ter-
ror of his enemies, ſought with honor to increaſ the Mahometan ſincere religion (as hee ter-
med it) in Europ: from which godly War (ſaid he) I am inforced againſt my wil to turne my H
ſword, in iuſt defence of my ſelf, againſt men joined with vs both in religion & allyance. And
hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Baſſa* his lieutenant general in Europ,
and alſo made his ſonne *Alis Baſſa* one of his Counſel, although he were by ſome thought too
yong for ſo great a place. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order according to his mind in Eu-
rop, took paſſage from Callipolis into Aſia, and ſo to his court at Pruſa, where he ſpent that
Winter. In which time Embaſſadors came vnto him from the Sultan of Egypt, for the renu-
ing of their former amity and friendſhip. Which *Amurath* took very thankfully, & ſent them
back again loden with kind letters and princely rewards.

Amurath and Aladin prepare themſelves for war.

When the Spring was come, in the year 1387, he leuied a mighty army to make war vpon
the Caramanian king his ſon in law. Whereof *Aladin* certainly informed, prepared no leſſe I
power to meet him, aſſociating vnto him all the leſſe Mahometan princes of Aſia, who were
not vnder *Amuraths* obeiſance, to whom the *Othoman* Kings were now grown terrible. Which
princes brought with them great ſupplies to join with *Aladin*.

Aladin thus aided by his friends, thinking himſelf now ſtrong enough for *Amurath* his fa-
ther in law, ſent an Embaſſador vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power infe-
rior to him, and therfore nothing feared him: yet if it pleaſed him to haue peace, he could for
his part be content to hearken vnto the ſame vpon reaſonable conditions: but if he had rather
haue war, he ſhould find him ready to dare him battel in the field, whenſoeuer he came. For
anſwer of which embaſſage, *Amurath* willed the Embaſſador to tell the perjured King his ma-
ſter, that he had of late, contrary to his faith before giuen, in moſt cruel maner inuaded his do- K
minions, whilſt he was buſied in moſt godly wars (as he termed it) againſt the miſ-beleeuing
Chriſtians: from proſecuting wherof he was (as he ſaid) by his violence withdrawn, contrary
to the law of their great Prophet. For which outrages and wrongs he would ſhortly come and
take of him ſharp reuenge: and that therfore hee was to expect nothing at his hands but war,
for which he willed him ſo to prouide, as that at his comming he might not find him wanting
to himſelf. *Aladin* by his Embaſſador hauing receiued this anſwer from *Amurath*, aſſembled
all the confederat princes his allyes, with great perſuaſions and greater promiſes encouraging
them to this war. And they again kiſſing the ground at his feet, as the maner of that nation is
before great Princes, promiſed with ſolemn oaths neuer to forſake him, but to doe all things
which Princes deſirous of honor or fame, ought by their oath to do for their Soueraign vnto L
whom they owed homage and fealty.

The death of Chairadin Baſſa.

In this great preparation for wars in Aſia, *Chairadin Baſſa* general gouernor in Europ died:
which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, appointed *Alis Baſſa* his ſon to go into Europe, there to be Go-
uernor in his fathers ſtead. But being ſtayd in his journey by vrgent occaſions, *Amurath* ſent
for him back again in poſt.

Aladin forecaſting the great dangers like to enſue of this war, ſent another Embaſſadour to
Amurath, with reaſonable conditions of peace. To whom *Amurath* anſwered, That if *Aladin*
had made that offer one month before, he would perhaps haue accepted of it: but forſomuch
as he had don him great wrong, and that he had now to his infinit charge drawn him into the
field ſo far from home, hee would not make any other end than ſuch as the chance of Warre M
ſhould appoint. And wheras he in diſgrace had called him a heardſman or ſhepheard (ſayd
he) if he be not ſuch a one himſelf as he ſaith me to be, let him meet me in the field and there
try his valour. Hereunto the Embaſſadour replied, That the King his maſter made this offer
of peace not for any fear, but to ſaue the effuſion of innocent bloud: which conſideration ſet
apart,

A apart, he ſhould find him not inferior to himſelfe either in number of moſt expert ſoldiers, or
other warlike prouiſion: and that therfore if he rejected this offer of peace, he needed not to
doubt but to meet with men of courage, who would bear themſelues ſo valiantly in the field
againſt his Turkes, as that hee ſhould haue no great cauſe to rejoice of his comming thither.
Which words of the Embaſſador ſo netled *Amurath*, that in great rage hee commanded him
to depart, and to tell his maſter, if he were a man of ſuch courage and valour as he ſaid, to ſhew
himſelf in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels; where he doubted
not but in ſhort time to chaſtiſe him according to his due deſerts. So after the Embaſſador
was departed, marching forward three dayes, *Alis Beg* came vnto him: of whoſe comming he
not a little rejoiced, for why, he loued him dearly, and although he was yet of years but yong,
B relied much vpon his counſell.

The Embaſſador returning, recounted vnto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had ſaid, not omitting
his hard ſpeeches and proud threats, and how that hee hoped ſhortly to take from him Iconi-
um and Larenda (the principal cities of Caramania) with many things more, leauing nothing
vntold. Which *Aladin* hearing, ſaid vnto the other confederat princes that were with him,
Verily *Amurath* threatneth to take from vs the cities of Iconium and Larenda; but let him
take heed that we take not from him his fair city of Pruſa. Then demanding of the Embaſſa-
dor, of what ſtrength *Amurath* might be; it was anſwered by him, that hee deemed him to be
about ſeuenty thouſand ſtrong. Wherat *Aladin* not a little rejoicing, ſaid, Aſſuredly when
he ſhall ſee our army, he will not dare to giue vs battell; or [illegible] he do, he ſhall fight vpon great
C diſaduantage, his men being both fewer in number than wee, and ſore wearied with long and
painfull trauell.

In the mean time *Amurath* held on his way towards Caramania, daily encouraging his ſol-
diers with perſwaſions & gifts bountifully beſtowed vpon them, filling their heads with pro-
miſes of greater, the wars once happily ended. At length he came to the great plains in Ca-
ramania, called the French plains, becauſe in former times the Chriſtians (whom the Turkes
for moſt part call Frankes) in thoſe plaines incamped their great armies as they went to the
winning of Ieruſalem, as in the former part of this hiſtorie is declared. Into theſe plaines
alſo came *Aladin* with his army, and was now incamped within one daies march of *Amurath*,
and ſo reſted that night.

D The next morning *Amurath* put his army in order of battell, appointing the leading of the
right wing to his yongeſt ſon *Iacup*, with whom he joined *Cutluzes Beg*, *Ein Beg Subbaſſa*, *Egri-
dum Subbaſſa*, *Seraze* and *Cuſtendil* two Chriſtian Princes, all captains of great experience. The
left wing was led by *Bajazet* his eldeſt ſon, with *Ferize* and *Hozze*, both valiant captaines: in
which wings were alſo placed the Chriſtian ſoldiers ſent by *Lazarus* out of Seruia, according
to the late conuention of peace: in the main battell he ſtood himſelf: the vantgard was con-
ducted by *Temurtaſes*; and the rereward by the Subbaſſa of Oxyllithus (called alſo *Temurtaſes*)
and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other ſide with no leſſe care and diligence ſet his men likewiſe
in order of battell, placing himſelf in the main battel, as did *Amurath*; and the Princes his al-
lyes, with his other expert captains, ſome in the right wing, and ſome in the left, as he thought
E it moſt conuenient: in ſuch ſort that in all mens judgment he was in force nothing inferior to
his father in law.

Theſe great enemies thus ranged, with enſignes diſplaid came on couragiouſly, one directly
vpon the other; where approching together, the confuſed noiſe of trumpets, drums, fifes, with
other inſtruments of war, the neighing of horſes and clattering of armour was ſo great, that
whilſt warlike minds therat rejoiced, cowards thought heauen fell. But the ſign of battell on
both ſides giuen, *Samagazes* one of the confederat Princes, with exceeding courage firſt char-
ged *Temurtaſes* in the vantgard, and broke his ranks: at which time *Teberruſes* a Tartar prince,
and *Karſacides* another of the confederats, deliuered their arrowes alſo upon the vantgard as
if it had bin a ſhour of hail. Which *Bajazet* ſeeing, and how hardly *Temurtaſes* was charged;
F hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemy with ſuch violence as if
it had bin the lightning; whereof hee was euer after ſyrnamed *Gilderun*, which is to ſay, The
lightning. *Ferize* and *Hozze*, with the other valiant Captaines in that wing, following *Baia-
zet*, with inuincible courage entred the battell, where for a great ſpace was made a moſt ter-
rible and dreadfull fight. A man would haue thought two rough ſeas had met together,

The great battel in the Caramanian plains between Amurath and Aladin.

ſwaying one againſt another, doubting which way the current would at length fall. In this G conflict were many thouſands on both ſides ſlain, ſo that the field lay couered with the dead bodies of worthy men and valiant ſoldiers: yet at length theſe confederate Princes, finding themſelues ouermatched by *Bajazet* and his ſoldiers, reſeruing themſelues to their better fortunes, turned their backs and fled; when *Aladin* ſeeing a great part of his army thus ouerthrown, and himſelf now ready to be charged with *Amuraths* whole power, deſpairing of victorie, ſped himſelfe in all haſt to Iconium his ſtrong city. The ſpoil which *Amurath* got in this battell was great, moſt part wherof he gaue in reward to *Temurtaſes* and his ſoldiers, who had endured the greateſt fury of the battell. *Amurath* after this victorie with all ſpeed marched to Iconium, and there beſieged *Aladin* the Caramanian King, in his ſtrongeſt city, giuing out proclamation in the mean time, That none of his ſoldiers vpon pain of death ſhould vſe any H violence to any of the country people, or take any thing from them; to the intent it might appear vnto the world, that he made that war againſt that Mahometan King, rather to repulſe injury and wrong, than for deſire of ſoueraignty or ſpoil. Which his ſo ſtreit a proclamation the Chriſtians ſent by *Lazarus* (amongſt others) tranſgreſſed, and therfore by his commandement ſuffered many of them exemplary puniſhment: which was the cauſe of the Servian war which not long after enſued, fatall both vnto *Amurath* and *Lazarus* the Deſpot, as hereafter ſhall appear.

Aladin flies to Iconium.

Iconium beſieged by Amurath.

Aladin now on euery ſide beſieged in Iconium, and without all hope of eſcape, ſent to the Queen his wife *Amuraths* daughter, bewailing vnto her his deſperat eſtate, and requeſting her by all the loue that ſo honorable a minded Lady might bear vnto her miſerable husband, to I aduenture her ſelfe to go to her angry father, and to craue pardon for his great treſpaſſe and offence. The Queen forthwith attyring her ſelf as was fitteſt for her husbands preſent eſtate, came to her father: where falling down at his feet vpon her knees, with words wiſely placed, and tears diſtilling down her fair cheeks from her fairer eies, as if it had bin from two fountains, in moſt ſorrowfull maner craued her husbands pardon, imputing to the heat of youth whatſoeuer he had done; and would not be comforted or taken vp vntill ſhee had obtained grace. *Amurath* moſt intirely loued this his daughter, and therfore for her ſake not only granted her husbands life (which in ſhort time was like to haue bin in his power to haue ſpilt) but alſo his kingdom, which he as a victorious conqueror might by law of arms haue of right detained. She now aſſured of her fathers promiſe, ſent vnto her husband *Aladin*, wiſhing him K the next day without fear to come out of the City, and in humble ſort to acknowledge his fault before her father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and proſtrating himſelfe before *Amurath*, acknowledged his vndutifulnes; of whom (for his wiues ſake) hee obtained pardon, and reſtitution to his kingdom, with many other gifts, contrary to his euil deſert. The Latine hiſtories miſtaking the man, report this Caramanian War to haue beene fought againſt the King of Caramania, *Amuraths* own grandfather by the mothers ſide; and that he was then by *Amurath* ſpoiled of a great part of his kingdom. But it agreeth not with the Turkiſh hiſtories, which make *Amurath* to be the ſon of *Orchanes* and *Lulufer*, the daughter of the Gouernour of the Caſtle of Iarchiſar, as is before declared in the life of *Othoman*; which *Lulufer* lieth buried by her husband *Orchanes* in Pruſa. L

This great victory got by *Amurath* againſt the Caramanian King and the other confederat Princes, was the true beginning of the greatneſſe of the *Othoman* kingdom in Aſia: wherwith the other Mahometan Princes of the *Selzuccian* Family were ſo diſcouraged, that they were glad to ſubmit themſelues thus firſt vnto *Amurath*, and after that, vnto his ſon *Baiazet*: vntill that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian prince, ſome few years after taking *Baiazet* priſoner in a great battell at mount Stella, abated the *Othoman* pride, and reſtored the other oppreſſed Mahometan Princes to their old poſſeſſions and kingdoms.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way took the city of Deſpotopolis; and comming to Cutaie brake vp his army, and ſo in triumph returned to his court at Pruſa.

Lazarus Deſpot of Servia (in old time called Myſia) had ſent a thouſand armed men to *Amurath* M in this the late Caramanian War, according to the conuention of the peace not long before made betwixt them: ſome of which ſouldiers were with great ſeueritie (to the terror of others) executed in Caramania, for tranſgreſſing *Amuraths* commandement. This great war thus ended, and the army broken vp at Cutaie, they with others were licenſed to depart

into

A into their own country. Whoſe General (whom they cal the Vayuod) returning home, reported vnto *Laſarus* the Deſpot, the ſucces of that war, and withall, in what cruel and tyrannicall maner the men he had ſent were in that ſeruice vſed by the commandment of *Amurath*: with whom (ſaid this General) you without cauſe haue made a moſt diſhonorable peace; firſt, by giuing your faith to ſuch a miſcreant; and then in ſending your loyal ſubjects, in recompence of their good ſeruice, to be ſo butchered at his pleaſure: beſide the ſhamefull tribute which you yearly pay vnto him. Wheras if it would pleaſe you in the depth of your wiſdome but to know your own ſtrength, you ſhould find your ſelf in warlike force and power nothing inferior to the Tyrant. For we your ſeruants being in number but an handfull, were in theſe his late wars a terror vnto his enemies, and by our valor, and not his own, hee got the victory ouer B them. What cauſe is there then, that you ſhould ſubject your ſelf vnto your inferior? I know he canot of himſelf bring into the field aboue fifty thouſand fighting men: but admit he were able to bring an hundred thouſand; are not you (if you ſo pleaſe) able to levy a far greater power? and for all other warlike prouiſion you are ten times better prouided than he. Beſides that, the mighty Chriſtian Princes wil ſend you ſuch aid againſt this hatefull and Common Enemy, that being vnited with yours, his Barbarian forces will be nothing in compariſon of thoſe which you ſhall then be able to bring into the field againſt him. Which no doubt the Chriſtian princes wil the rather do, as men deſirous to quench this deuouring fire in another mans houſe rather than in their own.

Theſe words of the Vayuod ſo much moued *Laſarus*, that he determined with himſelfe to C break that ſeruile league which he before had made with *Amurath*: and for that cauſe ſent his Embaſſador with ſecret inſtructions to the King of Boſna (in time paſt called Illyria) his neighbor; wherof the chief point was, to craue his aid againſt the Turk their common Enemy. By whom the King of Boſna returned this anſwer, That it had bin much better ſuch conſideration had bin thought vpon before the foul contract (full of diſgrace both to himſelf and all other Chriſtian Princes) was vpon a vain fear by him raſhly made with the Turkiſh tyran. Yet forſomuch as things don could not be vndon, letting that paſſe which was remediles, hee promiſed to join with him his whole forces againſt ſo dangerous an Enemy. And therupon appointing a place for an interview, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the Articles of their confederation.

Lazarus the Deſpot craues aid of the king of Boſna.

D There was in the confines of Boſna a caſtle called Alexandria, the captain wherof being a Chriſtian, was yet tributary to the Turk; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good, as men oppreſſed vſe to do to them by whom they are ſo wronged. This captain vnder color of friendſhip went to *Amurath*, and in great ſecrecie opened to him the whole ſtate of the kingdome of Boſna, and withall, that the King therof intended ſome great mater againſt him: for the preuenting of which he offered his own ſeruice, and ſhewed ſome probable means how that kingdom might be brought into his ſubiection, if hee would but ſend ſome worthy Generall with a conuenient power for the vndertaking therof. This wonderfully pleaſed the ambitious old Tyrant, who therfore commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the Captain (which amongſt the Turks is taken for a ſure token of the Kings great fauor) and forthwith appointed his Tutor E *Lala Schahin*, according to this captains direction, to inuade the kingdom of Boſna. Who joining himſelfe with this deceitfull Captaine of Alexandria, with an army of twenty thouſand men entred into Boſna, where ouerrunning a ſide of the countrey, he without reſiſtance tooke great booties: and ſeeing no apparant cauſe of fear, to do the more harm, by aduice of the ſaid captain diuided his army, which he ſent into diuers parts of the Countrey, the more to burne and ſpoile the ſame. Of all whoſe proceedings the King of Boſna by ſecret letters from the captain aduertiſed, had in conuenient places laid ſtrong ambuſhes for the intercepting of his enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich booty, hauing then with him but a thouſand men, ſuddenly appeared in his way thirty thouſand Chriſtians well armed: which *Schahin* ſeeing, thinking it folly to oppoſe ſo few againſt ſo many, would haue preſently F fled; but the reſt of the gallants which were with him, preſuming of their good fortune, and loth to loſe their rich prey, would needs firſt skirmiſh with the Chriſtians: in which deſperat conflict they were almoſt all ſlain, and the whole ſpoile they had taken recouered by the Chriſtians. As for *Schahin* hee was glad by ſhamefull flight to ſaue himſelfe. The like miſhap befel the other Turks in the other parts of Boſna, who for the moſt part were likewiſe intercepted and ſlain : ſo that of twenty thouſand ſcarſe fiue thouſand returned home. G

Amurath marrieth the emperor of Conſtantinople daughter.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in Europ, *Amurath* in great triumph at Neapolis maried the Emperor of Conſtantinople his daughter : whoſe two ſiſters were alſo giuen in mariage to his two ſons:at which time he with great ſolemnity circumciſed three of *Baiazets* ſons. At this time alſo returned *Iazigi Ogli*, whom he had before ſent Embaſſador to the Sultan of Egypt, in requital of the honorable embaſſage before to him ſent from the ſaid Sultan. Now *Amurath* vnderſtanding of the loſſe of his men in Boſna, with the reuolt of *Laſarus* Deſpot of Seruia, was therwith much diſquieted. Wherfore he commanded *Alis Baſſa* his chief counſellor, with all ſpeed to ſend forth commiſſions into all parts of his kingdom, for the levying of a royal army : which was done in ſuch poſt haſt, that it was thought he would haue taken the field before the beginning of the ſpring. At which time alſo the other Mahometan kings and H Princes of Aſia, *Caraman Ogli*, *Teke Ogli*, and the reſt bound vnto him by homage, with diuers others of ſmaller power, were ſent for to aid him in this war : who partly for feare, and partly moued with the zeal of their Mahometan ſuperſtition, brought their forces with great deuotion. To this war againſt the Chriſtians, came alſo great numbers of the Mahometans from far countries, as voluntary ſoldiers. *Baiazet* his ſon alſo, then gouernor of Cutaie with a great part of Galatia, gathring all his forces, came to aid his father in this Religious war, as it was by them termed. The Chriſtian tributary princes were not then forgotten, of whom two came, namely *Cuſtendil* & *Seratſil*. Other two forſaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Seſames* Prince of Bulgaria, and the Prince of Varna and Dobritza : with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. I In the time of this ſo great preparation, old *Lala Schahin*, *Amuraths* tutor and faithfull Seruitor died, beeing a man of great yeares : and *Temurtaſes* was appointed Gouernor in his place.

The reuolting of the two Chriſtian Princes, *Saſmenos* and the Prince of Varna, much grieued *Amurath*. Wherfore he commanded *Alis Baſſa* with an army of thirty thouſand to inuade and ſpoil *Saſmenos* his country, now called Bulgaria, and in antient time the lower Myſia. *Alis Baſſa* according to that was giuen him in charge, calling vnto him *Iaxis Beg* the ſon of *Temurtaſes*, *Vlu Beg*, *Suratze Baſſa*, with other Captains and Commanders of the Turks prouinces in Europ, aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand for the inuaſion of Bulgaria. With this Army the Baſſa took many ſtrong towns and caſtles in Bulgaria, as Pirauade, Venuzina, Madra, Suni and others. K

In the mean time, whilſt *Alis Baſſa* had thus begun the wars againſt the Chriſtians in Bulgaria, *Amurath* hauing gathered a great Army in Aſia, determined in the beginning of the Spring to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Europ : commending the gouernment of his Countries in Aſia, to *Temurtaſes Baſſa*, *Feriſes Beg*, *Temurtaſes Subbaſſa*, *Cutlu Beg*, and *Haſa Beg*; and ſo all things ſet in order in Aſia, he drew down his Aſian forces toward Helleſpontus, where he was a while ſtayd with contrary winds, but was afterwards tranſported to Callipolis, by *Ieniſe Beg* Sanzack there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his army out of Aſia into Europ. But whilſt he ſtayd at Callipolis, *Baiazet* his ſon with a great power came to him thither. *Alis Baſſa* alſo vnderſtanding of *Amuraths* arriual in Europe, retyred out of Bulgaria, and came to him at Alcide, recounting vnto him the whole ſucces of his expedition into L Bulgaria.

Saſmenos Prince of Bulgaria ſeeing his country ſpoiled, his ſtrong cities and caſtles taken by the Turks, and withall hearing of their great preparations for war, by the aduice of his nobilitie thought it beſt betimes again to ſubmit himſelfe vnto *Amurath*. Wherfore tying a winding ſheet about his neck, in token that he had deſerued death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at Calcide ; where falling flat vpon the ground at the horſes feet wheron *Amurath* ſate, he in moſt humble wiſe craued pardon, offering at a certain day to deliuer Siliſtria the chief city of his dominion, into *Amurath* his poſſeſſion, as a pledge of his fidelitie: who therupon granted him pardon; and to aſſure him of his fauor, commanded a rich M garment to be caſt vpon him, after the maner of the Turks, ſending *Alis Baſſa* at the time appointed to take poſſeſſion of Siliſtria. But *Saſmenos* repenting himſelf of what he had ſo largely promiſed, would not deliuer his city, but in ſtrongeſt manner he could preſently fortified the ſame. Wherwith *Amurath* more offended than before, commanded the Baſſa with fire and ſword again to ſpoile and waſt his Countrey. Who according to his commaundement

entred

A entred againe into Bulgaria, and ſtrook ſuch a terrour of his comming into the hearts of the people, that many ſtrong places were voluntarily yeelded into his power; namely Diritze, Coſſova, with the city Ternova the ſeat of the Princes Court, Tzerneui, Nouakeſtri, Ziſtoua, with diuers others: and proceeding further, he laid ſiege to Nicopolis the ſtrongeſt City of Bulgaria, vpon the ſide of the great riuer Danubius, whither *Saſmenos* was himſelfe for feare fled. Who finding himſelfe vnable to hold out the ſiege, once again (with ſhame enough) tying a winding ſheet about his neck, as he had done before, and taking his ſon with him, went out of the City, and in moſt abject manner falling downe at the Baſſa's feet, craued pardon: which the ſayd Baſſa, mooued with compaſſion to ſee the miſery of ſo great a man, and hauing already taken from him the greateſt part of his dominion, and now out of fear of further B reſiſtance, eaſily granted. And hauing thus ended the Bulgarian war, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right joyfully receiued.

Amurath had now made great preparation for the inuading of Servia; for the which purpoſe hee had drawn ouer into Europe the greateſt forces he could poſſibly out of Aſia: ſending alſo for his yongeſt ſon *Iacup*, Gouernor of Caraſia, who vnderſtanding his fathers pleaſure, repaired vnto him with all the power hee could make. This Army by *Amurath* thus aſſembled, was the greateſt that euer was before that brought by the Turks into Europ. *Laſarus* not ignorant of this great preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawn into the ſociety of this War, the King of Boſna (as is before ſaid) with *Vulcus* Prince of Macedonia his ſon in law, who both brought vnto him great aid. He had alſo by his Embaſſadors procured great C ſupplies from other Chriſtian Kings and princes, out of Valachia, Hungaria, Croatia, Sclauonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Italy; beſides great numbers of other voluntary deuout Chriſtians: which all aſſembled and met together, did in number far exceed the great Army of the Turks.

With this army *Laſarus* the Deſpot incamped vpon the ſide of the riuer Moravia the greater, not far from which ſtood the ſtrong Caſtle of Sarkiue, which *Alis Baſſa* had of late taken from *Saſmenos* the Bulgarian Prince; ſtanding as it were betwixt Bulgaria and Servia. This caſtle being now poſſeſſed of the Turks, was thought by *Laſarus* dangerous to his Countrey; who therfore ſent one *Demetrius* a right valiant captain, with certain companies of ſelect men to take in the ſame. The name of this captain *Demetrius* was a general terror vnto the Turks, D for the harm he had done them: ſo that they in the caſtle hearing that he was come, without further reſiſtance yeelded the ſame vnto him. Wherof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſent *Eine* and *Sarutſe* Baſſa to recouer the ſame. But *Laſarus* doubting that the caſtle would hardly bee kept in that dangerous war, ſent *Vulcus* his ſon in law with 20000 men to bring away all that was therin, and in the city neer vnto it, leſt it ſhould become a prey vnto the greedy Turks: which he accordingly did, and at the ſame time raſed both the caſtle and the City, before the comming of *Iaxis Beg*, ſent from *Amurath* to haue done the ſame exploit, which he comming thither found already done to his hand by *Vulcus*.

The Caſtle of Sarkiue with the city joining to it, taken by the Chriſtians and raſed.

As *Amurath* was marching towards Servia, *Seratſe* and *Cuſtendyl* two Chriſtian Princes his Tributaries, met him with their forces, whom he cauſed to march before him as his guides: E and paſſing thorow *Cuſtendyl* his countrey, was there refreſhed with plenty of all things neceſſarie; vntill at length paſſing the riuer of Morava the leſſe, hee drew ſo neere to the plaines of Coſſova, where the Chriſtian army lay, that he with his ſon *Baiaſet* from a little hill took full view of the Chriſtian campe, which was ſo great, that it couered all thoſe large plaines from ſide to ſide, and ſo daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his army, hee preſently entred into a great conſultation with his greateſt captains and commanders, what courſe to take againſt ſuch a puiſſant enemy.

Theſe two great armies being now come ſo nigh together, as that they might the one well deſcry the other, *Amurath* had purpoſed the ſame day to haue giuen the Chriſtians battell; but being diſſuaded by *Eurenoſes*, both for that it was extream hot, and his ſouldiers wearied F with trauel, he reſted that night. The next morning as ſoon as it was day hee put his army in order of battel; placing his ſon *Baiaſet* with *Eurenoſes* and *Eine Beg Subbaſſa*, in the right wing; his yongeſt ſon *Iacup* with *Sarutſe* Baſſa in the left wing; the main battel he led himſelfe. *Laſarus* in the mean time had alſo ſet his Army in good order; giuing the charge of the right wing to *Vulcus* his ſon in law; the left wing was led by the King of Boſna, and his ſons; in the main battel ſtood *Lazarus* himſelfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater Armies than thoſe two had ſeldom before met in Europ: *Lazarus* (as the Turkiſh hiſtories report, but how truly I know not) hauing in his army fiue hundred thouſand men, and *Amurath* ſcarſe halfe ſo many.

To begin the battel, *Amurath* had drawn a thouſand of his beſt archers, vnder the leading of *Malcozzeus*, out of the right wing of his army, & the like number of archers out of the left, vnder the conduct of *Muſtapha*: which ſo placed on both ſides of the army as he thought beſt, *Eurenoſes* a man of great experience told *Amurath*, That the Chriſtians were for the moſt part well and ſtrongly armed, and ſholdring cloſe together in their charge would be like a rock of iron, vnable to be pierced: but if in joining the battell he would a little retyre, the Chriſtians following vpon good hope, would loſe their cloſe ſtanding (the chief part of their ſtrength) and ſo leaue an entrance for his men. Vpon which reſolution, *Amurath* commanded the Archers to giue the firſt charge, which they couragiouſly performed. At which time the Turks army gaue ground a little; which the Chriſtians perceiuing, with great force aſſailed the left wing of their army, and with a hard and cruell fight put the ſame to flight. Which *Bajaſet* ſeeing, with ſuch fury renued the battel, that the Turks who before as men diſcouraged fled in the left wing, began now to turn again vpon their enemies: and the Chriſtians hauing as they thought already got the victory, were to begin a great battell. In which bloudy fight many fel on both ſides: the brightnes of the armor and weapons was as it had bin the lightning: the multitude of the launces and other horſmens ſtaues ſhadowed the light of the Sun: arrowes and darts fel ſo faſt, that a man would haue thought they had poured down from heauen: the noiſe of the inſtruments of war, with the nighing of horſes and outcries of men was ſo terrible and great, that the wild beaſts in the mountains ſtood aſtonied therwith: and the Turkiſh hiſtories to expres the terror of the day, vainely ſay, that the Angels in heauen amaſed with that hideous noiſe, for that time forgot the hauenly hymns wherewith they alwaies glorifie God. About noon time of the day, the fortune of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians began to giue ground, and at length betooke themſelues to plain flight; whom the Turkes with all their force purſued, and ſlew them down right without number or mercy. In which battel *Laſarus* the Deſpot himſelf was alſo ſlain. Howbeit ſome hiſtories report otherwiſe; as that hee with his ſon were taken priſoners, and by and by afterward, in reuenge of *Amuraths* death cruelly ſlain. Other ſome alſo reporting that he died in priſon. *Amurath* after this great victory, with ſome of his chief captaines taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heaps in the fields like mountains; a Chriſtian ſoldier ſore wounded and all bloudy, ſeeing him, in ſtaggering maner roſe, as if it had bin from death, out of an heap of ſlain men, and making towards him, for want of ſtrength fel down diuers times by the way as he came, as if hee had bin a drunken man: at length drawing nigh vnto him, when they who guarded the Kings perſon would haue ſtayd him, he was by *Amurath* himſelfe commanded to come neerer, ſuppoſing that he would haue craued his life of him. Thus the half dead Chriſtian preſſing neer vnto him, as if he would for honors ſake haue kiſſed his feet, ſuddenly ſtabd him in the bottom of his belly, with a ſhort dagger which he had vnder his ſoldiers coat: of which wound that great King and conqueror preſently died. The name of this man (for his courage worthy of eternal memory) was *Mile's Cobelits*; who before ſore wounded, was ſhortly after in the preſence of *Bajaſet* cut into ſmall pieces. The Turks in their Annals ſomewhat otherwiſe report of the death of *Amurath*: as that this *Cobelits*, one of the Deſpots ſeruants, in time of the battel comming to *Amurath* as a fugitiue, offring him his ſeruice; and admitted to his preſence, in humbling himſelfe to haue kiſſed his feet (as the barbarous maner of the Turks is) ſtabbed him into the belly and ſo ſlew him; being himſelfe ſhortly after therefore (as is aforeſaid) in the preſence of *Baiaſet* moſt cruelly hewn into ſmal pieces. Wherupon euer ſince that time, the maner of the Turks hath bin, and yet is, that when any Embaſſador or ſtranger is to come to kiſſe the Sultans hand, or otherwiſe to approch his perſon, he is as it were for honors ſake led by the arms vnto his preſence by two of the great courtiers: but indeed by ſo intangling him, to be ſure hee ſhall not offer him the like violence that did this *Cobelits* formerly to *Amurath*.

Lazarus ſlain.

Amurath ſlain

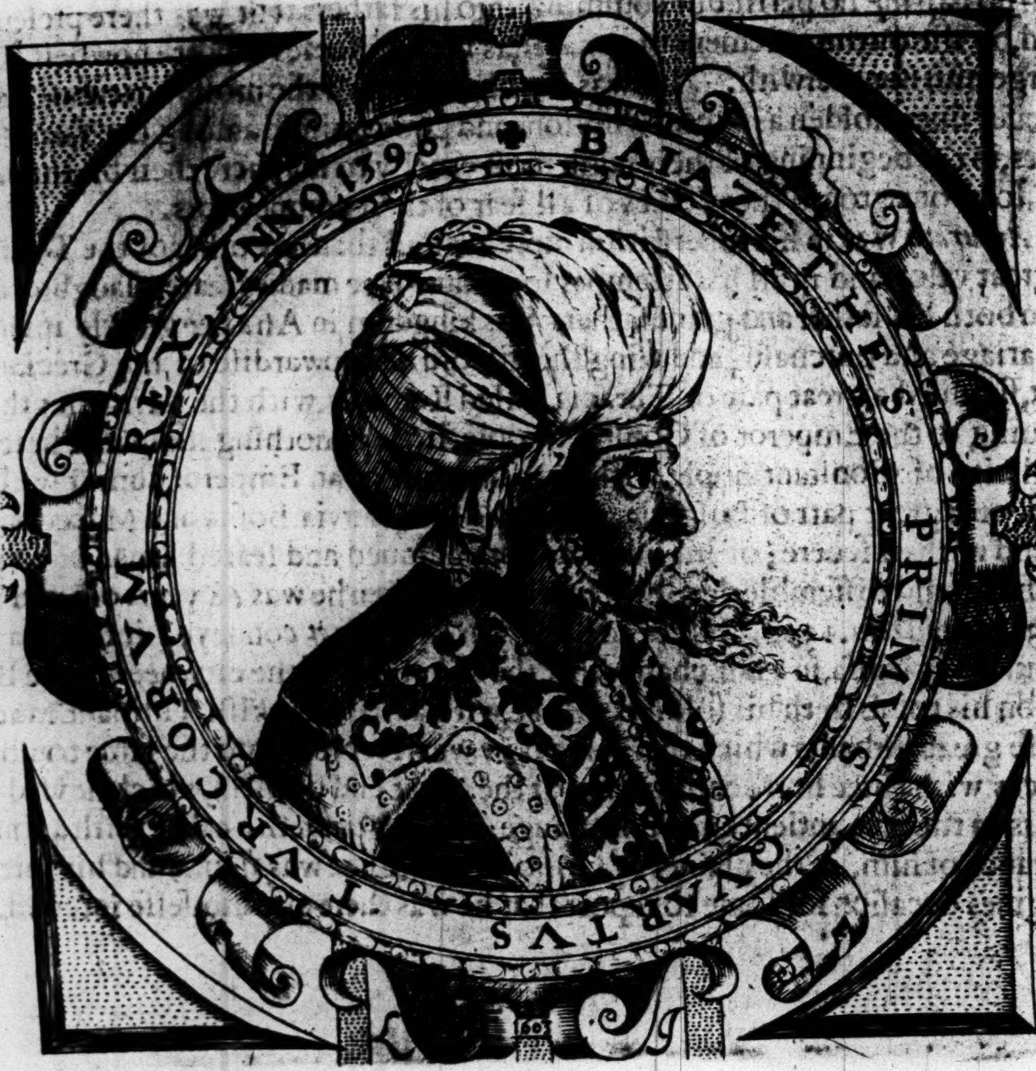
The dead body of *Amurath* was preſently with all ſecrecie conueyed into his Tent by the Baſſa's and Captains preſent at his death: whither *Baiaſet* was alſo brought with an Enſigne before

A before him,as the ſucceſſor in his fathers kingdom. His yonger brother *Iacup*,ſyrnamed *Zele-*
bi(or the noble)yet ignorant of that had hapned,was by the great Baſſa's ſent for, as from his
father : who caſting no perill,but comming into his fathers tent,was there preſently by them
ſtrangled,by the commandement of *Bajazet*,as moſt hiſtories report : howbeit the Turks an-
nals charge him not therwith. This was the beginning of the moſt vnnaturall and inhumane
cuſtom,euer ſince holden as a moſt wholſom and good policie among the Turkiſh kings and
Emperors,in the beginning of their reign moſt cruelly to maſſacre their brethren and neereſt
kinſmen,ſo at once to rid themſelues of all fear of their competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his ſuperſtition more zealous than any other of the Turkiſh Kings,a
man of great valor,and in all his attempts fortunat. Hee made greater ſlaughter of his Ene-
B mies than both his father and grandfather. His kingdom in Aſia hee greatly inlarged by the
ſword,mariage and purchaſe; and vſing the diſcord and cowardiſe of the Grecian Princes to
his profit,ſubdued a great part of Thracia,called Romania,with the territories therto adjoy-
ning,leauing to the Emperor of Conſtantinople, little or nothing more in Thracia than the
Imperiall city of Conſtantinople,with the bare name of an Emperor,almoſt without an em-
pire. He won a great part of Bulgaria,and entred into Servia,Boſna,and Macedonia. He was
liberall,and withall ſeuere; of his ſubjects both beloued and feared:a man of very few words
and one that could diſſemble deeply. He was ſlain when he was 68 years old,and had thereof
reigned 31,*Anno Dom*.1390. His dead body was by *Bajazet* conueyed into Aſia , and there
royally buried at Pruſa,in a fair chappell at the Weſt end of the city,neer to the Baths there; *Amurath buried at Pruſa.*
C where vpon his tomb lieth his ſoldiers cloake,with a little Turkiſh Tulipant,much different
from thoſe great turbants which the Turks now weare. Neer vnto the ſame tomb are placed
three lances,with three horſe nails faſtned at the vpper end of them,which he vſed as guidons
in his wars : a thing in antient time not ſtrange. There ſtandeth a caſtle,with a tomb made in
remembrance of him, in the plaines of Coſlova, where hee was ſlaine, and his intrals buried,
Which giues occaſion for ſome to report that he was there alſo himſelfe interred.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath *the firſt.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Iohn Palæologus*	1354.	30
			Andronicus Palæologus	1384.	3
			Emanuel Palæologus	1387.	30
		Of the Weſt	*Charles the fourth*	1346.	32
			Winceſlaus, ſon to Charles King of Bohemia	1378.	22
	Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the third*	1327.	50
			Richard the ſecond	1377.	23
		Of France	*Iohn Valoys*	1350.	14
			Charles the fifth	1364.	16
			Charles the ſixth, ſyrnamed the Welbeloued.	1381.	42
		Of Scotland	*David Bruce*	1341.	29
			Robert Stuart	1370	
	Biſhops of Rome		*Innocent the VI.*	1354.	10
			Vrban the V.	1364.	8
			Gregory the II.	1372.	7
			Vrban the VI.	1378.	11


ANNO 1396 ✠ BAIAZETHES PRIMVS QVARTVS TVRCORVM REX

Phi. Lonicer. Histor. Tur. l. 1.

Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu
Bajazethes, *fidei pacis & impatiens.*
Regni Hadrianopolim ſedes ſibi legit ut eſſet,
Poſſet ut Europæ jungere regna ſuis.
Conſtantinopolim gemina obſidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana ſpe ſibi ſpondet opes.
Cum Tamerlano *præbet ſua terga, catenis*
Vinctus, & in cavea probra pudenda ſubit.

Proud *BajaZet*, moſt falſe of faith, and loathing bleſſed peace,
His warlike troups like lightning to ſhake he doth not ceaſe.
Of Hadrianople he makes choice for his Imperiall ſeat,
That Europes Kingdom he might join vnto his Empire great.
Conſtantinople he diſtreſt twice with ſtreit ſiege and long;
And vainly thought to haue poſſeſt the Grecians wealth by wrong.
But ouercome by *Tamerlane*, faſt bound in fetters ſure,
Trod vnder foot, and clos'd in Cage, great ſhame did there endure.

THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNAT KING OF THE TVRKES.

BAjaZet (or as the Turks cal him *Bajaſit*) of his violent and fierce nature ſyrnamed *Gilderun*, or lightning, ſucceeded his father *Amurath* C in the Turkiſh kingdom; his yonger brother *Iacup* beeing ſtrangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the firſt year of his reign inuaded Seruia, and there beſieged Cratoua, a city of the Deſpots, whereunto the ſiluer mines of Seruia (not the leaſt cauſe of that war) belonged. Which city was yeelded vnto him vpon condition, That the Chriſtian inhabitants might with life and liberty depart. Who were no ſooner gone out of the City, but that by his commandement they were all moſt cruelly ſlain by his men of war, for that purpoſe ſent out after them. At this time he alſo won Vſcupia, with diuers other caſtles in the country neer vnto Cratoua.

Bajazet inuadeth Seruia.

D *Sigiſmund* at the ſame time King of Hungary (a yong Prince of great hope, and brother to *Winceſlaus* then Emperor of the Weſt) aduertiſed from the Seruians his allyes and Confederats, of theſe proud proceedings of *Bajazet*; by his Embaſſadours ſent of purpoſe, requeſted him, that as he was a iuſt Prince, and wiſhed to liue in quiet with his owne, to deſiſt from doing ſuch open wrong, and from inuading of ſuch countries of his friends & confederats, as he had no right in. Which Embaſſadors ſo ſent, *Bajazet* detained without anſwer, til ſuch time as he had ouerrun a great part of the Deſpots country, and therin don what he thought good. Then calling the ſaid Embaſſadors vnto him into one of the ſtrong towns which hee had in euery corner filled with his own ſouldiers, told them that they might there ſee, that his right both vnto that town and the reſt by him taken was good enough, foraſmuch as the very Walls E acknowledged the ſame. And ſo giuing them leaue to depart, willed them ſo to tel their maſter. Which his proud anſwer by the ſame Embaſſadours reported vnto the young King, no leſſe troubled him than if open war had by them bin denounced vnto him, ſeeing the Tyrant, as it ſhould ſeem, pretended right vnto whatſoeuer he could by force get. Neuertheles, being himſelf as yet not wel ſetled in his kingdom, and in doubt of the contrary faction (that altogether liked not of his election into Hungary for their King) he was glad at that time to put it vp, and ſo to hold himſelf content.

The next yeare *Bajazet* by *Feriſes Beg* tooke the City of Vidina, with many other ſtrong Townes and Caſtles in Seruia, and afterwards returned vnto Hadrianople. But whileſt that he thus raged in Europ, the Caramanian King inuaded and ſpoiled the frontiers of his coun- F tries in Aſia. At the ſame time *Eurenoſes*, Lord Gouernour of the marches of his Dominions in Europe towards Grecia, departing from Serres (where hee then lay) tooke the Citie of Sitros in Theſſalia. And *Feriſes Beg*, not content to haue taken Vidina (as is before ſaid) paſſed ouer the great Riuer of Danubius, and grieuouſly ſpoyled Valachia: from whence he returned loden with a great prey. This is the firſt time that I read of, that the Turks euer paſſed

Seruia the ſecond time inuaded by Bajazet.

ſed ouer the riuer Danubius. At this time alſo *Iegides Baſſa* entered the kingdome of Boſna, G
from whence he carried a great number of Captiues to Hadrianople, where *Bajazet* ſpent that
Winter.

Philadelphia beſieged by Bajazet.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Bajazet* paſſed ouer Helleſpontus to Pruſa, where hee
built a fair Mahometan temple, with a colledge and an alms-houſe: which works finiſhed, he
returned again into Europ, and built a monaſtery at Hadrianople, and ſo returned again into
Aſia, leauing *Temurtaſes* Beglerbeg or Viceroy in Hadrianople. After he was come into Aſia,
he laid ſiege vnto the ſtrong city of Philadelphia in Lydia, which was at that time the onely
city in the leſſer Aſia yet holden by the Chriſtians in the midſt of the Mahometan Princes.
For now was the Greek emperor by the *Othoman* Kings and the other Turks, quite driuen out
of the leſſer Aſia. In the beginning of this ſiege, *Bajazet* gaue ſtreit commandment to his ſoldiers, H
That they ſhould not ſpoil or hurt any thing in the country belonging to the citiſens;
hoping by this feigned curteſie to make them the more willing to yeeld themſelues vnto his
obedience. But diſappointed of his expectation, and finding them reſolued to hold it out to
the laſt, he forthwith gaue out contrary commandment, not to ſpare any thing they could waſt
or deſtroy: which was accordingly by his greedy ſoldiers performed. After a long ſiege, the
citiſens ſeeing the countrey about them vtterly waſted, and themſelues vnable any longer to
endure, and out of all hope of relief, yeelded their city to the pleaſure of *Bajazet*. Some write,
That this famous city was not beſieged without the conſent of the Emperor of Conſtantinople:
and that the Greeks themſelues, moued with enuy to ſee that City ſo long hold out, did
help the Turks in the winning therof. I

During this ſiege, *Aladin Ogli* Prince of Caria, a Mahometan, came to *Bajazet*, & yeelded
himſelf into his power as his vaſſal: vnto whom *Bajazet* reſtored certain places which he had
in this expedition a little before taken from him; yet vpon ſuch condition, as that he ſhould
not from that time coin any money in his own name, either be remembred in their publique
praiers as a prince in their Mahometan temples, as he had before bin: but that al ſuch things
ſhould be don in the name of *Bajazet*, as his dread Lord & Soueraign. With which diſgrace
the poor prince was glad to content himſelf, and to liue as his vaſſal. From Philadelphia hee
led his army into the country of Saruchania, in antient time called Ionia Maritima, which he
ſubdued to himſelf vpon like conditions. After that he paſſed further to Menteſia, or Mentz,
ſomtime called Myndos, in Caria: the prince wherof for fear fled to *Cutrun Bajazet* Prince of K
Caſtamona and part of Pontus, leauing his country to the pleaſure of the tyrant. And foraſmuch
as the yong King of Caramania had inuaded his countries whilſt he was buſied in Europ,
Bajazet in reuenge therof entred with his army into Caramania, and took Cæſarea, with
diuers other places there: ſo that the yong King diſcouraged with the loſſe of his towns, and
fearing *Bajazets* greatnes, was glad to hold himſelfe content with his loſſe, and to make peace
with him as it pleaſed him to grant it. As *Bajazet* was making this expedition into Caramania,
another yong Mahometan Prince the ſon of Prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of
his chief counſellors, and were both by him ſent priſoners ouer the ſtreit to the caſtle of Ipſala
where they lay in durance many years after. Thus *Bajazet* hauing oppreſſed and wronged L
moſt of the Mahometan princes, the ſucceſſors of Sultan *Aladin* in the leſſer Aſia, at laſt returned
again himſelfe in triumph to Pruſa.

The Prince of Menteſia, who for fear of *Bajazet* was fled out of his Countrey (as is aforeſaid,
had now inſenced *Cutrun Bajazet* prince of Caſtamona, with a great power to inuade that
ſide of *Bajazet* his Kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Bajazet* vnderſtanding, gathered
together a great Army to go againſt this Mahometan Prince. At which very time the
Vayuod of Valachia, hearing of *Bajazet* his troubles in Aſia, with a ſtrong Army paſſed ouer
Danubius, into thoſe parts of Seruia and Bulgaria that were by the Turks as then poſſeſſed;
where he ſpoiled the Countrey, and ſlew great numbers of the Turks, making Mahometan
Saints and Martyrs by heaps: for ſo the Turks account all them whom the Chriſtians kil in
their wars. Which don, he retyred back again into Valachia, carrying with him alſo many M
of the Turks priſoners. *Bajazet* thus at once inuaded both in Aſia and Europe, deferred his
Warres purpoſed againſt the Prince of Pontus, vntill a more conuenient time, conuerting
his Forces againſt the Valachians. Wherefore paſſing ouer the Streight to Hadrianople, he
ſent his Army from thence to Nicopolis, and there paſſing the Riuer of Danubius, entered
into

A into Valachia,burning and ſpoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayuod
to repreſſe his fury,met him in the field and gaue him battell,but was therin ouerthrown,and
many of his people ſlaine; ſo that at laſt he was glad to ſue for peace, which he obtained, by
ſubmitting himſelfe to *Bajazet*,and yeelding to pay him a yeerely tribute.

Theſſalia inuaded by Bajazet

Whileſt *Bajazet* was thus buſied in Valachia,newes was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians
of the Weſt with a fleet of gallies did great harm alongſt the coaſts of his dominions
in Aſia. In reuenge whereof, he entred with his army into Theſſaly, deſtroying all the countrey
vnto Theſſalonica: in which expedition he tooke the city of Neapolis in Greece, and Ioannina
in Ætolia,and after that returned into Aſia, where he ſpent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring, he with a great power paſſed the ſtreit of Callipolis
B to Hadrianople, intending to haue inuaded Hungary. But as he was vpon the way,it chanced
that a Conſtantinopolitan ſpie was by the Turks intercepted, with letters from the Greeke
Emperour to the King of Hungary, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation and
comming. By which ſpie *Bajazet* alſo vnderſtood of another meſſenger before ſent into Hungary
for like purpoſe. Whereupon *Temurtaſes* (then his great lieutenant in Europe) perſuaded
him to deſiſt from his intended warres in Hungary,and to beſiege the imperiall city of Conſtantinople,
as a thing of more honour,and leſſe danger; the city being already (as he ſaid,and
as in truth it was) ſurrounded with the Turkiſh prouinces : bringing in Philadelphia (but a
few yeres before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whoſe counſel *Bajazet* liking wel,
returned with his army,and ſhortly after came and ſate down therewith before Conſtantinople,
C laying hard ſiege thereunto, firſt by land,and then by ſea, with his gallies ſent from Callipolis.
Which hard ſiege continued (as moſt hiſtories report) the ſpace of eight yeres: in which
long time he draue the Emperour *Emanuel Palæologus* to that ſtreit, that he was glad to leaue
his city,and himſelfe in perſon to craue aid of *Wenceſlaus* the Germane Emperour,and *Charles*
the ſixth the French King, and other Chriſtian Princes alſo. At which time the citiſens were
at length brought to ſuch extremity, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the
city; and haply had ſo done, had not *Sigiſmund* King of Hungary (aſſiſted with a great army
of the French, and other voluntary Chriſtians almoſt out of euery part of Chriſtendome, to
the number of an hundred and thirty thouſand, vnder the leading of *Iohn* County of Niuers,
and after Duke of Burgondy) for the reliefe of the beſieged Emperour, paſſed ouer Danubius
D into the Turkiſh dominions; and there hauing recouered Vidina, with certaine other ſtrong
Holds in Bulgaria, layd ſiege to Nicopolis: out of which city the Turks oftentimes ſallyed,
and gaue him many an hot skirmiſh. It is reported, That the yong King *Sigiſmund* beholding
the greatnes of his great army, in his great jollity hearing of the comming of the Turks army,
ſhould proudly ſay *What need we to feare the Turk, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens,*
which if they ſhould fall, yet were we able with our ſpears and halberts to hold them vp for falling
vpon vs. But *Bajazet* vnderſtanding what ſpoyle the Hungarian King had made in his late
gained countries, and of the ſiege of Nicopolis; commanded the ladders and other great prouiſion
now in readineſſe for the ſcaling and aſſaulting of the City of Conſtantinople, to be
burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians; and ſo raiſing his ſiege,
E marched with a right puiſſant army to Nicopolis, ſending *Eurenoſes* before, of purpoſe to intercept
ſome of the Chriſtians, thereby to learne the ſtate of their camp and army. But they
hearing of his comming, ſo wel looked to themſelues, that he with ſhame returned to his Maſter
as he came, without any one priſoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Bajazet*, as fearing
he ſhould haue to do with a wary enemy. *Sigiſmund* vnderſtanding of the approch of *Bajazet*,
leauing a ſufficient power for the continuing of the ſiege, roſe himſelfe, and with the
reſt of his army went to meet his proud enemy. Of whoſe comming and approach *Bajazet* vnderſtanding,
diuided his Army into two parts; and being now come within the ſight of the
Chriſtian army, made ſhew but of the one halfe, keeping himſelfe cloſe in ſecret ambuſh not
farre off with the other. The Chriſtians deeming themſelues (as they were) far more in number
F than the Turks which they ſaw, diuided their army alſo into two parts, purpoſing betwixt
them to haue incloſed the Turks. Of all the Chriſtians that were there preſent, the French deſired
to haue the honour of the firſt charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon
good hope ſet forward (the Hungarians, with a great part of the army, not yet ſet in order) and
ſo began the battell: where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruell fight, and

Conſtantinople eight yeares beſieged by Bajazet.

in a little time many thouſands ſlain. But this fight had not long endured, when *Bajazet* with the other halfe of his army ſuddenly ariſing, came on with ſuch violence, as well became his ſyrname of *Gilderun* or lightning; and ſo hardly charged the French, that they amaſed at the ſuddenneſſe of the danger, and oppreſſed with the fury and multitude of the vnexpected enemy, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmaid; but ſeeing no remedy, encouraging one another, valiantly ſought it out vntill they were almoſt all either ſlain or taken priſoners; ſtil in hope to haue been relieued by the Hungarians and the reſt. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horſmen hauing forſaken their horſes, fought on foot, as their manner was: which horſes running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, cauſed them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrowne; wherewith diſmayed, they without further comming on, all turned their backs and fled, in ſo great haſt, as that it booted not the king or any other great commander to go about to ſtay their flight. The French thus by their too much haſt ouerthrowne, the Turks purſuing the Hungarians and the reſt of the Chriſtians, made of them a great ſlaughter: of whom alſo many were drowned in the great riuer Danubius. At which time alſo the Turks tooke ſo many priſoners, that it was thought euery ſeuerall Turke had his priſoner. King *Sigiſmund* himſelf, who but a little before had deſpiſed euen the falling of the heauens, had then alſo vndoubtedly fallen into his enemies hands, had he not in a little boat by good hap got ouer Danubius: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the ſeas with his ſhippes, and with a world of men paſſed ouer into Grecia, was afterward by the ſtrange change of fortune, himſelfe alone in a ſmall fiſher boat glad to get backe again into Aſia. *Sigiſmund* being thus got ouer Danubius, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the loſſe of the battel, fled by ſea into Thracia to Conſtantinople, from whence he ſailed vnto the Iſland of the Rhodes; and from thence ſailing through the Ægean and Ionian ſea, landed at length at Dalmatia; and ſo hauing wandred from place to place, toſſed with many fortunes, after eighteene moneths long and painefull trauell returned againe into Hungary. Where he found the ſtate of his kingdome in his abſence much troubled, the contrary faction in the mean time hauing made choice of *Ladiſlaus* King of Naples for their King; who was euen then with a great army going to haue taken poſſeſſion of the kingdome, had not *Sigiſmund* in good time, by the helpe of certaine of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobility preuented him. In this battel, called the battell of Nicopolis, were of the Chriſtians twenty thouſand ſlain, and of the Turks threeſcore thouſand. The County of Niuers the French Kings neere kinſman was there taken priſoner, with three hundred great commanders more: where after he had indured great contumely and reproach in the preſence of *Bajazet*, he was commanded to make choice of fiue other of the captaines, ſuch as he liked beſt, all the reſt being cut in pieces before his face, and he with the other fiue left aliue, ſent priſoners to Pruſa, from whence they were afterwards ranſomed for two hundred thouſand Duckats. This bloudy battell of Nicopolis was fought in the yere of our Lord, 1396.

Conſtantinople the ſecond time beſieged by Bajazet.

Bajazet after this great victory, hauing worthily relieued his beſieged city, returned againe to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks againſt it on the one ſide towards the land; and paſſing ouer the ſtreit of Boſphorus, built a ſtrong caſtle vpon that ſtreit ouer againſt Conſtantinople, to impeach ſo much as was poſſible all paſſage therunto by ſea. This ſtreit ſiege (as moſt write) continued alſo two yeres, which I ſuppoſe by the circumſtance of the hiſtory, to haue been part of the aforeſaid eight yeres. *Emanuel* the beſieged Emperor wearied with theſe long wars, ſent an embaſſador to *Bajazet* to intreat with him a peace: which *Bajazet* was the more willing to hearken vnto, for that he heard news, that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian Prince intended ſhortly to warre vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition, that the Emperor ſhould grant free liberty for the Turks to dwell together in one ſtreet of Conſtantinople, with free exerciſe of their owne religion and lawes, vnder a judge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkiſh King a yerely tribute of ten thouſand duckats. Which diſhonorable conditions the diſtreſſed Emperour was glad to accept of. So was this long ſiege broken vp, and preſently a great ſort of Turks with their families were ſent out of Bithynia, to dwel in Conſtantinople, and a Church there built for them: which not long after was by the Emperor pulled down to the ground, and the Turks againe driuen out of the city, at ſuch time as *Bajazet* was by the mighty *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken priſoner.

A *Bajazet* in the beginning of his reign, preſently after the death of *Lazarus* the Deſpot, ſlain in the battell of Coſſoua, woon part of Seruia (as is aforeſaid) the other part beeing ſtill holden by *Lazarus* his ſon, called *Stephen* the Deſpot; who about this time ſent an honorable embaſſador to *Bajazet*, with louing letters, and royall Preſents: by which embaſſador alſo the old Princeſſe *Lazarus* his widow, offred her faire daughter *Deſpina*, *Stephens* ſiſter, a lady of incomparable beauty, in marriage to him, if it ſhould pleaſe him to vouchſafe his handmaid (as ſhe termed her) ſo high a place. This lady was long before promiſed him, whilſt his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this Embaſſador *Bajazet* was very glad, but eſpecially for the faire Ladies ſake: which being known to the Princes her mother, & the Deſpot her brother, ſhe was forthwith honorably ſent to *Bajazet*, and ſo to him with great ſolemnity and triumph ſhortly after B maried. Of all his wiues he held her deereſt, and for her ſake reſtored to her brother *Stephen* the city and caſtle of Semendre (otherwiſe called S. *Andrew*) and Columbarium in Seruia: ſhe allured him to drink wine, forbidden by the Turks law; and cauſed him to delight in ſumptuous banquets, which his predeceſſors *Othoman*, *Orchanes*, and *Amurath*, neuer vſed.

Bajazet marrieth Deſpina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Deſpot.

As the Turkiſh kingdome grew in greatneſſe, ſo corruption, the canker of great ſtates and common-weales, increaſed likewiſe; but ſpecially in the men of law, and judges of his courts. Wherewith *Bajazet* grieuouſly offended, commanded diuers of the ſame judges to be apprehended, determining (to the terror of others) to haue executed them; whoſe dangerous eſtate was much pitied, and alſo fauoured of *Alis Baſſa*, and other the Kings great Councellors: yet for ſo much as *Bajazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to be ſpoken vnto, C none of them durſt aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe; no not *Alis Baſſa*, *Charydin Baſſa* his ſonne, ſometime judge of Pruſa, although he were a man in ſuch ſpeciall fauour with him, that he was therefore of the common people not onely reuerenced, but as the King himſelfe honoured.

There was at that time in the court an Æthyopian jeaſter, who vnder ſome couert pleaſant jeaſt, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greateſt heat, which his graueſt councellors durſt not once ſpeak to him of in ſecret: this jeſter, *Alis Baſſa* requeſted to deuiſe ſome means to intreat with the angry King in the behalfe of theſe Iudges; promiſing to giue him what he would reaſonably deſire, if he could appeaſe the Kings diſpleaſure. The Æthyopian without feare vndertook the matter, & preſently putting vpon his head a rich hat all wrought D ouer with gold, after the maner of the Turks embaſſadors, and fitting himſelfe with other apparell better beſeeming an embaſſador then a jeaſter; thus attired preſented himſelfe before the King, with a great counterfeit grauity. Whereat *Bajazet* maruelling, asked him the cauſe why he was ſo gay. I haue a requeſt vnto your Majeſty (ſaid he) and wiſh to find fauor in your ſight. *Bajazet* more deſirous than before to know the matter, asked what his requeſt was. If it ſtand with your pleaſure (ſaid the jeaſter) I would faine go as your embaſſador to the emperor of Conſtantinople, in hope whereof I haue put my ſelfe in this readineſſe. To what purpoſe wouldſt thou go? (ſaid *Bajazet*) To craue of the Emperour (ſaid he) ſome forty or fifty of his old graue Monks and Friers to bring with me hither to the court. And what ſhould they doe here? (ſaid *Bajazet*) I would haue them placed (ſaid the jeaſter) in the rooms of the old doting E judges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (ſaid *Bajazet*) I can place others of my owne people in their rooms. True (ſaid the Æthyopian) for grauity of look and countenance, and ſo would the old Monks and Friers ſerue as well, but not ſo learned in your laws & cuſtoms of your kingdom, as are thoſe in your diſpleaſure. If they be learned (ſaid *Bajazet*) why do they then contrary to their learning, peruert juſtice, and take bribes? There is a good reaſon for that too (ſaid the jeaſter.) What reaſon? (ſaid the king.) That can he that there ſtanby tel better than I, (ſaid the jeſter, pointing to *Alis Baſſa*:) who forthwith commanded by *Bajazet* to giue the reaſon, with great reuerence before done, ſhewed, That thoſe Iudges ſo in diſpleaſure, were not conueniently prouided for, & were therefore inforced many times for their neceſſary maintenance to take rewards, to the ſtaying of the due courſe of juſtice: Which *Ba*F*jazet* vnderſtanding to be true, commanded *Alis Baſſa* to appoint them conuenient ſtipends for their maintenance, and forthwith granted their pardon. Whereupon the Baſſa ſet down order, That of euery matter in ſuit exceeding one thouſand Aſpers, the Iudge ſhall haue twenty aſpers fee for judgement, and for euery writing and inſtrument out of the court, twelue Aſpers: which fees they yet take in thoſe courts at this day.

Not long after, *Bajazet* in his fury ſent for certain of his captaines and commanders of his men of war, with whom he was for ſome ſmall occaſion grieuouſly offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death, which was with him no great matter. Theſe captaines being brought before him, the councellors ſeeing him all in choler, ſate looking on the ground, hanging down their heads, as the manner of the Turks is, not daring to looke him in the face, nor to ſpeak a good word for them: when ſuddenly the aforeſaid Æthyopian jeſter ſtept forth, earneſtly requeſting the King, not to ſhew them any fauor, but to execute them preſently, as villaines and traitors; railing vpon them, as if he had known ſome great fault by them. *Bajazet* thinking he could haue accuſed them of ſome great crime, becauſe of his earneſtneſſe, asked what reaſon he had ſo to exclaime againſt them. Reaſon, (quoth the jeſter) becauſe the knaues be good for nothing; and they ſay that *Tamerlane* is with a great army comming againſt vs: if you will but take vp an enſigne in your hand, and I go before you with a drum, I will ſtrike vp ſuch a terrible march, & you make ſuch a dreadfull ſhew, that we ſhall need none of theſe bad fellowes or their ſoldiers in the field to get the victory ouer our enemies. This conceit of the jeaſter ſtrucke ſuch a melancholy imagination into *Bajazet* his head, that he ſtood muſing a great while as it were in a deepe ſtudy: at laſt hauing well conſidered the drift of the jeaſters ſpeech, and his fury now ſomwhat aſſuaged, granted them pardon, which they looked not for.

This Æthyopian jeſter, *Bajazet* vpon a time ſent vnto the old Queene his mother, to bring her newes of the good ſucceſſe of his wars againſt the Chriſtians, for that ſhe had ſo deſired: who comming vnto her, & by her commanded to ſit down, ſhe began to demand of him, how the King her ſonne did, and of the ſucceſſe of his wars. Whereunto he anſwered, That he did very well, and had woon from the Chriſtians a great countrey, and greatly inriched his ſoldiers. But after a little more talke, the Queene mother deſirous to heare againe the good newes, (or elſe after the manner of ſome, which thinke nothing ſufficiently told, except it be told an hundred times) asked him againe, how the King her ſonne did, and how he ſped in his warres. Whereunto he anſwered euery word as before: but asking him the third time the very ſame queſtion, how her ſon did? Do'ſt thou aske me ſo often (ſaid the Æthyopian) how he doth? *Bre Caphre* (ô whore, ſaid he) thou haſt brought forth a ſonne like a diuell, who roaming vp and down, doth nothing but burn and deſtroy the world where he commeth. Whereat the Queene crying out, vp ſtart the Æthyopian, and betaking himſelfe to his heeles, was neuer more afterwards ſeene.

Temurtaſes, Bajazet his great Lieutenant in Aſia, taken priſoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania.

In the wars which *Bajazet* had againſt *Sigiſmund*, the Vayuod of Valachia had giuen aid to the Hungarian king; wherwith *Bajazet* being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make war vpon the Valachian prince, left *Temurtaſes* his great lieutenant at Ancyra in Aſia, and ſo paſſed ouer Helleſpontus himſelf againſt the Valachian. Vpon whoſe departure, *Aladin* his ſiſters ſon the yong king of Caramania, with a great power came ſuddenly in the night to Ancyra, and took *Temurtaſes* priſoner: who then feared nothing leſſe, than in time of peace to be ſo ſurpriſed, and carried away in bonds into Caramania. But when he vnderſtood that *Bajazet* had ended his wars in Valachia, and was with victory returned to Pruſa, he fearing his heauy indignation for ſo great an outrage, preſently releaſed *Temurtaſes* out of priſon, apparrelled him richly after the maner of that nation, craued pardon for the wrong he had done him, and ſet him at liberty to go whither he would, and withal ſent one of his noblemen with great gifts and preſents to *Bajazet*, to make his excuſe in beſt maner he could: vnto which embaſſador *Bajazet* (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or ſuffer him to come in his ſight: but at the ſame time leuied a great army to inuade Caramania. Which *Aladin* vnderſtanding, and now out of all hope to appeaſe this mighty enemy, leuied all the forces he could in his owne kingdome, and withall entertained all the mercinary ſoldiers he could get, intending to try his fortune in the field, as a man of valour, rather than to be thruſt out of his kingdome like a coward: and ſo in readines, hearing of the comming of *Bajazet*, met him vpon the way, and at a place called Aczac gaue him battell: but beeing too weak, he was ouercome and put to flight; in which flight his horſe ſtumbling, and he falling to the ground, was there before he could recouer himſelfe, taken by his enemies which had him in chaſe, and ſo brought bound to *Bajazet*: his two ſons *Mahamet Beg* & *Alis Beg*, being taken in that battell alſo, were ſent priſoners to Pruſa. *Aladin* himſelfe was by *Bajazets* command deliuered to his enemy *Temurtaſes*: who in reuenge of the wrong hee had before done him, preſently cauſed him

A him to be hanged:which when *Bajazet* vnderſtood,he ſeem'd very ſory that he had ſo put him to death,for that he was his own ſiſters ſon. *Bajazet* following the courſe of his victory,woon Iconium, Larenda, Nigde, with all the reſt of *Aladin* his kingdome. About this time alſo, Amaſia the great metropoliticall city of Capadocia, was by the prince thereof deliuered to *Bajazet*, beeing too weake himſelfe to defend the ſame againſt the force of *Caſi-Burchanidin*, prince of the great and ſtrong city of Sebaſtia, his enemy; now growne to be a man of great power in that part of Aſia,and had ſolicited the Sultan of Ægypt to ayd him againſt *Bajazet*. Whereupon *Bajazet* returning from the conqueſt of Caramania, led his army towards Sebaſtia,where the citiſens had a little before depriued *Caſi-Burchanidin* of his gouernment, for his cruelty,and placed his ſon in his ſtead:but in ſhort time no leſſe weary of the ſon, than before B of the father,they with like inconſtancy ſent word to *Bajazet*,that if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the city:vpon whoſe approch, *Caſis* (his ſonne) for feare fled out of the city, to Prince *Naſradin* his brother in law. After whoſe departure,the citiſens according to their promiſe, deliuered the city vnto *Bajazet* at his comming, wherein he left *Solyman* his eldeſt ſonne gouernor. And ſo hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdome of Caramania,and taken the great cities of Amaſia and Sebaſtia,with moſt part of Capadocia, and all that part of Aſia, which the Turks call Rumilia Aſiatica, he returned to Pruſa, and there wintred.

Amaſia yeelded vnto Bajazet.

Sebaſtia deliuered to Bajazet.

The next Spring, *Bajazet* hearing that his old enemy *Cutrun Bajazet* Prince of Caſtamona and Pontus,was dead,came to Caſtamona with a great army: which *Iſfendiar* (*Cutrun Bajazets* ſon,and then Prince of that countrey) hearing, fled out of the city of Synope,a little city vpon C the coaſt of the Euxin:from whence he ſent an embaſſador to *Bajazet*,humbly requeſting him, to ſuffer him to haue that little city, as his ſeruant to liue in, (which he was ſure he would otherwiſe beſtow vpon ſome other of his ſeruants) and not to ſeeke the innocent bloud of the ſon for the fathers offence. Which his requeſt,*Bajazet* moued with pity,eaſily granted:yet neuertheles took from him Caſtamona,with the greateſt part of his dominion in Pontus,which he gaue to his ſonne *Solyman*. At the ſame time hee violently oppreſſed the Prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of Deſpotopolis and Hierapolis,with all the reſt of his dominion.

Bajazet inuadeth Iſfendiar Prince of Caſtamona.

The Prince of Menteſia long before driuen out of his country by *Bajazet*,(as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at Caſtamona, doubting now of his owne D ſafety, after the death of his good friend *Cutrun Bajazet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlane*.

Bajazet returning to Pruſa, there built a magnificent Mahometane Temple; during which worke he with great ſuperſtition forbore drinking of wine, repoſing himſelfe with the company of graue and learned men, and the adminiſtration of iuſtice: whereby hee greatly woon the hearts of his ſubiects, and had now ſo inlarged his kingdome, that all Kings and Princes bordering vpon him ſtood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* King of Bagdat (or new Babylon) and Eiracum, with *Ioſephus Niger* King of Colchis,inforced with the violent incurſions of *Tamerlane* & his E Tartars, for ſafegard of their liues were glad to fly into Syria: where they being diſcouered, were both caſt in priſon by the commandement of the Ægyptian Sultan, who then commanded ouer Syria:from whence they afterwards hardly eſcaping, fled to *Bajazets* court. Where after *Achmetes* had ſtayd two months, he by the aid of *Bajazet* recouered the poſſeſſion of Eiracum part of his owne inheritance. *Ioſephus* the other Mahometan King hauing tarried in *Bajazets* court eight moneths,at length procured him to inuade the dominions of the Ægyptian Sultan:in which expedition he mightily preuailed, and hauing ſlaine the Ægyptian Sultans Generall, and diſcomfited his forces,tooke the city of Malatie or Meletine in Armenia,with Diorige,Derende,and Bexene,taken from the Turcomans,and ſpoyled all the country thereabouts. From thence marching with his army towards Erznitzane,the Prince thereof called F *Tachretin* met him vpon the way,yeelding his city and country into his power; which *Bajazet* preſently gaue to *Ioſephus Niger*:who after he had ſix daies enioyed this new gouernment,finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a ſtranger, ſurrendred the ſame againe into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the Citiſens of Erznitzane humbly requeſted of *Bajazet*, That they might be againe gouerned by their old Prince *Tachretin*, now his vaſſall.

Which thing he at their earneſt requeſt granted:but taking his wife and children as a pledge of his loyalty, ſent them away to Pruſa, where they were all not long after made away.

The Mahometan Princes of Aſia oppreſſed by Bajazet, diſguiſed fly vnto Tamerlane for ayd.

When *Bajazet* had now many yeres thus mightily preuailed againſt the Chriſtian Princes in Romania, Bulgaria, Boſna, Theſſalia, Valachia, and other places of Europe, as is before declared, and inflamed with inſatiable ambition, had in worſe manner oppreſſed the Mahometan Kings & Princes of Aſia (of whom ſome were by him ſlain, ſome driuen into exile, ſome impriſoned, and otherſome brought into ſuch ſubiection, that they liued as it were but at his deuotion) and was now growne to that greatnes, that in the pride of his heart he ſtood in feare of no man, but was (as he thought) a terrour vnto the world, hauing vnder his obeyſance great and large dominions in Europe, but far greater in Aſia: it fortuned that diuers of theſe miſerable & diſcontented Mahometan princes, by great fortune, as if it had bin by appointment, to meet together at the court of the great Tartarian Prince *Tamerlan*, whether they were fled for reliefe and ſuccor. The Prince *Germian Ogli*, after long impriſonment in the caſtle of Ipſala in Europe, brake priſon, and with *Hiſſar-Beg* his great counſellor and priſon fellow, conſorted themſelues with a company of loitring companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the countrey people with their apiſh toyes: in which company he paſſed Helleſpontus, as a Beareward, and at length with much adoe came to *Tamerlane* his court: whither the Prince of Menteſia was come before in the habit of an hermit (as is aforeſaid) with his head and beard ſhauen: *Aidin Ogli* paſſing through the countrey as a pedlar, with a packe at his backe came thither alſo: the Prince *Tachretin* as a ſeruing-man, came attending vpon the Prince *Iſfendiar*, who came alſo, but in ſome better faſhion than the reſt, as an Embaſſadour from ſome other Prince. All theſe poore Princes, with diuers others in like miſery, in ſhort time arriued at Samarcand (great *Tamerlane* his court;) euery one particularly complaining of his owne priuat griefe, & all together earneſtly requeſting that mighty prince, to take vpon him their defence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkiſh tyrant *Bajazet*. Whoſe pittifull complaints much moued the noble Tartarian; but eſpecially the long & wrongfull impriſonment of *Germian Ogli*; and the pittifull complaint and mone of *Tachretin*, who had of late loſt his wife and children by the cruelty of *Bajazet*. Yet in this matter of ſo great and important conſequence, *Tamerlane* made no great ſhew of his forwardnes, (although he was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the relieuing of the diſtreſſed, and chaſtiſing of the proud) but coldly anſwered theſe Princes, That he could not tell whether all were ſo as they had reported of *Bajazet*, or not, but that he well knew him to be a very zealous King in ſetting forth of the Mahometan religion; and that he had therfore made great wars vpon the Chriſtians, in which goodly cauſe (he ſaid) perhaps they had refuſed to aſſiſt him, or els had giuen him ſome other greater occaſion of offence, to him vnknowne: For I can hardly beleeue (ſaid he) that ſo great and religious a Prince as he, would without iuſt and ſufficient cauſe, offer ſuch violence as you may complaine of, eſpecially vnto you his neighbor Princes, and of the ſame religion with himſelfe: neuertheleſſe, whatſoeuer I intend toward your requeſt (ſaid *Tamerlane*) I will ſend firſt an Embaſſadour vnto him, to vnderſtand more of him and his proceedings, before I reſolue vpon any thing: with which anſwer he willed them vntil then to hold themſelues contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue diſpatched his Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, he was aduertiſed, that *Achmetes* late King of new Babylon, and *Ioſephus* King of Colchis, both by him driuen out of their kingdomes, hauing broken out of priſon from the Sultan of Ægypt, were now come to *Bajazet* his court, to craue his aid and aſſiſtance: wherefore he deferd to ſend his Embaſſadour, ſuſpecting that *Bajazet* incited by theſe two exiled Kings, would firſt in their quarrell begin to make war vpon him. But not long after, vnderſtanding that they were both again departed from his court, as is before declared; he then diſpatched his Embaſſadour to *Bajazet*, with many rich gifts and preſents; courteouſly requeſting him, the rather for his ſake, to deale kindly with theſe Mahometan Princes, his friends, as alſo with the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel* his allye, for whom he was now become an interceſſor vnto him. Some report alſo, that he beſides this, requeſted to haue the two aforeſaid Mahometan Kings of Bagdat & Colchis deliuered vnto him; and withall ſeemed not a little to diſlike of *Bajazet* his proceedings againſt the Turcomans his friends. But *Bajazet* being a Prince of a great and haughty ſpirit, and vnaccuſtomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his humor, highly offended with this embaſſage, in great ſcorn reiected the Preſents by *Tamerlane* ſent to him, and ſpecially certain

garments

A garments which *Tamerlane* after the manner of thoſe Eaſtern nations, had in kindnes amongſt other things ſent him: willing the embaſſador to bid his maſter to meddle with his own matters, and to preſcribe lawes to his owne ſubiects, and not vnto him, with whom he had nought to do, and to ſend his rags for preſents vnto his inferiours, and not vnto princes of greater power and ſtate than himſelfe. Adding thereunto many other words full deſpight and diſdain, affoording him no better ſtile than the plain name of *Tamerlane*: calling him the husband of a whore, if he met him not in the field; and wiſhing vnto himſelfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after ſhe had bin polluted by another man (as the greateſt diſhonor that might be) if he failed to meet him wherſouer he durſt dare him battel: which proud anſwer of the Turke, by the Embaſſador reported to *Tamerlane*, and aggrauated by *Axalla* (a Chriſtian of B the race of the Genowaies, borne at Capha, and then one of his greateſt counſellors about him, and the Greek emperors great friend) was ſo euill taken by him, that all other things ſet apart, he reſolued to go againſt the Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fitteſt for the increaſe of his honor and glory. Beſides that, he thought it not in reaſon fit for the greatnes of the Tartarian empire, to ſuffer ſuch an vnquiet neighbor to grow great; as ſtill encroaching vpon other the weak Princes confining to him, and adding conqueſts to conqueſts, and yet neuer the more contented, might in the end proue dangerous to his own eſtate and ſoueraignty: a common care to ſuch as be themſelues great, and mounted vp vnto the higheſt degrees of worldly honour, to haue in jealouſie and diſtruſt the ſudden riſing of others neere or farther off, as perillous or diſgracefull to themſelues, or their eſtate: whoſe growing greatnes C they therefore ſeek by all means to hinder; as did now the mighty *Tamerlane* the proceedings and increaſing of the great *Othoman* king, *Bajazet*: and the rather being continually prickt forward ſo to do, by the ſolicitation of the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppreſſed Mahometan Princes, and by the great captain *Axalla* (as is aforeſaid) a Chriſtian: of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himſelfe, a Mahometan, for the great fidelity, valor and vertue he found in him, made no ſmall reckoning, but was contented euen in his greateſt and moſt waighty affairs to be by him aduiſed; diſliking of no man for his religion whatſoeuer, ſo as he did worſhip but one only God, Creator of heauen and earth, and of all that therein is: being himſelfe of opinion, That God in Eſſence one, and in himſelf immutable, without change or diuerſity, yet for the manifeſting of his omnipotency and power, as he had created in the world ſundry kinds D of people, much differing both in nature, manners, and condition, and yet all framed to the image of himſelfe: ſo was he alſo contented to be of them diuerſly ſerued, according to the diuerſity of their natures and manners: ſo that they worſhipt none other ſtrange gods, but him alone, the maker and Creator of all things: which was the cauſe that he ſuffered the vſe of all religions within the countries ſubiect to his obedience, were they not meere Atheiſts, Idolaters, or worſhippers of ſtrange and vaine gods.

Tamerlane his opinion concerning the diuerſity of religions.

Neither was proud *Bajazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpoſe of *Tamerlane*, in the meane time idle, but ſtill proſecuted his good fortune for the inlarging of his empire, and increaſing of his ſtrength: wiſely deeming (as the truth was) whatſoeuer meſſages were ſent to him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meere threatnings and forewarnings of his more dan-E gerous purpoſes and deſignes againſt him and his ſtate: which he was ſo farre from fearing, as that to prouoke him the more, he ſpared no intemperate ſpeech, which might mooue him to wrath; wiſhing (as ſhould ſeeme) for nothing more, than to meet him in the field, there to try the fortune of a battell with him. So weake is our foreſight of our fortunes to come, and the reach of our vnderſtanding for the apprehenſion or declining of the fatal doom euen preſently hanging ouer our heads, as that we oftentimes through ignorance moſt deſirouſly wiſh for thoſe things which are vnto vs the chiefe occaſions of our vtter ruine and ouerthrow.

But here before we enter into farther diſcourſe of the mortall war betwixt theſe two ſo puiſſant Princes, it ſhal not be much from our purpoſe to ſtep a little out of the way, to ſee what this mighty *Tamerlane* (of whom ſo many Princes craued aid) was, who liuing, held the Eaſt F in ſuch awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terror of the world*, which he then filled with the glory of his name. Moſt Hiſtoriographers report him to haue bin poorly borne, of baſe and obſcure parents: and ſo himſelfe alſo in his youth to haue liued as a poore ſhepheard or heardſman in the mountains, where conſorting himſelfe with other ſturdy companions of like quality and diſpoſition, ſuch as there liued by robbing of Merchants & other

The baſe opinion ſome haue, concerning the birth & riſing of Tamerlane.

paſſengers, he became a maſterfull theefe amongſt them: vnto whom other ſuch lewd mates G dayly ſtill more and more reſorting, he in ſhort time grew (as they ſay) to that greatnes, that he is reported to haue bin of ſuch power, as neuer man but he euer yet came vnto. A matter almoſt incredible: for albeit that the Romane empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks alſo, with ſome others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*, and the other vnder *Othoman*; yet grew they not as on the ſudden, in their times to any great luſtre (neither was it poſſible for them of ſo ſmall beginnings ſo to do) but by many degrees, and that in long time; euery of the ſucceeding Princes, according to their fortunes, adding ſomthing to their ſtate, before it could be made great: whereas he (by their report) contrary to the courſe of things both naturall & ciuil (which from their ſmall beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatnes, but by degrees, and that in the long reuolution of time) taking H his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the ſudden to be a burthen and terrour vnto the world. Wherein our late Hiſtoriographers ſeem too much to haue followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their kingdome almoſt in one battel ſubuerted, report nothing ſimply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthy praiſes, wrongfully charge him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage onely, but euen in the courſe of his whole life alſo; making him (as they would haue the world to beleeue) firſt to haue beene a very abiect among men; and then for his inhumane cruelty a very monſter in nature, (or as it was long before, but more truly ſaid of another great one much like himſelfe) a lump of earth tempred with bloud. Which incredible reports concerning ſo great a Monarch, I liſt not to follow, as too full of diſhonor; eſpecially whereas others of no leſſe credit than they, with far I more modeſty & greater probability report of him the greateſt honor that may be. He was (as they & the others alſo ſay) born at Samarcand, the chiefe city of the *Zagataian* Tartars, pleaſantly ſcituated vpon the riuer Iaxartes: his father was called *Zain-Cham*, or as ſome others wil *Og*, Prince of the *Zagataian* Tartars, and of the countrey of Sachetay (ſometime part of the famous kingdome of Parthia) third in deſcent from *Zingis* the great and fortunat leader of the Tartars, before in the former part of this hiſtory remembred: which *Og*, as a Prince of a peaceable nature (accounting it no leſſe honor quietly to keep the countries left him by his father, than with much trouble and no leſſe danger to ſeeke how to inlarge the ſame) long liued in moſt happy reſt with his ſubiects no leſſe happy than himſelfe: not ſo much ſeeking after the hoording vp of gold & ſiluer (things of that nation not regarded) as contenting himſelfe with K the increaſe and profit of his flocks of ſheep, and heards of cattell; then, and yet alſo, the principall reuenues of the Tartar Kings and Princes: which haply gaue occaſion to ſome, ignorant of the manner and cuſtome of thoſe Northern nations and countries, to account them all for ſhepherds & heardſmen; and ſo alſo to haue reported of this mighty Prince, as of a ſhepherds ſon, or herdſman himſelfe: vainly meaſuring his nobility by the homely manner of his people and ſubiects, and not by the honor of his houſe, and heroical vertues, ſuch as were hardly to be found greater in any Prince of that or other former ages. His peaceable father now well ſtricken in yeres, and weary of the world, deliuered vp vnto him (not yet paſt 25 yeres old) the gouernment of his kingdom, ioyning vnto him two of his moſt faithfull counſellors, *Odmar* and *Aly*, to aſſiſt him in the gouernment of his ſtate (retiring himſelf vnto a ſolitary life, the more L at quiet to ſerue God, and ſo to end his dayes in peace:) which two his truſty ſeruants & graue councellors he dearely loued whilſt they liued, and much honored the remembrance of them being dead. The firſt proofe of his fortune & valor, was againſt the Muſcouit, for ſpoyling of a city which had put it ſelfe vnder his protection, and for entring of his country, and for proclaiming of war againſt him: whom he in a great battel ouerthrew, hauing ſlain fiue and twenty thouſand of the Muſcouites footmen, and between fifteen and ſixteen thouſand horſemen, with the loſſe of ſcarce eight thouſand horſmen and foure thouſand footmen of his owne. After which battell he beholding ſo many thouſands of men there dead vpon the ground, was ſo far from reioycing thereat, that turning himſelfe to one of his familiars, he lamented the condition of ſuch as commanded ouer great armies, commending his fathers quiet courſe of life, M acounting him happy in ſeeking for reſt, and the other moſt vnhappy, which by the deſtruction of their owne kind, ſought to procure their owne glory; proteſting himſelfe euen from his heart to be grieued to ſee ſuch ſad tokens of his victory. With this ouerthrow the Muſcouit diſcouraged, ſent Embaſſadors to him for peace, which vpon ſuch honourable conditions as

Tamerlane honourably deſcended.

The cauſe why ſome haue reported him to haue beene a ſhepheard or heardſman.

A pleaſed him to ſet downe, was by him granted, and ſo the peace concluded. Now the great Cham of Tartaria (his fathers brother) being grown old, and out of hope of any mo children, mooued with the fame of his nephew, after this victory ſent him diuers preſents, and withall offering him his onely daughter in mariage, and with her to proclaime him heire apparant vnto his empire, as in right he was, being his brothers ſonne, and the daughters not at all ſucceeding in thoſe empires. Which ſo great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and ſo the mariage was afterwards with great triumph at the old Emperors court ſolemnized, and he proclaimed heire apparant vnto that great empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being euer after this mariage by the old Emperour his vncle, and now his father in law, ſo long as he liued, notably ſupported, and after his death ſucceeding him alſo in that ſo mighty an empire. Yet B in the mean time wanted not this worthy prince the enuious competitors of theſe his ſo great honors: inſomuch, that whilſt by the aduice and perſuaſion of the old Emperor, he was taking in hand to make warre againſt the great King of China (who had as then gone far beyond his bounds) and ſo was now well onwards on his way, he was by the conſpiracy of *Calix* (a man of greateſt power & authority in the great Cham his court) almoſt thruſt out of his new empire: *Calix* with a right puiſſant army hauing already ſeized vpon the great city of Cambalu, and the citizens alſo generally fauouring thoſe his traiterous proceedings, as diſdaining to be gouerned by the *Zagatian* Tartar. For redreſſe whereof, *Tamerlan* was enforced with the greateſt part of his army to returne, and meeting with the rebell (who then had in his army fourescore thouſand horſe, and an hundred thouſand foot) in a great and mortall battell (wherein of the C one ſide and of the other were more than fifty thouſand men ſlain) ouerthrew him (though not without the great danger of his own perſon, as being ther himſelf beaten down to the ground) tooke him priſoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Which ſo dangerous a rebellion, with the death of the traytor, and the chiefe of the conſpirators repreſſed, and his ſtate in the newneſſe therof by this victory well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended war againſt the great king of China; brake down the ſtrong wall, which the Chinoies had made foure hundred leagues long betwixt the mountaines, for the repreſſing of the incurſions of the Tartars, entred their country, and meeting with the King, leading after him three hundred and fifty thouſand men (whereof there were an hundred and fifty thouſand horſemen, and the reſt on foot) in a great and dreadful battell, with the ſlaughter of ſixty thouſand of his men, ouercame him, and took D him priſoner: whom for all that he (in the courſe of ſo great a victory wiſely moderating his fortune) ſhortly after ſet again at liberty; yet ſo, as that hauing before taken from him the one halfe of his kingdome, and therein left *Odmar* his truſty lieutenant, with a ſufficient power for the reſtraining of the proud king, if he ſhould again begin to raiſe any new ſtirs; and withall impoſed ſuch other conditions as pleaſed himſelfe, with the yerely tribute of three hundred thouſand crownes, he well prouided for the aſſuring of thoſe his new conqueſts: and ſo in triumph returned with victory vnto the old Emperor his father in law at Cambalu, not a little glad to ſee both him and his daughter, who had in all thoſe wars ſtill accompanied him. But leauing him, now thus by birth great, by his fortune greater, but by his vertue greateſt of all, (as able now to draw after him almoſt the whole power of the Eaſt) let vs again return thither E from whence we haue for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digreſſed.

Tamerlane marries the daughter and heire of the great Cham of Tartary.

The war againſt the Turkiſh Sultan *Bajazet* (as is aforeſaid) by *Tamerlane* reſolued vpon, he ſent *Axalla* the great captain to his countrey of Sachetay (called of ſome Zagaty) to giue beginning to the aſſembling of his forces from all parts; to the end, that with the firſt of the ſpring he might ſet forward for the reliefe of ſo many diſtreſſed Princes, and the abating of the pride of ſo great and mighty a tyrant as was *Bajazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from the great Tartarian Emperour, his vncle and father in law, an hundred thouſand footmen, and fourescore thouſand horſmen, hoping to haue as many mo from Sachetay his owne countrey, beſides the lords that for his honors ſake would accompany him in that his ſo honourable an expedition, from whom he made account alſo of 50000 men more which they would bring to F him, and diuers other great ſupplies which he expected from other places alſo, wherewith he doubted not well to performe what he had ſo honorably determined to take in hand, for the abating of the *Othoman* pride: for which and other ſuch like, he was (as he would oftentimes ſay) by God himſelfe appointed: ſo taking his leaue of the old Emperor his father in law, and of the princes his wife (then left behind him for the comfort of her aged father) he departed from Cambalu towards Samarcand, the place of his birth and ſeat of his empire; leauing behind him the forces brought from the great Emperour his vncle, to come after him to Ozara, where he had appointed the generall meeting of his army. At which time among other Princes that thither brought or ſent their ſupplies, the great Muſcouite being requeſted ſo to do, promiſed to ſend him fifteen thouſand horſe, with a certain ſum of mony, and leaue for his army to paſſe through ſo much of his territories as ſhould be neceſſary: all which he afterwards performed vnto *Tamerlane*, being glad that he did ſet vpon others, rather than on himſelfe, and that ſo great a preparation ſhould fall vpon them, whoſe greatnes was as dreadfull and dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almoſt at that time being aſtoniſhed at the ſudden greatnes of this *Othoman* King, and the happy ſucceſſe he had in all his wars: not the leaſt cauſe that moued *Tamerlane* to oppoſe himſelf againſt him, deeming it much better to go and ſet vpon him in his new conqueſts, than to ſtay vntill he therein ſetled, were come neerer to him, and ſo ſhould debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his damage. A good and ſound reſolution: firſt in that it tended to the deſtruction of the enemies country; & then, that if any thing ſhould fall out with him otherwiſe than well, his countrey ſhould not thereby receiue any ſuch aſtoniſhment, as if the daunger were neerer or within the bowels of the ſame. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlan* lay at Samarcand, *Axalla* the great captaine & *Tamerlan* his lieutenant general, had aſſembled all the army at Ozara. Wherof *Tamerlan* vnderſtanding, ſent for him to Samarcand, to confer with him about the ſetting forward of his army. For although he were ſtil acompanied with great renowned Princes, yet were they no body in compariſon of *Axalla*, whoſe ſound counſell had woon him ſuch credit with his Lord & maſter, as by his aduice he did all things, and without him nothing: which his ſo great authority & fauor with his Prince, wanted not the enuy of the court, but that his great vertues, and rare ſound courteſie (in ſo great fortune) together with ſo many worthy ſeruices as he had done, ſupported him againſt the malice of the ſame. He by the commandement of *Tamerlane*, leauing the charge of the army at Ozara, with the prince of Thanais, another of *Tamerlanes* great captains, came himſelfe to Samarcand, and there at large diſcourſed with him, about the eſtate and order of his army. And ſhortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the reſt from Samarcand, for to go to Ozara the place where all his army met, being come thither, entred into a great conſultation with his moſt expert captains, about the taking of his journy, and conducting of his army: as whether it were better to lead the ſame by the coaſts of the Muſcouit directly towards Capha, or els on the other ſide of the Caſpian ſea, by the skirts of Perſia: where after long diſcourſe, and ſundry opinions with their reaſons deliuered, it was reſolued (although the way were the longer) to paſſe by the Muſcouit, ſo to come to the Georgians, & to Trebizonda, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* King his countrey. And ſo ſetting forward from Ozara, he came at length to Maranis, where he ſtayed three days looking for the forces which Prince *Odmar* ſhould ſend him from China, not long before by him conquered: whereof he there receiued newes, and there cauſed his army to be paid, and a generall muſter thereof to be taken. He had alſo there news of the aid the Muſcouit did ſend him: and cauſed an infinite quantity of victuals, & moſt part of his furniture to be conueied by the Caſpian ſea, being a great commodity and eaſe to his army, which marching by land, was of neceſſity to paſſe ſome twenty leagues through places deſtitute both of victuals and water. *Tamerlane* al the way coaſting along the ſea ſhore, paſſed the time in hunting, his army not comming neer him by 10 leagues, which was ſo great, that it extended it ſelfe full twenty leagues. Comming to the riuer of Edel, he ſtayed at Zarazich whileſt his army paſſed the riuer at Mechet, and two other bridges which he had cauſed to be made for that purpoſe. Now the Circaſſians & Georgians, hearing of the approch of *Tamerlane* with his huge army, by their embaſſadors offred him all the help and aſſiſtance they could, in his journey as he paſſed that way. Theſe Georgians were and yet are Chriſtians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greek emperors and afterwards ſomtimes tributaries, & ſometimes confederats vnto the Perſians, but alwaies enemies vnto the Turks, by whom of late (and in our remembrance) but eſpecially by *Amurath* the third, they together with ſome part of the Perſian kingdome, haue bin grieuouſly oppreſſed, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtory may appeare. Of theſe warlike people, glad of *Tamerlane* his comming for the repreſſing of the Turk, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the ſeruice of his Prince: who not a little eſteemed of them, being all tall men, very beautifull, of great ſtrength

Prince Axalla in great credit with Tamerlane.

and

A and courage, and withall moſt expert ſoldiers;as hauing oftentimes reſiſted the power of the
Othoman Kings, by reaſon of the aduantage their countrey affordeth them, being very rough
and hard to come into. By theſe kind people, *Tamerlane* was in euery place honorably entertained,
and his great army with all neceſſaries plentifully relieued. In paſſing through which
country,and the reſt as he marched,he took ſuch order with his ſoldiers,that none of the people
whereby he paſſed,were any thing by them iniuried ; inſomuch that if a ſoldier had taken
but an apple, or other thing of like value from any man,he died therefore, ſo ſeuere were his
commands. It is reported that one of his ſoldiers,hauing taken a little milke from a country
woman,and ſhe thereof complaining,he cauſed the ſaid ſoldier to be preſently killed, and his
ſtomacke to be ript;where the milke that he had of late drunk being found,he contented the
B woman, and ſo ſent her away ; who had otherwiſe vndoubtedly died for her falſe accuſation,
had it not ſo appeared. Which his ſo great ſeuerity, and in other like caſes, was of many accounted
for extream cruelty : yet was it indeed the wholſom preſeruation of his army,being
ſo great,as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to haue found ſufficient victuals for the reliefe
thereof : whereof for all that,there was no want, either of any thing elſe neceſſary for the
vſe of man,his camp being ſtill as a moſt populous and well gouerned city,ſtored with all maner
of things:whereunto both artificers and merchants,from far countries reſorted with their
commodities & merchandiſe,as to ſome famous mart;and the country people,without feare,
from euery place brought in their country commodities,for which they receiued preſent money,
and ſo in ſafety again departed. So marching on,he at length came to Bachichich,where
C he ſtaid to refreſh his army eight daies,and there again took a generall muſter therof,wherein
were found(as moſt write)foure hundred thouſand horſe,and ſix hundred thouſand foot;or as
ſome others that were there preſent affirme, three hundred thouſand horſemen, and fiue hundred
thouſand foot of all nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall pay,and as his manner
was,made vnto them an oration,informing them of ſuch orders as he would haue kept, to the
end they might the better obſerue the ſame:with much other military diſcipline,whereof he
was very curious with his captaines. At which time alſo,it was lawfull for euery common ſoldier
to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies,foraſmuch as he did for that time,
and ſuch like,lay aſide his imperiall maieſty,and ſhew himſelfe more familiar vnto them.

The number of Tamerlane his great army.

Now could he hardly be perſuaded, that *Bajazet* hauing ſubdued the moſt part of Grecia,
D diſtreſſed the Greeke Emperour, and ſo great means to recouer whatſoeuer he ſhould loſe in
Aſia, would be ſo aduenturous as to come ouer the ſtreits out of Europe,to try the fortune of
a battell with him ; but warily rather protract the time, to weary him at length with wants,
that in a ſtrange country drew ſuch a world a people after him. Wherein he found himſelfe
much deceiued:for hauing paſſed the Georgian country, and being come to Buyſabuich, *Axalla*
(whom he had not ſeene in eight dayes before,becauſe he led the head of the army) came
vnto him with ſuch news as he knew would be right welcome vnto him : which was,that *Bajazet*
had raiſed his ſiege of Conſtantinople (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new
conqueſts in Aſia:and that he was certainly reſolued,to come to a day of battell,not ſo much
truſting vnto the multitude of his army, as to the valour and experience of his ſoldiers,being
E all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which vnexpected newes, *Tamerlane* greatly
reioyced:yet without inſolency or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of ſuch a one as
iudged the euents of battell to be (as they are) alwayes doubtfull : ſaying ſometimes, that a
ſmall number well conducted,did oftentimes carry away the victory from the confuſed multitude.
Three dayes he ſtayed at Buyſabuich, and cauſed his ſouldiers continually to march
forward, which at Garga and Chiuſerig paſſed ouer the riuer Euphrates:which he did the rather
to maintaine his army vpon the ſpoyle of the enemy,in attending his comming, than vpon
himſelfe,or his allies. All the cities that yeelded vnto him by the way as he marched,he fauourably
receiued;the other that refuſed to ſubmit themſelues to his obedience,he vſed with
all extremity:ſpecially the great and ſtrong city of Sebaſtia,where certain of the forerunners
F of his army were by the Turks there in garriſon cut off and ſlaine, and the gates of the city as
it were in contempt of him, ſet wide open : wherewith *Tamerlane* offended, ſent out certaine
of his Tartarian horſemen,commanding them on paine of his diſpleaſure, ſo to beare themſelues
againſt their enemies,as that he might at his comming either find the city taken,or the
gates thereof ſhut againſt him : for he had his men at ſo great command,that no danger was

vnto

Sebaſtia beſieged by Tamerlane.

Sebaſtia yeelded to Tamerlane.

vnto them more dreadfull than his diſpleaſure, neither did he puniſh any thing ſo ſeuerely as cowardiſe: inſomuch, that if in his diſport of hunting the wilde beaſt, any did for feare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and ſlew him not, was ſure therefore to die himſelfe: and to turn his backe vpon the enemy, was no leſſe danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turks in garriſon at Sebaſtia, ſeeing theſe Tartarian horſemen marching towards the City, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, iſſued out for to meet them; where they were ſo furiouſly charged by theſe few horſemen, that they were glad to retire, and for haſt to ſhut part of their owne men out of the city, leaſt the enemy following them at their heeles, ſhould haue entred the gates together with them. Which Turkes ſo ſhut out, were by the Tartarians ſlaine at the gates of the city. Shortly after came *Tamerlane* with all his army, and ſate downe before the city, where he lay ſtill ſeuen dayes, not making ſhew of any violence at all; the defendants becauſe the city was of great ſtrength, all that while thinking that hee had intended by long ſiege to diſtreſſe the ſame, and the more, becauſe of his long lying ſtill. But about the eight day, the walls and towers of the city in many places vndermined, were ſuddenly ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemy to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the city diſmayed, forthwith yeelded the city to *Tamerlane*, in hope ſo to haue ſaued their liues: but hee (as the Turks report) being entred the City, commanded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the City, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition, to be throwne into the ſame, and there buried quick. Which done, the City was by his commandement vtterly raſed alſo. After that, calling vnto him *Malcozzius*, the Gouernour of the City, whom he had for that purpoſe only ſpared, he commanded him to go and tell his Maſter what was happened to his ſtrong City of Sebaſtia, and what he had there himſelfe ſeene. Of which tragicall action, *Malcozzius* hauing made true relation vnto *Bajazet*, was by him demanded, whether of the two armies he thought bigger or ſtronger: for now *Bajazet* had aſſembled a mighty army of three hundred thouſand men, or as ſome report of three hundred thouſand horſmen, and two hundred thouſand foot. Whereunto *Malcozzius* hauing before craued pardon, anſwered, That it could not be, but that *Tamerlane* might in reaſon haue the greater number, for that he was a Commander of farre greater countries. Wherewith proud *Bajazet* offended, in great choller replyed, Out of doubt, the ſight of the Tartarian hath made this coward ſo afraid, that he thinketh euery enemy to be two.

A ſhepheard more happy than Bajazet.

Moſt of the Latine hiſtories report, that when *Tamerlane* had taken Sebaſtia, he put all the men to the ſword, and bringing the women and children into the fields without the city, there ouer-ran them with his horſmen, excepting ſome few which were reſerued for priſoners. As alſo that *Bajazet* there loſt his eldeſt ſon *Erthogrul* (of ſome called *Orthobules*) whoſe death with the loſſe of the city, ſo much grieued him (as it is reported) that marching with his great army againſt *Tamerlane*, and by the way hearing a country ſhepheard merrily repoſing himſelfe with his homely pipe, as he ſate vpon the ſide of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; ſtanding ſtill a great while liſtning vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at laſt fetching a deep ſigh, brake forth into theſe words: O happy ſhepheard, which haddeſt neither *Orthobules* not Sebaſtia to loſe: bewraying therein his owne diſcontentment; and yet withall ſhewing, That wordly bliſſe conſiſteth not ſo much in poſſeſſing of much, ſubiect vnto danger, as injoying in a little, contentment deuoide of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themſelues reporting the taking of Sebaſtia, ſpeake not of *Orthobules* at all, but giue him loſt ſix yeares before, in the warres againſt *Caſi Burcaniden*, and lyeth buried by his father at Pruſa. In this City of Sebaſtia was loſt twelue thouſand Turkes, men, women, and children, as their Hiſtories report. The reſt of the Cities all the way as *Tamerlane* marched, warned by the deſtruction of Sebaſtia, yeelded themſelues for feare of like danger: the citiſens whereof he courteouſly vſed, ſpecially the Chriſtians, whom he ſet at liberty, in reſpect of *Emanuel* the Greeke Emperour, whom he ſeemed wholly therein to gratifie. But hee had not done farre into the Turks dominion, but that he was certainly aduertiſed, how that *Bajazet* with a great army was comming againſt him; and now within thirty leagues of him: which cauſed him after that time, to march with his army more cloſely. *Axalla* leading the Vantgard, ſent forth *Chianſon* Prince of Ciarchan, with foure thouſand Parthian horſemen, to get knowledge of the Turks army, and where *Bajazet* lay, as alſo what countrey that

was

A was beyond Sennas; and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him.
This Prince of Ciarcan was *Tamerlanes* neere kinſman, a man of great reputation, & next vnto
Axalla, in whoſe abſence he had the commanding of the avantgard, his charge; who alſo ſent
before him another Parthian captaine with 500 horſemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues,
but that he heard news of *Bajazets* comming, & hauing ſurpriſed Sennas, vnderſtood there the
certain eſtate of the Turks army, which was then at Tataia, and ſo marching forward. Whereof
Tamerlane certified, commanded him not to retire from that place, vntil he did ſee the arriual
of the enemy, and thereof to giue him aduertiſement euery houre; being himſelfe reſolued to
paſſe on no further, as come to a faire large plain, and a country of aduantage for the order of
his battel: for he knew that his army was far greater than *Bajazets*, & therefore he made choice
B of thoſe great plains. Yet for that his army conſiſted of diuers nations, and withal conſidering
that he was not to fight againſt the Chinois, a ſoft effeminat people, (as of late) but againſt the
Turks, a moſt warlike nation, & wel acquainted with all maner of fights & martial ſtratagems,
he thought it good to be well aduiſed how he proceeded againſt them. Wherfore he preſently
ſent for *Axalla*, with him to view the ſaid place, and to haue his opinion, Whether it would
be for his aduantage or not, there to ſtay? who not miſliking of the choice of the place, yet aduiſed
him alſo to keepe Sennas ſo long as he poſſibly could: and ſo ſent word vnto them that
were therein, vpon the approch of the enemy to ſet fire vpon the ſame, and ſo to withdraw
themſelues from thence, to the end that the enemy ſhould not haue any deſire to incampe
there, but come ſtil farward neere to thoſe plains where *Tamerlane* deſired to fight, eſpecially
C for that he was ſtronger in horſe than *Bajazet*. Thus the Turks ſtill marching on, thought to
haue ſurpriſed ſome of their enemies in Sennas; who as ſoon as they drew neere, retired all, excepting
ſome hundred left of purpoſe to fire the town: who hauing performed the ſame, retired
of purpoſe in great diſorder. Now the Prince of Ciarcan had diuided his forces into two
parts, & giuen commandment to the firſt, that as ſoon as they perceiued the enemies to purſue
the hundred horſe that ſo diſorderly of purpoſe fled, they ſhould receiue them, and ſo retyre
all together. He in the mean time with the reſt of his power ſtood cloſe in a valley, neere to a
wood ſide, vnſeen at all. Where hauing ſuffered 2000 of the enemies horſe (the vantcurriers of
the Turks army) to paſſe by him, he following them in the taile, charg'd them home, the other
which before retired, now turning vpon them alſo: ſo that the Turks ſeeing themſelues thus beſet,
D and hardly laid vnto both before and behind, as men diſcouraged fled: in which flight moſt
of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners. This was the firſt encounter betwixt the Turks
and the Parthians: all the priſoners there taken, were by the Prince as a preſent ſent to *Tamerlane*,
& among the reſt the Baſſa of Natolia who led theſe troups: of whom *Tamerlane* earneſtly
demanded, what cauſed *Bajazet* ſo little to eſteeme of him, as to ſhew ſo great contempt of
his army, which he ſhould find ſtrong enough to abate his pride. Wherunto the Baſſa anſwered,
That his lord was the Sun vpon earth, which could not endure any equall; and that he rather
was aſtonied to ſee, how he from ſo far had enterpriſed ſo dangerous a journy, to hinder
the fortune of his lord, in whoſe fauor the heauens (as he ſaid) did bend themſelues to further
his greatnes, and vnto whom all the world ſubjected it ſelfe; and that he committed great folly
E in going about to reſiſt the ſame. Vnto which ſo proud a ſpeech *Tamerlane* replied, That he
was ſent from heauen to puniſh his raſhneſſe, & to teach him, that the proud are hated of God,
whoſe promiſe is to plucke downe the mighty and raiſe vp the lowly. As for thy ſelfe (ſaid he)
thou haſt already felt (although I pitty thy miſhap) what the valour of my Parthian horſe is
againſt thy Turkiſh: and thy maſter I haue already cauſed to raiſe his ſiege of Conſtantinople,
and to looke to his own things here in Aſia. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his ſpeech, demanded,
If his maſter did come reſolued to bid him battell? Aſſure your ſelfe (ſaid he) there
is nothing he more deſireth; and would to God I might acknowledge your greatnes, in giuing
me leaue to aſſiſt my lord at that battell. Good leaue haue thou, (ſaid *Tamerlane*) go thy ways
and tell thy lord that thou haſt ſeen me, and that he ſhall in the battell find me on horſebacke,
F where he ſhall ſee a green enſigne diſplaid. The Baſſa thanking him, ſwore, that next vnto his
lord he vowed vnto him his ſeruice. And ſo returning, declared vnto *Bajazet*, how that he had
ſeene *Tamerlane*, and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to ſay; not forgetting
ouer all, to publiſh his courteſie and bounty: who beſides that he had franckely ſet him at liberty,
had alſo giuen him a very faire horſe well furniſhed, although he well knew he was to

The Prince of Ciarcan dealeth politickly with the forerunners of the Turkes Army.

ſerue againſt himſelfe. Whereunto *Bajazet* anſwered no more, but that he would ſhortly make G triall of him, and that he well hoped before the march were ended, to make him acknowledge his owne folly. The next day the two armies drew neere together, and incamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard ſuch noyſe of horſes, as that it ſeemed the heauens were full of voyces, the aire did ſo reſound, and euery man thought the night long, to come to the triall of his valor, and the gaining of his deſires. The Scythians (a people no leſſe greedy than needy) talked of nothing but the ſpoile; the proud Parthians of their honor; and the poore Chriſtians of their deliuerance, all to be gained by the next days victory: euery man during the night time ſpeaking according to his owne humour. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp and down in the camp heard, and much rejoiced to ſee the hope that his ſoldiers had already in generall conceiued of the victory. Who after the H ſecond watch returning vnto his pauilion, & there caſting himſelf vpon a carpet, had thought to haue ſlept a while: but his cares not ſuffring him ſo to do, he then, as his manner was, called for a booke, wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and anceſtors, and of other valiant worthies, the which he vſed ordinarily to read, as he then did: not as therwith vainly to deceiue the time but to make vſe thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, & declining of ſuch dangers as they by their raſhnes or ouerſight fell into. And afterwards hauing a little ſlumbred, he commanded *Axalla* to be ſent for, who forthwith came to him, with diuers other great lords and captains the chiefe commanders of his army: with whom after he had a while conſulted of the order of the battell, he mounted on horſebacke himſelfe, & ſent euery one of them to their own charges, to put the ſame in readines. At which very inſtant he I receiued news, that the enemy marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battell: whoſe order of march *Tamerlane* was deſirous to ſee, that ſo accordingly he might marſhal his own. And hauing cauſed 3000 horſemen to aduance forward, with charge to begin the skirmiſh, himſelfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in ſuch places as he had foreſeen to be fitteſt for his aduantage. Now ſeeing the Ianizaries march in a ſquare battell in the midſt, and vpon the two fronts two great ſquadrons of horſemen, which ſeemed to be thirty thouſand horſe; and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himſelfe to *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, ſaid, I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I ſee that it behoueth me now to fight on horſebacke, to giue courage vnto my ſouldiers, K to open the great battalion of our enemies. And my will is, that my men come forward vnto me as ſoon as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thouſand footmen, fifty thouſand vpon each of my two wings, and in the middeſt of them forty thouſand of my beſt horſemen. My pleaſure is, that after they haue tried the force of theſe men, that they come vnto my auauntgard, of whom I will diſpoſe, & fifty thouſand horſe more in three bodies, whom thou ſhalt command: which I will aſſiſt with 80000 horſe, wherein ſhall be mine own perſon; hauing 100000 footmen behind me, who ſhall march in two ſquadrons: and for my arereward I appoint 40000 horſe, and 50000 footmen, who ſhall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of 10000 of my beſt horſe, whom I will ſend into euery place where I ſhall thinke needfull within my army, for to impart my commands. Ouer the firſt forty thouſand L horſe the Prince *Ciarcan* commanded: ouer the formoſt footmen was the Lord *Synopes* a Genouois, kinſman to *Axalla*, and his lieutenant ouer the footmen, a captain of great eſtimation: the Prince *Axalla* his owne charge conſiſted of fiue ſquadrons of horſemen. *Bajazet* his army being alſo both faire and great, came brauely ſtill on forwards towards their enemies, who ſtirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battell: except certain light horſemen, Scythians, Parthians, and Muſcouits, who ſent out as looſe men, hotly skirmiſhed betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an eſpie aduertiſed, that *Bajazet* hauing before giuen order for the diſpoſing of his army, was on foot in the midſt of thirty thouſand Ianizaries, his principall men of war, and greateſt ſtrength, wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope. His battell of horſe was very faire, amounting to M the number of a hundred and forty thouſand, all old ſouldiers. The Sultan of Ægypt hauing alſo ſent vnto his aid thirty thouſand Mamalukes, all very good horſemen, with thirty thouſand foot. So that his army marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe-Moone (but not ſo well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whoſe ſquadrons directly followed one another) ſeemed

The great and mortall battell betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

A ſeemed almoſt as great as his: and ſo with infinite numbers of moſt horrible outcries ſtill aduanced forward; *Tamerlane* his ſouldiers all the while ſtanding faſt, with great ſilence.

There was not poſſible to be ſeene a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the Prince of Ciarcan, who had commandment not to fight before the enemy came vnto him: neither could haue bin choſen a more fairer plaine, and where the skilfull choice of place was of leſſe aduantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the riuer on the left hand of his army, ſeruing him to ſome ſmall aduantage. Now this young Prince of Ciarcan with his 40000 horſe, was in this firſt encounter almoſt wholly ouerthrown: yet hauing fought right valiantly, and entred euen into the middeſt of the Ianizaries, (where the perſon of *Bajazet* was) putting them in diſorder, was himſelfe there ſlaine. About which time *Axlla* ſet vpon them B with the auauntgard, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, & cut it al to pieces, and his footmen comming to ioine with him, as they had bin commanded, he faced the battalion of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themſelues for the ſafety of their Prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue ſeene any ſcattered, but the one ſtill reſolutely fighting againſt the other. You might there haue ſeene the horſemen like mountaines ruſh together, and infinite numbers of men die, cry, lament, and threaten all at one inſtant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to ſee the euent of this ſo mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he ſent ten thouſand of his horſe to ioyne againe with the ten thouſand appointed for the arereward, and commanded them to aſſiſt him at ſuch time as he ſhould haue need of them; and at the very ſame time C charged himſelf, and made them to giue him roome; cauſing the footmen to charge alſo, ouer whom the Prince of Thanais commanded, who gaue a furious onſet vpon the battalion of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the perſon of *Bajazet*, who had ſuſtained a great burden. Now *Bajazet* had in his army a great number of mercenary Tartars, called *Deſtenſes*, with many thouſands of other ſouldiers taken vp in the countries of the poore exiled Mahometane Princes; in whoſe juſt quarrell, and the Greeke Emperours, *Tamerlane* had chiefly vndertaken that war: theſe Tartarians and other ſoldiers, ſeeing ſome their friends, and other ſome their naturall and louing Princes in the army of *Tamerlane*; ſtrucken with the terror of diſloyaltie, and abhorring the cruelty of the proud tyrant, in the heat of the battell reuolted from *Bajazet* to their owne Princes; which their reuolt much weakned *Bajazets* forces. Who neuertheleſſe, D with his owne men of warre, eſpecially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Chriſtian ſoldiers brought to his aid from Seruia & other places of Europe, with great courage maintained the fight: but the multitude, and not true valor, preuailed; for, as much as might be done by valiant and couragious men, was by the Ianizaries and the reſt performed, both for the preſeruation of the perſon of their Prince, and the gaining of the victory. But in the end the horſemen with whom *Tamerlane* himſelfe was, giuing a freſh charge, and his auauntgard wholly knit again vnto him, re-inforcing the charge, he with much adoe obtained the victory. *Bajazet* himſelfe wounded, and now mounted on horſebacke, thinking to haue eſcaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*: vnto whom he yeelded him ſelfe, thinking it had bin *Tamerlane*: who for a ſpace knew him not, but took him for ſome other great commander of the Turks. *Muſa* (ſirna E med *Zelebi*, or, the Noble) one of *Bajazet* his ſons, with diuers others of *Bajazet* his great captaines, were there taken alſo: and amongſt the reſt, *George* the Deſpot of Seruia, who notwithſtanding this misfortune, had that day gained vnto himſelf the reputation of a great and worthy captain, inſomuch that *Tamerlane* euen in the very heat of the battell maruelled to ſee him and the Seruians, with the other Chriſtians which he had brought to the aid of *Bajazet*, ſo valiantly to fight, ſaid vnto ſome of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how couragiouſly yonder Religious fight: ſuppoſing them by their ſtrange attire to haue beene ſome of the Turks ſuperſtitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, he was by him courteouſly welcommed; but yet withall reproued, for that he had fought for *Bajazet*, againſt him, who was come in fauor of the Chriſtian Emperour, and the other poore F oppreſſed Princes, ſuch as the Deſpot himſelfe was. Who thereunto boldly anſwered, That indeed it was not according to his duty, but according to the proſperity of *Bajazet*, vnto whom it ſeemed that all the world did bend: and that his own ſafety had cauſed him, though againſt his will, to take part with him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* held him excuſed; and ſo without more ado gaue him leaue at his owne pleaſure to depart.

The Prince of Ciarcan ſlaine.

The Turkes ouerthrowne.

Bajazet and his ſon Muſa taken priſoners.

Bajazet brought before Tamerlane, with his pride.

Bajazet alſo himſelf being afterwards brought vnto *Tamerlane* as a priſoner, and by him curteouſly entertained, neuer ſhewed any token of ſubmiſſion at all, but according to his proud nature, without reſpect of his preſent ſtate, preſumptuouſly anſwered him vnto whatſoeuer he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moued, told him, That it was now in his power to make him to loſe his life. Whereunto he anſwered no more, but, Doe it: for that, that loſſe ſhould be his greateſt happines. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanding of him, What made him ſo proud, as to enterpriſe to bring into his ſubjection ſo noble a Prince as was the Greeke Emperour? he anſwered, Euen the ſame thing that hath moued thee to inuade me, namely the deſire of glory and ſoueraignty. But wherefore then (ſaid *Tamerlane*) doſt thou vſe ſo great crueltie towards them thou haſt ouercome, without reſpect of age or ſex? That did I (ſaid he) to giue the greater terror vnto my enemies. And what wouldſt thou haue done with me (ſaid *Tamerlane*) had it bin my fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (ſaid *Bajazet*) haue incloſed thee in a cage of yron, and ſo in triumph haue carried thee vp & down my kingdome. Euen ſo (ſaid *Tamerlane*) ſhalt thou be ſerued. And ſo cauſing him to be taken out of his preſence, turning vnto his followers, ſaid, Behold a proud and cruell man, he deſerueth to be chaſtiſed accordingly, and to be made an example to all the proud and cruell of the world, of the juſt wrath of God againſt them. I acknowledge, that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemy; to whom we muſt therefore giue thanks. Which he performed the ſame day: for the battell was won at foure of the clocke, and there was yet fiue houres of day light. The next day *Tamerlane* commanded the dead to be buried; where among the reſt they found the body of the Prince of Ciarcan, dead in the middeſt of the Ianizaries; where he lay incloſed with their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreuenged: whoſe vntimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented, for he was his kinſman, and like enough one day to haue done great ſeruice. Whoſe dead body *Tamerlane* cauſed to be imbalmed, and with two thouſand horſe (and diuers of the Turks priſoners chained and tied together) to be conueyed to Samercand, vntill his comming thither. All the other dead bodies were with all honour that might be, buried at Sennas.

This great bloudy battell fought in the yaere of our Lord 1397, not far from the Mount Stella, (where ſometime the great King *Mithrydates* was by *Pompey* the great in a great battell ouerthrown) was fought from ſeuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the afternoone: victory all that while as it were with doubtfull wings, houering ouer both armies, as vncertaine where to light; vntill at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* preuailed. Whoſe wiſedome, next vnto God, gaue that daies victory vnto his ſouldiers: for that the politicke tyring of the ſtrong forces of *Bajazet*, was the ſafegard of his own; whereas if he had gone vnto the battell in one front, aſſuredly the multitude finding ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, had put it ſelfe into confuſion: whereas this ſucceſſiue manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number of them that were in this battel ſlaine, is of diuers diuerſly reported: the Turks themſelues reporting, That *Bajazet* there loſt the noble *Muſtapha* his ſon, with two hundred thouſand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer: and ſome other ſpeaking of a far leſſe number, as that there ſhould be ſlaine of the Turks about threeſcore thouſand, and of *Tamerlane* his army not paſt twenty thouſand. But leauing the certainty of the number vnto the credit of the reporters, like enough it is, that the ſlaughter was exceeding great in ſo long a fight, betwixt two ſuch armies as neuer before (as I ſuppoſe) met in field together.

By this one days euent is plainly to be ſeen the vncertainty of worldly things, & what ſmall aſſurance euen the greateſt haue in them. Behold, *Bajazet* the terrour of the world, and as he thought, ſuperior to fortune, in an inſtant with his ſtate in one battell ouerthrown into the bottom of miſery & deſpaire; and that at ſuch time as he thought leaſt, euen in the middeſt of his greateſt ſtrength. It was three days (as ſome report) before he could be pacified, but as a deſperat man ſtil ſeeking after death, & calling for it: neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once ſpoken with him, at all afterwards curteouſly vſe him, but as of a proud man cauſed ſmall account to be made of him: And to maniſeſt that he knew how to puniſh the haughty, made him to be ſhackled in fetters and chains of gold, and ſo to be ſhut vp in an yron cage made like a grate, in ſuch ſort as that he might on euery ſide be ſeen; and ſo carried him vp and downe as he paſſed thorow Aſia; to be of his own people ſcorned and derided. And to his further diſgrace, vpon feſtiuall daies vſed him for a footſtoole to tread vpon, when he mounted to horſe: and at other

Bajazet like a beaſt ſhut vp in an yron Cage.

A times ſcornfully fed him like a dog, with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the vncertainty of worldly honour, that he vnto whoſe ambitious mind Aſia and Europe, two great parts of the world, were too little, ſhould be now carried vp and downe cooped vp in a little yron cage, like ſome perillous wild beaſt. All which *Tamerlane* did not ſo much for the hatred to the man, as to manifeſt the juſt judgement of God againſt the arrogant folly of the proud. It is reported, That *Tamerlane* being requeſted by one of the Noblemen that might be bold to ſpeake vnto him, to remit ſome part of his ſeuerity againſt the perſon of ſo great a Prince; anſwered, That he did not vſe that rigor againſt him as a King, but rather did puniſh him as a proud ambitious tyrant, polluted with the bloud of his owne brother.

Now this ſo great an ouerthrow brought ſuch a feare vpon all the Countries poſſeſſed by B *Bajazet* in Aſia, that *Axalla* ſent before by *Tamerlane* with 40000 horſe, and 100000 foot, without carriages, to proſecute the victory, came without reſiſtance to Pruſa, whither all the remainder of *Bajazet* his army was retired, with the Baſſa *Muſtapha*: the country as he went ſtill yeelding vnto him. Yea, the great Baſſa with the reſt hearing of his comming, and thinking themſelues not now in any ſafety in Aſia, fled ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus to Callipolis, and ſo to Hadrianople; carrying with them out of the battell, *Solyman*, *Bajazet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom they ſet vp in his fathers place: *Mahomet* his younger brother preſently vpon the ouerthrow being fled to Amaſia; of whom, and the reſt of *Bajazet* his children, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. *Axalla* comming to Pruſa, had the city without reſiſtance yeelded vnto him, which be rifled; and there with other of *Bajazet* his wiues and concubins, tooke priſoner the C faire *Deſpina*, *Bajazet* his beſt beloued wife, to the doubling of his griefe.

Solyman ſet vp in his fathers ſtead.

Pruſa taken by Axalla.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperor now hearing of *Tamerlane* his comming to Pruſa, ſent his embaſſadors (the moſt honorable of his court) thither before to *Axalla*: by whom they were there ſtayd vntill the comming of *Tamerlane*; who receiued them with all the honor that might be, ſhewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his camp, to their great admiration: For it reſembled a moſt populous and well gouerned city, for the order that was therin, which brought vnto it plenty of all kind of victuals and other merchandiſe, as well for pleaſure as for vſe. By theſe Embaſſadors the Greeke Emperor ſubmitted all his empire, together with his perſon, vnto *Tamerlane* the great conqueror, as his moſt faithfull ſubject and vaſſall: which he was bound (as he ſaid) to do, for that he was by him deliuered from the moſt cruell tyrant of D the world: as alſo for that the long journy he had paſſed, and the diſcommodities he had indured, with the loſſe of his people and the danger of his perſon, could cot be recompenced but by the offer of his own life and his ſubjects; which he did for euer dedicate vnto his ſeruice, with all the fidelity and loyalty that ſo great a benefit might deſerue: beſides that, his ſo many vertues & rare accompliſhments, which made him famous thorow the world, did bind him ſo to do. And that therfore he would attend him in his chiefe city, to deliuer it into his hands as his own, with all the Empire of Greece. Now the Greeke Embaſſadors looked for no leſſe than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*; thinking that which they offered to be ſo great and delicate a morſell, as that it would not be refuſed, eſpecially of ſuch a conquering Prince as was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindneſſe and friendſhip, was the beſt bargaine E they could make therein. But they receiued anſwer from this worthy Prince, farre beyond their expectation: for he with a mild countenance beholding them, anſwered them, That he was not come from ſo far a country, or vndertaken ſo much paines, for the inlargement of his dominions, already large enough, (too baſe a thing for him to put himſelfe into ſo great danger and trauell for) but rather to win honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all poſterity for euer: And that therefore it ſhould well appeare vnto the world, that he was come to aid him, being requeſted as his friend and allie: and that his vpright meaning therein was the greateſt cauſe, that God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby bruiſed the head of the greateſt and fierceſt enemy of mankind that was vnder heauen: and now to get him an immortall name, would make free ſo great and flouriſhing a City as was Conſtantinople, go- F uerned by ſo noble and antient an Houſe as the Emperors: That vnto his courage he had always faith joyned, ſuch as ſhould neuer ſuffer him to make ſo great a breach in his reputation, as that it ſhould be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend he came to inuade the Dominions of his allies: That he deſired no more, but that the ſeruice he had done for the Greeke Emperor, might for euer be ingrauen in the memory of his poſterity, to the end they might

for euer wiſh well vnto him and his ſucceſſors, by remembring the good he had done them; G
That long might the noble Emperour liue, happily to gouerne his eſtate: and that before his
returne he would ſo well conſider for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame, as that he ſhould not lightly
fall againe into the like jeopardy, alwaies aſſuring himſelfe of his good will and fauour towards
him. Eaſie it is to judge what joy theſe Greeke Embaſſadors receiued, to heare this ſo
kinde an anſwer from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himſelfe: who rather than he would ſeeme to
breake his faith, refuſed an empire offered vnto him, with one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent
cities of the word. Few Princes (I ſuppoſe) would performe ſuch a part: but ſo there be
likewiſe but few *Tamerlanes* in the world. Theſe Embaſſadors by the command of *Tamerlane*,
were by *Axalla* royally feaſted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of
them being ſent backe to carry theſe vnexpected news vnto the Greeke Emperor, filled both H
him and all the city of Conſtantinople with exceeding joy and gladneſſe, which both he and
his ſubjects in general ſpared not with bonfires and all other ſignes of joy and pleaſure to manifeſt.
And the more to ſhew his thankfulneſſe, ſhortly after by the aduice of his graue Councellors,
paſſed ouer the ſtreit into Aſia, to ſee *Tamerlane* at Pruſa, and in perſon himſelfe to giue
him thanks: who hearing of his comming, and very glad thereof, preſently vpon the firſt daies
journy ſent the Prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certifie him of the joy that he conceiued, to
haue the good hap for to ſee him, as alſo to conduct him to Pruſa: where thoſe two great princes,
with the greateſt magnificence that might be, met, and ſo ſpent one whole day together.
The Greeke Emperor the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honor conducted
out of the city. Now had *Tamerlane* himſelfe conceiued a ſecret deſire to ſee this ſo I
famous a city as was Conſtantinople, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe
thither as a conqueror, but as a priuat perſon: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accompliſhed,
and he thereinto by the Greeke Emperor priuatly receiued, and with all familiarity poſſible,
entertained; the Emperor ſhewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were
therein to be ſeen and the other Greeke Princes deuiſing all the means they could to do him
pleaſure, and them which did accompany him; who were in a manner all apparelled after the
Greeke faſhion. At which time the Greeke Emperour himſelfe was curious to ſhew vnto
him all the faire gardens alongſt the ſea coaſt, a league or two from Conſtantinople, and ſo priuatly
conducting him, ſpent fiue or ſix daies with all the mirth that might be poſſible; *Tamerlane*
by the way oftentimes ſaying, That he had neuer ſeen a fairer city: and that it was indeed K
the city (conſidering the faire and rich ſcituation thereof) of right, worthy to command al the
world. He wondred at the coſtly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high
piramides, & the making of the faire gardens; and oftentimes afterwards ſaid, That he nothing
repented him of his ſo long and dangerous a voyage, if it had bin only but to haue preſerued
from fire & ſword ſo notable a city as that was. In the Greeke Emperor he commended greatly
his mild nature and curteſie: who knowing him aboue al things to take pleaſure in faire ſeruiceable
horſes, gaue vnto him thirty of the faireſt, ſtrongeſt, and readieſt, that were poſſible
to be gotten, all moſt richly furniſhed; and ſent likewiſe faire Preſents vnto all the Princes and
great Commanders of the army, and bountifully cauſed to be deliuered vnto them all things
which he thought to be neceſſary for the army. So after many great kindeneſſes in ſhort time L
paſſed, and a ſtreit bond of friendſhip made, and by ſolemne oath confirmed by theſe two
great Princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the Emperor, and returned
againe to his army at Pruſa. Wherewith he now at his pleaſure without reſiſtance waſted and
ſpoyled all *Bajazet* his dominion in Aſia, no man daring to make head againſt him.

Tamerlane goeth to Conſtantinople.

Tamerlane much delighted with the pleaſures of Conſtantinople.

The yere being now well ſpent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* diſperſed his army into
diuers of the Prouinces of the leſſer Aſia, expecting ſtill when ſome of *Bajazet* his ſonnes or
other friends ſhould make ſuit or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: ſome
fearing *Tamerlane* his heauy indignation, and others no leſſe dreading the fierce nature of *Bajazet*
himſelfe, who if he had beene deliuered, was like enough (as was thought) to haue taken
ſharp reuenge vpon all them which forſooke him in the late battell; and therfore neuer made M
interceſſion for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day paſſing by him, ſaid vnto him, I maruell
that none of thy ſons or friends either come to ſee thee, or to intreat for thee, it muſt needs be
that thou haſt euill deſerued of them, as thou haſt of others: yet how thinkeſt thou, if I ſhould
ſet thee at liberty, would they againe receiue thee as their Lord and Soueraigne, or not? To

whom

A whom *Bajazet* boldly anſwered; Were I at liberty, thou ſhouldeſt well ſee, how that I want neither courage nor means to reuenge all my wrongs, and to make thoſe diſobedient and forgetfull, to know their duties better. Which his proud anſwere, made *Tamerlane* keepe a ſtreighter hand ouer hin.

In this great and bloudy war, wherein the *Othoman* Empire had almoſt taken end, the Sultan of Ægypt had (as is aforeſaid) giuen aid vnto *Bajazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in ſo euill part, as that he reſolued to be therof reuenged: for as he was vnto his friends of all others moſt kind & curteous, ſo was he to his enemies no leſſe terrible and dreadfull. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the leſſer Aſia, to take ſome good order with theſe his new conqueſts; and finding nothing more honorable to reſolue vpon, he reſtored vnto the poore Ma-
B hometan Princes (*Tachretin, Isfendiar, Germean*, and the reſt before fled vnto him for refuge) all their antient inheritance, with ſomething more; as he did alſo diuers cities and countries of Natolia vnto the Greeke Emperour, for the yearely tribute of foure hundred thouſand duckats of gold, and eight hundred thouſand franks of ſiluer, which the Emperour promiſed to pay vnto him yerely. And ſo hauing inriched his army with the ſpoiles of the *Othoman* Empire in Aſia, he turned his forces againſt the Ægyptian Sultan, and ſo paſſing thorow Caramania, he entred into Syria, then part of the Sultans kingdome: where neere vnto Aleppo (being before yeelded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great & mortal battel, the Sultan hauing in his army an hundred thouſand foot, and ſeuenty foure thouſand horſe: whereof there were thirty thouſand Mamalukes, accounted the beſt horſmen of the world. In which battel, *Axalla*
C the great captaine, with the avauntgard of *Tamerlane* his army, was hardly diſtreſſed, and *Axalla* himſelfe taken: but forthwith againe reſcued by *Tamerlane*: who had he not by his comming on with new forces, ſpeedily reſtored the battell, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like enough to haue made an end of his good fortune. But the victory after a long and cruell fight (wherein were foureſcore thouſand men on both ſides ſlaine) inclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* purſuing him by the ſpace of three leagues. After which victory, *Tamerlane* diuiding his army, ſent *Axalla* with forty thouſand horſe and fifty thouſand foot to purſue the Sultan alongſt the coaſt of Arabia: who oftentimes ſhewed himſelfe with ſome foure thouſand horſe to haue hindred *Axalla*, who hauing the ſmalleſt forces, followed him the neereſt. *Tamerlane* himſelfe in the meane time, with threeſcore thouſand horſe, and an
D hundred thouſand foot, marching alongſt the ſea coaſt, had all the cities as he went yeelded vnto him; as Magata, Aman, otherwiſe called Apamea, Tortoſa, Barruto, and Nephthalin: onely the ſtrong city of Damaſco refuſed to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the Prince *Zamaldzin*, with a ſtrong garriſon, who did what he might to haue defended the ſame: But all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* hauing by battery ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by aſſault won the city, only the caſtle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull ſtrength, and almoſt impregnable, whereinto ſuch a multitude had at the taking of the city retyred themſelues, as was not poſſible therein long to liue: who in ſhort time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the reſt vpon ſafegard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that, *Tamerlane* would not receiue to mercy, to make them feele what it was to hold out againſt him: ſo that
E moſt of them dying of famine, the reſt yeelded without condition, and were for their obſtinacy almoſt all ſlaine. Which his ſeuerity towards them of Damaſco, cauſed, that thirty leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their ſubmiſſion: whom he no way moleſted, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his army. From Damaſco, he turned directly towards Ieruſalem, at which time they of the city had driuen out the Sultans garriſon, as had almoſt all they of Iudea, ſubmitting themſelues vnto *Tamerlane*. At Chorazin the Sultan had left ſix thouſand men in garriſon for the defence of the place, who at the firſt ſeemed to ſtand vpon their guard; but afterwards diſmaied to ſee ſo great an army before it, and that *Tamerlane* hauing aproched the wals, was ſet downe to haue it, they ſubmitted themſelues and found mercy. In which city *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garriſon, for the
F better repreſſing of the Mamalukes, who with often incurſions troubled his army. So marching on, he himſelfe with certaine horſemen for his guard, rode to Ieruſalem to viſit the ſepulchre, ſo much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where he was of the inhabitants joyfully receiued, and hauing ſought out all the antiquities of that ancient city, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Ieſus Chriſt had preached,

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Ægypt and Tamerlane.

Damaſco won by Tamerlane.

Tamerlane commeth to Ieruſalem.

euen as the pilgrimes doe: and comming to the ſepulchre, gaue thereunto, and the deuout there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to ſee him honour thoſe holy places) but of the Iewes only, who greatly blamed him for ſo doing: of whom of all others, *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accurſed of God. There had he news that the Sultan had gathered all his forces, and being come into Ægypt, was there fortifying of his cities, eſpecially the great cities of Alexandria and Caier. *Tamerlane* his army in the mean time by his commandment came towards Ægypt to Damiata: which ſtrong city he thought not good to leaue behind him, although he was by ſome perſuaded ſo to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in reſpect of the caſtle, as of the ſtrong garriſon that the Sultan had put thereinto: but he whoſe fortune nothing could hinder, would needs go thither: and ſo hauing commanded *Axalla* to ſet vpon it, followed himſelfe after with the reſt of his army. Now *Axalla* hauing ſummoned the city, and declared vnto the inhabitants (who were moſt of them Chriſtians) the mildneſſe and courteſie of *Tamerlane*, as alſo who himſelfe was, and what religion he held: cauſing many of the Greeke captaines to ſpeake vnto them, and to tell them of the miſery they indured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: ſo farre preuailed with them, that they all determined to aduenture their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the city, with all them that fauoured the Sultan. And ſo in the night taking vp armes, made themſelues maſter of one quarter of the city, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: wereby he entering, put all the Mamalukes to the ſword, or tooke them priſoners, and ſo gained the city. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet vpon his march, was in good hope of ſo proſperous a beginning, to find an happy end alſo of his deſignes in Ægypt. For beſides the good fortune thereof, he knew that this hauen of Damiata might ſerue him with victuals out of all the parts of Greece, as the Emperor *Emanuel* had promiſed him, and wherein he nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane* hauing made his entry, left there in garriſon two thouſand of the Emperour *Emanuel* his ſouldiers, with a gouernour, of whom he tooke an oath for their obedience. So hauing ſtaied a ſpace at Damiata, he cauſed his vauntgard to march towards Alexandria; and hauing paſſed ouer the riuer, euen in an inſtant turned directly vnto Caire, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Sultan, who made prouiſion for the defence of Alexandria, as the neereſt vnto danger. But vnderſtanding of theſe news, vſed ſuch diligence, that he entered into the city with forty thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot, euen as *Tamerlane* his army approached, purpoſing in perſon himſelfe to defend it. By whoſe comming the great city ready before to haue reuolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires: for to remaine long before it, was impoſſible, for want of victuals for ſo great an army in the enemies Country. Yet notwithſtanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbeare to draw neere vnto it, and with all his army to encampe neere vnto the ſame, hauing cauſed a great trench to be made for to couer his horſemen, and thereby to lodge his army more ſafely: during which time he cauſed diuers onſets to be giuen, as well to try what confidence the enemy had in himſelfe, as to ſee how the people of the City, eſpecially the ſlaues (which in that populous city are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainely informed of the ſtate of the City, and the army; as glad to ſee the ſame by him ſhut vp, and the proud Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt. But thus lying ſtill at the ſiege, one day he thought it good to ſhew his army before the City, to try whether the enemy had a deſire to come to a day of battell or not: as alſo to view what forces he had, and ſo indeed to ſeeke occaſion to fight: in hope alſo, that if the Sultan did come forth with all his army into the field, ſome reuolt might happen within the city, as well by the ſlaues (vnto whom liberty was by him promiſed) as by the citizens themſelues (diſcontented with the inſolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the city with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine ſlaues (for that purpoſe fled as fugitiues out of his army into the City) how that hee was not come to hurt them, but onely for the deſtruction of the Mamalukes, both his and there enemies. But betimes ſtanding ſo in battell array, no man come forth, neither was there any tumult or ſtirre raiſed in the city, as he had expected. For the Sultan in ſo great a City well prouided of all things, was reſolued to weary him out with lying ſtill, and not to put all to the hazard of a battell. Which *Tamerlane* perceiuing, and ſet downe not to depart from thence but victorious, reſolued likewiſe to force him euen in his greateſt ſtrength, in the heart of his greateſt City; although it were not to be done, but with great aduen-

Damiata taken by Axalla.

Tamerlane marcheth towards Caier.

Caire beſieged by Tamerlane.

Caire beſieged by *Tamerlane*.

A aduenture: ſuch confidence he had in the ſtrength & multitude of his army. Now his purpoſe
was, firſt to take one of the cities (for Caire is diuided into three) & therin incamping himſelf,
by little & little to aduance forward as he might, ſtil fighting with the enemy. Vpon which reſolution
he commanded an aſſault to be giuen, and hauing brought his footmen to the place
where he would haue them to giue the onſet (for the city was not walled, but onely fortified
with ditches & trenches) he commanded the Prince of Thanais with fifty thouſand footmen,
to begin the aſſault, euen in the face of the enemy; which he moſt valiantly performed, and
there began a moſt terrible and cruel fight. *Axalla* in the mean time, deeming (as the truth was)
that the Sultan had drawn his greateſt forces to the place where the Prince of Thanais ſought
to enter, as vnto a place of greateſt danger; ſet a compaſſe about, and vpon another quarter of
B the city, with ſmall reſiſtance paſſed the trenches; where he preſently left thirty thouſand men
to fill vp the ditches, and to make way for the horſemen to enter: aduancing forward himſelfe,
againſt twenty thouſand ſent by the Sultan to haue ſtopt his further paſſage: the Prince of
Thanais being at that ſame time almoſt beaten backe by the Mamalukes. But the way being
made plain, by them that were for that purpoſe left by *Axalla*, and ten thouſand horſe entred,
which charged vpon the backes of the Mamalukes, where the Sultan himſelfe was; and they
ſeconded with ten thouſand mo ſent in by *Tamerlane*, following himſelf after, with al his power:
the Sultan retired vnto a ſecond ſtrength, which he had made in the next city. The fight indured
full the ſpace of ſeuen houres; wherein where ſlain of the Sultan his men aboue ſixteen
thouſand; and of *Tamerlanes* betwixt ſeuen and eight thouſand. Who contented to haue diſlodged
C the enemy, and gained a third part of the city, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, in hope
the next day to win all the reſt, as indeed he did. For the Prince of Thanais the next day forcing
the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding
himſelfe hardly preſſed by the obſtinat enemy, and too weake long to hold out, retired,
and ſo forthwith abandoned the city, & encamped himſelfe along the ſide of the riuer Nilus,
with purpoſe to paſſe the ſame, and to fly to Alexandria his ſecond ſtrength & refuge. Which
Tamerlane ſuſpecting, followed after him with his horſemen (who onely were in order) and
ſome few foot, hardly drawne from the city, which their fellowes were in ſpoiling; ſo as hee
was glad to promiſe them eſpecially, to regard and reward their good ſeruice. Againſt whom
the Sultan vpon a narrow cauſey, had oppoſed twelue or fifteen thouſand men, whom he called
D his ſlaues (to fauour his paſſage) but were indeed his beſt ſouldiers, and ſtood faſt, the place
ſeruing greatly for their aduantage: who for all that, at length forced by their enemies, ſtill increaſing
vpon them, (though not without great loſſe) caſt themſelues into the great riuer, and
made a moſt honorable retreat: euery man hauing his weapon in the one hand, and ſwimming
with the other to the further bank. The Sultan flying with ſome eighteen thouſand horſe (for
the reſt were ſundry waies fled or els drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his
men, by telling them, that they were not men that had vanquiſhed them, but gods, there appeared
in them ſo great wiſedome, force, and valor: diuers of the Mamalukes taken in the late
fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him curteouſly vſed, were of him demanded, if
they would be content to ſerue him, now that their maſter was fled and gone? which they all
E vtterly refuſed: whom notwithſtanding, for their fidelity, *Tamerlane* ſet at liberty to go againe
to the Sultan: as no leſſe deſirous to be admired of his enemies for his bounty and courteſie,
than feared for his force and valor. The wonderfull wealth of this ſo great and famous a city
became a prey vnto his ſoldiers; who for the ſpace of foure and twenty houres had the ſpoile
thereof, euery man being then by open Proclamation commanded to repaire to his quarter.
The citizens he ſet al at liberty, not ſuffering any of them to be taken priſoners: and ſo leauing
ten thouſand good ſoldiers, with a great number of others (wherof he caried a great multitude
in his army, planting euery where as he paſſed as it were new colonies) and carrying away with
him ſuch of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things neceſſary
for the keeping of ſuch a city, he cauſed his army to paſſe ouer the riuer for to follow
F the Sultan to Alexandria, to the end not to leaue his victory vnperfect: *Axalla* haſting before
with the avauntgard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his forces againe together; and the
reſt of his army conducted by the Prince of Thanais; he himſelfe with an infinite number of
boats & ſoldiers to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleaſure to behold the faire
riuer, and his ſwift courſe ſomtimes, & in an inſtant to become ſo calme as if it ſcarce moued.

The citizens of Alexandria hearing of his comming, and fearing what might betide them, beſought G
the Sultan to haue compaſſion on their eſtate, and to withdraw himſelfe into Lybia,
whither *Tamerlane* for the barrenneſſe of the country could not with any great power follow
him, reſolued for their parts to giue place vnto fortune, and to do as the time required, and no
more to reſiſt ſo great a force, whereof they had already made ſufficient triall: promiſing yet
to remain in heart ſtil his, & vpon the firſt occaſion offered, to make the ſame to him appeare.

The Sultan flyeth from Alexandria.

Wherupon the Sultan ſeeing all things deſperat, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that
time would bring ſome change: as alſo that *Tamerlane* his populous army would not long
remaine there. And ſo departing out of Alexandria with teares ſtanding in his eies, oftentimes
ſaid, That God was angry with him and his people, and that he muſt of neceſſity ſuffer
the fatal ouerthrow of his eſtate, himſelfe hauing done as much as in him lay, according to his H
charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne
againe, and deliuer his people from the bondage, whereunto they muſt needs now ſubmit
themſelues. *Tamerlane* comming to Alexandria (before yeelded to *Axalla*) there ſtaid a great
while, ſending *Axalla* to purſue the Sultan, exceedingly grieued that he could not get him
into his hands; and therefore ſtill fearing ſome innouation to be by him raiſed, which cauſed
him to deale the more hardly with them whom he ſuſpected to fauour him. Now the bruit
of theſe victories hauing with *Axalla* paſſed beyond Alexandria into Lybia, had brought
ſuch a feare, not onely vpon the people adjoyning vnto theſe conqueſts, but alſo vpon all Affrica
(they ſuppoſing that *Tamerlane* did follow) that two and twenty of the Moore kings ſent
their embaſſadors vnto him, to offer vnto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forſaken I
of fortune, ſtill flying before him. Of the neereſt of which Kings, *Tamerlane* tooke hoſtages:
as for the other farther off, he contented himſelfe with their faith giuen, and with the other
outward ſignes of their good wils.

Tamerlane deſirous to returne into his country.

Now after this long trauell and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more deſirous than he had before
vſed, to ſee the pleaſures of his owne natiue country: the rather thereunto moued by the
requeſt of his wife, then longing for his returne; and the newes he heard of the ſicknes of the
old Tartarian Emperor his father in law; beſides that, age it ſelfe began to bring vnto him a
deſire of reſt: with whom alſo the deſires of his ſouldiers well agreed, as men now weary to
haue run ſo many and diuers fortunes. The onely ſtay was, that he expected the comming of
Calibes, an old and faithfull ſeruant of his, whom he for his good deſert had of his own accord K
appointed gouernor of all his new conqueſts in Ægypt and Syria: a great honour no doubt,
but not too great for him that had ſo well deſerued. So mindfull was he of the good deſerts of
his faithfull ſeruants, as that he needed not by others to be of they put in remembrance, were
they neuer ſo far off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his army
making way for him along the great riuer Euphrates, for the conqueſt of Meſopotamia, and
Perſia: whoſe comming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole army, deſirous
to returne. Which their expectation he long delaied not, but being ſent for, came to Alexandria,
whither the whole army was now by the commandement of *Tamerlane* againe aſſembled.
Vpon whoſe comming, *Tamerlane* departed from Alexandria, hauing there left the
Prince *Zamulzan* (a man of great reputation) with ſix thouſand horſemen and ten thouſand L
foot, as gouernour of that place; and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlane* (as
I haue ſaid) had now appointed to command ouer all Ægypt and Syria, together with the
Countries newly conquered in Lybia and Barbary: and now conducting him vnto the great
City of Caire, and there taking the beſt order hee could for the preſeruation of his new
conqueſts, left him with forty thouſand horſe and fifty thouſand foot. And ſo hauing ſufficiently
inſtructed him how hee would haue thoſe Kingdomes gouerned, diſmiſſed him,
not like a maſter, but as a companion, ſeeming very ſorry to leaue him deſtitute of his preſence.
So ſetting forward with his Army, conducted by the Prince of Thanais, *Tamerlane*
himſelfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aſide vnto Ieruſalem: Where hee remained
eleuen daies, dayly viſiting the ſepulchre of Chriſt Ieſus (whom he called the God M
of the Chriſtians) and the ruines of *Solomon* his Temple: much wondering thereat, and at Ieruſalem,
the ſeat of *Dauids* Kingdome, and of that great *Solomon*: but grieued that he could
not ſee them fully in their former beauty. He onely deſpiſed the Iewes, which had committed
ſo cruell a murder againſt him that came to ſaue them. And to ſhew his deuotion towards

A wards the holy city commanded it to be free from all ſubſidies and garriſons of men of war;
and gaue great gifts vnto the Monaſteries, and honoured them ſo long as he remained there.
Departing from Ieruſalem, he came to Damaſco: which great city, as well for that it was
infected with the opinion of *IeZides* (accounted an arch hereticke among the Mahometans) as
alſo euill affected to his proceedings, he cauſed to be raſed, and the bones of *IeZides* the falſe
Prophet to be digged vp and burnt, and his graue, before much honored, in deſpight to be
filled with dung. So marching on, and blaſting the world before him as he went (for long it were
and from our purpoſe, to recount all his victories) he paſſed ouer the riuer Euphrates, and
hauing conquered Meſopotamia, with the great city of Babylon, and all the kingdome of
Perſia, laded with the ſpoile of the world, and eternized for euer, he returned at length to
B Samercand, the famous place of his birth, and glorious ſeat of his Empire.

The miſerable death of Bajazet.

Now had *Bajazet* (but a little before one of the greateſt Princes on earth, and now the ſcorn
of fortune, and a by-word to the world) with great impatiency lien two yeares in moſt
miſerable thraldom, for moſt part ſhut vp in an yron cage, as ſome dangerous wild beaſt: and hauing
no better means to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines againſt the barres of
the yron grate wherin he was incloſed, and ſo died about the yere of our Lord 1399. Yet of
his death are diuers other reports: ſome ſaying, that he died of an ague, proceeding of ſorrow
and griefe: others, that he poyſoned himſelfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was ſet at
liberty by *Tamerlane*, being by him beforehand poyſoned, whereof he died three daies after he was
inlarged (a report not like to be true:) but howſoeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue beene
C right miſerable. His dead body at the requeſt of his ſon *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* ſent to
Aſprapolis, from whence it was afterwards conueied to Pruſa, and there lieth buried in a
Chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan Temple without the city Eaſtward: where alſo
lies his beloued wife *Deſpina*, with his eldeſt ſonne *Erthogrul*. And faſt by in a little Chappell
lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his reigne murthered,

A compariſon betwixt Bajazet and Tamerlane.

Theſe two great and mighty Princes, *Tamerlane* and *BajaZet*, (both of them whilſt they
liued, a burthen to the world) as they tooke their beginning from the Scyths or Tartars, ſo were
they of like honorable progenitors deſcended: *Bajazet* being the fourth in deſcent from the
warlike *Othoman*, the raiſer of his family; and *Tamerlane* in like degree from the great *Zingis*,
the firſt and moſt fortunat leader of the Tartars (his countrymen) vnto the pleaſures of the
D Eaſt: both Princes of great power and like ſpirit; wiſe, hardy, painefull, reſolute, and moſt
skilfull in martiall affaires; but ambitious aboue meaſure, the ground of all the former troubles
by them raiſed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other the
honourable qualities of *BajaZet*, were in him by his cholericke and waiward nature much
obſcured: which made him to exceed both in cruelty and pride: being alſo much more handfaſt than
were his honourable predeceſſors. For which cauſes he was much feared and leſſe beloued of
his ſoldiers and men of war in generall, and of them at his moſt need forſaken: He vſed
commonly to ſay, That his treaſures were his childrens meat, and not his ſoldiers pay: which by
way of reproch was by a common ſouldier caſt in his teeth, when he raged to ſee himſelfe by
them forſaken in the great battell againſt *Tamerlane*; telling him as he fled, that he ranne not
E away, but went to ſeeke his pay, wherewith to prouide his children bread. Whereas all the
aforeſaid vertues in *Tamerlane* were graced with diuers other of like nature, no man being to
his friends more curteous or kinde, either vnto his enemies more dreadfull or terrible. The
ſeruice of his ſeruant he neuer forgot, either left the ſame long vnrewarded: being thereof ſo
mindfull, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalfe, to be put in remembrance
thereof, hauing alwaies by him a catalogue both of their names and good deſerts, which he
dayly peruſed. Oftentimes ſaying that day to be loſt, wherein he had not giuen them
ſomething: and yet neuer beſtowing his preferments on ſuch as ambitiouſly ſought the ſame (as
deeming them in ſo doing vnworthy thereof) but vpon ſuch as whoſe modeſty or deſert he
thought worthy thoſe his great fauours; ſo tempering the ſeuerity of his commands with the
F greatneſſe of his bounty, as that it is hard to ſay, whether he was of his nobility and men of
war, for the one more feared, or for the other beloued: both, the great ſtaies of Princes ſtates;
feare keeping the obſtinate in obedience; and loue, the dutifull in deuotion. But with *Bajazet*
it was not ſo, who deeming all done for him but duty, and by nature cholericke and proud
(after the manner of Tyrants) deſired aboue all to be of his ſubjects feared, not much regarding

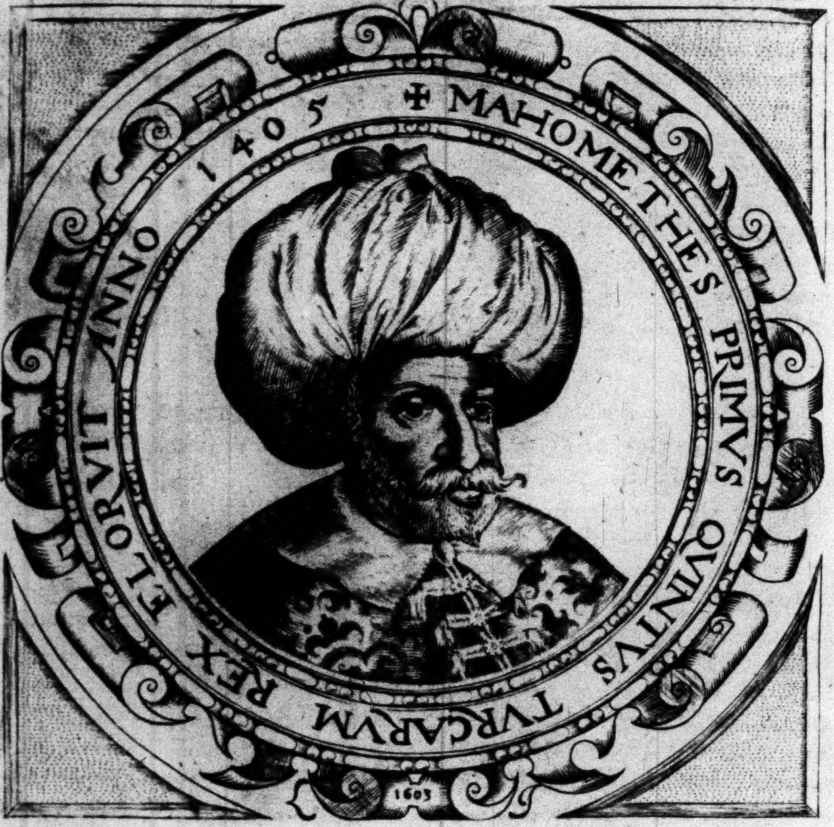
how

Bajazet in his poſterity more fortunate than Tamerlane.

how little he was of them beloued; not the leaſt cauſe of his great fall and miſery, and that G therein he was of his own ſo ſmally regarded: wherein for all that he is to be accounted more fortunate than the other great conqueror his enemy, hauing euer ſince in the lineall deſcent of himſelfe, had one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world to ſucceed ſtill in his kingdome and empire: as he hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great majeſty reigneth in Conſtantinople. Whereas the glory of *Tamerlane* his Empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height thereof, and labouring with the greatneſſe of it ſelfe, and by him diuided amongſt his ſons, ſhortly after his death decayed, rent in ſunder by ambition and ciuill diſcord; and not long after, together with his poſterity, rooted out by *V.ſun Caſſanes* the Perſian King, to the worlds wonder, tooke end: nothing of the huge greatneſſe thereof now or ſince then remaining, more than the fame thereof: as doth alſo the miſery of the other ſo brought low. H But leauing this mirrour of miſhap (*Bajazet*) vnto his reſt, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in Samarcand; let vs now proceed in the courſe of our Hiſtory, yet not forgetting by the way to remember ſuch Chriſtian Princes as then liued together with theſe two great Monarchs.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Bajazet *the firſt.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Emanuel Palæologus.*	1387.	30
		Of the Weſt	*Wenceſlaus, ſonne to Charles King of Bohemia.*	1378.	22
			Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.	1400.	10
	Kings	*Of England*	*Richard the ſecond.*	1377.	23
			Henry the fourth.	1399.	12
		Of France	*Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The Welbeloued.*	1381.	42
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Steuart, otherwiſe called Robert the third.*	1390.	16
	Biſhops of Rome		*Vrban the VI.*	1380.	11
			Boniface the IX.	1390.	14


MAHOMETHES PRIMVS QVINTVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT ANNO 1405
1603

Phil. Lonicer.
Hiſt.Turc.l.1.

Vindicibus Mahomer *patrium ſibi vendicat armis*
Imperium, & fractas feruidus auget opes.
Quod patri abſtulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte fauente ſuo.
Ille ſagittiferoſque Dacas, validoſque Triballos
Contudit, & populos Iſter amœne tuos.
Turcica ſic rurſus ſublata potentia, ſtragem
Attulit imperio Romule *magne tuo.*

By force of armes ſtout *Mahomet* his fathers Kingdome gaines,
And doth the broken ſtate thereof repaire with reſtleſſe paines.
What ſo the force of *Tamerlane* had from his father tane,
He by his fortune and his force reſtor'd the ſame againe.
The Dacians he vanquiſhed, and Seruians in field,
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire Iſter, for to yeeld.
So once againe the Turkiſh ſtate (by him rais'd vp on hie)
Hath to thine Empire, *Romulus*, brought great calamitie.

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF THE TVRKES, AND RESTORER OF THEIR SORE SHAKEN KINGDOME.

Diuers opinions concerning the ſucceſſors of Bajazet.

HOw wonderfully the Tukiſh kingdome was by the violence of *Tamerlane*
ſhaken, and the majeſtie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in
that the Hiſtories of that time, as well thoſe of the Greeks, as of the
C Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the ſucceſſors of *Bajazet*, their
late vnfortunate King. Some writing, that he had two ſons, *Orchanes*
(otherwiſe called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*: and that *Calepinus* in the
ſecond yeare of his reigne was ſlaine, and his kingdome poſſeſſed by
Mahomet his brother. Others reporting, that *Bajazet* had two ſons,
namely, *Calepinus* and *Muſtapha*: and that *Calepinus* ſucceeding his
father in the Turkiſh kingdome, when he had reigned ſix yeres, died, leauing behind him two
ſonnes, *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*: and that *Orchanes* being young, was ſlaine by his vncle: whom
Mahomet in reuenge of his brothers death, afterwards ſlew, and poſſeſſed the Kingdome himſelfe.
Others reckon vp ſeuen ſons of *BajaZet*, *Ioſua*, *Muſulmanes*, *Moſes*, *Calepinus*, *Ioſua* the younger,
D *Muſtapha* and *Halis*; with an vncertaine ſucceſſion amongſt them alſo. This diuerſitie of
opinions, full of no leſſe vncertainty; as I meane not to follow in report of this Hiſtory, ſo
will I not ſpend any time in refuting the ſame, (although much might be ſaid in the matter)
but leaue theſe reports, together with the hiſtory following, to ſuch credit as they ſhall hap
to find with the conſiderat Readers.

The Greeke Hiſtoriographers (beſt like to know the Turkiſh ſucceſſion, as well by reaſon of
their neereneſſe, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbors, ſo much troubled) make
no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Hiſtoria Muſulmana Turcorum*,
diligently gathered out of the Turks own hiſtories by *Io. Leunclauius* (a learned Phy[illegible]an,
and himſelf a great traueller amongſt them, and therefore deſeruing the more credit) do not ſo
E much as name the ſucceſſion of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the captiuity of *Bajazet*, but rejecteth
them both as counterfets. But in my opinion (without prejudice to any, that vpon better
reaſon may deeme otherwiſe) the great confuſion of the Turkiſh Kingdome, in ſhort time
wrought by the mighty *Tamerlane* and his Tartars, with the ciuill diſcord and war afterwards
riſing among the ſons of *Bajazet*, ſtriuing all as it were at once, for the reſtleſſe roome of ſoueraintry,
which ſuffereth no partners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power,
laying hand vpon ſome one part or other thereof, and bearing himſelfe therein for a time as a
King, in countries ſo far diſtant, neither leauing, vntill they had like the earth-borne brethren,
wrought one anothers deſtruction, might giue juſt occaſion of ſuch diuerſity of reports as is
before ſpoken of, concerning the ſucceſſion of that time, in that troubled and rent Kingdome:
F ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were, to haue ſucceeded in the gouernment,
and ſo vntruly augmenting the number of the Turkiſh Kings. Wherefore leauing
Calepinus & *Orchanes* vnto them that firſt found them, with that little, which without any good
ground and leſſe probability is written of their ſuppoſed reigne; I (following the authority
of the Turkiſh hiſtory) reckon this *Mahomet* one of the yongeſt ſonnes of *BajaZet* (of whom we

are now to intreat) fifth king of the Turks:who after great and dangerous wars as well againſt G
his own brethren, as his forreine enemies, was at length ſolely inueſted in the Turkiſh Kingdome,
about ten yeares after the captiuity of his father *Baiazet*, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

The true poſterity of Bajazet.

Bajazet after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, hauing laid vp the hope of his poſterity in
the common treaſure-houſe of nature, rather than in the body of one lawfull wife, had by diuers
wiues and concubins ſeuen ſonnes, *Ethogrul*, otherwiſe called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Solyman*,
Muſtapha-Zelebi, (that is to ſay, the noble) *Iſa-Zelebi*, *Muſa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Caſan-Zelebi*.
Of whom *Orthogrul* the eldeſt was loſt in the wars againſt *Caſi Burchaniden*, as is before
ſaid in the life of *Bajazet*. *Muſtapha* was ſlaine in the great battell againſt *Tamerlane*, and there
buried in the bed of fame. *Cuſan* the youngeſt was a child in *Baiazet* his court, when his father
was taken, and afterwards with his ſiſter *Fatime* deliuered as hoſtages, by their brother *Solyman*, H
vnto *Emanuel* the Emperor of Conſtantinople, where they both happily became Chriſtians,
and ſo ſhortly after died.

Solyman was by *Alis Baſſa* Preſident of *Baiazet* his Councell, and other great captains, conueyed
out of the battell againſt *Tamerlane*, into Europe, and ſo by them at Hadrianople ſaluted
Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the ſame battell to Amaſia in Capadocia, where he was in his
fathers time gouernour. *Iſa* hearing of his fathers captiuity, after the departing of *Tamerlane*
with his Tattars, ſeiſed vpon Pruſa a city of Bithynia, the ancient ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings,
with the country adjoyning, and there reigned as a King. *Muſa-Zelebi* was taken priſoner with
Baiazet his father, and afterwards ſet at liberty by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more ſhall
be ſaid in this hiſtory following. I

Mahomet gouernour of Amaſia.

Mahomet was but fifteene yeares old when his father *Baiaſet* in the vnfortunate battell of
mount Stella was taken priſoner, and was at the ſame time by his appointment Gouernour of
Amaſia, with a great part of Capadocia adjoining: which places became ſo troubleſome after
the great victory of *Tamerlane*, that the Turks in that country were glad day and night for the
ſafegard of themſelues, their wiues, and children, to keepe continuall watch and ward: in ſo
much that many of them wearied with thoſe troubles, & deſpairing of better times, went into
voluntary exile, becauſe they would not ſee ſo great miſeries: which thing much grieu'd yong
Mahomet. Wherfore calling vnto him his moſt faithful counſellors, to conſult what courſe to
take in the midſt of ſo many dangers, it was by generall conſent thought beſt (for ſo much as
they could not without apparant danger continue neere vnto *Tamerlanes* forces) to get themſelues K
further off into places of more ſtrength, & from thence to expect the departure of their
enemies, and in the meane time to content themſelues with ſuch aduantages as occaſion and
chance of war might miniſter; cutting them ſhort by policy, whom they were not able to meet
in the plain field, and ſo by little and little to weaken or weary their mighty ſtragling enemies.
For albeit that *Tamerlane* himſelfe was not neere him, as then lying in Caria; yet did the Captains
of his great and victorious army, at their pleaſure ſpoile and forrage the countries far and
neere all ouer the leſſer Aſia. Vpon this reſolution he with all his forces departed from Amaſia,
[illegible] Derby in Paphlagonia: where by the way he incountred with *Cara Iahia* a nigh kinſman
to the Prince *Iſfendiar* of Caſtamona, his enemy; whom he put to flight with great ſlaughter
of his men. This was the beginning of *Mahomets* good fortune. From thence he went to Keredén, L

Mahomet ſendeth Spies into Tamerlane his Campe.

and there ſtaying certaine daies, ſent a ſpy into *Tamerlanes* campe, to ſee how all things
went there: and afterwards entred again into councel with his captains, concerning his further
proceedings. In which conſultation ſome were of opinion, That it was beſt for him to withdraw
himſelfe into the mountains of the leſſer Aſia, as a place of good ſafety, vntill the departure
of *Tamerlane*, which was ſhortly hoped for: for that it was not to be thought, that *Tamerlane*
would with his huge army purſue him in that mountaine country, flying from hil to hil,
and as it were from ſtrength to ſtrength. Others better aduiſed, thought thoſe mountains to be
no places to truſt vnto, and therefore that it were more honorable, and as free from danger, for
him to turn again into Amaſia, and there to liue amongſt his ſubjects, protecting them in ſuch
ſort as he might, and not to leaue them for a prey to euery ſtragling company of the rude Tartarians: M
which councel he followed, as moſt reaſonable; and being ready to ſet forward, the ſpy
before by him ſent into *Tamerlanes* campe, returned, certifying him that he had ſeen his father
Baiaſet in good health in the Tartars Campe, but could not by any means ſpeake with him,
by reaſon of the ſtreight guard ſet ouer him: and that all that part of Aſia was by *Tamerlane*
poſſeſſed,

poſſeſſed, who then with his army wintred in Caria and Lyſia: whereupon *Mahomet* returned backe againe into Amaſia; where he had not long ſtayed, but that newes was brought vnto him, That one of the Tartarian Princes called *Cara Duletſchach* (that is to ſay, the fortunate blacke King) was with an army of twenty thouſand comming to ſpoyle his country, being giuen him by *Tamerlane*. With which newes he was exceedingly troubled: wherefore with all ſpeed calling together his forces for the ſafegard of his country, he ſent before a ſpy to diſcouer the enemies doings. This diligent ſpy returning in all haſt, told *Mahomet*, That *Cara Dulet* lay at the towne of Ægiolus in Galatia, in great ſecurity, hauing about him but a ſmall power; for that he fearing no danger, had at that time diſperſed his army, to ſeeke after pillage abroad in the country. *Mahomet* taking hold of this opportunity, marched thither with great celerity, and ſuddenly ſetting vpon *Cara Dulet*, ouercame him. In which conflict *Cara Dulet* himſelfe was ſhot thorow the head with an arrow and ſlaine, and his army vtterly diſcomfited. *Mahomet* returning backe to Amaſia with victory, refreſhed and rewarded his ſoldiers, yet no leſſe carefull of the ſafety of his kingdome than before.

Cara Dulet ſlaine.

Shortly after he was aduertiſed that *Cubad Ogli* with a great army laid hard ſiege to the city of Cæſarea in Capadocia, and was like in ſhort time to take it, if it were not ſpeedily relieued. By taking of which city, that Tartar Prince was like to make a great entrance, to the hazarding of the whole country. Wherefore *Mahomet* hauing his army alwaies in readineſſe, marched day and night with ſuch ſpeed to Cæſaria, as that he was vpon *Cubad Ogli* before he was aware of his comming, and there ſlew moſt of his ſouldiers, and put him with the reſt to flight. After that, he returned into *Cubad Ogli* his Country in Pontus, and grieuouſly ſpoiled and deſtroied the ſame: at which time he alſo by force won the ſtrong caſtle Peltæ in the confines of Phrygia.

Immediatly after that, *Inall Ogli* another of *Tamerlanes* Captaines (which at their pleaſure without let forraged all the countries of the leſſer Aſia, during the time that *Tamerlane* made his abode within the Turks dominions) vpon the ſudden entred into Capadocia with an army of twenty thouſand fighting men, killing the inhabitants, and ſpoyling the country before him: ſo that the people for feare left their dwellings, and fled into the woods and mountains, to hide themſelues from his fury. Whereof *Mahomet* hearing, was therewith exceedingly grieued, and wrote vnto him as followeth:

Sultan *Mahomet*, vnto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet his Letters to Inall Ogli the Tartar Prince.

Whereas without any iuſt or lawfull cauſe, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded Our Kingdome, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill Our ſubiects, by God committed to Our protection; and to ſpoile their wealth and labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan commonweale: and make no end of your malice and cruelty: you do therein quite digreſſe from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans, or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldeſt not only be accounted, but indeed be a true Muſul-man, thou ſhouldeſt forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine army; thou ſhouldeſt not thus ſhed the innocent blood, or without cauſe thus wrong my people: but foraſmuch as thou knoweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt liſten vnto good counſell, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſly perſuading thy ſelfe, this my Kingdome to be deſtitute of a lawfull inheritor, and therefore doeſt ſo great wrong and iniury vnto the defenders of the true Mahometan religion; I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I with my ſo often victorious army will ſhortly by the power of God come againſt thee, and in plaine field according to thy deſerts chaſtiſe thee. Therefore whileſt thou yet maiſt, reclaime thy ſelfe, and proceed not too far in thine obſtinacy: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much We thought good to aduertiſe thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not be ignorant of Our purpoſe, but mighteſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Vnto which letters *Inall Ogli* returned this anſwer in writing:

Prince *Inall Ogli*, to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli his anſwer to Mahomet.

Why doeſt thou Mahomet *with ſuch letters prouoke me? why doeſt thou ſo vnciuilly taunt me, being thy ſelfe but a boy, and in truth a very child? It beſeemeth thee not to haue entred into theſe countries, or* *to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thyſelfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cauſe why thou ſhouldeſt complaine, that I ſhould lie in wait or ſeeke after thy life, thy kingdome, or any thing that thine is. I challenge vnto my ſelfe this kingdome, but none of thine: out of which it is reaſon for thee, as a wrongfull intruder of thy ſelfe, to depart; whom otherwiſe I will forthwith thruſt out, and ioyne the ſame vnto the reſt of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and ceaſe to oppoſe thyſelfe againſt my deſignes; I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of warre, and wiſh thee with ſpeed to prepare thy ſelfe to battell, for that I meane ſhortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great Prophet* 806.

Ieall Ogli ouerthrowne by Mahomet,

Shortly after, *Mahomet* according to his promiſe meeting with this Tartar Prince, by plain force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victory.

The like good hap he had alſo not long after, againſt *Coſter Ogli* and *Kiupeck Ogli*, two other Tartarian captains, at the caſtle of Chara chizar and the Plaine of Artuck-Oua. And hearing that one *Meſites* a Turke, had fortified himſelfe in the ruins of Sebaſtia, and from thence ſpoiled the country round about, he ſent *Bajazet* one of his Baſſa's againſt him; who in ſhort time tooke him, and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adjudged to die. But ſeeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death at ſuch time as he ſhould haue beene executed, moued therewith, he gaue him his pardon; for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great ſeruice.

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquiſhed the ſtragling Tartarian Princes, which had ſought the ſpoile of his country, became thereby famous amongſt the great commanders of *Tamerlane* his army; in ſo much that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlanes* eare, yet lying in the leſſer Aſia: who as he thought it not worth his greatneſſe and labor, himſelf in perſon to goe againſt ſo weake an enemy; ſo he thought it not good or conuenient, quite to neglect him, but by ſome other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpoſe he began to ſpeake many times very honourably of him, highly commending his great valor and forwardneſſe in ſo tender yeres. And calling for *Bajazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his ſonne *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore very deſirous to ſee him: where if he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, hee would beſtow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage, with many other great preferments: and therefore willed *Bajazet* to write vnto him, Not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himſelfe and his father. Which thing *Bajazet* at the firſt doubting the worſt, requeſted *Tamerlane* not to beleeue that of his ſon, being yet very yong, and not worthy of ſo great a fauor. Neuertheleſſe partly perſuaded by *Tamerlane* his proteſtations, and importuned by him that might now command him; he with an euil will wrote to his ſon *Mahomet* to ſuch effect as *Tamerlane* required. With which letters, and others of like purport for himſelf, with many rich Preſents, *Tamerlane* ſent *Hozza Mahomet* (one of his ſecret councellors) Embaſſador to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honorably receiued, and likewiſe entertained. But hauing read the aforeſaid letters, and thereby vnderſtood the cauſe of his comming, he entred into councell with the great Baſſa's about him, whether he were beſt to go to *Tamerlane* or not. Where his Councellors were all cleare of one opinion, that it was not good for him to aduenture his perſon to the danger of ſuch a iourney, or the mercy of ſo mighty an enemy, of whoſe faith he had no aſſurance. And if ſo be (ſaid they) he therewith offended, will by force ſeeke to haue you, we at his comming will take the refuge of the woods and mountains, and there ſhroud our ſelues vntill he be departed again: for that he with his huge army cannot here long ſtay in this barren country, for want of neceſſaries. Neuertheleſſe, *Mahomet* hoping that his iourny might be both for the good of his father, and his own aduancement; contrary to the mind of all his councellors reſolued to go: and ſo hauing prepared all things needfull for the honor and ſafety of his iourny, ſet forward. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of Pontus, *Cara Iahia* whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderſtanding of his comming that way, thinking now to be reuenged, and hauing got vnto him ſome of the Prince *Iſfendiars* forces, ſet vpon him by the way: but with as euill ſucceſſe as before, moſt of his men being there by *Mahomet* ſlain, & himſelfe glad ſhamefully to fly. So trauelling on further, he vnderſtood that *Alis Beg*, a great Lord in thoſe countries, went about to intercept him alſo: which cauſed him in ſuch haſt to goe on, that he was vpon *Alis* before he was aware of his comming, or well prouided for him: ſo that for feare he was glad to betake himſelfe to flight. *Mahomet* conſidering the danger he had eſcaped in

A that journey, and that the neerer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like he was to fall into greater,
although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull
counſellors, reſolued to go no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlanes* Embaſſador,
he thus ſpake vnto him:

You ſee the dangers and injuries I indure in this my journy, and my minde forbodeth greater to enſue: for which cauſes I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the moſt mighty Tamerlane, *with my father; and tell them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way: which conſidered, I hope they will haue me excuſed. For which purpoſe I will alſo ſend in your company an Embaſſadour of mine owne.*

Mahomet his ſpeech to Tamerlanes Embaſſador.

Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wiſe, and learned man, called *Sophis Bajazet*,
B ſometime his ſchoolemaſter: whom he ſent Embaſſador to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue
him vnto them both excuſed: and ſo departed, he homewards, leauing the way he came (for
feare of further danger) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomets* Embaſſador
and letters. But taking pleaſure in the man ſent vnto him, gaue him honourable entertainment,
but would neuer after ſuffer him to returne againe vnto his maſter.

It was not long after, but that old *Bajazet* died of impatiencie (as is aforeſaid:) whoſe dead
body *Tamerlane* left at Apropolis with the Prince *Germean*, to bee deliuered vnto his ſonne
Mahomet; with *Muſa* his elder brother (who all this while had beene kept priſoner with
Tamerlane) if *Mahomet* ſhould require him. And ſo the mighty Prince *Tamerlane*, after he
had long time waſted Phrygia, Caria, Lydia, with the moſt part of the leſſer Aſia; and conquered
C all Syria, Iudea, Ægypt, and Perſia, with many other great countries and prouinces;
returned at laſt into his owne Kingdome, vnto the great city of Samarcand, which he wonderfully
inlarged, and beautified with the ſpoiles of a great part of the world, before by him
waſted: where he afterwards in great peace and glory raigned, no leſſe honourable than feared
of all the Princes of the Eaſt. To the terrour of whom, and for the aſſuring of eſtate, he kept
alwaies a ſtanding army of forty thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot ready at all
aſſaies: beſide other his great garriſons which he kept in Syria, Ægypt, China, and Cambalu;
as alſo againſt the Muſcouite, and Turkes; being commonly in euery place threeſcore
thouſand ſtrong, though not ſtill in field, but as occaſion required. Vntill that at length hearing
of the riſing againe of the Turkiſh kingdome, vnder the *Othoman* Princes, the ſons of *Bajazet*,
D with whom the oppreſſed Mamalukes of Ægypt, and the Greeke Emperour (as doubtfull
of his eſtate) had now alſo for feare of him combined themſelues; he by the perſuaſion of
Axalla (then Generall of his imperiall army) made great preparation for a ſecond expedition
to be made for the vtter rooting out of the *Othoman* family, and the conqueſt of the Greeke
Empire. But hauing now all things in readineſſe, and alſo giuing a good beginning vnto theſe
his intended conqueſts, (one of the Turks great Baſſaes being by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a
great battell ouerthrowne, and thirty thouſand of the Turks ſlaine) he in the middeſt of theſe
his great hopes, as alſo of his greateſt power, died of an ague the 12 day of Ianuary, in the yere
of our Lord 1402. A little before whoſe death, appeared a great and terrible blaſing ſtar, portending
as it were to the world the death of ſo great a Prince. He was a man of a middle stature,
E ſomewhat narrow in the ſhoulders, otherwiſe well limmed, and of a great ſtrength. In his
eies ſate ſuch a rare majeſty, as a man could hardly indure to behold them without cloſing of
his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him, became dumbe; which
cauſed him oftentimes with a comely modeſty to abſtaine from looking too earneſtly vpon
ſuch as ſpake vnto him, or diſcourſed with him. All the reſt of his viſage was amiable and well
proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and
curled, contrary to the manner of the Tartars, who ſhaue their heads, hauing the ſame alwaies
couered: whereas he contrariwiſe was for the moſt part bare headed, commanding his ſon alſo
to be ſo by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a darke colour, ſomewhat drawing towards
a violet, right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Sampſon* (as he
F gaue it out) willed him to nouriſh, in token of his deſcent: the cauſe that made him to be the
more reſpected of his men of war; moſt part of them beleeuing that in thoſe haires was ſome
rare vertue, or rather ſome fatall deſtiny: an old practiſe of many great commanders of former
ages, to fill the heads of their ſoldiers with ſome ſtrange opinion conceiued of them, to be the
more of them honored; as if in them had bin ſome one thing or other more than in other men.

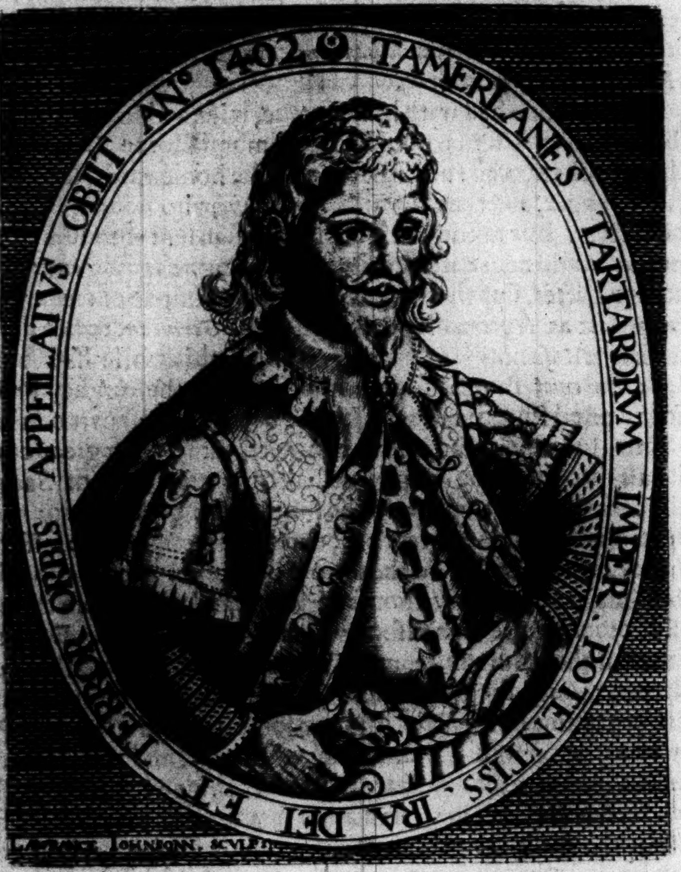
The great power Tamerlane continually kept.

The death of Tamerlane.

The deſcription of Tamerlane.

His liuely counterfeit, as I find it expreſſed by them that write the beſt of him, you may here behold, with the teſtimony of his greatneſſe following. G

TAMERLANE.


TAMERLANES TARTARORVM IMPER. POTENTISS. IRA DEI ET TERROR ORBIS APPELATVS OBIIT ANº 1402
LAVRANCE JOHNSONN. SCVLP.

Paulus Iouius, Illuſtr. Viror. Elog.li.2.p.97.

Ille novus Xerxes, *orientis victor, & ingers*
Quacunque permearet, horror gentium:
Compleuit totos Scythico qui milite campos,
Hoc ſe ferebat ore trux Tamerlanes.
Cujus in aduentum tutæ altis mœnibus vrbes,
Ipſumque terræ contremiſcebat ſolum;
Ipſi adeo montes, ipſa per deuia valles,
Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.
Quare ab Caucaſeis Aſiam conuallibus omnem,
Advſque Nili flumina armis ſubdidit;
Eufratem, & Tigrim, & rapidum tranauit Orontem,
Vi, vaſtitate, cade, cuncta proterens.
Vtque olim fœda cum tempeſtate coorta
Erumpit atra nube fulmen igneum:
Obuia quaque cadens perrumpit, & alta ſonanti
Templa atque ſolidas ſtrage turres diſijcit.
Subſidit vaſto tellus labefacta fragori,
Humiliſque mentes ſternit humanas pauor:

Haud ſecus ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,
Euertit arces, opida æquauit ſolo.
Regem Aſiæ horribili captum impete Bajazetem
Caueaque clauſum ferrea circuntulit.
Hæc agitantem illum, & ſpirantem immania juſſa.
Quæ cunctus vndique orbis expaueſceret;
Exigua cæcæ domitum molimine febris
Fatalis vno ſoluit hora triduo.
Deque tot inſanis opibus, de tot modo regnis,
Reliqua vna parvo gleba texit puluere.

In Engliſh thus:

Of *Tamerlane* a *Xerxes* new, which did the Eaſt ſubdue,
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;
That fild the fields with Scythian troupes, brought from thoſe climats cold,
This was the feature and the ſhape which thou do'ſt here behold.
At whoſe approach, the ſtrongeſt townes could ſmall reſiſtance make,
The earth it ſelfe vnder his feet ſeeming for feare to quake.
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth vallies low,
Vnable were the force to beare where he did come or goe.
All Aſia from mount Caucaſus, vnto the bankes of Nile,
With valiant hand he vanquiſhed and made his force to feele.
Euphrates, Tygris, and the ſwift Orantes gaue him way,
With force, waſte, and deſtruction great, on what he liſt to prey.
And as in tempeſts great oft times, when all things go to wracke,
The fiery lightning flaſhing forth, out of the clouds ſo blacke,
Doth breake downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall
O'rethrowes the Temples, with their towers, and ſtately buildings all:
So that the earth diſmaid therewith, doth lower downe deſcend,
And fearefull wights wrapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:
In like ſort he with fire and ſword ſeeking all to confound,
The ſtrongeſt caſtles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.
And like a whirlewind taking vp great *Baiazet* away,
Coupt vp in cage, ſo carried him for his diſport and play.
But whileſt he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head
Such hard commands and heauy doomes, as all the world ſhould dread:
A little feuer with three fits, oppreſſed him with woe,
And cloſing vp his vitall ſpirits, did lay his head full low.
So that for all the world of wealth and Kingdomes he poſſeſt,
The ſmall remainder of himſelfe in ſimple graue doth reſt.

His great empire by himſelf diuided betwixt his ſons, was by their diſcord, & the ambition of ſome of their diſloyall ſubjects, in ſhort time after brought to great confuſion, and his poſterity vtterly rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes*, the Armenian Prince, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory may appear. But to return again to our purpoſe; *Mahomet* deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of thoſe countries, determined to go to Pruſa in Bythinia, where his brother *Iſa* as then reigned: but vnderſtanding that *Iſa* had before taken the ſtraits whereby he ſhould paſſe the mount Horminius, he tooke another way about, and came to Palæo Caſtron, where the valiant captaine *Eine-beg Sub-baſſa* then remained: who with all honour and gladneſſe receiued him, and there for certaine daies refreſhed both him and his army. Afterwards greater forces ſtill repairing vnto him, he marched thence to Vlabad, called in antient time Lopadium. Of whoſe comming *Iſa* before vnderſtanding, & hauing aſſembled his army, marched thither alſo, and encamped on the other ſide of the towne towards Pruſa, ready to giue him battell. But *Mahomet* ſeeing his brother ſo forward, conſulted with his

Mahomet goeth againſt his brother.

captaines what were beſt to be done: where *Eine Sub-baſſa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baiazet* his great councellors and captaines, told him, That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others bloud; but to aſſay if the quarrell might by ſome other good meanes be compoſed, and they made friends. For which purpoſe, *Mahomet* preſently ſent letters vnto his brother *Iſa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in Aſia betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of Aidinia, Saruchania Germeania, Charaſia, Charamania, with other countries to them belonging: ſo that he might haue Pruſa with all the other prouinces about the ſame. Which letters, when *Iſa* had read, and ſaw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for Kingdomes, and ſuch countries as were rather ſometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baiaſet*, than any part of his kingdome, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe reſtored vnto their ancient liberty and gouernors, ſharing out the beſt and ſtrongeſt part thereof vnto himſelfe, he brake forth into choler, and ſaid:

The anſwere of Iſa to Mahomet his offers.

What, doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet *is yet but a youth, and ſcarce crept out of the ſhell: by what right then can he claime my fathers kingdome as his inheritance? If he can by the ſword win it, let him take it, and ſo hold it.*

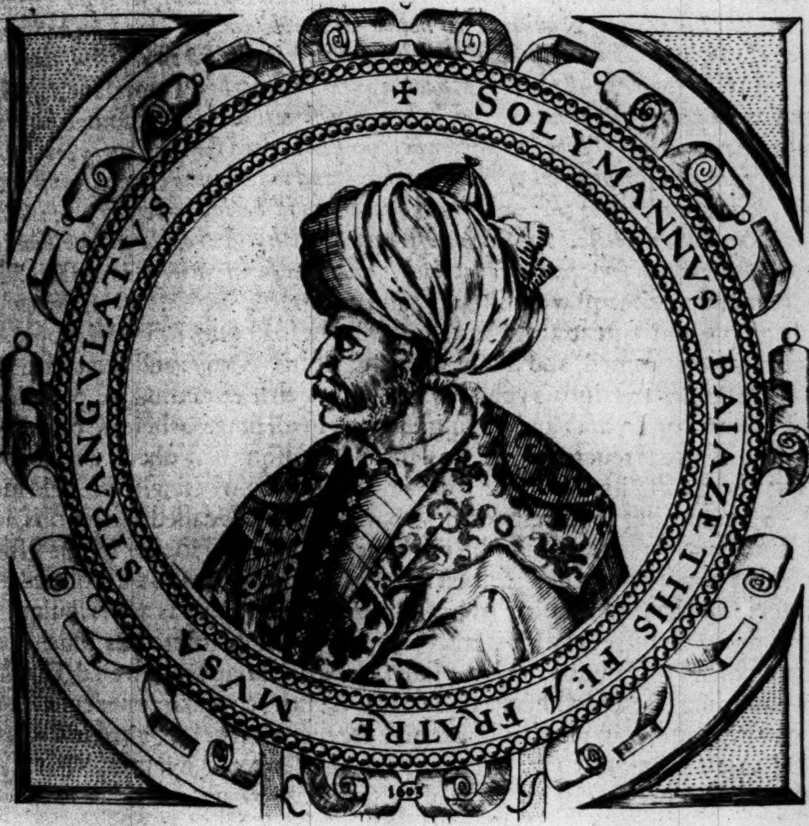
Mahomet hauing receiued his anſwere, prepared himſelfe to the field, where his brother as ready as himſelfe, ſtood, expecting his comming: and hauing ſet his army in order of battell, gaue the firſt charge: which was the beginning of a moſt cruel and bloudy fight, wherein, as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battels, many were on both ſides ſlain. At laſt the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailing, *Iſa* his army began to retire: which he ſeeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fainting ſouldiers, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant ſoldier to do; but preſſing into the thickeſt of his enemies, there with his owne hand ſlew the antient and valiant captaine *Eine Sub-baſſa*, who had many times beene Generall of the footmen in old *Baiaſet* his wars. But what preuaileth courage againſt euil fortune? *Iſa* muſt either fly or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in ſo deſperat a caſe, being himſelfe on euery ſide forſaken, in the end was glad himſelfe to fly to the ſea ſide: where finding a ſhip ready bound for Conſtantinople, he paſſed ouer thither in ſafety, and there yeelded himſelfe vnto the protection of the Greeke Emperor *Emanuel*. In this chaſe *Mahomet* his ſouldiers tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtaſes* priſoner, another of *Baiaſet* his great commanders, and brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Eine*, commanded his head preſently to be ſmitten off, and his body to be hanged vpon a tree by the high way ſide. Of this victory, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at Hadrianople, and in token thereof ſent him *Temurtaſes* his head. This battell was much ſpoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren; and alſo for the death of the two famous and old captaines *Eine* and *Temurtaſes*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunately fought many great battels vnder *Baiaſet* his enſignes; and now as it were by deſtiny, and againſt their wils, without any priuate grudge, were both drawne into contrary factions and ſlaine: both whileſt they liued wiſhing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vſe to ſay, *What is by God written in a mans forehead before his birth, cannot in his life be auoyded.*

After this victory, *Mahomet* thinking himſelfe now in ſure poſſeſſion of all his fathers dominions in Aſia, led his army to Pruſa, where he was of the citizens joyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bounty, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to Nice, and ſo to Neapolis, and there in both places was likewiſe receiued. Thither reſorted vnto him all the garriſons of Caraſina, Saruchania, and Aidinia, with other the inhabitants of thoſe countries, with all loyalty ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, with ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their King.

The body of Baiazet honourably buried at Pruſa.

All things thus ſorting according to his deſire in Aſia, he ſent to the Prince *Germean* for the body of his father *Baiaſet*, and for his brother *Muſa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This body was by the ſame Prince at the requeſt of *Mahomet*, with great ſolemnity ſent to Pruſa, and there ſumptuouſly buried, with all the Turkiſh obſequies and ceremonies; the Turkiſh Alcoran or booke of their Law, being read ſeuen daies vpon his tombe. All which time great cheere was kept for all commers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkiſh deuotion) for *Baiaſet* his ſoule: but aboue all others, exceeding bounty was extended to the poſterity of their Prophet *Mahomet*, which are knowne from others amongſt the Mahometans, by the colour of their apparell, which is all greene, and not lawfull to be worne of any

A but of them: ſo that they were by the bounty of *Mahomet*, at that time greatly enriched. He alſo endowed the abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and poſſeſſions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the ſolemnity paſt, he went in progreſſe to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euery place joyfully receiued; and ſo afterward returned to Amaſia, and there in great pleaſure ſpent that ſummer. Where we will for a while leaue him, to ſee what *Solyman* his eldeſt brother in the meane time doth at Hadrianople: whoſe liuely countenance is by the skilfull workemans hand thus expreſſed:


SOLYMANNVS BAIAZETHIS FI: A FRATRE MVSA STRANGVLATVS
1603

Non malus es niſi te eneruet male ſuada voluptas,
Quaque minus bello conuenit ingluvies.
Hoſpitio Mirxi *fruitur jam* Muſa *Valachi:*
Ille tuum vigilat pronus in exitium.

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Euill art thou not, except leaud luſt do haſten on thy fall:
Or ryot, which beſeemeth not a martiall man at all.
Thy brother *Muſa* entertain'd by *Marke* to thine annoy,
Doth take no reſt, but waiteth ſtill how he may thee deſtroy.

Solyman the eldeſt ſonne of *Bajazet* (who kept his court at Hadrianople, there peaceably reigning all this while ouer the countries which his father *Bajazet* ſometime poſſeſſed in Europe) hearing what his brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently againſt all right he had driuen *Iſa* out of Pruſa, and made him glad to fly to Conſtantinople: was with this his outragious dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Baſſaes and faithfull counſellers, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of *Mahomet* againſt his brother *Iſa*. *Wherein* (ſaid he) *he doth me alſo great wrong in taking vpon him the ſoueraignty ouer thoſe great dominions and countries in Aſia which of right belong to me his elder brother, and not to him the youngeſt of ſix. In reuenge of which injury and wrong, I intend in mine owue right to paſſe ouer into Aſia with a ſtrong army, and by force of armes to recouer mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwiſe come by it.* Vnto which ſpeech one of his graue counſellers replyed, *That in his opinion it was not the beſt courſe for himſelfe to goe in perſon into thoſe warres. For although* (ſaid he) *your brother* Mahomet *be but young, and therefore by your greatneſſe leſſe accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience aboue his yeares. None hath yet had to doe with him, but they haue had enough of him: yea, it is worth the noting, how politickely he hath borne himſelfe for his owne ſafety, and the ſafegard of the countries which he gouerned all the while that the great and mighty* Tamerlane *with his innumerable forces couered the face of the countries faſt by him: moſt part hereof,* Mahomet *hath now ſince his departure, againe recouered. Wherefore it were beſt for you to ſend for your angry brother* Iſa, *to Conſtantinople, and to make him Generall of the army you intend to ſend into Aſia againſt* Mahomet. *In which warres, it is not vnlike, but that one of your brethren will be loſt, whereby you ſhall haue one competitor of your kingdome the leſſe. So ſhall you afterwards with leſſe trouble ſubdue him that is left, or at leaſtwiſe pleaſe him with ſome part of that which they haue ſo mightily ſtriuen for.* This counſell was of *Solyman* and all the reſt well liked of, and approued. So was *Iſa* preſently ſent for vnto Conſtantinople, and a great army leuied. Who being come to Hadrianople, was by *Solyman* courteouſly welcommed, and made Generall of his Army: and therewith ſhipped ouer the ſtreit of Helleſpontus into Aſia. Where at his firſt comming, he poſſeſſed the whole countrey of Caraſia or Lydia: and paſſing further, in all places where he came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence, they all promiſing him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile againſt his younger brother *Mahomet*: wherewith he held himſelfe well contented. So comming to the city of Beg-Bazer, otherwiſe called Deſpotolis, he there wintered with his army. In which time, he with many kinde and louing letters ſtill directed to *Mahomet* as his younger brother, ſeemed to be glad that he was ſo well obeied and liked of by his ſubjects: and that preſuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemy come into Aſia, to intreat with him of ſuch matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like diſſimulation anſwered, That he was right glad of his comming; for which he needed not (as he ſaid) to make any excuſe, for that he was entered into a kingdome, in part his owne, and the reſt open before him: in token whereof he commanded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the meſſenger as a fauour, ſending alſo diuers rich preſents vnto his brother, with great prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries for his ſouldiers.

Good counſell.

Iſa with a great army ſent by his brother Solyman into Aſia againſt Mahomet.

But Winter paſt and the Spring come, *Iſa* marched with his army to Pruſa, & there ſhewed vnto the citizens the louing letters he had at ſundry times before receiued from *Mahomet*: and telling them that he was in good hope that they ſhould in ſhort time right well agree; requeſted to haue the caſtle deliuered vnto him, ſomtime their ſoueraigne: whereinto the better ſort of the citizens had retired themſelues, and made faſt the gates againſt him: but when he ſaw that he could by no faire words or policy gaine the poſſeſſion of the caſtle, enraged with that repulſe, he ſet fire vpon that goodly city, and burnt it downe to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his brother *Iſa* roamed vp and downe his kingdome, vſing all kindnes to ſuch as yeelded vnto him; and exerciſing no leſſe cruelty vpon ſuch as refuſed his obedience: and how that he had raſed the royall city of Pruſa: hauing gathered a ſtrong army, marched in ten daies from Amaſia to Pruſa, and by the way meeting with his brother *Iſa*, in a great battell ouerthrew him with all his forces. *Iſa* himſelfe accompanied with no more but ten perſons, fled vnto Caſtamona, Prince *Isfendiar* his city: who hearing of his arriuall there, entertained him with all the honor he could, in recompence of the great friendſhip he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble ſuter in his father *Bajazet* his court.

Pruſa burnt by Iſa.

A *Mahomet* comming to Pruſa, grieued exceedingly to ſee that fair city ſo deſtroyed: yet to comfort the poor citiſens, he gaue exceeding ſums of mony to be beſtowed among them, and took order for the new building of the city, and there continued certain daies himſelfe to ſee the work begun.

Iſa in the mean time hauing incited the prince *Iſfendiar* in his quarrell to inuade his brother *Mahomet*, & going thither himſelf in perſon, was by him now the third time ouerthrown and put to flight. Neuertheles he with ſome ſmall forces twice afterwards entered *Mahomets* dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his euill fortune, was glad at laſt to fly to the Prince of Smyrna, by whom he was both honorably entertained and comforted.

This prince of Smyrna, mooued with *Iſa* his pittifull complaints in ſo manifeſt a wrong, B did not only promiſe him what help he could of himſelf, but alſo by Embaſſadors ſolicited the princes of Aidinia, Sarucania, and Menteſia, to giue him aid in ſo iuſt a quarrell, for the relief of *Iſa* againſt his vſurping brother. Theſe princes pittying the eſtate of the diſtreſſed Prince, and mooued with the requeſt of the Prince of Smyrna, and fearing alſo the ambitious ſpirit of *Mahomet*; amongſt them ſent ſuch aid, that being all aſſembled together, *Iſa* had now twenty thouſand men in arms. *Mahomet* vnderſtanding of this great preparation made againſt him, and hauing raiſed a ſtrong army, thought it not beſt to expect his brothers comming into his country (where perhaps many might join themſelues vnto him, being ſo ſtrong in field) but entred into the prince of Smyrna's Country with ſuch ſpeed, that hee was vpon him and the reſt of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great and bloudy fight he obtained of them a notable victory. C *Iſa* hauing loſt the battel, and therwith his hope alſo, fled into Caramania, and there in ſuch obſcuritie ended his daies, that no man can tell where or how he died. This was the end of this noble Prince, alwaies of greater courage than fortune. The Prince of Smyrna the chief author of this war, humbling himſelfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauor. The other confederat princes which gaue aid to *Iſa*, were ſhortly after by *Mahomet* for moſt part ſpoiled of their dominions. Which done, he returned with victorie to the building of Pruſa, hoping now to liue at more quiet.

Iſa flieth into Caramania, & there dieth in obſcurity.

But whilſt *Mahomet* after this victory dreading no danger, was in the midſt of his pleaſures at Pruſa, he was certainly aduertiſed, That his brother *Solyman* had raiſed a great army in Europ, to inuade him in Aſia. Vpon which aduertiſement, he furniſhed the caſtle of Pruſa with D a ſtrong garriſon, and all things needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege, and placed *Iacup Beg* the ſon of *Firoſes*, captain therein; and afterwards departed himſelf, becauſe that City (lately before burnt by *Iſa*) was not as yet to be defended, much leſſe to be accounted of as a place to retyre vnto, if need ſhould ſo require. From Pruſa he came to Ancyra, and from thence directed commiſſions for the taking vp of ſoldiers in all parts of his kingdom. At which time he wrot letters alſo to *Doioran* a Tartar prince (whom hee had many times greatly pleaſured) for aid: who preſently came vnto him with certain troups of braue horſe, promiſing him his faithfull ſeruice.

Not long after, hearing that his brother *Solyman* was with a puiſſant army now come ouer Helleſpontus, he conſulted with his beſt leaders, what courſe firſt to take; being himſelfe of E opinion, without delay to meet his brother in the field; deeming it great ſhame, not to offer him preſent battel: but he was by his more expert captains aduiſed to conſider, that hee was to fight againſt his eldeſt brother, of whoſe good or bad fortune he had as yet no experience: and that many ſecretly fauored his quarrel and claim, as the eldeſt ſon and right heir of his father *Bajazet*. Wherfore it were better for him to retyre further off into the ſtrength of his kingdom, and ſo temporiſing, to await all good opportunities that might chance (as it doth in nothing more than in martial affairs) rather than to commit all to the haſard of one battel, wherin if fortune failed him, all were then vtterly loſt. Vpon which reſolution he retired from Ancyra toward Amaſia. At which time *Doioran* the falſe Tartar, marching out at the other ſide of the city, fell to robbing and ſpoiling of *Mahomets* ſubjects as an enemy, burning the F country villages as they went. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, he with his horſemen purſued him, and ouertaking him before he was looked for, ſlew moſt part of his men, & recouered all the ſpoil which he had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his ſoldiers: *Doioran* himſelf hardly eſcaping by flight. And ſo *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himſelfe vpon his diſſembling friend, held on his way towards Amaſia.

The caſtle of Pruſa beſieged by Solyman.

Solyman being come into Aſia, led his army towards Pruſa; where the Citiſens vnderſtanding of his comming, went out of the city to meet him, and hauing don vnto him ſuch honor and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the City. But *Iacup Beg* ſtood vpon his gard, and would by no means deliuer vnto him the caſtle, which was before by *Mahomet* committed to his charge: for which cauſe *Solyman* laid hard ſiege vnto it, and gaue therunto diuers ſharp aſſaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakened, many of them being ſlain, and the reſt for the moſt part wounded. Wherupon *Iacup* by letters ſent by one *Eine Hozze*, certified *Mahomet* how things ſtood, and that the Caſtle could not long bee holden againſt the furious aſſaults of *Solyman*, vnleſſe it were ſpeedily relieued: vpon which news he in all haſt made toward Pruſa, returning the ſame meſſenger before him with letters to the captain of the caſtle, if haply he could find means to deliuer the ſame; wherin he highly commended him for his faithfull ſeruice, and promiſed him ſpeedy relief. This meſſenger with his letters chanced by *Solymans* ſoldiers to be intercepted, and brought to *Alis Baſſa, Solymans* chief Counſellor, a man of a ſharp conceit, who of nothing could make ſomething; but hauing any thing to work vpon could do wonders: he hauing ſtreitly examined the meſſenger and peruſed the letters, ſuppreſſed the ſame, and preſently writ others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the captain for that he had already done in his ſeruice: but yet foraſmuch as he could not poſſibly in time relieue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the Caſtle, and to prouide for the ſafegard of himſelfe and his Garriſon by ſuch conditions as hee could beſt obtain. Theſe counterfeit letters *Alis Baſſa* found means to be as cunningly deliuered to the captain, as they were craftily indited: who hauing read the ſame, and now out of all hope of relief, expecting alſo euery hour to be aſſaulted by the enemy, vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded the Caſtle to *Solyman*. The news whereof being brought vnto *Mahomet*, now come within one daies march of Pruſa, exceedingly grieued him; but ſeeing no remedy, hee returned back again to Amaſia: whither *Solyman* (now poſſeſſed of the City and caſtle of Pruſa, and hauing therby got a great name in Aſia) ſhortly after came with his army, and hardly beſieged his brother in Amaſia: but ſeeing no hope to win the city, he retyred backe againe to Pruſa, and there after his wonted maner ſpent his time in ryot and exces, wherunto he was exceedingly giuen. *Iacup Beg* for yeelding the caſtle was afterward by *Mahomet* ſtreitly impriſoned, and in danger to haue bin put to death, had not the great Baſſa's become interceſſors for him.

Mahomet lying at Amaſia, was by his ſecret eſpials aduertiſed, that his brother *Solyman* hauing diſperſed his Army, lay in great ſecuritie, garded but with a ſmall power, paſſing his time in all voluptuous pleaſure, his common exerciſe. Whereupon hee in all haſt marched with his Army thitherwards, to haue ſurpiſed him before he ſhould be able to call together his diſperſed Forces. But when hee was come to the riuer Sangarius, hee was diſcouered by *Solyman Sub-Baſſa* a great Captain, whom Sultan *Solyman* had ſent for the taking vp of men in that ſide of the country. Who returning in all haſt, gaue *Solyman* knowledge of his brothers comming: with which ſudden news he was ſo diſmaied, being now of ſmall ſtrength, that for the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would preſently haue fled into Europ, had not *Alis Baſſa* otherwiſe perſuaded him; telling him, that if he ſhould ſo cowardly fly away, it would not only blemiſh and defame his honor, but diſcourage his friends alſo in Aſia, and incourage his enemies to purſue him perhaps vnto the gates of Hadrianople: and that therefore it were better with ſuch forces as he had to take the ſtreits of Neapolis, and ſo to ſtay his brothers further paſſage into that country, vntill ſuch time as he might aſſemble the reſt of his army. According to which good counſel, he firſt took the before named ſtreits and paſſages, whereby *Mahomet* was of neceſſitie to paſſe, and there ſtrongly fortified himſelf. *Mahomet* comming thither, with great force entred thoſe ſtreights, but was ſtill valiantly by *Solyman* repulſed. The like attempt he many times valiantly gaue, for that he knew himſelfe to be at that time too hard for his brother. But *Solyman* hauing the aduantage of the place, with little danger or loſſe fruſtrated thoſe his brothers braue attempts, although he were then a great deale the weaker. *Alis Baſſa* (whoſe wily head fraught with long experience, could with nothing effect great matters) in the mean time was not idle, but making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings, ſent a ſecret meſſenger (one of his owne moſt truſty ſeruants) to *Mahomet* with Letters; certifying him, That moſt of his Nobility and great Captains had ſecretly

conſpired

A conſpired to betray him into the hands of his eldeſt brother *Solyman*, as the vndoubted heir of
his father *Bajazet*; and ſo with the price of his head to make their own peace and atonement
with him: and that for the performance therof they had bound themſelues firſt vnto *Solyman*
and afterwards one to another, by ſolemn oath. Which treaſon he diſcouered vnto him, with
great proteſtation of his loue and good wil, as he that had a long time eaten bread and ſalt (as
the Turks vſe to ſay) in his fathers court, and therfore could not but wiſh wel vnto him, being
one of his Lord and maſters ſons. Theſe letters ſomthing troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his
head many a jealous conceit: for all that, hee ceaſed not for ſix or ſeuen daies ſpace, to giue
many a hot skirmiſh for the gaining of thoſe ſtreit paſſages, but all in vain. In which time it
chanced one of his ſeruants neer about his perſon, to fly vnto the enemy; which cauſed him
B the more to ſuſpect all that to be true wherof *Alis Baſſa* had forewarned him. Which conſide-
red, and that by lying there he preuailed nothing, but loſt and wearied his men (for it was all
that while exceeding foul weather) and withal doubting to be betrayed, returned as he came,
to Amaſia. And *Solyman* glad alſo of his departure, retired to Pruſa, giuing order into all parts
of his kingdom, for the aſſembling of a great army: but vnderſtanding that the King of Ca-
ramania had made a league with his brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to join their
forces againſt him for the driuing of him out of Aſia, he forthwith drew all his forces to An-
cyra, as a place of more ſafety.

Whilſt *Solyman* thus lay at Ancyra, it fortuned that *Muſa* (who had all this while remained
with his brother *Mahomet*, ſince he was ſet at liberty by *Tamerlane*, though not altogether wel
C pleaſed with his own eſtate) one day by way of talk thus ſpake vnto his brother: *You ſee* (ſaid
he) *how our elder brother* Solyman *ceaſeth not to vex and moleſt vs daily, and is not vnlike in the end to
preuail againſt vs to our vtter deſtruction. Now if it might pleaſe you to giue mee leaue, I would goe to*
Iſendiar *Prince of Caſtamona and Pontus, our brothers enemy, and of him procure ſhipping to pas ouer
the Buxine ſea, into Europ; where I doubt not to find opportunitie to make ſome great innouation in that
kingdom now in my brothers abſence: by reaſon wherof* Solyman *ſhall of neceſſitie be driuen to leaue
Aſia, to be again by you ſolely poſſeſſed; or els be brought in danger there to loſe his kingdome in Europe.
Which if it ſhall be my good hap to gain out of his hands by your ſupportation, I promiſe you faithfully to
hold the ſame of you as of my Lord and Soueraign.*

This greatly pleaſed *Mahomet*, and therupon not long after they concluded betwixt them-
D ſelues, one to ſtand faſt vnto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during
life, confirming the ſame with great ſolemnitie of their Turkiſh faith giuen & taken. Wher-
upon *Mahomet* furniſhed his brother *Muſa* with great ſums of mony and other needful things
for the taking in hand of ſo great an enterpriſe.

Muſa thus furniſhed, taking his leaue of his brother, ſet forwards towards the prince *Iſfen-
diar*: who hearing of his comming, met him on the way, & entertained him as a great prince.
But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpoſe for paſſing into Europe, and
had obtained grant of his help therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to viſit
the King of Caramania, who alſo moſt honorably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight
of *Solyman*. But whilſt *Muſa* was thus paſſing the time in Caramania, it fortuned that *Mark* (of
E ſome called *Merxes*) prince of Valachia, hauing his country much ſpoiled by *Solymans* garri-
ſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Bajazet* his ſonnes was with the Prince *Iſfendiar*, hee writ
vnto him, promiſing to beſtow his daughter and heir in mariage vpon *Muſa*, if he would come
ouer into Europ, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by *Solyman*. Whereof *Muſa* aduerti-
ſed by the Prince *Iſfendiar*, gladly returned out of Caramania, and was by him tranſported
ouer the Euxine or black ſea, into Europe. Where the Prince of Valachia glad of his com-
ming, receiued him with great honor, and according to his promiſe gaue him his daughter in
mariage.

Muſa marieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter.

The fame of *Muſa* his comming into Europe, and of his marriage, was in ſhort time bru-
ted thorow all *Solyman* his kingdome in Europe, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the
F mutable vulgar people (always deſirous of nouelty) that they all as it were with one conſent
ſubmitted themſelues vnto him as vnto their Lord and Soueraign: inſomuch that comming
to the roial city of Hadrianople, in the abſence of his brother *Solyman* hee was there receiued
as their King.

Muſa in Solymans abſence receiued as Hadrianople as King.

Solyman now lying at Ancira in Aſia, vnderſtanding of theſe proceedings of *Muſa* in Europ, and that hee was poſſeſſed of a great part of his kingdome there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherfore leauing his deputy in Ancyra, he with all his army came to the ſtreit of Boſphorus, and there of *Emanuel* the Greek Emperour obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore vnto him certain places before taken from him in Aſia. For his brother *Muſa* had ſo prouided, that he could haue no help of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his commandment all before brought ouer vnto Europ ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his arriuall in Europ, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now ready to join battell, many of *Muſa* his captains forſook him, and fled to *Solyman* his eldeſt brother and their vndoubted King. Which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to fly, and to take the ſafegard of the Woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victory, *Solyman* returning to Hadrianople, tooke againe poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, and there without meaſure gaue himſelfe to ryot and exceſſe, according to his wonted manner. G H

After the departure of *Solyman* out of Aſia, *Iacup Beg* (but lately before again receiued into *Mahomets* fauor, and now left as *Solymans* deputy) deliuered Ancyra, with the caſtle of Pruſa, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in Aſia, to *Mahomet*, who ſhortly after led his Army thorow the countries of Caraſia, Aidinia, Sarucania, Tekenſis, and Germeania, reducing them once again vnto his obeyſance: and afterwards returned to Pruſa, where hee now the ſecond time took poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdom in Aſia.

Muſa goeth againſt Solyman.

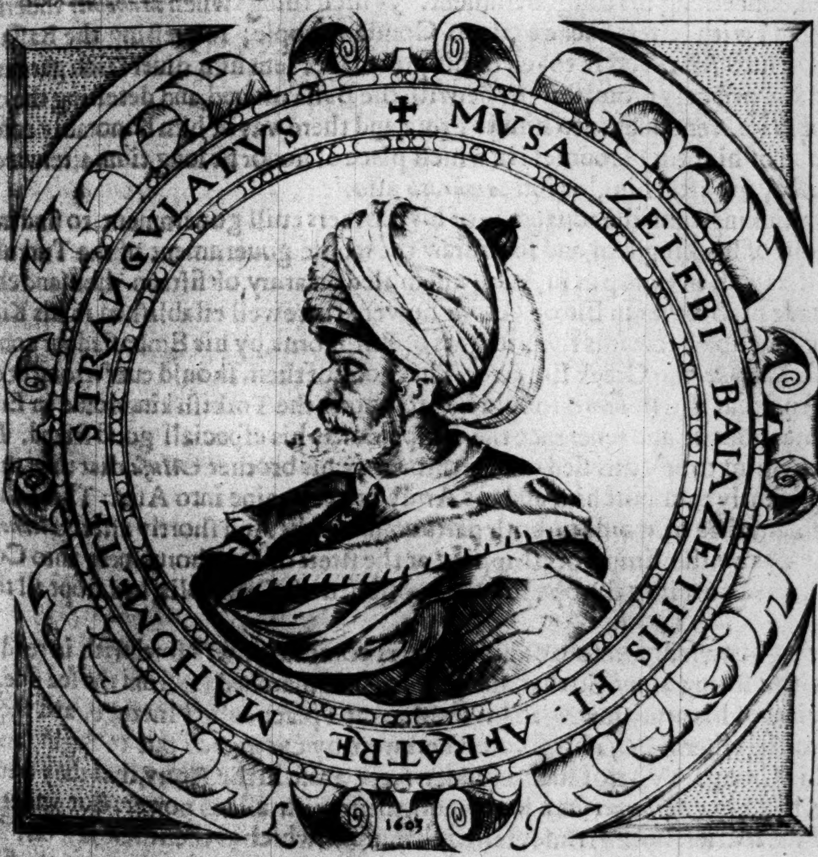
Muſa ſtil aided by the Valachian prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts againſt his brother *Solyman*, but was ſtill put to the worſe. At length hauing gathered ſome good ſtrength and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where *Solyman* lay; who at that time was (as his maner was) banqueting with great pleaſure in his camp, and full of wine. Inſomuch that when news was brought vnto him, that his brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great power, he in his drunkennes cauſed the meſſenger that brought the news to be beaten; and when he had with greater earneſtnes than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commanded him to be ſlaine for troubling his mirth. But ſhortly after, *Muſa* was come ſo neer, that the vantcurriors of his army skirmiſhed with ſome of *Solymans* ſoldiers. When as *Chaſis Eurenoſes* one of his fathers old captains, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had skirmiſhed with part of his army. Wherof *Solyman* (now far in wine) had no regard, but ſaid, *Good Tutor trauble mee no more: my brother* Muſa *dares not come ſo nigh me, but if I do but hold vp my cap he is gon.* With which anſwere the old Captaine going out diſcontented, ſent in *Chaſan* Aga of the Ianizaries: who boldly comming to him, told him plainely of the imminent danger, and ſharpely reproued him for his intemperance and ſecuritie. With whoſe free ſpeech *Solyman* mooued, in great rage commanded his beard to be cut off, then no ſmall diſgrace amongſt the Turks. *Chaſan* preſently comming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without, *This is the honor wherewith Sultan* Solyman *in his exceſſe rewards his moſt faithfull ſeruants. Wherfore be it known to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerue* Muſa, *a Prince of greater temperance and diſcretion: whoſo will follow me, come and welcome.* So mounting to horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Ianizaries, (of whom he was greatly beloued) went ouer to *Muſa*, as did many other great Captains alſo, with their companies, mooued by his example ſo to doe. But when *Solyman* vnderſtood that *Chaſan* with moſt of the Ianizaries, & many other worthy captains, with the greateſt ſtrength of his army, were reuolted to *Muſa*, then faſt by, and ready to ſet vpon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly, and finding no other remedy now to eſcape, hee hid himſelfe vntil it was dark night; then taking horſe, accompanied only with *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil* two of his Noblemen, and one country Turk whom they had retained for their guide, thought to haue fled to Conſtantinople. This malicious Clown hauing of purpoſe led them by vnknown waies all that night, to and fro as it were in a maze, (oftentimes miſ-naming vnto them the places they paſſed by, as if they had bin in the right way) brought them in the morning to a Village not farre from the place from whence they departed the night before: and there riding a little before them of purpoſe, gaue warning vnto a ſturdy Peaſant or two of his acquaintance, That *Solyman* was comming after, willing them to make ſtay of him. Theſe rude country churles, with ſome others of like breed, running out with bats and ſtaues, and ſuch other homely tooles as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratze-Beg* and *Cara Muchil*, who I K L M

Solyman flieth.

A would not yeeld vnto them, but ſtood vpon their gard, and took *Solyman* aliue: where, as commonly it falleth out in the vulgar peoples fury, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end the wars; ſome likewiſe to burn him; and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſaue him: euery one as his rude affection led him. In the heat of this country vprore came *Muſa*; who glad to ſee his brother *Solyman* ſo hard beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when hee had reigned in Hadrianople ſix years and ten moneths.

Solyman ſtrangled by his brother Muſa. This Solyman is he whom ſome call Celebinus, & others Calepinus, and reckon him for the fift king of the Turks.

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt ſon which *Bajazet* left aliue: a man much giuen to exceſſe, otherwiſe endued with many great vertues, being both of great valor, and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned Doctor *Achmetes*, who wrought the hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great in Turkiſh verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelfe, for B which he was by him bounteouſly rewarded. The dead body of *Solyman* himſelfe was by the commandement of *Muſa* conueyed to Pruſa, and there lieth buried faſt by the body of *Amurath* his grandfather. So now of theſe *Cadmeian* brethren remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*; the one reigning in Aſia, and the other in Europ, diuers parts of the world, & wel bounded with the ſureſt bounds of nature: yet not ſufficient to content or contain their ambitious minds, vntill the yonger had moſt vnnaturally deuoured the elder: whoſe liuely counterfeit, as it is by the ſkilfull workman expreſſed, you may here behold.


MVSA ZELEBI BAIAZETHIS FI: A FRATRE MAHOMETE STRANGVLATVS
1603

Quid properas, inſane tuum, peſſundare fratrem?
Nam ſceleris tanti, præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater
Mox referet, nimis hac in tua fata ruis?

Ric. Knollevs.

Why haſteſt thou, mad fool, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of ſuch villany ſhall to thy ſelf redound.
For look what miſchief thou haſt wrought, ſhall turn to thee again:
Why doſt thou therfore, fooliſh man, ſo haſten on thy pain?

Muſa preſently after the death of his brother *Solyman* took vpon him the Turkiſh kingdom G
in Europ: who in the beginning of his reigne diſplaced moſt of them which had borne great
offices before in the time of his brother *Solyman*, and had now of late reuolted to him, fearing
to be by them betrayed or forſaken, as his brother was; and in their rooms placed others his
own creatures. And not ſo content, proceeded further, vpon ſmall cauſes moſt vnkindely to
impriſon and put to death many of them which had of him wel deſerued. Which cruell dealing
ſo alienated the mindes of his Nobility, that many of them kept themſelues out of the
way, doubtfully expecting the euent of ſuch his tyrannical gouernment. *Chaſis Eurenoſes* that
old and renowned captain, to eſcape his hands was glad to ſeign himſelfe blinde, ſo to abſent
himſelf from court. At this time he alſo by his Embaſſadors demanded of diuers Chriſtian
Princes his neighbors, ſuch tribute as they had in times paſt either payd or promiſed to pay H
vnto his father *Bajazet*; and in that quarrell inuaded many of them, namely the Princes of
Seruia and Bulgaria. Amongſt other, he ſent *Ibrahim* Baſſa (a learned man of great experience,
and ſomtime one of his fathers graue counſellors) vnto *Emanuel Palaologus* the emperor
of Conſtantinople, to demand the like tribute of him. Who ſo ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople,
from thence by letters aduertiſed *Mahomet* of the vndiſcreet gouernment of his
brother *Muſa* in his new gotten kingdom; and what vntimely ſtirs hee began to make before
he was therin wel ſetled, loſing the loue both of his ſubjects & neighbor princes: with much
other matter concerning his miſgouernment. Which things when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, hee
ſent a meſſenger with letters backe again to Conſtantinople, requeſting the Baſſa to come
ouer vnto him into Aſia, and in token of his great fauor ſent him diuers rich garments, with I
many great and princely promiſes. Wherwith the Baſſa moued, and deteſting the cruell gouernment
of *Muſa*, went ouer vnto him to Pruſa, and there was of him honorably entertained,
and ſworn one of his priuy Counſel: in which place of honor he long time afterwards ſerued
him faithfully; and after him, his ſon *Amurath* alſo.

Mahomet thinking vpon the aduantage of his brothers euill gouernment, to find meanes to
thruſt him out of his kingdom, and ſo to draw the whole gouernment of the Turkiſh empire
vnto himſelf, as well in Europ as in Aſia; aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand choice ſoldiers
to inuade his brother in Europ, before he were there well eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome.
And ſo ſhocking down towards the ſtreights of Boſphorus, by his Embaſſadour concluded a
League with *Emanuel* the Greek Emperor, That none of them ſhould euer wrong or damnifie K
the other: And that if *Mahomet* ſhould hap to obtain the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, he
ſhould alwaies honour and reuerence the Emperour as his eſpeciall good friend. But if it
ſhould chance him to be diſtreſſed or ouerthrown by his brother *Muſa*, that then the Emperor
ſhould preſently tranſport him and his Army backe againe into Aſia. This League was
with great ſolemnitie of words on both parts confirmed. And ſhortly after, *Mahomet* with
all his Army was by the Emperors ſhipping at the ſtreit of Boſphorus neer vnto Conſtantinople,
tranſported ouer into Europ: for *Muſa* poſſeſſed of Callipolis, had ſtopt all the other
paſſages.

The battell betwixt the two brethren Mahomet & Muſa.

Muſa hauing knowledge before of his brothers comming, was forthwith in readineſſe to
meet him with a ſtrong army. So that *Mahomet* had not marched far from the ſea ſide, but that L
the vantcurriers of his army met with his brothers at a place called Intzuge, and there began
a light skirmiſh; wherin *Muſa* his fore-runners were by *Mahomets* put to flight, and chaſed
vnto *Muſa* his Camp. Wherof ſuch a ſudden feare aroſe in the Army, that they were almoſt
ready to fly, thinking *Mahomet* had been vpon them with all his power: But vnderſtanding
the truth of the matter, both Armies reſted that night, which as then drew faſt on. The next
day theſe two brethren, armed with equall hope, brought their Armies into the field, and
gaue the ſignall of battel, wherupon began a mortall and bloudy fight; in the fury whereof
Michael Ogli Baſſa of Romania, and certain other of *Muſa* his chiefe captains, vpon ſecret diſcontentment
reuolted to *Mahomet*: wherwith many of *Muſa* his ſouldiers diſcouraged, fled.
Which *Mahomet* his ſouldiers ſeeing, purſued the chaſe with ſuch earneſtneſſe and fury, that M
few were left with himſelfe: yet with ſuch as were left, in hope of good hap, hee ſet vpon his
brother: who although he was halfe diſcomfited with the flight of the greater part of his Army,
whom the enemies had then in chaſe, yet ſtood he faſt himſelfe with 7000 Ianizaries his
beſt ſoldiers: ſo taking the vnexpected good hap preſented vnto him by his brothers forward-

neſſe, valiantly receiued his charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater ſtrength than hee had before ſuppoſed, and himſelfe too weake to withſtand the fury of the Ianizaries, becauſe moſt of his men alſo were follo ving the chaſe, was now for ſafegard of his life glad himſelfe to fly to Conſtantinople, whither he came accompanied ſcarſe with 200 men; and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the Emperour, ſpeedily ſhipped ouer into Aſia. *Muſa* hauing thus put his brother to flight, with great ſlaughter of his men, preſently took his tents with all that was therin, and there incamped himſelf. They of *Mahomets* army which had followed the chaſe of ſuch as had fled in the beginning of the battell, not knowing what had hapned to *Mahomet*, returned to the camp, doubting no perill; and finding it at their return poſſeſſed by their enemies, ſtood as men amaſed and vtterly diſcouraged: at which time *Muſa* would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to put them to the ſword, as they would faine haue done, but commanded them to be diſpoiled of their armes and ſuch other things as they had, and ſo with life ſuffered them to depart.

After this ouerthrow, whilſt *Mahomet* lay ſtill at Pruſa, the Prince of Smyrna forcibly entred into Aidinia, purpoſing to paſſe thorow into Saruchania. Which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great army, and entring into the Princes country, made ſuch ſpoil as he went, and ſo diſtreſſed the Prince himſelf, that he was glad to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and from thenceforth to hold his dominion of him as of his Lord and Soueraign, and ſo returned vnto Amaſia.

Mahomet could not wel diſgeſt the loſſe he had ſo lately receiued in Europ, and therfore leuied an army of choice ſoldiers out of all parts of his kingdom, once again to try his fortune againſt his elder brother *Muſa*. For the better ſucces wherin, hee by his letters craued ayd of the prince *Dulgader Ogli*; written to this effect:

Sultan MAHOMET, vnto the Prince DVLGADER OGLI, his father in Law.

MY purpoſe is to lead myne army into Romania in Europ, and there again to try my quarrel with my brother Muſa. *My hope is, that you will not with your aid be wanting vnto me your ſon in Law, in my ſo great affairs, neither for want of good will to hinder this my purpoſe. Fare you well.*

In the year of the great Prophet Mahomet 814. *From Amaſia.*

Mahomets letters vnto the Prince Dulgader Ogli his father in law.

Wherunto the Prince returned this kind anſwer:

Prince DVLGADER OGLI, vnto the great Sultan MAHOMET.

IDoubt not (moſt mighty Monarch) but that whitherſoeuer your deſires ſhall draw you for the vndertaking of any great exploit, He that ruleth aboue in heauen, will be alwaies your aid, proſper your attempts, miniſter vnto you fit occaſions, and bring all your actions vnto moſt happy end, with moſt aſſured victorie. Wherfore ſeeing (God ſo diſpoſing our affairs) I cannot my ſelfe in perſon come vnto you with my power, and giue you my truſty help in this your intended war: yet will I in no caſe fail with all ſpeed to ſend my ſon your ſeruant, to aid you with our Forces in this war. Fare you well.

This ſame year of our Prophet 814.

Prince Dulgaders anſwer to Mahomet.

And ſo ſhortly after, the Prince ſent vnto him his ſon, according to his promiſe, with a company of braue ſoldiers excellently furniſhed: for the welcomming of whom, *Mahomet* his brother in law made a great and royal feaſt; and there in his mirth gaue vnto the yong Prince the rich apparel he wore himſelf, with the horſe he rode vpon, and all the rich plate of gold & ſilver wherin they were ſerued at that feaſt, a matter of great valu. And to euery one of his Nobles he gaue a rich garment made for that purpoſe, with ſome other gift as a fauor: and afterwards gaue them all to vnderſtand, That he intended forthwith to paſſe ouer into Europ, and there to recouer all his fathers kingdom, or els there to end his days: as for the ſpoil and prey (ſaid he) it ſhal be theirs that can win it; one horſe, one ſword, one horſemans mace ſhall content my ſelf. So hauing furniſhed his army with all things needfull for ſo great an enterpriſe, he ſet forward and came to the ſtreight of Boſphorus, and from thence gaue knowledge of

his comming to the Emperor of Conſtantinople: who glad thereof (for the diſpleaſure hee G
bare to *Muſa*) tranſported him and all his army ouer that ſtreit into Europe, and there in one
of his country palaces royally feaſted him. At which time *Mahomet* requeſted the Emperour
to join with him in that war againſt their common enemy: but he excuſed himſelf by reaſon
of his great age; yet neuertheles aſſiſted him with certain companies of valiant Chriſtians,
whoſe ſeruice afterward ſtood the Turk in great ſtead.

So *Mahomet* taking his leaue of the Emperor, marched with his army to the riuer Wyzen
in Thracia, where by the way he receiued letters from the antient captain *Chaſis Eurenoſes*, ad-
uiſing him to be very circumſtant in his marching, and not to make too much haſt to join bat-
tel with his brother: counſelling him alſo, if he could by any means, to allure *Iegides* Baſſa, *Ba-
rac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forſake his brother, and to follow his enſignes; for that in thoſe men H
conſiſted *Muſa* his chiefeſt ſtrength: and promiſed in good time to come vnto him himſelfe
alſo, if he were not too haſty. This meſſenger that brought this newes, *Mahomet* bountifully
rewarded, and ſo ſent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching toward Hadrianople, part
of the enemies army began to ſhew it ſelfe vnder the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was preſently
charged by *Michael Ogli* and put to flight. So holding on his way to Hadrianople, he laid
ſiege to the city: where the citiſens ſent out to him certain of their graueſt and moſt ſubſtan-
tiall Burgeſſes, to certifie him, that by reaſon of the gariſon there left by *Muſa*, they conld not
as then deliuer the city vnto him; but if it ſhould pleaſe him to go and try his fortune in the
field againſt his brother, who ſhould be the commander therof, he ſhould find them ready to
follow his good fortune, and to yeeld themſelues, the city, and all therin, to his pleaſure, if it I
were his good hap to carry away the victory. With which anſwer *Mahomet* contenting him-
ſelfe, raiſed his ſiege, and took the way toward Zagora. In that place *Muſa* is reported to haue
come ſecretly diſguiſed into *Mahomets* camp, and to haue taken ful view thereof; but percei-
uing himſelf too weak to incounter his brother, withdrew his army into the ſafegard of the
great woods and ſtrong places; and ſo from thence retyred with his army toward Philippo-
polis, and ſo marched along the riuer Meritze, called in antient time Hebrus: where *Iegides*
Baſſa, with *HamZa Beg* and *Iſmir Ogli* (three of *Muſa* his great captains) ſet vpon the rereward
of *Mahomets* army, and were by *Michael Ogli* repulſed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to
Sophia; where as he went, *Muſa* diuers times from the mountains made ſhew of his army, but
durſt not come down into the plain to giue him battell. *Mahomet* hauing refreſhed his army K
at Sophia, marched to Sarkiue, where he receiued Letters from *Iegides Baſſa*, *Barac Beg*, and
Sinan Beg, all ſecretly perſuaded by old *Eurenoſes* to reuolt vnto him: The tenour whereof in
brief was this:

Hadrianople beſieged by Mahomet.

IEGIDES BASSA, BARAC BEG, and SINAN BEG, vnto the great Sultan MAHOMET.

*WE are three yong men (moſt mighty Monarch) and haue with vs three thouſand choice ſoldiers,
men of incomparable valour, ſuch as the world hath ſcarſe the like: draw your forces neere to
vs with as much ſpeed as you can, and you ſhall find vs ready to come ouer vnto you. Fare you well.* L

Wherupon he marched all the next night after, vntill hee came to the riuer Moraua, and
there incamped: where the three aforenamed Captaines according to their promiſe joined
themſelues vnto him with all their ſoldiers. Thither came alſo old *Eurenoſes*, of all others the
moſt famous captain among the Turks, and now no longer blinde, bringing with him a great
company of moſt expert ſoldiers. *Mark* the Deſpot of Seruia, for the diſpleaſure he bare vnto
Muſa, ſent him aid thither alſo. By which ſupplies *Mahomets* army was greatly increaſed; who
after he had curteouſly welcommed all theſe new come Captains, hee began again to march
further, vntil he came to Coſſova the vnfortunat plain; where *HamZa Beg* the Prince of Smir-
na his ſon, hauing forſaken *Muſa*, came vnto him with fiue hundred horſe, certifying him that M
all the Nobility had forſaken his brother. So as he marcht from place to place, his forces ſtil
increaſed by the reuolt of his brothers. *Muſa* ſeeing his ſoldiers thus daily fall from him, in-
ſomuch that he had almoſt none now left but the ſouldiers of the Court (which were indeed
his beſt men of war, and alwaies vnto him faithfull, becauſe hee had bin euer vnto them excee-
ding

Muſa his chief captains reuolt to Mahomet.

A ding bountifull) thought it beſt to attempt ſomething before hee were left himſelfe alone.
Wherfore hauing yet with him 7000 of thoſe expert ſoldiers, he drew neerer to his brother,
ſeeking to haue taken him at ſome aduantage. But *Mahomet* hauing knowledge of his purpoſe,
and contented to be aduiſed by his old expert captains, had euer a vigilant eye vnto him. Yet
at laſt, whether it were vpon good hope, or els prickt forward with diſpair, *Muſa* vpon the ſudden
valiantly ſet vpon his brothers army: but his ſouldiers oppreſſed with multitude, rather
than ouercome with true valor, after a hard and bloudy fight were put to the worſt. Which he
ſeeing, deſperatly brake into the midſt of his enemies, ſeeking there for death among the thickeſt
of them. But being known by *Bajazet Baſſa, Mahomets* lieutenant general, deſirous to take
him aliue, he was beſet on euery ſide: where ſeeing himſelf in more danger to be taken than
B ſlain, he with great coutage brake from amongſt the midſt of them and fled. In which flight
his horſe falling into a deepe muddy ditch (or as ſome others ſay, hoxed by *Sarutſes* his owne
ſeruant, and himſelf wounded) ouerthrew him, and there before he could again recouer himſelfe,
was taken by *Bajazet Baſſa* the great Lieutenant, *Michael Ogli*, and *Barac Beg*, which had
hardly purſued him out of the battel; and ſo with his hands bound, by them brought thorow
the midſt of the army. Which pittifull ſight grieued not a little the hearts of many, to ſee
him but euen now ſo great a King, and one of the ſons of great *Bajazet*, by the ſtrange change
of fortune, bound like a captiue ſlaue led forth to execution: yet were moſt part glad therof;
hoping this long ciuill wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came vnto him a Nobleman
called *Balta Ogli*, ſent (as they thought) from *Mahomet* himſelfe; who after hee had in
C few words bitterly reproued him, for the cruelty by him before ſhewed vnto his brother *Solyman*
in like caſe, cauſed him preſently to be ſtrangled with a bow ſtring. His dead body was
by and by after preſented to his brother *Mahomet*, who ſeeing it, ſhed a few Crocodiles teares
ouer it. He reigned three years and ſeuen months, and was afterward conueyed to Pruſa, and
there lieth buried by the body of his brother *Solyman*, in the ſame chappel with his Grandfather
Amurath.

Muſa taken.

Muſa ſtrangled

Mahomet after the death of *Muſa* now free from all competitors, took vpon him the ſole gouernment
of the Turkiſh kingdom as well in Europ as Aſia. And here the Turkiſh Hiſtories
begin the reign of this *Mahomet* fift king of the Turks; accounting the troubleſom time from
the captiuity of *Bajazet*, vnto the death of *Muſa*, as a time of vacancie or anarchy, wherein the
D Turkiſh kingdome, was not at any time wholly poſſeſſed by any one of *Bajazets* ſons: *Iſa* poſſeſſing
one part therof, wherof he was by *Mahomet* diſpoſſeſſed: who afterward vſurped all that
part of the Turkiſh kingdom in Aſia, being the right of his elder brother *Solyman*: who at that
time reigning in Europ, was depoſed and ſtrangled by his brother *Muſa*; who was in like manner
ſerued by his yongeſt brother *Mahomet*, the only ſonne of *Bajazet* then left, as is before declared.
Which diuers mutations and intrrupted ſucceſſions, was the cauſe that the hiſtoriographers
do ſo greatly diſſent from the ſucceſſor of *Bajazet*, ſome reckoning one, ſome another;
ſome more, ſome fewer; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were. But foraſmuch as *Mahomet* held
all or moſt part of the Turkiſh kingdom in Aſia, during his troubleſome time, and in the end
poſſeſſed the other part therof in Europ alſo; I reckon him for the fift King of the Turks, and
E ſucceſſor to his father *Bajazet*: including alſo in this hiſtory of his life, all that inteſtine and
ſerpentine-like tragedy, wherin he himſelfe was the principal actor.

1415

Whilſt *Mahomet* was (as is aforeſaid) thus buſied in his wars in Europe againſt his brother
Muſa, the king of Caramania taking aduantage of his troubles there, with a great army inuaded
his kingdom joining upon him in Aſia, burning and ſpoiling all before him as hee went:
Einaſes Baſſa, Mahomets lieutenant then lying at Pruſa, not able to withſtand him; and fearing
his comming thither, becauſe it was the ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings in Aſia, he cauſed the citiſens
to bring the greateſt part of their wealth into the Caſtle; whereinto he alſo receiued as
many of the citiſens as he conueniently could, willing the reſt to ſhift for themſelues as they
might, in ſuch caſe of extremitie. Shortly after, the King of Caramania (according to his expectation)
F came to Pruſa, and without reſiſtance tooke the City, not as yet fully fortified;
which he without delay cauſed the ſecond time to be burnt downe to the ground; and afterwards
laid ſiege to the caſtle, giuing many great aſſaults therto by the ſpace of 30 dayes, but
was alwaies valiantly repulſed by *Einaſes* the Baſſa, who ceaſed not continually to encourage
his ſoldiers, ſtil putting them in comfort, that *Mahomet* hauing now ouercome his enemies in
Europe,

Pruſa burnt by the Caramanian King.

Europ, would in few daies vndoubtedly come to their reliefe. It chanced at the ſame time, G that the dead body of *Muſa* ſent to Pruſa to be buried, was honourably conueyed vpon the way, with much people following it. The Caramanian King hearing of the comming of ſuch a multitude, and fearing it to haue bin *Mahomet* with his power, raiſed his ſiege and ſpeedily departed. Wherat the Turks long time after ieſted, ſaying, If the Caramanian King run away for fear of the dead body of the *Othoman* King, what would he do if he had come againſt him aliue? But the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

Orchanes the ſon of *Solyman* (yet a boy) hauing liued at Conſtantinople euer ſince his fathers death, about this time departed thence, becauſe of the league but lately made betweene the Emperor and his vncle *Mahomet*, purpoſing to haue gon into Valachia: but by the way as he was trauelling, the Turkiſh voluntary ſouldiers vnderſtanding that he was the ſon of their H late King *Solyman*, reſorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to ſpend their liues. Of which inſurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thither in all haſt with a great power to ſuppreſſe the ſame: of whoſe comming the ſoldiers with *Orchanes* vnderſtanding, diſperſed themſelues and fled. As for *Orchanes*, he was by his vnlawfull tutor *Zaganos* betrayed vnto his vncle *Mahomet*; who preſently cauſed his eies to be put out, and ſo ſent him to Pruſa, allowing him great reuenues to liue vpon, and euer after vſed him with great honor. The ſiſter of this *Orchanes* he gaue in mariage to one of his noblemen with a great dowry. This is that *Orchanes* whom ſome Hiſtoriographers reckon vp among the Turkiſh Kings, as one of *Bajazets* Succeſſors, and that he was betrayed to his vncle *Moſes*: erring, as I ſuppoſe, both in ſucceſſion and the name, miſtaking *Moſes* for *Mahomet*. I

1416
Mahomet inuades the Caramanian King.

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the iniury which the Caramanian King had done to him in his abſence, returning to Pruſa, aſſembled a great army to reuenge himſelfe of that wrong. At which time he ſent to the prince *Iſfendiar* for aid, who ſent him his ſon *Caſſumes*. He commanded alſo the Prince *Germean Ogli* to make prouiſion for the victualling of his camp, as he ſhould paſſe by his country; which was accordingly don. And ſo prouided of all things neceſſary, he with his army entred into the Caramanian country: where he tooke the cities Aſpropolis, Deſpotopolis, Hierapolis, and beſieged Iconium; but by reaſon of the immoderat rain which at that time fel, hee was glad to make peace with the Caramanian King, called alſo *Mahomet*, and ſo raiſing his ſiege departed towards Pontus: where he had not long ſtayd, but that news was brought him, that the Caramanian King renouncing his league, was K again vp in arms: wherfore returning into Caramania, and ſo to Iconium, he there ouerthrew the King in battell, and took both him and his ſon *Muſtapha* priſoners: who redeemed themſelues by deliuering many of their ſtrong Cities and Caſtles into his hands: and afterward concluding a peace, they receiued from him an enſigne (as the Turkiſh manner is) in token they were now become his vaſſals.

1417
Valachia tributary to the Turk.

The Caramanian war thus happily ended, he went ouer into Europe, and paſſing ouer Danubius, forraged the country of Valachia Tranſalpina, making there great ſpoil: for redreſſe wherof the Valachian Prince by his Embaſſadors ſent him ſuch tribute as he demanded, and his ſon alſo to ſerue him in his court. About which time hapned a great earthquake in Pruſa L and other places of Aſia, wherby many houſes and towns were ouerthrown; after which enſued great troubles in moſt parts of Aſia: howbeit *Mahomet* going thither, by his preſence kept all his dominions in peace and quietneſſe.

Iſfendiar Prince of Caſtamona and part of Pontus, reſeruing vnto himſelf Caſtamona, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the reſt vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition that he ſhould reſtore no part therof again vnto his ſon *Caſſumes*; who hauing long time ſerued in *Mahomet* his court and Wars, could not be perſuaded to returne again vnto his father, and therfore was by him thus diſ-inherited. Which great gift *Mahomet* thankfully accepted of, and in lieu thereof, hee aſſigned vnto *Caſſumes* other great and large poſſeſſions lying within his own kingdome.

M *Mahomet*, after the death of his brother *Muſa*, had ſent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his brothers Cadeleſcher) to Nice in Aſia, as vnto a place of exile; allowing him neuertheleſſe a great penſion wheron to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his houſe one *Burgluzes Muſtapha* his ſteward: theſe two conſulted together, how to raiſe ſome tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable gouernement of *Mahomet*: for which purpoſe *Burgluzes* (according to the plot by them laid) took his

way

A way into Aidinia (ſomtime called Caria) and there pretending great zeal of reforming Reli-
gion, with wonderful grauitie began to broach diuers new and ſtrange opinions, far differing
from the Turkiſh antient ſuperſtition, yet very plauſible, and well fitting the humour of the
vulgar people. By which meanes hee was in ſhort time reputed for a famous learned deuout
man, and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin ſome great innoua-
tion. *Bedredin* glad of his mans ſucces, fled from Nice, into the prince *Iſfendiars* country, from
whence he took ſhipping ouer the Euxine into Valachia, and there withdrawing himſelf in-
to a great foreſt, as if he had bin ſome deuout or religious man, allured vnto him a great num-
ber of out-lawes and theeues which there liued. Whom when he had ſufficiently inſtructed
and framed to his purpoſe, he ſent them in the habit of religious men into the country of Za-
B gora, and other places in the frontiers of *Mahomets* dominions neer vnto him, as his diſciples;
who with great boldnes and confidence publiſhed *Bedredins* doctrine and authoritie, & how
that he was by God appointed to be the King of juſtice, and Commander of all the World,
whoſe doctrine and maner of gouernment was (as they ſaid) already receiued in Aſia, beeing
ſet forth but by one of his ſchollers, *Burgluzes*; whoſe fame was now diſperſed throughout all
the Turks dominions. And that therfore if any were deſirous of preferment, they ſhould re-
pair to *Bedredin*, who would in ſhort time ſhew himſelf to the world, and promote his follow-
ers according to their deſerts. Many of the country people deluded with this phantaſie and
practiſe of theſe ſeditious ſeed-men, reſorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, & with them
ſome of good calling alſo. At laſt, out of the forreſt commeth this great Prophet with ban-
C ner diſplaied, attended vpon with a great multitude of the ſeditious vulgar people, which dai-
ly reſorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repreſſing of theſe dangerous tumults,
ſent his ſon *Amurath* and *Bajazet* the great Baſſa, with two thouſand men to apprehend *Bur-
gluzes* in Aidinia. But when they came thither, they found him garded with three thouſand
men well appointed, ready to aduenture their liues in defence of their fooliſh Prophet. Ne-
uertheles *Amurath* and *Bajazet* not diſmaied with the multitude of thoſe vplandiſh people,
ſet vpon them; where was fought a right bloudy battell for the number, and many ſlaine on
both ſides: yet at laſt the Rebels fled, in which flight *Burgluzes* himſelfe was ſlain and hewne
all to pieces. After which victorie *Bajazet* from thence haſted to Magneſia, and there execu-
ted *Torlac Keman* another ſeditious Turkiſh Monk, who with two thouſand by him ſeduced,
D did much harm in the country therabout. At the ſame time alſo *Mahomet* ſent another power
againſt *Bedredin*: but moſt of his followers ſeeing in him no ſuch matter as was by his diſci-
ples and himſelf promiſed, and as they hoped for, were already fallen from him; ſo that of
that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him: wherby he
was eaſily apprehended by them whom *Mahomet* had ſent againſt him: and ſo being brought
to *Mahomet*, to Serras, was there in the market place before a tauern door fair hanged, without
any further harm.

Burgluzes ſlain

Bedredin hanged.

Mahomet in the ſhort time of his reign finiſhed the great *Mahometan* temple at Hadriano-
ple, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Muſa*: Where he alſo built a princely palace,
the ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in Europ, vntil the taking of Conſtantinople. He alſo built an
E other Temple, with a moſt ſumptuous Abby, and a publique ſchool therto adjoining; indow-
ing the ſame with great reuenues, ſuch as had by him and thoſe his brethren of late bin taken
from the Chriſtians. He alſo gaue great ſums of mony, yearly to be paid at Medina and Me-
cha, for the relief of poor pilgrims trauelling from far, to the ſepulchre of their great prophet
Mahomet, at Medina, or his temple at Mecha.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* fell ſicke at Hadrianople, and perceiuing himſelfe in danger of
death, by his laſt Will appointed his eldeſt ſon *Amurath* to ſucceed him in his kingdom, and
ſent *Eluan-Beg* (a man in great fauor with him) in poſt to Amaſia, to wil him with all ſpeed to
repair to the Court at Hadrianople. But feeling death to approch, and that he could not poſ-
ſibly liue vntill the comming of his ſon, he ſtreightly charged his Baſſa's, with all ſecrecy to
F conceal his death vntill his comming, for fear leſt any trouble ſhould ariſe vpon the brute
therof, before his comming thither. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, he departed out of
this world vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, about the year of our Sauior Chriſt 1422, when he had
reigned ſeuenteen years: accounting in his reign that troubleſome ten yeares next after the
captiuity of *Bajazet*, in which time the Turkes Kingdome was by his ambitious ſons rent in
ſun-

Mahomet dieth at Hadrianople

ſunder(as is aforeſaid)vntil it was at length again by this *Mahomet* reſtored to the former in- G
tegrity,about 7 years before his death,which the Turks account the whole time of his reign;
and the other troubleſom 10 years as a vacancie or anarchy of their kingdom,as is aforeſaid.

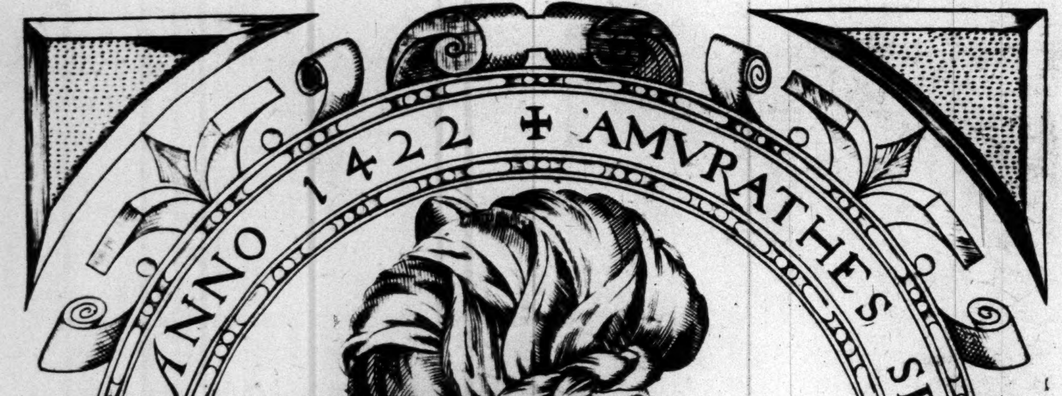
The death of Mahomet cunningly concealed from the Janizaries, by the three great Baſſa's.

Mahomet being dead,the three great Baſſa's,*Eiuaſes*,*Bajazet*,and *Ibrahim*, to rid themſelues
of the fear they had of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court,called a Divano or coun-
ſel for the wars,as if the King had bin aliue. Wherin it was pretended,that *Mahomet* had de-
termined to make war vpon the prince of Smyrna, & that for that ſeruice it was his pleaſure,
that the Ianizaries ſhould forthwith paſſe ouer into Aſia to the caſtle of Baga. Whereupon
preſſe mony was preſently giuen them,and they ſent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy
of Anatolia,for the aſſembling of an army for Baga.In the mean time the great Baſſas of the
court ſat daily in counſel,placing and diſplacing,promoting & diſgracing whom they plea- H
ſed,as if the King had ſo commanded. The Kings phyſitians alſo,to countenance the matter,
were commanded continually to go to and fro with their potions and receits,after their won-
ted maner,as if they had had the King ſtill in cure : and letters were ſent in poſt to *Eluan Beg*,
for ſpeedy diſpatch of the buſines for which he was ſent into Aſia. Yet for all this cunning
diſſimulation,the penſioners and other ſoldiers of the court,wont to be neer the kings perſon,
and ſome of them alwaies of the priuy chamber, began to ſuſpect the matter : and comming
to the Baſſa's,ſaid,they maruelled the King in ſo long time did neuer ſhew himſelf,as he had
alwaies before don.Wherunto the Baſſas anſwered,That he had bin dangerouſly ſick,& was
as yet but a little recouered,and that therfore the Phyſitians would not ſuffer him to looke a-
broad or take the air,for fear of caſting him down againe. Then will wee our ſelues (ſaid the I
pentioners)go and ſee his Majeſty;and with that were ready to force in vpon the Baſſa's. *Ei-
uaſes* ſeeing their importunitie, deſired them to hold themſelues contented, and not as then
to trouble the King,for that he had that day taken phyſicke ; but to morrow(ſaid he)we will
requeſt his Majeſty,if he ſo pleaſe to ſhew himſelfe, that you may ſee him. Wherewith they
for that time were ſatisfied. Now among the Kings phyſitians there was one *Geordiron* a Per-
ſian,a man of a quick ſpirit and ſubtil deuice,who found means to deceiue the Pentioners:he
deuiſed , that the dead body of the King beeing apparelled in royal large robes , ſhould bee
brought betwixt two,as if hee had bin led,into an high open gallery ; and beeing there ſet,to
haue a boy ſo neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes, as that hee vnperceiued might
moue the Kings hand vp to his head,as if he ſhould ſtroke his face or beard,as his maner was. K
The next day the dead king being accordingly brought forth by the Baſſa's in his rich robes,
and wrapped with cloaths about his head, as if it had bin for feare of the aire,or taking cold,
and ſo placed in an high open gallery, as was before deuiſed, ſuddenly the phyſitian came
running in,fuming and raging as if he had bin halfe mad,ready to teare his cloaths for anger,
and in great choler caſting his cap againſt the ground, asked the Baſſa's if they meant to kill
the King, by bringing him into the open aire ? Wee (ſaid hee) haue with great paines, in a
long time a little recouered him,and will you thus fooliſhly caſt him down again.Pardon vs
good doctor(ſaid *Eiuaſes*) for theſe gentlemen(pointing to the Pentioners)were ſo importu-
nat to ſee his Majeſty,that to ſatisfie their deſires,he was content to be led forth of his cham-
ber;wherof we hope ſhall enſu no harm. The pentioners ſeeing the King many times moue L
his hand to his face,and as it were ſtroking his beard,held themſelues wel contented, ſuppo-
ſing him to haue bin aliue,although but weak, and therefore not willing to ſpeak vnto them.
The phyſitians taking them vp amongſt them,carried him into his lodging again,which was
but faſt by,making as if they had caried an extream ſick man. Thus was his death cunningly
concealed one and forty daies,vntil the comming of *Amurath* his ſon.

This *Mahomet* was both wiſe and valiant,and withall exceeding bountifull, but ambitious
aboue meaſure;who may of right be accounted the reſtorer of the Turks kingdom;for he re-
couered again all thoſe Countries in Aſia,which *Tamerlane* had taken away and giuen to o-
ther Mahometan princes,after the ouerthrow of *Bajazet*. And when as the kingdome of the
Turks was rent in pieces and almoſt brought to nought by ciuil wars,and the ambition of his M
brethren and himſelf,he at length got poſſeſſion of the whole, and ſo left it to his ſon *Amu-
rath* an intire kingdom,in the former greatnes,although not ſo much by him augmented.His
body lieth buried in a fair tomb made of artificiall ſtone,very beautifull to behold,in a chap-
pel on the Eaſt ſide of Pruſa ; where we leaue him at his reſt.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet *the firſt.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Emanuel Palæologus.*	1387.	30
		Of the Weſt	*Rupertus Duke of Bauaria.*	1400.	10
			Sigiſmund King of Hungary	1411.	28
	Kings	*Of England*	*Henry the fourth.*	1399.	13
			Henry the fifth	1413.	9
		Of France	*Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The Welbeloued.*	1381.	42
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Steuart, otherwiſe called Robert the third.*	1390.	16
			Iames the firſt	1424.	13
	Biſhops of Rome		*Boniface the IX.*	1390.	14
			Innocent the VIII.	1405.	2
			Gregory the XII.	1407.	2
			Alexander the V.	1410.	1
			Iohn the XXIII.	1411.	5
			Martin the V.	1417.	13


✠ AMVRATHES SECVNDVS: SEXTVS TVRCARVM REX FLORVIT ANNO 1422
1603

Phhi.Lon.
Hiſt. Tur.
Lib. 1.

Europam luctu & funeſtis cladibus implens,
Sævus Amurathes *totus in arma ruit.*
Major at Huniades *virtute & fortibus auſis,*
Cogit eum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Conſilia Eugenij *bellum furialia ſuadent,*
Sacrorum antiſtes Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, curet ſua templa ſacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit iſta grave.

Fierce *Amurath* doth Europ fill with bloud and wofull cries;
And wholly giuen to martial deeds, doth whole in arms ariſe.
But yet *Huniades* (than he, of greater force and might)
Inforced him right fearfully to turn his back in flight.
Eugenius his infernall ſpels ſtirs vp a fatall jar;
Who hauing charge of ſacred Rites, runs headlong into war.
(Leaue martial deeds to martial men, and let the Prieſt go pray)
Such diuelish counſel, worſ-receiv'd, wroght Europs great decay.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF THE TVRKS, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISHER OF THEIR KINGDOME.

AFter the death of *Mahomet* had bin politiquely concealed one and fortie days,by the three great Baſſa's,*BajaZet*,*Eiuaſes*,and *Ibrahim*; *Amurath* (or C *Murat*,as the Turks cal him) his eldeſt ſon,at that time comming to Pruſa,was by them placed in his fathers ſeat,and the death of *Mahomet* at the ſame time publiſhed. Wherupon great troubles began on euery ſide to ariſe.

Murat is the ſame that we call Deſiderius.

The Princes of Smyrna and Menteſia roſe vp in arms:and at Theſſalonica,an obſcure fellow crept as it were out of a chimney corner, took vpon him the name and perſon of *Muſtapha* the ſon of *BajaZet*, who was ſlain many years before,in the great battell againſt *Tamerlane* at mount Stella, as is before declared in the life of the vnfortunate Sultan *Bajazet*. This counterfeit *Muſtapha*,animated by the Grecian princes, and going from Theſſalonica to Vardarum,ſet ſo good a countenance vpon the matter, with ſuch a grace and Ma- D jeſty,that not only the countrey people (apt to beleeue any thing) but men of greater place and calling alſo,as *Tzunites Beg* the prince of Smyrna's ſon,with the ſons of old *Eurenoſes Baſſa*,perſuaded that he was the very ſon of the great *BajaZet*,repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall Prince and Soueraign.From Vardarium he went to Serræ,and from thence to Hadrianople(*Amurath* being then at Pruſa)where he was receiued as if it had bin that noble prince *Muſtapha*,whom he feigned himſelf to be. So that in ſhort time he was honored as a King in all parts of the Turkiſh Kingdom in Europ.

Muſtapha, Bajazets ſuppoſed ſon raiſeth rebellion againſt Amurath.

Amurath to repreſſe this ſo great and dangerous a rebellion, ſent *Bajazet Baſſa*, a man of great authority in his Court, with a ſtrong army into Europ. This great Baſſa paſſing ouer Helleſpontus,found all the country reuolted vnto their new found King *Muſtapha*: but mar- E ching toward Hadrianople,with purpoſe to haue giuen him battell, hee was firſt forſaken by the Europeian ſoldiers which he brought out of Aſia,and afterwards of all the reſt alſo; and beeing left poſt alone, with his brother *HamZe Beg*, was for ſafegard of his life glad to yeeld himſelf to *Muſtapha*,of whom he was gratiouſly entertained,and vpon promiſe of his loialtie ſworn one of his priuy Councel.

Muſtapha thus now poſſeſſed of the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, and entertaining great thoughts,the better to maintain his credit,leuied a great army to make war vpon *Amurath* in Aſia. And as he was vpon his way,at a place which the Turks call Saſlidere,or the place of Willowes,his other counſellors repining at the great honor he gaue to *Bajazet Baſſa*, aduiſed him to beware he truſted him not too far,of whoſe ſmall faith he had ſufficient trial already, F and was like enough when occaſion ſhould ſerue,to reuolt from him to *Amurath*, & to draw after him ſome great part of his army,to the great peril both of himſelf & all them his faithfull ſeruants & followers.Vpon which jelous conceit,this great Baſſa *BaiaZet* was there forthwith as a traitor apprehended,and without further trial executed: at which time his brother *Hamze* was with much ado ſpared. This done,*Muſtapha* proceeded on his journey,and paſſed

ouer with his army at Callipolis into Aſia. *Amurath* vnderſtanding of the proceedings of G
Muſtapha in Europ,and his preparation made for the inuaſion of Aſia,created three new Baſ-
ſa's,*Omer*,*Vruge*,and *Alis*,all the ſons of *Temurtaſes*; theſe he joined with his old Baſſa's, *Ibra-*
him and *Eiuaſes*. All theſe fiue he vſed as his Counſellors for the Wars; by whoſe aduice he
ſent for *Mahomet Beg*,ſyrnamed *Michael Ogli*,who in the time that *Muſa* reigned was Viceroy
in Europe,and therefore a man wel known to moſt principall men in *Muſtapha's* army,but had
bin kept priſoner in the Caſtle of Amaſia, from the time that *Muſa* was depoſed and put to
death by his brother *Mahomet*,vntil now that he was after 8 years impriſonment,for this ſpe-
cial purpoſe inlarged and receiued into fauor.

About the ſame time that *Muſtapha* ſet footing in Aſia, **Amurath** hauing gathered his army,
ſet forward from Pruſa; yet with ſuch diſtruſt in his forces(which were thought to bee much H
inferior to the Europeian ſoldiers that followed *Muſtapha*) that he was glad vpon a ſuperſti-
tious opinion,to proſtrat himſelfe at the feet of an Emir, one of the falſe prophet *Mahomets* po-
ſteritie,to receiue at his hypocritical hands a graceles bleſſing for his better ſpeed. By whom
he was made to beleeue,that after two repulſes, hee had with much ado at the third time ob-
tained grant of the prophet *Mahomet*, that he ſhould preuail in that War: and therupon had
his ſword girt vnto him with the Emirs holy hands, with many other vaine and ſuperſtitious
ceremonies. Yet for all theſe charms,he marched on with his army in fear enough, vntill hee
came to the riuer of Vlibad,otherwiſe called Rindacus: where hauing intelligence of the ap-
proch of *Muſtapha*,he for fear cauſed the bridge ouer the riuer there to bee broken downe, and
incamped himſelf on that ſide the riuer. Not long after came *Muſtapha*,and finding the bridg I
broken,incamped at the foot therof on the other ſide,ſo that nothing parted the two Armies
but the riuer only. Whilſt they lay thus neer incamped together,that the ſoldiers might on
both ſides take the full view one of another,and alſo talk together; *Mahomet Beg* (ſyrnamed
Michael Ogli) but lately deliuered out of his long impriſonment(as is aforeſaid) came to the
riuer ſide, and with a loud voice called by name vpon the great Captaines and old ſouldiers
that were in *Muſtapha's* Army; asking by name for many of his old friends and acquaintance.
Many of them being there preſent,rejoicing to ſee that honourable man, whom they ſuppo-
ſed to haue bin dead in priſon many years before,came gladly to the ſide of the riuer to heare
what he could ſay.

Then with a loud voice he began to perſuade them,that the man whom they followed was K
not the honourable *Muſtapha*,but ſome baſe high minded fellow ſet vp by the Grecians, abu-
ſing the obſcuritie of his birth,as the vail vnder the couert wherof he went craftily to intrude
himſelfe into the honourable diſcent of *Bajazet*; and ſo masking in the counterfeit titles of
ſtoln honor, had miſ-led them from their duty to their naturall King and Soueraign, to fol-
low him a meer Deceiuer. And further aſſured them, That *Muſtapha* (*Bajazet* his ſonne) was
dead and buried in the bed of fame 22 years before,honorably ending his daies in defence of
his country,in the great battell of mount Stella againſt *Scanderbeg*: wherfore they ſhould do
wel to forſake that ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, and again to yeeld their dutifull obedience vnto their
vndoubted Soueraign *Amurath*. Theſe words deliuered vnto them by *Mahomet* (whom they
generally both reuerenced and truſted)wrought ſuch effect in their minds, that ſome preſent- L
ly aduentured to ſwim ouer the riuer,and joined themſelues vnto him; and many others that
ſtaid ſtil,began now to doubt leſt they had worſhipped a wrong Saint. At the ſame time al-
ſo, *Eiuaſes Baſſa* to terrifie *Muſtapha*, ſent vnto him letters as in great ſecret, aduertiſing him,
That *Amurath* had the next night purpoſed with his Army to paſſe ouer the riuer aboue the
broken bridge; at which time the chief Captains of his army being(as he ſaid)corrupted,had
promiſed to deliuer *Muſtapha* into his hands,and with his head to pay the ranſom of them all.
This he colored with ſuch fair gloſſes,that *Muſtapha* partly beleeued the ſame. So when the
dead time of the night was come, *Eiuaſes* with certain troups of horſmen paſſed ouer the ri-
uer at the very ſame place he had in his letters named; and that with ſuch a noiſe & tumult,
as *Amurath* with his whole army had been comming. *Muſtapha* ſeeing things begin to worke M
thus,according as *Eiuaſes Baſſa* had before written;and with this,doubting alſo to be preſent-
ly betrayed; and carrying about him a guilty conſcience (the mother of fear and diſtruſt)
Muſtapha flies. took horſe (ſlenderly accompanied but with ten perſons of his whole army) and fled in haſt,
no man purſuing them, vntill he came to the riuer of Boga, and there with a great ſumme
of

A of mony obtained paſſage,by corrupting the Captain that dwelt in the Caſtle vpon the paſſage
of the riuer: and the third day after,paſſing ouer the ſtreight of Helleſpontus, landed at
Callipolis. The flight of *Muſtapha* once known in his army, they all yeelded themſelues vnto
Eiuaſes Baſſa; who taking poſſeſſion of *Muſtapha's* tent, cauſed the broken bridge to be repaired;
wherby *Amurath* paſſing with his Army, joined himſelf with *Eiuaſes*. The other Baſſa
counſelled *Amurath* to put to the ſword all thoſe rebels that had followed *Muſtapha*. But by
the mediation of *Eiuaſes* (to whom they had yeelded themſelues) they were all generally pardoned.

Amurath departing from Vlibad or Lopadium, came to Boga;and there hanged the Captain
that had giuen *Muſtapha* paſſage. From thence he held on his way to Lampſacum,intending
B to purſue *Muſtapha* into Europ:but being come to the ſea ſide he could find no paſſage,
for that *Muſtapha* had cauſed all the ſhipping on that ſide to bee brought ouer into Europe.
Yet at laſt *Amurath* by good fortune chanced vpon a great Genoa ſhip, which he hired for
4000 ducats to tranſport his army,and ſo with much ado at length landed in Europ. *Muſtapha*
ſeeing that *Amurath* was now come ouer,fled to Hadrianople, where hee found ſuch cold
entertainment,that fearing to be betrayed,he was glad to ſpeed himſelfe thence,thinking all
the world too little to hide himſelf in;and ſo came to an obſcure place in the country of the
Turks,called Kiſul-Agatze-Genitze: where the ſoldiers ſent to purſue him, ouertooke him,
and brought him bound to *Amurath*,then being at Hadrianople: by whoſe commandement
he was ſhamefully hanged from the battlements of one of the higheſt towers of the city,and
C there left to the worlds wonder.

Muſtapha hanged.

This *Muſtapha* of ſome writers is reported to haue been indeed the ſon of the great Sultan
Bajazet,and that he was kept in priſon al that long time,& thus at length ſet vp by the Greeks
to trouble the ſtate of the Turkiſh kingdom. But the Turkiſh hiſtories report as before, calling
him *Duſme* or counterfeit *Muſtapha*. And it is very likely, that if he had bin one of the
ſons of *Bajazet*, he would haue found ſome meanes to haue made ſome great ſtir long before
that,as all the reſt of the vnquiet brood of *Bajazet* did,which neuer reſted vntill they had like
the earth born brethren one deſtroied another. Beſides that,their bloudy natures conſidered,
it is very like that *Mahomet* his yonger brother,who reigned in Hadrianople almoſt 8 yeares,
and was in league all that time with the Emperor of Conſtantinople,would for his more ſafety
D haue got him into his own power, if he had been in priſon with the Emperour; or els haue
diſpatched him if he had bin in priſon with himſelf. All which I am the rather perſuaded to
think, for that *Orchanes* a child,the ſon of *Solyman*,could find no ſafe place of abode at Conſtantinople
in the reign of *Mahomet*,but flying,was apprehended, and his eies put out, as is
before declared in the life of *Mahomet*. Much leſſe is it like, that *Muſtapha* beeing a warlike
Prince,and his elder brother, could haue been ſo long preſerued and kept in priſon from his
fury.

It fortuned in theſe late broiles (as oftentimes it doth with others in like caſes) diuers of
the rebels Aſapi or common ſouldiers, whom he for his greater countenance had apparelled
and armed like Ianizaries, to fall into the hands of the true Ianizaries, *Amurath* his faithfull
E gard; whoſe liues indeed they ſpared, but vſing them with all the deſpight and indignities
poſſible. Among the reſt,one of the Ianizaries being hungry, brought two of theſe Aſapi his
priſoners vnto a cooks ſhop,offering to ſel them vnto him for a little victual:which the cook
refuſed to giue him,hauing no vſe for ſuch vnneceſſary ſeruants. Wherwith the proud Ianizarie
inraged,ſwore many a great oath,preſently to cut off their heads and to giue them him
for nought,if he would not for a thing of nought redeem them. And like enough hee was to
haue ſo don,had not the Cooke,moued with pitty,offered him for them both a ſheeps head;
which the Ianizary tooke,ſwearing that the Cook had giuen for them more than indeed they
were worth. Which diſgrace ſo long ſince done vnto theſe Aſapi, is yet oftentimes by way of
reproch in great contempt, by the maſterfull and inſolent Ianizaries, obiected to the whole
F body of the Aſapi,the greateſt part of the Turks huge armies;of whom for all that,the proud
Ianizaries make ſmall reckoning,acounting them ſcarſe for men,and in their rage oftentimes
telling them,that two of them are not worth a ſodden ſheeps head.

Two Aſapi ſold by a Janizarie for a Sheepes head.

Amurath hauing at length with much adoe thus pacified the dangerous rebellion raiſed
by the counterfeit *Muſtapha* both in Europe and Aſia, was yet not a little grieued to thinke
how

Conſtantinople in vaine beſieged by Amurath.

how the ſame had bin firſt plotted by the inſtigation of the Greekes, and afterwards aſſiſted G by the Greek emperor, of whom he thought now to be reuenged. And therfore ſending before him *Michael Ogli*, his lieutenant general in Europ, with his Europeian ſouldiers to inuade the country about Conſtantinople, followed himſelf after with the Ianizaries and his Aſian forces: and ſo incamping before the city, filled all that neck of land which lieth before it, from ſea to ſea. And ſo incamped, began right furiouſly to batter the wals, in hope ſo to haue made a breach, and by the ſame to haue entred the city. But finding the Walls of greater ſtrength than he had before ſuppoſed, and the defendants ſtil repairing whatſoeuer the fury of his Artillery had beaten down or ſhaken, he ceaſed his battery, and comming on with all his forces, deſperatly attempted by aſſault to haue gained the city: wherin his fortune was not anſwerable to his deſire; for approching the city, with arrows as ſhours falling vpon the defendants, H and ſcaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the wals, and the Ianizaries with other of his beſt ſoldiers valiantly mounting the ſame, they were by the defendants notably repulſed and beaten down, loſing ſome their hands, ſome their arms, ſome their heads, but moſt their liues, no ſhot falling in vain from the wals. Which *Amurath* beholding, and grieued to ſee (though vnwilling) commanded a retreit to be ſounded, and the aſſault giuen ouer: and ſhortly after ſeeing no hope to preuail, in great rage raiſed his ſiege and departed. Vnto whom for all that, the Greek Emperor not long after ſent his embaſſadors to intreat with him for peace; whereof he would by no means hear, but proudly threatned to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged: which cauſed the Greek Emperor to deuiſe what he might for the troubling of his eſtate, ſo to keep him otherwiſe buſied. As he did ſhortly after with the Caramanian king, by counte- I nancing another *Muſtapha* (ſyrnamed *CutZug*, or the little) *Amuraths* yonger brother, againſt him, to the raiſing of new ſtirs, and *Amuraths* no ſmall trouble.

Mahomet the late King had fiue ſons and ſeuen daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldeſt, and ſucceeded in his fathers kingdom; *Muſtapha* the ſecond, ſyrnamed the little; *Achmetes* the third, who died before his father: the other two, *Ioſephus* & *Machmutes*, both died of the plague being but children, after the death of their father. Three of their ſiſters were maried to three ſons of the King of Caramania, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Iſa*: other two were beſtowed vpon the ſons of the prince *Iſfendiar*, *Ibrahim* and *Caſimes*: the ſixt was giuen in mariage to *CozZa-Beg* Viceroy of Anatolia: and the ſeuenth to the ſon of *Ibrahim Baſſa*, who died at Mecha, whither ſhee went vpon ſuperſtitious deuotion on pilgrimage. K

At ſuch time as *Amurath* was buſied in his wars in Europe, againſt *Muſtapha* the ſuppoſed ſon of *Bajazet*, the yonger ſon of *Mahomet* (called alſo *Muſtapha*) beeing but 13 years old, and *Amuraths* brother indeed, was ſet vp to raiſe new troubles, by the King of Caramania & other Princes, as wel Mahometans, as the Chriſtian princes of Grecia; who thought it good policy by that means to impeach the greatnes of *Amurath*. This yong prince *Muſtapha*, ſtrengthned with the forces of his friends, entred into his brothers dominions in Aſia, and beſieged Nice, which was at length yeelded to him. *Amurath* aduertiſed of this new rebellion, by great gifts and large promiſes corrupted *Ilias Beg* the yong princes tutor, to betray the Prince vnto him. Wherupon *Amurath* with great celeritie ſet forward with his army from Hadrianople, & in nine daies came to Nice, where he entred the City with ſmall reſiſtance, as was to him before L promiſed, where *Muſtapha* was by his falſe tutor preſented to him; who becauſe he would not ſpill one drop of the ſacred *Othoman* bloud (as the Turks call it) commanded the executioner preſently to ſtrangle him with a bow ſtring; which was don accordingly, and his body afterwards buried by his father at Pruſa.

Muſtapha betrayed and ſtrangled.

Amurath hauing repreſſed theſe two rebellions, and now out of all fear of any competitor, thought his fiue counſellors too many by three, and therefore remoued the three Baſſa's, *Omure*, *VrutZi*, and *Alis* (the ſons of *Temurtaſes*) into honorable places; retaining of his Counſel only the two old Baſſa's, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuaſes*. But ſhortly after, *Eiuaſes* was ſecretly accuſed to *Amurath*, that he ſought by his fauorits the ſoldiers of the Court, to aſpire vnto the Kingdom it ſelfe, and to depoſe the King; and that intending ſome ſuch matter, he did vſually wear M a priuy coat. This ſuſpitious report troubled the jealous Tyrant. Wherfore on a time as he rode accompanied with *Eiuaſes*, he caſt his arm about him as if it had bin in kindneſſe: but finding him ſecretly armed, he would needs know the cauſe therof. Whereunto *Eiuaſes* anſwered, That it was for fear of ſome enemies he had in the Court. But this excuſe could by

A no means ſerue his turn,but that he was forthwith apprehended by *Amuraths* commandment,
and both his eies burnt out with a hot ſteel glaſſe.

Eiuaſa Baſſa's eyes put out.

Whilſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in ſubduing rebellions at home, *Muhametes* the Caramanian
King beſieged Attalia a great city in Pamphilia,by the ſpace of ſix moneths,which was
valiantly defended by *Hamza Beg*, *Amuraths* lieutenant there. At which ſiege the vnfortunate
King himſelf,as he was taking view of the City,was ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the City.
Whereupon *Ibrahim* (who ſucceeded him in the kingdome) brake vp the ſiege,and returned
home to bury his father. At this time alſo *Dracula* Prince of Valachia, paſſing ouer Danubius,
did the Turks much harm about Siliſtra; but was afterwards inforced to ſubmit himſelfe
to *Amurath*,and become his tributary.

The Caramanian King ſlain.

B About this time alſo *Tzunites* prince of Smyrna,which had before aided the rebel *Muſtapha*,
did by all means he could vex *Iaxis Beg*, *Amuraths* lieutenant in Aidinia; and hauing by
chance taken his brother priſoner, put him to death. This prince of Smyrna was deſcended
of the antient princes of Aidinia,and therfore pretended an intereſt in that ſeigniory. Which
his claim the people of the country ſecretly fauored,ſo far as they durſt for fear of the Turks.
Amurath hearing of the harms which this prince of Smyrna did,commanded *Hamze Beg* viceroy
of Anatolia,with all his power to make war vpon him. The viceroy without delay aſſembled
a great army,and inuaded the princes country: and the prince beeing wel prouided for
his comming,meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battel; wherin *Haſan* the Princes ſon leading
a great part of his fathers Army,had put one part of the Turkes Army to flight: & purſuing
C them with too much fury,left his father at the ſame time ſo hardly beſet by the viceroy,
that he was glad to fly to his caſtle of Hipſily hard by. *Haſan* returning from the chaſe of the
enemy,not knowing what had hapned to his father, was by the Turks in his return ouercome
and taken priſoner. After which victory the viceroy preſently laid ſiege to the Caſtle wherin
the prince was. The ſiege continued a great while:at length the prince brought to extremity
was content to yeeld himſelf vnto the Viceroy, vpon condition he ſhould vſe no violence againſt
the perſon of himſelf or his ſon, but to ſend them priſoners to *Amurath*. Which thing
the viceroy by ſolemn oath promiſed;wherupon the prince came out of the caſtle,& yeelded
himſelf priſoner to the Viceroy. *Iaxis Beg*,whoſe brother the prince had before put to death,
attended the going of *Hamze* the Viceroy to his tent, where finding *Haſan* the princes ſon ſitting
D vpon the ground,as the maner of the Turks is,took him by the collar with great fury,and
drawing him along to the feet of the Prince his father,there moſt cruelly ſtruck off his head:
and in the ſame rage laying his hands vpon the aged Prince,ſtrooke off his head alſo; to the
great diſhonor of the Viceroy,who had before giuen his faith for their ſafety. The heads of
the prince and his ſon were ſet vpon two launces, within the ſight of the caſtle:which the defendants
ſeeing,and now deſpairing of all reſcue,yeelded themſelues with the Caſtle. This
vnfortunat *Tzunites* was the laſt prince of Smyrna; after whoſe death all his territory was vnited
to the *Othoman* kingdom. After all theſe troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph maried
the daughter of the Prince *Iſfendiar*.

Amurath hauing laid vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian
E Princes had don, in giuing aid to the Rebels aforeſaid, thought it now high time to take
reuenge of that wrong:and for that purpoſe gathered a great army,wherwith he ranged at his
pleaſure thorow Macedonia,vntil he came to Theſſalonica; ſurpriſing by the way diuers cities
and caſtles belonging to the Conſtantinopolitan empire. This famous city Theſſalonica,
now called Salonichi, for beauty & wealth ſomtime not inferior to any of the greateſt and
moſt renowned cities of Grecia, is ſcituate vpon the borders of Macedonia, cloſe by a bay of
the Archipelago or the ſea Ægeum; which bay was in antient time called Thermaicus-Sinus,
and now the bay of Salonichi. To the Chriſtian congregation there dwelling, S. *Paul*
wrot two Epiſtles,in the later whereof he forewarneth them of a great defection to come before
the later day. Before this Chriſtian city,then in the Venetians protection, *Amurath* incamped
F his army of miſ-beleeuing Turks,and laid hard ſiege to it with moſt terrible battery.
At which time he by ſecret means corrupted certain of the wicked citiſens to haue betraied
the city by a ſecret mine, and to haue let him in: which treaſon was by the Venetian Gouernors
perceiued,and the plotters therof for ſafegard of their liues glad to leape ouer the walls,
and to fly into the Turks camp.

Theſſalonica beſieged.

Theſſalonica taken by Amurath.

Amurath hauing greatly battered the walls of the city, the more to incourage his ſoldiers, G promiſed to giue them all the ſpoil therof if they could by force win it. The greedy deſire of this rich prey (wherin euery common ſoldier promiſed vnto himſelf whatſoeuer his fooliſh fancie or vnbridled affection could deſire, ſo inflamed the minds of theſe barbarous ſoldiers, and eſpecially of the Ianizaries, that giuing a moſt terrible aſſault to the City, they by force entred the ſame and won it. The Venetian ſoldiers fled to their gallies lying at anchor in the hauen, and ſo got to ſea: but the infinit miſeries which the poor Chriſtians endured in the fury of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to expreſſe, or pen deſcribe; death was les pain than the ignominious outrages and vnſpeakable villanies which many good Chriſtians there ſuffered, heartily wiſhing to die and could not; and yet the furious enemies ſword deuoured all the people, without reſpect of age or ſex, except ſuch as for ſtrength of body, or comlines H of perſon, were reſerued for painfull labor or beaſtly luſt: which poore ſoules were afterwards diſperſed into moſt miſerable ſeruitude and ſlauery thorow all parts of the Turkiſh kingdom. The infinit riches of that famous city became a ſpoil to the barbarous ſoldiers, and the goodly houſes were left deſolate void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull city Theſſalonica, ſometime one of the moſt glorious ornaments of Grecia, the late pleaſant dwelling place of many rich Chriſtians, was by the tyrant giuen for an habitation to ſuch baſe Turks as at their pleaſure repaired thither to ſeat themſelues, and ſo is at this day by them poſſeſſed. This calamitie hapned to Theſſalonica in the year of our Lord 1432.

Theſſalonica being thus taken, *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople himſelf, and at the ſame time ſent *Caratze* with the greateſt part of his army into Ætolia. *Charles* Prince of that country, I dying a little before the comming of *Amurath* to Theſſalonica, and hauing no lawfull iſſue, had diuided the country of Acarnania among his three baſe ſons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, & *Hercules*; leauing all the reſt of his dominions to his brothers ſon, called alſo *Charles*. But ſhortly after, ſuch diſcord fell among theſe brethren, that *Amurath* ſending his Turkes to aid one of them againſt another, as he was by them requeſted, in fine brought all that country of Ætolia into ſubjection to himſelfe, leauing nothing for the fooliſh brethren to ſtriue for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honor. The other Grecian Princes, of Athens, Phocis, Boetia, and all the reſt of Grecia vnto the ſtreit of Corinth, terrified by their neighbours harms, were glad to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries vnto the Turkiſh tyrant: vnder which ſlauery they haue of long time moſt miſerably liued, if intolerable K ſlauery joined with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians loſt their liberty, which their anceſtors had many times before, to their immortall praiſe, worthily defended againſt the greateſt monarchs of the world, and are now ſo degenerated, by means of the Turkiſh oppreſſion, that in all Grecia is hardly to be found any ſmal remembrance of the antient glory therof: inſomuch that whereas they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in compariſon of themſelues, they are now become no leſſe barbarous than thoſe rude Nations whom they before ſcorned. Which miſery with a thouſand more they may iuſtly impute to their own ambition and diſcord.

At this time, among the diſtreſſed princes of Macedonia and Grecia, one *Iohn Caſtriot* reigned in Epirus; who ſeeing how mightily the Turk preuailed againſt the Princes his Neighbors, L and conſidering that he was not able by any means to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy; to obtain peace, he was glad to deliuer into *Amurath* his poſſeſſion his four ſons, *Staniſius*, *Repoſius*, *Conſtantine*, and *George*, for hoſtages: whom *Amurath* faithfully promiſed, wel and honorably to intreat. But as ſoon as he had got them into his reach, he falſified his oath, and cauſed them to be circumciſed after the Turkiſh maner, and to be inſtructed in the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, to the great grief of their Chriſtian parents: and afterwards when hee vnderſtood of the death of *George Caſtriot* their father, he poiſoned all the three elder brethren, and by *Sebaly* (one of his chief captains) ſeiſed vpon Croia his chief city, and all the reſt of his territories, as if they had by good right devolved to him. But *George*, the yongeſt, whom the Turks named *Scanderbeg* or lord *Alexander*, for his excellent feiture and pregnant wit, he alwayes entirely loued, M and as ſome thought, more paſſionatly than he ſhould haue loued a boy. Him he cauſed to be diligently inſtructed in all kind of actiuitie and feats of war, wherin he excelled all other his equals in *Amuraths* court; and riſing by many degrees of honor, came at laſt (being yet but very yong) to be a great Sanſack or gouernor of a prouince, and was many times appointed by *Amurath* to be General of his armies; in which ſeruice he ſo behaued himſelfe, that he got the loue of all that knew him, and increaſed his credit with *Amurath*; vntill at laſt he found opportunity, by his great policie and courage, to deliuer both himſelfe and his natiue country from the horrible ſlauery of the Turkiſh tyranny, as ſhal afterward be declared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had thus daunted the princes of Grecia, hee turned his forces into Servia: but the prince of Servia, vnable to withſtand ſo mighty an enemy, to procure his fauor, ſent Embaſſadors, offering to pay him a yearly tribute, and to do further what he ſhould reaſonably demand. *Amurath* beſides the yearly tribute, required to haue *Mary* this princes fair daughter in mariage; and that he ſhould not ſuffer the Hungarians to paſſe thorow his country to inuade him; and further, not at any time to deny paſſage vnto the Turkiſh Army, when he ſhould ſend forth the ſame for the inuaſion of the kingdom of Boſna. All which vnreaſonable conditions the prince was glad to agree vnto, and ſent his fair daughter by *Saratze*, who was afterward maried to *Amurath*.

About this time, *Ioſephus* and *Machmutes*, *Amuraths* brethren, and *Orchanes* the ſon of *Solyman*, who had his eies put out by his vncle *Mahomet*, with many other men of great account among the Turks, died of the plague at Pruſa.

Plague among the Turks.

Whilſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in his wars in Europ, the King of Caramania his brother in law inuaded his dominions in Aſia: for ſo it was agreed betwixt the Chriſtian princes of Europ, and the Mahometan princes of Aſia, to whom the greatnes of the *Othoman* Kingdome was now become dreadful, That whenſoeuer he inuaded the Chriſtians in Europ, the Mahometan princes ſhould inuade his countries in Aſia: and that whenſoeuer he ſhould turne his forces into Aſia, the Chriſtian princes ſhould ſpoil his countries in Europ. Againſt this Caramanian king *Amurath* tranſported his army into Aſia; and as he went, ſeiſed vpon the countries of Sarucania, Menteſia, and other prouinces, before but tributaries vnto him, driuing out the poor princes before him; and ſo entred into Caramania, and inforced the King ſo far, that he was glad to agree to ſuch conditions of peace as it pleaſed the King to propound to him, and to ſend his ſon to wait at his court. And at the ſame time picking a quarrel with *Iſfendiar* prince of Caſtamona, cauſed him to become his tributary, & to ſend his ſon to his court alſo. By which means the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his troubles in Aſia, he returned to Hadrianople: and vnderſtanding that the Hungarians paſſing ouer Danubius, had in his abſence made diuers incurſions into his dominions, he was therewith greatly offended; and in reuenge thereof, firſt ſent *Alis Baſſa* the ſon of *Eurenoſes*, with an army to inuade Hungary; which he performed accordingly by the ſpace of a moneth, and returned from thence with rich booty. Not long after, he himſelf in perſon made another road into Hungary, commanding the prince of Servia his father in law to giue his army free paſſage through his country; and charging *Dracula* the Prince of Valachia to aid him with his forces in that expedition. Which his command both the Chriſtian princes, more for fear than of good will, diligently performed. So *Amurath* hauing inriched his ſoldiers with the ſpoil taken in Hungary, returned home and wintred at his court at Hadrianople.

Hungary ſpoild by Amurath.

The ſecret confederation between the Hungarians and the Mahometan King of Caramania, was not vnſuſpected of *Amurath*; which hee was the rather induced to beleeue, for that whenſoeuer he inuaded the one, he was preſently ſet vpon by the other either in Europe or in Aſia: of which plot he doubted not but that *George* Prince of Servia (his father in law) was the chief author, although in ſhew he was therin the leaſt actor. Wherfore *Amurath* intending to ſpill the play, ſent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at Hadrianople: but he doubting ſome Turkiſh tragedy, pretended great occaſions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterward fel out, fortified and manned all his ſtrong cities and caſtles by all means he could poſſibly, eſpecially his chief city Semendre (otherwiſe called Spenderovia) and left therin his ſon *Gregory* (or as ſome call him *George*) as Gouernor: for his other ſon *Stephen* was long before in *Amurath* his Court, with the Queen his ſiſter. The Prince of Servia went himſelfe into Hungary, to procure from thence ſome aid, hauing there alſo himſelfe certain territories, which hee had in exchange of *Sigiſmundus* (late Emperour and King of Hungary) for the city of Belgrade. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both the affinitie and league he had with the Prince his father in law, entered with a great Army into

Amurath contrary to his faith, invadeth and ſubdueth Servia.

Servia,deſtroyed all before him,and hardly beſieged Semendre: where after long ſiege, the G
yong Gouernor the Princes ſon, doubting to fall into the enemies hands by ſudden aſſault,
yeelded himſelf with the city. Which thing ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the Servians, that in
ſhort time Sophia,Novomont,with all the reſt of the cities of Servia were yeelded into the
power of *Amurath*. After which conqueſt he returned to Hadrianople, and hearing that the
Prince of Servia with the Hungarians were making head againſt him,and that the two yong
Servian Princes,*Gregory* and *Stephen* his wiues brethren,had intelligence with their father, he
commanded them both to bee caſt in priſon at Didymoticum, and their eies cruelly to bee
burnt out with a braſen baſon made red hot,a common vnmerciful practiſe among the Turks

About this time, *Albertus* duke of Auſtria hauing before maried *Elizabeth* the only daughter
of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor,and ſucceeding his father in law both in the empire and Kingdom H
of Hungary: (vnto which type of higheſt honor nothing more furthered him than the
remembrance of *Sigiſmund*) in the ſecond year of his reign,before he was wel ſetled in his new
atchieued honors,died of the flix, as he was making great preparation againſt *Amurath* the
Turkiſh King: who hauing lately driuen *George* Prince of Servia and Raſcia out of his dominion,
had now extended the Turkiſh kingdom euen vnto the borders of Hungary.This *Albertus*
dying,left his wife great with child. The Hungarians (in whoſe minds the remembrance
of *Sigiſmund* was yet freſh) could haue bin contented to haue liued vnder the gouernment of
the Queen his daughter,the widow of *Albertus*, (then great with child) but that the Turkiſh
King was now grown ſo great, and come ſo nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by
Iohn Huniades and other of the Hungarian nobility, for defence of that kingdom, not wholly I
to reſt vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her iſſue,
(wherby they ſhould be nothing ſtrengthned) but to make choice of ſome great prince, by
whoſe power they might the better defend themſelues and the kingdome againſt their dangerous
enemies. Wherupon with conſent of the Queen it was reſolued vpon,to make choice
of *Vladiſlaus* the yong King of Polonia, then a prince of great power, but of far greater fame
and expectation:and by Embaſſadors to offer vnto him the mariage of the Queene, and with
her the kingdom alſo. This embaſſage being ſent vnto *Vladiſlaus*, the matter was to and fro
debated in the Polonian court,whether it were to be accepted of or not.Some began to ſpeak
of the inequalitie of the match,conſidering that the King was but in the prime of his youth,
and the Queen wel ſtept in years; vrging further,that nothing was offered in that match but K
wars, and that the Hungarians therin ſought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces
to defend themſelues againſt the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion ſaid, that the vniting
of thoſe two mighty kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the
great honor of the King, whoſe very name would therby become terrible vnto the Turks: and
that it were greater policy,by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkiſh king
from entring into Hungary,than to leaue that kingdom to him for a prey, and afterwards be
inforced to fight with the ſame enemy in the heart of Polonia:and as for inequality of years
betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not ſo great a matter,that in regard therof,ſo honourable
and commodious allyance ſhould bee rejected; foraſmuch as Princes doe more regard
the vertues of their choice,with the increaſe of their honour,and wealth of their kingdomes, L
than the ſummer fruit of youth and beauty, which of it ſelfe in ſhort time doth rot & periſh,
although it were neuer ſo carefully kept and preſerued. And that foraſmuch as there can bee
but one King in a kingdome, ſuch choice was to be preferred of Kings, as had not therein the
greateſt hope of many children. After long deliberation,*Vladiſlaus* gaue anſwer to the embaſſadors,
That he would accept of the offers by them made. Wherupon ſome of them returned
to make relation to the queen,and ſome of them ſtaid behind to haſten the King forward.But
whilſt theſe things were a doing,the Queen was in the mean deliuered of a faire ſonne,whom
ſhe cauſed to be baptiſed and named *Ladiſlaus*. After the birth of this child,the queen mooued
with a motherly affection, began to repent her ſelfe, that ſhee had giuen her conſent for
the calling in of the Polonian King, to the prejudice of her ſonne. And being animated by M
ſome of the Hungarian Nobility (who preſuming of the good grace they were in with the
Queene, hoped to grow great themſelues, if they might firſt draw the gouernment of that
kingdom to the Queen and her yong ſon)determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian
King: but the greater part of the Nobility better conſidering what was moſt expedient
for

Vladiſlaus accepteth of the kingdom offred

A for the preſent eſtate, and that they could neither with honour or ſafety fly from that which
was before, for the common good, by the Embaſſadors concluded; continued firme in their
former reſolution for the bringing in of *Vladiſlaus*. So that by this meanes, ſome taking part
with the queen and her yong ſon, and others ſtanding faſt for *Vladiſlaus*, the kingdom of Hungary
was diuided into two factions, and as it were rent in pieces, and ſo grew to ciuil Wars.
The Queen with ſuch as fauored her claim, the more to gain the minds of the common people
(who are many times no leſſe caried away with ſhewes than matter) cauſed her ſon *Ladiſlaus*
(being then but three months old) ſolemnly to be crowned king at Alba Regalis, the vſuall
place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. But after that the Polonian King had
entred into Hungary with a goodly army, and joined his forces with his friends, moſt part of
B them which before followed the Queen and her ſon, reuolted vnto *Vladiſlaus*. So that when
ſhe had don what ſhe could, ſhe was glad at laſt to commit the tuition of her ſonne, together
with the crown of Hungary, to *Frederick* the third, then Emperor, neuer ceaſing for all that, to
the vtmoſt of her power, to trouble the gouernment of *Vladiſlaus*, continually ſtirring vp great
wars againſt him both at home and abroad, vntil that at the laſt by her death her quarell took
end together with her life.

In the midſt of theſe ciuil wars *Amurath* thought a faire opportunitie preſented vnto him,
to make an entrance vnto the conqueſt of Hungary, which kingdom he had in his ambitious
mind already deuoured. And therfore gathering a great Army, hee marched along the riuer
Danubius, vntil he came to the ſtrong city of Belgrade, called in antient time Taurunum, and
C of ſome Alba Græca, but now commonly Grecis Weiſenburg. This city is inuironed on the
Eaſt ſide with the famous riuer Danubius, and on the South ſide with the great riuer Saus or
Sawe, which there falleth into Danubius; and on the other two ſides is defended by ſtrong
walls with deep and large ditches, and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungary.
Vnto this city *Amurath* at his firſt comming gaue two terrible aſſaults, and was in good
hope ſo to haue won the ſame: but yet was both times valiantly repulſed with great ſlaughter
of his men. Wherfore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at firſt
ſuppoſed, he began to raiſe mounts againſt the City, and high Towers of wood to annoy the
defendants, and furiouſly battered the walls. At this time alſo hee cauſed great numbers of
gallies and ſmal pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Saus, to aſſault
D the city on thoſe parts where was leaſt feared, and by that means alſo to keep them of the city
from all ſuccors to be ſent that way out of Hungary. Yet for all he could do or deuiſe, the
city was ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtian ſoldiers, who vnder the leading and conduct
of *Ioannes Vranus* a Florentine, gouernour thereof, with often ſallies and continuall ſhot
ſlew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this ſiege, *Vladiſlaus* King of Polonia, & lately
elect King of Hungary, was ſore troubled by the queen and her faction in Hungary: which
thing the Turkiſh King knew right wel, & therupon continued his ſiege (although famin began
greatly to increaſe in his camp) hoping nothing more, than that the defendants diſpairing
of the Kings help, would in ſhort time yeeld vp the city. *Vladiſlaus* being ſo intangled in
Ciuil wars, as is aforeſaid, that he could not poſſibly prepare ſuch force as might relieue the
E beſieged: yet foraſmuch as the Turkiſh King had not long before by his embaſſadors required
to join with him in league and amity; he thought good now to aſſay if he could raiſe the
ſiege by ſending vnto him the like embaſſage. Whereupon hee ſent *Dobrogoſius*, *Oſtrorogenus*,
and *Lucas Gorſenſis*, three of the Polonian nobility, his embaſſadors to *Amurath*, declaring
vnto him, That forſomuch as he had offered by his Embaſſadors to join with him in league,
before he came out of Polonia; the remembrance therof had taken ſuch deepe impreſſion in
his mind, that he would not take vp arms againſt him, though it were in his own juſt defence,
before he had offered him reaſonable conditions of peace. Wherfore if he would deſiſt from
inuading of Hungary (wherof *Vladiſlaus* was now by Gods permiſſion, and the conſent of the
people, choſen King) and ſo raiſe his ſiege, that then they ſhould afterwards eaſily agree vpon
F the deſired peace; in concluding wherof, he ſhould not find *Vladiſlaus* inferior vnto himſelfe
in any manner of princely courteſie. But if hee had rather proceed in Armes, and to make
proofe of his ſtrength, he would then do the beſt that hee could to make him know that hee
was of ſufficient power, in ſo iuſt a quarrel to withſtand his greateſt forces, and to reuenge the

Belgrade beſieged of the Turks.

Belgrade in vain aſſaulted.

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to reſt vpon the deuotion of the people toward the Queene, and the expectation of her iſſue, (wherby they ſhould be nothing ſtrengthned) but to make choice of ſome great prince, by whoſe power they might the better defend themſelues and the kingdome againſt their dangerous enemies. Wherupon with conſent of the Queen it was reſolued vpon, to make choice of *Vladiſlaus* the yong King of Polonia, then a prince of great power, but of far greater fame and expectation: and by Embaſſadors to offer vnto him the mariage of the Queene, and with her the kingdom alſo. This embaſſage being ſent vnto *Vladiſlaus*, the matter was to and fro debated in the Polonian court, whether it were to be accepted of or not. Some began to ſpeak of the inequalitie of the match, conſidering that the King was but in the prime of his youth, and the Queen wel ſtept in years; vrging further, that nothing was offered in that match but K
wars, and that the Hungarians therin ſought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themſelues againſt the Turks. Others of the contrary opinion ſaid, that the vniting of thoſe two mighty kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honor of the King, whoſe very name would therby become terrible vnto the Turks: and that it were greater policy, by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkiſh king from entring into Hungary, than to leaue that kingdom to him for a prey, and afterwards be inforced to fight with the ſame enemy in the heart of Polonia: and as for inequality of years betwixt the King and the Queen, it was not ſo great a matter, that in regard therof, ſo honourable and commodious allyance ſhould bee rejected; foraſmuch as Princes doe more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increaſe of their honour, and wealth of their kingdomes, L
than the ſummer fruit of youth and beauty, which of it ſelfe in ſhort time doth rot & periſh, although it were neuer ſo carefully kept and preſerued. And that foraſmuch as there can bee but one King in a kingdome, ſuch choice was to be preferred of Kings, as had not therein the greateſt hope of many children. After long deliberation, *Vladiſlaus* gaue anſwer to the embaſſadors, That he would accept of the offers by them made. Wherupon ſome of them returned to make relation to the queen, and ſome of them ſtaid behind to haſten the King forward. But whilſt theſe things were a doing, the Queen was in the mean deliuered of a faire ſonne, whom ſhe cauſed to be baptiſed and named *Ladiſlaus*. After the birth of this child, the queen mooued with a motherly affection, began to repent her ſelfe, that ſhee had giuen her conſent for the calling in of the Polonian King, to the prejudice of her ſonne. And being animated by M
ſome of the Hungarian Nobility (who preſuming of the good grace they were in with the Queene, hoped to grow great themſelues, if they might firſt draw the gouernment of that kingdom to the Queen and her yong ſon) determined now by all means to exclude the Polonian King: but the greater part of the Nobility better conſidering what was moſt expedient for

Vladiſlaus accepteth of the kingdom offred

A for the preſent eſtate, and that they could neither with honour or ſafety fly from that which
was before,for the common good, by the Embaſſadors concluded; continued firme in their
former reſolution for the bringing in of *Vladiſlaus*. So that by this meanes,ſome taking part
with the queen and her yong ſon,and others ſtanding faſt for *Vladiſlaus*,the kingdom of Hungary
was diuided into two factions, and as it were rent in pieces, and ſo grew to ciuil Wars.
The Queen with ſuch as fauored her claim,the more to gain the minds of the common people
(who are many times no leſſe caried away with ſhewes than matter) cauſed her ſon *Ladiſlaus*
(being then but three months old)ſolemnly to be crowned king at Alba Regalis,the vſuall
place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. But after that the Polonian King had
entred into Hungary with a goodly army,and joined his forces with his friends,moſt part of
B them which before followed the Queen and her ſon, reuolted vnto *Vladiſlaus*. So that when
ſhe had don what ſhe could, ſhe was glad at laſt to commit the tuition of her ſonne, together
with the crown of Hungary,to *Frederick* the third,then Emperor,neuer ceaſing for all that,to
the vtmoſt of her power,to trouble the gouernment of *Vladiſlaus*,continually ſtirring vp great
wars againſt him both at home and abroad,vntil that at the laſt by her death her quarell took
end together with her life.

Belgrade beſieged of the Turks.

Belgrade in vain aſſaulted.

In the midſt of theſe ciuil wars *Amurath* thought a faire opportunitie preſented vnto him,
to make an entrance vnto the conqueſt of Hungary, which kingdom he had in his ambitious
mind already deuoured. And therfore gathering a great Army, hee marched along the riuer
Danubius,vntil he came to the ſtrong city of Belgrade,called in antient time Taurunum, and
C of ſome Alba Græca,but now commonly Grecis Weiſenburg. This city is inuironed on the
Eaſt ſide with the famous riuer Danubius,and on the South ſide with the great riuer Saus or
Sawe,which there falleth into Danubius; and on the other two ſides is defended by ſtrong
walls with deep and large ditches,and was then accounted the gate or entrance into Hungary.
Vnto this city *Amurath* at his firſt comming gaue two terrible aſſaults,and was in good
hope ſo to haue won the ſame: but yet was both times valiantly repulſed with great ſlaughter
of his men. Wherfore finding it to be a matter of more difficulty than was by him at firſt
ſuppoſed,he began to raiſe mounts againſt the City, and high Towers of wood to annoy the
defendants,and furiouſly battered the walls. At this time alſo hee cauſed great numbers of
gallies and ſmal pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of Danubius and Saus,to aſſault
D the city on thoſe parts where was leaſt feared,and by that means alſo to keep them of the city
from all ſuccors to be ſent that way out of Hungary. Yet for all he could do or deuiſe,the
city was ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtian ſoldiers, who vnder the leading and conduct
of *Ioannes Vranus* a Florentine,gouernour thereof, with often ſallies and continuall ſhot
ſlew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this ſiege,*Vladiſlaus* King of Polonia,& lately
elect King of Hungary,was ſore troubled by the queen and her faction in Hungary:which
thing the Turkiſh King knew right wel,& therupon continued his ſiege(although famin began
greatly to increaſe in his camp) hoping nothing more,than that the defendants diſpairing
of the Kings help,would in ſhort time yeeld vp the city. *Vladiſlaus* being ſo intangled in
Ciuil wars,as is aforeſaid, that he could not poſſibly prepare ſuch force as might relieue the
E beſieged: yet foraſmuch as the Turkiſh King had not long before by his embaſſadors required
to join with him in league and amity; he thought good now to aſſay if he could raiſe the
ſiege by ſending vnto him the like embaſſage. Whereupon hee ſent *Dobrogoſius*, *Oſtrorogenus*,
and *Lucas Gorſenſis*,three of the Polonian nobility, his embaſſadors to *Amurath*,declaring
vnto him, That forſomuch as he had offered by his Embaſſadors to join with him in league,
before he came out of Polonia; the remembrance therof had taken ſuch deepe impreſſion in
his mind,that he would not take vp arms againſt him,though it were in his own juſt defence,
before he had offered him reaſonable conditions of peace. Wherfore if he would deſiſt from
inuading of Hungary (wherof *Vladiſlaus* was now by Gods permiſſion,and the conſent of the
people,choſen King)and ſo raiſe his ſiege,that then they ſhould afterwards eaſily agree vpon
F the deſired peace; in concluding wherof, he ſhould not find *Vladiſlaus* inferior vnto himſelfe
in any manner of princely courteſie. But if hee had rather proceed in Armes, and to make
proofe of his ſtrength,he would then do the beſt that hee could to make him know that hee
was of ſufficient power,in ſo iuſt a quarrel to withſtand his greateſt forces,and to reuenge the

wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had receiued this embaſſage, he appointed the embaſ- G
ſadors to withdraw themſelues for a while to Synderovia, a City of Servia not far off, vntill
he might better conſider of their demands; pretending that he did it for their ſafety: but as
appeared afterward, ſecretly reſoluing with himſelf, preſently to doe his vtter deuoir for the
gaining of the city, and vpon ſucces thereof to ſhape them anſwer accordingly. Wherfore
ſo ſoon as the Embaſſadors were departed to Synderovia, hee firſt by his meſſengers aſſayed
the minds of the citiſens and ſoldiers with magnifical promiſes of large liberties, and infinit
rewards and preferments if they would yeeld vp the city: and many arrows with letters made
faſt vnto them, full of like promiſes, were at the ſame time ſhot into the city. But ſeeing no
hope to preuail by that means, he called together the captains and commanders of his army,
and there in the preſence of them all ſpake vnto them as followeth: H

Amuraths notable ſpeech to incourage his ſoldiers to aſſault Belgrade.

Although I know it is in myne own power to grant or not to grant the peace wherof our enemies haue
made a motion: yet it is my pleaſure (worthy ſoldiers) to know your mindes alſo: forſomuch as wee haue
that war in hand, wherin with worldly felicitie (wherof I hold the chief place amongſt you) is alſo indan-
gered our religion and purity of life; the defence and care wherof equally belongeth vnto vs all. For al-
though we differ much one from another in the maner of our vocation and liuing here; yet after death
we all hope for one and the ſelfe ſame felicity. And therfore I would haue you to underſtand all that I
ſhall ſay, as proceeding not of any regard of myne own priuat, but vpon the conſideration of the common
good of you all. For as concerning myne own eſtate, I poſſeſſe ſo large countries in Aſia, ſo great dominions
in Europ, that either part therof (in good time be it ſaid) might ſeem a ſufficient kingdom. So that per- I
haps it might better ſtand with my eſtate, to take more care for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for
the gaining of more. But you are to conſider with your ſelues, whither you haue euery man ſufficient to
ſuffice himſelfe or not, and how long you think your ſelues aſſured of the ſame: and moreouer, that toge-
ther with theſe worldly things, we ſhall be driuen at length to forſake our religion and profeſsion, if we ſhal
now lay down arms. For our enemies requare that we ſhall firſt ceaſe from war; and then afterward they
think it meet to talk of peace. I will not ſpeak of the indignity, that men beſieged, and in euill plight,
ſhould propound conditions of peace to them that beſiege them, and are well furniſhed with all things:
That feeble and cowardly men ſhould promiſe peace vnto couragious and expert ſoldiers. I omit what la-
bor and pains we haue taken, in laying our ſiege, in raiſing of mounts, in making of ſhipping: all which our
enemies command vs to forſake, as if they had vs already bound or couped vp in hold, as we haue them. K
All Bulgaria and the greater part of Raſcia is by vs now conquered, and moſt part of Servia is at our com-
mand: all which places are by vs either to be kept, or els all the reſt of that we poſſeſſe in Europe, is with
them to be loſt and forſaken. Whoſoeuer ſhall haue in their power this city which wee beſiege (and that
our enemies know right well) ſhall haue not only a fortreſſe and bulwark of defence for his owne, but alſo
a caſtle and entrance for the ſubduing of others. The Kingdom of Hungary is now diuided in it ſelf, and
full of domeſticall ſedition. Neither is is it ſo much ſtrengthned by the vniting of the Kingdom of Po-
lonia, as it is by ciuill diſſention weakned. And in this motion of peace nothing is ſought for, but to gain
time for the pacifying of their priuat quarrels, that they may afterwards with their double forces ſet vp-
on vs. For if we ſhall break vp the ſiege before we haue won the city, they will eaſily find delayes ſo long
to protract the concluſion of peace, vntill Vladiſlaus *his good fortune, or els the Hungarians beeing of* L
themſelues better aduiſed, ſhall make an end of their Ciuill wars. What manner of conditions of peace
will they then require of vs, when they are at vnity among themſelues, and in arms againſt vs; ſeeing
that now being in danger with mutuall diſcord, and almoſt by vs vanquiſhed; they thinke it reaſonable
(as if they had won the field) that we ſhould firſt raiſe our ſiege, and then intreat of peace. Their proud
demaunds for the reſtitution of Bulgaria and Raſcia, with other Countries and Cities won by our great
trauell and danger, already ſound in our ears. Which if we ſhall refuſe to grant, not onely the Hungari-
ans (beeing then at vnitie amongſt themſelues) but alſo the Polonians joyned vnto them, will bring thoſe
Warres home vnto our owne doores, which we now with great aduantage make vpon them, beeing trou-
bled with diſcord and ciuill broiles. And if for deſire of peace we could be content to yeeld vnto ſuch
ſhamefull and miſerable conditions, and reſtore vnto them all they ſhould or in reaſon could deſire; do you M
think the Prince of Servia would reſt contented with his own, whoſe haughty mind (I am ſure) being in-
flate with the combining of two ſuch mighty kingdoms, thinketh not only of the recouery of that hee hath
loſt, but euen now gapeth at all this is ours in Europ. He will not think himſelfe ſatisfied, before hee (ha-

A *uing brought the Hungarian and Polonian forces againſt vs) ſhall ſee the ſame hauocke and ſpoile made in our Kingdome with fire and ſword, which he hath before ſeene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune ſhould anſwere his deſignes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beſide all the miſerable and intollerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angry conquerour, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious worke, to vſe all cruell and vnſpeakeable villanies againſt our nation, except we will forſake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs and our anceſtors, and follow their new incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more eaſily and effectually procure the fauour of God with any other kinde of ſacrifice or ſeruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our temples, by ſcoffing at our moſt ſacred and ſecret rites and ceremonies, by ſcorning our religion, and prieſts: and that you may know all the fury wherewith they rage againſt vs and our religion, they account all them for holy ſaints* B *which die in fight againſt vs. There is no cauſe (valiant ſouldiers) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we ſhould expect whileſt the enemy doth gather and vnite his forces and armes againſt vs, eſpecially ſuch an enemy as propoundeth not ſpoile and worldly honours, but immortality it ſelfe, as a reward of his victory. We haue already taken much more labour than we haue to take, wee haue filled the ditches with reſtleſſe labour, we haue caſt vp bulwarkes equall with the wals, and part of the wals we haue beaten euen with the ground, ſo that you ſee the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gayning whereof, all that ours is, may be made ſafe and quiet; and that which our enemy poſſeſſeth, ſubiect to our ſpoile and prey. If you will but a little inforce your ſelues as men mindfull of our good fortune and forwardneſſe, you ſhall find our temples, our ſacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauenly felicity to be then aſſured vnto vs, when as you ſhall to morrow ouerthrow the very foundation of the enemies wall. Then (couragious ſoul-* C *diours) we may cry victory, not for the preſent, but for euer. If this warre ſhould bring vnto vs nothing elſe but an aſſured ſecurity of our eſtate, it were ſufficient reward: for which we ought cheerefully to aduenture our ſelues to all dangers, and to challenge in combate euen death it ſelfe. But as this victory doth defend all our things as with a deepe trench or ſure wall, ſo doth it lay open and expoſe all our enemies dominions vnto danger and ſpoile. Hitherto we haue ſtriuen with nature her ſelfe in the rough and abrupt mountaines of* Bulgaria *and* Raſcia, *where we were to ſtriue with hunger, thirſt, labour, and deſperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull* Hungarie, *from whence we muſt fetch the guerdon of our victory, and the ground of our glory. We are come to the gates, which being laid open, we are not to paſſe ouer inacceſſible rockes, or vncouth deſarts, but we ſhall goe through moſt pleaſant places, decked both by nature her ſelfe,* D *and the induſtry of man; where the temperateneſſe of the aire, and liuely ſprings, with the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile, doth euery where yeeld plenty of all manner of food both for man and beaſt, not onely to ſerue for natures neceſsity, but euen to glut our wanton deſires. What thing ſoeuer curious indeuour hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertility of the ſoyle yeeldeth plentifully of it ſelfe: ſo that it is to be thought, that nature adorned* Hungary *with a certaine extraordinary care, when as ſhe would ſet forth a patterne of good husbandry, for other countries to imitate. Neither hath ſhe in any place beene more bountifull in beſtowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men moſt painefully dig vp, and that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their eaſe, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthy ſouldiers) whether you will to morrow open a way to all theſe good things for your ſelues for euer, or elſe leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you go vnto the breach, that all the ſtore of happy fortune is laied open to you for a prey, without any other de-* E *fence, without any other garriſon, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houſes, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom (except you win the city) the fury and inſolencie of the victorious enemy, will moſt cruelly and ſhamefully inſult. I, according as I ſhall ſee you fight at the breach to morrow, ſhall eaſily perceiue how you are ſet downe to command as conquerours, or elſe as ſlaues to be commanded; and alſo what to anſwere to the moſt inſolent demands of the proud Embaſſadours. In the meane time make much of your ſelues, and together with your armour, haue all things in readineſſe, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may aſſault the breach.*

F The Turkiſh captains for that time ioyfully departed, as if they had bin already aſſured of the victory, & of all thoſe good things which *Amurath* had ſo liuely ſet before their eies. The next morning very early, *Amurath* commanded the aſſault to be giuen vnto a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall battery: the ſoldiers with great courage aſſailed the breach, eſpecially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly-Baſſa* valiantly won the

Belgrade notably defended by the Chriſtians.

ſame,and were entring the city with aſſured hope of victory. The Chriſtians ſeeing all in danger to be loſt,running to the breach from all parts of the city,ſo forceably charged the proud Ianizaries on euery ſide,that they were glad to retire with more haſt than they before entred: in which retreat many of them were ſlaine, and the reſt flying out at the breach, were either ſlaine or burnt to death in the towne ditch with wild-fire; whereof the defendants had caſt great ſtore vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the faggots, hurdles, and other light matter,wherewith the Turks vpon the ſudden made their way ouer the towne ditch,did ſo terribly burne, that the Ianizaries which had entred the breach,being againe repulſed,were in that fiery lake conſumed,or elſe with ſmoke ſtrangled. In this aſſault *Amurath* is reported to haue loſt 8000 of his beſt men,beſide 7000 others ouerwhelmed or ſtrangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Chriſtians. The other part of the Turks which at the ſame time aſſaulted the city by water,out of their gallies and ſmall ſhips,had as euill or rather worſe ſucceſſe:many of them were ſunke with great ſhot,and ſome burnt by the fire caſt from the wals,and ſo fired one another;and diuers of them in that ſudden feare,for auoiding of that preſent danger, ran a ground vpon the ſhelfs in the riuer, and ſo ſplit. *Amurath* wonderfully diſcouraged with the ſlaughter of his men, and ſhamefully beaten from the aſſault, returned to his camp with his Turks,much like men which had lately eſcaped ſome great ſhipwracke. And thus partly by famine,and partly by the defendants force;hauing loſt the greateſt part of his army, he determined now after ſeuen moneths ſiege to returne home. Yet becauſe he would not encourage his enemies, by ſhewing his feare, he ſent for the Embaſſadors into the campe, and with ſterne countenance anſwered them in this ſort.

Amurath his anſwere to the Embaſſadors.

We will (ſaid he) then talke of peace, when Vladiſlaus *ſhall deliuer vnto vs all that part of* Raſcia *which he yet holdeth, and alſo this city of* Belgrade, *as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raiſe my ſiege, to giue* Vladiſlaus *time to aduiſe himſelfe: yet I would wiſh him, rather to accept of my friendſhip vpon theſe conditions, than by denying that little which is demanded, to hazard the ſtate of both his Kingdomes. I aske but that which is mine owne by law of armes, before* Vladiſlaus *was called into* Hungarie: *and the Hungarians cannot transferre vnto him that right which they had not themſelues. Wherefore if he will proceed rather to ſtriue for that which is other mens, than quietly to poſſeſſe his owne, I will in good time repaire hither againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.*

With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors,and forthwith riſe with his army, ſore repenting his comming thither:yet becauſe he would take ſomething in his way, he left his nephew *Iſa-beg* with certaine troups of horſemen at Scopia in Seruia, who ſo troubled the King of Boſna,that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promiſe vnto him a yearely tribute of 25000 duckats.

Vladiſlaus newly erected King of Hungary,ſeeing that part of his kingdome which he called Tranſiluania, or Pannodacia, to be much ſubject to the incurſion of the Turks,(who hauing got into their poſſeſſion all the country of Moldauia,and growne inſolent by continuall victories,ceaſed not to inuade and ſpoile the country of Tranſiluania) for remedy of that daily miſchiefe, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayuod, or his vice-gerent in Tranſiluania. This *Huniades*,as ſome write, was Earle of Biſtrice, borne in Valachia: other ſay that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Huniades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and prowesse. Whatſoeuer his parents were,he himſelfe was a moſt politicke,valiant,fortunat and famous captain, his victories ſo great,as the like were neuer before by any Chriſtian Prince obtained againſt the Turks: ſo that his name became vnto them ſo dreadfull, that they vſed the ſame to feare their crying children withall. This worthy captaine according to the truſt repoſed in him, began to keepe the Turks ſhort, by cutting them off,whenſoeuer they preſumed to enter into his country; and alſo by ſhutting vp the paſſages whereby they were wont to forrage the country of Tranſiluania;and when he had put his own charge in ſafety, he returned into Moldauia,and neuer reſted till he had quite won it out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, paſſed many times ouer Danubius into the Turks dominion,making hauocke of the Turks, and carying away with him great booty,with many captiues.

A Now were two great and worthy captains met together, in places nigh one to another; Huniades
in Tranſyluania and the next part of Hungary, and *Iſa* in Raſcia and the vpper part of
Seruia; the one lying at Temeſwar, and the other at Sinderouia; both men of great ſpirit, and
deſirous of honour. Of theſe two, *Iſa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred,
to increaſe his credit with the Sultan his vncle, and to inlarge the bounds of the Turkiſh
kingdome committed to his charge, continually forraged the country about Belgrade, to
the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, & brought
the city into great wants, he might ſo at length gaine the ſame, for the moſt part abandoned
then of citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine, and ſo to open a way into Hungary.
Thus was the country by him ſpoyled, the villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers
B both of men and cattell dayly carried away: yea ſometime not contented to haue ſpoyled the
open country, he aſſailed the very ſuburbs of the city, and was thence hardly repulſed: and
finding *Huniades* the only man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and prouoke
him the more, brake ſomtimes into his country, laying in euery corner as he went, ſtrong
ambuſhes, ſo to haue circumuented that wary captain, if it had bin poſſible. But he grieued to
ſee the countrey thus ſpoyled, and purpoſing thereof to be reuenged, ſecretly raiſed a ſtrong
power both of horſe and foot, and with his companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant captain,
paſſing ouer Danubius, came and incamped betwixt Belgrade and Sinderouia, being about
20 miles diſtant. Of whoſe comming *Iſa-Beg* vnderſtanding, forthwith ſet forward with a
great army againſt him, leſt he ſhould by longer delay ſeeme to ſtand in doubt of his enemy,
C whom he had by many injuries ſo often prouoked. So marching on with his army ranged in
order of battell, he found *Huniades* as ready for battell as himſelfe; who in both wings had placed
his light horſemen, and behind them his men at armes, with certaine companies of croſſebowes
on horſebacke: in the midſt ſtood his armed men, with his archers, and other ſouldiers
more lightly armed, ready at all aſſayes, all ſtrongly garded with men at armes: after whom
in the rereward followed alſo a ſtrong ſquadron of valiant footmen. The ſignall of battell being
giuen, there began a great and cruel fight, as amongſt men deſirous either to be ouercome,
or there honourably to end their daies. At the firſt incounter, the wings of *Huniades* his battell
were by the Turks inforced to retire; but comming to the men at armes, their fury was
there ſtaied, and a cruell battell fought, wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks mo,
D who truſting to their agility and nimblenes of body, were not able long to endure the ſhocke
and ſtrength of the men at armes, but were there by heaps ouerthrowne, and moſt miſerably
ſlain. Which *Iſa-beg* beholding, and perceiuing the Hungarians couragiouſly to fight, as men
almoſt in poſſeſſion of an aſſured victory, to ſaue himſelfe, turned his backe and fled to Sinderouia.
The reſt beholding the flight of their Generall, betook themſelues to flight alſo: after
whom the Hungarians fiercely followed, eſpecially *Huniades* himſelfe, who by his example to
animate the reſt left not the chaſe vntil he was come almoſt to the ſuburbs of Sinderouia: few
of the Turks eſcaped, the reſt being either taken or ſlain. *Huniades* after ſo great a victory, with
a rich prey and a multitude of priſoners returned to Belgrade; hauing now ſufficiently reuenged
himſelfe of the wrongs he had before receiued. After which time *Iſa* the Turke was more
E quiet, as hauing ſufficient proofe of his valor. The fame of this victory increaſed not a little
the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to Buda, filled the city with joy and gladneſſe;
but moſt of all King *Vladiſlaus*, who therupon cauſed publique prayers, with thankſgiuing
to be made in euery Church; and by his letters gratulatory, with many rich preſents incouraged
Huniades to the proſecution of the religious war, wherein was propounded vnto him 1444.
not onely the increaſe of his wealth (a baſe regard in the honourable) but the immortality of
his name, and hope of eternall bliſſe.

Not long after this victory, *Huniades* obtained a far greater in Tranſyluania. For *Amurath*
much grieued with the loſſe he had firſt by himſelfe, and after by his lieutenant *Iſa*, receiued
at Belgrade, and in the country therabout; leſt he ſhould ſeem to yeeld vnto the Hungarians,
F repaired his broken forces with new ſupplies, with purpoſe againe to renue his wars in Valachia.
And ſo hauing put all things in readines, ſent one of his Baſſa's called *Meſites* (his Viceroy
in Aſia, a man of great wiſedome, experience, and valor) with a puiſſant army vpon the ſudden
by the way of Valachia Tranſalpina, to inuade Tranſyluania. This worthy captain according
to his charge departed out of Seruia, and paſſing from Danubius, ſuddenly entred into

Tranſiluania inuaded and ſpoiled by Meſites Baſſa.

Huniades flieth

Huniades and the Biſhop of Alba Iula entrapped by the Turks.

Huniades his country,burning and ſpoiling whatſoeuer came in his way,and killing all that he G
light vpon,man,woman,and child,without reſpect of age,ſex,or condition,filling all the coun-
try as he went with tumult and terror. Whereof *Huniades* (but lately come into the country)
vnderſtanding, and hauing then no ſufficient forces to oppoſe againſt the fury of ſo puiſſant
an enemy,either means to raiſe any in ſo great a confuſion and feare;was wonderfully grieued
thereat,and perplexed in mind,as not well knowing which way to turne himſelfe. At length
he tooke his flight into Alba Iula, vnto his old friend *George Lepe* Biſhop of that city,a man
of great vertue and grauity : but whileſt he there ſtaied with his friend, about the raiſing of a
tumultuary army,the enemy was now come neere vnto him; who hauing ouerrun the greateſt
part of the country, had ſcraped together ſuch a booty, and taken ſuch a multitude of priſo-
ners,that ſurcharged as it were with the ſpoyle,he was glad to march ſoftlier; yet ſtill burning H
the country before him. Which *Huniades* and the good Biſhop beholding out of the city,ſo
much grieued thereat, that albeit that they both well knew themſelues, with an handfull of
men taken vp in haſte hand ouer head,too weake to encounter with their enemies;yet thought
it better,with ſuch power as they had to go out, and ſo in defence of their country honorably
to die,than longer to behold the moſt miſerable deſtruction of the ſame. But whileſt they vp-
on this reſolution(carried forth with too hot a deſire of reuenge) march vnaduiſedly forward,
without any ſcouts or eſpials ſent out before them, they fell before they were aware into ſuch
ambuſhes both of horſe & foot,as the crafty enemy had in the ſecret woods and vallies where-
by they were to paſſe,laid of purpoſe to intercept them:which now with great force and hor-
rible outcries breaking out vpon them on euery ſide,diſmaied them with a great feare. *Huni-* I
ades and the Biſhop ſeeing themſelues ſo intrapped and beſet with the multitude of their ene-
mies,as that they muſt needs periſh if they ſhould longer ſtay,fled incontinently back again;
after whom followed all the reſt of their army, and at their heeles the eager Turks, who ſpa-
red none of the flying Chriſtians they could ouertake,but put them al to the ſword:neuerthe-
leſſe moſt part of them eſcaped backe again to Alba Iula.The Biſhop thinking to haue ſaued
himſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſe,comming to a riuer,in taking the ſame was ouerthrown,
and there by the enemy ſlain.With whoſe death the Baſſa incouraged,as alſo with the preſent
victory,began now more at liberty to range abroad, and at his pleaſure with fire and ſword to
waſt that part of the country which yet remained vnſpoiled : leauing in the meane time (as a
man out of feare)the rich prey he had taken,together with his baggage & carriages,to be car- K
ried all together,as a notable teſtimony of his victory,vnto his great lord & maſter. *Huniades*
in the meane time with wonderfull celerity running about the borders of his country,and out
of euery town & village taking ſuch ſoldiers as he could,perſuaded alſo the Sicilians (or peo-
ple commonly called Siculi)in defence of their wiues and children to take vp arms:who all in
reſpect of the preſent neceſſity,cheerfully did whatſoeuer he commanded. With this tumul-
tuary army he followed the Baſſa(who then in great pride was returning,laded with the ſpoile
of the whole country) with purpoſe to ſet vpon him as time or place ſhould giue him occaſi-
on.In the meane time *Meſites* being told,that *Huniades* with a great power was comming after
him,and now euen at hand;is reported to haue made no reckoning thereof,but to haue proud-
ly anſwered vnto him that brought the newes, *Let him come, and with the ſpoile of himſelfe inrich* L
our victory. There was preſent when he thus ſaid, one *Iohn* one of *Huniades* his eſpials; who
diſcouered vnto him many of the Turks deſignes concerning the ioyning of battell with him;
but eſpecially,that the Baſſa had commanded thorow his army, That aboue all things, they
ſhould in the beginning of the battell aſſaile the perſon of *Huniades* himſelfe, for that he be-
ing once ſlain,the reſt would eaſily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction:and that
for the performance thereof,he had appointed certaine companies of his beſt ſoldiers,giuing
them certain tokens wherby they might know both him and his horſe. There was then in the
army one *Simon Kemene*,a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike to *Hunia-*
des,with whom he changed both his horſe and armor, appointing vnto him a ſtrong troupe of
his choice horſemen to attend vpon him : neither was this counterfeit *Huniades* vnwilling to M
expoſe himſelfe vnto the danger,accounting it honour enough, if by his death he might ſaue
the life of his friend, and preſerue ſo worthy a defender of the common-weale. *Huniades* fol-
lowing faſt after,the Baſſa marching before him,ſought by light skirmiſhes,ſomtimes on the
one ſide,ſometimes on the other,and ſometimes in the rereward,to ſtay him, and at ſome ad-
uantage,

A uantage,if any ſuch were giuen,to fight with him before he ſhould get out of the country. At length finding ſuch an opportunity as he thought good to lay hold vpon,he with al his forces, as if it had been a violent tempeſt,came vpon the Turks ſo ſuddenly,as that they had not time to put themſelues in order of battell,but were glad confuſedly to fight as they might,& without order : in which diſordred fight many fell on both ſides, but far more of the Turks. But whileſt both armies with like obſtinacy incounter together,certain troups of the moſt valiant Turks deſcrying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, & by the ſignes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horſe and armor, ſuppoſing him to haue bin *Huniades* indeed;with all their power made towards him,to haue ſlaine him, according as they had in charge : where meeting with right valiant men, of no leſſe courage than themſelues, there was fought a moſt terrible and B bloudy battell,in ſuch ſort, as if in that very place ſhould haue bin tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks ſtill bending their forces more and more thither,for the killing of him of whom they ſtood in more dread than of all the reſt ; at length by plaine force made a way vnto him, and hauing ſlaine them that were about him, though not without their owne great loſſe,furiouſly aſſailing him,ſlew him, vainly ſuppoſing it to haue bin the very Generall himſelfe,who had he there periſhed (as like enough it was he ſhould,had he not bin before warned of the Baſſa's purpoſe) no doubt but that the whole country had bin with him,or ſhortly after quite loſt. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding to and fro in the army, encouraged his ſoldiers not to forſake the victory they were now as it were in poſſeſſion of, nor leaue vnreuenged ſo many ſlaughters and harms ſo lately committed by their enemies,but to remember as they C were fighting,that they carried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Somtime he with new ſupplies encouraged ſuch as were ouercharged, and euen now ready to fly ; otherſome he with cheerfull words ſtaied, that had already turned their backs ; performing in euery place all the parts both of a worthy commander & valiant ſoldier, as the neceſſity of the time and place required. In the heat of this battell (fortune yet fauoring neither part,but both fighting with all their powers) the Tranſiluanian priſoners that in great number were kept in the camp, wiſhing rather to die,than to be carried away into captiuity, & thinking it now or neuer,time for them to attempt their deliuerance,with one conſent brake aſunder their bonds, and with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand,ſet vpon their keepers,of whom they ſlew a great number,and ſo D deſperatly iſſuing out of the battell, incouraged their countrymen, and diſcouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought,though not altogether with like courage,or for like cauſe : for why, the Tranſiluanians fought for their country, their wiues, their children, their liues, their liberty, their religion, and altars : but the Turks, for the rich prey they had before taken,and that they were by victory in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the priſoners (who laid about them like deſperat men) out of hope of the victory, began by little and little to retire ; and the other on the contrary part by this vnexpected aid encouraged,and quickly finding the enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Meſites* ſeeing his army thus in euery part wauering, was therewith exceedingly troubled : but preſently after, beholding ſome of his men retyring as if they had fled, and otherſome flying out right, E and no means to ſtay them, for ſafegard of his life turned his horſe and fled alſo : after whom the Hungarians followed with moſt terrible execution, as men deſirous of the bloud of them that had done them ſo great harme. In this chaſe *Meſites* himſelf with his ſon were both ſlain : the report of whoſe death in the purſuit, added ſwiftneſſe vnto the Hungarians, to the increaſing of the ſlaughter of the Turks,whom for the deſire of reuenge they ceaſed not for certaine daies to purſue,vnto the top of the Alps. In this battel were ſlaine of the Turks 20000,and of the Hungarians about 3000. *Huniades* with this victory recouered all the prey the Turks had taken of the ſpoile of the country, together with their tents and baggage, vnto whom at his returne into the campe, a wonderfull number of poore captiues came, and falling at his feet, and kiſſing them, gaue God thankes for their deliuerance by him; ſome called him the father, F ſome the defender of his country ; the ſoldiers, their inuincible Generall; the captiues, their deliuerer ; the women, their protector ; the yong men and children, their moſt louing father. In all which joyfull acclamations, no honorable addition was heard, which in the judgement of all men, worthily agreed not with his deſerts. He againe with teares ſtanding in his eies, courteouſly embraced them,rejoycing at the publike good ; and himſelfe giuing moſt hearty

A great battell betwixt Meſites and Huniades.

Great rejoicing for the victory.

G thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Sometime he commended the ſoldiers valor, and in generall the peoples loyalty. The nobility and worthy captaines he extolled by name, according as their deſerts had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthy praiſes: part of the ſpoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vſes, and the other part he diuided amongſt his ſoldiers: and willing as it were with the firſt fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladiſlaus* and the Deſpot of Seruia, then preſent with him, he ſent a great waggon, with 10 horſes which could ſcarce draw it, laded with the Turks enſignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Baſſa and his ſon ſtood formoſt, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, ſomtime well known vnto the Deſpot: who in this order preſented vnto them, is ſaid to haue thus deliuered his meſſage, as followeth:

H

The ſpeech of an old Turk, in deliuering the Preſent vnto the King.

Huniades *your Majeſties moſt humble ſeruant, and the moſt honourable Deſpots ſonne, ſendeth vnto you this part of the ſpoile gained by this late victory, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. Theſe heads of the Aſian Nobility he ſendeth you for a Preſent, that you ſhould not want the aſſured teſtimony of ſo notable a victory: theſe are two Princes heads, the one of* Meſites Baſſa *the Generall, and the other of his ſon; the reſt are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All theſe witneſſe the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royall Majeſty for the naturall inſtinct of pitty and religion ingrafted into you, may hope for; and what an occaſion of immortality and glory is offered vnto you,* Huniades *wiſheth you hereby to conſider: and humbly requeſteth, that generall ſupplications may be commanded, and a great army prouided, foraſmuch as all men ſuppoſe, that the Turke will gage his whole forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of ſo great a ſlaughter of his people.* I

Hauing ended his ſpeech, he ſhewed vnto them the griſely mortified heads: which the nobility and others there preſent, earneſtly beheld, and wondred at, eſpecially the King and the Deſpot; who by letters further vnderſtanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battell, highly commended the diſcreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victory, worthy (as they ſaid) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladiſlaus* commanded publike ſupplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungary, and by honorable meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deſerts, with many rich Preſents alſo, commending his faithfull and worthy ſeruice: and requeſting him, with like cou- K rage and care, to proſecute the war, ſo happily begun; promiſing him, That he ſhould neither want men nor mony, or any thing elſe needfull thereunto. Vpon this victory, the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great griefe of *Amurath*: and the fame of *Huniades* was in ſhort time diſperſed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one moſt like to be one of the greateſt champions of the Chriſtian Commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Baſſa *Meſites*, and the loſſe of his Army, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkiſh Tyrant; but moſt of all, the reuolt of the two Countries, Moldauia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and deſire of reuenge, he commanded a great army to be raiſed againſt the next Spring, with L intent to haue gone therewith himſelfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his purpoſe, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Baſſa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Baſſa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheleſſe a right valiant and expert captaine, and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge firſt to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and ſword, to doe the like in Moldauia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Tranſyluania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the loſſes before receiued, and with the ſlaughter of the Hungarians to ſacrifice vnto the ghoſts of their dead friends and companions. The Baſſa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Myſia, and ſo paſſing ouer Danubius, with an Army of fourescore thouſand fighting men, whereof foure thouſand were of the beſt Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country M with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in deſpaire to be able to defend themſelues againſt the fury of the Turks, and ſore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerefull words, willing them betime to retire themſelues vnto the ſafeſt places of the Country, and not to expoſe them-

Valachia grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turks.

A themſelues with their too weake forces againſt the fury of the Barbarians; promiſing in good
time to come himſelf to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Ieſus Chriſt, to dare them
battell in the plaine field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number
far more than they were reported to be. The Baſſa diuiding his army into two parts, foraged
the country far and neere, burning the country townes and villages before them, ſpoiling
whatſoeuer came in their way, and killing whoſoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or
children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. But the Valachians for the moſt part retired
themſelues, ſome into the mountains, ſome into the ſtrong townes, and ſome into places further
off; ſo that few fell into the enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to fly, or not regarding
the danger, had negligently ſtaid the enemies comming, and ſo periſhed. Valachia thus
B ſpoiled, the Turks paſſing ouer the mountaines, deſcended into Tranſiluania, as *Amurath* had
commanded, with purpoſe there to haue done the like or greater harme, if poſſible it had been
to haue ſo done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 choſen ſoldiers ready to encounter them.
A ſmal power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led: but al men of great experience
and reſolution, in valor counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men reſolued
rather to die than to fly. Of whoſe approch the Baſſa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the
man was dreadfull) by his eſpials vnderſtanding, ſtaied his intended fury, and as one well aware
with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelfe with his army, to
ſee what power and courage the enemy had. But certainly informed by his ſcouts, for that
purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turks, but lay ſtrongly
C encamped with his waggons and carriages, as in a ſure fort, in ſuch order as that he could not
without great danger be aſſailed, and yet might at his pleaſure come forth, and ſo if need were
retire againe, as into a ſtrong hold: he wondred at his courage and skilfull manner of encamping;
yet preſuming of his owne multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward,
and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they
were on neither ſide vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victory, they thought it
not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betooke themſelues both vnto the higheſt of their
wits, as willing in ſo great a conflict, as well to ſhew the vtmoſt of their policy and skill, as of
their courage and valor. The Turke thought it not beſt to joyne battell with his enemies in
one front, for feare of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certaine
D battalions, and ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable:
or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to incloſe the Chriſtians round, and ſo to
ouerwhelme them. On the other ſide, *Huniades* charged his ſoldiers, aboue all things to keep
their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelues to be diuided by their enemies. The next day,
being come vnto a place which they call Vaſcape, both the armies by the breake of day began
to diſlodge, at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great army, as
did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by prouident foreſight and policy to match the multitude of his
enemies. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captains and commanders
of his army, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The moſt Chriſtian ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſoldiers againſt the Turks.

E *No courage (beleeue me) worthy companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encounter*
ſo great a multitude, did not neceſſity it ſelfe inforce me, your approued valour perſuade me, and the aſſured
hope I haue in Chriſt Ieſus aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his ſacred
battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the diſhonor of his holy name. In which his eſpeciall choice
we are to conſider how much he hath beloued vs: and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite goodneſſe and mercy.
Three ſuch commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the ſame
men wee haue been in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encourage men of worth, for
the ſame to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer ſo deare. Firſt, you are to fight for the health and
welfare of your children, wiues and country, joyned with your whole eſtate: then, for eternall glory and
renowne in this world: and laſt of all, for immortality and a crowne that ſhall neuer be taken from you, in
F *the world to come. How many miſeries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late receiued from*
the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than ſeene the ſame with your eies, and
indured them in your ſelues. You had long ſince beene bereft of your beloued wiues and children, whom
moſt miſerable ſeruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither houſe nor Church, wherein to dwell or
to ſerue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare proweſſe beene at hand for preſent reſcue: your

country,

thanks vnto God, commanded the like to be done in all churches of that Prouince. Somtime he commended the ſoldiers valor, and in generall the peoples loyalty. The nobility and worthy captaines he extolled by name, according as their deſerts had bin in that notable battell, not detracting any thing from any mans worthy praiſes: part of the ſpoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vſes, and the other part he diuided amongſt his ſoldiers: and willing as it were with the firſt fruits thereof to gratifie King *Vladiſlaus* and the Deſpot of Seruia, then preſent with him, he ſent a great waggon, with 10 horſes which could ſcarce draw it, laded with the Turks enſignes and the chief of their heads, where the heads of the Baſſa and his ſon ſtood formoſt, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, ſomtime well known vnto the Deſpot: who in this order preſented vnto them, is ſaid to haue thus deliuered his meſſage, as followeth:

The ſpeech of an old Turk, in deliuering the Preſent vnto the King.

Huniades *your Maieſties moſt humble ſeruant, and the moſt honourable Deſpots ſonne, ſendeth vnto you this part of the ſpoile gained by this late victory, leſt he ſhould ſeeme to defraud you of the honour of the battell, happily fought vnder your good fortune. Theſe heads of the Aſian Nobility he ſendeth you for a Preſent, that you ſhould not want the aſſured teſtimony of ſo notable a victory: theſe are two Princes heads, the one of* Meſites Baſſa *the Generall, and the other of his ſon; the reſt are the heads of the other great commanders and Sanzacks. All theſe witneſſe the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royall Maieſty for the naturall inſtinct of pitty and religion ingrafted into you, may hope for; and what an occaſion of immortality and glory is offered vnto you,* Huniades *wiſheth you hereby to conſider: and humbly requeſteth, that generall ſupplications may be commanded, and a great army prouided, foraſmuch as all men ſuppoſe, that the Turke will gage his whole forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of ſo great a ſlaughter of his people.*

Hauing ended his ſpeech, he ſhewed vnto them the griſely mortified heads: which the nobility and others there preſent, earneſtly beheld, and wondred at, eſpecially the King and the Deſpot; who by letters further vnderſtanding the whole proceeding of the war, and fortune of the battell, highly commended the diſcreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victory, worthy (as they ſaid) of a Roman triumph: for which, *Vladiſlaus* commanded publike ſupplications to be made in all churches thorow Hungary, and by honorable meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deſerts, with many rich Preſents alſo, commending his faithfull and worthy ſeruice: and requeſting him, with like courage and care, to proſecute the war, ſo happily begun; promiſing him, That he ſhould neither want men nor mony, or any thing elſe needfull thereunto. Vpon this victory, the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted again vnto the Hungarians, to the great grieſe of *Amurath*: and the fame of *Huniades* was in ſhort time diſperſed thorow all Europe, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one moſt like to be one of the greateſt champions of the Chriſtian Commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Baſſa *Meſites*, and the loſſe of his Army, being brought to Hadrianople, much troubled the Turkiſh Tyrant; but moſt of all, the reuolt of the two Countries, Moldauia and Valachia. So that full of wrathfull indignation, and deſire of reuenge, he commanded a great army to be raiſed againſt the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therewith himſelfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his purpoſe, he committed the leading thereof vnto one *Schech Abedin Baſſa* (corruptly called *Scite-din Baſſa*) an Eunuch, and yet neuertheleſſe a right valiant and expert captaine, and his Viceroy in Europe; with charge firſt to enter into Valachia, and there hauing done what harme he could with fire and ſword, to doe the like in Moldauia: and after that, with all his power to breake into Tranſyluania, there to reuenge vnto the full, the loſſes before receiued, and with the ſlaughter of the Hungarians to ſacrifice vnto the ghoſts of their dead friends and companions. The Baſſa according to his charge, departing out of Macedonia, and marching thorow Myſia, and ſo paſſing ouer Danubius, with an Army of fourescore thouſand fighting men,

Valachia grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turks.

whereof foure thouſand were of the beſt Ianizaries, entred into Valachia, filling the country with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in deſpaire to be able to defend themſelues againſt the fury of the Turks, and ſore repenting them of their reuolt from them, vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerefull words, willing them betime to retire themſelues vnto the ſafeſt places of the Country, and not to expoſe

A themſelues with their too weake forces againſt the fury of the Barbarians; promiſing in good time to come himſelf to their reliefe, not doubting by the power of Ieſus Chriſt, to dare them battell in the plaine field, and to haue of them a glorious victory, although they were in number far more than they were reported to be. The Baſſa diuiding his army into two parts, forraged the country far and neere, burning the country townes and villages before them, ſpoiling whatſoeuer came in their way, and killing whoſoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. But the Valachians for the moſt part retired themſelues, ſome into the mountains, ſome into the ſtrong townes, and ſome into places further off; ſo that few fell into the enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to fly, or not regarding the danger, had negligently ſtaid the enemies comming, and ſo periſhed. Valachia thus B ſpoiled, the Turks paſſing ouer the mountaines, deſcended into Tranſiluania, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpoſe there to haue done the like or greater harme, if poſſible it had been to haue ſo done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 choſen ſoldiers ready to encounter them: A ſmal power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led: but al men of great experience and reſolution, in valor counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men reſolued rather to die than to fly. Of whoſe approch the Baſſa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the man was dreadfull) by his eſpials vnderſtanding, ſtaied his intended fury, and as one well aware with whom he had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelfe with his army, to ſee what power and courage the enemy had. But certainly informed by his ſcouts, for that purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turks, but lay ſtrongly C encamped with his waggons and carriages, as in a ſure fort, in ſuch order as that he could not without great danger be aſſailed, and yet might at his pleaſure come forth, and ſo if need were retire againe, as into a ſtrong hold: he wondred at his courage and ſkilfull manner of encamping; yet preſuming of his owne multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither ſide vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victory, they thought it not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betooke themſelues both vnto the higheſt of their wits, as willing in ſo great a conflict, as well to ſhew the vtmoſt of their policy and ſkill, as of their courage and valor. The Turke thought it not beſt to joyne battell with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to diuide his army into certaine D battalions, and ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable: or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to incloſe the Chriſtians round, and ſo to ouerwhelme them. On the other ſide, *Huniades* charged his ſoldiers, aboue all things to keep their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelues to be diuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call Vaſcape, both the armies by the breake of day began to diſlodge, at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great army, as did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by prouident foreſight and policy to match the multitude of his enemies. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, calling vnto him the chiefe captains and commanders of his army, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The moſt Chriſtian ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſoldiers againſt the Turks.

E *No courage (beleeue me) worthy companions, and fellowes in arms, could haue induced me to encounter ſo great a multitude, did not neceſsity it ſelfe inforce me, your approued valour perſuade me, and the aſſured hope I haue in Chriſt Ieſus aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his ſacred battell, and by our right hands to reuenge the diſhonor of his holy name. In which his eſpeciall choice we are to conſider how much he hath beloued vs: and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite goodneſſe and mercy. Three ſuch commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the ſame men wee haue been in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encourage men of worth, for the ſame to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer ſo deare. Firſt, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues and country, joyned with your whole eſtate: then, for eternall glory and renowne in this world: and laſt of all, for immortality and a crowne that ſhall neuer be taken from you, in* F *the world to come. How many miſeries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than ſeene the ſame with your eies, and indured them in your ſelues. You had long ſince beene bereft of your beloued wiues and children, whom moſt miſerable ſeruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither houſe nor Church, wherein to dwell or to ſerue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare proweſſe beene at hand for preſent reſcue: your* *country, your goods, your honour, your liberty, you could not haue kept, had not your valour, confirmed by an aſſured confidence in the higheſt, preſerued all theſe things vnto your ſelues: The horrible fury of the Turke had now brought all theſe things into the power of it ſelfe, had they not beene by your armes defended, and he by ſo many bloudy ouerthrows repreſſed. He could not before be ſtayed; the Grecians, the Macedonians (both ſometimes the greateſt commanders) the old Thracians, the ſtrong Bulgarians, the valiant Eperots and Dalmatians, could not abide their force: the Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors and maſters of the ancient diſcipline of war, willingly gaue place vnto theſe. Vnto vs, is the praiſe & great glory of the victory by God aſsigned, who oftentimes with a ſmall power, yea, and that ſometime againſt all hope, haue with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrown them, vanquiſhed them, and put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the World whom they more feare and ſtand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue by their dayly ſlaughter and loſſes, learned no leſſe to feare, than if you were many. And now to try the vttermoſt of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any whit the more to be feared than before, ſeeing that we all beare armes vnder the conduct of the moſt mighty God, and are by dayly victory, long experience, and approued valour taught, what we are to dare: beſides that, the greateſt part of their army is of common ſouldiers, ſlaues or rude country peaſants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries are no good ſouldier among them, the reſt as men enforced, ſerue them for feare, and againſt their wils, and they by their cowardiſe brought into that bondage and ſlauery. What Greekes, Macedonians, or Sclauonians ſoeuer are ſent to their aid, foraſmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Chriſtian faith, deeme them not to ſtand for them, but for vs: they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerors: in this war they haue giuen vnto the Turks their names, but vnto vs their hearts and power, and pray heartily for our victory: wherefore you ought ſo much the more valiantly and couragiouſly to fight, by how much greater you ſee the victory, the honor, the prey before your eies. We are not to fight for other mens houſes and altars, but for our owne; ſo our preſent neceſsity requireth, in ſuch ſort, that if wee our ſelues, deliuer not our ſelues, and beare our ſelues vpon our wonted hope and valour, we ſhall this day be inforced to endure the greateſt miſery that men may poſsibly. Firſt, the loſſe of our goods and ſubſtance, the captiuity of our children, the deflouring of our daughters, the rauiſhing of our wiues, the ſlaughter of our parents, the burning of our houſes and churches; and that which worſe is than all this, the ſcorne of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, and his Saints; whoſe images you ſhall ſee in deſpight broken, or dragged in the dirt, or moulten and conuerted vnto other prophane vſes; all Religion trodden downe, and God himſelfe (if it were poſsible) with violence and deſpaire driuen out of our hearts, if we ſtand not manfully vnto it as becommeth worthy champions. God is able with his little finger, if he ſo will, forthwith, to deſtroy all the Turks in the world; but ſeeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he firſt maketh proofe of our courage and valour, that finding the ſame faithfull and ready, he may ſtrengthen and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forſooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither will our Sauior Chriſt be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting to your ſelues: in the power of his name which is aboue all names, he ſhall tread downe his rebellious enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their truſt in him. Moreouer, the cauſes that they and we combat for, are diuers, and our hopes much ſtronger: They fight for their Prophet, a moſt prophane man, author of all impiety, for ſpoile and prey, for the deſtruction of nations and countries, for other mens kingdomes, for the inlarging of their dominions, and territories, for worldly praiſe and glory: But we contrariwiſe beare armes for the Sauiour of the world, for our faith and religion, for the Chriſtian common-wealth, for our natiue country, for our wiues and children, for our fortune and ſtate; than which nothing can be more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid vp for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their country, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often proued, are we ignorant, that God will neuer forſake them that honor, feare, and ſerue him. Whereby (fellow ſouldiers) you may plainely perceiue, how far your hopes are beyond theirs. Beleeue our Sauiour, promiſing vnto you an eternall reward: and ſhew your fidelity and valor vnto God and your country together. Wherefore ſeeing without the power of God we can do nothing, before the ſignall of battell be giuen, I beſeech you collonels, captains, and lieutenants, by your effectuall and Chriſtian exhortations in your regiments and companies, to encourage your ſoldiers, valiantly to fight the Lords battell, and for the preſent, euery man by taking a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himſelfe according to the neceſsity of the time, as it were to the receiuing of the Lords Supper: ſo hauing cleanſed your ſoules, embrace you one another, plight your mutuall faith with your right hand and a kiſſe; and make a perpetuall couenant among your ſelues, none of you to forſake one another in this holy battell, but for your religion and country valiantly to fight it out, euen to*

A *the laſt man. And a little refreſhing your ſelues with a ſhort repaſt as you ſtand, vpon the ſignall giuen,
thrice calling aloud vpon the mighty name of Chriſt Ieſus, fight with the like valour and courage ſo neer
as you can, that he in the agony of death fought for your redemption and liberty: which that you will willingly
do, I requeſt and charge you thus for our Sauiours ſake, for the loue of our country, and for the faith
you owe both to God and man. I alſo pray and beſeech you, ſo to fight, as men reſolued either to gaine a moſt
glorious victory, (whereof I doubt not) or elſe if it ſhould otherwiſe chance, this day to purchaſe vnto your
ſelues a bleſſed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to ſup in hell with the Turks, but with the bleſſed
wights in heauen: for Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour will be alwaies preſent with vs, who (beleeue me, and ſo
hope) will this day not onely deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turks, but to our immortall glory lode vs
with the rich ſpoiles of our enemies, and ſo in ſafety bring all home againe with much joy and triumph.*

B

The Baſſa on the other ſide likewiſe encouraged his ſouldiers, putting them in remembrance
of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their worthy anceſtors and
themſelues, by whoſe great valor the glory and Empire of the Turks had bin ſo mightily increaſed;
and vnto whom their great prophet *Mahomet*, the interpreter of the gods, had foretold
the Empire of the whole world to be by all the gods allotted; and had by diuine inſpiration
prophecied, that antient and ſtately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the
ſcourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto them, what an
increaſe of kingdomes they had got in that ſhort time, ſince which they firſt paſſed ouer into
Europe: and filled them with the hope of a great ſpoile; promiſing vnto them that ſhould in
C the battell valiantly behaue themſelues, not onely the ſpoile and prey, but whole villages,
towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they ſhould deſerue. As for the victory,
conſidering the weake power of their enemies, and the great number of themſelues, he
aſſured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In concluſion,
he told them, that hauing ouercome *Huniades* (whom only, as he confeſſed, he had found to be
the moſt valiant and skilfull captaine of the Chriſtians) nothing ſhould afterward be able to
ſtand in their way, or to hinder their further conqueſt: and that if this day they ſhould vtterly
ouerthrow him, they ſhould gain the moſt honorable victory that was euer yet got in Europe.
Wherefore he willed them aboue all things, in the battell to ſeeke after him, promiſing
vnto him that ſhould kill him, a great reward, with moſt honorable preferments. Hauing thus
D ſufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turks, he ſet forward with his army in order of battell.
His horſemen and footmen he diuided into two great wings, betwixt which marched the
Ianizaries in a ſquare battell, all men of approued valour: after whom followed the rereward;
vnto the wings he had alſo joyned certaine looſe companies of light horſemen to begin the
battell, and to fly about the enemies, and ſo as occaſion ſhould ſerue, either to charge or retire.
Huniades likewiſe had placed in both wings two ſquare battalions of men at armes, and
with them certaine horſemen with croſſe-bowes: before theſe wings he had alſo placed certaine
troups of light horſemen, to encounter the enemies: in the midſt ſtood two ſquare battels
of men at armes: and betwixt them a ſtrong ſquadron of armed men, guarded behind with
a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings he had compaſſed about with
E a multitude of carts and waggons, and they alſo well manned. So marching forward, and both
armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the ſignall of battell was on both ſides
giuen, and the battell begun. *Huniades* ſeeing the multitude of his enemies, caſt his firſt battell
into the forme of a wedge, the more eaſily to diuide them: and they on the othe ſide in
forme of a paire of ſheeres were ready to receiue them: where on both ſides they encountred
together with ſuch fury and outcry, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or ſeene. The
Turks truſting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horſmen, firſt with their light ſtaues,
and afterward with their crooked Scimaters fiercely aſſailed the Chriſtians light horſemen,
in which firſt incounter many fell on both ſides. But the wedge battell of the Chriſtians
could not of the Turks be broken, as conſiſting all of valiant expert ſouldiers, and they alſo
F ſtrongly armed; who, do the Turks what they could, with a great ſlaughter cut their army in
ſunder, but not without a great fight, and ſome loſſe alſo vnto themſelues. In the wings alſo
the light horſemen for a while fought couragiouſly and with like hope: but the Turks with
that kind of fight better acquainted than the Chriſtians, and better appointed for that purpoſe,
and exceeding in number alſo, put the Chriſtian light horſemen to the worſt, and enforced

A cruell battell betwixt Huniades and Abedin Baſſa.

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turks to ſtay, where G
both parts deſperatly aſſailing the one the other, was made a moſt terrible fight, wherin moſt
part of the Turks light horſemen were ſlaine: for why, thy were not able to abide the force of
the men at arms, although in compariſon of them but few; but were with their lances and arming
ſwords ouerthrowne and ſlaine, no otherwiſe than if they had bin naked men: ſo that in
both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battell in both the wings yet wauering, and
the victory doubtfull, in the maine battell was fought a moſt cruell fight: the Ianizaries with
a ſtrong power of men at arms, and certain troups of light horſemen, compaſſed about the men
at armes that ſtood (as we ſaid) in the maine battell of the Chriſtians, where the old Ianizaries
with their crooked Scimitaries, with great courage cut in ſunder the legs of the horſes of the
men at arms; of whom many fell down, and lying along vpon the ground, were made ſhorter by H
the head: as likewiſe on the other ſide, the Ianizaries whileſt they ſeek the deſtruction of the
men at arms, were themſelues ouerborn & troden vnder foot. Wherupon ſuch a ſlaughter was
made, that the bloud run like riuers, whileſt they deſperatly fight with furious rage both on
the one ſide & the other. In this cruel fight moſt part of the Ianizaries were ſlain, and many of
the Chriſtian men at arms alſo. The Baſſa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better,
both in the wings and in the main battell, & yet in hope that with long fight they would faint
(although he ſaw great ſlaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, and a
number of other freſh ſoldiers which he had left for the garding of his baggage, all yet ſound
men, in good hope ſo to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that
this cruell fight had endured, when as the Baſſa began it afreſh: neither was this by him done I
without reaſon; for why, he was affraid leſt if his men ſhould turne their backes and fly, the
whole army ſhould follow after: and therefore to make vſe of all the men he had, he brought
on his rereward, in hope that his enemies now ſpent with long fight, would not longer endure
a freſh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commanded them to compaſſe in the
Hungarians round, and to diſpatch their wearied enemies; vainly boaſting, That it would be
the laſt battell that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other ſide *Huniades* perceiuing
the enemies purpoſe, ſuffered his men to be in part inuironed, and by and by cauſed the waggoners
with the armed carts & waggons to thruſt in behind them, and ſo to compaſſe them in,
diuided in part from the reſt, & afterward with freſh ſupplies renewed the battel with the enemy.
The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the ſlaughter of the K
Turks was in many places great, yet by reaſon of their multitude they felt it not much, but
fought yet ſtill moſt deſperatly: vntill that they in the right wing ſeeing themſelues compaſſed
in behind with the waggons, & ſo from them charged with ſhot, darts, and other ſuch miſſiue
weapons; ſtanding in doubt which way to turn themſelues, & beſet with danger on euery
ſide, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, ſhrunke from the fight. On the other
ſide, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victory, with great and cheerful outcries, as men inſpired
with freſh ſpirits, more furiouſly aſſailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; encouraging
them alſo that aſſailed them behind in the waggons, to approch them neerer: with
which double danger the Turks hardly beſet, fought diſorderly, & doubting to be all incloſed
The Turks fly. round, firſt retired, & preſently after betook themſelues to plaine flight. But they which were L
already ſhut in betwixt the waggons & them that fought before them, periſhed euery mothers
ſon. They which fought in the left wing alſo, diſcouraged with the flight of their fellows, fled
likewiſe: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Baſſa himſelfe ſeeing both the
wings of the battel put to flight, & his own battel ſore broken alſo, ſtrucken with deſpaire fled,
with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had ſtil kept about him againſt all euents,
for the ſafegard of his perſon: after whom followed alſo ſo many other of the Turks as could;
the reſt deſperatly flying thorow the woods, forreſts, & mountains, either there periſhed with
hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians were by them ſlain. Of ſo great an army as
the Baſſa brought into Tranſiluania, ſcarce the one halfe returned again ouer Danubius. It is
reported by ſome that waere in that battel, that if *Huniades* hauing them in chaſe, had purſued M
them to Danubius, ſcarcely one of them had eſcaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with ſo
great a victory, & to haue driuen the enemies out of the field, purſued them not far: but entring
into their camp, with the ſpoile therof greatly inricht both himſelf & his ſoldiers. Beſide the
great multitude of the Turks here ſlain, 5000 more were taken priſoners, and 100 of their enſignes.

A furniture, both of men and horſes, beſide the rich pauillions and tents there ſtanding. In briefe, the wealth there found, was ſo great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* army, which was not thereby for euer enriched. *Huniades* for this ſo great victory, and for his country, deliuered from ſo great a feare, cauſed generall praier, with thankſgiuing, for the ſpace of three daies, to be made in all churches of thoſe three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatned; and at Vaſcape, where the battell was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turks enſignes, as trophies of the victory there gotten. This was the famous battell of Vaſcape, wherein *Huniades* got the greateſt victory that euer any Chriſtian Prince before that time obtained againſt the Turkiſh Kings. The fields thereabout lay couered with the dead bodies of the ſlaine Turks, whoſe carrion carkaſſes ſo infected the aire, that many of the better ſort of the inhabitants of B the country were glad for a ſeaſon to leaue their dwellings, and to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to Buda, and there preſented vnto King *Vladiſlaus* the enemies enſignes, with ſuch a part of the ſpoile, as might both well declare the greatneſſe of the victory, and beſeeme the greatneſſe of ſo great a Prince, which the King thankefully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the fame whereof had in ſhort time filled euery corner of Europe.

Amurath a little before this great ouerthrow of his army in Tranſiluania, aſſuring himſelfe of the victory, had ſent a proud embaſſage vnto King *Vladiſlaus* into Hungary, offering him peace, vpon condition, That he ſhould deliuer vnto him the ſtrong city of Belgrade, or elſe yeeld to pay him a yearely tribute: vnto which, vpon the firſt report of the victory, anſwere C was giuen by the King, anſwerable to the proud demand, That according to the iſſue of matters in Tranſiluania, he would ſhortly in perſon himſelfe come and giue him further anſwere. With which ſhort anſwere the proud Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed and gone, a little before the comming of *Huniades* to Buda.

How much this late ouerthrow grieued the great King *Amurath*, *Vladiſlaus* was not ignorant; either of his power or deſire of reuenge, as ſufficiently warned thereof by the worthy *Huniades*: for the withſtanding whereof, he thought it good not to be vnprouided. Wherfore calling together the ſtates of his Kingdome, and with them *Iulian* the Cardinall of S. *Angell*, the Popes Legat, at ſuch time as they were all aſſembled, he propounded vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger threatned by the angry Turke, leauing it vnto their graue conſideration to deter-D mine how the ſame were by ſtrong hand and plaine force, or otherwiſe to be auerted. In which moſt honourable aſſembly, *Iulian* the Cardinall, of purpoſe ſent thither by Pope *Vrban* to ſtir vp the Hungarians againſt the Turks, being requeſted by the King to deliuer his opinion firſt, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The effectuall ſpeech of Iulian the Popes Legat in the Parliament to perſuade the warr.

Since the time that the Turkiſh peſtilence began to rage in Europe, *no newes was euer more welcome vnto the great Biſhop, vnto the Apoſtolicall Senate, and other Princes of* Italy *(moſt mighty King, and you other moſt worthy Princes) than when it was told them, That* Vladiſlaus, *King of* Polonia, *was by you alſo choſen King of* Hungary. *For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian ſtate, and leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: as he in whom juſtice, religion, wiſedome, valour,* E *and martiall skill, doth ſo abound, that he ſeemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God ſent from heauen, than here in earth choſen by men. By this happy and fortunat choice, the minds alſo of all the Italians, which before lay heauy and diſcouraged, were lightened and reuiued: and therefore, that this choice might be vnto the Chriſtian common-weale both glorious and fortunate, they made their ſolemne vowes and praiers. At ſuch time as the moſt holy Senate vnderſtood of the ciuile diſcord of this Kingdome, and the danger of the Turks faſt by, it ſent me hither to deale with you for the appeaſing of thoſe troubles, and repreſſing of that miſchiefe (as you haue oftentimes heard me ſay.) The Kingdome is by your force and valor, by my mediation, and the death of the Queene, well pacified: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of ſafety, glory and immortality, beſt fitting* Vladiſlaus *conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkiſh tyranny and their proud command (worthy Princes) is to be* F *repreſſed: yea their ſeruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our neckes, is to be ſhaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to do, the valour and fortune of* Huniades *foretelleth you: the fortune, ſaid I, of* Huniades? *nay the fortune of the Chriſtian common-weale, and preſent mercy of our bleſſed Sauiour, which ſuffereth his people to be vp and downe toſſed, but not quite drowned. If ſo great an army of the* *enemies was vanquiſhed and put to flight by the power of one of thy captaines, and that but ſmall: what is to be hoped of thee (moſt mighty King) if thou ſhalt leade forth thine armies thy ſelfe in perſon, vnder thine own conduct, and the protection of Chriſt Ieſus. The eies of all Chriſtian Princes are caſt vpon thee, vpon the Hungarian and Polonian forces; vpon thee haue they repoſed all their hopes, they all expect that thou ſhouldeſt be the reuenger of the Barbarian cruelty, the defendor of the faith, and protector of* Europe: *and that it is for which the Pope doth with his letters dayly ſollicite and importune you. And albeit, that the common cauſe and quarrell of the Chriſtian religion require it, yet doth the neceſſity of* Hungary *and* Polonia *no leſſe enforce it: of which, the one is moſt miſerably and daily vexed with the Turks forces and fury out of* Seruia *and* Dalmatia; *and the other out of* Moldauia *and* Valachia. *Now if any there be, whom neither the Zeale of religion, the neceſſity of the cauſe, the hope of immortall fame and glory, can moue, let their owne ſafety, the preſent ſeruitude of their wiues and children, the ſafegard of their wealth and ſubſtance, the lawfull reuenge of the wrongs done them, ſtir them vp to take in hand this ſacred expedition. So fit an opportunity is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the ſelfe ſame time you may ſet your bodies in perpetuall ſafety and happineſſe, your ſoules in quietneſſe and reſt, and vnto both giue eternall glory and happineſſe. You lacke not (worthy captains) mony, the ſinewes of the war, which ſhall be brought vnto you from all parts of the Chriſtian common-wealth, not luſty and couragious ſouldiers, not policy, not fortune, not the propitious heauenly powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith and religion: you want nothing (worthy Princes) but will. It is an expedition neceſſary, religious, profitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded moſt ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to come. Wherefore (moſt mighty Prince, and you right worthy Princes all) I pray and beſeech you by the faith of Chriſt Ieſu, by the loue of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your preſent deſtruction, with valiant courage and one conſent to take this ſacred war in hand, and ſo thereby to enroll your names in the eternall booke of fame. And ſith that you are to go, not ſo much to a worldly as a ſpirituall war, againſt the enemies of Chriſt and his truth, take vp your armes with ſuch zeale, courage, and cheerefulneſſe, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valour, the preſent danger, and the mercies of God toward you, ſeeme of right to require.*

The pitifull cōplaint of the Deſpot, of the cruelty of the Turks, perſuading the Hungarians to take the war againſt them in hand.

The Legat hauing made an end, forthwith enſued the miſerable ſupplication and tears of the Deſpot, perſuading them, of the neceſſity of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vnto them the cruelty of the Turks, their torments & ſtrange tortures, his ſons depriued of their ſight, and ſpoiled of their genetoires, many halfe mangled; and moe cut in ſunder with ſawes; ſome ſlain quick, & other buried aliue, with many other ſtrange kinds of death, ſuch as would abhorre any Chriſtian eare to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to looke to themſelues, told them, That they were but by the riuer Sauus, diuided from the Turks; which in ſummer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in winter hard froſen, and ſo to be paſſed: that the country beyond Danubius lay all open vpon them: and that he, ſometime the rich King of Seruia, was now driuen into exile by the power of the Turks, depriued of his kingdome, of his children, ſhamefully diſgraced, ſpoiled of his wealth and fortune, glad to fly from place to place, and yet not able to find any ſafe place to reſt in. Firſt he fled (as he ſad) to Raguſium, where by and by he was ſought after, and endangered by the Turks: then into Hungary, which was alſo forthwith by them on euery ſide inueſted; and whereof the Barbarian king now asked tribute, to haue ſome colour for the inuaſion thereof: which dreadfull enemy was not far off from it, but ſtill houered euen ouer it: as well witneſſed Valachia and Tranſiluania, two of the greateſt and richeſt prouinces of the Hungarian kingdome; which had not the valour of *Huniades*, the fortune of the common-weale, and aboue all, the mercy of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthy nation, the ſtate of Hungary had now bin vtterly forlorne. The euents of war (he ſaid) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that God would not euery day be tempted. Wherfore with many tears abundantly running down his aged face, he beſought King *Vladiſlaus* and the reſt, not to let ſlip this faire occaſion, neither by cowardiſe or negligence to break off the courſe of their good fortune and victory, but to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes than of their own, and to ſatisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he ſaid) a ſufficient example to al men. Beſides that, he offred a great ſum of mony him ſelf towards the defraying of the charge of the war, aſſuring them alſo of great ſupplies both of men & mony from diuers other

A Chriſtian Princes. Which opinion of the Legat and Deſpots being generally liked & approued, a decree was made by a whole court of Parliament there aſſembled, That the king ſhould himſelf in perſon, with all ſpeed poſſible entertain that honorable war. So that though it were now vpon the approch of Winter, yet were men taken vp in euery place, and embaſſadors ſent vnto the Emperor and the other neighbour Princes, to pray of them aid againſt the common enemy. Who for the moſt part excuſed themſelues by their own particular affaires, but ſent no aid at all. Neuertheleſſe many deuout Chriſtians both out of France and Germany, for the zeale they bare vnto Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion, forſaking wife and children, and whatſoeuer they had elſe, came and worthily ſerued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and ſupplication made in all places, for the proſperous ſucceſſe of this religious war, B King *Vladiſlaus* the firſt of May ſet forward from Buda, where paſſing the riuer Danubius, and marching faire and ſoftly, & comming to the riuer Tibiſcus, he there ſtaied three days for the comming of his army. Departing thence, and marching on alongſt the ſide of Danubius, vntil he came within the ſight of Bulgaria, he there at a place called Cobis, ouer againſt Sinderouia, paſſed ouer Danubius with his army, which was now grown very great: & ſo marched directly to Sophia, ſcituate about ſix daies march from Danubius, in the frontiers of Bulgaria, ſo called of a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent temple there built by *Iuſtinian* the great emperor. Which city being then old and ruinous, & but badly fortified, was eaſily taken, and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the Kings commandement burnt, as were all the other country towns and villages thereabouts, to the terror of the reſt. Marching thence, he C came vnto the riuer Moraua, and there incamped: where the plain country eaſily riſeth & falleth in manner of the ſea, when it is moued with a little wind. Here 500 horſemen being ſent ouer the riuer, not ſo much to ſeeke after prey, as to view the country, which way the army might moſt ſafely and eaſily paſſe, hapned vpon the Turks ſcouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderſtanding by them, that 2000 of the Turks were comming at hand, knowing themſelues too weake to encounter them, they retyred backe again with all ſpeed they could, vnto the riuer; where many of them for feare leapt headlong from the high and broken banks, and ſo periſhed in the deepe; the reſt terrified with the misfortune of their fellowes, ſtood ſtill, doubtfully expecting what ſhould become of themſelues. Beyond the riuer was another hill vpon the top whereof the King with a great number of horſemen were hunting: whom the D Turks a far off deſcrying, and doubtful to fall into ſome ambuſh, of purpoſe laid for them betwixt them and the riuer, without comming on further, retyred. Which they that before fearefully ſtayd on the further ſide of the riuer, perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the King downe to the riuer, followed a while after, ſo to increaſe their feare, and ſo hauing well feared one another, retired on both ſides worſe affraid than hurt. The next day the King paſſed ouer the riuer, ſending out his ſcouts to ſee if all were cleare before him: by whom he was aduertiſed, That the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certaine ambuſhes faſt by, expecting but a fit time to ſet vpon him. Whereupon entring into councell with his beſt and moſt expert captains, what were beſt to be done, it was reſolued vpon, That *Huniades* the next night with 10000 choice horſemen, ſhould vpon the ſudden ſet vpon the enemy, then fearing no- E thing leſſe. Who conducted by the eſpials, was in the firſt watch of the night brought very neere vnto them. The Moone by chance, as fauouring his great attempt, did then ſhine out, ſo that he might very well diſcerne how the enemy lay incamped, and which way to charge them for his beſt aduantage; which was by the ſame way they were moſt like to fly, if they ſhould be put to the worſt: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a moſt hidious outcry entred the campe, as then for the moſt part buried in ſleepe and ſecurity: when as the Turks awaked with the ſudden noyſe, as it were out of a dead ſleepe, and diſmayed with the horror of the cry, began to betake them ſome to their weapons, ſome to their heeles. Of whom ſuch as fled lighting vpon the enemies troups ſtanding in their way, ran as faſt backe againe: the other ſcarce yet well awake, and ouercome with feare, and now ſcarcely themſelues, had F much adoe to make themſelues ready to fight. *Huniades* in the meane time riding vp and downe amongſt his men, cheered them vp, ſtill crying out and calling vpon them, couragiouſly to aſſaile their ſleepy, naked, and fearefull enemies, and not to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion, and ſo notable a victory now already in their hands. At the firſt encounter the Turkes rather made a ſtirre, than fought; but after that they heard that *Huniades* was there, as men diſ-

Sophia taken.

Huniades with ten thouſand horſemen aſſaileth the Turkes by night.

maied with his name, they turned their backes and fled, finding, which way ſoeuer they tooke, G their fellows halfe dead or wounded: yea, ſuch a confuſion was raiſed amongſt them with the greatneſſe of the ſudden feare, that thruſting together, with an inconſiderate deſire of flight, they trod one another vnder foot, and thruſt themſelues one vpon anothers weapons: the greateſt part of them driuen headlong into the thickets and other ſtreits, & not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious enemy, fiercely purſuing of them, ſlain. All that night the fearefull Turks were with great ſlaughter held in chace: but at ſoone as it was day, the reſt that remained of them, ran alſo the ſame fortune with their fellowes. A far greater ſlaughter was their made, than a man would thinke that ſo few men could haue made, when as but with 10000 horſe, 30000 Turks were in one night ſlain, and 4000 taken, with a number of their enſignes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many loſt, for the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter: moſt re- H port not aboue 500, for few of them found any enemy to reſiſt them. There was taken all the ſpoile of a moſt rich campe, the enemy hauing carried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* hauing in ſo ſhort time gained ſo notable a victory, and inriched his army, returned to the king in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto theſe victorious ſouldiers, than vnto the reſt of the army, who moſt joyfully expected their returne. The King and the Deſpot hearing of the approch of *Huniades* from the ſlaughter of the Turks, with the great applauſe and joyfull acclamation of the other legions, went to meet him three miles: and at ſuch time as at their firſt meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victory, thanking God in the hearing of the whole army, that he of his mercy had giuen him ſuch a I Captaine, as, without enuy, in all mens judgements was worthy to rule the Roman Empire. In briefe, he ſhewed how much his country, his kingdome, yea the Chriſtian commonweale, was bound and indebted vnto him, gaue him his due praiſes, exhorting all others to imitate his glory: the like honour did alſo all the reſt of the nobility vnto him. As for the common ſouldiers, they could not be ſatisfied with beholding of him, but imbracing one another, as if they would haue died one in anothers arms, welcommed their victorious friends. So with joy joyning their forces together, & ſending the rich ſpoile of the enemy, with the priſoners chained together in long ranks before them; the King and *Huniades* in great triumph returned into the campe, where they cauſed generall praiers, with thankſgiuing vnto almighty God for ſo great a victory, to be made thorowout the army. K

The meeting of Vladiſlaus and Huniades after the victory.

The Legat *Iulian*, Generall of the voluntary Chriſtians, which for deuotions ſake ſerued of their own charge, after ſo great a victory moſt earneſtly perſuaded the King and the reſt of the great commanders of the army, to proſecute their good fortune, and in God his ſo great fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the reſt of Bulgaria. Now had *Huniades* by his eſpials learned, that from Sophia it was but three daies journy to Philippopolis, a great city of Thracia; and the like diſtance from thence to Hadrianople, the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh tyrant; and as much more to Conſtantinople. The onely difficulty was, how to paſſe the great and rough mountaine Hemus, which running a maruellous way in length, euen vnto the Euxine ſea, and mating almoſt the skie, diuideth the countries of Bulgaria and Seruia, from Macedonia and Thrace: and for the great height and roughneſſe therof, is not to be paſ- L ſed ouer but in two places; the one made by the great Emperor *Trajan* and the Romans, where as yet is to be ſeene a mighty ſtrong gate built of great ſquare ſtone, whereby the paſſage that way was opened or ſhut at the pleaſure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call Saltiza. By either of theſe waies, if he ſhould find them open, *Huniades* vnto whom the King had committed both the leading and the conduct of the army, purpoſed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke all ſuch towns of Bulgaria as ſtood in their way; ſome by force, ſome by compoſition: wherein was no ſmall helpe, the conformity of the Chriſtian religion, the horrible cruelty of the Turks, the great affinity of language, the moſt effectuall means to win the loue of ſtrangers: for the Polonians and the Bulgarians both diſcended of the Sclauonians, and vſing the ſame language, the Polo- M nian horſemen came to no town, but it preſently yeelded. But being come vnto the mountain Hemus, to haue entred into Thracia, the Winter weather being now very cold; they learned by their eſpials, that the aforeſaid paſſages were both faſt ſhut vp with great ſtones, timber, and ſuch other light matter, ſo ſtrongly, as that they were very hardly to be forced. Wherfore *Hu-*

niades

A *niades* leauing the ſtraiter way made by the hand of man(which beſide the former fortificati-
on at the great gate,the Turks had in many places, with aboundance of water poured downe
the ſteep hil in the night,and hard froſen with the coldnes of the weather,made ſo ſlippery,as
that it was not poſſible either for man or beaſt there to ſtand,or to get vp that way)on Chriſt-
mas euen came to the other,by which the riuer Saltiza runs,the which he found likewiſe ſhut
Here they met with many inconueniences:firſt the difficulty of the paſſage(which old *Amu-
rath* had(not without great reaſon)ſhut vp, and there placed ſtrong garriſons, ſo at eaſe, and
without danger of battell (ſo often by the Baſſa's vnfortunatly proued) to defend his king-
dom in Macedonia and Thracia,from the inuaſion of the Hungarians,who now of al nations
he moſt dreaded. Beſides that, in the army was ſuch want of all things,as that the ſouldiers
B were ready to forſake their enſignes,and to riſe vp in a generall mutiny : for the country neer
the mountain Hemus, riſing high, with broken rocks and inacceſſible places, was altogether
barren ; & victuals failing in the camp,they were glad to liue with a little wheat & fleſh boi-
led together,and that ſo ſparingly,as that the ſoldiers began now generally to grow weak and
faint.Beſides that,the winter was exceeding cold,& the froſt ſo great, that many times they
could not go out of their tents to ſeek for forrage or water. So the army inforced with hun-
ger and cold,and the difficulty of the paſſage,began to retyre,and had vndoubtedly bin diſ-
ſolued,had it not bin for the often and earneſt perſuaſions of *Huniades*:for he daily told them
that the greateſt difficulties were paſt,that that which remained was with their wonted valor
and courage to be endured, wherunto nothing was high or difficult : That they ſhould forth-
C with come into the borders of Thracia, where they ſhould find plenty of all things:that they
were now come ſo far, that if they would go back again, they ſhould in thoſe waſt Countries
through which they were to paſſe, find greater difficulties and dangers than in going forward:
that theſe ſtreits once opened,remained no more trauel,but cheerfully to fall to the ſpoil of
a moſt rich and pleaſant country. They were not(as he ſaid)to ſtay in the midſt of their for-
tunes,for that it was not alwaies permanent,and for that the contempt of Gods fauors cauſed
them oftentimes to be taken from vs. All that was yet don(he ſaid)was nothing,if they pro-
ceeded no further, for that whatſoeuer they had already won, was eaſily by the enemy to bee
recouered,except that thoſe which yet remained (for the moſt part of them, as he ſaid, were
ſlain,with their houſes burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of Thracia and Macedonia,
D and ſo quite out of Europ. So whilſt the ſoldiers heard *Huniades* ſpeak,euery man was wel in-
couraged; but when they remembred the miſeries wherwith they were inuironed, they curſed
all the raſh attempts of ambitious princes. In the mean time news was brought by the ſcouts
that the Turks were comming after them:but then began they to rejoice,as deeming it much
more honour, manfully to die in battell,than to ſtarue with hunger and cold. Againſt theſe
Turks was *Huniades* ſent with certain troups of horſmen ; who incountring with them, eaſily
inforced them with loſſe to retyre. Eight times he incountred them (as the ſouldiers there
preſent reported) and as often put them to flight. In retyring backe from the impregnable
mountain,the King with the greateſt part of the army went before, after whom followed *Hu-
niades* and the Deſpot,a good days march ; When the Turks that kept the paſſage vpon the
E mountain,vnderſtanding of their return,followed them down the hil,in good hope to be well
reuenged of them before they ſhould get out of Bulgaria. *Carambey* Baſſa of Romania, and
brother to *Caly Baſſa*(a man of all others in greateſt fauor with *Amurath*, and his brother in
law,as hauing maried his ſiſter)was General of this army,& by him appointed to keep theſe
ſtreits,with expres charge,vpon no occaſion whatſoeuer, although it made ſhew of neuer ſo
aſſured a victory,to fight with the enemy:for he thought it victory enough,without any loſſe
to haue kept his enemies out of Thracia. Which the old Kings command *Carambey* for all
that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory eaſily to anſwer the contempt of that hee
was commanded. The Chriſtian army deſcending down the broken mountains,was come to
a great mountain which the Bulgarians call Cunobiza,and part of the mountain Hemus. At
F whoſe heels followed *Carambey* with his Turks,ſtil houering ouer their heads to take them at
ſome aduantage:whom the Chriſtians beholding, could not by their Captains be ſtayd, but
that they would many times by Companies fly forth vpon them , and deſperately fight with
them in places of great diſaduantage; ſaying,That they had rather die in fight like men,than
ſtarue with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*,being himſelf a man of great courage, and deſi-

The Hungarians inforced by the difficulty of the paſſage of the Mountain Hemus, retyre.

rous of honor,and by the raſhnes of his enemies allured to fight;and withal,beſide the aduantage G
of the ground, perceiuing himſelfe to exceed his enemies both in ſtrength and number
of men,could not be ſtaid,but would needs giue battel,with ſuch a deſire as if hee had already
bin aſſured of the victory. *Huniades* & the Deſpot had before perceiued, that the Turks,
prouoked with the brauing of their men, would aſſuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore
much troubled with the abſence of the King,who(as is before ſaid)was gon a days march before
they ſaw they could neither ſhun battel, neither could they haue ſo don, would their deſperat
ſoldiers be ſtayd, for the deſire they had to fight. Yet ſeeing *Carambey* comming down
vpon them,they put themſelues(though vnwillingly) in beſt order they could to receiue him;
perſuading their ſoldiers not raſhly in fury to run vpon their enemies,as deſperat men prodigall
of their liues, but to keep their ranks,and orderly to fight,and ſo like valiant men to carry H
away the victory,or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloudy remembrance therof. Now had
Carambey ſent his horſmen down the hill, and the battell was begun; where both the armies
met together with great fury,and a cruel fight was made both at the foot of the hil,& among
the hils and vallies alſo: in which hard incounter many were ſlaine, as well on the one ſide as
the other. The Polonian men at arms (whom the King but a litle before had left with *Huniades*
againſt all euents) with the Hungarian light horſmen (of whom the Deſpot had the leading)
fought ſo that day,as if they had fought for nothing more than how honorably to die:
and the Turks for a ſpace ſtood hard to it,ſo that many were there ſlain: yet at length finding
themſelues hardly laid to, as by deſperat men, reſolued to ſell their liues dear, they began to
faint and to giue ground:when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with freſh ſupplies,rated I
the cowardly,ſtayd them that were flying, and ſomtimes with rough ſpeeches, ſomtimes
with fair perſuaſion, incouraged the wauering, and reſtored the battel, before almoſt quite
loſt. Neither did *Huniades* and the Deſpot leſſe beſtir them: but as ſoone as they perceiued
the enemy a little to faint, by and by cried out, Victory; with cheerfull ſpeech encouraging
their men,ſtil calling vpon them to keep their ranks ſtrong,& to vrge their preſent good fortune,
aſſuring themſelues that they fought againſt thoſe infidels vnder the fauor and protection
of the Almighty: who forthwith ſent certain companies of footmen, who climing vp
the hil among the buſhes,with their half pikes and boar-ſpears panched the Turks horſes, as
they paſſed by them. Theſe looſe companies did the Turks horſmen great harm,and here began
their battel to decline; they which were comming downe, for fear of the danger retyring K
back again vnto them that were left aboue for the keeping of the ſtreit; and the bolder ſort of
them which were come down into the vallies,compaſſed about with the men at arms, hardly
recouered the riſing of the hill. *Carambey* in the mean time crying out behind them,one while
called back them that fled,another while relieued them that fainted, and to the vtmoſt of his
power reſtoring the battell,performed all the parts both of a valiant ſoldier and worthy Captain,
couragiouſly fighting himſelf in the thickeſt of his enemies,and by his own valor ſtayd
for a time the loſt battel. At length performing his laſt indeauour,deceiued by the ſnow,hee
fel into a bog,where ſticking faſt with his horſe,and not able to help himſelfe,hee was taken
priſoner by a common ſoldier. The reſt that eſcaped out of this bloudy battell,retyred themſelues
vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountain for the defence of the paſſage. After L
whom the Chriſtians followed,through the vntract & rough places,vntil that hindred from
their further purſuit by the approch of the night,and the abruptnes of the way,they were glad
to ſound a retreit,and ſo retyred vnto the camp. Many other great men were taken beſide *Carambey*,
but many moe ſlain in the battell, and moſt of all in the flight; few eſcaped but ſuch
as fled back again vp into the mountains. In the retreit, *Huniades* ſeeing ſo gallant a man as
was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknowne) vnworthily bound and led priſoner by a
common ſouldier, asked him if he would ſell his priſoner? Who ſaid hee would; and asked
for him ten ducats, a poor price for ſo great a man. Vnto whom *Huniades* commaunded to
be giuen four hundred, and ſo ſent him vnto his Tent, comforting of him vp with cheerfull
words,and willing that he ſhould be well vſed. The Deſpot the ſame night comming vnto M
Huniades his Tent,to confer with him about the remainder of the war, and ſeeing ſo braue a
man ſtanding amongſt the reſt by the fire ſide, began to talk with him in the Turkiſh Language,
wherof he had ſome knowledge, by reaſon of the neerneſſe of the Nation, and ſuch
matters as he had ſomtimes to do with them. And hauing ſome gueſſe by his talke, what

A great battell betwixt Huniades and the Baſſa Carambey, wherein he is taken priſoner.

hee

A he was, and pittying his eſtate, asked *Huniades* how he would ranſom him? who ſaid, That he coſt him 400 ducats, but that he valued him at forty thouſand: which the Deſpot offred to pay him. Thus by the ſtrange change of fortune, was *Carambey*, of late ſo great a commander, and ſo neer allyed to the great Turk, valued and priſed twice in one day by his enemies, as a mirror of the vncertaintie of worldly blis and felicity. The Polonians report ſomwhat otherwiſe of this battel; as that *Vladiſlaus* ſhould himſelf therin be preſent, and the chief that therin commanded. Howbeit the Hungarian Writers, whoſe credit we herin follow, report it as before, not to haue bin fought vnder the good fortune of the King, then abſent, but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Deſpot.

Scanderbeg reuolts from the Turks.

Out of this battel (or as ſome others report, a little before, out of the battel of Morava) fled B the great captain *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now ſeeking to deliuer both himſelf and his natiue country of Epirus out of the thraldom of the Turks, as preſently after he did. Whoſe vnwonted flight not a little terrified the reſt of the Turks Army, and much furthered the Chriſtians victory, whoſe proceedings he alwaies ſecretly fauoured, hauing (as it was thought) ſecret intelligence with the great Captain *Huniades*, who not without inſtructions from him (as ſome ſay) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turks at Morava. But of him and his worthy acts don for the deliuerance and defence of his country, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Vladiſlaus ſeeketh in vain to open the paſſage of the mountain Hemus.

Shortly after this great ouerthrow and diſcomfiture of the Turks, the two great Captains, *Huniades* and the Deſpot, together with the King, conſulted for the remouing of the Turkes C garriſons left aboue for the keeping of the ſtreit paſſages of the mountaine, and the proſecution of the war. Which *Vladiſlaus* (conſidering the difficulty of the matter, and his ſouldiers neceſſity) thought it not good further to proſecute, but forthwith to return. But *Huniades* and the Deſpot, the one thirſting after honor, and the other in no leſſe hope, by the good ſucces of this war to recouer again his loſt kingdom, ſaid, That the Turks were in any caſe to be remoued, the paſſage opened, and the ſparks which yet remained, for feare of raiſing a greater fire, extinguiſhed. Oppoſing againſt the difficultie by the King alledged, the invincible courage of his ſoldiers, wherunto (they ſaid) nothing was impoſſible or difficult. To which opinion the King alſo (leſt he ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt the valor of his captains and ſoldiers) eaſily yeelded, and ſo commanded on Gods name to ſet forward. The firſt that mounted the hil was the D Kings battel, which by the roughnes and abruptnes of the mountain hindred, oft times ſtayd. But *Huniades* ſtill caried with an earneſt deſire to proſecute the victory, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in ſearching about found a crooked turning way, wherby he and his men more eaſily and readily got vp to the top of the mountain, euen with their enemies, vndeſcried or moleſted, by reaſon of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope eaſily to haue come to their enemies. But being come vp to the place they deſired, they found ſuch a deep and wide gaping of the rocke betwixt them and the enemy, as was neither to bee ſtopt nor filled vp: yet being come very neer, they attempted by croſ-bow ſhot & great ſtones caſt out of ſlings, and other ſuch engins, to haue remoued the Turks from their places. Who were therwith, and with their vnexpected approch, at the firſt ſo greatly both annoyed & diſ- E comfited, that they were almoſt at the point to haue forſaken the paſſage, had not *Alis-Beg* (but the night before choſen their General in ſtead of *Carambey*) incouraged them, and taught them how by ſhrouding themſelues vnder the broken rockes, and parapets with tumultuary labor caſt vp, to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of their enemies. In the mean time alſo *Huniades*, by another more high and ſteep way wherby the enemy was alſo to be approched, had ſent vp other companies of ſoldiers, who fighting at too much diſaduantage, were eaſily by the Turks rejected. So at length, ſeeing the vain attempt giuen by himſelfe vpon the top of the hil, and the deſperat danger of others in climbing the inacceſſible mountain, where one might keep down a hundred, diſpairing to inforce the enemy, he by the Kings command cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, and ſo again retyred down the mountain, to the great rejoicing of F the Turks. The next day, the winter cold raging, and wants in the army daily more and more increaſing, the King with the great commanders entred into conſultation for the haſting of their return out of that rough and barren country, into places of greater plenty, before the army were brought into any greater extremity. Wherunto *Huniades* (giuing place to neceſſity which always ſuffreth not to be regarded what is ſeemly) now eaſily yeelded: only the deſpot

ſpake againſt it, blaming them, that hauing taken the General, and put the enemies to flight, G
and victory now as it were in their hands, they would not proſecute the ſmall remainder of
the war, but cowardly turn their backs to their vanquiſhed enemies; promiſing that he himſelf
would find mony enough for the prouiding of all things needfull for relief of the Army.
So ſaid the Popes Legat alſo. But foraſmuch as the wants of the army were great, and the ſoldiers
preſently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it
neuer ſo great, be perſuaded to ſtay; openly crying out, that it was not their captains & lieutenants
that wanted any thing, but them the poor ſoldiers that ſtarued for hunger. As for the
Deſpot, That he in hope of recouering his kingdom perſuaded things impoſſible, and no way
to be performed, neither to be any thing moued with the death of their men and cattel. Need
(they ſaid) could not be vanquiſhed; but that when winter was paſt, they would willingly return H
again vnto the ſacred war. In the mean time, Winter raging, and hunger commanding,
let vs giue ouer (ſaid they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refreſh our bodies,
ſpent with labor, cold, and hunger. For which reaſons, the King ſending his baggage before,
retyred again the ſame way he came. Which the Turks from aboue beholding, and ſtrengthned
with new ſupplies, followed after them as after men that had fled, oftentimes aſſailing
them in the rereward, & ſetting vpon them ſomtimes on the one ſide, ſomtimes on the other,
with often skirmiſhes both did and receiued much harm. Whoſe maner of fight was, to retyre
when they were themſelues charged, and preſently by great troups to charge again their
enemies, their backs once turned to them; and ſo troubled the army, that it was conſtrained
oftentimes to ſtay: beſides that, loded with the rich ſpoil of the enemy, and much baggage, I
it could not of it ſelf make any great haſt. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke
wood, full of deep bogs and water-courſes hard to be paſſed thorow: where the reſt of the Army
going before, in the rereward at the entrance of the wood were left certain ſtrong companies
of men at arms, as a wall againſt the purſuing enemy: whom the Turks with their ready
light horſmen fiercely charged; where betwixt them, in the wood was fought a great fight,
and a great tumult raiſed: vnto the noiſe whereof they which marched before haſtily returning,
in skirmiſhing, many of them fel into thoſe deep bogs and queachy places, out of which
they could hardly rid themſelues again. Beſides that, there were many crooked and troubleſome
turnings and windings, with ſudden deſcents ſo ſteep, as that going down the ſame, their
horſes came tumbling heels ouer head, and there lay ouerthrown together with their riders: K
in ſuch ſort, as that to auoid theſe difficulties, they were oftentimes inforced to fight on
foot. In which troubleſome skirmiſh about fourſcore of the men at arms were loſt; but of the
Turks, beſide them that were ſlain, were taken an hundred and ſeuenty, all whom *Huniades* cauſed
preſently to be ſlain. In this wood the Chriſtians were more troubled with the difficulties
of the place, than the enemies aſſaults. Wherfore wants daily more and more increaſing
in the army, which by reaſon of the multitude of their cariages, abundance of their baggage,
and often aſſaults of the Turks, was able to make no way; the King for fear his Army ſhould
in ſo long and ſlow a march thorow thoſe troubleſome and barren countries, bee conſumed
with hunger and ſuch other wants, cauſed all the carriages and baggage to be brought into
the midſt of the army, & of it, all ſuch things as ſerued rather for burthen than vſe, to be there L
burnt; and the arms as wel of ſuch ſouldiers as he had there loſt, as of the enemy, to be buried
in the ground, and all the weak beaſts that ſerued for burthen, to be killed. So the army well
diſcharged of ſuch vnprofitable burdens, marched much more ſpeedily, neither was ſo much
ſubiect vnto the aſſaults of the Turks as before. And ſo at length by long journies *Vladiſlaus*
arriued with his army at Belgrade, where he was of his ſubiects honorably receiued. And hauing
there ſtaid certain daies, and wel refreſhed his army, departing thence, and paſſing the riuer
Sauus, came to the royal city Buda, where he was of al his ſubiects joyfully receiued alſo:
the Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Deſpot on the left: after whom followed
other colonels, captains and lieutenants with their companies; who at the firſt meeting
with the citiſens, more than a mile from the city, in token of their mutuall joy, gaue together M
ſuch joyfull acclamations and outcries, as that the heauens ſeemed to reſound, and the earth
to ſhake with the noiſe therof. Before the King, at his comming to the city, went a long company
of the notable Turks Captiues; and next before him *Carambey* bound in chaines, vpon
whom all mens eies were fixed. With them were alſo caried the enemies enſignes, and ſuch

ſpoils

The Hungarians much troubled in paſſing a thick wood.

Vladiſlaus honorably receiued at Buda.

A ſpoils as had bin ſaued. Behind the King came *Huniades* in a triumphant robe, in the midſt betwixt the Legat on the right hand, and the Deſpot on the left, as he that next vnto the King had beſt deſerued the honor of the triumph. Next vnto them followed the deuout Chriſtians, that for the zeal of religion had moſt honorably of their owne charges voluntarily ſerued in thoſe wars: and on both ſides of them the ciuil magiſtrats and beſt of the citiſens. Behind them came the reſt of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiſcuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praiſes of the king and *Huniades*. Before all theſe went the Prelats and Prieſts in ſolemn proceſſion, ſinging hymns and pſalms of thankſgiuing vnto almighty God. *Vladiſlaus* comming to the gate of the city, acknowledging God to haue bin the author of ſo great a victory, alighting from his horſe, on foot went B firſt to the Cathedral church of our Lady, and there giuing moſt hearty thanks vnto almighty God, hanged vp the enemies enſignes, and part of the ſpoile, in perpetuall remembrance of ſo notable a victory; which he afterwards cauſed to be moſt liuely depainted in a faire table of moſt curious work, and there in a fair church to be hanged vp; as were alſo the Arms of all the notable Chriſtians that ſerued in that moſt famous expedition, which remained there a long time after. Theſe ſolemnities ended, he went to his palace in his caſtle, and there hauing giuen to euery man, but eſpecially to *Huniades*, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom the Polonians in moſt part agree, report of this notable expedition of their King *Vladiſlaus*. Howbeit the Turks (notable diſſemblers of their own loſſes) confeſſing the great ouerthrow, call the Baſſa ſo ouerthrown, not by the name of C *Carambey*, but of *Caſſanes*; and the noble priſoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet-Beg*, Sanzack of Ancyra, *Amuraths* ſon in law, and brother to *Caly Baſſa*, *Amuraths* great counſellor, of ſome called *Carambey*, after the name of his father.

Out of this late ſlaughter of the Turks, where *Carambey* was taken, ſcaped that valiant Prince and famous warrior *George Caſtriot* (of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared: whoſe noble mind had long deſired to break out of the golden fetters of the Turkiſh thraldom, and to be reuenged of the intolerable injury by *Amurath* don to his Countrey, his parents, his brethren and himſelf. Although he had always moſt warily diſſembled the ſame, for fear of the old tyrant: being oftentimes ſolicited and animated therto by ſecret letters and meſſengers from his friends in Epirus, knowing right wel that the leaſt fortune thereof had D bin vnto him preſent death. But finding no fit means for the accompliſhment therof, wiſely diſſembled the ſame, with all the ſhews of loue and loyaltie to *Amurath* that might be; vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turks army vnder the leading of *Carambey*, and in ſo great a confuſion, he took occaſion to put in practiſe what he had long before in his deep conceit plotted, for the deliuery both of himſelf and his country from the Turkiſh bondage and ſlauery. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for ſo we will henceforth cal him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto ſome of his truſty friends and countrymen, no leſſe deſirous of liberty than himſelf, but eſpecially to his couſin *Ameſa* the ſon of his brother *Repoſius*, a yong man of great courage; in great confuſion of the Turkiſh army, when euery man was glad to ſhift for himſelf, had euer in his flight a vigilant eye vpon the Baſſa's principal ſecretary; whom E accompanied with a few Turkes, hee with *Ameſa* and other his faithfull friends cloſely followed as he fled from the ſlaughter: but when he had got the Secretary and his followers in place moſt conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſet vpon the Turks and ſlew them euery one, & carrying the ſecretary away with him faſt bound, when he had brought him whither he thought good, with great threats compelled him (ſore againſt his wil) to write counterfeit letters as from the Baſſa his maſter, vnto the gouernor of Croia, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, forthwith to deliuer vnto *Scanderbeg* the new choſen gouernor, the charge of the city with the garriſon there: cunningly interlacing many other things in the ſaid letters, wherby the matter might ſeem more probable. Which letters ſo extorted, he preſently ſlew the Secretary, with as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpoſe that his doings might the longer F be kept from *Amuraths* knowledge, who not hearing what was become of him, might eaſily conjecture that he was ſlain by the Hangarians among the reſt of the Turks.

Scanderbeg wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the deliuery of himſelf and his country.

Whilſt the fame of this great ouerthrow is going to Hadrianople, and there filleth the Turks court with ſorrow and heauineſſe; in the mean time *Scanderbeg* hauing with him three thouſand Epirot ſouldiers which followed him out of the battell, as men deſirous rather to fight for the liberty of themſelues and of their country, than in the quarrell of the Turk, was G with incredible celeritie come into the vpper country of Dibra, in the borders of Epirus, about 70 miles from Croia: where was moſt joyfully receiued, and ſtaying there but a day, he choſe a few of thoſe 300 he brought with him, to wait vpon him when he went to Croia, as if they had bin his domeſticall ſeruants: the reſt, with other 300 ſouldiers which were then come vnto him out of Dibra, he appointed to be led by ſecret by-wayes thorow the Woods and mountains by perfect guids, vntill they came ſo nigh Croia as was poſſible for them to come vnperceiued; and there to ſtay vntill hee might find opportunity to conuey them into the city to oppreſſe the Turks garriſon. So he with a ſmall company of followers, as if they had bin his priuat retinue, took the way towards Croia. But when he began to draw neer to the city, he ſent *Ameſa* before with two ſeruitors attending vpon him, as if he had bin his Se- H cretary, to certifie the gouernor of his comming. This yong gentleman, as he was of a ſharpe wit and well ſpoken, ſo had he framed his ſpeech and attyre, that hee ſeemed to bee a naturall Turke. Who as ſoon as he was come into the city, went vnto the Gouernor, whom after hee had ſaluted according the Turkiſh manner, he deliuered his meſſage as from *Scanderbeg* his maſter, with ſo good grace, and words ſo wel placed, that all he ſaid was verily beleeued for truth. But when *Scanderbeg* himſelf came, and had deliuered the great Commaunders Letters, the Gouernor made no further queſtion of the matter, but preſently deliuered vnto him the gouernment of the City, and the next day departed out of Croia with all his houſhold toward Hadrianople. *Scanderbeg* hauing by this policie got the gouernment of the chief city of Epirus, the next night following found means in the dead time of the night to conuey in- I to the city the ſoldiers of Dibra, who were by this time come according as he had before appointed. Moſt part of them he placed in moſt conuenient places of the city, and for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the Turks garriſon, he with the reſt firſt ſet vpon the Turks which kept the watch vpon the wall, and ſlew them; and afterwards breaking into their priuat houſes, ſlew many of them in their beds: the Chriſtian citiſens alſo taking vp arms at the ſame time, helped to increaſe the ſlaughter of the Turks, ſo that in the ſpace of a few hours there was none of the Turkiſh garriſon left aliue, except ſome few, which were content to forſake their Mahometan ſuperſtition, and to become Chriſtians. Many of the Turks might ſo haue ſaued their liues and would not, chuſing rather to die, and (as it is reported) alſo to kil themſelues, than to forſake that their damnable ſuperſtition; ſo ſmall is the regard of life to reſolute mindes, K in what quarrel ſoeuer.

The city of Croia being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recouered (wherin appeared both the greateſt difficulty, and hope of his good or bad ſucces in ſo great an attempt) hee preſently ſent *Ameſa* back again into Dibra, and other ſpeedy meſſengers alſo into all the parts of Epirus, to diſperſe the news, and to ſtir vp the people to take vp arms for recouery of their loſt liberty. But flying fame, the ſpeedieſt poſt, had preuented the meſſengers by him ſent, and already filled euery corner of Epirus with report of *Scanderbegs* comming, and of all that was don at Croia: and the oppreſſed Epirots who had long wiſhed to ſee that happy day, were now vp in arms in euery place, wanting nothing but leaders; whoſe comming although they greatly deſired, they ſtaied not therupon, but running together by heaps (as the maner of the L common people is in all great tumults) they ſet vpon the Turks garriſons which lay abroad in the country, and ſlew moſt part of them: wherby it came to paſſe, that no Turke could ſtir in the country, but that he was ſnatched vp and ſlain; ſo that in few days there was not a Turk to be found in Epirus, but ſuch as lay in garriſon in ſtrong towns. In this common fury, the Gouernor of Croia with all his retinu was by the countrey people by the way as he went ſet vpon and ſlain, and all his goods taken as a prey.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recouered Croia, and ſcoured the Countrey, yet to remoue the garriſons which *Amurath* had put in euery ſtrong city, was thought to be a matter of greateſt importance, and moſt difficulty. For which purpoſe he commanded thoſe whom he had appointed for Captains, ſpeedily to repair vnto Croia with all the power they could make. At M which time alſo diuers Noblemen his nigh kinſmen reſorted to him with their followers: ſo that within a few daies he had together at Croia 12000 ſoldiers well appointed. With this army he marched from Croia to Petrella, a ſtrong City fiue and twenty miles diſtant from Croia, and incamped before it. This City is ſtrongly ſcituat vpon the top of a ſteepe rocky mountain,

Scanderbeg commeth with his Army to Petrella.

A mountain, as all the reſt of the cities of Epirus be, and was by the Turks wel furniſhed with men, munition, and other things needfull; yet *Scanderbeg* was in hope that the Turkiſh garriſon there, terrified with the fortune of the garriſon of Croia, and the ſlaughter of the Turks in the country round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reaſonable conditions. Which to make proof of, as ſoon as he was incamped, he ſent one of thoſe ſoldiers which had followed him out of Hungary (a faithfull and wiſe fellow) vnto Petrella, to offer vnto the ſoldiers, that if they would yeeld vp the city, it ſhould be at their choice, either to continue in ſeruice with *Scanderbeg* (with whom they ſhould find moſt bountifull entertainment) or els to depart with bag and baggage at their pleaſure, with an honorable reward to be diuided among them. The ſubtill meſſenger comming thither, and framing his tale according to the preſent occaſion, B and neceſſitie of the time, firſt declared vnto them, how that *Amurath* of late ouercome by the Hungarians in a great battel, and looking euery day to be ſet vpon by diuers other Chriſtian Princes, was ſo buſy that he had not leiſure to looke into Epirus, or to ſend them any reliefe. After that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg* offered them the conditions before rehearſed, ſetting the ſame forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way, to conſider the dreadful miſery that but the other day befel to the gariſon at Croia, and others their fellows abroad in the country, whoſe dead bodies as then lay in euery corner of Epirus, as a prey to the hungry dogs and greedy wolues. Which thing was eaſily beleeued of them of the garriſon, for that diuers of the Turks lately fled out of the country into the City, had themſelues ſeen the ſame to be true. The gouernor hauing a little conſidered of the matter, was content C to giue vp the city, vpon condition, that he with the ſoldiers might in ſafety depart with ſuch things as they had; not couenanting vpon any further reward, becauſe it ſhould not bee ſayd that he had ſold the city. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promiſed to performe, the Turkiſh gouernour comming forth with all his garriſon, yeelded vp the city, and *Scanderbeg* mindful of his promiſe, gaue vnto them both meat and mony, and ſent them with a ſufficient convoy of horſmen in ſafety out of Epirus.

Petrella yeelded to Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained Petrella, he placed therin a conuenient garriſon, and ſet all things in order as he thought good: but ſuffered none to enter into the City but the appointed garriſon, although it was then very cold and froſty weather. This don, he preſently raiſed his camp, and following his good fortune marched toward Petra-Alba in ſuch haſt, as D if the city had bin running away from him. Well knowing, that though time be euermore pretious, yet neuer more than in martiall affaires, wherein the leaſt moment is oftentimes of ſuch power, as to effect or fruſtrat mens greateſt deſignes. Petra-Alba is a City in the country of Æmathia, diſtant from Petrella three miles, ſtrongly ſcituat vpon the top of a mountain, neer vnto the riuer Æmathus. *Scanderbeg* had ſcarſly well incamped himſelfe before this City, but that the Gouernor therof, terrified with the fortune of Croia and Petrella, offered to deliuer vp the city on the ſame conditions that were granted at Petrella. Which beeing agreed vpon, the city was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

Petra-Alba yeelded.

Petra-Alba being thus taken, and all things ſet in order, *Scanderbeg* carried with the courſe E of his victory, without delay came to Stelluſa, which is alſo a ſtrong city in Æmathia, fifty miles diſtant from Croia, pleaſantly (as it were of purpoſe) built vpon the top of an high hil, ſtanding in the midſt of a pleaſant and fruitful vally, with great plains round about it. There *Scanderbeg* incamped a little before the going down of the Sun, and reſted that night. In the morning he ſent a meſſenger to the city, with like conditions as were accepted at Petrella & Petra-Alba: which moſt part of the garriſon ſoldiers of the Turks would gladly haue accepted, but that *Deſdrot* the Gouernor of the city, with ſome few others, earneſtly withſtood the reſt: wherupon a great contention aroſe amongſt the garriſon ſouldiers. But the greater part deſirous to yeeld vp the city; when they could by no means perſuade the gouernor and thoſe few which took his part, to yeeld to their deſires, they violently ſet vpon him, and deliuered F him with the reſt, to *Scanderbeg* faſt bound, and ſo yeelded vp the city. For which fact, fearing to return vnto *Amurath*, ſome of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterward became Chriſtians. The reſt were either honeſtly prouided for, or els well rewarded, and ſuffered to depart whither they would. All the other weaker places of Epirus, wherin any of the Turkiſh garriſons lay, hearing that the ſtrongeſt Cities were already deliuered to *Scanderbeg*, in ſhort

Stelluſa yeelded by the garriſon.

time yeelded themſelues vpon like conditions: only Sfetigrade (otherwiſe called the Holy G city) remained in the poſſeſſion of the Turks: which city is placed in the vpper Countrey of Dibra, in the frontiers of Epirus, vpon the top of a high ſteep hill, as if it were an Eagles neſt. Vnto this city came *Scanderbeg* with all his army; and hauing placed his tents, he began firſt to aſſay if he could gain it by compoſition, as he had don the reſt: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he cauſed his Embaſſadors to declare vnto them all that had hapned at Croia, Petrella, Petra-Alba, & Stelluſa, ſpecially how he had vſed the gariſon of Stelluſa which yeelded vnto him, with all bounty and curteſie; and how that on the contrary hee had the gouernor in bands, with all his wilful partakers, whom they ſhould preſently ſee executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the city. This meſſage troubled the minds of all the garriſon, but eſpecially of the gouernour, ſeeing before his eies in the woſull H example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himſelf. Wherefore fearing to deliuer his own opinion, and giue anſwer to the Embaſſadors, for offending the inconſtant multitude and vnknown minds of the people; he firſt entertained the Embaſſadors honourably, and afterwards turning himſelf vnto the citiſens and ſoldiers, ſaid vnto them, *Worthy men and moſt faithfull ſoldiers, what is your pleaſure, or what ſhall we anſwer to theſe our enemies demaunds?* Then one of the ſouldiers that ſtood by, a rough bold ſpirited fellow, vnwilling for his owne part to giue vp the city, and deeming the gouernor to be of the ſame mind, in that he termed them worthy and faithfull, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an enemy, drawing out his ſword, and with his right hand ſhaking it on high, anſwered:

I

A notabl ſpeech of a Common ſouldier to the reſt of his Fellowes, for the holding out of the city againſt Scanderbeg.

Moſt valiant Gouernor, this ſame and the like ſhall make anſwer for vs. Nothing was to leſſe purpoſe, than with premeditated words to ſeek to terrifie valiant minds, firſt with the diuers fortune of Croia, and then of Stelluſa: for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, ſo alſo are their manners and diſpoſitions. Euery man wiſely directeth his own actions according to his own proper humour, and by the ſame playes the fool or bedlam. We preſcribe no lawes to them of Petrella, nor to them of Stelluſa, neither let them preſcribe any vnto vs. Let neuer ſo baſe examples of cowardly ſlaues euer enter into the thoughts of couragious men. Braue minds diſdain to imitate other men in their honeſt actions, much leſſe in their cowardiſe. And why? for euery man liueth after his own faſhion. Wherfore let Scanderbeg *proceed, let him kil the gouernor of Stelluſa before our faces, let him ſacrifice our fellow ſoldiers; do you therfore think that we ſhall die in their bodies? ſhall our liuing ſpirits be there extinguiſhed? ſhall our bloud there bee* K *ſpilt? But ô happy bodies, ô ghoſts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthy defence of your liberty and faith haue indifferently contemned gold, ſiluer, death, and torture, and whatſoeuer els miſerable worldlings hold dear or diſmall! Wherfore carry thou back again vnto thy maſter this anſwer from a common ſoldier, If he ſeek to impoſe thoſe conditions vpon vs, let him once more bare that arm of his, which men of courage fear not ſo much as he thinketh. He may peraduenture inforce vs to theſe conditions of his, if God forſake vs; but aſſuredly, perſuade vs vnto them ſhall he neuer. And yet for all that, your Maſter* Scanderbeg *is not the man we haue long ſince heard him reported to be, of an honourable minde, eaſie to forgiue, and one that will indifferently iudge betwixt the enemy and himſelf: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernor of Stelluſa, for that he freely, iuſtly, and honorably ſtood in defence of his King, his faith and liberty? Why doth he threaten him with death, wheras he hath not deſerued the ſame, although* L *he hath reſolutely offered himſelfe therunto for defence of his liberty.*

All they which were preſent liſtned with great attention to the ſouldiers ſpeech, neither was he interrupted by any vntill he had ſaid what he would. Then the ſouldiers thronging about him, and beating their ſwords and targets together, withall gaue a great ſhout, in token that they all approued his ſpeech for anſwer. So the Gouernour incouraged with the cheerfulnes of his ſouldiers, returned the Embaſſadour without other anſwer than that of the common ſouldiers, and preſently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great cheerfulnes ordered all things for the better defence of the City. But when *Scanderbeg* had heard the anſwer that was ſent him from the City, deliuered by the mouth of a common Souldier, hee M

Scanderbeg his ſhort anſwer to the Souldiers ſpeech.

ſmiled therat, and ſaid, *He is vndoubtedly a valiant ſouldier, if his deeds be anſwerable to his words: but if my force fail me not, I will alſo make him happy amongſt the happy ghoſts of them of Stelluſa.* And by and by after, he commaunded the Gouernour of Stelluſa with the other Captiues to be brought before him, and there cauſed ſome of them which were content voluntarily to

A forſake their Mahometan ſuperſtition, to be preſently baptiſed, to the great griefe of the other
Turks. *Deſdrot* the gouernor with the reſt, to the terror of the defendants, were in their ſight
put to death: whereupon the garriſon ſouldiers with great indignation gaue a great ſhout
from the wall, and bitterly railed vpon the Chriſtians.

Deſdrot gouernor of Stelluſa, executed.

Scanderbeg conſidering the ſtrength of the city, with the time of the yeare, vnfit for ſouldiers
to keep the field, for Winter was now grown on, left *Moſes Golemus*, a moſt valiant captain,
with a garriſon of three thouſand ſouldiers, to keepe in the Turks garriſon at Sfetigrade, and
to defend the borders of Epirus, vntill he might at more conuenient time himſelfe returne
againe to the ſiege: and ſo with the reſt of his army repaired to Croia; when he had in the
ſpace of little more than one month, to his immortall praiſe, recouered his kingdome, and driuen
B the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; excepting only Sfetigrade: which city alſo not
long after was by compoſition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his firſt comming
into Epirus, he neuer ſlept aboue two houres in a night, but with reſtleſſe labor proſecuted
his affairs. He euer fought againſt the Turks with his arme bare, and that with ſuch fierceneſſe,
that the bloud did oftentimes burſt out of his lips. It is written, that he with his owne
hand ſlew three thouſand Turks, in the time of his warres againſt them. But of his great and
worthy victories obtained againſt the two mighty Turkiſh Kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his
ſonne, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in due time and place.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force and policy wrung his inheritance out of *Amuraths*
hands, and ſcoured the Turks out of euery corner of Epirus; he proceeded further, and
C ouerran part of Macedonia, making ſundry incurſions into the heart of that country, being
then in the Turks poſſeſſion, whereby he ſo enriched his ſouldiers, that they deſired of him no
better pay. Which was ſo vſuall a thing with this reſtleſſe Prince, as that it began to grow into
a prouerbe in moſt Princes courts, That the ſpoile of *Amurath* his dominion, was *Scanderbegs*
reuenues. Complaints hereof came dayly to *Amuraths* court, which the crafty aged ſire (being
then troubled with the Hungarian warres) ſeemed at the firſt to make no great account of,
but as of that he could eaſily and at his pleaſure remedy; although he was therewith inwardly
grieued at the heart. But when the certaine report of one miſchiefe as it were in the necke of
another, continually ſounded in his eares, and that he ſaw no end to be expected of theſe miſeries,
he ſent *Alis Baſſa*, one of his greateſt men of war, with an army of forty thouſand ſelect
D ſouldiers, at once to ſubdue the country of Epirus, and to bring it againe vnder his obeiſance.
The ſetting forth of this great army, vnder the conduct of ſo famous a captaine, repleniſhed
the minds of the Turks with ſuch an aſſured hope of victory, that a man would haue thought
Scanderbeg had bin already taken, and now brought to execution: yea the common ſoldiers before
their ſetting forth, were oftentimes at vain contention for the diuiſion of the ſpoile they
were neuer like to haue: *So ready are men to promiſe wonders to themſelues, whileſt they conferre but
with their own deſires.* And on the other ſide, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled
all the ſmall country of Epirus, with great terror and feare of *Alis Baſſaes* comming. The countrymen
with their families fled into the ſtrong cities, and the citiſens within their wals fell to
fortifying the ſame, and kept continual watch and ward, as if the enemy had euen then lien faſt
E by them: the aged men & women commended themſelues and al theirs, firſt to God by praiers
and then to the courage of the luſty ſoldiers with tears, as in caſe of extreme peril and danger.
Only *Scanderbeg* was nothing moued either with the terrible report of the Baſſaes comming,
or the vain feare of his ſubjects, but alwaies kept the ſame cheerfulnes both of countenance &
ſpeech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkiſh wars, and hauing
(as was ſuppoſed) certain intelligence before from his ſegret friends in the Turks court,
of all *Amuraths* deſignes. So that hauing ſet all things in order for the ſafety of his country,
he began to leauy an army at Croia: at which time moſt part of his ſubjects of Epirus, which
were able to beare armes, repaired vnto him: the confederat Chriſtian Princes alſo, his neighbors,
and for moſt part his kinſmen, ſent to him great ſupplies: beſide other deuout and warlike
F minded Chriſtians, which voluntarily reſorted vnto him from far, in great numbers. Out
of which multitude of people he choſe only 8000 horſemen and ſeuen thouſand foot, when
as he might haue raiſed a far greater army: and placing ſome few in garriſons in the frontier
cities where he thought moſt conuenient, all the reſt he ſent home againe to their dwellings.
At which his confidencie, his friends, yea and his enemies alſo much marueiled, that when he
might

Macedonia ſpoiled by Scanderbeg.

Alis Baſſa with an army of forty thouſand ſent againſt Scanderbeg.

The battell betwixt Alis Baſſa & Scanderbeg.

A great ſlaughter of the Turks

might haue had ſo many, he would take the field with ſo few: with which ſmall army of fifteen G
thouſand, he marched from Croia, foureſcore miles to Dybra: where hearing by his eſpials,
of the approch of his enemies, after he had with cheerfull ſpeech encouraged his ſouldiers, he
encamped with his army in the lower country of Dibra, neere vnto a wood ſide, right in the
way where the Baſſa muſt needs paſſe. In which wood he placed *Gnee Muſachee*, and *Ameſa*
in ambuſh with three thouſand men: commanding them to ſtand cloſe, vntill they ſaw he had
throughly joyned battell with the Baſſa, and then with all their force to breake forth vpon his
rereward. The Baſſa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*, a little before
the going downe of the Sun, and there reſted that night, making great ſhew of mirth and
joy, with great fires in euery corner of the campe, as the Turkiſh manner of encamping is.
Wheras in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were ſilent, and no ſhew of any fire at all; for ſo *Scanderbeg* H
had commanded: which made the Turks the more careleſſe, deeming thereby the Chriſtians
as good as already diſcouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his army in order
of battell, placing *Tanuſius* in the left wing, with fifteen hundred horſemen, and as many foot;
and *Moſes* in the right with like number: and leading the maine battell himſelfe, the rereward
was committed to *Vranacontes*, a man renowned in thoſe daies, both for his grauity in councel,
and for his valour in armes fit to command or to be commanded; but afterwards, amongſt the
reſt, moſt famous for the worthy defending of Croia againſt *Amurath*, being then there himſelfe
in perſon. *Alis Baſſa* contemning the ſmall number of *Scanderbegs* army, ſeeing nothing
therein to be feared more than the good order thereof, gaue the firſt charge with a ſmall troup
of horſmen: who at the firſt incounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpoſe that the Chriſtians I
haſtily purſuing their vntimely hope, might diſorder their battel, & ſo giue occaſion to their
owne ouerthrow. But by the commandement of *Scanderbeg* (who eaſily perceiued the Baſſaes
meaning) their dangerous forwardnes was warily waied, and all with ſafety kept in good order.
So both armies comming on, the wings began the battel afreſh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage
bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Baſſa, valiantly charged him. But by that
time that the battels were throughly joyned, *Muſachee* and *Ameſa* ſuddenly iſſued out of the
wood, and fiercely ſet vpon the rereward of the Turks army, where they made great ſlaughter,
and forced many of the Turks for feare to fly. Thus was the Baſſaes great army driuen to fight
both before and behind, being hardly beſet and laid vnto with a ſmall number. The Baſſa had
placed his beſt ſoldiers neereſt vnto himſelfe in the maine battel, as his moſt aſſured ſtrength K
and laſt refuge: theſe valiant men ſtood faſt, and renewed the battell, before almoſt loſt. And
here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a ſtand: vntill that the well aduiſed and valiant captaine
Vranacontes hauing receiued the wearied ſoldiers into the rereward, and ſetting al things there
in ſafety, accompanied with certain troups of freſh ſoldiers which he brought out of the rereward,
brake through the Baſſaes army with ſuch ſlaughter of the Turks, that he made way for
Scanderbeg & all the reſt of his army. The Turks diſcomforted with the inuincible courage of
theſe old ſoldiers, and the ſlaughter of their fellows, which lay by heaps wallowing in their
own blood, betooke themſelues to flight; whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued, and ſlew of
them two and twenty thouſand: at which time were alſo two thouſand others taken priſoners,
with foure and twenty of the Turks enſignes: whereas of the Chriſtians were ſlain not paſt an L
hundreth and twenty. The enemies tents with all their carriages, were at the ſame time taken
alſo. After this great victory, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his ſeuen thouſand footmen, horſmen,
by giuing vnto them the horſes of the ſlain Turks, he brake into the enemies country, and
entred farre into Macedonia, where he filled the deſires of his ſouldiers with the wealth and
ſpoile thereof, ſparing nothing that fire and ſword could deuoure: and ſo with victory returned
to Croia, where he was of his ſubjects joyfully receiued. *Alis Baſſa* with the remainder of
his diſcomfited army, returned to Hadrianople, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of
cowardiſe and want of diſcretion, for that he had loſt ſo puiſſant an army to ſo weak an enemy.
Whereof when he had cleared himſelfe by the modeſt rehearſall of his former victories, and
the teſtimony of all the other captains preſent with him in that battell, he was pardoned, and M
ſo againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of war.

Amurath in deſpaire.

Amurath hauing receiued two ſo great ouerthrows, firſt from *Huniades* and the Hungarians,
and now from *Scanderbeg*, and ſeeing himſelfe elſewhere beſet with ſo many miſchiefs, as that
he could not tell which way to turne himſelfe; tormented with deſpaire, and deſire of re-

uenge,

Amurath by the perſuaſion of Caly Baſſa, ſeeketh for peace of K. Vladiſlaus

The capitulations of the ten yeres peace concluded betwixt Vladiſlaus and Amurath.

A uenge, whereof he ſaw ſmall poſſibility, fell into ſuch a melancholy paſſion, that ouercome
with the darke conceits thereof, hee was about to haue become the bloudy executioner of
himſelfe, had not *Caly Baſſa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying ſpirits: by whoſe perſuaſion
(contrary to his haughty nature) he yeelded by his Embaſſadors ſent for the ſame purpoſe,
to deſire peace of *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungary; vſing the exiled Deſpot of Seruia (his father
in law) then preſent with the King, as a meane therein. Who at the firſt gaue ſmall credit
vnto the Embaſſadors, or vnto ſuch things as they told him, vntill that at length better perſuaded
of the true meaning of the Turke, he ſo wrought the matter both with the King and the
reſt of the nobility, and eſpecially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable peace concluded.
The capitulations whereof were, firſt, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces and garriſons,
B ſhould clearely depart out of Seruia, and reſtore the ſame vnto the poſſeſſion of *George*
the Deſpot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering alſo freely vnto him his two ſonnes,
Stephen and *George*, who bereft of their ſight, he had long time kept in ſtreit priſon. Alſo, That
from thenceforth he ſhould make no claime vnto the kingdome of Moldauia, nor to that part
of Bulgaria which he had in the laſt wars loſt. And finally, That he ſhould not inuade or moleſt
the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and
to pay 40000 duckats for the ranſome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the
Turkiſh tyrant had full ſore againſt his will condeſcended, a peace for ten yeres was forthwith
on both parts concluded, and the ſame by ſolemne oath confirmed: King *Vladiſlaus* taking his
oath vpon the holy Euangeliſts, and *Amurath* (by his Embaſſadors) vpon their Turkiſh Alcoran.
C This was the moſt honorable peace that euer Chriſtian Prince had before that time made
with any of the Turkiſh Kings, and moſt profitable alſo, had it beene with like ſincerity kept,
as it was with ſolemnity confirmed.

Amurath inuadeth Caramania

Amurath with this peace deliuered of his greateſt feare, conuerted all his forces againſt the
Caramanian king, in reuenge of the injuries by him don whileſt he was occupied in the Hungarian
wars. This King of Caramania knowing himſelfe vnable to withſtand ſo great an enemy,
durſt neither meet him in the field, nor truſt himſelfe to the ſtrength of any his cities or
ſtrong caſtles, but fled into the mountaines, there fortifying himſelfe more ſure than in any
other his ſtrong holds. *Amurath* entring into Caramania, made great ſpoyle in the country as
he went, and tooke great booties. At laſt comming to Iconium, he laid hard ſiege to the ſame.
D The poore King ſeeing his Kingdome thus ſpoyled, and his chiefe city in danger to be loſt,
ſent Embaſſadors, and with them his wife alſo, which was *Amuraths* ſiſter, to intreat for peace;
offering to pay vnto him yearely the double tribute which he before payd, and for the performance
thereof to giue his ſonne in hoſtage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* granted him
peace, and ſo returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldeſt ſonne died, to the great griefe
of his aged father, being ſlaine with a fall from his horſe as he was hunting.

Old *Amurath* thorowly wearied with continuall warres and other troubles incident vnto
reſtleſſe roomes, reſolued now to retire himſelfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and
therefore ſent for his ſon *Mahomet*, being then but fifteene yeares old, to whom he voluntarily
reſigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Baſſa* his tutor, with one *Choſroë* a learned Doctor of
E their law, to be his truſty councellors and chiefe directors. And ſo taking with him *Hamze-Beg*
one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greateſt pleaſure, departed to Magneſia, and there
as a man weary of the world, gaue himſelfe to a ſolitary and monaſticall kind of life, in the
company of certaine religious Turkiſh Monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great Kings and Princes, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, glad before of the Hungarian
victory, were now no leſſe ſorry to heare of the late concluded peace betwixt King *Vladiſlaus*
and the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, that the proſecution of this war ſo
happily begun, would haue bin the vtter ruin & deſtruction of the Turkiſh kingdom. Whereſore
they ſought by all poſſible meanes to induce the young King *Vladiſlaus* to breake the
league he had ſo lately and ſo ſolemnly made with the Turke: eſpecially *Iohn Palæologus* the
F Emperor of Conſtantinople, did by letters importune the King to remember the confederation
he had made with the other Chriſtian Princes, for the maintenance of the wars againſt the
common enemy of Chriſtianity: which Princes were now preſt, and ready (as he ſaid) to aſſiſt
him with their promiſed aid: adding moreouer, That whereas *Amurath* had diuers times
ſought to joyne with him in amity and friendſhip, he had vtterly rejected that offer of peace,

preferring the vniuerſal profit (like to enſue to al Chriſtendome by that religious war) before G
his own proper ſecurity and profit, being for his part in readineſſe to joine his forces with the
Kings, if he would preſently enter into armes: which he could neuer doe in better time than
now, whileſt *Amurath* terrified with his late ouerthrow, and ſtill beſet with doubtfull war, had
drawn his greateſt forces out of Europe into Aſia, in ſuch diſordred haſt, as that it ſhould ſeem
he rather fled for feare of his enemies in Europe, than marched to encounter his enemies in
Aſia, and now being weary of all, had betaken himſelfe to a priuat kind of life. To conclude,
he requeſted the King, not to leaue him and the other Chriſtian Princes of ſmall power, as a
prey to the Turke, who would aſſuredly with all hoſtility inuade them, ſo ſoone as he thought
himſelfe ſafe from the danger of the Hungarians. At the ſame time alſo, and vpon the departure
of the Turks Embaſſadors, for the performance of ſuch things as they had promiſed, letters H
came from *Francis* the Cardinall of Florence, Generall of the Chriſtian fleet, declaring
how that *Amurath* hauing left almoſt none in Europe, was with all the power he could make,
gon ouer into Aſia againſt the Caramanian King, leauing a moſt faire occaſion for the Chriſtians,
eaſily to recouer whatſoeuer they had before loſt in Europe, and that he was in good
time come with his fleet to the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, according to promiſe, and there lay
ready to imbarke the Turks paſſage backe againe out of Aſia. Both theſe letters being read
in the councell, ſo much moued the King, with all the reſt of the Nobility of Hungary there
preſent, as that they were neuer more ſorry or aſhamed for any thing they had done in their
liues, than for the league ſo lately with *Amurath* concluded: for why, they ſaw that all the plot
they had laid for their immortall glory, was now by this haſty peace that they had made with I
the Turke, without the good liking and knowledge of the confederats, brought to nought;
and that they had thereby moſt ſhamefully deceiued the generall expectation that the Chriſtian
common-weale had conceiued of them; and that they, of long time called the protectors
of the Chriſtian faith, the defenders of true religion, the reuengers of Chriſts name, and deliuerers
of the faithfull nations; ſhould now be accounted the breakers of the Chriſtian league,
men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greekes, contemners of
immortality, and louers of their own profit only. In this doubtfulneſſe of minds whileſt they
ſtood yet thus wauering, *Iulian* the Cardinall and Legat, alwaies an enemy to the peace, and
by reaſon of his place, a man in greateſt authority next to the King, took occaſion to diſſuade
the ſame as followeth: K

The cunning Speech wherewith Iulian the Cardinall perſuadeth K. Vladiſlaus to break the League he had before made with Amurath.

If any of you, right Worthy (ſaid he) *ſhall haply maruell that I ſhould ſpeake of breaking the league, and*
violating our faith, let him firſt vnderſtand, That I at this preſent am to perſuade you to nothing elſe but
the faithfull obſeruing both of the one and the other: led with like repentance with you; repentance, I ſay,
not ſorrow, when as I, as from a watch-tower foreſeeing all theſe things which were decreed againſt my
will, to ſort alſo contrary to your expectation, am not for the duty of my legation, and the Zeale vnto the
Chriſtian religion, inforced with you to doubt: and ſo much the rather, for that at this preſent the queſtion
is of the loſſe and hazard of all our honors and credit in common: which except we by common conſent,
and wonted valor, endeauour to amend, ô how much is it to be feared, leſt for ſhame neither may you go out
of Hungary, or I return to Rome, where all things are with moſt deepe judgement cenſured. Conſider I pray L
you, into what miſeries this haſty reſolution hath caſt vs. We haue entred into league with the Turke, an
Infidel, to violate our faith with the Chriſtians, and to breake the holy league before made with the great
Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes our confederats. And that for what, for what profit I ſay? Forſooth,
that ſo we might againe recouer Seruia, long before deſtroied. Verily a ſmall and wofull profit, which may
againe in ſhort time be cut off, and depriueth vs of others far greater, and of much longer continuance.
For, what can be more fond and inconſiderat, than in our conſultations to haue regard to our priuat profit
only, and not to the publcike, without reſpect of religion, honeſty, or conſcience? It is not demanded of you at
this preſent, (right Honourable) what you owe vnto the perjured Turke; but you are by me Iulian, *the*
great Biſhops and the confederat Chriſtian Princes Legat, and Agent, before the tribunall ſeat of your
owne conſciences, accuſed of breach of faith, breach of league, and breach of promiſe; and thereof euen by M
your-owne judgement, rather than by the judgement of God, or other men, I will condemne you. Anſwere
me you noble Worthies: After you had happily ſix moneths made wars againſt the Turks in Bulgaria and
the borders of Thracia; and after that, triumphantly returning into Hungary, receiued you not honourable
embaſſages from almoſt all Italy, and from the great Emperor, with common rejoycing for your ſo glorious

A rious a victory, and exhortations to continue the war? We receiued them. Did not you in my preſence, and I the author thereof, willingly make a moſt holy league with the Italians and Greeks; That the one ſhould with their aid and power meet you out of Thracia; and the other with a great fleet ſhould come into the Helleſpontus? We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keepe the ſame, being made? Wherefore if the laſt yeare you made a league with the great Biſhop, (God his Vicar here on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Chriſtians, this ſecond league is to be broken, leſt you ſhould violate the firſt, and that a moſt Chriſtian league: which except you do, I feare leaſt as Iudas betraied Chriſt, ſo you may ſeeme to betray his Vicar; or that God, whom hitherto you haue alwaies found preſent, propitious, and fauourable, you ſhall hereafter finde him angry, and an enemy to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, What will you anſwer vnto the Conſtantinopolitan B Emperour; who according to your appointment, hath now with the firſt taken the field, and in ſo great an opportunity expecteth but your comming? What will you anſwer the great Biſhop? What the Venetians and Genowaies, who haue their great fleet ready, as was appointed? What the Burgundians, who for their Zeale vnto the Chriſtian faith and religion, haue long ſince paſſed the Ocean, and ſo by many dangers of the ſea now flote in the Helleſpont? Deuiſe (I pray you) if you can, ſome excuſe and colour, that we may not ſeeme altogether vnlike our ſelues: if out of your hidden skill you can coyne any thing, ſhew it. You promiſed with the firſt of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your ſouldiers both the Spring and Summer, play; ſo great and ſo wholeſome occaſion paſsing away, thorow your wofull ſloth and negligence. O the great blindneſſe of mens minds! O groſſe cowardiſe! O deteſtable League, made to the deſtruction of the Commonweale! Some man happely will blame me, and aske, why I ſuffered it with C the reſt? I was preſent, I muſt confeſſe; but as much as in me was, I intreated it might not be. I diſliked it; and (as many of you here preſent can teſtifie) I vtterly condemned it. I was ouercome by the wiſedom and authority of Huniades, and the compaſsion of the Deſpot, leſt (vnhappy man) he ſhould by my interceſsion ſeeme longer to want his Kingdome: and leſt any man ſhould call me a contemner or impugner of your good; I, full of ſorrow, and vnwillingly, gaue way: not ignorant, the health of the Chriſtian Commonweale to be therein weakened, the hope of your immortall glory extinguiſhed, and vs all (by your leaue may I ſay it) accounted breakers both of diuine and humane Leagues, forſworne men, and traitors vnto all good Chriſtians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiouſneſſe be further bruted, we deliuer our ſelues from this infamy, nothing can be greater, or more miſerable, than our ſhame or villany. If we will ſo do, we may not ſo eaſily, as juſtly and religiouſly do it: Hauing made reſtitution of Seruia and the D captiues, what remaineth elſe for you to do, (Noble Worthies) but to repaire your Army, to prepare what ſo is needfull for war, and to keepe your firſt League with the Chriſtian Princes? And to ſay, That King Vladiſlaus, after his league made with the Greeke and Latine Princes, could not without the conſent of theſe his Confederates and Allyes (vnder whoſe good fortune that common warre was vndertaken) conclude any thing, eſpecially with the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion? And that therefore if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turke, it was fruſtrate, and the league to be ſtood vpon. Who is ſo partiall an eſteemer of mens actions, that would not eaſily judge, That in caſe, faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Chriſtian, than with a Turke; with a Beleeuer, than with an Infidell? Againſt a perfidious enemy it is lawfull (as they ſay) for a man to vſe all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turke firſt paſſed ouer into Europe, by little and little he E crept into that kingdome, he neuer kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by ſtrength: and are you become ſo blinde, as to thinke it better to keepe your promiſe with the Turke, deuoid of all faith and humanity, rather than with the faithfull Chriſtians, and eſpecially the moſt holy Biſhop.

All great things are done by aduice and policy: the Romans our anceſtors vprightly and religiouſly alwaies kept the leagues with their confederates, but deluded the deceitfull with their cunning. Cæſar was of opinion, that for ſoueraignty the Law was ſometime to be broken. And Philip (the father and maſter of of him that conquered Aſia) oftentimes vſed cunning and deceit for the deſire of rule: yet were not theſe men called traitors. It is ſometime lawfull for the common-weals ſake, neither to ſtand to our leagues, neither to keepe our faith with them that be themſelues faithleſſe. Lawfull it is to breake vnlawfull oathes, and eſpecially ſuch as are thought to be againſt right, reaſon, and equity. Was it lawfull for Diomedes, F vowing for to ſacrifice vnto the gods whomſoeuer he firſt met at his returne into his country, to kill his ſon by that his vow and oath? Verily it was a great impiety. Wherefore a juſt and lawfull oath is in the judgement of all men to be religiouſly kept; but ſuch an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuate, but publike deſtruction, that ought not to be vaine and fruſtrate. Wherefore before your faithleſſe dealing be further ſpread abroad, I beſeech you worthy men, and thee eſpecially, moſt glorious King, not in any point to violate *your faith, for the good of the Chriſtian common weale, giuen vnto the moſt holy father and the other* G *Chriſtian Princes. The league you haue made with the Greeks and the Latines, faithfully and religiouſly keepe; the expedition by common conſent taken in hand, by the example of your confederates, proſecute; the foundation of immortall glory by you laid, build vp. Deliuer the Chriſtian Prouinces, oppreſſed with the Turkiſh ſeruitude; ſatisfie the hope conceiued of you, and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceiued of you, than which, nothing can be more diſhonourable: make no conſcience of the league you haue made with the Infidell, but thinke it a great impiety and wickedneſſe, to violate the holy league made with the great Biſhop and the other Chriſtian Princes: thinking, that if you ſhould doe otherwiſe, God (which he of his mercy forbid) would become of that your falſified faith a moſt ſeuere and ſharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Sauiour Chriſt, or more glorious to your ſelues, than to deliuer the oppreſſed Chriſtian countries from the cruell ſlauery and bondage of the Turke. Suffer* H *not this ſo fit an occaſion to ſlip away, than which, a fitter can neuer be giuen. Europe is vnfurniſhed of the Turks, buſied in the Caramanian war; their returne is embarred by the Chriſtian fleet, now in the ſea of Helleſpontus; you need but to goe ſee, and as it were to take a view of Thracia, Macedonia, Grecia, and Epirus, there is no enemy there left to oppoſe himſelfe againſt you. Wherefore for God his cauſe, I requeſt you aboue all things to continue the Chriſtian league, and with your happy and victorious forces, to march forward into Macedonia and Thracia, as is before by you with the other Chriſtian Princes your confederates agreed.*

Iulian the Cardinal abſolueth king Vladiſlaus & the reſt, from their oth before giuen to Amurath.

In concluſion, hauing much ſpoken of the authority and power of the great Biſhop, he in his name diſannulled the league whatſoeuer, by the King made with the Turke; and abſolued I him, with the reſt whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promiſe they had made. Which ſo well contented both the King and the reſt, that there was now no more queſtion of the oath, or of the lawfulneſſe of the war, but a decree made for the continuation of the league with the other Chriſtian Princes their confederats, and for the proſecution of the wars againſt the Turks, as was with them before agreed: whom, they could now ſay, they were not to forſake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedy enemy; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their requeſt they had taken vp arms in their quarrell. Vnto which vnfortunat Decree, both the Deſpot and *Huniades* (the chiefe authors of the late peace betweene the King and *Amurath*) eaſily conſented: the Deſpot, induced with the great hope he had conceiued of the good ſucceſſe of the war; and *Huniades*, with the deſire K of the Kingdome of Bulgaria, promiſed vnto him by *Vladiſlaus*, and by faire Charter alſo (as ſome ſaid) aſſured vnto him.

Of this the Kings reſolution for the breach of the peace with the Turks, notice was with all ſpeed giuen vnto the Conſtantinopolitan Emperour, and *Francis* the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of ſeuenty gallies at the ſtreits of Helleſpontus: for feare leaſt they hearing of the former concluded peace, ſhould alter alſo, or elſe quite deſiſt from their former purpoſes. In the mean time, whileſt theſe things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promiſe had withdrawne all his garriſons out of Seruia, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, reſtoring the ſame vnto the Deſpot and others the lawfull owners, although it was not done at the very prefixed day at which it ſhould haue L beene done. In which time alſo he ſet at liberty great numbers of captiues, and amongſt the reſt, the two blind ſons of the Prince of Seruia; faithfully performing whatſoeuer he had before vpon his religion promiſed in the league with the Chriſtians before concluded, ſo deſirous he was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit *Vladiſlaus*, by the counſell of *Huniades*, detained to his own vſe certain of the ſtrong holds in Seruia: for which cauſe, *George* the Deſpot euer afterwards bore a ſecret grudge againſt *Huniades*.

Now as King *Vladiſlaus* (hauing by the perſuaſion of *Iulian* the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him and *Amurath*) was preparing his forces, the fame of the Epirot Prince *Scanderbeg* was alſo (by the recouery of his fathers kingdome of Epirus out of the Turks hands, and by the late ouerthrow of *Alis Baſſa*) growne great, euery one ſpeaking of him honour and M praiſe. Wherwith *Vladiſlaus* moued, and reaſonably perſuaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughty deſignes (aiming at no leſſe than the vtter ouerthrow of the Turks kingdom in Europe) if he might vnto his owne great preparations joyne alſo the ſtrength of that ſo fortunate a Prince, by the conſent of his Nobility, with all ſpeed diſpatched away his Embaſſadors

A dors with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honourable purpoſe for the rooting out of the Turks; and in that common cauſe praying his aid againſt ſuch a dangerous and dreadfull enemy. The purport whereof here followeth:

Vladiſlaus King of Hungary and Polonia, vnto the noble *Scanderbeg* Prince of Epirus, greeting.

The Letters of king Vladiſlaus to Scanderbeg.

It may be that ſome good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this preſent, to the intent we might at this time, together with you, rejoyce in the double ſucceſſe of your proſperity: firſt, for the happy recouery of your eſtate; and then, for that the ſame hath by your wiſedome and valour, of late B *beene ſo notably defended. Wherefore in this we rejoyce, not onely in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Chriſtians, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſſe, by your valour to haue giuen ſo great an increaſe and comfort vnto the Chriſtian commonweale: for as much as amongſt others our great euils, the loſſe of the Albanian people hath not beene to be accounted the leaſt, at ſuch time as* Iohn Caſtriot, *a worthy Prince, your father, oppreſſed by* Amurath, *and by the vngratefull Deſtinies taken out of this world, had neither the meanes to leaue vnto you his kingdome and ſcepter, (as vnto his ſonne, then liuing in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwiſe to prouide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, moſt happy in ſuch a ſonne, might haue till now liued: whoſe felicity had in that ſurmounted all others, if he might haue ſeene you before his death. For as you ſeeme vnto me aboue all other Princes in the world (without offence be it ſaid) moſt accompliſhed with all the good graces and perfections both of body and* C *mind; ſo are you indowed alſo with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not only the whole Kingdome of Epirus may thinke it ſelfe in ſecurity, but all the reſt of the other nations alſo, lately by the deteſtable fraud and violence of the* Othoman *Kings diſmembred from the realme of Macedon, may alſo recouer the former beauty of their antient lawes and liberties. For (to ſay nothing of thoſe things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enuied, haue heretofore purchaſed vnto you an immortall fame and glory euen amongſt the Barbarians themſelues) what can be more glorious than this victory, which (as we haue heard, and beleeue) you, to your ſingular admiration, haue obtained, by the ouerthrow and vtter diſcomfiture of* Alis Baſſa, *with his ſo great and mighty a power? but now, ô* Scanderbeg *(God ſo appointing it, who in his deepe and ſecret wiſedome hath reſerued you vnto theſe ſo dangerous times, for the publike good, and comfort of the Chriſtian Common-* D *weale) there offers it ſelfe vnto you an object of far greater glory, with a faire and fit occaſion for you to reuenge your ſelfe of all the wrongs and injuries both new and old, by* Amurath *the Turkiſh Sultan done, not in priuate to the perſon of your ſelfe onely, but vnto the whole ſtate and Kingdome of Epirus alſo; and not the domeſticall and ciuile miſeries of your owne Countrey onely, but the publike calamities alſo, and thoſe opprobrious diſgraces done againſt the Chriſtian Faith and Religion in generall, now oppreſſed (I will not ſay extinguiſhed:) and that is, if you with your victorious Forces, will ſuccour vs in this extremity of our affaires, not yet altogether deſperate. Hereunto do all the Princes of Hungary and Polonia, and all other men of courage inuite you;* Iulian *the Cardinall of* S. Angell *intreateth you; with all thoſe deuout and couragious Chriſtians, which long ſince here with vs, and ready in armes, wiſh for nothing more than the preſence of your victorious enſignes. Which ſo faire an occaſion (by God himſelfe now of-* E *fered) if you refuſe not, will in all mens judgement be a ſure meane to vanquiſh and ouerthrow our common enemy the Turke, and to driue him quite out of Europe, wrongfully by him of ſo long time poſſeſſed. I need not therefore (as I ſuppoſe) to vſe any kinde of perſuaſion vnto you in this cauſe and quarrell, the defence whereof both purchaſe vnto vs health, light, and liberty: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may enſue thereof. We Chriſtians haue beene too too ſlacke and backeward in helping one another: the flame hath now well neere conſumed vs all, whileſt no man thought it would haue come neere himſelfe. What do we ſee of the Greeke Empire? What of the Bulgarians and Seruians? yea, mine owne loſſes, and many calamities, already, and yet alſo to be endured, who is able to recount? The braue and moſt valiant Princes, the ſureſt Bulwarkes and defences of the Kingdome of Hungary, from time to time loſt; and the puiſſant Armies with one and the ſame fatall chance of war conſumed and brought to nothing,* F *who is able to reckon vp? In ſo much that there is no houſe, wife, nor matron, in all Hungary, which is not in ſome meaſure partaker of this heauineſſe. All this do the Chriſtian Princes heare of, and yet the miſerable eſtate and condition of their allies can nothing moue any one of them, but ſuffer vs thus as a ſacrifice for the reſt, to be on all parts expoſed to the rage and fury of the common and mercileſſe enemy.*

G *Only* Eugenius *the moſt holy Biſhop of Rome, and* Philip *Duke of Burgondy, haue not refuſed to beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: the one hath ſent hither his Legat* Iulian *the Cardinall, with notable and puiſſant ſuccors; and the other with his fleet at ſea, and come as far as Helleſpontus, ſo much as in him lieth, doth notably hinder the Turks paſſage into Europe. And one other hope there is, not now far from vs, and that is your helpe, whereof we are ſo deſirous: which we require of you, moued thereunto partly by your valour ſo well knowne, and partly in regard of the imminent perill and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you be at leiſure to take ſuch an expedition in hand, for the late troubled eſtate of your affaires, and your new recouered Kingdome, as yet ſcarcely well eſtabliſhed: yet notwithſtanding let it not with-hold you, or keepe you backe; aſſuring you, that as this expedition cannot be but vnto you moſt honourable, euen ſo this your preſent deſert ſhall not be beſtowed vpon vngratefull and thankeleſſe men; but that which you ſhall now firſt begin and vndertake for our preſeruation and dignity, we will from henceforth and euer continue for your glory, and for the increaſe of your greatneſſe. Fare you well. From our regall city of Buda the fourth of Iuly,* 1444. H

Of this the Kings motion *Scanderbeg* liking well, and thinking it farre better now in ſo fit a time, with his own forces joyned vnto the Hungarians his friends, thorowly to buſie *Amurath*, than in ſhort time after, himſelfe alone to ſuſtaine his whole power; by the generall conſent of the Albanian Princes his confederates and allies, yeelded vnto his requeſt; in liberall termes promiſing him by his letters, in good time to be preſent with him with thirty thouſand good ſoldiers. The copy of which Letters I thought it not amiſſe here to ſet downe alſo.

I

Scanderbeg Prince of the Epirots, vnto *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungary and Polonia, greeting.

Scanderbeg his anſwer by Letters vnto King Vladiſlaus.

Your Letters, moſt inuincible King, I haue with like joy and contentment receiued: which I in the generall aſſembly of my Chiefetaines hauing cauſed publiquely to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of one opinion, but that ſo juſt an occaſion of war by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalfe alſo embraced. And ſo euery man doth both publikely and priuately affirme, That nothing could haue hapned vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by ſome notable ſeruice teſtifie their gratefull minds, and bind vnto them ſo excellent a Prince; as alſo to giue ſo fit ſuccors vnto the Chriſtian Common-weale. In which forwardneſſe of my people I my ſelfe tooke great contentment K *and pleaſure, both in regard of your ſelfe, and in the behalfe of the publike and common cauſe: ſeeing my men of warre, and all other my ſubjects, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer (without any perſuaſion vſed on my part) to be ſo cheerefully and couragiouſly minded in defence of the faith, and of the Chriſtian Religion; and ſo well affectioned toward your moſt royall Majeſty. And to ſay the truth, Who is he (if he be not hatefull both to God and man) albeit there were no queſtion of Religion, or of the Common danger, that would refuſe ſo juſt and lawfull a warre? for ſuch a King, as vnto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Chriſtians do not onely reigne, but euen liue, breath, and enjoy the liberty of our ſpeech. Who would not willingly take vp armes, and aduenture himſelfe into moſt manifeſt and certaine danger for the people of Hungary; by whom in all ages the Chriſtian Common-wealth hath with their ſo many trauels, and ſo much of their bloud, beene ſo mightily ſupported and defended? Who euen from the very* L *cradle haue beene continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen vowed themſelues for the honour of the Chriſtian Religion and name. Would God (moſt mighty and redoubted* Vladiſlaus*) it had beene in my power to haue brought vnto you ſuch forces to this honourable warre, as were anſwerable vnto my courage and deſire: then happily Europe ſhould not longer lie in this ignominious eſtate, oppreſſed by* Amurath; *neither ſhould the fields of Varna or Baſilia ſo often ſmoake with the bloud of the Hungarians; nor euery corner of Macedonia with the bloud of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatory ſacrifice of others ſinnes and offences; we all now by turnes periſh, whileſt euery man thinketh himſelfe borne but for himſelfe alone. But why doe I vnto my ſelfe poure forth theſe vaine complaints. Truely, it neither repenteth me of my Forces, neither, as I ſuppoſe (if it ſhall pleaſe God that our Forces may once meet and joyne together in ſo happy a warre) ſhall the Chriſtian Common-* M *weale haue any cauſe to ſorrow or be agrieued with the iſſue and euent of our fortune. For vnto thoſe fifteene thouſand good ſouldiers which lately diſcomfited* Alis Baſſa *on the borders of Macedonia, my purpoſe is to joyne as many moe vnto them: with all which ſtrength as ſoone as conueniently they may, I will*

A *begin to ſet forward, ready to follow your enſignes to all euents whatſoeuer. And ſo fare you well. From Croia the third of Auguſt* 1444.

Theſe letters being diſpatched away vnto the king, *Scanderbeg* forthwith began to leuy his forces. And firſt of all he cauſed with new ſupplies to be made ſtrong, all thoſe companies wherewith hee had ouerthrown *Alis Baſſa*; not ſuffering any one of them to abſent himſelfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fifteene thouſand, all men of approued valor, he joyned other fifteene thouſand moe, no leſſe valiant than they: ſuch a power as he neuer either before or after raiſed for the recouery, or defence of his Kingdome. And ſo furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſo honourable a war, cheerefully ſet forward, accompanied B with the vowes and hope of all his moſt faithfull and louing ſubjects. But being come to the borders of Seruia, he found the ſtreit and difficult paſſages of that rough country ſhut vp by *George* the Deſpot, (Lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwiſe a wicked damned Atheiſt, and a Chriſtian but in name only) who but lately before reſtored vnto his kingdome by the helpe of King *Vladiſlaus*, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his ſon in law (by whom he had bin before himſelfe exiled) and in fauour of his quarrell, and deſpight of the Hungarians, but ſpecially of *Huniades*, had ſtopped vp the waies and paſſages whereby *Scanderbeg* was with his army to paſſe: who by his Embaſſador ſent of purpoſe vnto the Deſpot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in minde of the perjurious dealing of *Amurath* with him, notwithſtanding he had married his daughter: C and of the great pleaſures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good proofe: requeſting him if it were but in regard of the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom he was neuer in any thing wronged) paſſage; and not to ſtaine himſelfe with the perpetuall note of infamy, That he being a Chriſtian Prince, and of late ſo mightily oppreſſed by the Turke, ſhould now to the great hinderance of the Chriſtian common-weale take part with him againſt his friends and deliuerers. But what auaileth praiers or requeſts, be they neuer ſo reaſonable, with a man ſet downe to miſchiefe? *Scanderbeg* out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, reſolued ſo to do: although it much grieued him to ſpend thoſe forces vpon a Chriſtian Prince, which he had prepared againſt the capitall enemy both of himſelfe and all good Chriſtians, old *Amurath* the D Turkiſh Sultan.

But whileſt he thus diſcontented, ſpendeth his time with his army vpon the borders of Seruia, beſet with many difficulties; *Vladiſlaus* prickt forward by the continuall ſolicitation of *Iulian* the Cardinall, or elſe drawne on by his owne ineuitable deſtity, hauing aſſembled a great army of valiant and couragious ſouldiers out of Hungary and Polonia (yet in number farre inferiour to that he had in the yeare before, for that moſt of the voluntary ſouldiers were returned home) ſet forward from Segedinum; and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnfit for warres) paſſed ouer Danubius, and entring into Bulgaria, came to Nicopolis, the Metropoliticall City of that Kingdome (but then in poſſeſſion of the Turkes) where he burnt the ſuburbs thereof, and in that fruitfull countrey thereabouts refreſhed his people three or E foure daies, where hee alſo muſtered his Army, and tooke a view thereof: At which time *Dracula* Vayuod of Valachia, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then preſent, and conſidering the ſmall number of the Kings Army, began to perſuade him to retyre; ſaying, He had ſufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme aright of the power of the Turkiſh Sultan: who (as he ſaid) was wont many times to carry more men with him into the fields for his diſport of hawking and hunting, than was there in the Kings campe: wherefore hee ſhould doe well, not to expoſe thoſe his ſmall forces vnto ſo manifeſt perill, in ſuch vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, but to reſerue them vnto a more fit opportunity, when hee might with greater power encounter his puiſſant enemy. This his counſell moſt men of greateſt experience, and not carried away with other priuate reſpects, thought wholeſome: F but the Cardinall author of this fatall warre, extolling with great words the laſt yeares victory obtained againſt the Turke, with glorious promiſes of great aid, as well by ſea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the Emperour of Conſtantinople and other Chriſtian Princes; augmenting alſo the great troubles in Aſia, and promiſing an eaſie and happy ſucceſſe

King Vladiſlaus ſetteth forward againſt the Turks.

ſucceſſe vnto theſe warres in Europe: perſuaded the King that *Dracula* his ſpeech proceeded G either of ignorance, vpon a ſuperficiall judgement which he made of the Kings power there preſent, without regard of further ſtrength from his friends; or elſe of the priuat reſpect of his owne ſecurity, in regard of a commodious league made a little before betwixt him and the Turke. So that the poore Prince ſeeing his counſell mightily impugned by the Cardinall, and not ſo well taken, as it was meant by him, ſtood in a doubt whether to leaue him to his owne fortune, and himſelfe to his quiet peace, or caſting off the Turkiſh league, to joyne with the King in this chance of war: but at length reſolued as a martiall minded man, preferring the vncertaine glory of the field before his owne aſſured reſt, ſaid vnto the King:

Seeing that either your Princely fortune, which hath euer hitherto fauoured your high attempts; or elſe the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the ſecret deſignement of H *your deſtiny, vnable to be auoyded, doth draw your majeſty into a different opinion from me: that your reſolution, which I cannot by reaſonable perſuaſion alter, I will as the ſuddenneſſe of time, and my ſmall ability will permit, moſt gladly further.*

Dracula aideth Vladiſlaus with his ſonne and 4000 horſe.

And therewith preſented vnto the king his ſon, with foure thouſand horſemen well appointed, to ſerue him in thoſe wars; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good ſucceſſe as he himſelfe deſired. Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the King, he preferred vnto him two luſty young men, perfect guides for that country, with two horſes of incredible ſwiftneſſe, and with teares ſtanding in his eies ſaid vnto him:

His laſt farewel vnto the King.

Take this ſmall gift in good part, as a poore refuge to fly vnto, if your fortune hap to faile you, which I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vaine, and ſo they ſhall, if my praiers may preuaile. I *Yet if neceſſity ſhall inforce you to vſe them, you ſhall find them ſeruiceable at your need.*

And ſo taking his laſt farewell of the King, returned into Valachia. *Vladiſlaus* marching on from Nicopolis toward Thracia, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks for feare yeelded vnto him: at laſt he came to Sumium and Pezechium, where the Turkiſh garriſons truſting as much to the ſtrength of the places, as to their owne valour, ſtood vpon their guard: but the King layed ſiege to both the ſaid places, and took them by aſſault; where he put to ſword fiue thouſand of the Turks.

The Turks Baſſaes terrified with thoſe vnexpected troubles, aduertiſed *Amurath* thereof, requeſting him to leaue his obſcure life, and to leauy the greateſt power he could in Aſia, for the defence of the Turkiſh kingdome in Europe, which otherwiſe was in ſhort time like to be K loſt: blaming alſo his diſcretion, for committing the gouernment of ſo great a kingdom to ſo young a Prince as was *Mahomet* his ſonne, vnto whom many of the great captaines did halfe ſcorne to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awaked, as it had beene out of a dead ſleepe, left his cloiſter, and with great ſpeed gathered a ſtrong army in Aſia, and came to the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, where he found the paſſage ſtopped by the Venetians and Popes Gallies, and was therefore at his wits end. But marching alongſt the Sea ſide vnto the ſtreits of Boſphorus, he there found meanes to conuey ouer his whole army: vſing therein (as ſome write) the helpe of the Genoway marchants ſhips, paying vnto the Genowayes for the paſſage of euery Turke a ducat, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand duckats: or as ſome others affirme, corrupting with great bribes them that were left for the defence of L this paſſage. And being now got ouer, joyned his Aſian army with ſuch other forces as his Baſſaes had in readineſſe in Europe: and ſo marching on ſeuen daies, encamped within foure miles of Varna, a City pleaſantly ſtanding vpon the Euxine Sea ſide in Bulgaria, where the Chriſtian army lay: for *Vladiſlaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with ſo great an army, had retyred thither, hauing but a little before taken the ſame City of Varna from the Turks, with Calachrium, Galata, Macropolis, and others vpon the ſea coaſt.

Vpon the firſt report that *Amurath* was with ſuch a mighty army come ouer the ſtreit of Boſphorus, *Vladiſlaus* who before was in good hope that he could not poſſibly haue found any paſſage, entered into counſell with the commanders of his army, what courſe was now beſt to take: where many which before had been moſt forward in that action (preſuming that *Amurath* M could by no meanes haue tranſported his army) was now ſo diſcouraged with the fame of his comming, that they aduiſed the King in time to retire home, and not to oppoſe ſo ſmall an army againſt ſuch a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other captains

A of greater courage, and eſpecially *Huniades*, ſaid; It was not for the Kings honor firſt to inuade his enemies dominions, and preſently to turn his back vpon the firſt report of their comming; wiſhing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former warres, and that he was to fight againſt the ſame enemy whom he had victoriouſly ouerthrowne the yere before: as for the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he ſaid) not to be moued therewith, for that it was the maner of the Turkiſh Kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the ſhew of a huge army, than with the valour of their ſoldiers, which were nothing to be accounof, but as effeminate, in compariſon of the Hungarians. Whereupon the King reſolued to try the fortune of the field.

Vladiſlaus vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Amurath* the night before incamped within B foure miles, was now putting his army in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his forces vnto the valiant captaine *Huniades*: who with great care and induſtry diſpoſed the ſame, garding the one ſide of the battel with a fen or mariſh, and the other ſide with cariages, and the rereward of his army with a ſteepe hil. Therein politickly prouiding, that the Chriſtian army being far leſſe than the Turks in number, could not be compaſſed about with the multitude of their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks army approching, began to skirmiſh with the Chriſtians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage maintained, and that with diuers fortune, ſometime one party preuailing, and ſometime the other; but with ſuch ſlaughter on both ſides, that the ground was couered and ſtained with the dead bodies and bloud of the ſlaine. At length the battell being more cloſely joyned, the victory C began to incline to the Chriſtians, for *Huniades* had moſt valiantly with his Tranſiluanian and Valachian horſmen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkiſh army, and made great ſlaughter whereſoeuer he came. Inſomuch that *Amurath* diſmaied with the flight of his ſouldiers, was about to haue fled himſelfe out of the maine battell, had he not bin ſtaied by a common ſouldier, who laying hands vpon the raines of his bridle, ſtaied him by force, and ſharpely reproued hiw of cowardiſe. The captaines and prelates about the King (whom it had better beſeemed to haue bin at deuout praiers in their oratories, than in armes at that bloudy battell) encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Huniades*, and deſirous to be partakers of that victory, fooliſhly left their ſafe ſtations, where they were appointed by him to ſtand faſt, and diſorderedly purſued the chaſe, leauing that ſide of the battell where they ſtood, open vnto the D Turks, but they were not gone far, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the Turks army, for ſuch purpoſe placed in a vally faſt by. In which fight *Leſco* one of the moſt valiant captaines of the Hungarians was ſlaine; and the Biſhop of Veradium, a better churchman than ſouldier, and the firſt man that diſordered the battell, ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight thorow the fenne, was there ſtrangled in the deepe mud, after he had with his horſe therin ſtruggled a great while. The Biſhop of Agria, a man of greateſt authority with the King, was at the ſame time alſo loſt, with many other churchmen more. The Cardinall, with ſome other of the expert captaines retiring toward their former ſtandings, were hardly aſſailed by the Turks, who by the comming in of the King and *Huniades*, were with great ſlaughter forced to retire, and euen ready to fly. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and all brought E into extreme danger, beholding the picture of the crucifix in the diſplaied enſignes of the voluntary Chriſtians, pluckt the writing out of his boſome, wherein the late league was compriſed, and holding it vp in his hand with his eies caſt vp to heauen, ſaid:

The great battell of Varna, fought betweene king Vladiſlaus and Amurath.

Behold thou crucified Chriſt, this is the league thy Chriſtians in thy name made with me: which they haue without any cauſe violated. Now if thou be a God, as they ſay thou art, and as we dreame, reuenge the wrong now done vnto thy name, and me, and ſhew thy power vpon thy perjurious people, who in their deeds deny thee their God.

Amurath praieth vnto Chriſt.

The King with *Huniades* furiouſly purſued the chaſed Turks, with bloudy execution a great ſpace: when as the King in his heat hardly perſuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe into his campe, at his comming thither found the Cardinall *Iulian*, with *Franke*, one of his chiefe cap-F taines, and others, ouercharged with the Turks, which had againe made head againſt that part of the Chriſtian army: and there yet fought couragiouſly, by reaſon of their multitude, being alſo backt by the Ianizaries, which all this while had ſtood faſt with their old King, as his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge, but were now come in. There began a moſt cruell and fierce fight: in the ſucceſſe whereof, the Turks well ſaw the whole ſtate of their kingdom in Europ to conſiſt, many

A cruell fight.

many were there ſlaine of both ſides: the Turks feeling their loſſe leſſe than indeed it was, by G reaſon of their multitude; and the Chriſtians, by reaſon of their courage. A great while the victory ſtood doubtfull, inſomuch, that at length the Turks began to ſhrinke backe, in that part of the battell where the King and *Huniades* fought. But in the left ſide they preuailed ſo vpon the Chriſtians that they were euen ready to haue fled. Which when *Huniades* (hauing a vigilant eie vnto euery part of the army) perceiued, he with ſpeed made thither, and there againe with his preſence reſtored the battell, almoſt before loſt. Which done, he returned againe towards the King, who in the meane time had moſt valiantly repulſed a great number of the Turks, and now was come vnto the Ianizaries, *Amurath* his laſt hope. There was to be ſeene a thouſand manners of death, whilſt both the armies fought more like wild beaſts in their rage and fury, than wary & politick ſoldiers. In this confuſed medly, the yong king *Vladiſlaus* with H greater courage than care of himſelfe, brake into the battell of the Ianizaries: at which time, *Amurath* himſelfe was by a valiant Frenchman a Knight of the Roads, firſt wounded with a pike, and after aſſailed with his ſword, and had there ended his daies, but that he was ſpeedily reſcued by his guard, by whom this worthy Knight after great proofe of his valour was there ſlain in the midſt of his enemies. *Vladiſlaus* being got alſo in among them, valiantly performed all the parts of a worthy ſoldier, till ſuch time as his horſe being ſlain vnder him, he was forthwith oppreſſed by the multitude of his enemies and ſlain: his head being ſtrucke off by *Ferizes*, one of the old Ianizaries, was by him preſented vnto *Amurath*, who commanded it preſently to be put vpon the point of a launce, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Chriſtian King: which was afterwards ſo caried thorow the principal cities of Macedonia, and Grecia, as a trophey of the Turks victory. *Huniades* after he had in vaine giuen diuers I braue attempts to haue reſcued the Kings body retired with a few Valachian horſemen, and ſeeing no hope of better hap (for all the Chriſtians being diſcouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themſelues to flight) gaue place to neceſſity, and reſeruing himſelf to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountains, into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficulty, he got ouer Danubius into Valachia, and was there (as ſome write) by *Dracula* Prince of that country taken priſoner: In reuenge whereof, after he was inlarged by the Hungarians, he ſo aided *Danus* againſt *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his ſon were both ſlaine, and *Danus* placed in his roome. *Iulian* the Cardinall flying out of the battell, was found by that worthy man *Gregory Sanoſe*, lying in the deſert forreſt by the way ſide, mortally wounded, and halfe ſtripped, by whom he was in few words ſharpely reproued, as the wicked author of that perfi- K dious war, and there left giuing vp the ghoſt. Many of the Chriſtians which fled out of that battell, fell into the enemies hands, & ſo were ſlain: but greater was the number of them which were drowned in the fens, or that by hunger and cold periſhed in the woods, or elſe after long and miſerable trauel, finding no paſſage ouer Danubius, fel at length into the Turkiſh ſlauery.

Amurath in danger.

King Vladiſlaus ſlaine.

Huniades flieth

This great and mortall battell, as it was with diuers fortune fought, ſo was alſo the preſent report thereof moſt vncertain: for the Turks that were at the firſt put to flight, reported in the towns there by as they fled, that the battell was loſt: & they which had all the day endured the fight, not altogether aſſured of the victory, & not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themſelues, whilſt they ſuſpected ſome deceit in the Kings campe, by reaſon of the great L ſilence therin, ſtaied two daies before they durſt aduenture to take the ſpoile therof. The number of them that were ſlain in this battell, as well on the one ſide as the other was great; as the mounts and little hils, raiſed of the bones & bodies of them that were there buried, do yet at this day declare. Howbeit, the certaine number was not knowne, ſome reporting mo, ſome fewer. Yet in this moſt agree, that of the Chriſtian army, being not great, ſcarce the third part eſcaped: and that the Turks bought this victory with a farre greater loſſe, although it was of them leſſe felt, by reaſon of their multitude; made leſſe by that ſlaughter, as they that report leaſt thereof affirme, by thirty thouſand. Which may well ſeeme rather to be ſo, for that *Amurath* after this victory, neither farther proſecuted the ſame, nor ſhewed any token of joy at all, but became very melancholy and ſad, and being of them about him demanded, Why after ſo M great a victory he was no merrier; anſwered, that he wiſhed not at ſo great price, to gaine many ſuch victories. Yet in memoriall thereof he erected a great pillar, in the ſame place where the King was ſlain, with an inſcription of all that was then done: which, as they ſay, is there yet to be ſeen at this day. This bloudy battell was fought neer vnto Varna (in antient time called Dioniſio-

A Dioniſiopolis (a place fatall vnto many great warriours, and therefore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Chriſt 1444.

Some maliciouſly impute the loſſe of the battel of Varna, and the death of the King, to *Huniades*, who (as they ſaid) fled out of the battell with ten thouſand horſemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble diſpoſition of that couragious and valiant captaine, but ſeemeth rather to haue beene deuiſed, to excuſe the foule dealing of the clergy; who as moſt hiſtories beare witneſſe, were the chiefe authors both of the war, and of the lamentable calamity enſuing thereof.

From the battell of Varna *Amurath* returned to Hadrianople, hauing loſt the greateſt part of his beſt ſouldiers, and there with great ſolemnity buried the body of *Carazia*, viceroy of B Europe, ſlaine in that battell: and then calling together all his nobility, againe reſigned vp his kingdome vnto his ſon *Mahomet*, retiring himſelfe vnto Magneſia, where he liued a ſolitary and priuate life, hauing before vowed ſo to doe, in the great feare he was in, in the battell againſt *Vladiſlaus*: but after he had a ſhort time performed theſe his vowes in that obſcure and melancholy life, he weary therof, as ſome ſuppoſe, as not a little reuiued with the late victory, or elſe ſolicited by *Cali Baſſa* and other great counſellors, returned againe to Hadrianople, reſuming vnto himſelfe the gouernment of the kingdome, to the great diſcontentment of his ambitious ſonne *Mahomet*.

Amurath to performe his vow, reſigneth his kingdome to his ſon Mahomet, which he in ſhort time after taketh again vpon him.

Scanderbeg yet ſticking in the borders of Seruia, and hearing what had happened vnto king *Vladiſlaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly grieued: and hauing now loſt the C hope whereupon hee had vndertaken that ſo great an expedition, reſolued to returne home againe into Epirus. Neuertheleſſe, to be in ſome part reuenged of the wicked Deſpot, he with his army forcibly brake into his country, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter at Varna, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremity of their fortune) courteouſly relieued: and furniſhed them with ſuch things as they wanted, prouided them ſhipping to Raguſa, from whence they might in ſafety returne into their own countries. Thus by the diſloyalty and trechery of the faithleſſe Deſpot of Seruia, was *Scanderbeg* ſtaid from being preſent at the bloudy battell of Varna, to the vnſpeakeable loſſe of the Chriſtian common-weale: for it could not be, but that ſo many thouſands of moſt reſolute and expert D ſouldiers, vnder the leading of ſo worthy a chiefetaine, muſt needs haue done much for the gaining of the victory. And what more glorious ſight could a man haue wiſhed for, than to haue ſeene ſo puiſſant an army in the field againſt the ſworne enemy of Chriſtendome, directed by two ſuch valiant and renowned chiefetaines, as neuer, either before or ſince their time, was ſeene the like in one battell againſt the enemy of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding ſtrength and agility of body, wiſe, prudent, and ſubtill; both of long time exerciſed in the Turks warres, the greateſt terror of that nation, and moſt worthy champions of the Chriſtian Religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commander, and the more politicke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reaſon of his greater yeares: E which was well counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetuall good fortune, ſtill as it were attending vpon him, and by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the courſe of his Hiſtory well appeareth.

The compariſon betwixt Huniades and Scanderbeg.

Amurath aduertiſed of theſe proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as alſo of the great harmes by him done in Macedonia, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon Epirus, were by his fury vtterly waſted and ſpoiled, and his people there for moſt part ſlaine, and that the reſt had for feare forſaken their dwellings, and left the country deſolate and vnpeopled: was therewith exceedingly moued. Yet for ſo much as he ſtill ſtood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himſelfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more deſirous of reſt; conſidering alſo the young yeares of his eldeſt ſon *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernement of ſo great and F troubleſome a kingdome; with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and malice of *Huniades*: he thought it not beſt to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into ſome diſhonourable peace for a time, that ſo he might afterwards at leiſure be the better reuenged of him. For which cauſe he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grieuous threats, and ſome feigned courteſies, as followeth:

Amurath Othoman, King of the Turks, and Emperour of the Eaſt, to the moſt ingratefull *Scanderbeg*, wiſheth neither health nor welfare.

The ſullen and crafty Letters of Amurath to Scanderbeg.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to beſtow vpon thee all the while thou diddeſt liue in my court, of all others, moſt vnkinde Scandeger, but now I want words wherewith to ſpeake vnto thee, thou haſt ſo highly offended my minde, and touched mine honour, that I know not in diſcretion what words to vſe vnto thee, but of late one of my domeſticall ſeruants. For neither will hard ſpeech mollifie the naturall fierceneſſe of thy proud diſpoſition, neither art thou worthy of better, which haſt far exceeded all hoſtility. And becauſe thou wouldeſt admit no occaſion to prouoke me, haſt of late proceeded to that point of folly, that thou haſt had thine owne affaires, and the welfare of thine owne ſubjects, in ſmall regard, by confederating thy ſelfe in armes with the Hungarians againſt me. It grieueth me to rehearſe other thy vnkindeneſſe, and as it were to touch thoſe ſores, if my minde would euer ſuffer me to forget the ſame, or that thine ſo manifold and horrible treaſons, and ſtrange examples of a moſt vnthankefull minde, were to be couered with ſilence. Yet I thought good to aduertiſe thee (although perhaps too late) leaſt that thy vnſtaied heat do vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy vnlucky kingdome: and then thou wouldeſt make humble confeſsion of thy long tranſgreſsion, when thou haſt loſt thy ſelfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy deſperate eſtate. We haue hitherto ſufficiently ſuffered thy manifold injuries: thou haſt ſufficiently prouoked the majeſty of the Othoman Empire, with wrong and contumelious deſpight; and I with patience haue borne all theſe contempts. Thinkeſt thou that my army by thee betraied vnto the Hungarians ſhall be vnreuenged? Thinkeſt thou that ſo many cities and townes in Epirus, by thee rent from the body of my Empire, with my garriſons there ſlaine, ſhall be forgotten? Or thinkeſt thou with thy late committed outrages to eſcape my reuenging hands? Remember the deſtruction of mine army vnder Alis Baſſa; the waſting and burning of my dominions; and lately, the Hungarian warres, by thee ſo farre as in thee was, countenanced; with the territories of George, the Deſpot of Seruia my father in law, by thee ſpoiled. At length amend, thou graceleſſe man, and expect not further, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not theſe trifling allurements of thy good fortune, ſo puffe vp thy fooliſh deſires, and ſharpen thy conceits, that thy miſerable fortune afterwards may moue euen thy greateſt enemies, or my ſelfe to compaſsion. I would thou ſhouldeſt at length remember my courteſies (if any ſparke of humanity remaine in thy ſauage nature) and make me not longer ſorry, that I haue ſo euill beſtowed the ſame. And although it is not the part of an honourable minde, to rehearſe thoſe things which we haue in bounty beſtowed vpon any man; yet is it the token of a moſt vnthankefull nature ſo eaſily to forget all kindeneſſe paſt, as to need to be put in remembrance thereof: wherefore Scanderbeg, I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine eſtate: For to let paſſe the health of thy ſoule (which thou a very reprobate, eſteemeſt as nothing) not to ſpeake of the lawes of Mahomet by thee deſpiſed, and the holy Prophet by thee contemned, for the Zeale thou haſt vnto the Chriſtian ſuperſtition: what haſt thou (which now holdeſt thy poore and baſe kingdome in ſuch price) euer wanted at my hands of all thoſe things which moſt delight the deſire of men? Diddeſt thou euer want armour, horſes, a great traine of followers and ſeruants, mony, or other ſuperfluities, the allurements of all ages? or diddeſt thou want matter to exerciſe thy valor, for increaſe of thine honour? Waſt thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all ſorts fit for thine age, both at home & abroad? Was any man in my court dearer vnto me, than thy ſelfe? what growing wit, not of ſtrangers onely, but of them that were neereſt vnto my ſelfe, was better welcome vnto me than thine? With what carefull inſtructions did I cauſe thee to be brought vp? When thou waſt deliuered vnto me almoſt a child, I dayly cheriſhed and increaſed thy hoped towardlineſſe, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praiſes, and honours of the field (which of all worthy things is moſt glorious) ſo that in all feats of armes no ſouldier was to me better knowne, or captaine of me more honoured. For all theſe great benefits, Scanderbeg, thou now ſheweſt thy ſelfe ſuch an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought vp ſuch a man as I hoped for, but a very ſerpent in mine owne boſome. But the loue of thy country did moue thee; which if thou hadſt asked of me, would I haue denied the ſame vnto thee? which (if thou doeſt well remember) I ſo oftentimes voluntarily profered vnto thee? But thou haddeſt rather to gaine the ſame by trechery, than to receiue it of my hands of courteſie. So thine be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good will. And verily, according to my accuſtomed clemency towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and beene familiarly acquainted with, A *with, I now pardon thee all thou haſt offended me; not for any thy preſent deſerts, which are none, but becauſe in this publique enmitie it pleaſeth me to remember my former kindnes in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulnes ſomtimes in my affairs: eſpecially for that the time was much longer wherin thou ſeruedſt me, than the time wherin thou haſt offended me. Croia and thy fathers kingdom (although thou haſt gained the ſame by foul trechery) I giue vnto thee, vpon condition thou willingly reſtore vnto mee the other towns of Epirus which by no right belong vnto thee, but are myne by law of Arms, by my ſelf honourably won. Whatſoeuer thou haſt taken from my father in law the Prince of Seruia, thou ſhalt preſently reſtore, and make him an honorable recompence for the other harms thou haſt don vnto him; and for euer herafter thou ſhalt as well forbear to offer violence to any our friends, as to aid any our Enemies. So ſhalt thou for euer auoid the diſpleaſure of the Turks, and ſtand in my good grace and fauor, as thou haſt don before.* B *Except thou hadſt rather (being taught by thine own harms) then in vain cry for mercy, when thy furious outrage ſhall haue me in perſon an implacable reuenger. Thou knoweſt thy forces, thou knoweſt the ſtrength of myne arms; thou haſt before thyne eies the freſh example of the Hungarian fortune, ſo that thru needeſt no further admonition: yet I would thou ſhouldſt write at large what thou intendeſt to do. Thou mayſt alſo confer with* Ayradin *our ſeruant, our truſty and faithfull meſſenger, of whom thou ſhalt vnderſtand more than are in theſe letters compriſed. Farewell if thou be wiſe.*

From Hadrianople.

To theſe letters *Scanderbeg* gaue ſmall credit, and leſſe to the meſſenger, but leaſt of all to the old fox himſelfe, whom he well knew to haue written nothing ſimply of good meaning, C but only to gain a ceſſation from wars, vntill hee might at better leiſure ſet vpon him with all his forces. Wherfore calling *Ayradin* the meſſenger vnto him (whom he rather held for a crafty ſpy, than an honorable Embaſſador) after he had many times both publiquely and priuatly diſcourſed with him, ſo far forth as was poſſible to ſound the depth of his comming, & had alſo further entertained him with all honorable curteſies, he ſhewed him all his campe, with the ſtrength therof; which he did, becauſe the crafty meſſenger ſhould not think that he was any thing afraid of his maſters greatnes. And at laſt greatly complaining of *Amuraths* cruel and perfidious dealing againſt his father, his brethren, and himſelfe; hee ſent him away with ſuch anſwer in writing as followeth:

D

The Soldier of CHRIST IESVS, *George Caſtriot*, ſyrnamed *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Epirus, to *Amurath Othoman* King of the Turks ſends greeting.

Scanderbegs reſolut anſwer to Amuraths letters.

THou haſt in times paſt (as thou writeſt) exceeded me in many kinds of curteſies; and at this preſent I will exceed thee in modeſt and temperat ſpeech: for I think there is no greater token of a baſe mind, than not to be able to forbear to giue railing and opprobrious words euen vnto our moſt mortall enemies. Wherfore we haue with patience receiued and ſeene both thy letters and meſſenger; and to confeſſe a truth, they haue miniſtred vnto me greater occaſion of ſmile than of choler: whilſt at the firſt thou ſha- E *meſt not to accuſe me of much ingratitude and treaſon; and preſently following a milder paſſion, ſeemeſt carefull of my ſouls health, being ignorant of thyne own eſtate, as a ſtudious defender of a moſt damnable error. And at laſt, keeping neither law of arms, nor orderly courſe anſwering to our affaires, doſt moſt inſolently and vnaduiſedly, as a valiant Conqueror to his vanquiſhed enemie, propound many conditions of peace, of ſuch qualitie and condition that myne ears ſcarn to hear the ſame. Truly,* Amurath, *although thy immoderat railing might moue a man of greateſt patience to intemperat ſpeech; yet I impute the ſame partly to thy great age, and partly to the waiwardnes of thy nature; and the reſt, to thy conceiued griefe, which I know thou canſt hardly moderat: and the rather, for that I haue not ſet down my ſelf to contend with thee in foul and vnſeemly language, but with arms and the juſt fury of war. Yet I pray thee, wherefore doſt thou ſo exclaim againſt me before God and man? as though thou hadſt firſt ſuffered wrong and* F *injury from me, and that thou hadſt not in truth firſt don the ſame. Doſt thou call my neceſſary departing, a perfidious trechery? my natiue country by my policy and valor recouered, doſt thou obiect to me as a villanie? object the ſame ſtill and ſpare not; charge me with ſuch crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindnes toward me, which thou rehearſeſt, I could willingly remember, if it drew not with it* *the ſad and wofull remembrance of my greater miſeries. Which if they were equally weighed, and vprightly compared together, the greatnes of thy good deſerts would be quite ouerwhelmed with the mulitude of thy greater tyranies, which I had rather thou ſhouldſt count with thy ſelf, than bluſh whilſt I repeat them. Euery man that knoweth them, may maruel how I had power to endure them, or that thou waſt not weary at laſt of thy cruelty and ſecret hatred. Thou tookſt away my fathers Kingdom by force, thou didſt murther my brethren, and my ſelf thou didſt moſt wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any ſuch cruelty. And doth it now ſeem ſtrange to thee, ô* Amurath, *that an inuincible mind deſirous of liberty, ſhould ſeek to break out of the bonds of ſo great and inſolent ſlauery. How long didſt thou thinke at length I would endure thy proud bondage? which for all that, I many years endured, and refuſed not thy command: I expoſed my ſelf to publique and priuat dangers, both voluntary, and by thy deſignment: ſpeeches were giuen out daily by thy ſelf, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deep trecherie was riſe in myne ears. Yet for all that, of long time I ſimply beleeued both thy words and deeds to haue bin deuoid of all fraud, vntill thy cankered malice began too too apparantly to ſhew it ſelf. Then began I alſo to gloſe with thee, wholly metamorphoſed into thyne own conceits, vntil I found occaſion to recouer my liberty. Wherſore there is no cauſe thou ſhouldſt now grieue if thou be well beaten with thy own rod. But theſe art but trifles,* Amurath, *in compariſon of thoſe things which I haue laid vp in hope and reſolution of mind. Therfore herafter ceaſe thyne angry threats, and tell not vs of the Hungarian fortune: euery man hath his own reſolutions, and euery man a particular gouernor of his actions; and ſo will we with patience endure ſuch fortune as it ſhall pleaſe God to appoint vs. In the mean time, for direction of our affairs we will not requeſt counſell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victory by the help of God. Farewell. From our Camp.*

When *Amurath* had read theſe letters, and further conferred with *Ayradin*, he was filled with wrath and dignation, wondring at the great reſolution of ſo ſmall a Prince, preſently caſting in his mind (as was thought) the difficulty of that war. Yet becauſe he would giue no token of fear, oftentimes ſtroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was thorowly angry; with a diſſembling cheerfulnes of countenance ſaid,

Amuraths paſſionat ſpeech in his rage, againſt Scanderbeg.

Thou deſireſt (wicked man) thou deſireſt the title of ſome honorable death: Wee will giue it thee (beleeue vs) we will giue it thee; we our ſelues will be preſent at the buriall of our foſter Childe, and in perſon (though vnbidden) honor the funerall pomp of the great King of Epirus, that thou ſhalt neuer complain among the damned ghoſts, that thou didſt die a baſe or obſcure kind of death.

And becauſe at that time, by reaſon of many great occurrents, hee could not conuert his whole power into Epirus, he ſent *Feriſes* one of his beſt captains, with 9000 choice horſmen, to keep *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to ſpoil his country as much as he could. Which was with ſuch ſpeed don, as it was thought *Feriſes* would haue bin in the heart of Epirus, before *Scanderbeg* could haue had knowledge of his comming. But for all his haſt, he could not ſo preuent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing therof, and hauing his men alwaies in readines, placed 1500 good footmen in ambuſh vpon the rough mountains leading into the vally of Movea, wherby the Turks muſt needs paſſe into Epirus; placing alſo 2000 horſmen as he thought moſt fit & conuenient for the purpoſe. *Feriſes* deſcending from the high mountains full of woods and buſhes, by the broken and ſtony waies leading into the Valley, was in that troubleſome and intricate paſſage fiercely ſet vpon by *Scanderbegs* ready footmen, ſuddenly ariſing out of ambuſh; where the Turks hauing no vſe of their horſes, but rather by them incombred, were ſlain as Deer incloſed in a toil. In this conflict 760 Turks were taken priſoners, and a great number ſlain, and *Feriſes* himſelf with the reſt inforced to fly, crying ſtill out as he fled, *Better ſome ſaued than all loſt.* *Scanderbeg* hauing thus ouerthrowne *Feriſes*, purſued him into Macedonia, and with the ſpoil there taken rewarded his ſoldiers, as he had alſo many times before done.

Amurath grieued with the ouerthrow of *Feriſes*, preſently ſent *Muſtapha* a politique and hardy Captain, with a new ſupply of ſix thouſand ſouldiers to take the charge from *Feriſes*; commaunding him in no caſe, nor vpon any occaſion to enter far into Epirus, but onely to burn and ſpoil the frontiers therof, ſaying, That he would account it for good ſeruice, if hee might but vnderſtand that the trees and fruits of that country had felt the force of his anger.

Muſtapha

A *Muſtapha* hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere to the borders of Epirus, continually ſent out ſcouts before his army, to ſee if the paſſages were clear, and ſo warily entred the vally of Mocrea, where *Ferizes* not long before was ouerthrown. In this fruitful vally (being the frontiers of *Scanderbegs* dominion) *Muſtapha* intrenched his army vpon the riſing of a hill, and placed eſpials vpon the top of the high mountains round about, by them to diſcouer the comming of the enemy, and to haue notice therof by ſignes into the camp: then reſeruing 4000 horſmen with himſelf to keep his camp, he ſent forth the reſt of the Army, about 9000 horſmen, to forrage and ſpoil the country; giuing charge before, that euery man vpon pain of death ſhould preſently retyre vnto the Campe, vpon ſigne giuen from thence, as vnto a place of ſafety and refuge. The Turkiſh army ranging ouer that rich and pleaſant Valley, B burnt the villages, cut down trees, ſpoiled the vineyards, and made hauock of all things that fire and ſword could deſtroy: in that point executing *Amuraths* command to the full. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing neer to this vally with 4000 horſemen and 1000 foot, was aduertiſed of all the enemies doings by an Epirot ſoldier, who grieuouſly wounded, had hardly eſcaped from the Turks; of him he vnderſtood what number of Turks were burning and deſtroying the country, of the Camp alſo kept by *Muſtapha*, and how eſpials were placed vpon the mountains. *Scanderbeg* hauing well conſidered *Muſtapha's* wary proceedings, and ſeeing no policie to be vſed againſt ſo carefull an enemy; reſolued to vanquiſh him by plaine force, by aſſaulting him ſuddenly in his trenches, before his diſperſed ſoldiers could repair to the camp. And hauing to this purpoſe with effectuall perſuaſions incouraged the minds of his valiant C ſoldiers, ready of themſelues to follow him thorow all dangers, when he had ſet all things in order for the aſſaulting of the enemies camp, ſpeedily entred the vally, and was preſently diſcouered by the enemies eſpials from the tops of the high hils, and a ſign giuen to the Camp, from whence alſo the appointed ſign was giuen for the diſperſed ſoldiers to retyre: but moſt of them being ſtrayd from the camp, and buſied in taking the ſpoil of the country, heard not or ſaw not the ſign giuen. Thoſe which were within the hearing therof, retyred to the Camp; after whom followed *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Chriſtians ſlain in the entrance of the camp, with their booties in their hands, and preſently the Turks trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* ſoldiers couragiouſly aſſaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They hauing won the D trenches, preuailed ſtil vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with fear and ſlaughter. There was no vſe of ſhot in that medly, by reaſon of the ſtreightneſſe of the place, for they were now come to pel mel. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his ſoldiers put to the worſt, & that the camp was not long to be defended, took horſe and fled by the port which was fartheſt from the enemy. The reſt of the ſoldiers fled alſo, making ſuch poor ſhift for themſelues as they could. In this battail 5000 Turks were ſlaine, and but 300 taken: for the Chriſtians inraged with the ſpoil of the country, reuenged themſelues with the ſlaughter of the Turks. *Scanderbeg* loſt in this conflict but 20 horſmen and 50 footmen. The reſt of the Turks army diſperſed in the country, hearing the tumult in the camp, miſdoubting the fortune of their fellows, fled alſo: yet many of them were in that flight purſued and ſlain.

Scanderbeg his valiant reſolution for aſſaulting of Muſtapha in his camp

E After this misfortune, *Muſtapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuſe the misfortune of himſelf and the other captains before ſent, greatly commended the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderfull skil in feats of Armes; perſuading *Amurath* either to ſend a greater power againſt him, or els none at all: ſaying, that to ſend ſuch ſmall Armies, was but to adminiſter matter to the increaſe of his glory, and the infamy of the Turks; and to vſe policy againſt him the maſter of policie, was but meer folly. It grieued *Amurath* to hear the praiſes of his enemy, although he knew the ſame to be true, by the continuall fortune he had alwaies againſt his great captains, *Alis Baſſa*, *Ferizes*, and *Muſtapha*: wherfore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to ſuffer him to liue in peace: yet commanded *Muſtapha* to renew his army for defence of the borders of his kingdome toward Epirus, againſt the F innouation of *Scanderbeg*; but ſtreitly commanding him, in no caſe to inuade any part of Epirus, neither vpon any occaſion offered, or conceiued hope of victory, to join battell with *Scanderbeg*, for fear of ſuch euil ſucces as before.

At this time alſo the Grecians of Peloponeſus (now called Morea, hauing before fortified the ſtreit of Corinth from ſea to ſea, with a perpetuall wall which they called Hexamylum, and deep trenches about ſix miles in length, had alſo built fiue ſtrong caſtles in the ſaid wall, of purpoſe to take away all paſſage by land into that rich country; and began now not onely to deny the yearly tribute they were wont to pay vnto the Turkiſh King, but alſo to inuade ſuch Princes of Achaia their neighbors, as were content to remain ſtil the Turks tributaries. Among whom, *Niceus* Prince of Athens, and *Turacan* gouernor of Theſſalia for *Amurath*, ceaſed not by continuall complaints to inſence him againſt them of Peloponeſus. Who hauing his Army in readines, although it was now winter, and he himſelf very aged, ſet forward from Hadrianople, and marching thorow Theſſalia, came into Achaia, where moſt of the Grecians were before fled for fear into Peloponeſus. So paſſing on with his army, he came to the ſtreit commonly called Iſtmus, where the famous city of Corinth ſometimes ſtood; and there incamped his army neer vnto the ſtrong wall and caſtles lately before built: hoping that the Grecians of Peloponeſus, terrified with the multitude of his army, would without reſiſtance ſubmit themſelues. But when he perceiued them to ſtand vpon their gard, & to truſt to their ſtrength, he laid battery to the wal four daies, and hauing made it ſaultable, brake thorow the ſame with his army. The Grecians hauing loſt the wall (their chief ſtrength) fled, ſome vnto one ſtrong hold, and ſome to another, as their fortune led them; the Turkes at their pleaſure ſpoiling and deſtroying that rich and pleaſant country, ſomtime the nurſe of worthy wits and famous captains; where they found wonderfull riches, and took priſoners without number, inſomuch that they were ſold amongſt the Turks at moſt vile price. There *Amurath* for his pleaſure cruelly ſacrificed ſix hundred Chriſtian captiues to the helliſh ghoſt of his dead father *Mahomet*. And afterward impoſing a yearely tribute vpon the Peloponeſians and other Grecian princes now again yeelding vnto him, as an induction to their further ſlauery vnder his Turkiſh tyranny, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of Patras and Sicyone. Thus the rich country of Peloponeſus, and all the reſt of Grecia, ſomtime fountain of all learning and chiualry, became tributarie to the barbarous and cruel Turks, in the year of our Lord 1445.

Peloponeſus made tributary to the Turke.

Bajazet born.

1446

Old *Amurath* now clogged with years and wearied with long wars, was content to take his reſt at Hadrianople: during which time, *Bajazet* the ſon of *Mahomet* was born in the year 1446; who afterwards of long time with great glory gouerned the Turkiſh empire at Conſtantinople, as in his place ſhall appear.

The Hungarians after the calamity of Varna (wherein they had together with *Vladiſlaus* their King, loſt moſt part of their nobility alſo) in a generall aſſembly of the State, made choice of *Ladiſlaus* the poſthumus ſon of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Frederick* the emperor) for their king. But foraſmuch as he being then but a child of fiue yeares old, and choſen king more for the remembrance of the emperor *Sigiſmund* his grandfather, and *Albert* his father, and the good hope conceiued of him, than for any other thing preſently to be expected from him; it was thought more than neceſſary, to make choice of ſome notable and worthy man, to whom they might during the time of the Kings minority, commit the gouernment and protection of that ſo great and turbulent a kingdom. Many there were in that honourable aſſembly wel thought of both of themſelues and others; but ſuch was the glory and valor of *Huniades*, and ſo great the remembrance of his noble deſerts, both of the kingdom of Hungary, and of the Chriſtian commonweal, as without his ſeeking procured him the general fauor and ſuffrages of all: yea ſo far, that they which moſt enuied his honor (as ouerſhadowing their own) were glad to hold their peace; for that without him, as it was commonly thought, the ſtate of that ſhaken kingdom could not long ſtand. So by the general conſent of all the States there aſſembled, he was with the great applauſe of the people choſen and proclaimed Gouernor; as of all others moſt fit for ſo great and heauy a charge. Wherin he quietly ſpent ſome few years in deciding of ciuill controuerſies, in compoſing the quarrels of the Nobility: not forgetting in the mean time the indifferent adminiſtration of juſtice to all men, ending many controuerſies far from the place of judgment, and that without any ſuſpition of corruption; vſing therin ſuch expedition and neuer-wearied patience in hearing euery mans cauſe, that ſitting, going, ſtanding, riding, he diſpatched many great and weighty matters: alwayes ſhewing himſelf affable and curteous, as wel vnto them of the poorer ſort, as others of greater calling that had any ſuits vnto him. So that it was of him truely ſaid, That no man was than hee vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more croſſe and contrarie.

Huniades choſen gouernor of all Hungary, in the Kings minority.

A In time of peace he was alwaies prouident for War, heaping vp great treaſure and ſuch other
things, as without which the wars could not be maintained. But aboue all things he was carefull
for the good agreement of the Nobility, taking great pains in reconciling their diſpleaſures
conceiued one againſt another; and that with ſuch dexteritie, as that hee was both of
them and others generally both beloued and feared.

1448

Huniades goeth againſt the Turk.

In the mean time, whilſt he was thus buſied in diſpoſing the ciuil affairs of the Commonweal,
and the adminiſtration of juſtice, he was aduertiſed by his eſpials, how that the old
Sultan *Amurath* was raiſing great forces both in Aſia and Europe, and that as the common
fame went, for the inuaſion of Hungary. For the withſtanding whereof *Huniades* not vnprouided,
as neuer vnmindfull of ſo dangerous an enemy, or of any thing more deſirous than in
B ſome ſort to be reuenged of the great loſſe receiued at Varna; in the fourth yeare of his gouernment,
and in the year of our Lord 1448, accompanied with moſt part of the Nobility of
Hungary, and the Vayuod of Valachia his friend and confederat, ſet forward againſt the Turk
with an army of two and twenty thouſand choice ſoldiers. So hauing paſſed the riuer Tibiſcus
or Teiſe, and trauelling thorow Valachia, a little beneath where the Riuer Morava running
thorow Servia, falleth into Danubius, he with moſt part of his army paſſed that great riuer;
the reſt in the mean time taking paſſage ouer at a town called Severin. *Huniades* with his
Army being thus gotten ouer into Servia, by his Embaſſadours requeſted the Deſpot, as hee
had oftentimes before, to put himſelfe into that moſt Chriſtian War, and remembring the
great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to ſhew himſelf therfore vngrateful,
C than which, nothing could be more diſhonorable. And to encourage him the more, certified
him both of his own ſtrength, and of the ayd brought vnto him by the Vayuod; and that for
the good ſucces of the War there wanted nothing but his preſence and direction, with ſuch
troups of light horſmen as he knew he had alwaies in readines; wherewth he requeſted him
with all ſpeed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better affected vnto the
Turk than to *Huniades*; the more cleanly to withdraw himſelf from this war, pretended many
excuſes: firſt, The league hee had with *Amurath* his ſon in law, which he ſaid hee might not
break, for fear that if things chanced not well, he might therby fall again into his old miſery.
Then, The vnſeaſonablenes of the time, Autumn being now paſt: which difficulties in thoſe
cold Countries they had to their coſt too much felt in the late Warres. Theſe with many
D other ſuch like he alledged in excuſe that he came not: but the truth was, the malice of the
man, beeing much grieued to ſee *Huniades* preferred to the gouernment of the kingdome before
him, and diſdaining to ſerue vnder his enſignes, being himſelf Deſpot and King of Servia,
deſcended of the royal race, was the cauſe of his backwardnes. So that blinded with envy,
he could not there rightly iudge of himſelf, or what was fit for him in this caſe to haue don.
But *Huniades* angry with his vnkind anſwer, threatned with his own hands to be reuenged vpon
him, and to giue away his kingdom to one more worthy therof than he, if hee ſhould with
victory return. So paſſing thorow Servia as thorow the enemies country, hee came vnto Bulgaria.
After whoſe departure, the falſe Deſpot by ſpeedy meſſengers aduertiſed *Amurath*
both of the comming of the Hungarians, and of their ſtrength; yea he certified him of euerie
E dayes march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a ſmall company of his own, and ſome weak
ſupplies of the Vayuod, come ouer Danubius: whom if he ſhould not preſently meet, but ſuffer
him to come on farther, and ſo with his army to get betwixt him and home, he might ſo
ſhut him in, as that he ſhould be hardly able to eſcape his hands. All which he did, partly for
envy, partly to gratifie the Turk, and the better to keep friendſhip with him. So *Amurath* not
contemning the Deſpots counſel, ſuffred *Huniades* without reſiſtance to enter a great way into
his country, and comming two or three daies march behind him, ſo ſtopped the paſſage, as
that he could not poſſibly retyre, but that he muſt needs fight. And now they were both come
vnto a great plain in Bulgaria, which the Hungarians call Rigomezu; and the Raſcians, the
plain of Coſſova: through the middeſt wherof the Riuer Schichniza riſing out of the mountains
F of Illyria, running, at length falleth into Morava, and ſo into Danubius. This Plaine is
about twenty miles in length, and in bredth fiue, enuironed on each ſide with pleaſant mountains,
in maner of a theatre, the riuer and low vallies at the foot of the mountaines being garniſhed
with many country villages and towns. Into this fatall Plain, when as the Hungarians

The falſe Deſpot informeth Amurath both of Huniades his comming, & of his ſtrength.

The ominous ſpeech of an old woman.

firſt,and after them the Turks,were as into a place of combat deſcended;an old woman dwelling G
in one of the villages vpon the riuer ſide faſt by,where both armies of late paſſed, with a
loud voice cried out, *O how much I now fear the hard fortune of the Hungarians.* When as their
paſſage ouer by the foord troubled the riuer but one day, and the Turkes three; by the ſmall
number of their army diuining their enſuing ouerthrow. In the midſt almoſt of this Plaine
ariſeth a ſmall hill,by the foot wherof the riuer Schichniza runneth; not far beyond which
toward the head of the Plain,was a certain tower built like a pyramide, in memorial of *Amurath*
the firſt of that name,and third King of the Turks,there ſlain: which tower *Amurath* fearing
leſt *Huniades* marching before him,ſhould take,and ſo become vnto him ominous(for in
ſuch matters the Turks are very ſuperſtitious) he made haſt,of purpoſe to joine battell with
him,before he ſhould come to the aforeſaid tower. *Huniades* being come vnto the hill eaſily H
ariſing in the midſt of the plain,there incamped,expecting the comming of *Scanderbeg*; who
was ſaid(according to appointment formerly made betwixt him and *Scanderbeg*) to be euery
hour comming. Wherfore *Amurath* fearing leſt the Tower faſt by ſhould be taken, and the
enemies power ſtrengthned by the comming of the Albanois, prouoked *Huniades* to battell;
who ſtill refuſed the ſame,in hope of his friends comming. Which made the Turke more
fierce vpon him,ſeeking by all means he could to draw him to battel, but eſpecially by cutting
him off from water & forrage. For why,he much preſumed vpon his multitude,hauing in
his army about fourſcore thouſand fighting men. At length *Huniades*,for want of water and
other neceſſaries inforced to fight,vpon Saint *Lukes* day,being then Thurſday,commanded
his ſouldiers to make themſelues ready: and diuiding his Army into two and thirty battalions, I
in ſuch order as he meant to giue battell, the more to encourage them, ſpake vnto them
as followeth:

Huniades his notable ſpeech to incorage his ſoldiers againſt the Turks.

At length(valiant ſoldiers,and fellowes in arms)the day is come,wherin you may reuenge that diſhonor
or diſgrace you receiued in the battell of Varna; and recouer your former credit of conſtancie and
praiſe,if you will play the men. The Enemie oppoſeth againſt you but theſe reliques of his armies, by you
ſo often broken and diſcomfited; who although they bee in number more than you, yet are they in hope,
quarrell,and ſtrength far inferior. For what can they hope for,which fight not for their owne,but for an
other mans kingdom, and in conquering, procure vnto themſelues nothing but bondage in this life, and
torment in the life to come, and in both, perpetuall and endles miſery? Wheras you on the other ſide, howſoeuer K
the matter fall out, fighting for your own kingdom, your children, your country, your houſes, your
altars,may aſſuredly hope for in both,eternall and vndoubted bliſſe. You haue alſo farre greater cauſe to
fight, as they which if they do not valiantly ouercome their enemies, are in danger, with themſelues, to
loſe all that theirs is. The ſtrength of both is ſufficiently tried. Once we vnfortunatly joined battell at
Varna, where if we might make exchange of our fortunes there found, haply the Turk would make choice
of our flight,rather than of the great ſlaughter of his own men; who being not able to beat vs, was there
notably beaten,with the loſſe of a great part of his Army: whoſe great loſſe there receiued, might counteruail
our diſhonor; although he ſuffered the loſſe perforce, but we our flight by choice. But of that our
ouerthrow,the angry powers from aboue(willing to reuenge our breach of faith) were,as I verily beleeue,
the cauſe,rather than our cowardiſe: for euen there all the authors of that perfidious dealing,euen there, L
I ſay,euery one rceiued the iuſt guerdon of their treachery. Wheras we,againſt our wills drawn into that
wofull war,by the mercy of God yet liue with you, preſerued for the defence of the Chriſtian commonweal,
and eſpecially of Hungary,that it ſhould not be ouer-run with the Turkiſh power and rage. The number of
your enemies is not of you to be feared, when as you with few haue oftentimes learned to fight with their
multitudes,and carried away from them the victory. Hitherto we haue rather fought by the power of God
than man, and in the name of Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour haue eaſily ouerthrowne their prophane battels.
Which way ſoeuer we haue turned our ſelues in his moſt mighty name,we haue with our victorious armes
opened our way, for that we fought vnder the leading and conduct of the Higheſt, whoſe help wee haue
alwaies felt at hand: neither ſhall we therof this day fail,if we be mindfull of his forepaſſed loue towards
vs,and of our wonted valour. God is alwaies preſent with them that in his iuſt quarrell fight couragiouſly. M
Herunto is ioyned the ſafe maner of our fight,by reaſon of our men at arms,and barbed horſes,who
like a ſtrong caſtle cannot eaſily be ouerthrown. Our battalions are ſuch as may eaſily be commanded, and
yet ſtrong enough againſt our enemies; wheras their great multitude breeds but confuſion. We haue many

notable and forcible engins of war, which they haue not. Beſides that, euery hour we look for the worthy Scanderbeg *his comming. The danger is not ſo great as that we ſhould feare it, or ſo little as that wee ſhould contemn it. Back again without victory we may not go, for that our army is hardly by the ſtreits of theſe mountains to be led: and if the way were neuer ſo eaſie, yet without doing that we came for, and glory with victory, we may not retyre. Vnto the Valiant all difficulties are propounded: wherfore ſith this your laſt labor is at hand, wherin the whole ſtrength of the Turks may for euer be cut off; I pray and beſeech you (fellow ſoldiers) by that God vnder whoſe power and protection we ſerue, and by the loue you bear vnto your country, your wiues, your children, and wealth, vpon the ſignall of battell giuen, ſo to ſhew your valor, as men reſolued to be fully reuenged of the iniuries by that filthy and wicked nation done both to God and man, and eſpecially of the loſſe receiued at Varna. We loſt there a deuout King, who for our ſafety, and for the breach of his faith, ſacrificed himſelf; by which royall ſacrifice that diuine anger is appeaſed: vnto whoſe ghoſt I beſeech you in this battell to make an honorable ſacrifice. Not forgetting withall, to reuenge the death of other worthy men in that battell ſlain. This fear of the Turks is at once and euen at this day to be cut off; and ſo, as that it ſhould neuer grow again: and the kingdom of Hungary ſo to bee deliuered from the danger of moſt cruell ſlauery, as that it may by this daies work gain perpetuall reſt and glory, vnto the injoying of the pleaſures both of this life, and of the life to come. Wherfore (worthy ſoldiers) we muſt fight with all our force, for that our honor ſo requireth, our profit ſo perſuadeth, and neceſſity inforceth. As for our ſelues, howſoeuer the matter fall out, it ſhall be well with vs: if victory, perpetuall bliſſe and happines ſhall therby be procured vnto our country, and immortall fame vnto our ſelues: but if we be ouercome, here we ſhall be moſt honorably buried in the bed of fame, to liue in heauen with God and his Saints for euer. Wherfore I beſeech you ſo to fight, as men reſolutely ſet downe to ouercome, or if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as men reſolued honorably to die.*

With this the Generals ſpeech all the mindes of the hearers were greatly inflamed, and they all by his words, and their own hot deſires, ſufficiently encouraged. Neither did old *Amurath* on the other ſide with leſſe care or diligence marſhal his Army, and encourage his Turks, ſparing neither cheerfull ſpeech, glorious promiſes, or ſeuere command. Whoſe Army being brought into the plain, and ranged in order of battel, filled the ſame from the one ſide to the other, euen vnto the very mountains, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Chriſtians: and ſo about nine a clock in the morning ſet forward. *Huniades* had from the hil where he lay ſent downe both the wings of his Army, and had afront on both ſides before them ſtretched out certain long troups of light horſmen to begin the skirmiſh. In the midſt betwixt both he had placed *Zechel* his ſiſters ſon, with a ſtrong ſquare battell of men at arms: and ſuch as he had kept aloft vpon the hill for reſcues, hee had compaſſed about with his Waggons as with Trenches. The ſignall of the battell being giuen, the fierce and couragious ſoldiers on both ſides, with cheerfull minds began at firſt to skirmiſh afar off: but afterwards fortune as it were fawning vpon both ſides, and their courage therupon encreaſing, they began with greater force to fight foot to foot, and hand to hand. Which hot fight continued about three hours: at length the Turks battell was put to the worſt by *Benedict Loſonicus*, who had the leading of the right wing. And ſo likewiſe in the left wing by *Stephen Bamffi*, who with much ſlaughter had foiled the great Baſſa of Europe, ſtill preſſing hard and deſperately vpon him. Which diſcomfiture of his men in both wings *Amurath* perceiuing, preſently ſent in ſtrong ſupplies, and in both places renewed the battell: wherby the Hungarian and Valachian light horſmen, before wearied, were inforced to retyre to the men at Arms; who ſerred together, and ſtanding as a ſtrong wall, eaſily repulſed the Turks greateſt aſſaults. In which maner of fight many were on both ſides ſlain, but far more of the Turkes, by reaſon they were neither ſo well horſed nor armed as were the Chriſtians. *Huniades* in the mean time with the artillerie from the hil did the Turks great harm: which *Amurath* perceiuing, drew as cloſe vnto the hil as he could, by that mean ſauing his people ſo much as was poſſible, out of the danger of the Artillery, mounted on high aboue them in ſuch ſort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt them. Which *Huniades* from the hil beholding, came down to the relief of his men, ſending new ſupplies to both wings, ſomtimes encouraging them with cheerfull ſpeech, and ſomtime with his own moſt valiant hand: vnto the weary he ſent relief, the fearful he encouraged, them that were flying he ſtaid, & where he ſaw the enemies faſteſt comming on, there was he himſelf preſent to meet them; omitting nothing that was of a good General or worthy ſouldier

The great Battell of Coſſova fought betwixt Amurath and Huniades three days together.

to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reproued, and as a careful General, was G
himſelfe in euery place preſent. Wherby the battel became ſo fierce and terrible, that in eueuery
place a man might haue ſeen all fouly foiled with bloud and the quarry of the dead. *Amurath*
in like maner ſtill ſent in new ſupplies, nothing diſcouraged with the loſſe of his men,
preſuming vpon his multitude, as fully reſolued orderly to fight, and to make vſe of his forces,
in hope at length, by continuall ſending in of freſh ſupplies, to weary his enemies, whom
he ſaw he could not by force ouercome. Wherin he was not deceiued; for one battalion of
the Hungarians was oftentimes inforced to weary four or fiue of the Turks before they could
be relieued, they came on ſo faſt. That day they dined & ſupt in the battell, refreſhing themſelues
with ſuch ſhort repaſt as they could eat ſtanding, going, or riding. The Turks Army
was that day in euery place put to the worſt, and oftentimes with great ſlaughter inforced by H
the Hungarians to retyre almoſt to their trenches: yet was the battel ſtill again renued, and
ſo fought on both ſides, as well appeared they were reſolued either to ouercome, or there to
die. This cruel fight, maintained al the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both
the armies retyring into their own trenches, but with purpoſe the next day to renew the battel,
and not to giue ouer or turn their backs, vntill the victory were by dint of ſword determined.
So with little reſt was that night ſpent, both armies keeping moſt diligent Watch, all
carefully expecting the next day, as by battel, therin to try whither they ſhould liue or die. It
was yet ſcarſe fair day, when both the armies in good order ranged began again the battaile;
which at the firſt was not by the Hungarians fought with ſuch force and courage as before:
for there was none of them which had not the day before ſpent their whole ſtrength; wheras I
there was yet 40000 of the Turkes which either had not fought at all, or but lightly ſkirmiſhed.
Yet *Huniades* exhorted his ſouldiers, not by faint-hearted cowardiſe to break off the
courſe of the victory by them the day before ſo wel begun, but couragiouſly to proſecute the
ſame; beſeeching them not to be wanting vnto themſelues and their country, but to remember
how they had fought the day before, how many thouſands of their enemies they had
ſlain, and not now at laſt to giue ouer, and ſo ſhamefully to fruſtrat all the pains and dangers
by them endured: for that they (as he ſaid) were to be thought worthy of honour, not which
began, but which ended honorable actions. He wiſhed them to ſet before their eies the calamities
like to enſue, if they ſhould as cowards be ouercome: firſt, the diuers kindes of death
and torture; then the ſlauery of their wiues and children, the rauiſhment of their virgins and K
matrons; and laſt of all, the vtter deſtruction of their kingdome, with the horrible confuſion
of all things, as wel ſacred as prophane: all which were by that one daies labor (ſaid hee) to
be auoided. And therfore he beſought them for the loue both of God and man, with their
wonted valor, that day to ſet at liberty for euer, themſelues, their country, their wiues & children,
and whatſoeuer els they held dear. In like maner alſo did *Amurath* incourage his ſouldiers
with great promiſes and threats, perſuading them rather to endure any thing, than by that
daies ouerthrow to be quite driuen out of Europ. He carefully viewed his army, ordered his
battels, and with many great reaſons perſuaded them to play the men. But after ſome light
ſkirmiſhes being paſt, both the armies were fully joined, the battel was fought with no leſſe
force and fury than the day before. Of the Chriſtians many then wounded came now againe L
into the battell, there either by ſpeedy death or ſpeedy victory to cure their wounds before
receiued, and there did right good ſeruice. Great was the ſlaughter in euery place, neither
could the valour of the Hungarians bee withſtood; whoſe furious impreſſion when the
Turks could not by plain force endure, began with their freſh horſmen cunningly to delude
their deſperat fiercenes: at ſuch time as the Hungarians began moſt hardly to charge them,
they by and by turned their backs, ſuffring them to follow after them, far ſcattred and diſperſed:
who allured as it were with the hope of preſent victory, eagerly purſued them, and in the
purſuit ſlew diuers of them: and they again vpon a ſignal giuen, cloſing together, and turning
back vpon the diſperſed troups, wel reuenged the death of their fellowes; and with their often
charges and retreits wonderfully wearied the Hungarians, notably deluding their furious M
attempts with that vncertain kinde of fight, all the day long. Many of the Hungarians were
ſlain, and the Turks had that day the better. And ſo both Armies beeing wearied, night and
wearineſſe ended the fight, both retyring into their trenches, there keeping moſt carefull
watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day the battel was again begun. *Huniades* his
brother,

The battell begun againe the ſecond day.

Huniades encourageth his ſoldiers.

A brother, Generall of the Valachians, with his light horſmen ſetting firſt forward; after whom in ſeemly order followed the reſt of the nobility with their Companies. Where for certaine hours the battel was hardly fought with like hope on both ſides, and a great ſlaughter made; but ſpecially of the Hungarians, who wearied with the long fight, & moſt part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third daies labor. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his ſiſters ſonne) valiantly fighting in the front of the battell, was the firſt of the Leaders there ſlaine in the thickeſt of the Turks. *Emericus Marzalus*, and *Stephen Bamffi*, both great Commaunders, incloſed by the Turks, there died alſo. *Amurath* ſeeing the formoſt enſignes of the Chriſtians, which ſtood in *Zechels* regiment, taken, and his ſouldiers, diſcomforted with the death of their Colonell, turning their backs; preſently commanded all the Companies (which were many) yet left in the B trenches for new ſupplies, to iſſue forth, and at once to ouerwhelm the Chriſtians, being (as he ſaid) but few, and ouerwearied with three daies continual fight. Vpon which commaund they fiercely breaking out, preſently ouerthrew both the wings of the Chriſtians, before wauering; and in a great battel (wherin moſt of the chief commanders were ſlain, and their Enſignes taken) diſcomfited the reſt, and with a great ſlaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* ſeeing his brother now ſlain, the enſignes taken, & the battel quite loſt, betook himſelf to flight alſo, leauing behind him his tents and baggage, all which ſhortly after became a prey to the Turks; who from noon vntil night fiercely followed the chaſe with moſt cruel execution: but at length ſtayd by the comming on of the darknes, they returned again to their trenches. The reſt of the Turks army that followed not the chaſe, compaſſing in the Hungarian campe, were C there by the wounded ſoldiers, the wagoners, and other drudges of the army, kept out ſo long as they had any ſhot left; but yet were in the end euery mothers ſon ſlain, though not altogether vnreuenged, two or three of the Turkes in many places lying dead by the body of one Hungarian. *Amurath* to couer the greatnes of his loſſe there receiued, commanded the bodies of his captains there ſlain, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common ſouldiers to be for the moſt part caſt into the riuer Schichniza: for which cauſe the inhabitants of the country there by, of long time after abſtained from eating of any fiſh taken in that riuer. The plain by this great battel made once again famous, lay neuertheles many years after couered with dead mens bones, as if it had bin with ſtones: neither could be plowed by the country people, but that long time after armor and weapons were there ſtill in many places turned vp D and found. Thus albeit that this bloudy victory fel to the Turks, yet was their loſſe far greater than the Hungarians, hauing loſt (as was reported by them that ſay leaſt) 34000 of themſelues, for 8000 of their enemies. Howbeit they themſelues report the loſſe to haue been on both ſides far greater; as that of the Chriſtians were ſlain 17000, and of themſelues 40000: which in ſo long and mortal a battel is not vnlike to haue bin true. In this vnfortunate battell fel moſt part of the Hungarian Nobility, all men worthy eternall fame and memory, whoſe names we wil for breuities ſake paſſe ouer. Many in the chaſe taken, & the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandement of the angry tyrant ſlaine. Such as eſcaped out of the ſlaughter by the way of Illyria, returned in ſafety; but ſuch as thought to ſaue themſelues by returning back again through Servia the Deſpots country, found the ſame ſo troubleſom E as that few of them eſcaped, but that they were by the way either ſlain, or quite ſtripped out of all they had.

The battell begun againe the third day.

Huniades flies.

The number of the Turks and Chriſtians ſlain in the battel of Coſſova.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the reſt; who hauing on horſeback all alone by vncoth and vntract waies trauelled three days without meat or drink, and the fourth day tyred his horſe and caſt him off; being himſelf on foot and diſarmed, fell into the hands of two notable Theeues, who in diſpoiling him of his apparell, finding a fair crucifix of gold about his necke, fell in ſtrife amongſt themſelues for the ſame: wherby he took occaſion to lay hand vpon one of their ſwords, and with the ſame preſently thruſt him through; & then ſuddenly aſſailing the other, put him to flight alſo. So deliuered of this danger, trauelling on, and almoſt ſpent with thirſt and hunger, the next day hee light F vpon a ſhepheard a ſturdy rough knaue, who hearing of the Hungarians ouerthrow, was in hope of prey roaming abroad in that deſolat country: who at the firſt meeting, ſtrucken with the majeſty of the man, ſtood at gaze vpon him; as alſo did *Huniades*, fearing in his ſo great weaknes to haue to do with him. Thus a while hauing one well regarded the other, they began to enter talk; the ſhepheard bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods ſake crauing

uing of him ſomthing to eat. When as the ſhepheard hearing of his hard hap,mooued with G his eſtate,and hope of promiſed reward,brought him vnto a poor cottage not far off, cauſing to be ſet before him bread and water, with a few onions. Who in the pleaſant remembrance of that forepaſſed miſery, would oftentimes after in his greateſt banquets ſay, That he neuer in his life fared better or more daintily,than when he ſupped with this ſhepheard. So wel can hunger ſeaſon homely cates. Thus refreſhed,he was by the ſhepheard conducted to Sinderovia: wherof the Deſpot hauing intelligence (whoſe Countrey was all laid for the ſtaying of him)cauſed him by the captain of the caſtle to be apprehended and impriſoned. But after certain daies ſpent in talk about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, That all ſuch ſtrong towns in Raſcia and Servia, as had by the Hungarians bin detained from the Deſpot, at ſuch time as his kingdom was by *Vladiſlaus* reſtored vnto him, ſhould be again to him deliuered; H and that *Matthias*,*Huniades* his yongeſt ſon,ſhould for the confirmation of further friendſhip marry the Deſpots daughter: with ſome other ſuch conditions as it pleaſed the vngratefull Prince for his own behoof to ſet down. For performance wherof, he required to haue *Ladiſlaus*,*Huniades* his eldeſt ſon,in hoſtage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto, for fear the falſe Deſpot ſhould haue deliuered him into the hands of *Amurath* his mortall enemy. So the hoſtage being giuen,*Huniades* was again deliuered. Who vpon Chriſtmas day comming to Segedinum,was there by all the nobility of Hungary, and great concourſe of the people,honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Deſpots no leſſe grieued this worthy man,than the diſhonor receiued from the Turk. Wherfore vpon the ſudden raiſing a great army,he inuaded the territory,long before giuen to the Deſpot by the Emperour *Sigiſmund* in I Hungary,in exchange of the ſtrong town of Belgrade,deſtroying the country before him,and burning the villages,neuer reſting vntil he had got into his power whatſoeuer the deſpot had in Hungary:and not ſo contented,preſently entred Raſcia,where the Deſpots Embaſſadours met him,bringing with them *Ladiſlaus* the hoſtage honorably rewarded,and humbly crauing peace at his hand,which he at the requeſt of the nobility eaſily granted,with forgiuenes of all former wrongs or injuries: and ſo hauing with him concluded a peace, returned back againe into Hungary. But fortune neuer long ſuffereth the valiant man to reſt,but ſtil keeps him buſied,leſt he ſhould at too much eaſe attain vnto honors glory.

Huniades taken priſoner by the deſpot.

1449

The Deſpot inuaded by Amurath, craueth aid of Huniades.

The year following, *Amurath* certainly informed, That *George* the Deſpot hauing of late *Huniades* in his power, had againe ſet him at liberty; was therewith exceeding wroth: blaming K him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdome which he had at his hands receiued, hee had not deliuered to him his enemy, in ful recompence therof; whom of al others he moſt feared,& therfore likewiſe wiſht to haue had him periſh. In reuenge of which injury,as he took it,the melancholy tyrant ſent *Fritze-beg* and *Ioſe-beg*,two of his moſt expert captaines,with a ſtrong power to inuade Raſcia the deſpots country: who accordingly entring therinto,ſtrongly fortified Chryſonicum a town before ruinated,vpon the ſide of the riuer Morava,and from thence with fire and ſword deſtroied the country both far and neer. The Deſpot diſmaid with this ſudden and vnexpected invaſion,wiſt not wel which way to turn himſelf: the angry Turk he wel knew was not to be appeaſed without yeelding to ſome great inconuenience; and to pray aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withſtand the Turks, he thought but L vain,for the wrong he had before don him. So that what to do he wiſt not; yet had he rather to endure any thing,than again to ſuffer the heauy bondage of the Turk. In this extremity he thought beſt to make proof of *Huniades*, of whom he humbly, and not without great ſhame, craued aid. Which the curteous gouernor,according to his honourable nature,forgetting all former injuries,eaſily granted; and the rather,for that he deſired nothing more,than to be of the Turks in ſome part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of Coſſova: as alſo for that he wiſely foreſaw, that the Deſpots country being loſt,he ſhould haue the Turks ſtil brauing him euen as it were in the gates of Hungary. Wherfore hauing with great ſpeed raiſed a conuenient power, he forthwith in perſon himſelf ſet forward, and at Synderovia paſſing ouer the riuer of Danubius,into Raſcia,there joined his forces with the M Deſpots,which he found there ready. And ſo marching forward with ſuch expedition that he preuented the fame of his comming; and the weather alſo at the ſame time as it were fauoring his purpoſe. (and couering the Countrey with a thicke miſt) hee was the fourth day vpon the Turks before they were aware of him. Who beeing wonderfully diſmayed with

the

A the ſudden comming of the Chriſtians, and vpon the breaking vp of the miſt diſcouering alſo
Huniades his enſignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of reſiſtance, or of
the ordering of their battel, but as men diſcouraged, betook themſelues to ſpeedy flight. After
whom followed the Hungarian and Servian light horſemen with moſt bloudy execution,
hauing them in chaſe all that day; *Huniades* with his men at arms following ſtil after in good
order, for feare the Turks ſhould again make head vpon the light horſemen that had them in
chaſe. And had not the comming on of the night ended the ſlaughter, few of the Turkes had
there eſcaped: but by the approch thereof, many of them got into the Woods, and ſo ſaued
themſelues. *Fritze Beg* the Generall, with moſt of the Turks beſt commanders were in that
flight taken. *Huniades* after this victory entring into Bulgaria, came to Budina the metropolitical
B City of that Country; which (as the cauſe oftentimes of great wars) he burnt downe
to the ground. And ſo hauing well reuenged himſelf, and cleared the Country of the Turks,
he returned back again into Servia, and there gaue to the Deſpot for a preſent all the priſoners
he had taken; and contenting himſelf with the honor of the victory, returned with triumph
to Buda, there to find no leſſe trouble with the Bohemians and ſome of the diſcontented
Nobilitie of Hungary, than he had with the Turks, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian
Commonweal.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the Hungarians, *MuMuſtapha*
lying ſtil vpon the borders of Macedonia, as *Amurath* had commanded, it chanced
that a great quarrel grew betwixt the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*, about the inheritance of *Lech*
C *Zachary* a nobleman of Epirus, then ſhamefully murthred by his vnnaturall kinſman *Lech Duchagne*;
part of whoſe inheritance lying in the frontiers of Epirus, the Venetians claimed, as
belonging to their ſeigniory: and hauing got poſſeſſion of the city of Dayna, part thereof by
force held the ſame againſt *Scanderbeg*. Vpon which quarrell great wars aroſe betwixt the Venetians
and him, who had before bin very good friends; inſomuch that in the end they joined
battel at the riuer of Drine, where the Venetians were by him in a great battel ouerthrowne.
Of which troubles *Muſtapha* daily vnderſtood, and how that *Scanderbeg* ſo buſied, had left but
a ſmall garriſon vpon the borders of Epirus. Wherfore being deſirous to redeem his former
diſgrace with ſome better hap, he would fain haue taken the opportunitie now preſented, but
that his great maſters command lay ſo heauy vpon him, as that he durſt not without his leaue
D attempt the ſame: knowing that the danger of his euill fortune, if it ſhould ſo fal out, would
far exceed the vncertain glory of his better ſucceſs. Yet ceaſed hee not from time to time, to
giue *Amurath* intelligence of theſe troubles and wars in Epirus, erneſtly requeſting him not
to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the country, in maner aſſuring
him before hand of the victory: yet the ſuſpitious old King was long in reſoluing what
to do, ſtil fearing the fortune of his enemy. At length diſcharged of the fear of the Hungarians,
and commending *Muſtapha's* forwardnes, he ſent vnto him a meſſenger with letters of this
purport, anſwerable to his deſire.

The wars thou ſo greatly deſireſt, behold Muſtapha *wee grant vnto thee: the glory therof (if thoſe*
E *things be true which we hear of the Venetian war) thine own valor and worthy right hand ſhal giue thee.*
Yet thou muſt warily deal with that enemy, and not raſhly take vp Arms, which thou maiſt be inforced
ſhamefully to caſt away, when thou thinkeſt leaſt. Peraduenture the counterfeit ſhew of war and falling
out among the Chriſtians do too much allure thee; for the common ſaying is, There is no quarrell ſooner
ended than betwixt the father and the ſonne. We in perſon abſent, can neither aduiſe thee as preſent, nor
commend a fooliſh forwardnes in arms. Thou muſt before thou put on arms, diſpoſe of all things, and conſider
of euery particular which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field. Thou haſt a great army
of freſh and luſty ſoldiers; thine enemies are with continual war wearied and ſpent: in that remains do as
thou thinkeſt good, for I forbid thee nothing which thou thinkeſt may be for aduancement of our honor.

Amurath's letters of aduertiſement vnto Muſtapha, concerning his going againe into Epirus.

F *Muſtapha* hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into
Epirus, hoping in one battell to end that War. Which hee (preſuming vpon the ſtrength of
his army) many times offered in the plain field. News herof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then
lying at the ſiege of Dayna againſt the Venetians) from his gariſons lying vpon the frontiers

of Epirus; to whom he addreſſed a ſpeedy meſſenger, commaunding them in no wiſe to encounter with the Enemy, but to keep themſelues within the ſafegard of their ſtrong Holds, and to protract the time vntill his comming. Afterwards ſelecting out of his army 500 horſmen, and 1500 choſen footmen, all old beaten ſoldiers, he with that ſmal number marched to the place where he knew his garriſons lay intrenched, in the vpper country of Dibra; leauing *Ameſa* his nephew at the ſiege of Dayna. *Muſtapha* hauing many times in vain ſought to draw the garriſon ſouldiers out of their trenches, by offering them many opportunities of aduantage, and now out of hope that way to circumvent them, began to ſpoil and burn the country round about: but when he vnderſtood by his ſcouts of *Scanderbegs* comming, he ſpeedily called together his army, and incamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* camp, at a place called Oronoche, in the vpper country of Dibra. *Scanderbeg* had there in his Camp, of the garriſon ſoldiers and thoſe he brought with him, 4000 horſmen and 2000 foot, all old expert ſouldiers, where after he had made his trenches ſtrong, he left therein 300 of them, and brought the reſt into the field in order of battell. *Muſtapha* likewiſe on the other ſide likewiſe brought on in good order his army alſo. But whilſt both armies thus ſtood ranged one within view of an other, expecting nothing but the ſignall of battell, ſuddenly a man at arms in gallant & rich furniture, iſſued out of the Turks army, into the midſt of the plain betwixt both armies, and from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Chriſtian army: this Turk was called *Caraguſa*. At the firſt *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers vpon this challenge ſtood ſtill, one looking vpon another; for as they were all aſhamed to refuſe ſo braue an offer, ſo the danger ſo ſuddenly offered ſtaid euery mans forwardnes for a while: vntil that one *Paul Maneſsi*, accounted the beſt man at arms in *Scanderbegs* army (vpon whom euery mans eye was now caſt, as if hee had beene by name called out by the proud Challenger) not able longer to endure the Turks pride, with great courage and cheerful countenance came to *Scanderbeg*, requeſting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on Gods name to ſet forward, firſt to win honor to himſelf, and then to giue example of his valor for all the reſt of the army to follow. *Paul* ſtaying a while, vntill he had for that purpoſe moſt brauely armed himſelf, preſently mounted to horſe, and riding forth into the plain, called aloud vnto the Turk, that he ſhould make himſelfe ready to fight. Whom *Caraguſa* required to ſtay a while, that he might ſpeak vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

Caraguſa the Turks ſpeech to Maneſsi.

The victory (ſaid he) *our force and fortune ſhall determin; but the conditions of the victory we are now to appoint our ſelues. If the Deſtinies haue aſsigned vnto thee the honor of this day, I refuſe not but that thou maiſt by law of arms, when I am ouercome, carry away with thee my rich ſpoiles, and at thy pleaſure diſpoſe of my dead body. But if thou ſhalt fal vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the ſame right and power ouer thy captiue body; and that the Generals will grant, that no man ſhall moue out of either army, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.*

Maneſsi his ſtout anſwer to Caraguſa.

Wherunto *Maneſsi* anſwered; *That he agreed to thoſe conditions of the combat, which hee vpon a needleſſe fear had ſo required to be kept: ſaying, That where the fierce ſoul had yeelded, there of good right all the reſt ought to be the Conquerors. And that therfore he ſhould fight without fear of any more Enemies than himſelf, whom ſo ſoon as he had depriued of life, he ſhould haue free power to doe with his dead body what he would. Which if thou wouldſt giue* (ſaid he) *to the tears of my fellow ſouldiers, yet would not worthy* Scanderbeg *ſuffer the carkaſſe of a vanquiſhed coward to be brought backe againe into his Campe.*

Caraguſa maruelled to heare his ſo braue reſolution, and as it was thought repented him of his challenge. But after both the Generals had vpon their honors confirmed the lawes of the combat before rehearſed, both the champions were left alone in the middeſt of the plain betwixt both armies, with all mens eies fixed vpon them. Now both the Armies betwixt fear and hope, ſtood in great expectation of the euent of the combat, preſaging their own fortune in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themſelues one from another a conuenient diſtance, for the making of their courſe, and after with great violence running together, *Caraguſa* was by *Maneſſa* at the firſt incounter ſtruck through the head and ſlain. *Maneſsi* alighting, diſarmed the dead body & ſtruck off his head, and ſo loded with the armor and head of the proud challenger, returned Victor to the Army, where he was

A joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there preſently honorably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing his men by this good fortune of *Maneſſi*, greatly encouraged, and the Turks as men diſmaied with the death of their Champion, hanging their heads, like an inuincible Captaine, himſelfe ſet firſt forward toward the enemy, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they ſtood, before they had ſet one foot forward, had not *Muſtapha* to incourage his ſoldiers, with certain diſordred troups oppoſed himſelfe againſt him; which the whole army ſeeing, faintly followed: but as they ſet forward with ſmall courage, ſo were they at the firſt incounter eaſily driuen to retire. Which when *Muſtapha* ſay, he called earneſtly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his own example, put ſpurs to his horſe, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* B army, as one reſolued either to gaine the victory, or there to die: after whom followed moſt of the principall captains of his army, which would not for ſhame forſake their Generall: thus by his valor the battell was for a while renewed. But *Moſes* preuailing with great ſlaughter in one part of the Army, the Turks began to fly: in which flight *Muſtapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the chiefe men in that army, were taken priſoners, but of the common ſouldiers few were ſaued. There was ſlaine of the Turks army ten thouſand, and fifteene enſignes taken; whereas of the Chriſtians were ſlaine but three hundred. The Turks tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* ſoldiers: wherewith although he had ſatisfied the deſires of them all, yet to keep his old cuſtom, he entred into the confines of Macedonia, and there burnt and ſpoiled all that he could. And afterward leauing a garriſon of C two thouſand horſemen and a thouſand foot for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the reſt of his army to the ſiege of Dayna.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Muſtapha.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*; and *Amurath* deſirous to redeeme his Captaines, about the ſame time ſent great preſents vnto *Scanderbeg*, with fiue and twenty thouſand duckats for the ranſome of *Muſtapha* and the other chieftaines; whom *Scanderbeg* ſo honorably vſed, as if there had neuer been any hoſtility betwixt him and them: and ſo with a ſafe conuoy ſent them out of his country. The ranſome of *Muſtapha* and the other Turks he diuided amongſt his ſoldiers. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, he forthwith led his army againe into Macedonia, with the ſpoile of that country to make his ſoldiers better pay, as his vſuall manner was. And to do the greater harme, he D diuided his army into three parts, wherewith he ouer-running the country, waſted and deſtroied all before him, putting to the ſword all the Turks that came in his way. As for the Chriſtians that there liued among them, he ſpared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the Countrey he vtterly conſumed with fire, ſo that in all that part of Macedonia which bordereth vpon Epirus, nothing was to be ſeene more than the bare ground, and the ſhews of the ſpoile by him there made. Which vnmercifull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turks ſhould finde no reliefe in thoſe quarters, whenſoeuer they ſhould come either to lie in garriſon in that country, or to inuade Epirus. The ſpoile he made was ſo great, that it was thought he left not all that country, ſo much as might relieue the Turks army for one day.

Muſtapha ranſomed.

E Of all theſe great harms by *Scanderbeg* done in Macedonia, *Amurath* was with all ſpeed aduertiſed, and therewith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he reſolued with his great counſellors, no more to ſend any of his Baſſa's or captains, but to go himſelfe in perſon, with ſuch a royall army as ſhould be ſufficient not to conquer Epirus, but if need were, to fill euery corner thereof. Wherefore he commanded Commiſſions to be ſpeedily directed into all parts of his Kingdomes & prouinces, for the leuying of a great army for Hadrianople: yet whither he intended to imploy the ſame, was not knowne to any in the Turks court, more than the Baſſa's of the councell. Which cauſed all the bordering Chriſtian Princes to make the beſt preparation they could for their own aſſurance, euery one fearing leſt that growing tempeſt ſhould break out againſt himſelf. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkiſh policy, eaſily F perceiued all that great preparation to be made againſt him: which he was the rather induced to think, by reaſon of the vnaccuſtomed quietnes of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither ſent any army to reuenge *Muſtapha's* ouerthrow, nor ſo much as a garriſon for defence of the borders of his kindome, but had let all things negligently paſſe, as if he had bin in a dead ſleepe. Beſides that, it was alſo thought that he had ſecret intelligence from ſome of his old friends

and acquaintance in *Amuraths* court,who probably ſuſpected the matter. Wherfore *Scanderbeg* G
ſetting all other things apart,gaue himſelf wholly to the preparing of things neceſſary for the
defence of his ſmall kingdome againſt ſo mighty an enemy. Firſt,he by letters and meſſengers
aduertiſed all the Chriſtian Princes his neighbors and friends,of the greatnes of the danger of
that war: wherein *Amurath* (as he ſaid) ſought not only his deſtruction, but the vtter ruine of
them all:exhorting them therefore to conſider, how far the danger of ſo great an army might
extend,and therefore to ſtand faſt vpon their guard. Then he ſent *Moſes* and other his expert
captains into all parts of Epirus,to take vp ſoldiers,and all the prouiſion of corne and victuals
that was poſſible to be had. Wherin he himſelf alſo buſily trauelled day and night,nor reſting
vntill he had left nothing in the country,whereupon the enemy might ſhew his cruelty. Moſt
part of the common people,with their ſubſtance, were receiued into the ſtrong cities;the reſt H
tooke the refuge of the Venetian and other Chriſtian Princes towns and countries farther off,
vntill this fury were ouerpaſt: all ſuch as were able to beare armes, were commanded to repaire
to Croia; where when they were all aſſembled, they were ynow to haue made a right
puiſſant army. But out of all this multitude, *Scanderbeg* made choice only of 10000 old expert
ſoldiers,whom he purpoſed to lead himſelfe,to incounter with the Turks great army, as
he ſhould ſee occaſion, and placed 1300 in garriſon in Croia. The citizens alſo themſelues
were thorowly furniſhed with all manner of weapons & other prouiſion meet for the defence
of their city. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men vnfit for wars, with the
women and children, ſhould depart the city, and none to be therein left, but the garriſon ſoldiers,
and ſuch citiſens as were willing to tarry, and able to beare armes. This city of Croia I
was the chiefe city of Epirus, and of the fortune thereof ſeemed to depend the ſtate of all the
other ſtrong townes and cities, and ſo conſequenly of the whole kingdome: for which cauſe,
Scanderbeg had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miſerable ſight, to ſee the lamentable
departure of this weake company out of Croia;all was full of weeping and wailing;
no houſe, no ſtreet, no part of the city was without mourning: but eſpecially in the churches
was to be ſeene the very face of common ſorrow and heauineſſe; where all ſorts of people in
great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout praiers, with fountaines of teares,
ringing their hands;yea, and ſome in the impatiency of their griefe forgetting themſelues,ſeemed
to expoſtulate their griefe with God. But when their ſorrow was with tears aſſuaged, and
their hearts ſomewhat eaſed, the aged mothers kiſſing their ſons, gaue them many a fearefull K
commandment, ſometime rehearſing, how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp,
and other ſometimes ſhewing vnto them their feeble lims and hoary haires, willing them to
be mindfull of them. The wiues preſented their children vnto their husbands, bewailing to
leaue them as childleſſe widowers,and their houſes deſolate. The old men mute with ſorrow,
and carefull of their children,durſt neither incourage them, for feare of making them too forward;
neither diſſuade them from aduenturing themſelues,leſt they ſhould ſeem to loue them
more than their natiue country. In the middeſt of theſe paſſions commandement came from
Scanderbeg, that they muſt now depart, that the ſouldiers might take their places and charge.
Then began their ſorrows afreſh, with pitteous ſcriching and tears:a man would haue thought
the city had euen then bin preſently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawne from L
the imbracing of their friends,all now deſiring to remain ſtill with them in the city, partakers
of their common danger. But when they ſaw the officers begin to be earneſt vpon them,and
to haſten their departure,then with heauy hearts they took as it were their laſt farewell,and departed
out of the city,ſetting their feet many times they wiſt not where, for deſire they had to
looke backe againe vpon the city. This great multitude was conueied alſo into the Venetian
cities and other places free from danger:whither all the country people which were not before
receiued into the ſtrong cities,reſorted alſo,with all their ſubjects and cattell; leauing nothing
in all the country of Epirus,but the bare ground for the Turks to prey vpon. After this multitude
was departed,and all well quieted,and none left in the city but men fit for ſeruice,*Scanderbeg*
thorowly ſtored it with all things needfull for the defence thereof, and for the induring of M
a long ſiege: beſides that,he gaue to euery ſoldier conuenient armor,with ſome ſmall reward.
Then he placed *Vranacontes* (a valiant and famous captaine, honorably diſcended) Gouernour
of the city. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order for the ſafegard thereof, after he had in few
words exhorted them couragiouſly to endure the ſiege, and not to liſten to *Amuraths* flatte-

The lamentable departing of the weake citizens out of Croia.

A ring and deceitful charms, he departed out of the city vnto his army, then lying within view,
and began preſently to march toward Dybra. But he was not farre gone, before he met with
Moſes with a gallant troup of horſemen comming from Sfetigrade, a ſtrong city of Dybra, ſci-
tuate in the confines of Epirus, bordering vpon Macedonia: which city was *Scanderbeg* his ſe-
cond care, for that it was like to be the firſt that ſhould indure the angry tyrants fury, ſtanding
firſt in his way, as it were the fortreſſe of that country. *Moſes* had there ſet all things in like
order, as had *Scanderbeg* in Croia, and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and politique
man) Gouernour, with a ſtrong garriſon of ſoldiers choſen out of all the country of Dybra,
which were alwaies accounted the beſt men of war in all Epirus, and was for ſo doing greatly
commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who deliuering vnto him all the forces he had prepared for the
B defence of the other caſtles and cities of Epirus, ſent him with diuers others of his Nobility
and Captaines, to take order for the ſafety of thoſe places, appointing vnto euery man his
charge. As for himſelfe, he with a ſmall troupe of horſmen went to Sfetigrade, carefull of that
city aboue meaſure, as it were before diuining the enſuing danger. Being come thither, and
all the ſoldiers aſſembled by his commandment into the market place, he there in open audi-
ence ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg commeth to Sfetigrade.

Almighty God could not this day offer vnto you (worthy ſoldiers of Sfetigrade) better matter, neither
could a fairer occaſion be preſented vnto braue minds and ſoldiers deſirous of honour, than that which now
hath cauſed you to take vp moſt juſt armes. Wherein you may for euer, by worthy example, make knowne
C *your conſtant faith and worthy valour, both towards me in priuate, and the people of Epirus in generall.*
Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we muſt fight for our liues, our
liberty, and the wals of our country. You muſt now force your ſelues, that you do not by reproch and cowar-
diſe ſtaine the worthy praiſes you haue already deſerued by the great victories by you obtained vnder my
conduct. The greateſt part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For, the firſt paſſage of Amu-
rath *into Epirus (that I my ſelfe may be vnto you the firſt meſſenger of that danger) will be this way; the*
firſt fury of the Turks will aſſaile you, that hauing here as it were broken downe the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe of
Epirus, he may afterwards breake into the country, more ſubject to danger. The firſt fruits of this war is
yours, you (if you beare the hearts of couragious men, mindfull of your liberty) may beat downe the proud
ſtrength of the haughty enemy, and diſcouer his high conceits. The Othoman *King ſhall haue his begin-*
D *ning both of his hope and feare: if he ſhall ſee you ſo minded, as I now ſee you gallantly moued, and with*
joy heare your violent indignation; he will in euery place feare a great force of danger, and therby learne
to abſtaine from the other cities of Epirus. Neither will he lie here long at a vaine ſiege, except the way-
ward old man will fooliſhly hereupon gage all his whole forces: for ſuch is the ſcituation and ſtrength of
this city, that it may eaſily ſet at nought an angry enemy. Wherefore reſolue with your ſelues (worthy ſol-
diers and citizens) onely by conſtancy and faithfulneſſe, without bloudſhed, to gaine vnto your ſelues an
honourable victory. Of your valour (which I willingly ſpeake of) dependeth for the moſt part the faith-
fulneſſe of all the reſt; they will locke vpon you, whom they may praiſe or accuſe, and whoſe example they
may follow in the fortune of theſe warres. But to what purpoſe ſhould men of worth in their actions pre-
tend the neceſſity of faith, or chance of fortune? whereas by Reaſon, things are both beſt begun and accom-
E *pliſhed. It ſeldome chanceth, that fortune faileth the ſecond aduice, or is not obedient to vertue: and you*
haue all things which moſt politique care could prouide for your ſafety. You want not armour, you want not
plentifull prouiſion of victuals, you want not valiant men: the ſuperfluous multitude of vnneceſſary peo-
ple, the pittifull lamentation of women, and troubleſome crying of children ſhall not withdraw you from
your publique charge, from your ſeruice and defence of your oountry; I haue left you alone to your ſelues,
for defence of your city, your Religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged only with the prouoca-
tions of honour and liberty, with the emulation of aduenture and danger, and the very ſight one of ano-
ther; and I my ſelfe will not be far off with my couragious ſoldiers, a ſilent beholder and encourager of your
vertue: where although I may not auert from you all the force of the cruell enemy by raſh aduenture, nor
try the whole fortune of this war in plaine field; yet will I turne a great part of your danger vpon my ſelfe,
F *and trouble the enemies deſignes with many an hot skirmiſh. For as much as there is no better manner of*
fight, nor ſafer kind of war for vs, amongſt ſuch a multitude of men, & ſo many thouſands of ſoldiers, than
neuer to offer battell vnto the enemy in plaine field, neither to aduenture all vpon the fortune of one con-
flict, although a man did ſee apparant ſignes of victory. He will of purpoſe at the firſt giue vs the opportu-

The effectuall ſpeech of Scanderbeg vnto the ſoldiers and citizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage thẽ againſt the comming of Amurath.

nity of good hap; he will feed our hardineſſe with the bloud of his baſe ſoldiers, the eaſilier to intrap or oppreſſe our raſhneſſe, allured with the ſweet baits of good fortune: but the crafty deuices of the Othoman *Kings are by great policy and conſideration to be fruſtrated: this mighty enemy is by little and little to be cut off, as time and place ſhall giue occaſion. For truly that victory ſhall be vnto me lamentable, which I ſhould buy with the bloud of my ſoldiers: and beleeue me, it would be vnto me a more ſorrowfull than pleaſant ſight, to ſee eight or ten thouſand of my enemies ſlaine, with the loſſe of a few of you. I praiſe and honor my ſubjects of* Epirus *for valiant conquerors, if they ſhall not ſuffer themſelues to be conquered of the Turkiſh King. The reſt I had rather you couragious ſoldiers of* Dybra *ſhould conſider with your ſelues, than that I ſhould ſeeme to diſtruſt of your aſſured faith, by giuing you a carefull and tedious admonition.*

When *Scanderbeg* had with cheerefull perſuaſion thus encouraged the minds of them of Sfetigrade, he departed thence, and viſited diuers others cities of Epirus; where finding all things politiquely ordered by *Moſes* and the other captaines, whom he had put in truſt, he returned to his army, then lying neere vnto Croia.

Whileſt *Scanderbeg* was with great cheerfulneſſe yet thus prouiding for the ſafegard of his Kingdome, in the meane time *Amurath* his army was aſſembled at Hadrianople, to the number of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other baſe ſeruices neceſſary at the ſiege of townes. Of this great army *Amurath* ſent forty thouſand light horſemen before him to Sfetigrade; who according to his command came and incamped before the city. The newes of their comming, with a great deale more than truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his ſmall Army neere Croia: whereupon he with foure thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, tooke the way toward Sfetigrade, and ſtrongly incamped his Army within ſeuen miles of the city. Where hauing ſet all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moſes* and *Tanuſius* went by certaine blinde wayes thorow the mountaines and woods, vntill he came ſo neere vnto the city, that from the place where he ſtood, he might eaſily diſcouer in what ſort the enemy lay incamped: and ſo returning backe againe to his campe, roſe with his army in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks army as he could, vndiſcouered, placed all his army in the couert of the woods and ſecret vallies, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that, he ſent forth *Moſes* and *Muſachi* his nephew, with thirty of his beſt horſemen, apparelled as if they had beene but common ſouldiers, but paſſing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horſes laden with corne, by a by-way, as if they had ſecretly purpoſed to haue got into the city. The day then breaking, they were diſcouered by the Turks ſcouts, and ſet vpon: where at the firſt *Moſes* and the reſt began of purpoſe to fly; but when hee ſaw that they were purſued but with like number to themſelues, he turned backe vpon the Turks, and ſlew fiue of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the campe. The Generall ſeeing what had hapned, ſent forth foure thouſand horſemen to purſue theſe ſuppoſed victuallers: whom they quickely recouered ſight of, for that *Moſes* of purpoſe had made ſmall haſte to fly: but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Moſes* left the horſes laden with corne, and fled; yet ſo, that he ſtill drew on the Turks with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his army lay in wait: by whom they were ſuddenly aſſailed on euery ſide, and with great ſlaughter put to flight. In this conflict two thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and a thouſand of their horſes taken: of the Chriſtians were loſt but two and twenty. This was the firſt welcome of the Turks army to Sfetigrade.

A notable ſtratagem of Scanderbeg for the intrapping of his enemies.

1449 *Amurath commeth to Sfetigrade with his Army.*

About eight daies after, came *Amurath* with all his army, in the beginning of May, *Anno Dom.* 1449, and hauing made the greateſt ſhew he could with his huge army to terrifie the defendants; he incamped the baſer ſort of his footmen at the foot of the hill whereon the city ſtood, and lay himſelf with his Ianizaries, & other his moſt valiant ſoldiers, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had lien ſtill one day, and well conſidered the ſtrength of the place, toward euening he ſent a meſſenger to the city, who requeſted to ſpeake with the Gouernour *Perlat*. Whereof he hearing, came to the wall: of whom the meſſenger requeſted, That he would command the ſouldiers ſtanding by, to goe further off, for as much as he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto him from his maſter. Vnto whom *Perlat* merrily anſwered; It is like indeed to be ſome great ſecret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

A ring of my ſouldiers, but from the very light of the day, and therfore haue choſen the night: but I haue not learned of myne elders, to hear any meſſage from myne enemies by night, neither at any time els out of the hearing of the garriſon ſoldiers, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of the City, and I the ſafegard of my perſon. You muſt therfore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your maſter ſo pleaſe, I wil hear you at large. And therwith commanded him to depart from the wall. So he returned at that time without audience as he came. It grieued *Amurath* not a little to ſee his meſſenger ſo lightly regarded; yet foraſmuch as he had more hope to gain the City by large offers, or ſome reaſonable compoſition, than by all his great force; he diſſembled his wrath, and the next day ſent the meſſenger again with one of his Baſſa's, a graue and wel ſpoken man, himſelf born in Epirus. This Baſſa, with three B ſoldiers and two ſeruitors was by the Gouernors command, by one of the ports receiued into the city, and brought into S. *Maries* Church, where after he had with great eloquence ſought to inſinuat himſelf into the minds of the Gouernor and hearers; and afterwards augmented the terror of *Amuraths* power beyond all meaſure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained againſt the Hungarians and the other Chriſtian Princes; in fine hee exhorted them to yeeld the City vnto him. In whoſe name he promiſed firſt, that the citiſens ſhould in all reſpects vnder his gouernment liue as they had before don vnder *Scanderbeg*. Then, That the Gouernour ſhould receiue at *Amurath* his hands moſt honourable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts. And, That it ſhould be lawfull for the garriſon ſouldiers to depart in ſafety whither they pleaſed; and to haue three hundred thouſand Aſpers diuided a-C mongſt them in reward. But when the Baſſa had ended his ſpeech, the Gouernour in this ſort replied.

The reſolute anſwer of Perlat the gouernor to the Baſſa

If you had not deliuered this ſpeech vnto reſolute men, deuoted vnto the defence of their liberty, perhaps it might haue wrought ſome effect; and we (ſaid he) *might peraduenture liſten vnto your offers, if wee were either afraid of the* Othoman *King, and the vain threats of our enemies, or els were weary of the gouernment of the noble* Scanderbeg. *But foraſmuch as no euill deſert of his, nor good deſert of your Maſters, hath yet paſſed, for which we ſhould prefer a ſtranger before our naturall Soueraign, an enemie before a friend, a Turk before a Chriſtian; let your maſter proceed firſt in his action begun, let him prooue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat down our walls, make hauock of our men, and by ſtrong hand* D *driue us to humble our ſelues at his feet, and to ſue for peace. But it were a great diſhonor, yea a thing almoſt to be laughed at, if we ſhould cowardly accept of theſe conditions by him offered, before any aſſault giuen, before one drop of bloud ſpilt, before any ſoldier did ſo much as once groan for any wound receiued, before one ſtone were ſhaken in the wall, or any ſmall breach made. But your maſter ſhould do better to raiſe his ſiege, and get him back again to Hadrianople, therto ſpend the ſmall remainder of his old yeares in quiet; and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whoſe courage in defence of our liberties, and fidelitie towards our Prince he hath ſo oftentimes proued to his great diſhonour, and loſſe of his armies. The faith I haue once giuen to my Soueraign for the defence of this city, I will neuer forget, vntill the effuſion of the laſt drop of my bloud. It ſhall be vnto me reward and honor enough, if I either liuing defend this city, or with loſſe of my life ſhall leaue my guiltleſſe ſoul at liberty, and my carkas among the dead bodies of wor-* E *thy ſoldiers, when I ſhall find a way into a far better place.*

The General hauing giuen this reſolute anſwer vnto the Baſſa, bountifully feaſted him that day at dinner, and afterwards led him thorow the midſt of the city; where he ſaw great ſtore of victuals, by the gouernor commanded of purpoſe to be ſet in ſhew, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the city by long ſiege. And ſo ſent the Baſſa out by the ſame port whereby he came in, much diſcontented with the anſwer he was to returne to his Maſter.

Sfetigrade aſſaulted.

When *Amurath* vnderſtood by the Baſſa, of the gouernors reſolution, he was therewith exceeding wrath, and thereupon with his great Ordnance battered the city three daies without intermiſſion. And hauing by the fury of his artillery made a ſmall breach, he forthwith gaue F thereunto a moſt terrible aſſault, laboring firſt to win the ſame by force and multitude of his common ſoldiers, which the Turks call Aſapi, whom he forced by great numbers to that ſeruice. Of theſe ſouldiers the Turke in his wars maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the ſwords of his enemies, or to abate their firſt fury, thereby to giue the eaſier victory to his Ianizaries and other his better ſoldiers: which the *Othoman* Kings hold for good policy. Whilſt

theſe forlorn ſoldiers without reſpect of danger preſſing forward, were ſlain by heapes at the G
breach, the Ianizaries at the ſame time in another place attempted to haue ſcaled the wals of
the city: but whilſt they with much labor and difficulty firſt crawl vp the ſteep rock whereon
the city was built, and afterward deſperatly mount vp their ſcaling ladders, they were by the
defendants, with huge ſtones & weighty pieces of timber caſt vpon them, beaten down, wherwith
they were driuen headlong to the bottom of the rock, and ſo miſerably ſlaine. Many of
them together with their ſcaling ladders, were by the Chriſtians thruſt from the wall, and
tumbling from the rock, violently caried with them others comming vp behind them. Some
few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the walls, loſt ſome
their fingers, ſome their hands, but moſt their liues, being beaten down as the other were.
Many of them which ſtood farther off, were then wounded alſo, and with ſhot from the Wals H
ſlain. With this miſerable ſlaughter, and no hope to preuail, the Turks diſcouraged, began to
withdraw themſelues from the aſſault: but the Baſſa's and Captains ſtanding behind them,
forced them again forward, exhorting ſome, threatening others, and beating the reſt forward
with their truncheons. By which means the aſſault was again renued, but not with like courage
as before, though with no leſſe ſlaughter: which the defendants ſeeing, gaue from the
Walls, great tokens of joy and triumph. *Amurath* ſeeing his diſcouraged ſouldiers ready of
themſelues to forſake the aſſault, preſently ſent *Feri Baſſa* (one of his moſt valiant Captains)
with a new ſupply of 3000 choſen ſoldiers to renew the fight. The Chriſtians well aware of
their comming, ceaſed not with continuall ſhot to beat them from the wals: but ſuch was the
forwardnes of that fierce captain, that without regard of danger he brought his men vnto the I
wals, where the defendants from aboue ouerwhelmed them with ſtones, timber, wild-fire, and
ſuch other things as are vſually prepared for the defence of towns beſieged. For all that, *Feri-Baſſa*
gaue ſo great an aſſault, that he ſlew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, & had there
forcibly entred, had not the gouernor, perceiuing the danger, with a company of freſh ſouldiers
come with ſpeed to the defence of that place; wherby the enemy was preſently repulſed
and driuen again from the wals. *Amurath* ſeeing the great loſſe of his men, and no hope of ſucces,
cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, & ſo leauing the aſſault, retyred again into his camp. The
great loſſe and diſhonor at this aſſault receiued, much troubled his waiward minde, who for
all that yet ceaſed not to giue the like vain attempts. At length the captain of the Ianizaries
perceiuing that part of the city which was fartheſt from the camp, to be commonly but ſlenderly K
manned, by reaſon that it ſeemed a place impregnable, both for the height and ſteepnes
of the rock; told *Amurath* that he would aſſay (if it ſo pleaſed him) ſecretly in the night to
attempt by that place to enter the city; whereas they thought nothing was more to be feared
than the hight therof, which they, ſupported with the wings of deſire, doubted not to mount
vnto. This his deuice exceedingly pleaſed the King, and was the next night with great ſilence
put in execution. But ſuch was the carefulnes of the gouernor ouer euery part of his charge,
that nothing could bee done againſt the ſame, but that it was forthwith by him diſcouered.
The gouernor aduertiſed by the watch, of the Turks attempt, with great ſilence preſently repaired
to the place with a great company of the gariſon ſoldiers, and ſtanding cloſe, from the
top of the wal beheld the Turks, as it had bin a ſwarm of Emmets, climing vp the high rocks, L
and one helping vp another, by ſuch a deſperat way, as was in reaſon to be thought no man
would haue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rock, and now euen ready
to enter, they were from aboue ſuddenly ouerwhelmed as it had bin with a ſhour of ſhot, and
ſo violently forced down that ſteep rocke, that moſt of them which had got vp to any height,
were miſerably cruſhed to death, either with the weight of themſelues, or with others falling
vpon them, and many of the reſt ſlain with ſhot from the top of the rock. Wherof *Amurath*
preſently vnderſtanding, was therwith exceedingly grieued.

The Turks repulſed, retyre.

The Janizaries deſperatly attempt to ſurpriſe the city.

The Janiſaries repulſed.

During the time of this ſiege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long ſtil in one place, but remoued continually
from place to place as beſt ſerued his purpoſe, breaking ſomtime into one quarter of
the Turks camp, and ſomtime into another, & ſtraitway ſo ſuddenly gon again, and as it were M
vaniſhed out of ſight, that *Amurath* many times wondred what was become of him. At this
time, being the later end of Iune, he was come with his army within eight miles of *Amuraths*
camp: and from thence ſent *Moſes* his greateſt Captain, in the attyre of a common ſouldier,
with two other, to take view how the enemy lay incamped. By which truſty Eſpials he was
informed,

A informed, That the Turks lay in great ſecuritie as men without feare, keeping but negligent
watch. Of which oppertunitie *Scanderbeg* rejoicing, the night following ſuddenly aſſaulted
one quarter of the Turks camp: whoſe comming, although it was a little before by the Turks
ſcouts diſcouered, yet his furious aſſault was ſo ſudden and forcible, that he ſlew 2000 of the
Turks, and filled euery corner of that great camp with fear and tumult, before they could wel
arm themſelues or make reſiſtance. After which ſlaughter he ſafely retyred, carrying away
with him two hundred and thirty horſe, with ſeuen of the Turks enſignes, hauing in this skirmiſh
loſt of his men but 42: whoſe dead bodies the Turks the next morning, in reuenge of
their ſlain friends hewed into ſmall pieces.

Vpon theſe great diſgraces one following in the neck of another, *Amurath* hauing no other
B object but the city to ſhew his fury vpon, fiercely aſſaulted the ſame thrice one after another,
and was alwaies with loſſe both of his men and honor repulſed. But the more he loſt, the more
he burnt with deſire of reuenge, perſuading his ſoldiers, that as the ſtrongeſt cities & fortreſſes
were built by mens hands, ſo were they to bee ouerthrowne and laid euen with the ground
by reſolute and valiant men: incouraging them to a freſh aſſault, with greater promiſes of reward
than euer he had done before in all his wars, from the firſt beginning of his reign. And
becauſe he would with more ſafety giue this his laſt and greateſt aſſault, he commanded *Feri Baſſa*
with 12000 horſmen and 6000 foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if hee ſhould hap to
come (as he thought he would) to trouble the aſſault by aſſailing of his camp. *Feri-Baſſa* glad
of this charge, wel hoping now to redeem his former ouerthrow with ſome great victory, and
C leading forth his army a little from the camp, as he was commanded, ſo lay; wiſhing for nothing
more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*; vainly boaſting, That he would ſeek him in the
field, and there try his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did ſhortly after to
his coſt. When *Amurath* had thus ſet in order all things requiſit, as wel for the ſiege as for the
ſafegard of his Camp, the next morning he compaſſed the City round about with his army,
and couered the ground with his men of war, purpoſing at that time to gage his whole forces
vpon the taking therof. The wals he had before in ſome places battered, ſo much as was poſſible;
and yet but ſo, as that they were not without ſcaling ladders to be aſſaulted; partly for
the naturall defence of the place, and partly for that the defendants had with great diligence
continually repaired and filled vp with earth what the fury of the cannon had thrown downe.
D This aſſault *Amurath* began firſt with his archers and ſmall ſhot, who deliuered their arrows
and bullets vpon the top of the wall, and into the city, as if it had bin a ſhour of hail, thereby
to trouble the tumultuary ſoldiers. In this heat ladders were clapt to the wals in euery place
where any could poſſibly be reared, and the Turks began deſperatly to ſcale the wals. But the
Chriſtians nothing diſmaid therat, with great courage reſiſted them, & with ſhot from their
ſafe ſtandings wounded & ſlew many of them: yet others ſtil preſſed vp in the places of them
that were ſlain, ſo that the aſſault began moſt terrible in many places at once, but eſpecially
neer the great gate of the City, where the Turks had vpon the ſudden, with ladders, timber,
and planks clapt together, raiſed cloſe vnto that tower, as it had bin a wooden tower, equall in
hight to the wall: from whence the Turks greatly diſtreſſed the Chriſtians in that place, fighting
E with them as if it had bin vpon euen ground, ſtil ſending vp freſh ſoldiers in ſtead of them
that were ſlain: and therby preuailed ſo far, that they had ſet vp certain of *Amuraths* Enſignes
vpon the wal, to the great comfort of the Turks, and aſtoniſhment of the beſieged Chriſtians.
The Gouernor ſeeing the imminent danger, haſted to the place with a company of freſh and
valiant ſoldiers, by whoſe force the Turks were quickly repulſed from the wal, their enſignes
taken and ſent into the market place; and the tower of wood, with many ladders and much
timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly conſumed with Wild-fire caſt vpon
the ſame from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the City of this fear, preſently placed freſh
ſoldiers in ſtead of them that were ſlain or hurt, and ſo worthily defended the city.

Whilſt *Amurath* was giuing this great aſſault to Sfetigrade, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him
F from the ſame, came with nine thouſand ſouldiers to aſſail the Turks Camp, as *Amurath* had
before ſuſpected, and was now come very neer the ſame. *Feri Baſſa* glad of his comming, oppoſed
his army againſt him: which *Scanderbeg* ſeeing, retyred a little, of purpoſe to draw the
Baſſa farther from the camp, and then forthwith began to join battell with him. The Baſſa
conſidering the ſmall number of his enemies, and his own great power, withdrew four thou-

Scanderbeg comming to trouble the aſſault, is met by Feri Baſſa.

ſand horſmen out of his army to fetch a compaſſe about, and to ſet vpon the rereward of *Scanderbegs* army: Hoping ſo to incloſe him that he ſhould neuer eſcape thence, but there either to G
be ſlain or taken aliue, and his army vtterly defeated. But the expert Captain perceiuing his purpoſe, to meet therwith, left *Moſes* to lead the main battel, and he himſelf with 2000 horſmen ſo valiantly charged thoſe 4000 of his enemies before they were wel departed from the reſt of the Baſſa's army, that they had now more cauſe to looke to their own ſafety, than how to circumuent others. In this conflict *Feri Baſſa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before deſired, encountring with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there ſlain. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri Baſſa* in the right wing of the army, and *Muſachy* in the left, *Moſes* ſtood faſt, receiuing the aſſault of the enemy without mouing any thing forward, expecting the ſucces of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing diſcomfited the right wing, and ſlain the Generall, com- H
ming now in, he ſet forward with ſuch force and courage, that the Turks not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled, of whom many were ſlain in this chaſe, although *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemy ſo nigh at hand, durſt not follow them too far, but ſounding a retreit, put his Army again in good order, for fear of ſome ſudden attempt from the camp, and after appointed ſome of the meaneſt of the ſouldiers to take the ſpoile of the ſlain Turks. When *Amurath* vnderſtood what had hapned to *Feri Baſſa*, hee was ſo ouercome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not ſpeak one word. But after the beat was a little paſt, he commanded certaine ſmall pieces of ordnance which hee had before vſed againſt the city, to be remoued into the camp, and there placed vpon that ſide which was moſt in danger to the enemy. He alſo preſently ſent thither 4000 ſouldiers to join with the I
remainder of *Feri Baſſa's* Army; for defence of the Camp, with ſtreit charge that they ſhould not iſſue out of the trenches. Neuertheles he himſelf continued the aſſault of the city all that day: but when night drew on, and no hope appearing for him to preuail, he cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, and leauing the aſſault, he returned again into his camp. At this aſſault *Amurath* loſt 7000 men, beſide many that died afterwards of their wounds: but of the gariſon ſoldiers were ſlain but ſeuenty, and ninety more hurt.

The terror of the Turkiſh army began now to grow in contempt throughout Epirus; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after ſo many ouerthrows and ſhamefull repulſes, would at length raiſe his ſiege and be gon: yet hee ſent ſpies continually to diſcouer what was don in the Turks camp, and he himſelf with two thouſand ſoldiers would oft times ſhew K
himſelf vpon the ſides of the mountains, neer to *Amuraths* camp, of purpoſe to draw the Turks out, that he might take them at ſome aduantage. But the old King had giuen commandment vpon pain of death, that no man ſhould go out of the trenches without leaue, or once to ſpeak of giuing battell or aſſault. So that he lay certain daies in his camp, not like a King beſieging a city, but more like a man beſieged himſelf: the which his ſtil lying *Scanderbeg* had the more in diſtruſt, fearing greatly that he was hatching ſome miſchiefe, which ſo ſoon as it was ripe, would violently break out.

Amurath by great promiſes ſeeks to corrupt the garriſon of Sfetigrade, & a traitor thereupon conſpires to betray the city.

Amurath conſidering with what euil ſucces he had many times aſſaulted the city, & holding it as a great diſhonor to raiſe his ſiege & depart, hauing don nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once again to proue if it were poſſible to ouercome the mindes of the L
garriſon ſoldiers with gifts, whom he was not able to ſubdue by force. For which purpoſe he ſent an embaſſador vnto the city, offering vnto the beſieged and garriſon ſoldiers eaſie conditions of peace, with ſuch large gifts and rewards as had not bin heard offered to any garriſon in former time. Al which his magnifical promiſes were lightly rejected by the common conſent of the whole gariſon, preferring their faithfull loyaltie before all his golden mountains. For all that, *Amurath* was in hope, that among ſo many ſome would be found, into whoſe minds his large offers might make ſome impreſſion. Wherein he was not deceiued; for one baſe minded fellow among the reſt, corrupted with the Turks great promiſes, preferring his own priuat wealth before the welfare of his country, waiting his time, had ſecret conference with the Turks eſpials, promiſing vpon aſſurance of ſuch reward as was before by *Amurath* M
profered, to find means that in few days the City ſhould be deliuered into his power. This corrupted traitor had layd many miſchieuous plots for the effecting of this horrible treaſon: but the firſt deuice he put in practiſe, which of all others a man would haue thought to haue bin of leaſt moment, ſerued his wicked purpoſe in ſtead of all the reſt. All the garriſon ſouldiers

A diers of Sſetigrade were of the vpper country of Dybra, put into that city, by *Moſes,* for their
approued valor aboue all the other ſoldiers of Epirus. But as they were men of great courage,
ſo were they exceeding ſuperſtitious both in their religion and maner of liuing, putting nice
difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other: accounting ſome clean,ſome vnclean;
abhorring from that,which they fondly deemed vncleane,with more than a Iewiſh ſuperſtition,
chuſing rather to die than to eat or drinke thereof: ſuch is the ſtrong deluſion of blind error,
where it hath throughly poſſeſſed the minds of men. The city of Sſetigrade (as is aforeſaid)
is ſcituate vpon the top of a great high rocke, as moſt of the cities of Epirus now be,and
was then watred but with one great well in the midſt of the city, which ſunke deepe into the
rock,plentifully ſerued both the publike and priuat vſe of the inhabitants. Into this common
B well the malicious traitor in the night time caſt the foule ſtinking carrion carkaſſe of a dead
dog,knowing,that the conceited garriſon ſouldiers of Dybra, would rather indure the paines
of death and ſtarue,or els yeeld vp the city,vpon any condition,than to drink of that polluted
water. In the morning when that ſtinking carrion was eſpied, and drawne out of the well,the
report therof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the city,& that the well was poiſoned: ſo
that al the people were in maner in an vprore about the finding out of the traitor. The citizens
were exceeding ſorry for that had hapned, but the garriſon ſoldiers deteſted that loathſom
and vnclean water(as they accounted it)more than the Turkiſh ſeruitude,proteſting,that they
would rather periſh with thirſt than drink therof. Wherupon ſome of them deſired to ſet fire
vpon the city,and whileſt they had yet ſtrength, to breake thorow the enemies camp or there
C manfully to die. And they which thought beſt of the matter,requeſted that the city might be
yeelded vp; for now, they diſcouraged with a ſuperſtitious vanity, could be content to hearken
to the former conditions of peace, yea, they were ready enough of themſelues to ſue to
Amurath for peace,though it had been vpon harder tearmes. The Gouernour troubled with
that had hapned, and aſtonied to ſee ſo great alteration in the minds of his ſouldiers vpon ſo
ſmal occaſion:could not tell whether he might thinke it to proceed of a ſuperſtitious conceit,
or of ſome ſecret compact made with *Amurath.* But the better to pacifie the matter,he came
into the market place,and there in the hearing of al the garriſon, with many effectual reaſons,
exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their Prince and country in that honorable ſeruice;
and in a matter of ſo great conſequence to make ſmall reckoning to vſe that water, which
D would eaſily in ſhort time be brought again to the wonted purity and cleanneſſe: and to perſuade
them the rather,he went preſently to the well himſelf,and in the ſight of them all drunk
a great draught of the water,whoſe example the citizens following,drank likewiſe. But when
it was offered to the captains and ſoldiers of the garriſon,they all refuſed to taſte thereof,as if
it had bin a moſt loathſome thing,or rather ſome deadly poiſon,and with great inſtance cried
vnto the Gouernour, to giue vp the city: for which cauſe many thought they were corrupted
by *Amuraths* great promiſes. Howbeit none of the garriſon (except that one traitor) did euer
afterwards reuolt to the Turkiſh king,or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued,
whereby ſuch ſuſpition might be confirmed. When the Gouernor ſaw that the obſtinate
minds of the garriſon were not to be moued with any perſuaſion or reward (whereof he ſpared
E not to make large promiſe) nor by any other means which he could deuiſe,he called vnto
him his chief captains,with the beſt ſort of the citizens,& reſolued with them ful ſore againſt
his wil,to yeeld vp the city to *Amurath,* on ſuch conditions as they themſelues there agreed
vpon: which were,That it ſhould be lawfull for all the captains and ſoldiers to depart in ſafety
with their armor and all other things;and that ſo many of the citizens as would ſtay,might
there ſtil dwel in the city,in ſuch ſort, as they had done before, vnder the gouernment of *Scanderbeg;*
the reſt that liſted not to remain there ſtil,might at their pleaſure with bag & baggage
depart whither they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him, and granted
them all that was deſired,ſauing that he would not conſent that the citizens ſhould continue
in the city, yet was he content that they ſhould liue vnder him as they had done before,
F quietly enjoying all their poſſeſſions, but to build their houſes without the wall of the city:
which condition ſome accepted,and ſome forſaking all,went to *Scanderbeg.* When all was thorowly
agreed vpon, the keys of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath,* & the gouernor with the
captains,& all the garriſon ſoldiers ſuffered quietly to paſſe thorow the Turkiſh camp,as the
King had promiſed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the ſon of *Amurath,* a Prince of a cruell diſpoſition,
earneſtly

The carkas of a dead dog caſt by the traitor into the common wel that ſerued the City.

The Gouernour in vain ſeeketh to perſuade the garriſon ſouldiers to drinke of the water of the well.

earneſtly perſuaded his father,to haue broken his faith,and to haue put them all to the ſword: G
ſaying,it was one of their Prophet *Mahomets* chiefe commandements,to vſe all cruelty for the
deſtruction of the Chriſtians. But the old King would not therein hearken vnto his ſon,ſaying,
That he which was deſirous to be great among men,muſt either be indeed faithfull of his
word and promiſe,or at leaſtwiſe ſeeme ſo to be,thereby to gain the minds of the people, who
naturally abhor the gouernment of a faithleſſe and cruell Prince.The traitor which corrupted
the water,remained ſtill in the city,and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich ſuits of apparell,
and fifty thouſand aſpers, and had giuen vnto him beſides a yearely penſion of two
thouſand duckats.But ſhort was the joy the traitor had of this euill gotten goods:for after he
had a few daies vainely triumphed in the midſt of *Amurath* his fauors, he was ſuddenly gone,
and neuer afterwards ſeene or heard tell of;being ſecretly made away(as was ſuppoſed)by the H
commandement of *Amurath*;whoſe noble heart could not but deteſt the traitor, although the
treaſon ſerued well his purpoſe. *Amurath* entring into Sfetigrade,cauſed the wals to be forthwith
repaired,and placed one thouſand two hundred Ianizaries in garriſon there. And raiſing
his campe the firſt of September, departed out of Epirus, hauing loſt thirty thouſand of his
Turks at the ſiege of Sfetigrade;much grieued in mind for al that,that he could not vanquiſh
the enemy,whom he came of purpoſe to ſubdue. In his returne,the viceroy of Aſia marched
before him with the Aſian ſouldiers ; in the rereward followed the viceroy of Europe with
his Europeian ſouldiers:in the middeſt was *Amurath* himſelfe, compaſſed about with his Ianizaries
and other ſouldiers of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of *Amurath* his departure,
followed ſpeedily with eight thouſand horſemen,and three thouſand foot, and taking the aduantage I
of the thicke woods and mountaine ſtreits (to him well knowne) whereby that great
army was to paſſe,oftentimes skirmiſhed with the Turks, charging them ſometime in the vaward,
and ſometime in the rereward,ſomtime on the one ſide,and ſometime on the other,and
ſlew many of them : whereby he ſo troubled *Amurath* his paſſage, that he was glad to leaue
the viceroy of Romania, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himſelfe might in the
meane time with more ſafety march away with the reſt of his army.*Scanderbeg* perceiuing the
ſtay of the viceroy, ceaſed to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to be encloſed betweene thoſe
two great armies. The viceroy ſeeing that *Scanderbeg* was retyred, after he had ſtaied a few
daies,followed his maſter to Hadrianople,and ſo *Scanderbeg* returned to Croia.

A traitor worthily rewarded according to his treaſon.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of Epirus,*Scanderbeg* left two thouſand ſoldiers K
vpon the borders for defence of the country againſt the Turks. Theſe ſouldiers ſo ſtreightly
kept in the Ianizaries left in garriſon at Sfetigrade that they could not looke out of the city,
but that they were intercepted and ſlaine.And within a few daies after came himſelfe with an
army of 18000, and laid ſiege to Sfetigrade the ſpace of a moneth, which was from the
middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great aſſaults
to haue recouered the city, but was both times repulſed, with the loſſe of fiue hundred men.
Amurath vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the ſiege of Sfetigrade, ſent with all ſpeed to recall
his army but lately before diſperſed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, conſidering
alſo the difficulty of the enterpriſe, with the approch of Winter, raiſed his ſiege,and returned
to Croia : where he ſet all things in the ſame order he had done before the comming L
of *Amurath* to the ſiege of Sfetigrade,and put two thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers there in garriſon,
vnder the charge of the famous captaine *Vranacontes*, and ſtored his city with ſufficient
victuall for a yeares ſiege, wherein he had great helpe from the Venetians and other Chriſtian
Princes, for that there was then great ſcarcity of all things in Epirus, by reaſon of the late
wars. The like care he had alſo of all the reſt of his cities, being continually aduertiſed from
his ſecret friends in the Turks court, of the great preparation intended againſt him by the
Turkiſh King,againſt the beginning of the next Spring.

1450
Amurath aſſembleth againe his army at Hadrianople.

Amurath vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from Sfetigrade,changed his former
determination for the calling backe againe of his army, and appointed it to meet againe at
Hadrianople,in the beginning of March following:whither the Baſſaes, and other great commanders, M
at the time appointed, aſſembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had
before commanded. So that by the latter end of March,he had there in readineſſe an army of
an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong.Of which great multitude, he after the manner
of the Turkiſh wars,ſent forty thouſand horſemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a politick
captaine,

A captaine,as his vauntcourriers into Epirus,in the beginning of Aprill,in the yeare 1430.The
valiant captaine with great ſpeed and no reſiſtance entred into Epirus, as was giuen him in
charge,and without let came to Croia: where,after he had aduiſedly conſidered of the ſcituation
thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he ſtrongly encamped himſelfe neere thereunto
in the pleaſant plaine called Tyranna: and there with his trenches kept his ſouldiers cloſe,
attending nothing more,but that no new ſupply of men,munition,or victuals,ſhould be conueied
into the city,more than was therein before his comming. For he was not able with his
horſmen to do any thing againſt the city:and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the country
ſubiect to his fury. Beſides that, he was expreſly by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any
thing againſt *Scanderbeg* himſelfe.

B After *Sebalyas* had twenty daies thus lien encamped before Croia, neither doing nor taking
harme; *Amurath* by reaſon of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but fiue miles a
day,came thither alſo with his whole army,wherewith he filled all the country round about:
the very ſight whereof had bin enough to haue diſcouraged the ſmall garriſon in Croia, had
they not been men both of great experience and reſolution. Where after he had ſpent foure
daies in ſettling of his campe, he ſent two meſſengers vnto the Gouernour (as the manner of
the Turks is)offering him if he would yeeld vp the city,that it ſhould be lawfull for him with
all his ſouldiers in ſafety with bag and baggage to depart;and the Gouernour himſelfe to receiue
in reward two hundred thouſand aſpers, with an honourable place amongſt the great
Baſſaes of his court, if it would pleaſe him to accept thereof: and further, that the Citiſens
C ſhould enjoy all their antient liberties as in former time,without any alteration,with promiſe
alſo of greater. Theſe meſſengers comming to the gates of the city, could not be ſuffered to
enter,but ſtanding without, were commanded there to deliuer their meſſage:which when the
Gouernor had heard, he ſcornefully reiected their offers, and returned the meſſengers ſhamefully
derided by the ſouldiers which ſtood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this
contempt, than the refuſall of his offers; and ſeeing no other means to gaine the city,conuerted
all his deuiſes vnto the ſiege thereof. Wherefore he firſt commanded ten great pieces of
artillery to be forthwith caſt, for he had brought with him none ready made, becauſe of the
difficult paſſage ouer the high mountaines of Epirus; whereby it ſeemed to be a matter of
infinit trouble to haue brought his great ordnance:and therefore carried with him great ſtore
D of mettall in maſſe,whereof at his pleaſure to make his great artillery as he ſaw cauſe. In fifteen
daies this worke was brought to perfection,and ten pieces of huge greatneſſe were ready
mounted vpon carriages. Six of them he placed againſt the Eaſt ſide of the city,towards the
plaine of Tyranna,and the other foure againſt the gate: in which two places only, Croia was
ſubiect to battery,being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rockes,vpon
the tops whereof were built faire battlements, more for beauty than needfull defence. Theſe
two places *Amurath* battered foure daies continually, and with the fury of his artillery had *Croia battered.*
in both places beaten downe halfe the wall, and ſore ſhaken the reſt. Wherewith the Turks
were exceedingly encouraged, & with great cheerfulnes made all things ready to aſſault theſe
breaches,whenſoeuer *Amurath* ſhould command,ſtriuing among themſelues who ſhould ſhew
E himſelfe moſt forward in that dangerous enterpriſe. And *Mahomet* the yong Prince,the more
to encourage the ſoldiers, beſides the great rewards by his father propoſed, promiſed of himſelfe
to giue an hundred thouſand aſpers vnto him that ſhould firſt ſet vp an enſigne vpon the
wals of the city. The garriſon ſoldiers on the other ſide,conſidering that the whole ſtate and
welfare of Epirus was repoſed in their valour;and that the eies of moſt part of Chriſtendome
were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing diſmaied with the breaches made,but manfully
comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that
might poſſibly chance: but eſpecially the worthy Gouernour *Vranacontes*,who going through
the middeſt of his ſouldiers,and ſhaking ſome of them by the hands,withall ſaid:

F *Theſe, theſe are the fortreſſes of our City, theſe are the inuincible bulwarkes, theſe are the irremouable
ſtones and ſureſt ſement. What honour? what praiſe? what triumph ſhould we hope for? if theſe
wals ſtanding whole and ſtrong, we ſhould lie ſhrouded vnder the defence of them, and not they defended
by vs? So can cowards defend cities, and ſheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are ſafely
ſhut vp within the wals of their ſheepecoats: But that is the praiſe of the wals, and not of the men.*

The cheerefull ſpeech of Vranacontes the Gouernour to encourage his ſouldiers.

Worthy Caſtriot *our Prince hath commended this his city to be defended by vs, and not vs by it. Honour* G *is attended vpon with danger, and foſtered vp amongſt perils : euery baſe mariner may be a maſter in faire weather : and firme things ſtand of themſelues, and need not our vpholding. Wherefore, men of worth ſhun ſuch things, which being kept or loſt, yeeld like praiſe. Things ready to fall, need ſhoaring, and thither haſteth honour, and there (worthy ſouldiers) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend theſe broken breaches, and in ſtead of theſe dead wals, couragiouſly oppoſe our luſty and liuely armed bodies againſt the force of our enemies. If theſe wals ſtand ſtill firme, and vnbattered, you ſhould then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are ſomething ſhaken, you ſhall as men ſtand vpon ſomewhat more euen ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to ſatisfie your furious deſire. Where I alſo in the thickeſt, ſhall eaſily view and judge of euery mans priuate courage in particular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if we well conſider* H *of the matter, the place it ſelfe doth yet notably make for vs; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by theſe ſmall breaches diminiſhed: for, this riſing of the hill (not poſſible to be taken from vs) although it be not ſo high as it is in other places, yet, doth it not ſerue vs ſufficiently at great aduantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their aſſault? The ſteepneſſe whereof, as it will be troubleſome vnto them, ſo will it keepe vs moſt freſh in ſtrength, and make our ſhot more forcible. Wherefore this had beene a thing of vs to haue beene wiſhed for, if we deſire the ſlaughter of our enemies at this ſiege, or if we wiſh for perpetuall honour and glory by this warre. For this breach of the wals will encourage theſe barbarians, and allure their armed men to clime vp in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof ſo many ſhall on euery ſide be eaſily ſlaine, as we ſhall but aime at : except you had rather ſit ſtill, holding your hands together in your boſome as cowards. Their dead bodies ſhall fill vp the breaches againe, if* I *you be men mindfull of your liberty. What is there (worthy captains and ſouldiers) that letteth our victory? or memorable ſlaughter of our enemies? by whom only theſe two places of the city can be aſſaulted: all the reſt is out of danger and feares no enemies force. Here only is the pains to be taken, this onely is left for you to defend, and here ſhall you all be: the courage, force, and ſtrength of you all ſhall in this place appeare. How will you ſo many worthy captains, and valiant ſouldiers, in ſo little roome beſtow your ſelues? we are too many defendants for ſo ſmall breaches. Yet let vs play the men, and do our endeuour: let vs in one conflict weaken the tyrants ſtrength, and burſt his proud heart; he will forſake this city, and raiſe his ſiege vnfortunatly begun, ſo ſoone as he ſhall ſee his firſt aſſault to coſt him the liues of ſo many thouſands of his men.* K

Croia aſſaulted.

When *Vranacontes* had with this comfortable ſpeech thus encouraged his ſoldiers, againſt the aſſault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence ſet al things in order for the ſame, & repaired the breaches as wel as was poſſible in that caſe, he gaue them leaue for that night to take their reſt. In the morning *Amurath* commanded the aſſault to be giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turks cheerefully begun, and euery man buſie to perform the ſeruice he was appointed vnto. But by that time that the aſſault was well begun, a ſudden alarum was raiſed throughout all the Turks campe : for *Scanderbeg* with fiue thouſand valiant ſoldiers, had ſuddenly broken in vpon one ſide of the Turks great camp, and at the firſt encounter had ſlain ſix hundred of the Turks, & was now ſpoiling their tents. The rumor whereof troubled the whole campe, and made the Turks with leſſe courage to aſ- L ſault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although he had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the ſafeguard of his tents, yet for more ſurety ſent *Stremet* one of his greateſt captains, with foure thouſand ſouldiers backe into the campe, for more ſurety; ſaying, that nothing could be too ſure, againſt that wild beaſt: meaning the fury of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* alſo the yong prince, haſted thither in great choler with his guard, much againſt his fathers will. But *Moſes*, *Scanderbegs* lieutenant, knowing himſelf too weake to withſtand the multitude that was ſwarming thither (contenting himſelf with that which was already done) had before *Mahomets* comming, ſpeedily retired with all his army into the ſafegard of the mountains, from whence he came : hauing done great harme in the Turks campe, with the loſſe but of ten men.

Scanderbeg in danger.

Scanderbeg in the heat of this skirmiſh, forgetting himſelf had ſo M far ingaged himſelf among the Turks, that he was by them on euery ſide incloſed, & in great danger to haue bin ſlaine or taken : yet valiantly breaking through them, he eſcaped the danger, and recouered the mountains, and with much ado came at length to his camp, to the great joy and comfort of them all; being before in great feare he had bin loſt. This was accounted

A the greateſt ouerſight of *Scanderbeg* in all his wars; for ſo much as the office of a good General
conſiſteth not in aduenturing of his perſon to manifeſt danger, but in the politick gouernment
of his charge. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus aſſailed the Turks camp, *Amurath*
but faintly aſſaulted the breaches, expecting the ſucceſſe in the camp: but when he vnderſtood
that *Scanderbeg* was retyred, and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the wals: and firſt with
the multitude of his archers and ſmall ſhot labored to driue the defendants from the wals, ouerwheming
them with arrows falling as thick as haile. And likewiſe at the ſame time other
common ſoldiers of baſer account, brought ſcaling ladders and other things needfull for the
ſcaling of the walls. After whom alſo followed the Ianizaries and other choſen ſoldiers, ready
to mount the ladders ſo ſoone as they ſhould be ſet to the wals. But whilſt they climb vp the
B high hils in this order, the garriſon ſoldiers made ſuch ſlaughter of them with ſhot from the
wals and out of the city, that they would haue preſently retyred, had they not bin forced forward
by their captains, who ſpared neither ſtripes nor wounds, when words would not ſerue: by
this tyrannicall means, the ſcaling ladders were with great ſlaughter of the common ſoldiers
ſet vp againſt the wals, and the Turks climing vp, came to handy blowes with the defendants
at the breaches: nothing was to be heard but the crying of the people, the clattering of armor,
and the inſtruments of warre, which was terribly redoubled with the eccho's from the mountains
round about. The Turks doing what they might to win the breaches, were by the Chriſtians
worthily repulſed, and with their ladders tumbled headlong down the mountain, with
ſuch horrible ſlaughter and diſcomfiture, ſpecially of the common ſoldiers, that none of them
C would ſet one foot forward again toward the wals, although they had ſmal hope to ſaue themſelues
by retiring backe: for the fierce young Prince *Mahomet* euen then making ſhew of his
cruell diſpoſition, cauſed them that returned, to be ſlain, by the terror thereof to driue others
forward. Theſe common ſoldiers, whom the Turks make ſmall reckoning of, are for the moſt
part miſerable Chriſtians, which liued in ſuch countries as had ſometimes receiued the faith
of Chriſt, but are now vnder the Turkiſh ſlauery; of which ſort of wretched people the Turkiſh
tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres, moſt commonly vnarmed, becauſe
they dare not well truſt them in wars againſt the Chriſtians: theſe carry all the baggage
of the camp, theſe ſerue to fetch wood and water for other ſouldiers of better account, theſe
ſerue in ſtead of pioners to caſt trenches and raiſe bulwarks; and when battell is to be giuen, if
D it be in plaine field, theſe haue their weapons put in theirr hands, and thruſt into the fore front
of the battel, to blunt the enemies ſwords: but if a city be to be beſieged, theſe ſerue as fit matter
to fil vp the breaches with their dead bodies, or to make bridges for other ſoldiers to paſſe
ouer vpon: and if they ſhrinke to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more
cruelly vſed by their commanders than by their enemies. When *Amurath* ſaw his ſouldiers ſo
diſcouraged, he ſtood in doubt whether it were better for that time to ſound a retrait, or to ſend
a new ſupply: but being inraged with the loſſe of his men, and deſirous to be in ſome part reuenged,
he ſent diuers companies of his better ſoldiers, for the incouragement of them which
were before diſcouraged, and ſo gaue a freſh aſſault: but with as euill or worſe ſucceſſe than
before; for *Vranacontes* had withdrawne from the breaches all thoſe ſouldiers which had endured
E the former aſſault, and placed other freſh & luſty men in their ſtead; who encouraged with
the former victory, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellows, repulſed the Turks with
double ſlaughter: vntill that the aged King, not able longer to behold the endleſſe loſſe of his
men, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded; which all his ſouldiers were glad to heare, and ſo returned
into his camp, hauing loſt in thoſe two aſſaults eight thouſand men, without any notable harm
done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

Mahomet thinking to deceiue Scanderbeg, is himſelf by him deceiued.

This ſhamefull repulſe much grieued all the captains and commanders of *Amuraths* army,
but eſpecially *Mahomet* the young Prince, whoſe violent nature vnacquainted with miſhap,
burnt impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched on
the mountaine of Tumeniſt, not far from his fathers army, he drew moſt of the beſt and readieſt
F ſoldiers of all the whole camp, into that quarter which was neereſt vnto *Scanderbeg*: of purpoſe
that if he ſhould againe aſſaile the camp in that place (as it was moſt like he would) he
ſhould be encountred with ſo many braue and valiant men there in readines, as that it ſhould
be hard for him either to do any great harme, or for himſelfe to eſcape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg*
by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as alſo in what order the camp lay: wherupon he

left *Moſes* with fiue hundred ſoldiers in the place where he lay; taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certain appointed houre in the night following, ſhould aſſaile the Turks camp in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay; and hauing there raiſed ſome tumult, ſpeedily to retyre again vnto his aſſured ſtrength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* himſelf with the whole ſtrength of his army, in number about 8000, in the mean time tooke a compas, and by certain ſecret by-waies through the woods and mountains, came to the farther ſide of the Turks camp, to a place called Mountecle. The night following, *Moſes* at the appointed hour, with his 500 ſoldiers aſſailed that part of the Turks camp next to him, with ſuch noiſe and tumult as if it had bin ſome great army: by occaſion whereof, all the Turks camp was in alarm, and drew in haſt to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* commanded. When at the ſame inſtant *Scanderbeg* with al his army brake into the other ſide of the Turks army, where he was leaſt feared or looked for, & from whence the beſt ſoldiers were before drawn by *Mahomet*; and there made ſuch ſlaughter and hauocke of the reſt (not knowing which way to turn themſelues) that the loſſe a little before receiued vnder the walls of Croia was now forgot, as a ſmall thing in compariſon of this. *Moſes* hauing raiſed a great fear, and don little harm, returned in ſafety to his wel known ſtrength; and *Scanderbeg* hauing made great ſpoil in the Camp, fearing to be oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, if hee ſhould there longer ſtay, returned in good time, hauing ſcarce loſt one man.

Amurath after this great loſſe and trouble of his Camp, withdrew the greateſt part of his ſmall Ordnance which he had before bent againſt the City, into his Trenches, placing them as commodiouſly as he might, for the defence therof againſt the ſudden attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hot ſeaſon of the year ſo cloſely incamp his Army, but that ſome part therof would ſtill be in the like danger as before; he therfore appointed *Sebalias* with ſixteen thouſand ſoldiers to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he ſhould no more trouble the Camp. After which order taken, he battered the Walls of Croia afreſh, and with his great Ordnance ouerthrew whatſoeuer the Citiſens had with great labour repaired, making the breaches greater and more ſaultable than before, intending once againe by a new aſſault to proue his fortune and the force of his ſoldiers: which he appointed to be the next day. But when he ſaw no ſign of courage or good hope in the heauy countenances of them diſcouraged; and that they yeelded vnto him their conſents rather for fear and ſhame, than for hope of victory: he called them Cowards, diſcouraged with the leaſt frown of fortune; and ſaid,

Amurath his comfortable ſpeech vnto his wearied ſouldiers.

Euery weak caſtle is able to hold out one aſſault; but if you wil draw theſe wild beaſts out of their dens, you muſt arm your ſelues like reſolute men of inuincible courage, to endure what thing ſoeuer ſhal happen. Great Captains with their puiſſant armies haue grown old vnder the walls of their enemies, vpon light and ſmall diſpleaſures: and will you, hauing receiued ſo many diſgraces of theſe periured Epirots, leaue them all vnreuenged? What great victory was euer yet by any man gained without bloudſhed? Remember the moſt glorious victory of Varna. It is hard without bloudy hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce enemies neck. All honorable things are brought to paſſe with aduenture and labor; and the end of this War dependeth vpon the taking of Croia: if it were once won, all this war were at an end; which if Scanderbeg *loſe (being the ſtrength of his kingdom) he will not tarry one day longer in Epirus. Wherfore bee of good cheer, and couragiouſly ſet vpon it: there is not more vncertaintie in any thing than in matters of war. Fortune is to be proued, and oftentimes prouoked of him that will wed her. And yet I wil not deny, but that we muſt go more warily to work againſt this enemy, and haſard our ſelues with better aduiſement, and not without reaſon like wild beaſts to run headlong vpon our own death. At length we ſhal wear them out, if we kill but ten of them at an aſſault; yet are they daily to be aſſailed, that they may haue no leiſure to refreſh themſelues, and to make vp their breaches; and peraduenture if force may not preuail, fortune may find ſome mean that we look not for, as it fell out at the ſiege of Sfetigrade, beyond all our expectation. Treaſon is ingenious, and mens deſires great where rewards are propounded.*

With theſe and the like ſpeeches old *Amurath* incouraged his captains & ſoldiers, and the next morning early began the aſſault; which the Turks valiantly attempted, and without any regard of danger, came vnto the gates of the City, aſſaying, but with vain and deſperat labour, A bour to haue broken them open. In this aſſault wilde-fire was caſt into many places of the city, and the great Artillery oftentimes diſcharged into the breaches, whereby many of the Turks themſelues were ſlain with their own great ſhot, together with the Chriſtians: for *Amurath* deſperatly ſet, was content to buy the life of one Chriſtian with the loſſe of twenty of his Turks. But the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly repulſed their enemies, ſo that of them that came to the gates, none eſcaped aliue; and of them that aſſaulted the great breach, the forwardeſt were firſt ſlain, and they which ſtood farther off were ſore wounded with great ſhot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* ſtill maintained the aſſault by ſending in of new ſupplies, delighted to ſee them go forward, but grieued at the heart to ſee them ſo ſlain; vntil at laſt, weary with beholding the ſlaughter of his men, he cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, and ſo ended the aſſault, B perſuaded by his Baſſa's, not wilfully to caſt away his valiant ſouldiers where there was no hope to preuail, but to preſerue them for his better ſeruice.

The Turks retyre.

Amurath ſeeks to vndermine Croia.

Amurath now out of hope to win the city by aſſault, thought good to prooue what might be don by vndermining the ſame: during which work he cauſed ſmall alarms daily to be giuen to the city, to the intent that the defendants buſied therwith, ſhould not perceiue the ſecret work of the mine. About which time his prouiſion of corn began to fail in his camp: for which cauſe he ſent his purueyors for Corn to Lyſia, a City of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, and bought of them great ſtore of corn. But as his officers were conueying it to the camp, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence therof, ſlew the Conuoy, and carried away with him all that prouiſion, diuiding it among his own ſoldiers. Howbeit not long after, *Amurath* C receiued great abundance of corn and other prouiſion out of Macedonia. Beſide that, the Venetian merchants afterwards furniſhed him with plenty of corn, oil, honey, and other neceſſaries: which *Scanderbeg* might wel haue hindred, but that he would not in ſo doing offend the Venetians, who were alſo his ſecret friends; conſidering that *Amurath* might haue had all the ſame prouiſion out of the further part of Macedonia, Thracia, Myſia, and ſuch other places, if he had not otherwiſe had it from the Venetians.

Whilſt *Amurath* thus lay expecting the ſucces of his mine, 400 of the gariſon ſoldiers of Croia ſallying out of the city, chaſed diuers of the Turks that were come forth, back again to the Camp. Wherof *Amurath* was glad, hoping that they, incouraged with that good hap, would to their further loſſe giue the like attempt afterward. But the ſtaid diſcretion of the D gouernor deceiued that his expectation: who conſidering the danger, would not ſuffer his ſoldiers any more to ſally out of the city. *Scanderbeg* alſo at this time hauing increaſed his army with a new ſupply of 2000 ſoldiers, diuided the ſame into three parts, deliuering one part to *Moſes*, another to *Tanuſie*, and reſeruing the third vnto himſelf. With this Army of 9000 thus diuided, he determined by night at one inſtant to aſſail the Turkes great Camp in three diuers places, appointing in which quarter euery one ſhould charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed was comming toward the Turks camp, he was diſcouered by their Scouts; wherupon a ſudden alarm was raiſed in the camp, and all mens minds turned that way, & ſoldiers appointed with all diligence to gard that ſide of the camp. But whilſt the Turkes were all at gaze this way for fear of *Scanderbeg*, *Moſes* & *Tanuſie* in the dead of the night at one time E aſſailed the Turks Camp in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they ſlew a number of the Turks, and made great ſpoil. At which time *Scanderbeg* did alſo what he might, but by reaſon he was before diſcouered, did not much harm. Vpon the approch of the day *Scanderbeg* retyred again to the hils, and by that time it was fair day light ſate down vpon the ſide of a great mountain about 20 furlongs off, in the open ſight of all the Turks camp: which he did of purpoſe, that *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, which were by night retyred into the mountaines, might ſee which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that he ſtood there to braue their whole camp, and as it were to out-face them, to the great incouragement of the beſieged; diuers of them earneſtly craued leaue of *Amurath* that they might go vp to him, and at leaſtwiſe beat him out of ſight: which he granting, 12000 of his beſt ſoldiers, of F which 7000 were horſmen, and the reſt foot, preſently ſet forward to incounter them. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing them all the way they came, vpon their approch ſoftly retyred a little farther vp into the mountains, ſtil expecting the comming of *Moſes* & *Tanuſie*. The Turks vnacquainted with ſuch difficult waies, marched vp the ſteep hils after *Scanderbeg* with much labor and

pains,

paint, wel wearied of themſelues: but when they were come a great way into the mountaines, G they perceiued by the riſing of the duſt, that ſome greater force was at hand, and ſoon after they might plainly ſee the formoſt of their enemies. Wherfore fearing to bee incloſed, they began to retyre: in which retreit *Scanderbeg* hardly purſued them, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, ſlew many of them, but eſpecially with his archers. *Moſes* alſo comming afreſh on another ſide, cauſed them to fly down the hil amain, & beſide the ſlaughter that he made, took diuers priſoners. After which victory by *Scanderbeg* obtained in the ſight of *Amurath* and his whole army, he retyred again into the mountains.

The late ſpoil of the Turks camp, with this ouerthrow of the ſoldiers but now ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, much grieued the old tyrant: but the work of the mine, wherin he had of long laid vp his greateſt hope, ſorting now to no great purpoſe, beeing deemed as wel an endleſſe piece H of work, for the natural hardnes of the rock, as alſo of ſmall importance, for that it was by the defendants diſcouered, draue him to his wits end. His forces he had to his great loſſe ſufficiently proued, and ſtil found them too weake; and policie preuailed not. Nothing remained now, but to proue if by great gifts and glorious promiſes hee could firſt corrupt the faith of the Gouernor, and afterwards the garriſon, wherin he determined to ſpare no coſt. Wherupon he ſent one of his Baſſa's (a man of great authoritie and dexteritie of wit) vnto *Vranacontes*, with ſuch rich gifts and preſents as might haue mooued a right conſtant mind: commanding the Baſſa, if it were poſſible, firſt to faſten the ſame vpon the Gouernor, as preſents ſent from *Amurath* of meer bounty, in the honor of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his meſſage, not ſparing to promiſe any thing for the deliuering vp of the city, yea more than ſhould I be deſired. The Baſſa attended on but with two ſeruants, came with this rich preſent neer to the gates of the City, and there ſtayd vntill the Gouernors pleaſure were known. By whoſe commandement he was receiued into the city, and brought to his preſence. Then the Baſſa with much reuerence and many magnifical words, preſented vnto *Vranacontes* the rich gifts ſent from *Amurath*; and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him as the reward of his valor. But *Vranacontes* willed him firſt to declare his meſſage from *Amurath*, vpon the hearing wherof he would (he ſaid) as he ſaw cauſe, either receiue or refuſe them: before which time he would not be beholden to his enemy, by receiuing from him the leaſt curteſie. With which anſwer the ſubtil Baſſa nothing diſmaied, with great conſtancie thus began to deliuer his meſſage: K

The Baſſa ſent from Amurath craftily ſeeks to corrupt the gouernor, and to perſuade the ſoldiers to yeeld vp the city.

Howſoeuer we agree (ſaid he) *vpon other matters we come for, we brought not theſe gifts of purpoſe to deceiue any: for ſo men vſe to deal with their children and ſeruants, and not with men of courage and valour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be ſuſpected, (as you haue right wiſely ſaid, and wee our ſelues know) yet we durſt not for ſhame come vnto ſo worthy a Gouernor (as the common ſaying is) empty handed. Neither ought you, if you be the man you ſeem to be, and whom men report you are, to refuſe our curteſie. Take this preſent in good part, which ſhall no way inforce or hinder you to determin or diſpoſe of your affairs otherwiſe than ſhall ſeem vnto you good: neither ſhall wee once obiect vnto you theſe gifts, which we ſo frank and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you reiect or admit his demands and meſſage: wherin there is (perhaps) no leſſe regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no* L *greater token of a baſe mind, than to giue, in hope to receiue again. We come vnto you frankely, (worthy Gouernor) I ſpeak it from my heart, wee goe not about with filed ſpeech and rich rewards to circumuent thee, whoſe inuincible minde we haue ſo often in vain proued with our forces and power. That is it for which* Amurath *loueth thee. He doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies; and if it were poſsible, deſireth to haue them with himſelf. There verily with ſo mighty a Monarch might thy inuincible mind and pregnant courage find a better way vnto the higheſt type of Fortunes bliſſe. Not that I condemn* Scanderbeg *(whom we his enemies do highly commend) for his Countrey ſo wel recouered, and ſo oftentimes worthily defended, yet chiefly by your help; but you are worthy of another manner of Soueraign, and of another maner of calling, and not to ſpend all the daies of your life, and ſuch heroical vertues in obſcuritie, and (without offence be it ſaid) in contemptible baſenes. Beſides that,* Scanderbegs *eſtate is* M *but momentary, the Deſtinies haue aſsigned vnto him too too mighty an enemy; his deſtruction may wel be deferred, but not by any means auoided.* Amurath *hath conceiued againſt him an implacable diſpleaſure, and prepared his forces accordingly: he hath ſworn to ſpare no coſt, no labor, no danger: and that he*

A *neuer whilſt he liueth depart out of Epirus, before he haue impoſed a deadly yoke vpon his neck. And behold, the firſt of his miſery beginneth at this city, and vpon your ſelues. We daily hear his pauilions ſound with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, That he will neuer depart out of this place before he haue taken this city, and ſatisfied his angry mind with the torture of your bodies; no, not if he ſhould therfore loſe Hadrianople, yea and that more is, his whole kingdom. And verily he will do it, which I fear to diuine or think vpon: For although I with others bear againſt you the mind of an enemy, yet am I a man, and mooued with human compaſſion. Beleeue me, ye men of Croia, beleeue mee, my eies would ſcarſely endure to behold the horrible ſpectacle of your miſerable fortune. I tell you again, he will do it, except you change your purpoſe, and now receiue health, life, liberty and peace, whilſt it is ſo freely offered. For albeit that this notable ſtrong place, theſe impregnable walls, and eſpecially your own valour, do yet defend you; how long will it* B *hold out? Verily no longer than you haue victuals, no longer than you haue meat to ſuſtain your bodies: Do you think that* Amurath *wil raiſe his ſiege in the middle of the heat of this war, and be gon? No, no; if force will not preuail, if all his attempts fail, yet ſhall you ſee and feel theſe enemies continually to your hurt; you ſhall alwaies haue theſe tents in your eies, and at your gates, vntill long famine, which maſtreth all things, tame your courage alſo. I pray you, what hope haue you left? from whence ariſeth in your reſolute minds ſuch deſperat contempt of danger? Can* Scanderbeg *victuall you being ſo ſtreitly beſieged? who hideth himſelf (poor man) in the woods all day, and flieth ouer the tops of the mountains, loden with trauell and care, ſcarſe able to relieue his own miſery. Or will the Venetians relieue you, who daily bring vnto vs, and ſtore vs with too too great plenty of all things for this war againſt you. Wherfore repent your too much hardines, and gather your wits together: behold, I your enemy aduiſe you; you haue long enough* C *continued in your obſtinacy; your country and liberty is not ſo far to be defended, as that you ſhould therfore fight againſt God. But wherfore do I call this, liberty? you muſt giue place vnto your fortune, and learn to obey them that be too ſtrong for you. You ſhall find aſſured liberty, rich rewards, perpetuall reſt with* Amurath. *Prouide for your ſelues, if you be wiſe, whilſt all things are yet whole for you to determin of; whilſt we your enemies exhort and requeſt you, and had rather haue you our voluntary companions, than our inforced ſeruants and ſlaues.*

This the Baſſa ſpake with great grauitie, and no leſſe vehemencie, expecting ſome great motions to haue riſen in the minds of the ſoldiers. But when he perceiued that his ſpeech had rather filled them with indignation, than with fear; and that it was but a vain thing to go a- D bout to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of *Amurath* could not make afraid with weapons; he requeſted to talk alone with the gouernor in ſecret; which was alſo granted. For all men had no leſſe good opinion of the worthy gouernors fidelitie, than of his wiſdom and valor. The crafty Baſſa hauing him by himſelf, began with great cunning to deliuer his more ſecret meſſage. When *Vranacontes* perceiuing by a little, what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his ſpeech, and without more ado commanded him to depart, ſtreitly charging him, that neither he nor any other ſhould after that time preſume to come from his maſter to the city, to ſpeak with him about any ſuch diſhonorable matter; for if he did, he would in deteſtation therof cauſe their hands, noſe, and ears to be cut off, and ſo return them diſmembred in ſtead of anſwer. And ſo the Baſſa was with his preſents turned out of the city, E and no man ſuffered to receiue any thing of him in reward; although the ſoldiers could haue bin wel content to haue eaſed him and his ſeruants of that cariage, if the gouernor would but haue winked therat.

Vranacontes reiecteth Amuraths preſents, and threatens the Baſſa.

Great was the expectation in the Turks camp, of the Baſſa's return; but when they ſaw the preſents were not receiued, they eaſily gheſſed that all went not as they wiſhed. But when *Amurath* himſelf vnderſtood the gouernours reſolute anſwer, he in great rage commanded all things to be made ready for a freſh aſſault: which he did rather to ſatisfie his anger, than vpon any hope he had to preuail therin. The next day he cauſed a furious aſſault to bee giuen to the city, but with greater loſſe to himſelf than before; the Chriſtians ſtil valiantly defending the city againſt the Turkiſh fury. In this aſſault many of the Turks were ſlaine at the F breach with their own great ſhot: for whileſt *Amurath* ſought therwith to driue the Chriſtians from the defence of the breach, he ſlew a great number more of the forwardeſt of his own men, than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endles ſlaughter of his men, he gaue ouer the aſſault, and returned into his camp, as if he had bin a man halfe frantick

Croia againe in vain aſſaulted.

tick or diſtract of his wits; and there ſate down in his Tent all that day full of melancholy paſſions, ſomtimes violently pulling his hoary beard & white locks, complaining of his hard and diſaſter fortune, that he had liued ſo long to ſee thoſe daies of diſgrace, wherin all his former glory and triumphant victories were obſcured, by one baſe town of Epirus. His Baſſa's and graue counſellors laboring in the meane time with long diſcourſes to comfort him vp: ſomtimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories, and otherwhiles producing antient examples of like euent. But dark and heauy conceits had ſo ouerwhelmed the melancholy old Tyrant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying ſpirits: ſo that the little remainder of naturall heat that was now left in his aged body, now oppreſſed and almoſt extinguiſhed with melancholy conceits, and his aged body dried vp with ſorrow, he became ſick of griefe. Wherupon by the counſell of ſome of his Baſſa's he ſent an Embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, if he would yeeld to pay him a yearly tribute of ten thouſand Duckats: thinking by that means his honour to be well ſaued, if before his departure out of Epirus, hee could but make *Scanderbeg* his Tributary. This Embaſſadour was by *Scanderbeg* honourably entertained in his Campe; but the offered peace at the ſame time vtterly refuſed. The Embaſſadour returning vnto *Amurath*, declared vnto him the euil ſucceſſe of his Embaſſage, which greatly encreaſed his melancholy ſickneſſe. And *Scanderbeg* to grieue him the more, vnderſtanding that he was dangerouſly ſicke, and that the great Baſſa's were more carefull of the Kings health, than of the ſucceſſe of the wars; diuers times aſſailed the Turks Camp. Which thing though the Baſſa's kept from his knowledge with all carefulneſſe; yet he oftentimes ſuſpected the matter, by the often alarums and tumults in the Camp, and with the grief therof languiſhed. So feeling his ſickneſſe daily to increaſe, and that he could not much longer liue, lying vpon a pallet in his pauilion, grieuouſly complained vnto his Baſſa's, That the Deſtinies had ſo blemiſhed all the former courſe of his life with ſuch an obſcure death, That hee which had ſo often repreſſed the fury of the Hungarians, and almoſt brought to nought the pride of the Greecians, together with their name, ſhould now be inforced to giue vp the ghoſt vnder the walls of an obſcure Caſtle (as hee termed it) and that in the ſight of his contemptible enemy. After that, turning himſelfe to his ſon *Mahomet*, he erneſtly commended him to the faithfulnes of his Baſſas, and gaue him many graue aduertiſements, ſomtimes in ſecret betwixt themſelues, and ſomtimes in the hearing of others: want of ſtrength, and abundance of tears running down his aged face (vpon the ſight of his ſon) oftentimes interrupting his ſpeech. Yet ſick vnto death as hee was, and drawing faſt vnto his end, he forced himſelfe, to warn his ſon of ſuch things as now at his death grieued him moſt.

The laſt ſpeech & admonition of Amurath to his ſon Mahomet vpon his death bed.

Let myne example (quoth he) *be a warning vnto thee, my ſon, neuer to contemn thine enemy, be hee neuer ſo weak: of which one thing aboue all others I haue repented my ſelf too long, and ſhall do after my death, if any feeling of human things remain in the dead. And that I was ſo fooliſh and inconſiderate to foſter vp as it were in my boſom this my domeſticall and neglected enemy, wherby I haue purchaſed vnto my ſelf this calamity, and for euer blemiſhed the honor of the* Othoman *kings; whilſt I ſo baſely ending my daies vnder the walls of Croia, ſhall become a by-word vnto the world and all poſterity for euer. This Traitor ſhould euen then haue bin oppreſſed, when he by treachery firſt recouered his wicked kingdom: in that newneſſe of his eſtate, and before the minds of the people were aſſured vnto him, then it had been an eaſie matter, without bloud-ſhed vtterly to haue extinguiſhed the wretch, together with his name.* Alis Baſſa, *whoſe euill fortune was the firſt beginning of his good; nor the other Generals, who by him ſlaine or taken priſoners, increaſed his ſtrength & credit vnto his ſubiects, ſhould not haue bin ſent againſt him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but would ſcarſe haue beleeued, that euer I ſhould haue therby receiued ſuch diſgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdom, if I had not beene taught the ſame by myne own experience, to my great loſſe and hearts grief. We entred into Epirus, and here incamped an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong: now if leiſure ſerue you, take view of them, examin the matter, you ſhall find a great want of them. The fields could not contain our regiments and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents ſtand empty? how many horſes want riders? You ſhall go to* Hadrianople *with our forces much impaired. As for me, the Deſtinies haue vowed my ſpirits to this country of Epirus, as vnto me fatal. But wherfore do I impute vnto my ſelf theſe impediments* *and chances of fortune? for then firſt began this ſeed of miſchief in Epirus, when the Hungarians and other the Chriſtian princes roſe vp in arms againſt vs; at which time we fought not with them for ſoueraignty, but for the whole ſtate of our kingdom, as the bloudy battels of Varna and Coſſova ſtill witnes to the world. So whilſt I had neither leiſure nor ſufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once, in the mean time this enemy grew as you ſee. But how or in what order you are herafter to wage war againſt him, you may not look for any direction from me, which haue in all theſe matters ſo euil directed my ſelf. Fortune neuer deceiued my indeauors more than in this: but haply thou* Mahomet *my ſon mayſt proue a more fortunat warrior againſt him: and for ſo many honors already giuen vnto me, the deſtinies haue reſerued the triumph of Epirus for thee. Wherefore, my ſon, thou ſhalt receiue from me this Scepter, and theſe royall enſignes: but aboue all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemie, charging thee not to leaue my death vnreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for ſo great and ſtately a patrimony as thou art to receiue from me: it is the only ſacrifice that my old departing ghoſt deſireth of thee.*

Shortly after he became ſpeechles, and ſtriuing with the pangs of death half a day, he then breathed out his gaſtly ghoſt, to the great ioy and contentment of the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians. He died about the middle of Autumn, *Anno Dom.* 1450. when he had liued 85 years, as moſt write, and therof reigned 28, or as ſome others report 30; about fiue months after the beſieging of Croia.

Amurath his death.

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erſt not inferior vnto the greateſt monarchs of that age, dead almoſt in diſpair: a worthy mirror of honors frailty, yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end neither comfort nor relief. Who had fought greater battels? who had gained greater victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than did *Amurath*? who by the ſpoil of ſo many mighty Kings and Princes, and by the conqueſt of ſo many proud and warlike nations, again reſtored and eſtabliſhed the Turks kingdom, before by *Tamerlane* and the Tartars in a manner clean defaced. He it was that burſt the heart of the proud Grecians, eſtabliſhing his Empire at Conſtantinople, euen in the centre of their bowels; from whence haue proceeded ſo many miſeries & calamities into the greateſt part of Chriſtendom, as no tongue is able to expres. He it was that firſt brake down the Hexamile or wall of ſeparation on the ſtreit of Corinth, and conquered the greateſt part of Peloponeſus. He it was that ſubdued vnto the Turkes ſo many great countries and prouinces in Aſia; that in plain field and ſet battell ouerthrew diuers puiſſant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his ſubiection; who hauing ſlaine *Vladiſlaus* king of Hungary and Polonia, and more than once chaſed out of the field *Huniades* that famous and redoubted warrior, had in his proud and ambitious heart promiſed to himſelf the conqueſt of a great part of Chriſtendom. But ô how far was he now changed from the man he then was! how far did theſe his laſt ſpeeches differ from the courſe of his forepaſſed life! full of ſuch baſe paſſionat complaints and lamentations as beſeemed not a man of his place & ſpirit; but ſome vile wretch ouertaken with diſpair, & afraid to dy. Where were now thoſe hauty thoughts, thoſe lofty looks, thoſe thundring and commanding ſpeeches, at which ſo many great Captains, ſo many troups and legions, ſo many thouſands of armed ſoldiers were wont to tremble and quake? Where is that head, before adorned with ſo many trophies and triumphs? Where is that victorious hand that ſwaied ſo many ſcepters? where is the majeſtie of his power and ſtrength, that commanded ouer ſo many nations & kingdoms? O how is the caſe now altred! he lieth now dead, a ghaſtly filthy ſtinking carkaſſe, a clod of clay vnregarded, his hands cloſed, his eies ſhut, and his feet ſtretched out, which erſt proudly traced the countries by him ſubdued and conquered. And now of ſuch infinit riches, ſuch vnmeaſurable wealth, ſuch huge treaſures, ſuch ſtately honors and vain-glorious praiſes as he in his life time enioyed; his frail body enjoyed nothing, but left all behind it. O the weake condition of mans nature! ô the vain-glory of mortal Creatures! ô the blinde and peruerſe thoughts of fooliſh men! Why do we ſo magnifie our ſelues? why are wee ſo puft vp with pride? why do we ſo much ſet our minds vpon riches, authority, and other vanities of this life? wherof neuer man had yet one daies aſſurance, and at our moſt need, and when we leaſt think, quite forſake vs; leauing euen them that moſt ſought after them, and moſt abounded in them, ſhrouded oft times in the ſheet of diſhonor and fame.

Amurath an example of the vanity of worldly honor.

That his death is otherwiſe by ſome reported, I am not ignorant; the Turks ſaying that he died miraculouſly forewarned of his death at Hadrianople. And ſome others, That hee died in Aſia, ſtrucken with an apoplexy proceeding of a ſurfet taken of the immoderate drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barleſius*, who liued in his time in Scodra faſt by Epirus, whoſe authoritie in the report of the wars betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, ſets it down in ſuch maner as is before ſaid.

Amurath buried at Pruſa.

Preſently after his death, *Mahomet* his ſon, for fear of ſome innouation to be made at home, raiſed the ſiege and returned to Hadrianople: and afterward with great ſolemnitie buried his dead body at the Weſt ſide of Pruſa, in the ſuburbs of the city; where he now lieth in a chapel without any roofe, his graue nothing differing from the manner of the common Turkes: which they ſay he commanded to be don in his laſt will, that the mercy and bleſſing of God (as he termed it) might come vnto him, by the ſhining of the Sun and Moone, and falling of the rain and due of heauen vpon his graue.

He whilſt he liued mightily inlarged the Turkiſh kingdom, and with greater wiſdom and policie than his predeceſſors eſtabliſhed the ſame. Inſomuch that ſome attribute to him the firſt inſtitution of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the firſt, his great grandfather, (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented, and the policy of that ſtate, wherein it euer ſince in his poſteritie flouriſhed, euen by himſelfe plotted. For the better eſtabliſhing wherof in his own houſe, & to cut off al occaſion of fear, as alſo to leaue all ſuch as he thought might riſe againſt him, naked & bare of forces to reſiſt (but eſpecially the other antient and noble families of the Turks, ſtil ſecretly repining at the great honor of the *Othoman* kings) he as a man of great wiſdom and iudgment, to keep them vnder in the beginning of his reign, by manifold fauors began to bind to himſelf men of ſtrange and forrein countries, his ſeruants; and by ordering his moſt weighty affaires by their authoritie, purpoſed ſo by little and little to caſt off the ſeruice of his natural Turks: they in the meen time little or nothing at all looking into this his practiſe. And wheras the *Othoman* Kings his predeceſſors had for the moſt part, or rather altogether raiſed their Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the Court, of ſuch children of the Chriſtians as were taken in the Wars; hee, ſeeing by experience how ſeruiceable thoſe new kind of ſoldiers were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himſelf an army altogether of ſuch able perſons, his own creatures, and ſo to bring in a new kind of Warfare, wholly depending of himſelf. And to that end, by his officers appointed for that purpoſe, took from the Chriſtians throughout his dominions, euery fiſt child; the faireſt and apteſt of whom he placed in his own Seraglio at Hadrianople, and the reſt in other-like places by him built for ſuch purpoſe: where they were by ſufficient teachers, firſt inſtructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion, and then in all maner of actiuity and feats of arms. Of theſe being grown to mans ſtate, he made horſemen, gaue them great penſions, and ſorting them into diuers orders, appointed them alſo to gard his perſon, honoring the better ſort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to ſay, his ſons the Knights: and of theſe hee began to make his Baſſa's, his Generals of his armies, and the gouernors of his prouinces and cities, with all the great offices of ſtate. The reſt, & far the greateſt part of theſe tribute children, taken from their Chriſtian parents, and not brought vp in the Seraglio's, hee cauſed to be diſperſed into euery city and country of his dominion in Aſia, there for certain years to be brought vp in all hardnes and painful labor, neuer taſting of eaſe or pleaſure: out of which hard brood ſo inured to pains, he made choice of the moſt luſty and able bodies, fitteſt for ſeruice, as hee thought good; who kept in continuall exerciſe, and by skilfull men taught to handle all maner of weapons, but eſpecially the bow, the piece, and the ſcimitar, were by him as occaſion ſerued, added to the other Ianizaries, and appointed for the garding of his perſon; commonly calling them by the names of his Sons. The remainder of theſe Tribute children, as vnfit for the Wars, he put vnto other baſe occupations and miniſteries. But vnto thoſe martiall men of all ſorts ſo by him ordained, he appointed a continuall pay according to their degrees and places: and by great liberties and benefits beſtowed vpon them, bound them ſo faſt vnto him, as that he might now account himſelf to haue of them ſo many ſons, as he had ſoldiers. For they, together with the Chriſtian religion, hauing forgotten their parents and Countrey, and knowing no other lord and maſter but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace only, remained euer bound and faithfull vnto him, and ſo kept others alſo, as wel the naturall Turks themſelues, as the other oppreſſed Chriſtians, with-

A in the bounds of obedience and loyaltie. A great policie proceeding from a deep iudgment,
firſt to weaken the Chriſtians, by taking from them their beſt children, and of greateſt hope;
and then by them depending wholly of himſelf, to keep in awe and dutifull obedience his natural
ſubiects alſo: hauing them alwaies as a ſcourge ready to chaſtiſe the rebellious or diſloyal.
Now the other *Othoman* Kings and Princes (the ſucceſſors of *Amurath*) keeping this
cuſtom, and alſo increaſing it one after another, haue therby not onely kept the empire ſtill in
their houſe and family, where it was firſt gotten; but alſo ſo maintained the majeſty of their
ſtate, as that they are of their ſubiects feared, obeyed, and honored not as Kings, but as Gods.
For the naturall Turks their ſubiects loſing courage continually, and daily growing more
baſe and daſtardly, by reaſon they are not ſuffered to practiſe the knowledge of arms; and the
B ſoldiers in whoſe power all things are, knowing nothing of their own, but holding & acknowledging
all that they haue to come of their Lord, account them as Lords and Kings of all: ruling
much after the maner of the *Pharaohs* the antient Kings of Egypt; who were abſolute
Lords and maſters both of the publique and priuat wealth of their ſubiects, whom they kept
vnder as ſlaues and villains. And herof comes it to paſſe, that the better part of them whom
we cal Turks (but are indeed the children of Chriſtians, & ſeduced by their falſe Inſtructers)
deſire to be called Muſulmans, that is to ſay, right beleeuers; holding it a reprochfull & diſhonorable
thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and aboue other people. For that
they knowing right wel, that there is not one natural Turk among all thoſe that bear authoritie
and rule, and are had in greater honor and reputation than the reſt (ſuch as are the men of
C war and the courtiers) but he is born a Chriſtian either of father, or at the leaſt of his grandfather;
auouch them only to be Turks who liue in Natolia, all of them either merchants, or of
baſe and mechanical trades, or poor laborers with the ſpade and pick-ax, and ſuch like people
vnfit for the wars; the reſt (as I ſay) holding it for a title of honor, to be deſcended of Chriſtian
parents. Yea the grand Seignior himſelf, although by the fathers ſide hee be come of progenitors
ſuch as were naturall Turks born; yet many of them had Chriſtian mothers, which
they accounted in the greateſt part of their nobility and honor. Thus by *Amuraths* wiſdom
was the Order of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the Court greatly aduanced, though not
by him begun; and the politick ſtate of the kingdom (to ſay the truth) quite altered: the natural
Turks (more than the Sultan himſelf) now bearing therin no ſway; but only theſe new
D ſouldiers, all of them deſcended from Chriſtian parents, and by adoption as it were become
the ſons of the Turkiſh Sultans, and vnder them commanding all. By whom they haue euer
ſince mannaged their eſtate, and by their good ſeruice wonderfully, euen to the aſtoniſhment
of the world, increaſed and extended their empire. But of them more ſhall be ſaid herafter.

A great policie.

This great King was of his ſubiects while he liued, wonderfully beloued, and no leſſe of
them after his death lamented. He was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkiſh
Kings either before or after him: by nature melancholy and ſad, and accounted rather politick
than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great diſſembler and painful in trauell, but waiward and
teſty aboue meaſure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had iſſue ſix ſons, *Achmetes*,
Aladin, *Mahomet*, *Haſan* (otherwiſe called *Chaſan*) *Vrchan*, & *Achmetes* the yonger, of ſome
E called *Calepinus*. Three of whom died before; but the two yongeſt were by their
vnnaturall brother *Mahomet*, who ſucceeded in the Turkiſh kingdom,
euen in their infancie, in the beginning
of his reign cruelly murthered.

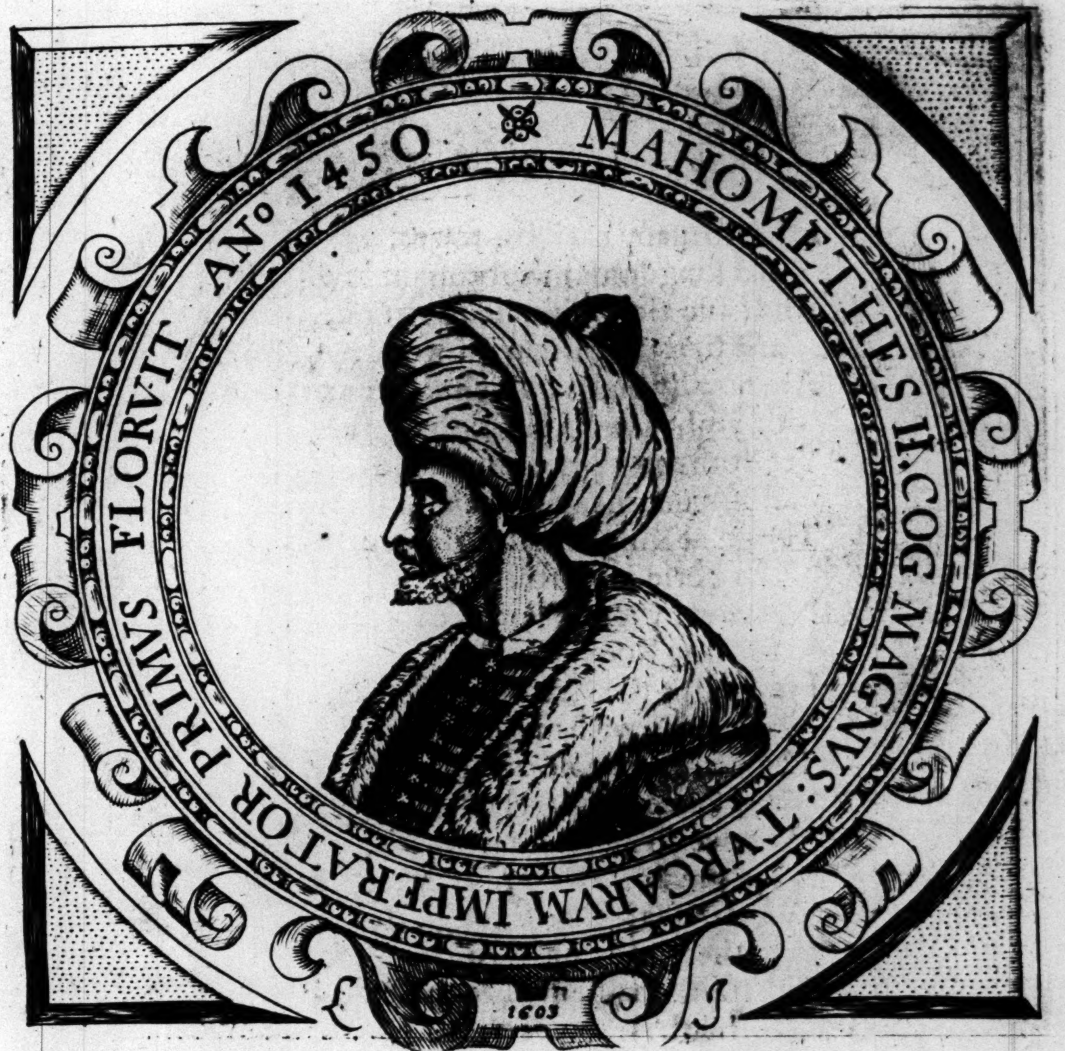
Amuraths disposition.

The ſons of Amurath.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath *the ſecond.*

Emperors	*Of the Eaſt*	*Iohn Palaeologus.*	1421.	24
		Conſtantinus Palaeologus.	1444.	8
	Of the Weſt	*Sigiſmund King of Hungary.*	1411.	28
		Albert the ſecond, King of Hungary and Bohemia.	1438	2
		Frederick the third, Archduke of Auſtria.	1440	54
Kings	*Of England*	*Henry the fiſt.*	1413.	9
		Henry the ſixth.	1422.	39
	Of France	*Charles the ſixt.*	1381.	42
		Charles the ſeuenth.	1423.	38
	Of Scotland	*Iames the firſt.*	1424.	13
		Iames the ſecond.	1436.	29
Biſhops of Rome		*Martin the V.*	1417.	13
		Eugenius the IV.	1431.	16
		Nicolas the V.	1447.	8


MAHOMETHES II. COG MAGNVS: TVRCARVM IMPERATOR PRIMVS FLORVIT ANº 1450
L J
1603

Paul. Iov. Illuſt. viror. Ecolog. lib. 3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot vrbes,
Solus & immenſi qui timor orbis eram:
Me rapuit quacunque rapit mors improba, ſed ſum
Virtute excelſa, ductus ad aſtra tamen.
Major Alexander *non me fuit,* Anibal *& non,*
Fuderit Auſonios tot licet ille duces.
Vici victores Danaos, domuiq; feroces
Caoniæ populos, Sauromataſq; truces.
Pannonius ſenſit, quantum ſurgebit in armis
Vis mea: qua latio cognita nuper erat.
Arſacidæ ſenſere manus has, ſenſit Arabſque:
Et mea ſunt Percæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat bellare Rhodum, ſuperare ſuperbam
Italiam, ſed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aſpera, quæque ſub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora brevis.
Sic hominum faſtus pereunt, ſic ſtemata, ſicque
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

In Engliſh thus:

I that ſo many nations, towns,
and kingdoms haue brought low;
And haue alone diſmaid the world,
and fil'd the earth with wo:
Am now by death (which all deuours)
brought down from high degree;
Yet doth the glory of my name
ſurmount the ſtarry skie.
The great King *Alexanders* fame
the world no better fil'd:
Nor worthy *Hanibal*, whoſe force
ſo many Romans kil'd.
I vanquiſht the victorious Greeks,
and tam'd with mighty hand
The warlike people of Epire,
and fierce Tartaria land.
My force in field Hungaria felt,
my greatnes is there known;
Which of late time through Italy,
to their great ruth is blown.
Th'Aſſyrians felt my heauy hand;
ſo did th'Arabians wild:
The Perſian King with all his force
I droue out of the field.
I purpoſed to win the Rhodes,
and Italy t'undo;
If that the fatall Deſtinies
had granted leaue therto.
But wo is me, for griſly Death
hath brought all this to nought,
And in the twinkling of an eye
is periſht all I thought.
So periſheth the pride of man,
his honor, wealth, and power,
His gold, and whatſoeuer els,
it fadeth as a flower.

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING, AND FIRST EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS, FOR HIS MANY VICTORIES SYRNAMED THE *GREAT*.

THE report of the death of old *Amurath* the late King, was in ſhort time blowne thorow moſt parts of Chriſtendome, to the great joy of many; but eſpecially of the Greekes and other poore Chriſtians which bordered vpon the tyrants Kingdome; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkiſh King, to make exchange alſo of their bad eſtate and fortune: and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, being in his childhood inſtructed therein (as was ſuppoſed) by his mother the daughter of the Prince of Seruia, a Chriſtian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but ſhort, as afterward by proofe it appeared: For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twenty yeares, ſucceeding his father in the Kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in ſhew the Mahometan Religion, abhorring the Chriſtian; but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other, but as a meere Atheiſt, deuoyd of all Religion, and worſhipping no other god but good Fortune, derided the ſimplicity of all ſuch as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions: which graceleſſe reſolution ſo wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his luſt, and making conſcience of nothing, kept no league, promiſe, or oath, longer than ſtood with his profit or pleaſure.

1450

Mahomet of no Religion.

Now in the Court men ſtood diuerſly affected towards the preſent ſtate: the mighty Baſſaes, and others of great authority, vnto whom the old Kings gouernment was neuer grieuous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting leſt the fierce nature of the yong King ſhould turn to the hurt of ſome of them in particular, and the ſhortning of their authority in generall, as indeed it ſhortly after fell out. But the luſty gallants of the Court weary of the old King, who in hope of preferment had long wiſhed for the gouernment of the yong Prince, were glad to ſee him ſet vpon his fathers ſeat. And the vulgar people (neuer conſtant but in vnconſtancy, and alwaies fawning vpon the preſent) exceedingly rejoyced in their yong King. The Ianizaries alſo at the ſame time (according to their accuſtomed manner) took the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iews that dwelt amongſt them, and eaſily obtained pardon for the ſame: whereupon he was by the ſame Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the Court, with great triumph ſaluted King. Which approbation of theſe men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Kings a greater aſſurance for the poſſeſſion of their Kingdome, than to be borne the eldeſt ſon of the King, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall appeare: ſo great is the power of theſe maſterfull ſlaues, in promoting to the kingdome whichſoeuer of the Kings ſons they moſt fauour, without much regard whether they be eldeſt or not.

This yong tyrant was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his fathers kingdome, but that he forgetting the lawes of nature, was preſently in perſon himſelfe about to haue murthered with his owne

Mahomet murdereth his brethren

hands, his youngeſt brother, then but eighteene moneths old, begotten on the daughter of *Sponderbeius*. Which vnnaturall part, *Moſes* one of his Baſſaes, and a man greatly in his fauour, perceiuing, requeſted him, not to embrue his own hands in the bloud of his brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to ſome other: which thing *Mahomet* commanded him the author of that counſell forthwith to do. So *Moſes* taking the child from the nurſe, ſtrangled it, with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young lady vnderſtanding of the death of her child (as a woman whom fury had made paſt feare) came, and in her rage reuiled the tirant to his face, ſhamefully vpbraiding him for his inhumane cruelty. When *Mahomet* to appeaſe her fury, requeſted her to be content, for that it ſtood with the policy of his ſtate: and willed her for her better contentment, to aske whatſoeuer ſhe pleaſed, and ſhe ſhould forthwith haue it. But ſhe deſiring nothing more than in ſome ſort to be reuenged, deſired to haue *Moſes* (the executioner of her ſonne) deliuered vnto her, bound: which when ſhe had obtained, ſhe preſently ſtruck him into the breaſt with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankfull maſter for helpe:) and proceeding in her cruell execution, cut an hole in his right ſide, and by piecemeale cut out his liuer, and caſt it to the dogs to eat. At the ſame time alſo he cauſed another of his brethren, committed by his father to the keeping of *Caly-Baſſa*, and now by him betraid into his hands, to be likewiſe murthered.

A cruell reuenge of an angry woman.

Mahomet reformeth the Turkiſh commonweale.

Thus beginning his tyrannous raign with the bloudy execution of them that were in bloud neereſt vnto him, and whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he preſently after began to frame a new forme of a common-weale, by abrogating and altering the old laws & cuſtoms, and publiſhing of new, better fitting his own humour, and more commodious for himſelfe: impoſing alſo new taxes and ſubſidies vpon his ſubjects, neuer before heard of: thereby to increaſe his treaſures, and ſatisfie his auaritious deſire: which amongſt many other his vices, ſo much reigned in him, as that he was thought ouer-ſparing vnto himſelfe, as well in his apparel as in his diet. And proceeding further, he called vnto ſtreit account all the great officers of his kingdome: of whom ſome he put to death, and confiſcated their goods: others he put to great fines, or quite remoued them from their offices. In like maner he dealt alſo with his great Baſſaes, admitting many falſe and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt them: whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercy was to be looked for. By which meanes he became no leſſe terrible vnto his ſubjects, than he was afterwards vnto his enemies: and ſo was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Among other things, he much miſliked in his court the exceſſiue number of faulconers and huntſmen, which was growne ſo great by the immoderate delight which his predeceſſors tooke in the pleaſures of the field, that there were continually maintained of the Kings charge ſeuen thouſand faulconers, and not many fewer huntſmen; ſaying, that he would not be ſo much a foole, as to maintain ſuch a multitude of men to attend vpon ſo meere a vanity. And therefore tooke order, that from thenceforth there ſhould be allowance made for 500 faulconers only, and 100 huntſmen: the reſt he appointed to ſerue as ſoldiers in his wars. At the ſame time alſo he entred into league with *Conſtantinus Palaeologus* the Emperor of Conſtantinople, and the other Princes of Grecia: as alſo with the Deſpot of Seruia, his grandfather by the mothers ſide, as ſome will haue it; howbeit, ſome others write, that the Deſpot his daughter, *Amurath* his wife, was but his mother in law, whom he, vnder the colour of friendſhip ſent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, ſtill allowing her a princely dowry. But if ſhe were not his mother (as like enough it is that ſhe was not) much more happy was ſhe that ſhe neuer groned for ſo graceleſſe a ſon.

1451

Mahomet goeth againſt the king of Caramania.

Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuill affaires, *Ibrahim* King of Caramania, who long before had maried *Amuraths* ſiſter, and yet for all that, had (as his anceſtors had before him) alwaies enuied the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Othoman* Kings, tooke occaſion in the firſt yeare of *Mahomet* his reigne, with fire and ſword to inuade his dominions in Aſia. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood, he diſplaced *Iſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, as a man not ſufficient to mannage ſo great warres, and appointed *Iſaac-Baſſa* in his roome, a moſt valiant man of war, vpon whom not long before he had vpon ſpeciall fauour beſtowed in marriage the faire daughter of *Sponderbeius*, one of his fathers wiues, of whom we haue ſpoken before. This great Baſſa paſſing ouer into Aſia, raiſed a great army. After whom followed *Mahomet* in perſon himſelfe with a greater, out of Europe: and hauing all his forces together, entered with great hoſtility into Caramania. But the Caramanian King perceiuing himſelfe vnable to withſtand

ſo

A ſo puiſſant an enemy, fled into the ſtrength of the great mountains, and by his Embaſſadours
offered vnto *Mahomet* ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace, as that he was content to accept
thereof. Which after they had by ſolemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned
with his army to Pruſa: but when he was come thither, the Ianizaries preſuming that they
might be bold with the young King, putting themſelues in order of battell, came and with
great inſolency demanded of him a donatiue or largious, as a reward of their good ſeruice
done. With which ſo great preſumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for ſo much as
they were his beſt ſouldiers, and already in armes, he wiſely diſſembled his anger for the pre-
ſent, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Baſſa*, and *Turechan beg*, two of his
great captains, who had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter: wherefore to content them, he cau-
ſed ten great bags of aſpers to be ſcattered among them; and ſo pacified the matter. But with-
B in few daies after, he cauſed *Daganes* (the Aga or chief captain of the Ianizaries) to be brought
before him, and to be ſhamefully whipt: and ſo preſently diſcharging him of his office, placed
one *Muſtapha* in the ſame. The like ſeuerity he vſed againſt the reſt of the vnder captains, cau-
ſing them to be cruelly ſcourged and beaten like ſlaues: which in that tyrannical gouernment
is an vſuall puniſhment, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the King to be inflicted vpon any man,
without reſpect of degree or calling, if he be not a naturall Turke born. Preſently after he ſent
Iſaac his lieutenant againſt *Elias* Prince of Menteſia or Caria, by whom the poore Prince
was driuen out of his countrey: euer ſince which time it hath remained in ſubjection to the
Turkiſh Kings, as part of their Kingdome and Empire.

Menteſia ſubdued by the Turks.

1452

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the Caramanian war, and was determined with his army to
C returne to Hadrianople, he was aduertiſed, That the ſtreits of Helleſpontus were ſo ſtrongly
poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian fleet, that he could not there poſſibly paſſe ouer but with moſt ma-
nifeſt danger: wherefore he tooke his way through that part of Bythinia which lyeth aboue
Conſtantinople, and came to the caſtle which the Turks call *Acce-Chiſar*, and the Grecians,
ἀσπρόκαστρον, or white caſtle, ſtanding vpon the narrow ſtreit of Boſphorus on Aſia ſide, and there
paſſed ouer into Europe at the ſame place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares be-
fore in like manner found paſſage. Where when he was ſafely got ouer with his army, he by
the aduice of his Baſſaes encamped faſt by the ſea ſide, and there preſently began to build a
great ſtrong caſtle cloſe vnto the ſtreits of Boſphorus, neere vnto Propontis, on Europe ſide,
D directly ouer againſt the other caſtle in Aſia. For the ſpeedy accompliſhment of which work,
he aſſembled thither al the workmen he could poſſibly get out of Europe and Aſia, apportio-
ning vnto his captaines and ſoldiers of his army part of the worke alſo: by whoſe induſtry
and labor, that great building was in ſhorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man
at the firſt expected. This caſtle which for the greatneſſe thereof, is of moſt writers reputed
for a city, was by the Turks named *Genichiſar*, and of the Grecians *Neocaſtron*, or New caſtle,
and alſo *Lemocaſtron*, or caſtle vpon the ſtreits; and was there by the Turks built, as well for
the ſafety of their owne paſſage to and fro, as for to hinder the paſſage of the Chriſtians
through thoſe narrow ſtreits, they now poſſeſſing the ſtrong forts on both ſides: and thereby
alſo to diſtreſſe the city of Conſtantinople, from whence this caſtle was not aboue fiue miles
E diſtant. When *Mahomet* in the ſecond yere of his reign had finiſht this great caſtle, with ſome
other ſmall forts about the ſame, and alſo repaired the other caſtle in Aſia ouer againſt it, he
placed therein ſtrong garriſons, and furniſhed the ſame with artillery; in ſuch ſort, that no
ſhip could paſſe through the ſtreit of Boſphorus into the great Euxine, or blacke ſea, but ſhee
was in danger to be ſunke: whereby the rich trade which the merchants of Venice, Genua, and
Conſtantinople, had to Caffa, and other places lying vpon the Euxine, were almoſt quite cut
off, to the great hinderance of thoſe eſtates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall
deſirous to do ſome ſuch thing as the glory whereof might farre paſſe the fame of his prede-
ceſſors, thought nothing more anſwerable to his high conceits, than to attempt the winning
of Conſtantinople, and the vtter ſubuerſion of the Greeke Empire: Wherupon his father *Amu-*
F *rath*, and his great grandfather *Bajazet*, had before in vaine ſpent their forces. Beſides that, it
grieued him to ſee that goodly city, the antient ſeat of the Chriſtian Empire, to be ſo com-
modiouſly ſcituated, as it were in the middeſt of his Kingdome, and not to be at his com-
mand. Hereunto the ſmall power of the Greeke Emperour himſelfe, and the other Chriſtian
Princes at the ſame time at mortall diſcord amongſt themſelues, miniſtred vnto his greedy

Mahomet maketh preparation for the beſieging of Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinus the Emperor in vaine craueth aid of the Chriſtian Princes.

deſire no ſmall hope of ſucceſſe, and ſerued as ſpurs to prick him forward vnto ſo great an enterpriſe. Wherefore all the Winter he cauſed great preparation to be made of ſhipping and other warlike prouiſion both by ſea and land: and gaue out commiſſions for the leuying of a mighty army, to be in readineſſe againſt the next Spring. But whither he would imploy the ſame, no man could certainly tell: ſome gheſſing one thing, and ſome another, as the manner of men is, when ſuch extraordinary preparation is at hand. *Conſtantinus* the eight of that name, then Emperor of Conſtantinople, a Prince of a mild and ſoft ſpirit, fitter for the Church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkiſh King, and fearing leſt that tempeſt then growing, ſhould vpon the ſudden break forth vpon himſelf, firſt made ſuch preparation as his owne ſmall ability would extend vnto. And then ſent his Embaſſadors vnto other Chriſtian Princes, earneſtly crauing their aid & aſſiſtance in that his dangerous eſtate. But that labour was loſt, and all his ſuit vaine: for they being at variance one with another, and hauing more care of priuate reuenge, than how to repulſe the common enemy of Chriſtianity, could not, or would not afford him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fifth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, with *Alphonſus* King of Naples, and the State of Venice, promiſed to haue ſent him thirty gallies, but none for all that came.

There were by chance at Conſtantinople certain ſhips and gallies of Venice, Genua, Creet and Chios, of whom the Emperour made ſtay: at which time alſo it chanced, that *Ioannes Iuſtinianus*, an aduenturer of Genua, who had beene ſcouring thoſe ſeas, came to Conſtantinople with two tall ſhips, and foure hundred ſouldiers: where he was entertained by the Emperour. And foraſmuch as he was a man honourably deſcended, and ſuppoſed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the Emperour appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himſelfe. He alſo entertained ſix thouſand Greekes: which, with three thouſand Venetians, Genowaies and others, whom he had made ſtay of, joyned vnto the citizens, was all the weake ſtrength he had to rely vpon, for the defence of his State and Empire.

1453 Vide Leonarpi Chienſis Archiepiſcopi Mitylen. hiſt. de captiuitate Conſtnatinopolitana.

Againſt the beginning of the Spring, the Turkiſh king had in readines a great and puiſſant army of three hundred thouſand men, of whom, the greateſt part were taken out of Bulgaria, Seruia, Raſcia, Theſſalia, Macedonia, and Grecia, which as yet were called the Chriſtian countries, and were themſelues either indeed Chriſtians, or elſe ſuch renegates as had not long before forſaken the Chriſtian faith: vnto theſe alſo were joyned diuers other Chriſtians which came out of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, to ſerue the Turke in his wars. This hath been none of the leaſt means, wherby the Turkiſh Kings haue growne ſo great, and their kingdome ſo mightily inlarged, by inforcing and alluring Chriſtians to fight againſt Chriſtians, to the vtter confuſion of themſelues. Among the great multitude of the Europeian Chriſtians, were mingled his effeminate ſouldiers of Aſia, and his naturall Turks and Ianizaries, which were in number feweſt, and yet cammanded all the reſt.

Mahomet encampeth before Conſtantinople:

With this great army, well appointed with all warlike prouiſion, came *Mahomet* the Turkiſh King from Hadrianople: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before Conſtantinople, and with the multitude of his army filled all the maine land before the city, from the ſea ſide of Boſphorus, vnto the place where the ſame ſea compaſſing in the city on two parts, and running far into the land betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, maketh there a goodly hauen betwixt them.

The ſcituation of Conſtantinople.

This city of Conſtantinople (called in antient time Bizantium) is in forme of a Triangle, ſcituated in Europe in the pleaſant country of Thracia, vpon a point of the maine land ſhooting out towards Aſia, called of *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the promontory Chryſoceras, where the ſea of Propontis joyneth vnto that ſtreit of ſea, which diuideth Aſia from Europe, called in antient time Boſphorus Thracius; ſometime the ſtreit of Pontus; and the mouth of Pontus; and of the modern writers, the ſtreit of Conſtantinople; and about two hundred yeares paſt, or more, S. *George* his arme. This point of the maine, whereon the city ſtandeth, lyeth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the ancient city of Calcedon, on the other ſide of the ſtreit in Aſia: more than thirty miles diſtant from the Euxine or blacke Sea, lying from it Northward: And two hundred miles from the ſtreit of Helleſpontus or Calipolis, from thence South. Which noble City (of all others moſt fitly ſeated for the Empire of the World, and with great majeſty ouerlooking both Europe and Aſia) is by the Coſmographers accounted to ſtand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon ſeuen little hils, of

no

Conſtantinople built by Pauſanias, deſtroied by Seuerus, reedefied by Conſtantine the Great, and now taken by Mahomet the Turk.

A no great and eaſie aſcent : and was there firſt built by *Pauſanias* the Lacedemonian King, and
called Bizantium, and ſo many yeares flouriſhed as a populous and rich city, vntill the ciuill
wars betwixt *Seuerus* the Emperor, and *Niger* : what time it indured the ſiege of the Romans
vnder *Seuerus*, three yeres, with ſuch obſtinacy, that it yeelded not vntill it was brought to ſuch
extremity, that the citiſens did eat one another; and then yeelded, had the wals ouerthrowne
by *Seuerus*, and the city it ſelfe deſtroied, and brought to the low eſtate of a poore countrey
village, and ſo by him giuen to the Perinthyans. In which baſe eſtate it continued vntill the
time of *Conſtantine* the Great, the ſon of *Helena* (whom ſome will needs haue to haue beene an
Engliſh woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings ſo ſtately & ſump-
tuous, that vnto the ſtrange beholders it ſeemed a dwelling place for heauenly wights, rather
B than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, tranſlated his imperiall ſeat thither, and cal-
led it *Noua Roma*, or New Rome; and all that pleaſant part of Thracia alongſt the ſea coaſt of
Helleſpontus, Propontis, and Boſphorus, by the name of Romania, of the faire Romane colo-
nies there by him planted; which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks called Ru-
milia, and Rum-Ili, that is to ſay, the Romane country. But as for the city it ſelfe, the glori-
ous name of the founder ſo preuailed, that the city was & yet is (of him) called Conſtantino-
ple, or *Conſtantine* his city : and now of the barbarous Turks commonly, but corruptly, Stam-
boli. It is (as we ſaid) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longeſt ſide, which runneth
from Northeaſt to Southweſt, is on the South ſide waſhed with the Propontis; and towards
the ending of the point, which is about the ſeuen towers, is ſomewhat indented; being com-
C monly reputed to be eight miles long. The other ſide lieth Eaſt and Weſt fiue miles in
length, being waſhed with the hauen, which is ſomewhat more than eight miles long before it
meet with the freſh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad : on the further ſide whereof
ſtandeth the city of Pera, commonly called Galata, ſometimes a colony of the Genowaies.
This hauen is very deepe, and by that reaſon as commodious as deep, bearing ſhips ful fraught
cloſe to the ſhoare, ſo that they may diſcharge their burthens with the leaſt trouble that may
be; and is of *Strabo* called *Cornu Bizantij*, or the Horne of Bizantium. The third ſide of this ci-
ty towards the Continent, lieth almoſt North and South, fiue miles alſo in length: thoſe two
ſides that lie vpon the ſea, and the hauen, are inuironed and girt in with a ſingle wal, built after
the antique maner, with many high towers, which ſtrongly defend and flanke the ſame. With-
D out which wals (eſpecially towards the hauen) there lieth a ſtreet between them and the ſhore.
But the other ſide which is the third, and regardeth the maine land (beſide the ditch, which is
alſo fenced) is defended with three wals: the firſt wall ſtanding vpon the ditch being but low;
and the ſecond not far diſtant from the firſt, raiſed ſomwhat higher; but the third ouerlooketh
and commandeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortreſſe both the other wals
and all the ditch without may eaſily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole ſpace
betwixt them, are now by the Turks but ſlenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other
rubbiſh, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians: ſom cauſe why they with leſſe heart &
courage defended the ſame againſt their barbarous enemy. In the Eaſt part of the city, on that
point which in the reign of the Grecians was called the cape of S. *Demetrio*, diſtant from Aſia
E not much more than halfe a mile, ſtands the Seraglio or palace of the great Turk, containing
in it ſelfe a great part of an hill, encloſed round with a wall, as if it were it ſelfe a city, in circuit
more than two miles : wherein amongſt other ſtately buildings, neere vnto the ſea ſtandeth a
very faire and ſumptuous gallery, built for pleaſure, with a priuy gate well fortified and plan-
ted with great ordnance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times paſ-
ſeth, when he is diſpoſed in his gally to take his pleaſure vpon the ſea, or to paſſe ouer the ſtreit
vnto his houſes or gardens of delight, on the other ſide in Aſia. In this great city are alſo many
other moſt ſtately and ſumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkiſh Sultans,
ſince they became Lords thereof, as before by the Greeke Emperors : amongſt all which the
Temple of S. *Sophia* ſtanding on the Eaſt ſide of the city, not far from the Seraglio (now redu-
F ced vnto the form of a Mahometan Moſchy, and whither the great Turke goeth oftentimes to
heare ſeruice, being indeed but the ſanctuary or chancel only of the great, ſtately, and wonder-
ful church (built by *Iuſtinian* the Emperor) is moſt beautifull and admirable. That which ſtan-
deth of it now, is both round and very high, built after the faſhion of the Pantheon in Rome,
but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that: the wals thereof being of the fineſt

The magnificent Temple of S. Sophia.

marble,and the floore all paued with faire marble alſo. In the middeſt there is a very great and G
large circle,compaſſed in with high and huge pillars of moſt excellent marble of diuers ſorts;
and theſe ſupport a mighty vault that beareth vp as many mo pillars aboue, ſtanding after the
very ſame order, and in a downe-right line, almoſt of the like greatneſſe and goodneſſe of the
marble with the other below : vpon which, aboue the ſecond vault in manner of a loouer, reſteth
the great round roofe which couereth all that ſpace of the Church which is compaſſed
with the aforeſaid pillars:being all enameled and fillited,with the pictures of Saints,after the
antient manner of ſome great Churches in Chriſtendome : but that the Turks, who like not
to haue any pictures in their churches,haue put out their eies only, as loth to ſpoile ſuch a rare
piece of worke and vtterly to deface it. In like maner the wals of the vpper vault are wrought,
painted,or portraied after the ſame order,though in ſome part decaied,by reaſon of their long H
continuance and ſtanding. About this church are eighteene or twenty doores of braſſe,right
faire and coſtly,well declaring the magnificence and greatneſſe thereof in more antient times;
when as it had(as is reported)more than two hundred doores of like making and greatneſſe:
and beſide the hugeneſſe of the frame and building it ſelfe, had alſo diuers faire monaſteries
and houſes of religion joyned vnto it : whereunto belonged ſix thouſand Prieſts,whoſe houſes
and lodgings extended almoſt all ouer the place where now the Turks palace ſtandeth, and
the other places adjoyning to this great church, which is now their chiefe Moſchy,and called
by them by the proper name of S.*Sophia*, becauſe they hold euen as we doe, the wiſedome of
God to be incomprehenſible and infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this,is the Moſchy of
Solyman,wherin he lieth buried,and his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxolana* : a worke well beſeeming I
the majeſty of ſo mighty a Monarch. There are beſide theſe alſo many other faire Moſchies,
Seraglioes for the Turke his wiues and concubins, Bezaſtanes or Burſes for merchants,
Obeliskes,Bathes,and other publike edifices and buildings of great majeſty and ſtate,all well
worth the beholding : wherin conſiſteth all the beauty of this ſo antient and renowned a city;
far vnlike to that it was in the time of the firſt Greeke Emperors, and before it was ſpoiled by
the Latins. For the Turks priuat houſes in this ſo great and imperiall a city,ſo much renowned
thorow the world,are for the moſt part low and baſe,after the Turkiſh faſhion,built ſome
of wood,ſome of ſtone,and ſome of vnburnt bricke, laid with clay and dirt,which quickly decaieth
again: they after their homely manner(by long cuſtome receiued) neuer building any
thing ſumptuouſly for their own priuat vſe,but contenting themſelues with their ſimple cottages, K
how mean ſoeuer,commonly ſaying them to be good enough for the ſhort time of their
pilgrimage:and yet not ſparing for any coſt vpon the publike buildings and ornaments of the
common weale,which they build with great majeſty and pomp;but ſpecially their Moſchies,
wherein they excell. Neuertheleſſe, there yet are in Conſtantinople ſome other houſes alſo
built high and comely enough;but theſe be few,and very old, all inhabited by the Chriſtians
and Iewes,and not by the Turks ; but of this enough. And ſo againe to our purpoſe.

The frugality of the Turks in their priuate buildings.

The Turks fleet.

Mahomet with his puiſſant army thus encamped before the city, placing his Aſian ſoldiers
on the right hand towards the Boſphorus;his Europeian ſoldiers on the left hand, toward the
hauen ; lay himſelfe with 15000 Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court, in the middle betwixt
both,againſt the heart of the city. On the further ſide of the hauen alſo by Pera,he placed L
Zoganus,one of his chiefe councellors,with another part of his army. At which time alſo
Pantoleges his admirall came to the ſiege,with a fleet of 30 gallies,and 200 other ſmall ſhips;
and a number of other leſſer veſſels, which were rowed with three, or fiue oares apiece,full of
Turkiſh archers,fitter for ſhew than ſeruice. But for defence of the hauen,and ſo of the city on
that ſide, the Emperour had cauſed the hauen to be ſtrongly chaind ouerthwart from the city
to Pera:and within the chaine had orderly placed his ſtrong fleet;the greateſt ſtrength whereof
was ſeuen great ſhips of Genoa, with three gallies, and two galliots of Venice, three of
Creet,and a few other of the Iſland of Chios ; all which were there, rather by chance, vpon
marchants affaires, than that they were prouided for any ſuch ſeruice : yet by this means the
Turks fleet was ſhut out of the hauen,and ſo the city put in good ſafety on that ſide. M

When *Mahomet* had thus conueniently encamped his army, and ſurrounded the city both
by ſea and land:he firſt caſt vp great trenches as neere as he poſſibly could vnto the wals of the
city,and raiſed mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themſelues,from whence the Turks
with their ſhot greatly annoied the defendants. After that,he placed his battery againſt one of
the

A the gates of the city called Calegaria, and terribly battered the ſame, ſpecially with one piece of ordnance of a wonderfull greatneſſe, which with much difficulty was brought from Hadrianople with an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, and carried a bullet of an hundred pound weight, made (as his other ſhot was) of a kind of hard blacke ſtone brought from the Euxine ſea: for as yet (as it ſeemeth) ſo ſoone after the inuention of that fatall engine, the vſe of bullets of mettall was vnknowne. There with continuall battery, he terribly ſhooke the wals, which although they were very ſtrong, yet were they not able to withſtand the fury of ſo great a battery. The Chriſtians alſo out of the city diſcharged their great artillery vpon the Turks, but ſo ſparingly, as if they had bin afraid to ſhake their owne wals, or loth for good huſbandry, to ſpend ſhot and poulder, which was to the canoniers very ſparingly allowed: yet that B which was ſpent, was ſo well beſtowed, that the Turks were therewith grieuouſly annoyed. The breach alſo which they had made at the aforeſaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour again repaired with faggots and earth, and ſuch like matter beſt ſeruing for that purpoſe, and ſo made ſtronger than before. In which moſt dangerous worke, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Iuſtinianus* the Genoway, the Emperors lieutenant Generall for defence of the city.

Yet for all this diligence of the Chriſtians, *Mahomet* continued his battery with no leſſe fury than before: but repoſing greater hope to finde a way into the city, by the ſpade and mattocke, than by battery; he emploied his pioners, whereof he had great ſtore, to digge a mine: being altogether directed by Chriſtians, ſkilfull in that kind of worke, whom he had C for that purpoſe entertained. By whoſe cunning direction, with the induſtrous labour of the poore pioners, the mine was brought to ſuch perfection, that part of the wall, with one of the ſtrong towers in the ſame, was quite vndermined, and ſtood ſupported, but with ſuch vntruſty ſtaies as the pioners had left for the bearing vp thereof till ſuch time as it ſhould be by the tyrants appointment blowne vp. This dangerous work was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the Conſtantinopolitans, as a thing not poſſible to haue bin done: foraſmuch as *Bajazet* & *Amurath* had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the ſame, at ſuch time as they hardly beſieged the city. But that which thoſe great kings had with much vaine labor by vnskilfull men made proofe of, *Mahomet* had now by men of greater deuice, brought to paſſe, although it took not ſuch effect as he wiſhed: for one *Io. Grandis*, a German captaine, and a man D of great experience, ſuſpecting the matter, had cauſed a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turks was in good time diſcouered, and they with fire and ſword driuen out of the mine, and the ſame ſtrongly filled vp againe, and ſo the city for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. *Mahomet* perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his battery againſt that place, which was againe ſo ſtrongly repaired, remoued the ſame, and planted it againſt a tower called Bactatina, neere vnto the gate called Porta Romana, or, Romane Gate. Which tower ſhaken with continuall battery, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vtter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was alſo ſpeedily and with great courage made vp again by the defendants, although the Turks did what they could, with continuall ſhot to haue driuen them from the ſame. At which time they alſo erected certaine E high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the ſame from fire, out of which they with their ſhot ſlew many of the Chriſtians vpon the wals, and in making good the aforeſaid breach: but *Mahomet* ſeeing this valiantneſſe of the defendents, openly ſaid, That it was neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the city: for the Turks commonly call all the Chriſtians of the Weſt by the name of Frankes or Frenchmen.

Conſtantinople vndermined by the Turks.

The cheerfulneſſe and induſtry of the Chriſtians in defending and repairing the aforeſaid breach, was ſo great, that the Turkiſh King began almoſt to deſpaire of winning the city; which he could no way aſſault but on one ſide. When as a bad Chriſtian in his camp, put him againe in good hope, by ſhewing vnto him a deuice how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the hauen, & therby to aſſault that part of the city by water, which the citiſens leaſt F feared; by which ingenious deuice, and by the great ſtrength of men, *Zaganus Baſſa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought ſeuenty of the leſſer ſhips & gallions, with all their ſailes abroad (to the great admiration of thoſe that ſaw them) vp a great hil, & ſo by dry land, out of the Boſphorus behind Pera, the ſpace of eight miles, into the hauen of Conſtantinople, which running in betweene the city and Pera, runneth into the maine Land (as we haue ſaid) about

Seuenty of the Turks galliots brought eight miles ouer land (by the deuice of a Chriſtian) into the hauen of Conſtantinople.

eight miles. The Chriſtian that diſcouered this deuiſe vnto the king, is ſuppoſed to haue learned G it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of Bennacus. Glad was *Mahomet* to ſee ſo many of his ſhips and gallies in the hauen, and the Chriſtians with the ſight thereof no leſſe diſcouraged. Neuertheleſſe, they attempted to haue burnt thoſe veſſels as they were in launching, but the Turks had ſo commodiouſly placed certain pieces of great Ordnance for their defence, that the formoſt of the gallies of the Chriſtians, approching the Turks fleet was preſently ſunke; wherewith the reſt diſmaied, returned backe from whence they came. Certaine of the Chriſtians of the loſt gally, whom the Turks tooke vp ſwimming in the hauen, were the next day cruelly ſlaine in the ſight of the Chriſtians: in reuenge whereof, certaine Turks before taken priſoners into Conſtantinople, were forthwith brought to the top of the wals, and there in the ſight of the campe with like cruelty put to death. H

A wonderfull bridge made by the Turks ouer the hauen of Conſtantinople.

Mahomet thus poſſeſſed of the hauen, ſhortly after cauſed a wonderfull bridge to be made quite ouer the hauen, from *Zoganus* his campe which lay by Pera, vnto the wals of Conſtantinople: which bridge was built with timber and plankes, borne vp with ſmall boats and empty caske, after a moſt ſtrange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which bridge his army came ouer the hauen, to aſſault the city on that ſide alſo.

A notable fight betweene foure of the Chriſtians ſhips, and the Turks fleet.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ſhips laded with men and munition from the Iſland of Chios, with one of the Emperours laded with corne from Sicilia, came with a faire winde for Conſtantinople. The Turks great fleet then lying not far off, within the ſight of the camp, ſet vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turks were ſlaine with ſhot, the gallies boorded the ſhips: but being much lower, were ſo far from doing any I good, as that the Turks could not well looke out, but they were from aboue ſlaine or wounded. *Mahomet* from the ſhore beholding the vnequall fight, and ſlaughter of his men, cried out aloud, ſwearing and blaſpheming God, and in great rage rid into the ſea ſo far as he durſt, and comming backe again rent his clothes, faring with himſelfe like a mad man. The whole army of the Turks beholding the ſame fight at ſea, was filled with like indignation alſo, but could nothing remedy the matter. The great fleet aſhamed in the ſight of their King to be ouercome of ſo few ſhips, did what they might deſperatly to enter: but all in vaine, being continually ouerwhelmed with ſhot and ſtones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Chriſtian ſouldiers. At length weary of their loſſe, they were glad with diſhonour to fall off again, and to get them further off. The report of the loſſe the Turks ſuſtained in this fight is almoſt K incredible: ſome of the Turks fugitiues reported, almoſt ten thouſand Turks to haue there periſhed: but certaine it is, that ſuch was the loſſe, as filled the whole army with indignation and ſorrow, many hauing there loſt their kinſemen or friends. Three of theſe ſhips that had made this fight, arriued in ſafety at Conſtantinople, the other was loſt. *Mahomet* vpon this ouerthrow conceiued ſuch diſpleaſure againſt *Pantogles* his Admirall, who in that fight had loſt one of his eies, that he neuertheles thruſt him out of his office, confiſcated his goods, and was hardly by the great Baſſaes entreated to ſpare his life.

Whileſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and had thereunto giuen many great attempts, with more loſſe vnto himſelfe than to the defendants, a rumor was raiſed in his camp, of great aid that was comming out of Italy by ſea, and out of Hungary by land, for the L reliefe of the beſieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due conſideration of the danger of the ſiege, filled the Turks camp with feare: ſo that the ſoldiers commonly murmured amongſt themſelues, ſaying, That to ſatisfie the ambitious humor of their young king, they were led to fight againſt impregnable wals and fortreſſes, yea, againſt the bars of nature it ſelfe, without all reaſon: Whereupon *Mahomet* entred into conſultation with the three great Baſſa's his counſellors, Whether it were beſt for him to continue the ſiege or not. When *Caly Baſſa*, ſometime his tutor, a man of greateſt authority among the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall ſecretly fauouring the diſtreſſed Emperour, after he had with long & graue diſcourſe declared the difficulty or rather impoſſibility of the wiſhed ſucceſſe in that preſent war, and confirmed the ſame, by producing the examples of *Bajazet* M his great grandfather, and of *Amurath* his father, who had both in vaine made proofe of their ſtrength againſt that city: at length concluded, that in his mind it were beſt for him to raiſe his ſiege, & to depart before he had ſuſtained any further loſſe or diſgrace: but *Zoganus* the ſecond Baſſa, in great fauor alſo with *Mahomet*, and ſecretly enuying the greatneſſe of *Caly Baſſa*, perſuaded

A ſuaded the K. to proceed in his honorable enterpriſe:aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe there-
of,and with all the reaſons he could deuiſe, impugned that which *Caly Baſſa* had ſaid. And of
the ſame opinion with *Zoganus* was alſo the third Baſſa, rather of purpoſe to croſſe *Caly Baſſa*,
and withall to fit the Kings humor,than for any great hope he had in the good ſucceſſe of that
he ſo much deſired. Howbeit the ſpeech he & *Zoganus* deliuered,ſo well agreed with the kings
affection,that he reſolued to continue the ſiege:and thereupon gaue full authority to *Zoganus*
to appoint a day for a great and generall aſſault to be giuen, reſoluing at once to gage all his
forces vpon the winning of the city. Which charge *Zoganus* gladly took vpon him, & with his
good liking,appointed the 29 day of May for the general aſſault,being then the tueſday next
following. In the meane time he ſent one *Iſmael*, the ſon of *Alexander* Prince of Sinope,embaſ-
B ſador vnto the Emperour,to offer him peace : but vpon ſuch hard conditions, as were no leſſe
to be refuſed than death it ſelfe. Which thing he did,partly to ſatisfie the minds of his Turks
(who were for moſt part of opinion, That God will not proſper them in their aſſaults, except
they firſt make with their enemies ſome offer of peace, how vnreaſonable ſoeuer it forceth
not)and partly to make proofe what confidence the enemy yet had in himſelf,for the holding
out of the ſiege. But that diſhonorable peace ſo offered,together with the intollerable condi-
tions,was by the emperor honorably refuſed : who no leſſe feared the Turks faith(if he ſhould
haue accepted therof)than he did the hardnes of the conditions. Three daies before this fatall
aſſault was to be giuen,the Turks(according to their maner)kept their ſolemne faſt,eating no-
thing al that day vntil night;and then making the greateſt cheere & joy they could deuiſe,and
C in the winding vp of the ſame,took their leaue one of another, with ſuch kiſſing & imbracing
as if they ſhould neuer haue met againe. At the ſame time *Mahomet* to encourage his ſoldiers,
cauſed proclamation to be made thorow his camp,That he would freely giue all the ſpoile of
the city for three daies vnto his ſouldiers, if they could win it : and for confirmation thereof,
ſolemnly ſwore the Turks great oath, By the immortall God, and by the foure hundred Pro-
phets,by *Mahomet*,by his fathers ſoule,by his owne children, and by the ſword wherewith he
was girt,faithfully to performe whatſoeuer he had to them in his proclamation promiſed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing,*Caly-Baſſa* diſdaining that his counſel was rejected,and
the opinion of his aduerſaries followed ; by ſecret letters aduertiſed the Emperour of the day
appointed for the generall aſſault,together with all the preparation made againſt him:perſua-
D ding him not to be affraid of them,who were themſelues no leſſe affraid of him;but carefully
to prouide to haue all things in readineſſe for the defence of his city, and valiantly to with-
ſtand the raſh and laſt attempt of his enemies.

This wofull Emperour had already done what he could to the vttermoſt of his power for
defence of the city all the time of the ſiege : but ſuch was the diſloyalty of the citizens his
ſubjects, that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuate trades and occupa-
tions,vnto the wals to withſtand the enemy; fooliſhly affirming,That it was to no purpoſe for
them to fight againſt the Turks at the breaches, and to ſtarue for food at home in their hou-
ſes. For which cauſe,the Emperor commanded a view to be taken of all the corne in the city
(which then began to grow very ſcarce;)but vpon diligent ſearch made, ſuch ſtore was found
E in many mens hands,(which was by them either altogether kept in to ſel afterwards at vnrea-
ſonable priſes,or els ſo ſparingly vttered,as if they had none to ſpare) as that it appeared, the
dearth and ſcarcity which then began to increaſe, to proceed rather of the couetouſneſſe of
men, than of any true want of graine : this ſtore the Emperour cauſed to be proportionably
diuided vnto euery family at reaſonable priſes, according to their ſpending ; and ſo eaſed the
great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercinary
ſouldiers alſo, regarding more their owne priuate profit than the publike ſeruice, refuſed any
longer to go to the wals, than they were ſure of their daily pay : which the poore Emperour,
otherwiſe vnable to giue them,was glad to conuert the church plate and jewels into mony, to
content them. For he had many times before with tears,in vaine requeſted to haue borrowed
F mony of his couetous ſubjects, to haue bin emploied in defence of the city ; but they would
ſtill ſweare, that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade : which in few daies
after, their enemies found in ſuch abundance, that they wondered at their wealth, and deri-
ded their folly, that poſſeſſing ſo much, they would beſtow ſo little in defence of themſelues
and their country. But this had beene their vſuall manner of dealing with their Emperours,
in

The citizens of Conſtantinople without cauſe murmur againſt the Emperour.

A bare ſhift for mony.

in that declining ſtate of the empire: as well appeared in the time of the Emperour *Baldwin*, G who for lacke of mony was glad firſt to ſell away many of the goodly ornaments of the city, and afterwards to pawne his own ſon vnto the Venetian merchants, for mony to maintaine his ſtate, as in the former part of this Hiſtory is declared.

But to returne againe to the courſe of our Hiſtory. The Emperour certainly aduertiſed of the enemies purpoſe, for the generall aſſault ſhortly to be giuen, firſt commended the defence of himſelfe and the city to the protection of the almighty, by generall faſting and praier, and afterwards appointed euery captaine and commander, to ſome certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *Io. Iuſtinianus* his Generall, in whoſe valour the Conſtantinopolitans had repoſed their greateſt hope.

But the city being on euery ſide now beſet with the Turks great army, and the defendants H in number but few, for ſo great a city (in compaſſe eight miles) the wals could but ſlenderly in many places be manned, and eſpecially on both ſides toward the ſea, where indeed leaſt danger was. The greateſt ſtrength and beſt ſouldiers, were placed for defence of the vtter wall, where the breach was, and the aſſault expected by land. *Iuſtinianus* the Generall himſelfe, with three hundred Genowaies well armed, and certaine choſen Greeks, vndertooke the defence of that part of the battered wall, neere vnto the Roman gate, where the fall of the tower Bactatina had filled the ditch as is aforeſaid: againſt which place *Mahomet* himſelfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and beſt men of war. Neere vnto *Iuſtinianus* lay the Emperor himſelfe, for defence of another part of the wall: and ſo other captains orderly with their companies, all alongſt the vtter wal: and becauſe the defendants ſhould haue no hope to ſaue their liues, more I than their own valour, the Emperor cauſed all the gates of the inner wall to be faſt ſhut vp: and in this ſort they lay all the night, expecting continually when the aſſault ſhould be giuen: at which time they might heare great hurly burly and noiſe in the Turks campe, as they were putting things in readineſſe for the aſſault.

Conſtantinople aſſaulted by the Turks.

A little before day, the Turks approched the wals, and began the aſſault, where ſhot and ſtones were deliuered vpon them from the wals, as thicke as haile; whereof little fell in vaine, by reaſon of the multitude of the Turks, who preſſing faſt vnto the wals, could not ſee in the darke how to defend themſelues, but were without number wounded or ſlain: but theſe were of the common and worſt ſoldiers, of whom the Turkiſh King made no more reckoning than to abate the firſt force of the defendants. Vpon the firſt appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gaue K the ſigne appointed for the generall aſſault, wherupon the city was in a moment and at one inſtant on euery ſide moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks: for *Mahomet*, the more to diſtreſſe the defendants, and the better to ſee the forwardneſſe of the ſouldiers, had before appointed which part of the city euery Colonel with his regiment ſhould aſſaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrowes and ſhot vpon the defendants, ſo thicke, that the light of the day was therewith darkened: others in the mean time couragiouſly mounting the ſcaling ladders, and comming euen to handy ſtrokes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the formoſt were for moſt part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other ſide, the Chriſtians with no leſſe courage withſtood the Turkiſh fury, beating them downe againe with great ſtones and weighty pieces of timber, and ſo ouerwhelmed them with L ſhot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuiſes from aboue; that the Turks diſmaied with the terrour thereof, were ready to retire.

Mahomet renueth the aſſault,

Mahomet ſeeing the great ſlaughter and diſcomfiture of his men, ſent in freſh ſupplies of his Ianizaries and beſt men of war, whom he had for that purpoſe reſerued as his laſt hope and refuge: by whoſe comming on his fainting ſouldiers were againe encouraged, and the terrible aſſault began afreſh. At which time the barbarous King ceaſed not to vſe all poſſible meanes to maintaine the aſſault: by name calling vpon this and that captaine, promiſing vnto ſome whom he ſaw forward, golden mountaines; and vnto others in whom he ſaw any ſigne of cowardiſe, threatning moſt terrible death: by which meanes the aſſault became moſt dreadfull, death there raging in the middeſt of many thouſands. And albeit that the Turks lay dead by M heapes vpon the ground, yet other freſh men preſſed on ſtill in their places, ouer their dead bodies, and with diuers euent either ſlew, or were ſlaine by their enemies.

In this ſo terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iuſtinianus* the Generall to be wounded in the arme; who loſing much bloud, cowardly withdrew himſelfe from the place of his charge, not lea-

uing

A uing any to ſupply his roome, and ſo got into the city by the gate called Romana, which he had cauſed to be opened in the inner wall: pretending the cauſe of his departure to be for the binding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether diſcouraged.

The ſoldiers there preſent, diſmaied with the departure of their Generall, and ſore charged by the Ianizaries, forſooke their ſtations, and in haſte fled to the ſame gate wherby *Iuſtinianus* was entered; with the ſight whereof, the other ſouldiers diſmaied, ran thither by heaps alſo. But whileſt they violently ſtriue, all together to get in at once, they ſo wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of ſo great a multitude got in: in which ſo great a preſſe and confuſion of mindes, 800 perſons were there by them that followed, trodden vnder foot, or thruſt to death. The Emperor himſelf, for ſafegard of his life flying with the reſt, in that preſſe B as a man not regarded, miſerably ended his daies, together with the Greeke empire. His dead body was ſhortly after found by the Turks among the ſlaine, and knowne by his rich apparel; whoſe head being cut off, was forthwith preſented to the Turkiſh tyrant: by whoſe commandement it was afterward thruſt vpon the point of a lance, and in great deriſion carried about as a trophy of his victory, firſt in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the city.

The Chriſtians forſake the wals.

The Turks encouraged with the flight of the Chriſtians, preſently aduanced their enſignes vpon the top of the vttermoſt wall, crying victory; and by the breach entered as if it had been a great floud, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth down all before it: ſo the Turks when they had won the vtter wal, entered the city by the ſame gate that was opened for *Iuſtinianus*, and by a breach which they had before made with their great C artillery; and without mercy cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further reſiſtance became lords of that moſt famous and imperial city. Some few there were of the Chriſtians, who preferring death before the Turkiſh ſlauery, with their ſwords in their hands ſold their liues deare vnto their enemies: amongſt whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Palaologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannes Stiauus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deſerue to be had in eternall remembrance: who after they had like lions made ſlaughter of their enemies, died in the midſt of them, embrued with their bloud, rather oppreſſed by multitude, than by true valour ouercome. In this fury of the Barbarians, periſhed many thouſands of men, women, and children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. Many for ſafegard of their liues, fled into the Temple of Sophia, where they were all D without pitty ſlain, except ſome few reſerued by the barbarous victors, to purpoſes more grieuous than death it ſelfe. The rich and beautifull ornaments and jewels of that moſt ſumptuous and magnificent Church (the ſtately building of *Iuſtinianus* the Emperor) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt down and carried away by the Turks; and the Church it ſelfe built for God to be honored in, for the preſent conuerted into a ſtable for their horſes, or a place for the execution of their abhominable and vnſpeakeable filthineſſe: the Image of the crucifix was alſo by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and ſo ſet vp and ſhot at with their arrows, and afterwards in great deriſion carried about in their campe, as it had beene in proceſſion, with drums playing before it, railing and ſpitting at it, and calling it, the God of the Chriſtians. Which I note not ſo much done in contempt of the Image, as in the deſpight E of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion.

Conſtantinople won by the Turks.

But whileſt ſome were thus ſpoiling of the Churches, others were as buſie in ranſacking of priuat houſes, where the miſerable Chriſtians were enforced to endure in their perſons whatſoeuer pleaſed the inſolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that ſtood with their luſt, euery common ſoldier hauing power of life and death, at his pleaſure to ſpare or ſpill. At which time riches were no better than pouerty; and beauty worſe than deformity. What tongue were able to expreſſe the miſery of that time? or the proud inſolency of thoſe barbarous conquerours? whereof ſo many thouſands, euery man with greedineſſe fitted his owne vnreaſonable deſire: all which the poore Chriſtians were inforced to endure. But to ſpeake of the hidden treaſure, mony, plate, jewels, and other riches their found, paſſeth credit; F the Turks themſelues wondered thereat, and were therewith ſo enriched, that it is a prouerbe amongſt them at this day, if any of them grow ſuddenly rich, to ſay, *He hath beene at the ſacking of Conſtantinople:* whereof if ſome reaſonable part had in time beene beſtowed vpon defence of the city, the Turkiſh King had not ſo eaſily taken both it and the city. But euery man was carefull how to encreaſe his own priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publicke

ſtate; vntill in fine, euery man with his priuat abundance was wrapped vp together with his G
needy neighbor in the ſelfe-ſame common miſery. Yea, the ſecurity of the Conſtantinopolitans
was ſuch, that being alwaies enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care
of fortifying of ſo much as the inner wall of the city (which for beauty and ſtrength was comparable
with the wals of any city in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but ſuffered
the officers which had the charge to ſee to the fortifying of the city, to conuert the greateſt
part of the mony into their owne purſes: as appeared by *Manuel Giagerus*, a little before a very
poore man; and likewiſe by *Neophitus*, who then hauing that office to ſee to the fortification
of the city, had in ſhort time gathered together ſeuenty thouſand florins, which became all a
worthy prey vnto the greedy Turks.

After that the barbarous common ſoldier had thus by the ſpace of three daies without controlment H
taken his pleaſure in the city (as *Mahomet* had before promiſed) and throughly ranſackt
euery corner thereof; they then returned into the camp, with their rich ſpoiles, driuing
the poore Chriſtian captiues before them, as if they had beene droues of cattell, or flocks of
ſheep: a ſpectacle no leſſe lamentable, than was the ſacking of the city. It would haue grieued
any ſtony heart to haue ſeene the noble gentlewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull
children, and many other faire perſonages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleaſure,
to be now become the poore and miſerable bondſlaues of moſt baſe and contemptiple
raſcals; who were ſo far from ſhewing them any pitty, as that they delighted in nothing more
than to heape more and more miſery vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of
dogs. There might the parents ſee the wofull miſery of their beloued children, and the children I
of the parents; the husband might ſee the ſhamefull abuſe of his wife, and the wife of her
husband, and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the leaſt
part of heauy comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruell maſters, by whom they were
kept aſunder, like in few daies to be diſperſed into diuers far countries, without hope that
they ſhould euer find releaſe, or one ſee another againe.

Mahomet ſolemniſeth his feaſts at Conſtantinople with the bloud of the Grecian nobility.

The ſoldiers being all retired into the campe, *Mahomet* as a proud conquerour, with great
triumph entered into the city of Conſtantinople, then deſolate and void of all Chriſtian inhabitants;
and there after the manner of the Turkiſh Kings, made a ſumptuous & royal feaſt vnto
his Baſſaes and other great captains: where after he had ſurcharged himſelfe with exceſſe of
meat and drinke, he cauſed diuers of the chiefe Chriſtian captiues, both men and women (of K
whom many were of the late Emperors line and race) to be in his preſence put to death, as he
with his Turks ſate banqueting; deeming his feaſt much more ſtately by ſuch effuſion of
Chriſtian bloud. Which manner of exceeding cruelty he dayly vſed, vntil ſuch time as he had
deſtroied all the Grecian nobility that was in his power, with the chiefe of the late Conſtantinopolitan
citizens. At which time alſo diuers of the Venetian Senators, with *Bajulus* their
Gouernor, and many rich merchants of Genua and other places of Italy, were in like manner
murthered: ſo that of ſeuen and forty Senators of Venice which were there taken (whereof
moſt part came thither by chance, bound for other places, but there vnluckily ſhut vp) ſome
few found the fauour with exceeding great ranſomes to redeeme themſelues.

Amongſt theſe noblemen thus lamentable executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Notaras*, L
commonly called *Kyr-Lucas*, or lord *Lucas*, but of late great Chancellor of Conſtantinople, a
man of greateſt account next vnto the Emperour himſelfe: whom the Turkiſh tyrant ſeemed
greatly to blame, that he being a man in ſo great credit with the late Emperor, perſuaded him
not in time to haue ſought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yeelded vp the city, rather
than to haue run that extreme courſe of wilfull miſery. He to excuſe the matter, ſaid, That
the late Emperor his maſter was encouraged to hold out the ſiege, by the Venetians and citizens
of Pera, from whom he receiued ſecret aid: as alſo by ſome of the greateſt men about his
own perſon: for proofe whereof, he drew out of his boſome the letters which *Caly-Baſſa* had to
that purpoſe written vnto the Emperor, and deliuered them to *Mahomet*, hoping therby to haue
found ſome fauour. But when he had ſaid what he could, the eldeſt of his ſons then liuing (for M
he had loſt two elder in the time of the ſiege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the yongeſt
reſerued for the tyrants luſt: and after all this miſery, had his own head ſtruck off with the
reſt appointed for that daies ſacrifice. Out of this generall calamity eſcaped *Io. Iuſtinianus* the
General, who with all ſpeed fled at firſt to Pera, and from thence to Chios, where in few daies

after

A after he died, of grief of mind (as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happy if he had honorably before ended his daies vpon the wals of Conſtantinople. *Iſiodorus* alſo the Cardinall and Legat from the Pope, diſguiſed in ſimple apparell, and being of the Turks vnknown, redeemed himſelf for a ſmall ranſom, as if he had bin a man of none account, and ſo eſcaped. Whom if *Mahomet* had known, he had vndoubtedly bin made ſhorter by the head.

The glory of this famous City of Conſtantinople continued many hundred yeares, commanding a great part of the world; vntil that by ciuil diſcord and priuat gain it was by little and little ſo weakned, that the Emperors of later times, for the maintenance of their eſtate, were glad to rely ſomtime vpon one, ſomtime vpon another, yet ſtill holding the ſtate and title of an empire by the ſpace of 1121 years, when as (Gods iudgment ſet apart) wonderful and B ſhamefull it is to conſider, how it was by this Turkiſh King *Mahomet* ſo quickely taken, and the Chriſtian empire of the Eaſt there vtterly ouerthrown. Which hapned on the nine and twentieth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1453. *Conſtantinus Palæologus* the ſon of *Helena*, and laſt Chriſtian Emperor, being then ſlain, when hee had reigned about eight years. Since which time it hath continued the Imperial ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors, and ſo remaines at this day.

The Poteſtats and citiſens of Pera, otherwiſe called Galata, a city ſtanding oppoſit againſt Conſtantinople on the other ſide of the hauen, & then vnder the gouernment of the Genoa's, doubting to run the ſame courſe of miſery with their neighbors, ſent their Orators to *Mahomet* the ſame day that Conſtantinople was taken, offering to him the keyes of their gates, C and ſo to become his ſubjects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and ſent *Zoganus* with his regiment to take poſſeſſion of the city. Who comming thither, according to *Mahomet* his commandement, there eſtabliſhed the Turkiſh gouernment, confiſcated the goods of all ſuch as were fled, and vſed the reſt of the citiſens which ſtayed, with ſuch inſolencie & oppreſſion, as that their miſery was not much leſſe than theirs of Conſtantinople: & becauſe it was doubted that the Genoa's might by ſea giue aid vnto the citiſens, if they ſhould at any time ſeeke to reuolt, he cauſed all the wals and fortreſſes of the city which were toward the land, to bee caſt down and laid euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the Greek empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become Lord of the two famous cities of Conſtantinople and Pera; the one taken by force, the other by compoſition; at which time the miſery of Pera was great, D but that of Conſtantinople iuſtly to be accounted amongſt the greateſt calamities that euer hapned to any Chriſtian city in the world.

Pera yeelded to the Turks.

Mahomet had of long time born a ſecret grudge againſt *Caly Baſſa*, ſomtime his Tutor, for that by his means *Amurath* his father in the dangerous time of the Hungarian wars had again reſumed vnto himſelf the gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdom, which he had before reſigned vnto him, then but yong. But foraſmuch as he was the chief Baſſa, and had for many years ruled all things at his pleaſure, to the general good liking of the people, during the reign of old *Amurath*, and was therby grown to be of ſuch wealth, credit, and authoritie, as no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman* Kings; *Mahomet* in the beginning of his reign, before he was well eſtabliſhed in his kingdom, durſt not take reuenge of that injury (as E he deemed it) but yet ſtil kept it in remembrance, warily diſſembling his deep conceiued hatred as if he had quite forgot it. Neuertheles ſomtime (for all his warineſſe) words fel from him, wherby the wary Courtiers (who as curiouſly weigh their Princes words, as the cunning Goldſmith doth his fineſt gold) eaſily perceiued the ſecret grudge that ſtuck in his ſtomack againſt the Baſſa, and therby diuined his fall to be at hand. So it happened one day, that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he ſaw a Fox of the Baſſa's tied in a chain: which after hee had a while earneſtly looked vpon, he ſuddenly brake forth into this ſpeech; *Alas poor beaſt, haſt thou no mony to giue thy Maſter to ſet thee at liberty?* Out of which words curious heads gathered much matter concerning the Kings diſpoſition toward the Baſſa. This ominous ſurmiſing of the Courtiers (which oftentimes proueth too true) was not vnknown to the Baſſa F himſelf, but troubled him much. Wherfore to get himſelf out of the way for a ſeaſon, more than for any deuotion, hee took vpon him to go in pilgrimage to viſit the Temple of their great Prophet (as they term him) at Mecha, which amongſt the Turks is holden for a right religious and meritorious work; hoping that the young Kings diſpleaſure might in time bee mitigated, and his malice aſſwaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the diſtruſt of the Baſſa, and

Mahomet notably diſſembles his hatred towards Caly-Baſſa.

wherof it proceeded, ſeemed to take knowledge therof, and with good words comforted him G vp, willing him to be of good cheer and not to miſdoubt any thing, neither to regard the vain ſpeech of fooliſh people, aſſuring him of his vndoubted fauour: and the more to put him out of all ſuſpition, continually ſent him rich gifts, and heaped vpon him new honors, as if of all others he had eſteemed him moſt. Vntil that now at the taking of Conſtantinople, it was diſcouered by *Lucas Leontares*, that he had intelligence with the late Emperour of Conſtantinople, and his letters produced. For which cauſe, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the tyrant bare againſt him, as alſo for his great wealth, he was by *Mahomets* commandement apprehended and caried in bonds to Hadrianople; where after hee had with exquiſit torments bin enforced to confeſſe where all his treaſures lay, he was moſt cruelly in his extream old age executed. After whoſe death, his friends and ſeruants (which were many, for H he was a man greatly beloued in the Court) in token of their grief put on mourning apparel, ſo that in the court appeared a great ſhew of common ſorrow: wherwith *Mahomet* being offended, cauſed proclamation to be made, that all ſuch as did wear ſuch mourning apparel ſhould the next day appear before him: at which time there was not one to be ſeen about the Court in that heauy attyre, for fear of the tyrants diſpleaſure.

Mahomet placeth his Imperial ſeat at Conſtantinople, & is worthily accounted firſt Emperor of the Turks.

After that *Mahomet* was thus become Lord of the Imperial city of Conſtantinople, as is aforeſaid, and had fully reſolued there to place his Imperial ſeat, he firſt repaired the wals and other buildings ſpoiled in the late ſiege, and by proclamations ſent forth into all parts of his dominions, gaue great priuiledges and immunities to all ſuch as would dwel at Conſtantinople, with free liberty to exerciſe what religion or trade they pleaſed. Wherby in ſhort time I that great and deſolat city was again wel peopled, with ſuch as out of diuers forein countries reſorted thither; but eſpecially of the Iewiſh nation, which driuen out of other places, came thither in great numbers, and were of the Turks gladly receiued. So when he had eſtabliſhed all things according to his hearts deſire, he took vpon him the name and title of an emperor, and is from that time not vnworthily reputed for the firſt Emperor of the Turks.

Now among many fair virgins taken priſoners by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople, was one *Irene* a Greek born, of ſuch incomparable beauty and rare perfection both of body & mind, as if nature had in her, to the admiration of the world, labored to ſhew her greateſt skil; ſo prodigally had ſhe beſtowed vpon her all the graces that might beautifie & commend that her ſo curious a work. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, pre- K ſented vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe, as a jewell ſo fit for no mans wearing as his own: by the beauty and ſecret vertues wherof, he found himſelf euen vpon the firſt view not a little mooued. Neuertheles hauing his head as then ful of troubles, and aboue al things carefull for the aſſuring of the Imperial city of Conſtantinople, by him but euen then won, he for the preſent committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and ſent her away, ſo to be in ſafety kept vntill his better leiſure. But thoſe his troubles ouerblown, and his new conqueſts wel aſſured, he then began forthwith to think of the fair *Irene*; and for his pleaſure ſending for her, took in her perfections ſuch delight and contentment, as that in ſhort time hee had changed ſtate with her, ſhe being become the miſtres and commander of him ſo great a Conquerour, and he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greateſt honor and ſeruice he could. L All the day hee ſpent with her in diſcourſe, and the night in dalliance: all time ſpent in her company ſeemed to him ſhort, and without her nothing pleaſed: his fierce nature was now by her wel tamed, and his care of arms quite neglected: *Mars* ſlept in *Venus* lap, and now the ſoldiers might go play. Yea, the very gouernment of his eſtate and empire ſeemed to be of him, in compariſon of her, little or not at all regarded; the care wherof beeing by him careleſly committed to others, that ſo he might wholly himſelf attend vpon her, in whom more than in himſelf the people ſaid he delighted. Such is the power of diſordred affections, where reaſon ruleth not therein. But whilſt he thus forgetful of himſelf, ſpends in pleaſure not ſome few daies or months, but euen one whole year or two, to the lightning of his credit, and great diſcontentment of his ſubiects in general; the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court (men de- M ſirous of imploiment, and grieued to ſee him ſo giuen to his affections, and to make no end therof, began at firſt in ſecret to murmur therat, and ſpeak hardly of him; and at length (after their inſolent maner) ſpared not openly to ſay, That it were wel don to depriue him of his gouernment and ſtate, as vnworthy thereof, and to ſet vp one of his ſonnes in his ſtead. Which

ſpeeches

A ſpeeches were now grown ſo riſe, & the diſcontentment of the men of war ſo great, that it was not without cauſe by ſome of the great Baſſa's feared, wherunto this their ſo great inſolencie would grow. But who ſhould tell the tyrant therof, whoſe frown was in it ſelf death? or who durſt take in hand to cure that his ſick mind; which diſtraught with the ſweet, but poiſoned potions of loue, was not likely to liſten to any good counſel, were it neuer ſo wiſely giuen: but as a man metamorphoſed, to turn his fury vpon him who ſhould preſume ſo wholſomly (but contrary to his good liking) to aduiſe him. Vnhappy man, whoſe great eſtate and fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no not by them who of all others in ſo great a peril ought to haue bin therof moſt carefull, but were now for fear all become ſilent and dumb. Now amongſt other great men in the court, was one *Muſtapha Baſſa*, a man for his B good ſeruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* greatly fauoured; and by him alſo highly promoted: and he again by him alſo as his Soueraign no leſſe honoured than feared. Who no leſſe than the reſt grieued to ſee ſo great a change in the grand Sultan, of whom they had conceiued no ſmall hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and mooued alſo with the danger threatned vnto him by the diſcontented Ianizaries and men of war: eſpying him at conuenient leiſure to be ſpoken vnto, and preſuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to breake with him, and to giue him warning therof.

C *How dangerous a thing it is for a ſubject or vaſſall, without leaue, preſumptuouſly to enter into the ſecrets of his dread Lord and Soueraign, the wofull examples of others (moſt mighty* Mahomet*) haue ſo ſufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyaltie I owe vnto your greatneſſe (far dearer vnto me than myne own life) I would not at this time aduenture my ſelfe vnto the haſard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull ſpeech and meaning, but with others keep ſilence, and in ſecret mourn together with my heauy thoughts: which if I ſhould in ſo great a danger both of your life and empire now do, without warning you therof, I were to be accounted vnworthy not onely thoſe your great fauours and honours moſt bountifully on me beſtowed; but as a moſt vile traitor both vnto your ſtate and perſon, to be of all men deteſted and abhorred. The life you haue of late led euer ſince the taking of Conſtantinople, as a man careles of his eſtate, and wholly wedded vnto his own pleaſure, hath giuen occaſion not vnto the vulgar people only (alwaies ready to ſay the worſt) and ſouldiers of the Court, the garders of your per-* D *ſon, but euen vnto the greateſt Commaunders of your Armies and Empire, to murmure and grudge, I dare not ſay, conſpire againſt you. Yet pardon me (dread Soueraign) if I ſhould ſo ſay, for that there is no man which with great diſcontentment maruelleth not much to ſee ſo great an alteration in your heroicall diſpoſition and nature: wherby you are become far vnlike that noble* Mahomet, *who hauing ouerthrown the Greek Empire, and taken the great city of Conſtantinople, promiſed both vnto himſelf and others, the conqueſt of Italy, and the ſacking of Rome, the ſtately Seat of the antient Roman Conquerors. You haue giuen your ſelf ouer (as they ſay) for a ſpoil and prey vnto a poor ſimple woman your ſlaue and Vaſſall, who with her beauty and allurements hath ſo bewitched your vnderſtanding and reaſon, as that you can attend nothing but her ſeruice, and the ſatisfying of your moſt paſſionat and inordinat deſires; which how much the more you cheriſh them, ſo much the more they torment and vex you. Enter but a little into your* E *ſelf (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead, with the like time heretofore by you ſpent in treading Honours ſteps, and you ſhall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble* Othoman, *the firſt raiſer of your houſe and family, ſo giuen himſelfe ouer vnto pleaſure, you had not now inhabited the countries of Bithynia and Galatia, with others mo alongſt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his ſon* Orchanes *(the liuely image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed ouer Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria, or extended the bounds of his Empire ſo far as vnto the ſtreits of Helleſpontus. What ſhould I ſpeake of* Amurath *his ſon, and ſucceſſor in the Empire? who in perſon himſelfe, firſt of the* Othoman *Kings paſſed ouer into Europ, placed his Imperiall ſeat at Hadrianople, conquered Thracia, Bulgaria, and Raſcia. Yea* Bajazet *your great grandfather is in his misfortune more than you to be commended, as vanquiſhed in field by mighty* Tamerlane, *with four* F *hundred thouſand horſmen and ſix hundred thouſand foot, and not by a ſilly woman: comforting his miſhap with the honor and greatnes of him by whom he was ouercome. Neither may I with ſilence pas ouer your worthy grandfather, the noble* Mahomet, *who not contented to haue reſtored the ſhaking Empire, conquered alſo a great part of Macedonia euen to the Iconian ſea, and carying the terror of his armies ouer* *into Aſia, did greater matters againſt the Caramanians and others. As for your father* Amurath *(of worthy memory) I cannot but to my great griefe and ſorrow ſpeake of him, who by the ſpace of thirty years made both the ſea and earth to quake vnder his feet, and with ſtrong hand more than once vanquiſhed the Hungarians, and brought vnder his ſubiection the Countries of Phocia, Beotia, Ætolia, with a great part of Morea; and to ſpeak of him truly, brake euen the very heart and ſtrength of the Grecians and other his fierce Enemies. Let all theſe moſt famous Conqueſts of your noble Progenitors, whoſe worthy praiſes (as eternall trophies of their honour, are diſperſed into euery corner of the world, awake you out of this heauy lithurgy, wherin you haue too long ſlept, yea, let the remembrance of the conqueſt of this Imperiall City, by you to your immortall glory won, ſtir you vp to greater things: and let it neuer be ſaid of you, That you were able with your ſword to ouercome your greateſt enemies, and not with reaſon to ſubdue your inordinat affections. Think that your greateſt conqueſt, and ſuffer not your ſelf, ſo great a conquerour, to be led in triumph by your Slaue. What auaileth it you to haue won Conſtantinople, and to haue loſt your ſelfe? Shake off theſe golden fetters wherin the wily Greek hath ſo faſt bound you: which at the firſt though it ſeem vnto you hard and painfull, yet ſhall you in time digeſt it, and make you to think it both good and neceſſary for your eſtate. Wean your ſelfe from your deſires, and giue reſt vnto your troubled thoughts. Which if you cannot do at once, ſtriue by little and little to do it: pleaſure groweth greater by the ſeldom vſe therof, and ſaciety bringeth loathſomneſſe. Moderat your ſelf therfore, and again take vp Arms. Your Souldiers if they be not imployd abroad, will to your further trouble ſet themſelues at work at home: Idleneſſe maketh them inſolent, and want of Martiall diſcipline corrupteth their manners. Herof proceedeth their intemperat and diſloyall ſpeeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the honour and inlargement of the* Othoman *Empire, as did all your moſt noble Progenitors, they will ſet vp another that ſhall, euen one of your own children. And what the common ſoldier fooliſhly ſaith, their great Commanders maliciouſly purpoſe: which what a confuſion it would bring vnto the whole ſtate of your Empire, together with the danger of your Royall perſon, I abhor to think. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to ſhew your ſelf, with the maieſty of your preſence to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolencie before it break further out. Rebellions are by far, more eaſily preuented, than in their heat appeaſed. The diſcontented multitude is a wild beaſt with many heads, which once inraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed: yet do you but ſhew your ſelf maſter of your owne affections, and you ſhall eaſily maſter them alſo. But what is fit for you to do, beſeems me not for to ſay: yea pardon me I beſeech you, that I haue thus much (contrary perhaps to your good liking) already ſayd; prouoked (by what Diuine inſpiration I know not) euen halfe againſt my will, to diſcouer vnto you the ſecret of my heart, and to lay open vnto you thoſe things, which others knowing as well as I, do yet for fear keepe the ſame from you. And if I haue gon too far, or in any thing that I haue ſaid forgot my ſelfe, impute the ſame (my dread Soueraign) vnto the zeal of my loue and loyaltie towards you, or vnto my fidelity ſo often by you tried, or to our antient education (the ground of your affection toward me) or to what els ſhall pleaſe you, rather than to my preſumption, from which how far I haue always bin, I appeal euen vnto your Maieſties own knowledge.*

Hauing thus ſaid, he fell down at his feet, there to receiue his heauy doom of his ſo free ſpeech, if it ſhould be otherwiſe than wel taken of the angry Sultan: who all this while with great attention and many a ſtern look, had hearkned vnto all that the Baſſa had ſaid; for well he knew it to be all true, and that in ſo ſaying hee had but diſcharged the part of a truſty and faithfull ſeruant, carefull of his maſters honor. But yet the beauty of the Greek was ſtill ſo fixed in his heart, and the pleaſure he took in her ſo great, as that to thinke of the leauing of her, bred in him many a troubled thought. He was at war with himſelf, as appeared by his often changed countenance: Reaſon calling vnto him for his honor, and his amorous affections ſtil ſuggeſting vnto him new delights. Thus toſſed to and fro as a ſhip with contrary winds, and withall conſidering the danger threatned to his eſtate, if he ſhould longer follow thoſe his pleaſures, ſo much diſpleaſing to his men of war; he reſolued vpon a ſtrange point, wherby at once to cut off all thoſe his troubled paſſions, and withal to ſtrike a terror euen into the ſtouteſt of them that had before condemned him, as vnable to gouern his own ſo paſſionat affections. Wherupon with countenance wel declaring his inward diſcontentment, he ſayd vnto the Baſſa, yet proſtrat at his feet:

Although thou haſt vnreuerendly ſpoken, as a ſlaue preſuming to enter into the greateſt ſecrets of thy

A *thy Soueraign, not without offence to be of thee once thought vpon, and therefore deſerueſt wel to die; yet for that thou waſt a child, and brought vp together with me, and haſt euer bin vnto me faithfull, I at this time pardon thee; and before to morrow the Sun go down, will make it known both to thee, and others of the ſame opinion with thee, whither I be able to bridle myne affections or not. Take order in the mean time that all the Baſſa's, and the chief commanders of my men of war be aſſembled together tomorrow, there to know my further pleaſure. Wherof fail you not.*

So the Baſſa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in vnto the Greek, and ſolacing himſelf all that day & the night following with her, made more of her than euer before: and the more to pleaſe her dined with her; commanding, that after dinner ſhee ſhould be attyred with more ſumptuous apparel than euer ſhe had before worne: and for the further B gracing of her, to be deckt with many moſt pretious jewels of ineſtimable value. Wherunto the poor ſoul gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her funerall apparel. Now in the meane time *Muſtapha* (altogether ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as he was commanded, cauſed all the nobilitie and commanders of the men of war, to be aſſembled into the great hall, euery man much maruelling what ſhould be the Emperors meaning therin, who had not of long ſo publiquely ſhewed himſelf. But being thus aſſembled together, and euery man according as their minds gaue them, talking diuerſly of the matter; behold, the Sultan entred into the palace, holding the fair Greek by the hand; who beſide her incomparable beauty, and other the greateſt graces of nature, adorned alſo with all that curioſitie could deuiſe, ſeemed now to the beholders no mortal wight, but ſome of the ſtately goddeſſes, whom Poets in their C extaſies deſcribe. Thus comming together into the midſt of the hal, and due reuerence don by all there preſent; he ſtood ſtill with the fair Lady in his left hand, and ſo furiouſly looking round about him, ſaid vnto them; *I vnderſtand of your great diſcontentment, and that you all murmur and grudge, for that I, ouercome with myne affection toward this ſo fair a paragon, cannot withdraw my ſelf from her preſence: but I would fain know which of you is ſo temperat, that if hee had in his poſſeſſion a thing ſo rare and pretious, ſo louely and ſo fair, would not be thrice aduiſed before he would forgo the ſame? Say what you think; in the word of a Prince I giue you free liberty ſo to do.* But they all rapt with incredible admiration to ſee ſo fair a thing, the like whereof they had neuer before beheld, ſaid all with one conſent, That he had with greater reaſon ſo paſſed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therwith. Wherunto the barbarous prince anſwered, *Well, but* D *now I wil make you to vnderſtand how far you haue bin deceiued in me, and that there is no earthly thing that can ſo much blind my ſenſes, or bereaue me of reaſon, as not to ſee and vnderſtand what beſeemeth my high calling: yea I would you ſhould all know, that the honor and conqueſt of the* Othoman *kings my noble Progenitors is ſo fixed in my breaſt, with ſuch a deſire in my ſelf to exceed the ſame, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance.* And hauing ſo ſaid, preſently with one of his hands catching the fair Greek by the hair of the head, & drawing his falchion with the other, at one blow ſtrook off her head, to the great terror of them all: and hauing ſo done, ſaid vnto them, *Now by this iudge whether your Emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.* And within a while after, meaning to diſcharge the reſt of his choler, cauſed great preparation to bee made for the conqueſt of Peloponeſus, and beſieging of Belgrade.

E At the ſame time that the barbarous Turks tooke the Imperiall City of Conſtantinople, *Thomas* and *Demetrius Palæologi*, brethren to the late vnfortunat Emperor *Conſtantinus*, gouerned a great part of Peloponeſus, one of the moſt famous prouinces of Grecia, which in forme of a leaf of a Plane tree, is almoſt in maner of an Iſle, inuironed with the ſeas Ionium and Ægeum, which running far into the land on either ſide therof, ſeparateth the ſame from the reſt of Grecia by two great bayes; leauing but a ſtreit neck of land, called of the Greeks Iſtmos, in bredth about fiue miles, which was ſomtimes by the Grecians, and afterward by the Venetians, fortified by a ſtrong wall, and fiue great Caſtles: neer vnto which place ſtood the great and famous city of Corinth. This prouince is in length 175 miles, and almoſt as much in bredth; wherin are contained the countries of Achaia, Meſſenia, Lacedemonia, Argolica, and F Arcadia, with many famous great Cities and very goodly hauens, wherin it farre exceedeth all the other prouinces of Grecia. Theſe two princes, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, greatly diſmaied with their brothers diſaſter fortune, began now ſo far to diſpair of their own eſtate, that vpon the firſt brute therof they were about preſently to haue fled by ſea into Italy. And as it commonly falleth out, that one euill happeneth not alone; euen ſo at the ſame time it fortuned, that the Albanians roſe in arms againſt the ſaid two Princes their Soueraigns, and vnder the leading of their rebellious captain *Emanuel Catacuzenus*, grieuouſly troubled both theſe poor Princes. Theſe Albanians were a rough and hardy kind of people, which liuing after the maner of the rude Scythian people, by feeding of cattel, had of long time planted themſelues in Peloponeſus; differing from the natural Greeks both in their maner of liuing & language; which diuerſitie was no ſmall cauſe that they oftentimes ſpurned, as now, againſt the gouernment of the Grecian princes. In this extremity the two diſtreſſed princes not well knowing 1454 which way to turn themſelues, ſought for peace at *Mahomets* hands, offering to becom his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full conqueſt of that countrey; and ſent *Turachan* gouernor of Theſſalia, one of his greateſt men of war, with an army into Peloponeſus, to aid thoſe princes againſt the Albanians; by whoſe help the maſterful rebels were in ſhort time diſcomfited, and the country of Peloponeſus quieted; yet ſo, that it is now become tributary to the Turkiſh King.

Thomas & Demetrius rebell againſt Mahomet, and are by him ſpoiled of part of their Dominion.

Theſe two princes, *Demetrius* and *Thomas* (the laſt of all the Chriſtian princes that reigned in Peloponeſus) hauing loſt their liberty, liued a few yeares as the Turks vaſſals, paying ſuch tribute as they had before promiſed. During which time many diſpleaſures aroſe betwixt the two brothers, being both jelous of their eſtate, and deſirous by all plauſible means to win the hearts of their ſubjects one from another. Wherby it came to paſſe, that whilſt they both deſired to become popular, they weakned their own credit, and had not their ſubiects at ſuch command as beſt ſtood with the ſafety of their ſtate. Neuertheles, as ſoon as they vnderſtood that the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt were making great preparation againſt the Turk; and that *Calixtus*, the third of that name (then Biſhop of Rome) had already put a fleet of Gallies to ſea, which did great ſpoil vpon the borders of the Turks dominions; they vainly perſuading themſelues that the Turks would in ſhort time be again driuen out of Grecia, refuſed to pay any more tribute to the Turkiſh King, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occaſion *Mahomet* with a puiſſant army came down and firſt beſieged Corinth; and afterwards entring into Peloponeſus, took diuers ſtrong towns, and deſtroyed the Country before him: forcing the two princes for ſafegard of their liues to fly, the one to Mantinia, and the other into the ſtrong city of Epidaurus, now called Raguſium. The poor Princes deſtitute of ſuch aid as they expected, and altogether vnable to withſtand the power of the mighty Tyrant, began to ſue for peace: which he, hauing now ſpoiled their Country, granted, vpon condition, that all ſuch places as he had already taken, ſhould be ſtill his own; and alſo, that the city of Patras, with the Country adioyning, ſhould be deliuered vnto him; and that for the reſt the ſaid princes ſhould pay vnto him a yearly tribute. Which hard conditions the poor princes, now in danger to loſe all, were glad to accept of; wherupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

In his return hee took the City of Athens in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciavol* by compoſition (by means of *Omares* the ſon of *Turachan* one of his great captains) promiſing to giue him the country of Beotia with the city of Thebes in lieu therof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius* ſomtime prince of Athens, and had of long time bin brought vp in the Turks court, as one of *Mahomets* minions, and was of him (as was ſuppoſed) intirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedom of Thebes in exchange for his princely ſtate of Athens, he was ſhortly after, as if it had bin in great friendſhip, ſent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus* his Lieutenant in Peloponeſus: by whom he was at firſt curteouſly entertained; but afterwards being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) ſuddenly ſtayed, and when he leaſt feared, cruelly murthered.

Mahomet commeth again into Peloponeſſus

About 3 yeares after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and the two brethren, *Mahomet* perceiuing that the Chriſtian kings and princes had combined themſelues againſt him, with a purpoſe to driue him out of Grecia; thought it now high time, and much for the aſſurance of his eſtate, to root out the ſmal reliques of the Grecian Empire which yet remained in Peloponeſus in the aforeſaid two Princes of the Imperiall bloud, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*: wherunto hee ſaw a fair occaſion preſented; foraſmuch as thoſe two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themſelues, neither payd him ſuch tribut as they had before promiſed. Herupon he with a ſtrong army came to Corinth, where *Arſanes* a nobleman of great authority and power in that country, whoſe ſiſter *Demetrius* had maried, came to him from

A from the prince his brother in law, attended vpon with many gallant Gentlemen his followers, of purpoſe to aid him againſt the other Prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harm to haue bin by the Turk intended againſt himſelfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned as their friend. But when *Mahomet* was entred into Peloponeſus, and come to Tegea, he cauſed the ſaid *Arſanes* with all his chiefeſt followers to be laid hold vpon and caſt into bonds; knowing (as it ſeemed) no man for friend which might any way hinder his ambitious deſignes.

Demetrius ſubmits himſelf to Mahomet.

Demetrius hearing what was hapned to *Arſanes*, fled to Sparta, now called Mizithra; whither *Mahomet* in few days after came & laid ſiege to the city. But the poor prince conſidering that he muſt needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the City, and humbly ſubmitted B himſelf with all that he had into his power. Which ſo wel pleaſed the Turkiſh tyrant, that he curteouſly receiued him, comforted him, and promiſed in ſtead of Sparta to giue him other lands and poſſeſſions of like value elſwhere: neuertheles he committed him to ſafe cuſtodie, and caried him about with him as his priſoner, vntil he had finiſhed thoſe wars. After he had taken Sparta, he beſieged Caſtria, where he loſt diuers of his Ianizaries; for which cauſe when he had taken the City, hee put all the ſouldiers therin to the ſword, and cut all the Captaines ouerthwart in two pieces. From thence he marched to Leontarium, called in antient time Megalopolis, which he took, with another city called Cardicea, whither they of Leontarium had before conueyed their wiues and children as vnto a place of more ſafety. There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of thoſe Cities, men, women, and children, in number about C ſix thouſand, of whom he left not one aliue: and yet not ſo ſatisfied, he commanded the very beaſts and cattel of thoſe places to be killed. Many cities of Peloponeſus, terrified with the dreadfull example of their neighbours, forthwith yeelded themſelues; and amongſt others, Salvarium a great and ſtrong city of Arcadia, where he cauſed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of ten thouſand, to be caſt into bonds, looking for nothing but preſent death: all which he afterwards commanded to be ſent Captiues to Conſtantinople, and with them peopled the ſuburbs of that City. After that, he by the counſel of *Demetrius* ſent one of his Captains called *Ioſua*, with certain companies of Greek ſoldiers, vnto the ſtrong city of Epidaurus, to command him in the name of the prince to deliuer vnto him the city, with the princes wife and daughter, which lay there. But the Gouernor truſting vnto the D ſtrength of the city, refuſed to deliuer the ſame; yet ſuffering the Princeſſe and her daughter to depart out of the city, being willing to go to her husband; whom the Captain hauing receiued, returned, and preſented them vnto *Mahomet*: by whoſe commandement they were ſent into Beotia, there to attend his return to Conſtantinople; and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the yong Lady, who had ſo warmed *Mahomets* affection, that he took her afterwards to his wife.

At this time he alſo ſubdued the moſt part of Achaia and Elis, by *Zoganus Baſſa* his lieutenant: whither he came not long after himſelf, and laid ſiege to the city Salmenica, which for lack of water was at length yeelded vnto him: but the caſtle was by the ſpace of a whole year after valiantly defended againſt the Turks left to beſiege it, by Prince *Thomas*; of whom E *Mahomet* afterwards gaue this commendation, That in the country of Peloponeſus he had found many ſlaues, but neuer a man but him. This valiant Prince ſeeing the miſerable ruine of his country, and the ſtate therof vtterly forlorn; after he had moſt notably indured a yeares ſiege in the caſtle of Salmenica, got to ſea, and ſo arriued in Italy. Where trauelling to Rome, hee was honorably receiued by *Pius ſecundus*, then Biſhop there; who during his life allowed him a large penſion for the maintenance of his ſtate. Thus *Mahomet* hauing thruſt both the Grecian princes out of their dominions, and ſubdued al Peloponeſus (excepting ſuch ſtrong towns and caſtles as bordering vpon the ſea coaſt, were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus Baſſa* his lieutenant to gouern that new conquered prouince, himſelf returning with great triumph to Conſtantinople, carying with him Prince *Demetrius*, with his wife & daughter, and F many other noble priſoners. But after he was come to Hadrianople and placed in the Royall ſeat, he remoued the Eunuch from the fair yong lady, and took charge of her himſelf. As for *Demetrius* her father, hee gaue to him the City of Ænum, with the Cuſtom ariſing of the ſalt there made, as a penſion for him to liue vpon. Thus this moſt famous and populous country of Peloponeſus fel into the Turkiſh thraldom about the year of our Lord 1460, ſeuen years after

Peloponeſus ſubdued by the Turks.

after the taking of Conſtantinople. Which I haue here together ſet downe, as it is reported by them who liued in that time, and in the ſame countries: omitting of purpoſe other great occurrents of the ſame time (which ſhall in conuenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common miſery of the delicate Grecians, might appear vnder one view; which otherwiſe being deliuered by piece-meal, as it did concur with other great accidents, according to the courſe of the time, would but breed confuſion, and require the Readers great attention.

The Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially ſuch as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkiſh tyrant, were no leſſe terrified than troubled with the ſuberſion of the Conſtantinopolitan empire: for they ſaw by the continuall preparations of the Turk, that his ambitious deſires were rather increaſed, than in any part ſatisfied with ſo great & late victories. Wherfore they with all carefulnes fortified their frontier towns, and prouided all things neceſſary for defence of themſelues, and for repulſing ſo mighty an enemy. Among the reſt, *George* the old Deſpot or Prince of Seruia (whoſe dominions of all other lay in moſt danger of that tempeſt) ſpeedily muſtred his men of war, fortified his ſtrong cities, placed his gariſons, and left nothing vndon that he thought needfull for defence of his Country: for hee had many times before to his great loſſe indured the fury of the Turkiſh Kings, although hee were joined to them in the bonds of neereſt allyance. And hauing thus politiquely ſet all things in order at home, in perſon himſelf took his journy into Hungary, from thence to craue aid againſt ſuch time as he ſhould haue need. But the Hungarians, eſpecially *Huniades* (who then bare greateſt ſway in that kingdom) hauing before had ſufficient trial of the vncertaintie and light faith of that aged prince, who had ſo often faſhioned himſelf according to the occurrents of the time, that he was accounted neither right Turk, nor right Chriſtian; refuſed to promiſe him any aid, but left him to his own fortunes: wherwith he returned diſcontented, and ful of indignation. But ſhortly after he was come home, he died of a hurt receiued in a skirmiſh with *Michael Zilago*, gouernor of Belgrade; whoſe brother *Ladiſlaus* he had but a little before trecherouſly murdered, as he was trauelling by wagon to Belgrade with his ſaid brother *Michael*, who at the ſame time hardly eſcaped. This was the end of the Deſpot of Seruia, when he had liued 90 years; in which time of his long life he had plentifully taſted of both fortunes. A man aſſuredly of great courage, but of a maruellous vnquiet nature: by profeſſion a Chriſtian, yet a great friend vnto the Turks, whom he many times ſtood in great ſtead: a deep diſſembler, and double in all his dealings; wherby he purchaſed that credit, that he was not of any of his neighbor Princes whilſt he liued, either loued or truſted; and after his death of his ſubiects ſo deteſted, that the people of that country euen at this day in their Country ſongs ſtil term him the faithles and graceles deſpot. *Lazarus* his yongeſt ſon ſucceeded after him, hauing depriued both his elder brethren *Stephen* and *George* of the gouernment: for *Amurath* the Turkiſh King had put out their eies long before, of purpoſe to make them vnfit for the gouernment of ſo great a country: yet theſe blind princes found means to fly away from him to *Mahomet*, carying with them a great maſſe of mony; and ſo incited him againſt *Lazarus* their brother, that to keep friendſhip with the tyrant, he was glad to promiſe him a great yearly tribute. But within a few moneths after, *Lazarus* died, the laſt Chriſtian prince that reigned in Seruia. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe in Seruia for the ſoueraignty; the blind brethren ſtill crauing aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then liued: and the deſolat Widow of *Lazarus*, puting her ſelfe with her three ſons, *Iohn*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians; by which means with much trouble ſhe held her ſtate for a ſeaſon: vntil ſuch time as that the Seruians, ſeeing ſmall aſſurance in that kind of gouernment, and weary of the harms they daily receiued from the Turks, yeelded themſelues with their country vnto the obedience of the Turkiſh Sultan *Mahomet*, who for euer vnited the ſame vnto his empire as a prouince therof, and ſo it remaines at this day.

The death of George Deſpot of Seruia.

Seruia yeelded to the Turks.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continual courſe of his victories grown to that height of minde, that he thought no prince able to abide his force, neither any enterpriſe ſo great, which hee was not of power to bring to paſſe: wherfore he ceaſed not on euery ſide continually to vex and trouble the princes whoſe countries bordered vpon his. But aboue others, his heart ſwelled moſt againſt the Hungarians, for that by them his Aunceſtors had been more troubled, and their ſtate more indangered, than by any or all other the Chriſtian Princes. Wherefore

A fore he reſolued now to take them in hand, which thing hee had from the beginning of his reign greatly deſired. And becauſe the city of Belgrade, ſtanding vpon the great riuer of Danubius, was accounted the key of that country, he determined there to begin his wars, and by taking therof to make an entrance into the heart of Hungary. Herupon he leuied a great army of 150000 of his beſt ſouldiers; in whom hee repoſed ſuch aſſured truſt and confidence, that he accounted the city already as good as taken, and a faire way made into Hungary. So ready are we to promiſe to our ſelues the things we earneſtly deſire. For the better accompliſhment of theſe his deſignes, he had prouided in readines a fleet of 200 ſhips and gallies, which he ſent vp the riuer of Danubius, from Vidina to Belgrade, to the intent that no reliefe or aid ſhould be brought vnto the city out of Hungary, by the great riuers of Danubius and B Sauus, wherupon the city of Belgrade ſtandeth. With this fleet he kept both thoſe riuers ſo ſtreitly, that nothing could be poſſibly conueyed into the city by water: and not ſo contented, ſent part of his ſaid fleet farther vp the riuer of Danubius, and ſo landing his ſouldiers in many places, ſpoiled the countries all alongſt the riuer ſide. Shortly after he came with all his forces by land, and incamped before the city: wherunto at his firſt comming hee gaue a moſt fierce aſſault, thinking to haue taken them vnprouided. But finding greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined, & that the Hungarians were ready to skirmiſh with them without the walls, he began to proceed more warily, and intrenched his Army, and to prouide for the ſafety therof, by caſting vp of deep trenches and ſtrong rampiers againſt the ſudden ſallies of his enemies: and after, planting his battery, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the Walls C with his great Artillery. By the fury wherof he ouerthrew a part therof, and laid it flat with the ground: which the defendants with great induſtry and labor ſpeedily repaired, by caſting vp of new fortifications and rampiers, in ſuch ſort as it was rather ſtronger than before.

Belgrade beſieged by the Turks.

In the mean time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a moſt worthy Captain) being then Generall for the Hungarians, ſent a fleet of ſhips and gallies well appointed with all warlike prouiſion, down the riuer Danubius from Buda, which incountring with the Turks fleet, took 20 ſail of them, and ſo diſcomfited the reſt, that they were glad to run themſelues aground neer vnto the Kings camp. All which were by *Mahomets* commandment preſently ſet on fire, becauſe they ſhould not come into the power of the Hungarians. By this means the Chriſtians became maſters of both the riuers Danubius and Sauus, and ſo at their D pleaſure by water conueyed all things into the City, needfull for the defence therof. *Huniades* alſo himſelf with fiue thouſand valiant ſouldiers, and *Io. Capiſtranus* a Minorit Frier (by whoſe perſuaſion forty thouſand voluntary Chriſtians out of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, were come to that War) entred into the City that way with their ſouldiers and Followers.

The Turks fleet ouerthrown by the Chriſtians.

Mahomet reſolutely ſet down for the winning of the City, had with continuall batterie made the ſame at length ſaultable; and ſo determined the next day to giue a generall aſſault, appointing which part of the wal euery Colonel with his regiment ſhould aſſail. But as they were with great diligence and greater ſtir preparing all things needful for the next daies ſeruice, it fortuned that *Carazias Baſſa*, *Mahomets* Lieutenant General in Europ, and his beſt man E of war, was by chance ſlain with a great ſhot out of the town. With whoſe death *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euil which afterward inſued vnto him and his whole army. For all that, proſecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the aſſault to be giuen, and with the dreadfull ſound of Trumpets, drums, cornets, and other inſtruments of war, brought on the Ianizaries to the breach; who as couragious ſoldiers fiercely aſſailed the ſame, and without any great reſiſtance entred both there and in diuers other places of the City, reckoning the ſame to be now their owne. For *Huniades* hauing before ſtored euery corner of the City with his moſt valiant and expert ſoldiers, had taken order, that the defendants vpon the firſt charge of the Ianizaries ſhould forſake their ſtations, and as men diſcouraged retyre toward the City, of purpoſe to draw the F fierce enemies faſter on to their greater deſtruction; and vpon a ſign giuen to ſet vpon them afreſh, and to repair to their former places of defence: which was accordingly done, ſo that as ſoon as the Ianizaries, with other of the Turks moſt forward ſouldiers, were in great numbers entred, vpon the retyring of the defendants, & the ſign before appointed in the city giuen, the defendants, as men quickly changd, turning again, fiercely charged the Turks which were en-

Carazies Baſſa ſlain.

Belgrade aſſaulted.

tred,

The Turks notably repulſt.

tred contrary to their expectation : and the valiant *Huniades*, at the ſame time iſſuing out on euery ſide with his moſt reſolute ſouldiers, ſo oppreſſed the Turks, that few of them that were entred eſcaped with life, but were there in the city either ſlaine or taken priſoners ; and the reſt with exceeding ſlaughter beaten from the wals. Preſently after, *Huniades* in this confuſion of the Turks, ſtrengthened with the ſouldiers that came with *Capiſtranus* the Friar, made a ſally out of the towne, and ſet vpon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great ordnance ; which was with ſuch reſolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great ſlaughter to forſake their charge, and to leaue the ordnance to their enemies.

The Turkiſh tyrant ſore troubled and thorowly chafed with the loſſe of his great ordnance, couragiouſly charged the Hungarians afreſh, to haue recouered the ſame againe : but was ſo valiantly repulſed by *Huniades*, and ſo beaten with the murthering ſhot out of the city, that he was glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* alſo retiring turned the ordnance he had lately won, vpon the Turks campe, and with the ſame did them no ſmall harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Chriſtian army (which then lay on the other ſide of Danubius) was ſpeedily tranſported ouer the riuer ; and making no ſtay in the city, ioyned themſelues with *Huniades*, then lying without the wals of the city. Who notably ſtrengthned with this new ſupply, aſſailed the Turks trenches, as if he would euen preſently haue entred their Camp. At which his preſumption the proud Tyrant (neuer before ſo braued) diſdaining, went out of his trenches, & valiantly incountring him, beat him back again to the great ordnance ; from whence he was again by the Chriſtians driuen to his trenches. Which manner of doubtfull and dreadfull fight was on both ſides notably maintained vntill the day was almoſt ſpent : Victory with indifferent wings houering ſomtime ouer one ſide, ſomtime ouer the other.

Mahomet beeing wounded, is caried away for dead.

In theſe hot skirmiſhes and conflicts, *Chaſanes* captain of the Ianizaries, with many other valiant men were ſlain. And *Mahomet* himſelfe performing the part as well of a couragious ſoldier, as of a worthy chieftain, was ſo ſore wounded vnder his left pap, that hee was taken vp for dead, and carried into his pauilion, to the great diſcomfort of his whole army. But comming again vnto himſelfe, and conſidering that he had in that ſiege loſt his whole fleet, his great ordnance, with moſt part of his beſt ſoldiers, & yet in no poſſibility of the town, ſecretly in the night aroſe with his army, and in great ſilence ſhamefully departed ; ſtil looking behind him when the Hungarians ſhould haue purſued him into Servia, or haue troubled him vpon his way toward Conſtantinople. At this ſiege (beſides many of his beſt Captaines and chief commanders) were ſlain 40000 of his beſt ſoldiers. The loſſe he there ſuſtained was ſo great, & ſo ſtuck in his mind, that euer after during his life, when he had occaſion to ſpeak of that ſiege, he would ſhake his head and ſigh deeply, & many times wiſh that he had neuer ſeen that city, wherat both he and his father had receiued ſo great diſhonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horſemen on that ſide of Danubius, to haue preſently purſued the fearfull enemy, that the whole Army of the Turks might haue there beene ouerthrown. This notable victory was obtained againſt the Turk the ſixt of Auguſt, *Anno Dom*. 1456.

The death of the moſt famous Captaine Huniades.

Shortly after, this moſt valiant and renowned captain *Huniades*, worthy of immortal praiſe, died of a hurt taken in theſe wars ; or as ſome others write, of the plague, which was then rife in Hungary : who when he felt himſelfe in danger of death, deſired to receiue the Sacrament before his departure, and would in any caſe (ſick as he was) bee carried to the Church to receiue the ſame ; ſaying, It is not fit that the Lord ſhould come to the houſe of his ſeruant, but the ſeruant rather to go to the houſe of his Lord and maſter. He was the firſt Chriſtian captain that ſhewed the Turks were to be ouercome ; and obtained more great victories againſt them than any one of the Chriſtian Princes before him. Hee was to that barbarous people a great terror, and with the ſpoil of them inriched his country : and now dying, was by the Hungarians honorably buried at Alba Iulia, in S. *Stephens* Church. His death was greatly lamented of all good men of that age.

Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperor, no leſſe deſirous to extend his Empire with the glory of his name, by ſea than by land ; ſhortly after the taking of Conſtantinople put a great fleet to ſea, wherwith he ſurpriſed diuers Iſlands in the Ægeum, and hardly beſieged the City of the Rhodes.

A Rhodes. At which time *Calixtus* the third then Biſhop of Rome, aided by the Genoa's (for the grudge they bare againſt the Turkes for the taking of Pera) put to ſea a fleet of 16 tall ſhips and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodovicus* Patriarch of Aquilea, who therwith ſcoured the ſeas, and recouered again from the Turks the Iſland of Lemnos, with diuers other ſmal Iſlands therabout, and incountring with the Turks fleet neer vnto the Iſland of Rhodes, at a place called the Burrow of S. *Paul*; diſcomfited them, ſunk and took diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forſake the Rhodes. After which victory at ſea, he for the ſpace of three years, with his gallies at his pleaſure ſpoiled the frontiers of the Turks dominions all alongſt the ſea coaſt of the leſſer Aſia, and wonderfully terrified the effeminat people of thoſe countries; and ſo at length returned home, carrying with him many priſoners B and much rich ſpoil.

1461

Vſun-Caſſanus King of Perſia ſends Embaſſadors with preſents to Mahomet.

After that *Mahomet* was thus ſhamefully driuen from the ſiege of Belgrade, and his fleet at ſea diſcomfited (as is before declared) hee began with great diligence to make new preparations againſt the next ſpring, to ſubdue the Iſles of the Ægeum, eſpecially thoſe which lay neer vnto Peloponeſus. But whilſt he was buſie in thoſe cogitations, in the mean time Embaſſadors from *Vſun-Caſſanes* the great Perſian King arriued at Conſtantinople, with diuers rich preſents ſent to him from the ſaid King. Where among other things they preſented to him a pair of playing tables, wherin the men and dice were of great and rich pretious ſtones of ineſtimable worth, and the workmanſhip nothing inferior to the matter: which the Embaſſadors for oſtentation ſaid that *Vſun Caſſanes* found in the treaſures of the Perſian King, whom C he had but a little before ſlain and bereft of his kingdom, and had there bin left long before by the mighty conqueror *Tamerlane*. Together with theſe preſents they deliuered their Embaſſage, the effect wherof was, That thoſe two mighty princes might join and liue together in amity. And that wheras *David* the Emperor of Trapezond had promiſed to pay vnto *Mahomet* a yearly tribute, inforced therunto by *George* his Lieutenant in Aſia; he ſhould not now look for any ſuch thing, foraſmuch as that empire after the death of the emperor then liuing, ſhould of right belong vnto *Vſun-Caſſanes* in right of his wife, who was the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes* the elder brother of *David* the Emperor, then liuing: and further required him from that time not to trouble or moleſt the ſaid Emperour his friend and neer allyance; ſo ſhould he find him his faithful and kind confederat: otherwiſe it was (as they ſaid) in his choice, to D draw vpon himſelf the heauy diſpleaſure of a moſt mighty enemy. *Mahomet* before enuying at the riſing of the Perſian King, and now diſdaining ſuch peremptory requeſts, little differing from proud commands, in great choler diſmiſt the embaſſadours with this ſhort anſwer, That hee would ere long himſelfe bee in Aſia, to teach *Vſun-Caſſanes* what to requeſt of one greater than himſelf. This vnkindnes was the beginning and ground of the mortall Warres which afterwards inſued betwixt theſe two, then the greateſt Princes of the Eaſt, as ſhall bee hereafter more at large declared. The Embaſſadors being departed, and *Mahomet* his fleet of 150 ſail ready to put to ſea, he altred his former determination for the Iſlands of the Ægeum (which after the loſſe of Conſtantinople had for the moſt part put themſelues vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his admiral with that fleet to take his courſe E thorow the ſtreits of Boſphorus into the great Euxine ſea (now called the Black ſea; and ſo ſailing along the coaſt, to come to anchor before Sinope, the chief city of Paphlagonia, there to expect his comming thither with his army by land. This great city of Sinope ſtands pleaſantly vpon a point of the main which runs a great way into the Euxine, ſomtime the metropolitical city of that prouince; but as then, with Caſtamona, and all the Country therabout, was vnder the gouernment of *Iſmael* a Mahometan prince, vpon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his forces, for no other cauſe than that he was in league with *Vſun-Caſſanus* the Perſian King. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuied a ſtrong army, and paſſing therwith ouer into Aſia, was come before he was looked for, to Sinope. *Iſmael* ſeeing himſelf ſo ſuddenly beſet both by ſea & land in his ſtrongeſt city, although he wanted nothing needful for his defence, F hauing in his city four hundred pieces of great artillery, and ten thouſand ſoldiers; yet doubting to be able with that ſtrength to endure the ſiege, offred to yeeld vp the city to *Mahomet*, with all the reſt of his Dominion, vpon condition that hee ſhould freely giue him in lieu thereof the City of Philippopolis in Thracia, with the Country thereunto adjoyning. Of which his offer *Mahomet* accepted: and ſo taking poſſeſſion of Sinope, with the ſtrong city of Caſtamona,

Mahomet inuadeth Iſmael Prince of Sinope.

mona, and all the reſt of the princes territory, ſent him away with all his things to Philippopolis, as he had promiſed. This *Iſmael* was the laſt of the honourable houſe of the *Iſfendiars*, who had long time reigned in Heraclea and Caſtamona in Pontus. From Sinope he marched on forward with his army to Trapezond. This famous city ſtandeth alſo vpon the ſide of the Euxine or black ſea in the country of Pontus, where the Emperors of Conſtantinople had alwaies their deputies, whilſt that empire flouriſhed & commanded the Eaſt part of the world as far as Parthia: but after it began again to decline (as all worldly things haue but their time) one *Iſaac* (whoſe father Emperor of Conſtantinople, the Conſtantinopolitans had for his euill gouernment ſlain) flying to Trapezond, took vpon him the gouernment of that city, with the Countries of Pontus and Cappadocia, with many other great prouinces, and was at the firſt called the King of Trapezond: but after hee was well eſtabliſhed in the gouernment, both he and his ſucceſſors took vpon them the name and title of emperors, which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, and therfore are of moſt accounted for Emperors. He that then reigned was called *Dauid Comnenus*; which moſt honorable family of the *Comneni* had long time before reigned in Conſtantinople; and out of the ſame were many other great princes deſcended, who ruled in diuers places of Macedonia, Epirus, and Grecia. *Mahomet* comming to Trapezond, layd hard ſiege vnto the ſame both by ſea and land for the ſpace of 30 daies, and burnt the ſuburbs therof, as he had before at Sinope. The fearfull Emperor diſmaied with the preſence of ſo mighty an enemy, & the ſight of ſo puiſſant an army, offered to yeeld vnto him the city with his whole empire, vpon condition that hee ſhould take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him ſome other prouince which might yeeld vnto him ſuch yearely profit as might ſuffice for the honorable maintenance of his ſtate. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weaknes of his enemy by his large offers, refuſed to accept therof, and attempted by force to haue taken the city; which not ſorting to his deſire, the matter was again brought to parly: where after long debating to and fro, it was at laſt agreed vpon, That the Emperor vpon the faith of the Turkiſh King for his ſafe return, ſhould in perſon meet him without the city, if haply ſo ſome good attonement might bee made betwixt them. Wherupon the Emperor following the Turks faith before ſolemnly giuen for his ſafe return, as was before agreed, went out of the City to meet him, in hope to haue made ſome good agreement with him. But as ſoon as he was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable and helliſh doctrine of his falſe prophet (That faith is not to be kept with Chriſtians) preſently cauſed the Emperour to be caſt into bonds, and ſo to be detained as priſoner. Which when it was bruted in the city, the citiſens vtterly diſcouraged, without further reſiſtance yeelded themſelues with the city into his power.

Trapezond beſieged by Mahomet.

Trapezond yeelded to the Turks.

Mahomet now Lord of Trapezond, entring the city, took priſoners the Emperors daughter, with all the reſt of his children and kindred, and all ſuch of the Nobility as he found within the city; whom he cauſed forthwith together with the Emperour, to be ſent by ſea as it were in triumph to Conſtantinople. Of the reſt of the citiſens he choſe out ſo many as he pleaſed for his own ſeruice; and appointed eight hundred of the Chriſtian children, in whom appeared moſt towardlines, to be brought vp for Ianizaries: many alſo of the other Citiſens were ſent Captiues to Conſtantinople: the beautiful women and virgins he diuided amongſt his friends and men of war, certain choſen paragons of whom he ſent as preſents to his ſons. After he had thus taken his pleaſure in the city, and left none there but the baſeſt of the people, he put a ſtrong gariſon of his Ianizaries into the caſtle, and a great gariſon of common ſoldiers into the city, appointing his Admiral to gouern the ſame. The reſt of the emperors ſtrong Towns, diſcouraged with the taking of Trapezond, and the miſeries therof, in ſhort time ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Turkiſh thraldom, wherin they haue euer ſince moſt miſerably liued. So *Mahomet* in the ſpace of a few months hauing reduced that empire into the form of a prouince, returned in great triumph to Conſtantinople; when hee had in this expedition ſubdued Paphlagonia, Pontus, and a great part of Capadocia, with ſome other prouinces neer vnto the Euxine ſea. When he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſent the Emperor with his children priſoners to Hadrianople. But afterwards vnderſtanding that the Perſian Queene, the wife of *Vſun-Caſſan*, ſought means to get ſome one of her vncles children, whom by the power of her husband ſhe might, if it were poſſible, aduance vnto her fathers empire; hee ſent for *Dauid* the wofull Emperour to Conſtantinople, and there cruelly cauſed him, with

all

A all his ſonnes and kinſmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermoſt of his power rooted out all that moſt honourable family of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the Emperors youngeſt ſonne, who at his firſt comming to Hadrianople turned Turke: whoſe ſiſter (the emperors daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Chriſtian empire was by the Turkiſh tyrant *Mahomet* thus miſerably ſubuerted and brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

The ruine of the empire of Trapezond.

1462

The yeare following, which was the yeare 1462, *Mahomet* hauing intelligence, that *Wladus Dracula*, Prince of Valachia, his tributary, was reſolued to caſt from him his obedience, and to ioyne himſelfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it beſt to proue if he could by policy circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpoſe he B ſent *Catobolinus* his principall ſecretary vnto him to bring him vnto the court, promiſing him greater fauors and promotions from the Emperor, than he had as yet at any time inioyed: and by the ſame truſty meſſenger, he commanded *Chamuzes Baſſa*, Gouernour of Bidina and the country lying ouer againſt Valachia, on the other ſide of Danubius, to do his vttermoſt deuoir for the entrapping of *Wladus*: promiſing him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Whereupon *Chamuzes* deuiſed with the ſecretary, that when he had done his meſſage to the Prince, and with all his cunning perſuaded him to take that iourney vpon him, he ſhould ſecretly before hand giue notice vnto him of the certain day of his returne backe againe from the Prince: at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courteſie of himſelfe bring the ſecretaire well on his way, being a man of ſo great acount in the court, or at leſtwiſe not refuſe ſo to do, being therto requeſted by the ſecretary: at which time the Baſſa ſecretly paſſing ouer C Danubius with certaine troups of horſemen, and lying cloſe in ambuſh vpon the way, ſhould ſuddenly ſet vpon the Prince, and ſo either take him, or elſe kill him. The plot thus laid, and euery circumſtance agreed vpon, the ſecretary held on his way; and comming to the Prince, forced his wit to perſuade him to go to the court: ſomtime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his fidelity & valor; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of great honors and princely preferments he was to receiue at the Emperors hands. But when he had ſaid what he could, he obtained no more of the wary Prince, but good words again, and that he would in courteſie conduct him on his way to the ſide of Danubius: whereof the ſecretary by ſpeedy meſſengers gaue *Chamuzes* intelligence: who ſecretly paſſing ouer Danu- D bius with certain troups of horſmen, and riding a good way into the countrey, lay in ambuſh vpon the way whereby the Prince and the ſecretary muſt needs paſſe: according as was before appointed, the ſecretary accompanied with the Prince, put himſelfe vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambuſh with his horſemen: who ſuddenly ariſing, & on euery ſide aſſailing the Prince, ſlew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Baſſa had ſuppoſed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a ſtrong gard of valiant and ſtout men) ſo receiued *Chamuzes* and his Turkes, that he ſlew many of them, and at length after a hard conflict took him with the reſt priſoners: whoſe hands and feet he cauſed to be cut off, and their bodies afterwards to be thruſt vpon ſharp ſtakes ſet faſt in the ground, to the E terror of all that ſaw them: and did the Baſſa ſo much honor as to hang him and the ſecretary vpon a gibbet a great deale higher than the other Turks. And not ſatisfied with this reuenge, preſently gathered his forces, and paſſing ouer Danubius into the Turks dominions, burnt all the country before him along the ſea ſide, killing man, woman, and child, without mercy: after which great ſpoyle & ſlaughter made, he returned again to Valachia. The report of this news being brought to *Mahomet*, ſet him in ſuch a choler and rage, that he commanded the great Baſſa *Mahomet*, which firſt told him thereof, to be cruelly whipt: which ſeruile puniſhment in that tyrannicall gouernment hath vſually bin inflicted euen vpon the greateſt Princes of the court, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the tyrants, eſpecially if they be not naturall Turks born; accounting the reſt in their anger but as their baſe and contemptible ſlaues, as well appeareth F by the wofull end of many, euen of the greateſt of them. But when he vnderſtood by moſt ſure aduertiſements that all was as the Baſſa had before reported, or rather worſe, it is not to be in words expreſſed into what a rage he fell: the ſpoyle of his country grieued him much, but the ſhamefull death of the ſecretary his Embaſſador, and of *Chamuzes* the Baſſa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation & deſire of reuenge. Wherſore with all ſpeed poſſible he

Mahomet ſeeketh to entrap Wladus Prince of Valachia.

Chamuzes Baſſa & the Turks ſecretary hanged.

he aſſembled his ſoldiers and men of war, out of all parts of his dominions to Philippopolis; G
and had in ſhort time raiſed ſuch an army, as the like he had not at any time imployed ſince
the winning of Conſtantinople. At the ſame time alſo, he ſent his Admirall with 25 gallies,
and 150 ſaile of other ſmall veſſels by the Euxine, to enter the riuer Danubius, and there landing
his men, to ioine his forces with the prince of Podolia: who for a grudge he bare againſt
Wladus, had promiſed to ayd the Turke againſt him. When all things were now in readines,
he marched with his army from Philippopolis, and paſſing ouer Danubius, entred into Valachia;
before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the help of the Podolian,
had burnt the city of Prailaba, the greateſt towne of trade in all Valachia; and was beſieging
Cebium, called in antient time Lycoſtomos: where after they had lien a while and receiued
ſome loſſe, they left the ſiege and departed, the Podolian backe againe into his countrey, and H
the Admirall to his fleet.

Mahomet himſelfe in perſon inuadeth Valachia.

Mahomet being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made hauocke
of all that came in his way. As for priſoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before
his comming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnfit for wars; either into
their ſtrong cities, or into the refuge of great and thick woods (whereof there is in that countrey
plenty) or elſe into the high and rough mountaines where they were in more ſafety than
in any their ſtrongeſt holds: and all ſuch as were able to beare armes, followed the Prince, who
euer kept the woods and mountaines, ſtill following the Turks army ſo neere as he poſſibly
could with ſafety; and many times cut off ſuch as ſtragled any thing far abroad from the army,
into the country: yet neuer durſt ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull I
in compariſon of the Turks multitude. *Mahomet* to ſmall purpoſe roaming vp and downe the
country at his pleaſure, ſtaid neuer long in one place; and making no reckoning of ſuch a weak
enemy as durſt neuer ſhew himſelfe, pitcht his tents ſtill in the open plaines, and ſo lay with
his army in great ſecurity, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his eſpials vnderſtanding of this
the manner of *Mahomets* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, & with all his power
furiouſly aſſailed that quarter of the Turks camp where the Aſian ſoldiers lay, and ſlew many
of them in their tents; the reſt terrified with the ſuddenneſſe of the Alarum, fled out of their
tents for refuge vnto the Europeian ſouldiers: the Prince following them at the heeles, and entring
into that quarter of the camp alſo, did there great harme, and ſtruck ſuch a generall terror
and feare into all the Turks army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholly forſaken K
their tents and betaken themſelues to flight. Yea *Mahomet* himſelfe, diſmaid with the
terror of the night and tumult of his camp, and fearing leſt the Hungarians had ioyned their
forces with the Prince; not knowing which way to turne himſelfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had
not *Mahomet Baſſa*, a man of great experience in martiall affairs, perſuading him otherwiſe, and
by generall proclamation made through the camp, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death,
forſake the place wherin he was encamped, ſtaid the flight; and with much ado enforced them
to make head againſt the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turks now to begin to ſtand vpon their
guard, and to make reſiſtance; after great ſlaughter made, returning, tooke the ſpoyle of the
tents forſaken by the Aſian ſouldiers, and vpon the approch of the day, again retired with victory
into the woods. As ſoon as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certaine companies L
of ſelect ſouldiers, to purſue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the Princes army,
tooke a thouſand of them priſoners, and put the reſt to flight: all which priſoners were by the
tyrants command, preſently put to the ſword. From that time *Mahomet* euery night entrenched
his army, and cauſed better watch and ward to be kept in euery quarter of his camp, than
before.

A moſt horrible ſpectacle.

As he marched along the country, he came to the place where the Baſſa and the Secretary
were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the diſmembred Turks, impailed vpon ſtakes about
them: with which ſight he was grieuouſly offended. And paſſing on farther, came to a plaine
containing in bredth almoſt a mile, & in length two miles, ſet ful of gallows, gibbets, wheels,
ſtakes, and other inſtruments of terror, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carkaſes M
of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twenty
thouſand. There was to be ſeen the father, with his wife, children, and whole family, hanging
together vpon one gallowes; and the bodies of ſucking babes, ſticking vpon ſharp ſtakes;
others with all their limbs broken vpon wheels, with many other ſtrange & horrible kinds of

A death : ſo that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets feigne to be in hel, had bin there put in execution. All theſe were ſuch as the notable, but cruell prince, iealous of his eſtate, had either for iuſt deſert, or ſome probable ſuſpition, put to death ; and with their goods rewarded his ſouldiers: whoſe cruel manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole family, yea ſometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell diſpoſition, wondred to ſee ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle of extreme cruelty: yet ſaid no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his ſubiects at command. After that, *Mahomet* ſent *Ioſephus*, one of his greateſt Captaines, to skirmiſh with the Valachies, who was by them put to the worſe: but by the comming in of *Omares* the ſon of *Turachan*, they were againe in a great skirmiſh ouerthrowne, and two thouſand of their heads brought by the Turks vpon B their launces into the Kings camp : for which good ſeruice *Omares* was by the King preferred to be Gouernour of Theſſalia.

Two thouſand of the Valachies ſlaine.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced Valachia, and hauing done what harme he could, ſaw it to be to no purpoſe, with ſuch a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemy, which ſtil kept the thick woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to Conſtantinople, leauing behind him *Haly-Beg* with part of his army, to proſecute that war : and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was alſo called *Wladus*, as a ſtale to draw the Valachies into rebellion againſt the Prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomets* court, and for his comely feature of him moſt paſſionatly affected: which inordinat perturbation ſo preuailed in the intemperat nature of the laſciuious prince, that he ſought firſt by fair C words and great gifts to corrupt the youth ; and not ſo preuailing, attempted at laſt to haue forced him ; wherewith the noble youth being inraged, drew his rapier, and ſtriking at him to haue ſlain him, grieuouſly wounded him in the thigh, and therupon fled. Neuertheleſſe being drawne backe againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and ſo became his *Ganimede* ; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honored, and now ſet vp for a ſtale (as is beforeſaid) for the Valachies his countrymen to gaze vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the king, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-Beg* the Turkiſh Generall, to ranſome ſuch friends of theirs as had bin taken priſoners in thoſe wars, and were yet by him detained ; to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of diſcourſe declaring the great power of the Turkiſh Emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endles D miſeries of his natiue countrey, cunningly imputed the ſame vnto the diſordred gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes : aſſuring them of moſt happy and ſpeedy redreſſe, if the Valachies, forſaking his fierce brother, would cleaue to him as their ſoueraigne, in ſpeciall fauour with the great Emperour. Which ſpeech he deliuered vnto them with ſuch liuely reaſons, and in ſuch effectuall termes, that they there preſent, perſuaded by him, and others by them, in ſhort time all, as if it had been by a ſecret conſent, forſooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and choſe *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and ſoueraigne. Who ioyning vnto him the Turks forces, by the conſent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernment of that warlike countrey and people; yet holding the ſame as the Turkiſh tyrants vaſſaile, the readieſt way to infidelity. *Wladus* ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken of al his ſubiects, and his E yonger brother poſſeſſed of his dominion, fled into Tranſiluania ; where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian king, apprehended and laid faſt in ſtreit priſon at Belgrade, for that he had without iuſt cauſe (as it was laid to his charge) moſt cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in Valachia: yet ſuch was his fortune, after ten yeares hard impriſonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battell againſt his antient enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus.

Mahomet returning out of Valachia to Conſtantinople, ſent the ſame fleet which hee had vſed in his late warres, into the Ægeum, to take in ſuch Iſlands as being before vnder the Conſtantinopolitan empire, had vpon the loſſe of the city put themſelues vnder the protection of the Venetians ; but eſpecially the Iſle of Mitylene, called in antient time Lesbos: pretending that *Nicholaus Cateluſius* Prince thereof, did harbor the pyrats of Italy and other places ; and F alſo bought of them ſuch priſoners, and other booty, as they continually tooke from the Turkes at ſea, or alongſt the ſea coaſt, out of many places of his dominions : pretending alſo the chaſtiſing of the ſaid Prince, for that he had by treacherie ſlaine his eldeſt brother, and ſo vniuſtly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus ſet forward, hee himſelfe with a

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Mitylene beſieged.

Mitylene yeelded to the Turke.

ſmall army paſſed ouer into Aſia,and came by land to Poſſidium a city of Ionia ouer againſt G
Mitylene. From whence he imbarked himſelfe ouer the narrow ſtreit,into the Iſland,where af-
ter he had once landed his army, he in ſhort time ouerran the whole Iſland, and miſerably
ſpoyled the ſame,leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captiuity ; who ſhortly after
were ſold at Conſtantinople like flocks of ſheepe,and from thence diſperſed into all parts of
his dominions. After he had thus harried the countrey,and left nothing therein vnſpoyled,he
beſieged the Prince in the city of Mitylene,whereof the Iſland now taketh name:and with his
great ordnance continually battered the ſame by the ſpace of 27 dayes (in which time many
ſharp aſſaults were alſo giuen by the Turks,whereby the defendants were greatly diminiſhed
and waſted. The Prince perceiuing himſelfe not able long to hold out,offered to yeeld vp the
city, with all the ſtrong holds in the Iſle, vpon condition that *Mahomet* ſhould therfore giue H
vnto him ſome other prouince,of like value to the Iſland : which his offer *Mahomet* accepted,
and by ſolemne oath bound himſelfe for performance of that he had promiſed. Whereupon
the Prince came out of the city, and humbled himſelfe before him,excuſing himſelfe for the
receiuing of the men of war(wherwith he was charged)as done for no other purpoſe, but that
they ſhould forbeare to ſpoyle his owne country, much ſubiect to their fury:vtterly denying
that he had at any time bought,or ſhared,any part of ſuch prizes as had by thoſe pyrats by ſea
or land bin taken from the Turks. With which his excuſe, *Mahomet* ſeemed to be reaſonably
well contented,and with good words cheered him vp:neuertheleſſe as ſoon as the city,with all
the other ſtrong holds in the Iſle, were by the Princes meanes deliuered into his hands, he no
longer made reckoning of his Turkiſh faith,but cruelly cauſed many of the chief citizens of I
Mitylene to be put to death;and three hundred pyrats,whom he found in the city, to be cut in
two peeces in the middle,ſo to die with more paine. And when he had placed conuenient gar-
riſons in euery ſtrong hold in the Iſle,he returned to Conſtantinople,carrying away with him
the Prince,and all the better ſort of the inhabitants of Mitylene,that were left aliue,together
with all the wealth of that moſt rich and pleaſant Iſland, leauing it almoſt deſolate, none re-
maining therein more than his own garriſons,with a few of the poore and baſeſt people. *Maho-*
met after he was arriued at Conſtantinople,caſt the Prince *Nicholaus* & *Lucius* his coſin(whoſe
helpe he had before vſed in killing of his elder brother) into cloſe priſon : where they ſeeing
themſelues euery houre in danger of their liues,to win fauor in the tyrants ſight,wickedly of-
fered to renounce the Chriſtian Religion,and to turn Turks. Which *Mahomet* vnderſtanding, K
cauſed them both to be richly aparrelled,and with great triumph to be circumciſed,and pre-
ſently ſet at liberty:yet ſtill bearing in minde his old grudge,he ſhortly after,when they leaſt
feared any ſuch matter,clapt them both faſt again in priſon,and there cauſed them to be moſt
cruelly put to death. A iuſt reward for their bloudy murthers and Apoſtacy, who to gaine a
little longer life, were content to forſake God.

1464 Shortly after it fortuned,that *Stephen* king of Boſna(in antient time called Mæſia Superi-
or)who ſupported by the Turkiſh Emperor,had wrongfully obtained that kingdome againſt
his owne brethren , refuſed now to pay ſuch yearely tribute as hee had before promiſed : for
which cauſe *Mahomet* with a ſtrong army entred into Boſna , and layd ſiege vnto the City of
Dorobiza : which when hee had with much adoe taken , he diuided the people thereof into L
three parts ; one part whereof he gaue as ſlaues vnto his men of war, another part he ſent vn-
to Conſtantinople, and the third hee left to inhabit the City. From Dorobiza he marched
to Iaziga,now called Iaica, the chiefe city of that kingdome,which after foure moneths ſiege
was deliuered vnto him by compoſition:in this city he took the Kings brother and ſiſter, pri-
ſoners, with moſt of the nobility of that kingdome, whom he ſent as it were in triumph vnto
Conſtantinople. The other leſſer cities of Boſna following the example of the greater,yeel-
ded themſelues alſo. But *Mahomet* vnderſtanding that the King of Boſna had retired himſelfe
into the fartheſt part of his kingdom,ſent *Mahometes* his chief Baſſa with his Europeian ſoldi-
ers to purſue him : wherein the Baſſa vſed ſuch diligence,that he had on euery ſide ſo incloſed
him before he was aware,that he could by no means eſcape,which was before thought a thing M
impoſſible. So the King for ſafegard of his life was faine to take the city of Clyſſa for his re-
fuge : where he was ſo hardly laid to by the Baſſa , that ſeeing no other remedy, he offered to
yeeld himſelf vpon the Baſſa's faithfull promiſe by oath confirmed,that he ſhould be honora-
bly

A bly vſed, and not to receiue in his perſon any harme from the Turkiſh Emperor. Whereupon the Baſſaes oath to the ſame purpoſe was with great ſolemnity taken; and for the more aſſurance conceiued in writing, firmed by the Baſſa, and ſo deliuered to the king: which done, the king came out of the city and yeelded himſelfe. The Baſſa hauing thus taken the king priſoner, carried him about with him from place to place, and from city to city, vntill he had taken poſſeſſion of all the kingdome of Boſna, and ſo returning vnto his maſter, preſented vnto him the captiue king: who was not a little offended with him, for that he had vnto him ſo farre engaged his Turkiſh faith. But when the poore King thought to haue departed, not greatly fearing further harm, he was ſuddenly ſent for by *Mahomet*: at which time, he doubting the worſt, caried with him in his hand the writing wherin the Baſſaes oath for his ſafety was compriſed: B neuertheleſſe, the faithles tyrant, without any regard therof, or of his faith therein giuen, cauſed him preſently to be moſt cruelly put to death, or as ſome write to be ſlaine quicke. Thus was the Chriſtian kingdome of Boſna, ſubuerted by *Mahomet* in the yeare 1464: who after he had at his pleaſure diſpoſed thereof, & reduced it to the forme of a Prouince, to be (as it is at this day) gouerned by one of his Baſſaes; in great triumph returned to Conſtantinople, carrying away with him many a woful Chriſtian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdome.

Mahomet following the example of his father *Amurath*, had from the beginning of his reign by one or other of his great Baſſaes or expert captains ſtill maintained war againſt *Scanderbeg* the moſt valiant and fortunat King of Epirus: the greateſt part wherof, although it did in the courſe of time concurre with the things before declared, and might by peecemeale haue been C amongſt the ſame in their due time and place inſerted; yet I haue of purpoſe for diuers reaſons wholly reſerued them for this place: firſt, for that I would not interrupt the courſe of the hiſtory before rehearſed, with the particular accidents of this war: and then, for that the greateſt heat of this hereditary war, deliuered as it were from hand to hand, from the father to the ſon, hapned not long after this time, when as *Mahomet* hauing conquered the kingdom of Boſna, had ſurrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* dominion; wherein he had reſpect alſo vnto the Readers eaſe, who may with greater pleaſure and content, and leſſe paines alſo, view the ſame together, than if it had bin diſperſedly ſcattered and intermedled with the other greater occurrents of the ſame time. In which diſcourſe I will but briefly touch many things well worthy of a larger treatiſe. And if forgetting my ſelfe, I ſhall, in ſome places happen to ſtay D ſomthing longer than the Readers haſt would require, yet I hope, that the zeale and loue he beares vnto the worthy memory of moſt famous Chriſtian Princes, together with the ſhortneſſe of the hiſtory, in compariſon of that which is thereof written in iuſt volumes by others, ſhall eaſily excuſe a larger diſcourſe than this: But againe to our purpoſe.

The great war betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, are at large written by Marinus Barletius in 13 books, De vita & geſtis Scanderbegi, *from whence this hiſtory is taken: and were done betwixt the yeres 1450. and 1467.*

Vide Marini Barletium, lib. de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi.

Mahomet in the beginning of his reigne ſent embaſſadors to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, ſo that he would grant to pay vnto him ſuch yerely tribute as his father *Amurath* had in his life time demanded: which embaſſage the crafty tyrant ſent rather to proue what confidence *Scanderbeg* had in himſelfe, than for any hope he had to haue his demand granted. This diſhonorable offered peace *Scanderbeg* ſcornfully reiected, and ſo returned the Embaſſadors as they came: and preſently vpon their departure entred with his horſmen into that part of the Turks E dominion which bordereth vpon Epirus: and when he had waſted the country, returned home laded with the ſpoyle therof. In reuenge of which deſpight, *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſent *Ameſa* one of his beſt men of war, with 12000 horſemen into Epirus, to requite *Scanderbeg* with the like ſpoyle of his people & country. But *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding by his eſpials of the Turks comming, lay cloſe in ambuſh with 6000 ſouldiers vpon the great mountaine Modriſſa, ouer which the Turks muſt of neceſſity take their way: and as they were about by night to haue paſſed ouer that rough and ſteep mountaine, and were with much difficulty almoſt got vp to the top therof, they were ſuddenly charged by *Scanderbeg* his footmen, who hauing the aduantage of the place, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and draue them downe the mountain amaine; at which time their horſes ſtood them in no ſtead at all, but were rather vnto them an F hinderance in that vneuen and troubleſome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and diſorder againe fiercely aſſailed on the one ſide by *Scanderbeg*, & on the other ſide by his nephew, called alſo *Ameſa*, who before the Turks comming had placed themſelues with their horſmen in places of moſt aduantage: ſo that the Turks hardly beſet, and forced on euery ſide, were in ſhort time ouerthrown and put to flight.

In this conflict ſeuen thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine, and *Ameſa* Generall of the Turks army with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* ſent priſoners to Croia: for ioy of this victory at *Scanderbegs* returne, great triumph and feaſting was made at Croia: during which time, *Scanderbeg* cauſed *Ameſa* the Turke, with the reſt of the Turkiſh captains, to be inlarged, to be petakers of that ioy, whereof they againſt their wils had giuen the occaſion; and afterwards vſed them with all kind of courteſie during the time of their abode. This *Ameſa* requeſted of *Scanderbeg*, that he might ſend a meſſenger to Conſtantinople, to certifie *Mahomet* how the caſe ſtood with him and the reſt, whom haply he might think to haue bin ſlain in the battell; and to procure from him their ranſom: which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* eaſily granted, and ſet down their ranſome at thirteene thouſand Duckats. The news of this ouerthrow ſore grieued the Turkiſh tyrant, but afterwards when he ſaw the remainder of his army without their Generall and leaders, hauing for moſt part loſt their enſignes and armour, and alſo the meſſenger was ſent from *Ameſa*; he fell into ſuch a rage that he denied to giue any thing at all for his ranſome: imputing all the loſſe to his treachery, folly, or cowardiſe. Howbeit he was afterwards perſuaded by his Baſſaes, and other great courtiers, *Ameſa* his friends, to think better of the Generall, of whoſe faithfulneſſe and valor he had of long time had great experience, and alſo to ſend his ranſome: by denying whereof, he ſhould, (as they ſaid) diſcourage his other Generals and captains, who by chance of war might hap to fall into the like danger. By whoſe perſuaſion *Mahomet* ſent an Embaſſador to *Scanderbeg*, with the ranſome demanded, and other great preſents alſo. Vpon receit whereof, *Ameſa* with the other captains were ſet at liberty, and ſent with ſafe conuoy out of Epirus. All the money ſent for the Turks ranſome, *Scanderbeg* diuided amongſt his captains and ſouldiers.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with deſire of reuenge, ſo that he determined forthwith to ſend another army into Epirus: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and moſt expert captains ambitiouſly ſought for. For *Mahomet* had promiſed great rewards and moſt honourable preferments to him whoſe hap it ſhould be to vanquiſh *Scanderbeg*. Among the reſt, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardneſſe and courage, in great fauor with his ſoueraigne) by great ſuit obtained to haue that charge: promiſing with exceeding confidencie vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better ſucceſſe in his warres of Epirus, than others thither by him before ſent: for the accompliſhment whereof, he required to haue no greater power than was ſent the yeare before. But after that *Ameſa* was returned to the court, & had with long diſcourſe ſet forth the vertues and valor of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his ſouldiers, *Debreas* became more temperate in his ſpeech, and was contented to receiue a new ſupply; ſo that he had vnder his charge fourteene thouſand ſoldiers: with which army he marched towards Epirus, and was come to a place called Pologus, where he lay with his army encamped in a plain in great ſecurity, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies country, neither as he ſuppoſed, neere the enemy. Of all this preparation, and of the comming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence, and being reſolued not to expect the comming of the Turks into Epirus, made choice of ſix thouſand of his beſt horſmen, with whom he marched with as much ſpeed as was poſſible into the enemies country, & came by night vnto the plain where the Turks lay, hoping to haue bin vpon them before they were aware, and ſo to haue ouerthrowne them; wherein he was much deceiued: for by the light of the Moone (which then ſhined all night, he was by the Turks in time deſcried, yet the ſuddennes of his approch with the ſtrangeneſſe of the attempt, exceedingly diſmaied the whole army of the Turks. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promiſe he had made vnto his Lord and Maſter, with cheerfull words encouraged his ſouldiers, and preſently ſent out certain troups of light horſmen, to receiue the firſt charge of the enemy, vntill he might ſet his whole army in order of battell. Betwixt theſe troups, & others ſent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a ſharp skirmiſh; both the armies ſtanding faſt, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his ſoldiers ſhould in his firſt encounter be put to the worſt, it might tend to the great diſcouraging of the reſt of his army; ſeconded his men with other freſh troups vnder the leading of *Moſes* and *Ameſa*; by whoſe comming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten back, and chaſed euen to their main battell. In the heat of which chaſe, *Moſes* forgetting hamſelfe, had with great danger in following on too faſt, bin incloſed by the Turks, had not this fury bin in good time ſtayed by *Ameſa*: for which ouerſight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, that he could not with

Debreas ſent with 14000 horſemen to inuade Epirus.

A skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

greater

The battell betwixt Scãderbeg & Debreas.

greater moderation vſe his good fortune; commending ſuch forwardneſſe in a priuat ſoldier, but not in ſo great a commander. When *Moſes* and *Ameſa* had thus put the Turks to flight, *Scanaerbeg* brought on his whole army, and fiercely aſſailed the Turks, yet troubled with the diſcomfiture of their fellowes. *Debreas* on the other ſide, with cheerfull ſpeech, and his owne valor, ſo encouraged his ſouldiers, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably reſiſted, and his fortune as it were at a ſtand: vntill that *Muſachius*, with certaine troups of reſolute men, drawne out of the left wing of *Scanderbegs* army, gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon the ſide of the Turks army, that he brake their ranks, & ſore diſordered that part of the army: which when *Debreas* perceiued, he withdrew himſelfe out of the front of the battell wherein he had valiantly ſtood againſt *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Muſachius* had diſordered the battell, and with ſuch courage cheered vp his troubled ſouldiers, that his onely preſence and valor ſeemed to be the very life and heart of his whole army. Whilſt *Debreas* was thus buſied againſt *Muſachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the meane time with might and maine ſtill charged the front of the enemies army: who now in the abſence of their Generall began to loſe their order & to giue ground, making no ſuch reſiſtance as before. At which time, *Moſes* forcibly breaking into the midſt of them, took one of their enſignes, which he threw back among his followers: wherewith they encouraged, ſo preſſed vpon their enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therwith diſcouraged, and their battel diſordred, were almoſt ready to turne their backs and to fly. *Debreas* ſeeing all in danger to be loſt, haſted with all ſpeed vnto the place where he ſaw moſt perill, and did what was poſſible to haue reſtored the battel, and encouraged his ſouldiers: where preſſing in among the formoſt, he was by *Scanderbeg* himſelfe encountred hand to hand, and ſo by him ſlaine: with whoſe fall the whole army diſcouraged, without further reſiſtance fled. *Moſes* purſuing them on the one ſide, and *Muſachius* on the other, with furious hand ſlew more in that chaſe than were ſlaine in the battell. Of the Turks were ſlain in this battell 4120, and ſome priſoners taken, but of the Chriſtians few or none: ſo that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a victory giuen. All the ſpoyle taken from the enemy, together with the priſoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally diuided among the ſoldiers. Vnto *Moſes* he gaue *Debreas* his horſe and armor: and vnto *Muſachius* a priſoner, which by his port and behauiour ſeemed to be a man of ſome account. This Turke agreed with *Muſachius* vpon a ranſome of 200 duckats, and preſently vpon agreement made, drew forth the money out of a little bag which he had kept ſecretly about him, and offered it to *Muſachius* for his ranſome, who receiuing the money, told the Turke, that he muſt prouide another ranſome, foraſmuch as that money was his owne before by law of armes, as taken with his perſon. The Turk on the other ſide alleadged for himſelfe, the agreement already made, with the paiment of the full ſum agreed vpon. This controuerſie was brought before *Scanderbeg*: who with great pleaſure heard them both what they could ſay: *Muſachius* laying hard for another ranſome, and the Turke for his liberty vrging the agreement. Who when they had both ſaid what they could for themſelues, *Scanderbeg* ſmiling, told them, that they both contented for that which was in right his, & neither of theirs: for the priſoner with the money were both mine (ſaid he) at the firſt taking of him, ſince which time I haue giuen to you *Muſachius* the priſoner, which I knew, but not the mony which I knew not of: neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (ſaid he to the Turke) who had by law of arms loſt your ſelfe, together with all that you had about you. After he had thus pleaſantly diſcourſed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded to *Muſachius* the mony he agreed for, and to the Turke his deſired liberty: who glad thereof, and hauing alſo receiued his horſe and armor of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, ſpeaking all the honor he could of ſo noble a conqueror. After this victory *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned againe to Croia.

Debreas ſlain, by Scanderbeg, and his army ouerthrowne.

A pleaſant contẽtion betwixt Muſachius and a Turke for his ranſome.

When *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Debreas* was ſlaine, and his army ouerthrowne, he became exceeding melancholy, but after he ſaw ſo many of his ſouldiers returned as had been ſufficient to haue reſtored a loſt battell, he was ſo highly diſpleaſed with that cowardiſe, as that hee could not endure the ſight of them. The death of *Debreas* grieued none more than the King himſelfe: for the captains generally either enuied at his hardineſſe, or elſe hated his inſolency. *Ameſa* among the reſt took no ſmall pleaſure, that his proud ſucceſſor had taken part of his euill fortune, and ſo in part eaſed his former infamy. The great Baſſaes and men of war ſeeing their ſoueraigne ſo deſirous of reuenge, offered to ſpend their liues in that ſeruice: whoſe forwardneſſe he ſeemed not to refuſe: howbeit he had in his mind already plotted another manner G of reuenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to paſſe, by ſowing diſcord among the Princes of Græcia: which foule practiſe hee purpoſed now to put in practiſe himſelfe. There were at that time many famous chiefetaines of Epirus, of *Scanderbeg* both beloued and truſted; among whom, he was in hope to find ſome one who for deſire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue ſome deſperat attempt againſt the life or ſtate of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moſes Golemus* of Dibra (a man honourably deſcended) was moſt inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his prowes and experience in martial affaires, of all men accounted the beſt captain in all Epirus, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelfe: him, the crafty tyrant moſt deſired to alienate from *Scanderbeg*, as fitteſt to ſerue his purpoſe, & eaſieſt without ſuſpition to be dealt withall, becauſe he commonly lay with a ſtrong garriſon in H Dibra, vpon the very frontiers of Epirus. Wherefore he directed his letters vnto the Gouernor of Sfetigrade, commanding him by all means he could poſſibly deuiſe to withdraw *Moſes* from *Scanderbeg*; and not to ſpare for any gold or golden promiſes wherby to allure him: promiſing alſo vnto the Gouernor himſelfe great preferments, if he could win him. Vpon receit of which letters, the Gouernour began forthwith carefully to deuiſe, how he might beſt attempt the matter he had in charge: where after many deuiſes, he at laſt thought vpon a ſhrewd headed fellow, one of the Chriſtians which dwelt in Sfetigrade; whom for that he was a Chriſtian, he might without ſuſpect vſe as an inſtrument in ſo dangerous and important an action. This Chriſtian the gouernor called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large promiſes won him to vndertake the matter, he ſent him away, fully before armed with plenteous I inſtructions, full of treaſon and deceit. When this ſubtill meſſenger was come vnto *Moſes*, and vnder pretence of great and ſecret matters of importance, had obtained to ſpeak with him in priuat; he after ſome diſcourſe had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder the couert of faire glozing words to vtter his poyſon: ſhewing vnto him (as a meſſenger from the Gouernor) the great and good opinion the Turkiſh Emperor had of long time conceiued of his valour and proweſſe: for which cauſe his heroicall nature could not but honor him, although he were his enemy; and therewith alſo maruell, that hee being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commanded by *Scanderbeg*, whoſe ſtate was by him chiefly vpholden whereas if he would do wiſely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an Emperour of greateſt magnificence and power, he ſhould quickly in his Court find ſuch honourable entertainment, K as were to be preferred before the ſtate of *Scanderbeg*: or if the ſoueraignty of Epirus his natiue countrey did better pleaſe him, he might eaſily be thereunto aduanced, by ioyning his owne endeuor vnto *Mahomets* great power. It pleaſed *Moſes* wel to heare his own praiſes (a thing incident to haughty minds) and he liked well that he was ſo fauoured of the Turkiſh Emperor: but the hope of the kingdome of Epirus, began to work in him new conceits, and moued him more than al the reſt: ſuch is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things ſaue themſelues: ſo glorious a thing it is to ſtand in the higheſt place: for all that, *Moſes* neither in word or countenance made any ſemblant of liking, or diſliking the meſſage. Which the wily meſſenger taking for a ſecret conſent, and heartily glad that he had bin ſo well heard; not deſiring as then any further anſwer, craued leaue to depart; promiſing L in ſhort time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this meſſenger many troubled thoughts began to ariſe in the mind of *Moſes*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, and the cheerfulnes of his countenance was abated; his hauty thoughts were his ſolitary companions, and the imagined kingdom the Idol he in ſecret worſhipped; ſo that in ſhort time, he ſeemed to the wiſer ſort as a man altogether metamorphoſed. Some were ſo bold, as for to aſk the cauſe of the meſſengers comming: vnto whom he anſwered, That he was one, from whom he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the ſtate: which his anſwer was holden for true; for who durſt once miſtruſt *Moſes*? Whileſt he thus was toſſed vp and downe with his owne thoughts, as a ſhip with the billows of a wrought ſea, the ſame ſlie meſſenger, according to his promiſe came againe; M and for his more credit, in ſecret brought with him ſuch Preſents as well might ſeeme to haue been ſent from the great Turke, with his meſſage better framed than before. Of all which that was ſent, *Moſes* is reported to haue receiued nothing but the worſt, which was, the very treaſon it ſelfe. And ſo returned the meſſenger with anſwer, that he could not but in good part accept of the Turkiſh Emperors great fauors; and

The crafty proceeding of the Turks meſſenger.

Moſes corrupted.

for

A for the reſt of his requeſts, whatſoeuer he ſhould chance to doe therein, hee ſhould not from thenceforth find him any great enemy: commanding the meſſenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of ſuſpition.

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into Dibra, to ſee how all things ſtood there, and to conſult with *Moſes* for the beſieging of Sfetigrade; which city it grieued him to ſee in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. *Moſes* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterpriſe, wherein he muſt of force be driuen to ſhew himſelfe, told him, That he vnderſtood of late by a certaine meſſenger which came to him out of Sfetigrade, that the city was ſo well ſtored by the Turks, of all things neceſſary for the defence thereof, that it were but loſt labour to attempt any thing againſt the ſame: wherefore he aduiſed him rather to beſiege Belgrade (not that Belgrade B which is ſcituated vpon the riuer of Danubius, but another of the ſame name in the confines of Epirus, then holden by the Turks, but diſtant from Sfetigrade about an hundred and forty miles) of the taking whereof, there ſeemed to be more hope. By this perſuaſion, *Scanderbeg* reſolued with himſelfe to make prouiſion for the beſieging of Belgrade. And foraſmuch as his ſouldiers of Epirus alwaies vſed to the field, were not ſo fit for the beſieging of townes, hee thought it good to pray ayd out of Italy, from his old friend *Alphonſus* King of Naples, with whom he had of long time bin acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he ſent two of his noblemen embaſſadors vnto him, with certain rich Preſents, and familiar letters of this purport.

***Scanderbeg* craueth ayd of *Alphonſus* king of Naples.**

C *Our ſouldiers of Epirus, know only how to fight with men, and them to vanquiſh: with wals they know not how to deale. You Italians (as I vnderſtand) haue skill in that kind of ſeruice, and take pleaſure therein: wherefore now at this preſent, I haue need of your help and cunning. There be certaine townes of our enemies in Epirus, yea almoſt in the heart of our kingdome, which eye-ſore I haue of long deſired (if it pleaſed God) to take out of my ſight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leiſure till now, happily to attempt any thing againſt them. This time I haue choſen as moſt fit, to ſatisfy my deſire, both for the ſeaſonableneſſe of the time of the yeare, and for that* Mahomet *ſpareth me leiſure; whoſe fury I haue twice calmed. You vnderſtand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almoſt in readines, and we only look for your help. Lend me ſuch ſouldiers as know how to fight afar off, I meane harquebuſiers and canoniers, for of others we haue ſtore plenty. But happy is Apulia, my* Alphonſus, *vnder thy gouernment* D *from whence men fit for all ſeruices may be drawn, as out of a moſt plentifull treaſury. Whenſoeuer we haue requeſted men fit for ſeruice, either in peace or war, you haue beautified both our court and camp. By you the kingdom of Epirus hath bin ſomtime ſupported with ciuill policy, and warlike ſtrength: all ſorts of people, of what condition ſoeuer, yea euery corner of Epirus ſoundeth forth thy praiſe, both at home and abroad. But for mine owne part, I do ſo louingly embrace your kindnes, and ſo firmly retain the remembrance of your deſerts toward me, that ſome time I wiſh you that fortune (although in ſo doing I may ſeem vnkind) which (as the common ſaying is) prooueth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by ſome more certaine proofe know, how much I am to you deuoted.*

When *Scanderbeg* had ſent away his Embaſſadors, he with all diligence began to prouide E things neceſſary for the ſiege of Belgrade: wherein he had purpoſed alſo to haue vſed the ſeruice of *Moſes*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his prince and country, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuſes to ſtay at home in Dibra; alleadging firſt, that it was to be thought that ſo ſoon as the Turkiſh king ſhould heare of the ſiege of Belgrade, he would inuade ſome part of Epirus, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the ſiege: and then, that no part of all Epirus lay neerer to the Turks, or more in danger than Dibra; and that therefore he could not do any better ſeruice, than to ſee vnto the ſafety of that countrey, long before committed to his charge, and in which alſo moſt part of his liuing lay. Theſe his excuſes, proceeding indeed from deep treaſon, were yet neuertheleſſe thought reaſonable, and he for his prouident care highly commended: and authority giuen him with new ſupplies to augment the garriſon F vnder his command, as time and occaſion ſhould require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the intended ſiege, the embaſſadors before ſent to *Alphonſus*, were returned into Epirus, and with them ſuch ayd as *Scanderbeg* had before requeſted, and a great deale more; For *Alphonſus* fearing the greatnes of the

Turkiſh

***Alphonſus* ſendeth ayd vnto *Scanderbeg*.**

Turkiſh Emperor, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions,reckoning Epirus not aboue 60 miles diſtant from his dominions,to be the ſtrongeſt wals of his kingdome in Apulia (as not many yeres after,it by proſe appeared, when as the Turks hauing taken Otranto,put all Italy in no ſmall feare.) With this aid he alſo wrote louing letters to *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his preſents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things,as of his owne. But when he came to make mention of the ſoldiers he had ſent, *Alphonſus*, after the manner of his pleaſant nature, merily wrote vnto *Scanderbeg*, That he had ſent him Italian ſouldiers which could according to his deſire, fight well both with men and wals,but better with women:and that therefore the Epirots were beſt to take heed, that they whoſe help they required for fight afar off,proued not alſo good warriours at hand at home in their houſes. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had giuen of the King, was by him referred vnto the exceſſe of his loue,and by the King requited with like.

Scanderbeg beſiegeth and diſtreſſeth Belgrade.

Scanderbeg now furniſhed with all things needful, ſet forward, and according to his former determination,came and encamped before Belgrade,with an army of 14000 good ſouldiers: & in ſhort time had ſo diſtreſſed the city, that the Turks were glad to take truce with him for ſixteen dayes,which time expired,they promiſed to deliuer the towne, if they were not before relieued. Vpon concluſion of this truce, *Scanderbeg* encamped himſelfe vpon an high hill, neer vnto the city,with three thouſand horſe,and a thouſand foot:and appointed *Muſachius* and *Tanuſius*,with the reſt of his army,to remoue farther off into a large plaine,where they might encamp themſelues in a more wholſom and freſh aire,in that hot ſeaſon of the yeare,during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed alſo 25 ſcouts to keep continuall watch vpon the top of the higheſt mountaine,to diſcouer a far off the comming of the enemy,and to giue warning thereof to the camp,by making a fire vpon the mountain:by the negligence of which watch, *Scanderbeg* receiued a great ouerthrow,as hereafter followeth.

The news of the ſiege of Belgrade was brought vnto *Mahomet*, at ſuch time as he was ready to haue paſſed into Aſia againſt the Emperour of Trapezond : which great enterpriſe hee was loth to giue ouer, for the reliefe of Belgrade ; and yet to loſe that city vnto *Scanderbeg*, grieued him much : wherefore he reſolued with himſelfe ſo to doe the one, as that he would not altogether neglect the other. And ſo holding on his intended journy into Aſia himſelfe,with ſuch fortune as is aforeſaid,he ſent *Sebalias* one of his great Baſſaes,with forty thouſand horſmen to relieue Belgrade , promiſing him great rewards if hee could bring him *Scanderbeg* either aliue or dead. This Baſſa was of the Turks accounted for a wary captaine,but not ſo couragious,alwaies more politick than forward : he hauing receiued his charge,ſet forward with all ſpeed poſſible,no leſſe carefull of that he was commanded,than was *Mahomet* himſelfe,and by great journies came on ſo faſt,that he ſtill preuented the fame of his comming;and by his forerunners intercepted, or rather (as ſome write) corrupted the watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed vpon the mountains;ſo that no ſigne was giuen vnto the campe of the enemies, as was expected. By meanes whereof *Sebalias* with all his power were vpon that part of *Scanderbegs* army,which lay in the plaines, before they were well aware of his comming : ſo that moſt part of them had not ſo much leiſure as to bridle their horſes, or to put on their armor, In which ſo ſudden a feare, *Muſachius* armed himſelfe,and put his ſouldiers in ſuch order, as the ſhortneſſe of the time and the enemies approch would permit ; doubting much,whether it were better to fight or to flie : but ſeeing no leſſe danger in flight than in fight,he reſolutely receiued the enemies charge,as a man deſirous before hand to reuenge his own death:and at length (ſeeing his men ſlaine about him by heaps, and that courage muſt needs giue place vnto fortune) fiercely attempted to haue broken through the midſt of his enemies, and ſo to haue fled to the mountain where *Scanderbeg* lay : but he was ſo beſet, that no way was poſſible to be made ; wherefore reſoluing there to die,he deſperatly fought to the great admiration of his enemies,vntill that he,with all there with him,were euery man ſlain. *Tanuſius* on the other ſide,after he had giuen diuers braue attempts to haue reſcued his coſin *Muſachius*, finding by proofe, that he could do him no more good therin but to become the woful companion of his death, exhorted all the reſt yet left, for ſafegard of their liues to flie:in which doing,moſt of them were ſlaine,for the Baſſa's great army ſo filled all places thereabout, and ſo eagerly purſued the victory, that it was almoſt impoſſible any way to eſcape. *Scanderbeg* lying vpon the moun-

Muſachius ſlain, and the Epirots put to flight.

A mountaine,and ſeeing the ouerthrow of moſt part of his army,was about many times to haue deſcended from the hill,to haue holpen them in what he might, or els to haue there died with them:but yet ſtayed,being thereto earneſtly requeſted by his other moſt expert captains,and perſuaded, not deſperatly to thruſt both himſelfe and them all into the manifeſt perill or aſſured death.

Scanderbeg ſeeth his men ſlain,and is not able to relieue them.

Sebalias hauing ſlaine *Muſachius*, and put *Tanuſius* to flight, followed the chaſe with the greateſt part of his army,ſo that few were left in the great plain, except ſuch as ſtayed to rifle the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that opportunity,came down from the hill whereon he ſtood,with his foure thouſand ſouldiers, and in a moment ſlew all ſuch Turks as he found in his way:and after following in the taile of the Turks army, cut off a great number of them, and brought a B generall feare vpon the whole army: inſomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiuing that he gained not ſo much in chaſing of *Tanuſius*, but that he loſt more in the rereward of his army, by the purſuit of *Scanderbeg*,left the chaſe,and turned vpon his fierce enemy:where after a ſharp skirmiſh begun, the wary Baſſa fearing in the maintaining of that diſordred fight to haue the victorie wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, ſo to call together his diſperſed ſoldiers, and in better order to encounter his daungerous enemy. *Scanderbeg* in the meane time hauing aſſembled the remainder of his army, valiantly againe encountred the Turks, who thought in this battell to haue made an end of the warres in Epirus:and with his owne hand ſlew *Achmat* and *Barach*, two valiant ſoldiers of the Turks;which like ſtout champions had before ſworne vnto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they ſhould chance to meet C with him. In this laſt skirmiſh a great number of the Turks were ſlaine:but night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his army to a mountaine neere vnto the city, and *Scanderbeg* likewiſe to another almoſt two miles off:and in the dead time of the night riſing with his army, returned in ſafety into Epirus, leauing ſtrong garriſons vpon all the ſtreit paſſages as he went, for feare leaſt the Baſſa proud of this victory,ſhould forthwith breake into Epirus. This was the onely and greateſt ouerthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hitherto receiued of the Turks:wherin he loſt two thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot(moſt part wherof were of the Italians ſent from king *Alphonſus*) together with his tents and great artillery, and about eighty of his men taken priſoners. And of the Turks were alſo ſlaine three thouſand.

Scanderbeg flieth by night into Epirus.

The next day *Sebalias* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was retired,commanded the bodies of the D ſlain Turks to be ſought out and buried: but of ſuch Chriſtians as they yet found breathing, the Turks cut off their hands and feet, and ſo left them among the dead. The head of *Muſachius* and of many other the ſlain Chriſtians, which by their armor or apparrell were thought to be of the better ſort,were by the commandement of *Sebalias* cut off;which becauſe hee could not for the diſtance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoiance carry with him to Conſtantinople, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is,he cauſed them to be ſlaine, and ſtuffed with chaffe, and ſo to be carried as the vaine trophies of his victory. Afterwards, when he had repaired the battered wals of Belgrade, and put a new ſupply of ſeuen hundred freſh ſoldiers into the city,beſide the old garriſon therein before,and ſet all things in good order,he retrrned with great triumph to Conſtantinople. And the more to ſet out the glory of E his victory,at ſuch time as he entred the city, he firſt cauſed the captiue Chriſtians to be led in chains before him;after whom were borne the enſignes taken from the Chriſtians,with the aforeſaid heads thruſt vpon lances, and after them all the ſpoyle:laſt of all came *Sebalias* himſelfe with his ſoldiers,as great conquerors, and was of the people receiued with ſuch applauſe and ioy, as if he had conquered ſome great kingdome. No man was now ſpoken of but *Sebalias*, his praiſes were in euery mans mouth,he was the onely man (as they ſaid) that did ſhew that *Scanderbeg* was to be ouercome,no preferment was now thought too great for him, or reward ſufficient to counteruaile his deſert. The poore Chriſtian captiues were afterwards for the moſt part ſould:of the reſt, ſome were aliue thruſt vpon ſharp ſtakes,ſome hanged on yron hooks, ſome otherwiſe cruelly at the victors pleaſure tortured to death.

F *Moſes* lately before corrupted by the practiſe of the Gouernour of Sfetigrade, hearing of the great loſſe *Scanderbeg* had receiued at Belgrade, thought it now a moſt fit time for his reuolt. But foraſmuch as the fact,in the nature of it ſelfe foule,ſeemed euen to himſelf the doer thereof,a great deale fouler and more diſhonorable,for that he had therein no complices: he thought good, if it were poſſible,to alure ſome others into the fellowſhip of his treaſon, ſo to diminiſh the infamy of himſelf, in communicating the ſame with many, and to appeare with greater credit before the Turkiſh tyrant, than if he ſhould as a contemptible fugitiue come al alone. Wherefore vpon the bad news from Belgrade, he ſeemed at the firſt very penſiue, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common miſery of the country of Epirus, with many words amplifying the ſame: and then on the contrary part, ſetting forth to the vttermoſt the force and power of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, thereby to ſtrike a greater terror and diſtruſt into the minds of them with whom he was conuerſant: but to ſuch as were more ſecret and inward with him, he diſcouered the great affection and fauour the great Emperor *Mahomet* had of long born him, with the large offer of his gifts & preferments, aſſuring them of the like alſo, if they would conforme themſelues vnto his appetite; ſeeking hereby ſo much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his moſt execrable treaſon: yet when he had ſaid what he could, he found none but a few of the baſer ſort of the common ſoldiers, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moſes* ſaw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be diſcouered, he fled by night to Sfetigrade, accompanied with a few baſe fellows, and eaſily obtained the Gouernours paſſe, with ſafe conduct to Conſtantinople, where he arriued a little before the returne of *Sebalias* from Belgrade, and was of *Mahomet* both ioyfully receiued and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderſtood that *Moſes* was thus reuolted, at the firſt report therof he was ſo troubled with the ſtrangnes of the fact, that he ſtood ſpeechles as a man aſtonied: but after he had pauſed a while, & vpon further enquiry had found it out to be true, he according to his heroical diſpoſition, ſaid no more, but that he could eaſily haue *Moſes* excuſed, for that he was carried away with the violence of ſuch fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right conſtant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the maner of the world) with hard ſpeeches ſeemed to aggrauate his offence: he could not abide to heare the ſame, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to vſe ſuch ſpeeches: wiſhing that all treaſon and euill fortune were together with *Moſes* gon out of Epirus. Vpon this news *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Ameſa* his nephew, and a troup of horſmen, preſently entred into the countrey of Dibra, and there with all care cauſed moſt diligent enquiry to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conſpiracy with *Moſes*. But finding none, he much reioyced in the fidelity of his ſubiects, & hauing ſet al things in good order in that prouince, returned himſelf to Croia.

Mahomet ſendeth Moſes with fifteene thouſand ſelect men to inuade Epirus.

Moſes remaining in the Turks court, ceaſed not to ſolicit *Mahomet* to proceed in his wars againſt *Scanderbeg*, promiſing to do therin great matters, euen to the ſpending of his life in that ſeruice. But the crafty tyrant thinking it not good to truſt him too far before he had further triall of him, delaied him off to the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too farre ſpent to begin wars. In the mean time he cauſed all *Moſes* talke, his behauior and actions, to be diligently obſerued and noted; and oftentimes himſelfe diſcourſed with him concerning the managing of that war: all which he did eſpecially to ſound the depth of *Moſes* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the moſt aſſured and vndoubted ſignes of a mind deuoted to his ſeruice, and altogether eſtranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteene thouſand horſemen for the inuading of Epirus, ſuch men as *Moſes* himſelfe ſhould make choice of: for a great number he required not for the vanquiſhing of *Scanderbeg*. Theſe ſouldiers although they deteſted (ſo few in number) to enter that fatal countrey of Epirus, as men faire warned by other mens harms, yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his means to find friends in that countrey to ioyne with them, were the willinger to go. So *Moſes* furniſhed with a notable army, and all warlike prouiſion he could deſire for the deſtruction of his country; and blinded with the imagination of a kingdome, ſet forward, & marching through Thracia and Macedonia, forgetting the loyalty due vnto his Soueraigne, and the loue he ought to haue borne vnto his natiue countrey, came and entred into Dibra.

Scanderbeg by his eſpials vnderſtanding of the comming of *Moſes*, as alſo what ſtrength he was of, ſtood not now vpon any policy againſt him who had of long bin priuy to all his ſtratagems, but was ready euen at his firſt entrance with true valour to encounter him. As both the armies ſtood ranged in order of battell, a meſſenger came from the Turkes campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his army durſt to proue his fortune hand to hand againſt one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battel. By which meſſenger anſwer was returned, *A combat betwixt a Turke and a Chriſtian.*

A That the challenge ſhould be accepted. The name of the Turke which made this braue challenge was *Ahemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongſt the Turks. Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Groppa*, a gentleman of no leſſe reputation among the Chriſtians, haſtily ſtept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had beene afraid to haue beene preuented by ſome other) and requeſted, that he might be the man to abate the Turks pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wiſhing him good fortune, gaue him leaue to carry with him into the field the firſt honour of the Chriſtian army. As he was arming himſelfe, his companions and fellowes in armes ſtanding about him, wiſhed vnto him not more courage or ſtrength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Maneſſi*. Vpon his armor he put on many rich jewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the reward of the enemy, if hee B could vanquiſh him. The Turkiſh champion was no ſooner come into the plain betwixt both armies, and made ſhew of himſelfe in great brauery, as if his match had yet bin ſcarcely found, but he ſaw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and ready to charge him: to whom *Ahemaze* calling aloud, ſaid there would be time enough for him to haſten to his death, and therefore requeſted to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded ſuch like conditions of the combat, as had bin long before derided by *Maneſſi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better ſort accepted. In few words it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them ſhould abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or aid of others; and that the victor ſhould haue full power ouer the body & ſpoile of the vanquiſhed. Thus agreed, they withdrew themſelues one a good diſtance from another, and with their C Launces charged, ran together with ſuch force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their Launces one vpon the other, and were both horſe and man ouerthrowne. But vnhorſed, they nimbly recouered themſelues, and with their ſcimitars fiercely aſſailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it ſhould ſeem had determined to beautifie that combat with variety, ſtanding a great while indifferent to both. After many ſturdy ſtrokes giuen, without any hurt don, by reaſon they were ſo ſtrongly armed, it fortuned that both their ſwords were beaten out of their hands: then grapling together with their bare hands, as if they had bin two vnarmed wreſtlers, after long ſtrugling till they were both almoſt out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, aboue the gorget thruſt him into the throat, and ſlew him: and ſo riſing vp, with the ſword that firſt came to his hands, cut off the D Turks head: at the ſight whereof the Chriſtian army gaue a great ſhout for joy, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks. To be ſhort, *Zacharias* deſpoiling the Turk of his armor, and what els he thought good, returned loded with the ſpoile of his enemy, and preſented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turks head: for which he was of him afterwards moſt honourably rewarded.

Into this place yet reeking with the bloud of the laſt ſlaine Turke, came *Moſes*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his perſon: but when he ſaw him ready to come forth, he ſhamefully forſooke the place, and returned with ſhame enough into his army.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Moſes.

Preſently after, both the armies vpon ſignall giuen ſet forward, and ſo began to joine battel: where at the firſt onſet *Scanderbeg* ſo valiantly charged the vauward of the Turks army, that E they were glad to giue ground: which *Moſes* perceiuing, releeued them with new ſupplies, and riding now here, now there, with his preſence and courage reſtored the battell, in many places almoſt loſt. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, ſtill preuailed vpon their enemies, and after great ſlaughter made, came to the ſtrength of their battell: where *Moſes* had placed mo[illegible] of his beſt ſoldiers, as his moſt aſſured and laſt refuge: in this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moſes* warily obſeruing in what part of the battell *Scanderbeg* himſelfe was, directed his moſt forces againſt him, of purpoſe, if poſſibly he might to haue ſlaine him; whereof he miſſed but a little: for a couragious ſoldier of the Turks by chance encountring with *Scanderbeg*, with his horſemans ſtaffe bare him quite backeward vpon his horſe, in ſuch forcible manner, that the Turks for joy gaue a great ſhout, F thinking verily that he had bin ſlain: but *Scanderbeg* recouering himſelfe again, & chafed with ſuch an vnwonted diſgrace, furiouſly aſſailed the ſame Turke with his ſword, and after a great fight ſlew him. A great part of the Turks army being already ouerthrown by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbegs* army, diuers of the common ſoldiers thruſt the heads of the ſlaine Turks vpon the points of their ſpeares, in token of victory, to the great aſtoniſh-

ment of the Turks: and now ioyning themſelues with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the G
maine battell of the Turks than before. Neuertheles, *Moſes* encouraging his ſoldiers, did what
was poſſible for a man to do, and euen with his owne valour a great while ſtaid the courſe of
the victory: vntill he ſeeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his beſt
ſoldiers; and that there was no remedy but that he muſt either fly, or there die; turned his backe
and fled. In which flight many of the hindermoſt of the Turks were ſlaine: as for *Moſes* himſelfe,
he eſcaped by waies to him well knowne, onely with foure thouſand men, the poore remainder
of ſo great an army: the reſt, to the number of about eleuen thouſand, all choiſe men,
were ſlaine: whereas of the Chriſtians were not paſt an hundred loſt, and about eighty wounded.
Of all the Turks that were taken, only one was ſaued, who being a man of good account,
had yeelded himſelfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward ranſomed; the reſt were all by the common H
ſouldiers, without pitty tortured to death, in reuenge of the cruelty by them ſhewed at
Belgrade: *Scanderbeg* himſelfe not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

Moſes condemned of the Turks.

Moſes flyeth from Conſtantinople.

Moſes with the reſt of his diſcomfited army, lay ſtill a while vpon the borders of Epirus,
and would faine haue perſuaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him
againe into Epirus, to haue ſurpriſed the garriſon left in Dybra, in number not aboue 2000;
promiſing to bring them vpon the ſame garriſon, before they ſhould be aware of their comming.
But the Turke hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall conſent to forſake
him, and to return home. And ſo *Moſes* ſeeing no remedy, returned with them to Conſtantinople,
with countenance as heauy as if he had bin a condemned man now carried to the place of
execution: and the Turks which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting I
that he ſhould haue ended the wars in Epirus, began now to diſgrace him as faſt, and to ſpeake
all the euill of him they could deuiſe. Yea the tyrant himſelfe (although he could blame
nothing in the man, but his fortune) was ſo highly offended with him for the loſſe of his army,
that he had vndoubtedly put him to moſt cruell death, had not the great Baſſaes, and
others neere about him, perſuaded him otherwiſe, ſaying, That in ſo doing, he ſhould alienate
the minds of all others from reuolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his ſeruice.
So was he by their mediation pardoned his life; but withall, ſo diſgraced, that he had little or
nothing allowed him afterwards for his neceſſary maintenance: all which deſpightfull contumelies
he outwardly ſeemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly ſo tormented with melancholy
and griefe, that he could neither eate nor drinke: the remembrance of the foule treaſon K
committed againſt his Prince and country, was day and night before his eies; and the diſgraces
of the Turks court inwardly tormented him with intollerable griefe: the ſight of the
tyrant (who meaſured all things by the euent) filled his heart with ſecret indignation; and to
return again to his naturall Prince, of whom he had ſo euill deſerued, he was aſhamed; ſometime
the clemency and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, ſlow to reuenge,
and eaſie to be intreated to forgiue, heartned him on to thinke of returne; and by and by, the
conſideration of his foule treaſon ouerwhelmed him with deſpaire. Thus with contrary
thoughts plunged to and fro, tormented with the vnſpeakeable griefs of a troubled conſcience,
not knowing what to do, purpoſing now one thing, and by and by another, at laſt he reſolued
to forſake the inſolent tyrant, and to ſubmit himſelfe to the mercy of *Scanderbeg*; wiſhing L
rather to die in his country for his due deſert, than to liue with infamy, derided in the Turkes
court. Reſting himſelfe vpon this reſolution, one euening he got ſecretly out of the gates of
Conſtantinople, and trauelling all that night and the day following before he reſted, by long
and weary iournies, came at laſt vnto his natiue country of Dybra. The gariſon ſoldiers beholding
their old Gouernor all alone, full of heauineſſe, as a man eaten vp with cares; moued with
compaſſion, and forgetting the euils he had bin the occaſion of, receiued him with many teares
and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not far off.
Moſes comming vnto him with his girdle about his necke, in token that he had deſerued death
(as the manner of that country was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauy
cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto his mercy, and with M
great humility and ſignes of repentance, craued his moſt gracious pardon. Which his requeſt
Scanderbeg preſently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kiſſed him, in token
he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, cauſed all ſuch things of
his as were before confiſcat, to be againe reſtored vnto him; with all ſuch offices and promotions

A tions as he had before injoyed:and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man ſhould either publikely or priuatly ſpeake of that *Moſes* had treſpaſſed. *Mahomet* vnderſtanding that *Moſes* was returned againe into Epirus,and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much grieued thereat, and fumed exceedingly: firſt, for that he had at all truſted him;and then,that he had ſo let him ſlip out of his hands; being verily perſuaded, that all that *Moſes* had done,was but a fineneſſe of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

Shortly after that *Moſes* was returned into Epirus, *Mahomet* by like practiſe allured vnto him *Ameſa,Scanderbeg* his nephew; promiſing to make him king of Epirus in his vncles ſtead. For by that meanes, the crafty tyrant thought it a more eaſie way to draw the minds of the people of Epirus from *Scanderbeg* vnto him deſcended of the Princes bloud, than to *Moſes*, or B to any other ſtranger he ſhould ſet vp. *Ameſa* vpon this hope of a kingdome, fled to Conſtantinople: and becauſe he would cleere the mind of the tyrant from all ſuſpition and diſtruſt, he carried with him his wife and children, as the moſt ſure pledges of his fidelity. This *Ameſa* was of ſtature low,and the feature of his body not ſo perfect as might ſufficiently expreſſe the hidden vertues of his mind: he was of courage haughty aboue meaſure, ſubtill,and of a pregnant wit;wonderfull painfull,and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe means whereby aſpiring minds ſteale away the hearts of men) whatſoeuer he got of himſelfe,or had by the gift of his vncle,he diuided it amongſt his ſouldiers or friends: he was very affable,and could notably both couer and diſſemble his affections: for which things, he was aboue all others both beloued and honored of all the people of Epirus,next to *Scanderbeg* himſelfe. At his firſt C comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promiſes and vaine praiſes of himſelf, as had *Moſes*; but only excuſing his owne reuolt, laboured to perſuade him, That he had for juſt cauſes left his vncle,with a deſire now faithfully to ſerue him. And to that purpoſe ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Ameſa his firſt ſpeech vnto Mahomet.

If it ſhould pleaſe thee (moſt noble Mahomet) *to call to remembrance the old injuries, and antient diſpleaſures by vs committed againſt thine imperiall Majeſty: we might ſeeme now rather to haue come hither to receiue the juſt guerdon of our euill deſerts, than vpon any hope of honour or preferment. For what could haue bin done more in diſgrace of the* Othoman *Empire,than that you haue ſeene long ſince done by vs,in the moſt dangerous time of the Hungarian war; rather of a malicious and ſet purpoſe, than* D *for that we were juſt enemies? Whereas in the ſame perfidious courſe, I my ſelfe being a helper and partaker therein (for now no excuſe is to be pretended for our doings,more than repentance) your fathers army was betraied at Moraua, and the kingdome of Epirus by great treachery wreſted out of your fathers hands; the only cauſe of ſo many calamities, and of ſo much bloudſhed. But vaine is this feare, and our ſuſpition needleſſe,with ſo wiſe and mercifull a Prince; eſpecially for that my yeres then greene,and youth prone vnto the harme of it ſelfe, and a mind not reſting vpon his owne reſolutions, deceiued me. I beleeued mine vncle (for the ignorant beleeue many things) and allured with the deſire of ſoueraignty (the proper diſeaſe of that age) and too much credulous, I forſooke you and followed his promiſes, but diſcretion growing with yeares, I haue by little and little perceiued both the ſly perfidious dealing of mine vncle, as alſo that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my ſelfe than to any other.* Scanderbeg *recouered,* E *and alſo enlarged the kingdome of Epirus; but not without my great labour and helpe. I expected long time,that he ſhould haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole inheritance, yet at leaſt ſome part thereof, as a ſmall reward of my ſo great trauell and danger. Not long after, he married a wife, and hath begot a young heire,a new ſucceſſor in his kingdome: vnto me for ſhame of the world,becauſe I ſhould not altogether leade a priuate life, he hath aſsigned a baſe corner of Epirus; where he enjoying the reſt, I might lead a poore and contemptible life. In this caſe I had mnch adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer diſgeſt that injury: yet the iniquity of the time, with the inſolent diſpoſition of the man,compelled me to ſmother vp my thoughts, and to make faire weather, leaſt finding ſome ſuſpition, he ſhould craftily haue intrapped me, as he did of late* George Streſie *his ſiſters ſonne; whom wrongfully charged with fained ſurmiſes, he hath almoſt depriued of all his poſſeſsions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your* F *highneſſe,I would gladly haue forſaken my ingratefull vncle with the ſtaines of his infamous kingdome; but that the remembrance of the old rebellion,and many injuries ſithence done, did make me afraid: vntill that now (God I thinke ſo appointing it) I came moſt gladly,following your moſt royall faith and promiſe. You had ſcarcely beckned vnto me, you had ſcarcely inuited me, hauing of long intentiuely waited euery* *occaſion, but ſtraightway I came with ſuch ſpeed, as if I would haue flowne: I lingred not, I expected not either* Scanderbeg *or his euill hap, or your more proſperous ſucceſſe, as of late did* Moſes; *leaſt I might thereby juſtly ſeeme either for feare or regard of ſome eminent danger, rather to haue prouided for mine owne ſafety than to haue embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I left any thing for you in me to ſuſpect, nor any cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſire to returne againe into Epirus: here are preſent moſt ſure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyalty. Behold (worthy* Mahomet) *you haue whatſoeuer is deare vnto me, yea whatſoeuer nature could giue, pleaſing vnto men in the courſe of mans life. Theſe haue I brought vnto thee, which ſhould with violence haue beene taken from an enemy: ſuch pawnes as might aſſure thee of the faith of a moſt doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in ſo great ſpeed and ſecret departure, I could not haue regard of my ſubſtance. And if I might haue had time to haue truſſed vp my traſh at leiſure; yet I know not how, I ſhould haue thought it a kinde of buſineſſe, to haue brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: eſpecially vnto thee, of all other the richeſt. Only my fidelity I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou deſire of me any other bond for more aſſurance, I refuſe not whatſoeuer your highneſſe ſhall appoint: for I came not hither to ſet downe couenants and agreements of my ſelfe, but to receiue them from you. I dare not promiſe to vanquiſh mine vncle, and to ſubdue Epirus with an army of fifteen thouſand men: the misfortune of* Haly-Baſſa *and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare victory of* Sebalias, *with great bloudſhed gained, may ſerue for examples. In me you ſhall neither want diligence nor faithfull ſeruice: as for other things concerning the euent of this war, and for the reuenge of the injuries by you receiued; you being a Prince of power inuincible, and of a moſt deepe judgement, are not to be aduiſed by me your vnskilfull vaſſaile.*

Ameſa honorably entertained by Mahomet.

This ſpeech of *Ameſa* ſeemed vnto *Mahomet* free from all diſſimulation, foraſmuch as he knew moſt part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his preſence, confirmed the reſt. Wherefore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertaintent, referring other matters vnto a further time.

Vpon the approch of the Spring, *Mahomet* deſiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon *Scanderbeg*, entred into conſultation with his great Baſſaes, concerning the inuaſion of Epirus: vnto which counſell *Ameſa* was by *Mahomet* admitted, and his wicked deuiſe for the deſtruction of his country, of all others beſt liked. After the matter had been long to and fro debated, it was concluded, That *Iſaac* the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, ſhould with an army of fifteen thouſand be ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, and *Ameſa* with him, hauing the charge of fiue thouſand horſemen: and the Baſſa to proclaime *Ameſa* King of Epirus; thereby to perſuade the Epirots, that *Mahomet* inuaded Epirus rather for the diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Scanderbeg*, and for the aduancement of *Ameſa*, than for any ambitious deſire he had to take vnto himſelfe that kingdome.

Great was the preparation for this war, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying fame had in ſhort time filled euery corner of Epirus with the report of theſe newes; adding thereunto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon *Scanderbeg* without delay ſent for his great captaines and men of war into Dybra, where that tempeſt was firſt to be expected: and when they were all aſſembled, he declared vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger, and what he thought thereof himſelfe as followeth:

A notable ſpeech of Scanderbeg vnto his captaines, how the Turks were to be withſtood at their comming to Epirus.

Amongſt all other things which God hath left to vex and grieue the minds of men in ſo great variety of worldly affaires, we ſee (right worthy ſouldiers) theſe two the greateſt, Hope, and Feare. The firſt a more comfortable thing, and proper to couragious minds (I may not ſay) of light beleefe: the other a thing of more diſcretion and ſafety, which although it vſe to defer the deſires of men, yet hath it power at length exceedingly to cure and ſeaſon the ſame. Hereupon it is eaſily to be gathered, That the great chiefetaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in ſhew more hardy, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthaginentian captaine vſed to call Q. Fabius *(whom the Romans euer thought too ſlow and too fearefull) his great enemy: but* Terentius Varro *he called a greater enemy vnto his owne country and the people of Rome, than to himſelfe. But wherefore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truely be called Diſcretion, or wholeſome policy? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can deny, That thereof*

A hath riſen the antient diſcipline of war, and the old ſeuere gouernment of martiall affaires. This aduiſed
carefulneſſe cheriſheth and nouriſheth Hope it ſelfe, it doth nothing raſhly, it hath eies before, behind and
on both ſides; it weigheth in indifferent ballance things paſt, preſent, and to come. You may now perceiue
to what end my ſpeech tendeth. I would firſt confer with you, and know your opinions, before I determine
any thing of the order of this war; that either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or elſe you (as you haue
alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare now with your eares, what preparation, what warlike prouiſion
is dayly made againſt vs. Loe, the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, all the floure of Europe, and whole
ſtrength of the Othoman Kingdome knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to
proue my fortune againſt him, not without your honour: But I thinke it better to vſe policy and wary heed
againſt ſo great an enemy, than our wonted force and courage. That notable ouerthrow of Haly-Baſſa, ſo
B many great victories by vs atchieued, our minds by ſo many good haps confirmed, perſuade me to thinke
that we haue both courage and ſtrength to encounter him in plaine battell: but the vncertaine euents of
war, and fortune neuer ſufficiently knowne, maketh wiſe men to forget what is paſt, and to feare that is to
come. It was neuer proper to any man, it was neuer giuen by inheritance, alwaies to ouercome; new occurrents
require new correſpondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yeſterday, preſume to aſſure
your ſelfe to diuide the ſpoile of your enemies to day. Victory is like a trauellour, and goeth hither and thither,
not reſting long in a place: and although it be for moſt part both gotten and kept by courage and
diſcretion, yet oftentimes, when you haue moſt carefully and politikely diſpoſed of all things, the fortune
and chance of war haue therein a great ſway. I was wont to require (I remember it well) onely valour
and courage in my ſouldiers, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes haps; if you did promiſe vnto
C me couragious minds, I aſſured you of all good hap and proſperous ſucceſſe: but that loſſe we receiued at
Belgrade (the remembrance whereof my mind feareth and alwaies abhorreth to thinke vpon) hath much
changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme far otherwiſe of worldly matters, and the vncertainty
of fortune. What if that day had beene longer? or Sebalias of more courage? might not the
ſtate of Epirus haue that day bin vtterly ouerthrowne? We were then rather by God preſerued, than by
any thing that was in our ſelues: what remained more, but that we ſhouuld like cowards haue yeelded our
ſelues to haue beene bound of the conquerors? The night defended vs, yea, euen God himſelfe defended vs;
who tooke from them both policy and force, and gaue vs time to breath and eſcape away. We were then but
as a prey, expecting but the comming of the victor: Howbeit he tooke nothing from vs, he carried little
or nothing away with him, being too much carefull to keepe the honour he had already gained, and peraduenture
D in feare of them of whom he was not without cauſe moſt feared. I ſpeake not this of purpoſe to
terrifie any of you, but rather to admoniſh you, and to conſult with you, how ſo great preparations may be
fruſtrated and ouerthrowne, and ſome notable victory by vs atchieued, without the price of our bloud, or
the loſſe of ſuch things as we haue. The number of our enemies is great, and ſo great, as vntill this day
we neuer ſaw in Epirus greater, except at ſuch times as they came to beſiege our cities, and to deuoure vs
all. Now if we ſhall meet them in the plaine fields in a ſet battell, the euent thereof will be doubtfull, many
of vs muſt needs fall, many of vs muſt die (I would I might be a falſe Prophet) before ſo great an army
will either fly or be ouercome, your victory ſhall be mingled with teares, and the heauineſſe of the conqueror
not much vnlike the ſorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we loſt at Belgrade? is that loſſe
ſo to be recouered: What floure of Chiualry, hardly to be in many yeares reſtored: how many worthy men
were there ſlaine? Epirus muſt needs in ſhort time be vnpeopled, if we ſhall ſo deſperatly onely ſeeke for
E ſuch glorious victories. Wherefore if we will do well, we muſt ſo fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow
alſo. Neither are our enemies and we in like caſe. The loſſe of forty or fifty thouſand is leſſe vnto
the Turkiſh tyrant, than the loſſe of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but few; and therefore carefully
to be kept: which if we regard not for our owne ſakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and children,
whoſe welfare and liberty dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances,
and almoſt euery one of your names, which maketh me alſo more carefull of your health. And yet
I would not refuſe to try the whole fortune of this battell in plaine field, if wee might thereby end all the
wars againſt the Turks for euer; if I were in hope ſo to finde an end of our labours and trauels hereafter,
I would gladly aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our poſterity: but a new
F enemy alwaies ariſeth, and we muſt ſtill looke for new wars. When this Iſaac is gone, another Iſaac will
ere long come in his place: we ſhall be alwaies exerciſed with new warres, and incloſed with new dangers:
It is the deſtiny of Epirus (as farre as I can ſee) and we our ſelues are borne thereto. Wherefore we muſt
gather our wits together, we muſt well husband our forces, and ſo diuide our patrimony, as that we may

alwaies haue ſomething to content our creditors, when they ſhall chance to come vpon vs. Yet ſhall God (no doubt) giue an end alſo vnto theſe troubles: for extremity cannot be of long continuance, and you your ſelues ſhall at length take reſt: yea, the ſtrong and puiſſant enemy, wearied with ſo many vaine attempts, will at laſt haue enough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred againſt vs: then ſhall it be to you no ſmall pleaſure to remember ſo many labors and dangers paſt. Thus haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommodities enſuing the victory in plaine battell. But what if we be vanquiſhed? Where haue we any hope of reliefe left? From whence may we expect helpe? Will the bloudy enemy, inflate with victory, expect whileſt we againe recouer our ſtrength and encounter him againe with new forces? No, he will purſue vs and chaſe vs ſo long as any of vs are left: and hauing ouercome vs, will poure out the reſt of his fury vpon our townes and countrey, then ſubiect to his iniury. But ſome of you peraduenture will ſay, that they are by policy to be ouertaken, and not to be met in open field: of which opinion I alſo am my ſelfe; yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the ſame. Then I thinke it beſt to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be deceiued: when as they being as it were in poſſeſſion of a ſuppoſed victory, like men ouerioyed, ſhall caſt no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of Conſtantinople, full of diſtruſt, prying into euery corner, as men before warned by others harmes, and ſo many dreadfull examples of their fellowes: Beſides that, they haue with them my graceleſſe nephew and domeſticall foe Ameſa, *who will teach them to foreſee and ſhun ſuch ſnares as in times paſt he with vs was wont to lay for them. Wherefore we muſt now tower vp vnto the height of ſome notable and ſtrange policy, whereby both our countrey may be from danger preſerued, and alſo ſome great victory, without our owne bloudſhed (which ſeldome chanceth) obtained: which to the maintenance of our antient glory and renowne, we haue to this day by many moſt notable victories gained: but time and ſpace, and the ſight of the enemy, ſhall furniſh vs with this deuiſe. Now (that my diſcourſe may come to the purpoſed end) firſt of all, all things ſubiect either to the fury or victory of the enemy, are to be remoued out of the way; all people, of what age, ſex, or condition ſoeuer, are to be brought out of the country into places of ſafety; and then, our townes are to be furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons and all other neceſſary prouiſion, againſt all the chances of fortune. Beſides, who knoweth the ſecret deſignes of the tyrant? or whether he himſelfe (of long time deſirous of reuenge, and thirſting after our bloud) will follow the Baſſa at the heeles, or no. Perhaps I may beleeue and feare more than is needfull; but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may indeed feare nothing. If all things ſhall thus be ſet in order, if there ſhall nothing be left in the fields or in the villages, that may enrich feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our enemies, vndoubtedly we ſhall be victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in theſe wars, I will aſſuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be ſlaine at your pleaſure; and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Epirots more terrible vnto the Turke, than euer it hath bin in the time of our anceſtors. I flatter not my ſelfe, I deceiue you not: if any thing may be promiſed in worldly actions, thus I aſſure you of, and this will I take vpon me. But theſe things are better done than ſaid. In the meane while, to ſpend no more time in longer talke and diſcourſe (than which, no greater loſſe can be to ſoldiers) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the good diſpoſing of all things, and how to withſtand the enemy. I will not command any thing to others which I will not my ſelfe do: I will refuſe nothing, or reckon any thing baſe, which may tend to the common honour or profit of vs all.*

This ſpeech of *Scanderbeg* was well liked and joyfully receiued of all the hearers, ſo that many beſought him to manifeſt to them how he purpoſed to proceed in thoſe wars: whereunto he with cheerfull countenance anſwered, That it was enough for him, if they did but beleeue him, promiſing himſelfe in perſon to be in the moſt dangerous actions as far as any of them: wherewith they reſted contented. And preſently diſpatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdome, as he thought moſt conuenient, prouided, that all things were in ſhort time conueiued out of the country into the ſtrong townes and other places of refuge. No corne, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the country; but all left deſolate, in like manner as was before at the comming of the great King *Amurath* to the ſiege of Croia.

The Epirots remoue all their things out of the country into the ſtrong townes before the comming of the Turks.

By this time *Iſaac* the great Baſſa was come into Epirus, accompanied with *Ameſa*: and as he marched, ſtill ſent before him his ſcouts and eſpials, carefully to view euery corner of the country, for feare to be entrapped as others before him had beene; directed in his journey for moſt part by *Ameſa*. *Scanderbeg* had in readines ſuch an army as he had purpoſed to vſe againſt

his

A his mighty enemy, but lay with ſix thouſand horſemen only in ſhew, as if he had determined with them to haue giuen them battell, but meaning indeed nothing leſſe. For as ſoone as the Baſſa was come in ſight, he with thoſe horſemen, according as he had before appointed, as if he had bin diſcouraged with the very ſight of the Turks, turned his backe and fled. And becauſe he would not giue them any occaſion to ſuſpect it to be done for ſome policy or fineneſſe, and ſo to make them more carefull, he fled not into the mountains or woods, as his wonted maner was, but directly toward Lyſſa, a towne of the Venetians ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt, as if he had quite deſpaired of the keeping of Epirus, and fled thither for refuge. The Baſſa ſeeing him fly, was glad thereof, and ſent certain troups of horſemen to purſue him, and diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himſelfe with his army in the plaines of B Dibra, neere vnto Oronychium, where *Scanderbeg* lay before: and there reſted his army, weary of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horſemen, ſent after *Scanderbeg*. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certainty reported by them, That *Scanderbeg* with an handfull of men was fled out of Epirus, and not an enemy to be ſeene, the Turks began to rejoyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any loſſe driuen the enemy out of the country; yet much grieued, that they could no where find any thing to ſatisfie their greedy deſires: for why, all things were ſo clean gon, as if the country had bin ſwept againſt their comming, which might haue been a ſufficient cauſe for them to haue diſtruſted ſome great matter, but they flattering themſelues, ſuppoſed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreme deſperation: ſuch is the fraile condition of men, to loſe ſtrength of body, common ſence, yea, their reaſon and C vnderſtanding, when ſome great miſchiefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or deſtruction. The Baſſa ſeeing the enemy fled, and now no cauſe of feare, conſulted with his chiefe captains, what were now beſt to be done? *Ameſa* ſtill perſuading him not to remoue, but there to ſtay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whoſe opinion preuailed, ſaid it was better to go farther into the country, and to take the ſpoile thereof before the country people ſhould conuey away all their ſubſtance into places of ſafety, as they had done there in Dibra, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and empty cottages. By this perſuaſion, the Baſſa early next morning in good order ſet forward: commanding by generall proclamaton, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould breake his array or ſtraggle from the army. Yet befor he ſet forward, he called *Ameſa* vnto him, whom after he had highly commended, D and with great vehemency inuayed againſt *Scanderbeg*, he with the great applauſe of the whole army in the name of *Mahomet* created him King of Epirus. That day he marched not far, by reaſon of the great heat: for it was then about the midſt of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himſelfe with that daies trauell, finding neither enemy nor any thing elſe worthy to be accounted in any part of a victory, he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and ſending forth his ſcouts euery way, but eſpecially towards Lyſſa. The next day, which was the third day after the Baſſaes comming into Epirus, he ſet forward againe, and came at length into Æmathia, and there encamped that night. —

Ameſa is by the Baſſa created king of Epirus.

When *Scanderbeg* (flying for feare, as the Turks ſuppoſed) was gone a great way out of their ſight towards Lyſſa, and come euen to the borders of his kingdome, he there ſtaid all the reſt E of that day. And a little before the going downe of the Sun, he with a few ſelect horſmen departed from the army, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountains, from whence a man might by day wel diſcouer all the plains of Æmathia. There he appointed one *Peieus Emanuel*, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horſemen to marke diligently which way the enemy held, and by certain ſecret and appointed waftings and ſignes, to giue knowledge thereof to the army. After ſuch order taken, he returned himſelfe, and came again to the campe after midnight. And preſently riſing with his army, and fetching a compaſſe about, came vndiſcouered, and ſecretly encamped himſelfe as neere as he could vnto the mountains where his ſcouts lay, with eagles eis waiting for the leaſt mouing of the enemy. The Baſſa deſirous to get as far as he could into the country, before the heat of the day, began early in F the morning to ſet forward, and came to the plains of Pharſalia, through the world ſpoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, betweene the two moſt famous chiefetaines *Cæſar* and *Pompeius*: and now once more to be made famous, by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Here the enemy finding ſome ſtragling cattel, & other ſmall things which the country people had in their haſty flight left behind them, fel to ſeeking after booty, & as men without

feare,ſpent that day in roaming vp and downe the country, in hope to find ſomething:and at G
night encamped without any great watch,but towards Lyſſum, from whence they (in great ſecurity)
looked for the comming of *Scanderbeg*,and as it were in diſgrace of him, carried *Ameſa*
in triumph vp and downe the campe, as if he had beene already poſſeſſed of the kingdome of
Epirus. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other ſide of the mountains, perceiued by his eſpials,which
way the enemy lay: and with great ſilence vnder the couert of the mountaines and woods, ſecretly
bent his courſe the ſame way,vntill he came to a mountain called Tumeniſt,at the foot
wherof he encamped that night. The next morning the Baſſa holding on his way,came and incamped
not far from the ſame mountain,and there ſtaid himſelf with halfe his army, and ſent
Ameſa with the other halfe to burne and ſpoile the country: who about noone returned to the
campe with ſuch prey as he had got,with his ſoldiers well wearied with trauel,and the heat of H
the day. *Scanderbeg* like a carefull houſholder, who being about to entertaine and feaſt ſome
honorable perſonages, truſteth not to his wife and ſeruants, but looketh to the beſtowing of
his prouiſion himſelf,carefully ordering and diſpoſing and ſetting forth all things,eſpecially
if his prouiſion (for want of ability) be ſhort,to welcome ſo great gueſts,and ſetting al things
forth to the greateſt ſhew,ſeeketh at leaſt to fil the eies of his gueſts,although he doubt to ſatisfie
their appetites: ſo he carefully viewing of all the mountains and thicke woods thereabouts
without reſting, ſet *Moſes* in one place, *Tanuſius* in another,and all the reſt in places moſt
conuenient. He appointeth euery man what to do,and inſtructeth them, & conſidereth of euery
particular circumſtance himſelf:and ſo diuideth his forces,as might beſt ſerue his purpoſe,
and make the moſt terrible ſhow to the enemy: for which purpoſe he in euery company placed I
moe trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of war, than he had before at any time vſed.
When he had ſo to his moſt aduantage beſtowed ſo many of his captaines and ſoldiers as he
thought good, and as the nature of the places would giue leaue,he with 4000 horſmen and the
like number of foot, ſpeedily marching vp the rough mountaine of Tumeniſt, from thence
plainly beheld in what order the Turks campe lay in the plains below. The Turks,eſpecially
they which were lately returned with *Ameſa* from the ſpoile of the country, lay ſcattered abroad
in the fields,with their horſes vnbridled and vnſadled, reſting their weary bodies:ſome
got vnder the ſhadows of trees were victualling themſelues; ſome hauing filled their bellies,
lay faſt aſleep on the green graſſe; the reſt were paſſing the time, ſome with one kind of ſport,
ſom with another,as ſoldiers do in field when they haue little or nothing to do:for it was then K
the hotteſt time both of the yere,and of the day,being about the midſt of Iuly,and the noonetime
of the day. The like negligence was alſo in that part of the camp where the Baſſa himſelf
lay;euery man taking his eaſe and pleaſure,with ſmall regard of horſe or armor:for being out
of feare of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to haue bin a great way off at Lyſſum, they lay as
men without care wrapt vp in ſecurity,the common deſtruction of great armies and commonwealths.
Ameſa with the great captains,were at the ſame time all together in the Baſſa's pauilion,
conſulting what courſe they were beſt to take,to do ſomthing to the contentment of *Mahomet*,
and their own commendation: ſome ſaid it were beſt with fire and ſword to deſtroy all
they could in Epirus;and ſo hauing laid the country waſt,to returne. Others thought it better
to march directly to Croia,to proue if the citiſens could be perſuaded to yeeld themſelues & L
receiue *Ameſa* for their king;otherſome to threaten them with a continuall ſiege,and vtter ruine
of the country, if vpon the vaine expectation of helpe from *Scanderbeg* they ſhould refuſe
to ſubmit themſelues. As for *Scanderbeg* himſelfe,who then lay houering ouer their heads, he
was in all that conſultation leaſt feared:who from the top of the mountaine,beholding the ſecurity
& diſorder of the Turks camp,and delighted with the ſight therof; encouraged his ſoldiers,
and martialled them in ſuch order as they were to follow him, for the charging & terrifying
of the enemy. But firſt of all he determined to oppreſſe the Turks ſcouts, which lay at
the foot of the mountain: for which purpoſe he himſelfe with a few horſmen firſt ſecretly deſcended
the mountain,the reſt of his army following ſhortly after, & ſo ſuddenly came on the
ſcouts,that he ſlew them all except one,who eſcaping by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, came running M
to the camp as one halfe afrighted,crying out that *Scanderbeg* was comming. The Turks
ſuſpecting nothing leſſe than the comming of him that way, at the preſent inſtant hardly beleeued
that he was ſo nigh:when as he following him at the heeles as faſt as he could,with his
horſmen & his footmen after them,was in a moment as if it had bin a ſudden tempeſt,broken in

The Turks campe buried in ſecurity.

amongſt

A amongſt the vnarmed Turks, and there making great ſlaughter of them, filled all the campe with ſudden tumult and feare. *Ameſa,* who at the firſt noiſe had ſpeedily got him to his charge, with his ſouldiers ſome halfe armed, ſome on foot, hauing no leiſure, to bridle their horſes, was the firſt that made head againſt *Scanderbeg*. The Baſſa alſo did what he might in that ſudden feare and ſhortneſſe of time, to arme his men, and to put them in order: but whileſt thoſe things were in doing, the ſouldiers which lay in ambuſh in the woods, came down the mountaines with ſuch horrible ſhouts and noiſe of inſtruments of war, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently gone together; the hils and vallies with their hollow echoes, encreaſing the terror of the alarum. Inſomuch that the Turks diſmaied, and fearing that all the force of Epirus with the countries adjoyning had come vpon them, began to fly on euery ſide, before that B *Moſes* and the reſt that lay in ambuſh were come into the plaines. *Ameſa* acquainted with his vnckles ſtratagems, as much as he could encouraged the Turks; crying aloud & telling them, That ſuch vaine tumults and terrors were not to be feared, being but the bare ſhifts and deuiſes of their enemies to couer their owne weakeneſſe: and by his owne valour ſtaied many which before were about to haue fled. In this while the Baſſa hauing put his men in beſt order he could, was comming to the aid of *Ameſa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*: but in his ſetting forward, he was ſo valiantly encountred on the one ſide by *Moſes* with his horſemen, and on the other by *Tanuſius* and *Emanuel* with their footmen, that he was inforced, not without great loſſe, againe to retire vnto his trenches.

Scanderbeg ſuddenly aſſaileth the Turks.

All the hope of the battell depended vpon *Ameſa*, who ſtill with great courage withſtood C his vnckle, exhorting his ſouldiers valiantly as men to endure that firſt aſſault, which ſhould afterwards bring them moſt aſſured victory: heartening them on with hope of ſpeedy helpe from their fellowes, if they would but a while endure the fury of their enemies, whoſe hearts (as he ſaid) would preſently be diſcouraged, if they preuailed not in that their firſt and deſperat attempt, hauing nothing elſe to truſt vnto. By which perſwaſion the Turks were againe encouraged, accounting it a great diſhonour to fly and leaue their chiefetaine in the field. But when they ſaw *Scanderbeg* ſtill to preuaile vpon them, and that no helpe came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbegs* horſmen ſlaine as they were arming themſelues; many were by the way cut off as they were comming, and the reſt put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Ameſa*, turned their backs and fled alſo. *Scanderbegs* horſemen purſuing the chaſe, D made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and in the ſame chaſe tooke *Ameſa* priſoner. *Scanderbeg* hauing ouerthrowne that part of the Turks battell, was comming with a thouſand footmen and ſome horſemen, to haue aided *Moſes* againſt the Baſſa: but before his comming, *Moſes* to blot out his former infamy, had with inuincible courage put the great Baſſa with all his army to flight: and *Scanderbeg* following the chaſe, gaue him not leaue to looke behind him, vntill he was got out of Epirus. Many were in this chaſe taken priſoners, and amongſt the reſt one *Meſites* a Sanzacke, a man of great account among the Turks. In this battell beſide the priſoners, were taken twenty of the Turks faireſt enſignes. As for horſes, armor, and other ſpoiles taken in the field, and in the campe, all which fell to the ſouldiers ſhare, it is almoſt incredible to be told. The number of the ſlaine Turks is of diuers diuerſly reported; they which write of the E moſt, reckon vp thirty thouſand; and they which ſpeake of the leaſt, account twenty thouſand. Of the Chriſtians were loſt but ſixty. Now if any account it ſtrange, that ſo great a victory ſhould be gained with ſo little loſſe; not to ſpeake of that is written in holy Writ, let him but reade the antient hiſtories of the Romans, or the Chronicles of our own Country, and he ſhall in them find victories no leſſe ſtrange. There was to be ſeene the ſudden and ſtrange alteration of theſe worldly things, no more indeed (whatſoeuer we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we haue not. *Scanderbeg* poſſeſſeth the rich pauilion, erſt belonging to the great Baſſa; and other of his captaines enjoy tents, with much other rich furniture neuer prepared for their vſe. *Ameſa* which the ſame day as a victorious conqueror ouerran a great part of Æmathia with his horſemen, and was carried in triumph with the generall acclamati- F on of many thouſands of valiant ſouldiers, and honoured as a King, and of them ſo called; is now led through the Chriſtian army to his vncle, with his hands bound behind him as a ſlaue, ſpeechleſſe and confounded, vnable to hold vp his head for ſhame: whoſe miſery moued moſt of the beholders to compaſſion, and forced teares out of the eies of many.

A notable victory of the Chriſtians.

The next day after this great victory, *Scanderbeg* cauſed the bodies of the ſlaine Turks to be buried, together with their horſes; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathſome carkaſes ſhould not infect the country: and after that, returned in great triumph to Croia. By the way as he went, the country people, which were before for feare of the Turks fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes, met him, as he did others alſo out of the cities, whoſe mouthes were all full of his worthy praiſes. Before him went the captiue Turks with their hands bound behind them, excepting ſuch as ware enforced to carry the Turks enſignes. Next vnto them followed the great Baſſaes rich pauilion, in ſuch manner ſupported by the ſoldiers, as if it had bin in the field. Then came *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the Turkiſh Sanzacke, and *Ameſa* following him; for *Ameſa* had with great and humble ſuit obtained of his vncle, that he might not as he well deſerued, be carried bound among the other captiues. Laſt of all came *Scanderbeg* his victorious ſouldiers in goodly order, euery man leading a ſpare horſe taken from the enemy, and loaded with ſpoile. So when he was come to Croia, and there of his ſubjects joyſully receiued, he brake vp his army, and gaue euery man leaue at his pleaſure to depart. The Sanzacke, and *Ameſa* were committed to ſafe keeping, vntill further order was taken for them. *Ameſa* afterwards was for his treaſon worthily condemned to perpetuall priſon, and by an Embaſſadour from *Scanderbeg* ſent vnto King *Alphonſus* to Naples, there to be kept in durance; and with him was alſo ſent an honourable Preſent of part of the ſpoile taken from the Turks, in token of the victory. What became afterwards of this *Ameſa*, concerneth not much the courſe of our hiſtory; yet to ſatisfie the deſirous, I thinke it not amiſſe with him to ſtray a little out of the way.

When *Ameſa* had remained a yeare in priſon at Naples, *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alphonſus*, by his Embaſſadour requeſted of *Ferdinand* his ſon, to haue *Ameſa* reſtored to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into Epirus, and caſt in priſon at Croia; but not in ſuch ſtreight manner as before: for *Scanderbeg* according to his accuſtomed clemency, began now to forget the injury to him before done; and at laſt ouercome with the continuall ſupplication and tears of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and reſtoring him to his former liberty, receiued him alſo into his former fauour. But *Ameſa* remembring what pledges of his loyalty he had left with *Mahomet* at Conſtantinople, and fearing what would become of his wife and children, if he ſhould haſtily vſe that his liberty, giuing his vncle moſt humble thanks, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth:

The ſpeech of Ameſa to Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodneſſe onely, without any deſert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it behoueth me alſo to be carefull for the life of others: leſt whileſt I receiue your exceeding bounty with too much deſire of mine owne health and honour, I do at this preſent, by this ſame benefit of yours, caſt away them, whom I haue long ſithence by mine owne trechery vndone. Mine vnfortunate and guiltleſſe Wife is with Mahomet, *my little and innocent children are with him alſo: theſe yet liue, and ſhall liue, ſo long as the tyrant ſhall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he ſhall once perceiue by this your gratious dealing, that I am fallen from him, the cruell creditor will forthwith cut and rend in pieces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent bloud ſhall pay the guilt of their Fathers offence. Wherfore the* Othoman *tyrant is of me by ſome deuice to be deceiued, that I may in the meane time preſerue thoſe pledges, vntill I may by ſome fit occaſion afterwards redeeme the ſame. I will by your leaue this night take my flight out of Croia, as if I had broken priſon, and eſcaped againſt your will, and ſo fly vnto* Mahomet, *making the greateſt ſhew I can of my wonted loue and loyalty towards him: not omitting to heare, or ſpeake vnto that credulous King ſuch things concerning your eſtate, as I was wont in my better fortune: that hauing ſo cleared my ſelfe of all ſuſpition, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reaſon of my captiuity and long ſtay with you, I may at length, with my Wife and Children, ſo eſcape from him: Wherein you may helpe me much, if you ſhall openly make ſhew as if you were grieued with my eſcape, and ſeeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the priſon for the ſame. In the meane time, whileſt I ſhall ſtay in the tyrants court expecting ſome fit time for my eſcape; I will ſtand you in ſtead of an intelligencer, ſo that your enemy ſhall not to my knowledge either attempt or goe about any thing againſt you, which ſhall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.*

Scanderbeg refuſed to grant whatſoeuer he had requeſted, but ſaid vnto him:

A Ameſa, *ſithence we haue granted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not prohibit you to vſe that our gift to your moſt good, and to the preſeruation of them who for euer may moſt juſtly call vpon you, as debtor vnto them, for their welfare and liberty. Goe thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occaſion as it ſeemeth vnto thee beſt; and at length reforme thy ſelfe, whileſt thou yet haſt ſufficient time and ſpace. We now beleeue you in all things, and well like of this your deuice:* Ameſa, *you ſhall herein deceiue no man but your ſelfe, if you ſhall longer follow the faith and court of the barbarous King, whereas like danger is both of body and ſoule both to thee and thine. Whenſoeuer thou ſhalt returne vnto vs, thou canſt not do vs a greater pleaſure: and in what regard thou haſt heretofore been with vs, in the ſame thou ſhalt be with vs againe.*

The anſwer of Scanderbeg to Ameſa.

B The ſame night *Ameſa* by ſecret order from *Scanderbeg*, eſcaped both out of priſon and out of Croia: and in the morning it was all ouer the city, that he was gone, and the keepers ſharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to Conſtantinople, eaſily perſuaded *Mahomet*, that he was by chance eſcaped, with all things elſe that he told him: yet was he not for all that, ſo well graced of him as before; not for any diſtruſt he had in the man, but for the euill ſucceſſe he had in the former wars. Now whether *Ameſa* neglected his promiſed returne, or could find no opportunity to performe the ſame, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that ſhortly after he died at Conſtantinople, poiſoned as was thought by the commandement of *Mahomet*, who could no longer indure the ſight of him, whom he reckoned the author of that notable ouerthrow receiued in Æmathia. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant man, well C worthy of remembrance, had not his haughty thoughts ſoared too high with the deſire of Soueraignty.

The death of Ameſa.

When *Mahomet* vnderſtood in what manner *Iſaac Baſſa* was ouerthrowne, and his army diſcomfited, he was therewith much grieued, and juſtly blamed the Baſſaes ſecurity: yet ſuch was his credit with his Soueraigne, that the matter was in better ſort paſſed ouer than was ſuppoſed it would haue been. Neuertheleſſe, *Mahomet* in reuenge thereof would willingly haue imployed all his forces vpon *Scanderbeg*, if his more vrgent affaires would haue ſo permitted. For at the ſame time, beſides that great warres began to riſe betwixt him and the Venetians (which continued for many yeres after) he was certainly informed, That the Chriſtian Princes were making a ſtrong confederation againſt him. At which time *Mahomet* diſdaining D openly to ſue for a peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practiſed by ſuch as were ſent to redeem the priſoners, & alſo by the Sanzack himſelf, to perſuade *Scanderbeg* to require peace of him; aſſuring him, that if he did but aſke it, it would for a long time be eaſily obtained. Which thing *Scanderbeg* (well acquainted with the Turkiſh policy, vtterly refuſed to do. Wherefore *Mahomet* for the defence of his countries bordering vpon Epirus, ſent two of his moſt expert captains, *Sinam* and *Hamur*, with each of them 14000 ſoldiers into Macedonia, expreſly charging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occaſion, into Epirus, or by any means to prouoke *Scanderbeg*: which his commandement they ſo well obſerued, that the Epirots by the ſpace of almoſt two yeres enjoyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old injuries wearing out with time, at length by the E mediation of the ſame captains, a peace for a yere was agreed on betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*. In which time he paſſed ouer into Apulia, and there notably aided King *Ferdinand* againſt the French, the proceedings wherein, as not pertinent to our hiſtory, I of purpoſe paſſe ouer.

A peace for a yeare concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with *Mahomet* as he deſired, he reſolued according to his wonted manner to trouble the quiet eſtate of *Scanderbeg*: and ſo ſending a new ſupply of ſoldiers to *Synam-beg*, who then lay with a ſtrong garriſon vpon the frontiers of Epirus, commanded him with all his power to make wars vpon *Scanderbeg*. *Synam* accordingly, with an army of 20000 men entered into Epirus, where he was forthwith encountered by *Scanderbeg*, and his army vtterly ouerthrowne, ſo that but few eſcaped by flight with *Synam* himſelf. Preſently after he ſent *Aſam-beg*, another of his F captaines, into the ſame ſeruice, with an army of thirty thouſand, whom *Scanderbeg* alſo in plaine battell vanquiſhed at Ocrida; in which battell *Aſam* himſelfe was ſore wounded, and finding no way to eſcape, was glad to yeeld himſelfe priſoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom he was courteouſly vſed, and afterwards ſet at liberty. *Iuſſum-beg* following *Aſam* with eighteene thouſand into Epirus, was ſet vpon by *Scanderbeg* alſo, and hauing loſt part of his army, was

glad by ſpeedy flight to ſaue himſelfe with the reſt. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old captaine G
and a man of great experience (who had bin a great commander, & a companion with *Scander-*
beg in the time of old *Amurath*) requeſted of *Mahomet*, that he might proue his fortune againſt
his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, aſſuring him of better ſucceſſe than before. The long and ap-
proued experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in ſuch hope of good ſpeed, that he gaue
preſent order for the leuying of ſuch an army as *Caraza* had requeſted, and for ten thouſand
mo than he had at the firſt required. With this ſtrong army, in number almoſt forty thouſand,
Caraza ſet forward, hauing before filled the minds of men with the expectation of ſome grea-
ter matter to haue bin by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding certainly that *Caraza* was com-
ming, ſtood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therfore aſſembled greater for-
ces than he had vſually done before: and to welcome him, ſent two thouſand of his beſt and H
moſt expert ſouldiers ſecretly into the enemies countrey; who lying in ambuſh amongſt the
woods and mountaines, whereby *Caraza* muſt needs paſſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon foure thouſand
horſemen (the forerunners of *Caraza* his army) who marching diſorderedly, and fearing no
ſuch matter, were in a trice ouerthrown, and moſt part of them ſlaine: thoſe few that eſcaped
fled backe againe to the army, as if they had come in poſt to bring tidings of ſome haſty news
to the Generall. With which ſo vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was ſo diſcomfited, that if he
might for ſhame, he could haue bin content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet
for his honours ſake holding on his way, he came into Epirus; where whileſt he was (after the
manner of old men) long in reſoluing what courſe to take, he was vpon the ſudden aſſailed by
Scanderbeg, before he could well put his men in order of battell. At which time there fell ſuch I
a vehement ſhower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was
done. Three daies together it rained continually (for it was about the latter end of Autumne)
all which time *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not in one place or other to trouble the Turks camp: ſo that
the old Generall, partly diſtempered with the extremity of the weather, which for the vio-
lence thereof he tooke to be ominous; and more diſcouraged with the reſtleſſe attempts of
Scanderbeg, roſe with his army, and retiring back by the ſame way he came, returned to Con-
ſtantinople. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promiſed ſo much, had per-
formed ſo little: yet afterwards was againe by him in ſome ſort commended, for that he had
with leſſe loſſe looked vpon *Scanderbeg* than other Generals before ſent againſt him.

Mahomet perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be ſubdued but with ſuch forces as he was K
not then at leiſure to imploy on him, thought it not amiſſe to proue if he could by faire ſpee-
ches & glorious ſhews of fained friendſhip get within him, and ſo bring him to confuſion: for
which purpoſe he ſent vnto him an Embaſſador with rich preſents, and letters of this purport:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Lord and Emperour of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and of all parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg*, Prince of Albania and Epirus, ſendeth greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I Thinke, friend Scanderbeg, *that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendſhip more firme, than that*
which hath growne of long and mutuall conuerſing and liuing together, and eſpecially if the ſame L
haue taken beginning from childhood and tender yeares, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who
haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great loue and friendſhip, when as you firſt
lay as hoſtage in my fathers court. Wherefore beloued Scanderbeg, *when as I call to remembrance all*
thoſe things, with others, wherewith our youthfull yeares were then delighted, and being mindfull alſo
of all thoſe things which you haue oftentimes done for the aduancement of our Empire and Kingdome,
and for the glory of the Othoman *family, I cannot chuſe but embrace thee with ſingular zeale and affe-*
ction. For I take God to witneſſe, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleaſing vnto me in my
life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enjoy thy company. Neither needeſt thou to feare any
thing to come vnto me, for that my ſouldiers without my knowledge or commandement haue of late bro-
ken in and ſpoiled thy Kingdome: which thing, as reaſon required, was vnto me exceedingly diſpleaſing: M
neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquiſhed and ouercome, and ſo receiued
the juſt reward of their euill deſerts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equity of thy
cauſe, and as thy heart could haue deſired. But to let theſe things paſſe, the remembrance of our old loue
and friendſhip perſuadeth me to come to agreement, and to joyne together with thee in a perpetuall league
of

A *of amity: to the intent that our antient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reaſon of long abſence is almoſt worn out, may again take life, increaſe and be confirmed. Of which peace let theſe be the capitulations, if they ſhall ſeem vnto you reaſonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requireth not the peace, to appoint the conditions of the ſame. Firſt, we require you freely and peaceably to ſuffer our Armies to paſſe thorow your kingdom, for the beſieging of the cities and inuading of the countries ſubiect vnto the Venetians our enemies. Then, To deliuer vnto vs your ſon* Iohn *in hoſtage, whom we will alwaies vſe as one of our own naturall children. And afterwards, That our Merchants and men of trade may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your Kingdome with their Merchandiſe, and there freely and ſafely vſe their negotiation. Laſt of all, That your ſelf in perſon may at your pleaſure ſafely and without all fear repair vnto vs, and in like manner return again. In which things if you will yeeld vnto* B *vs, I promiſe vpon the faith of a King to grant vnto your Kingdome a ſincere peace, with perpetuall tranquilitie; and that there ſhall not be any more dear vnto me than your ſelf; and wil neuer to the vtmoſt of my power permit your kingdom to be infeſted or moleſted by any of our ſubiects or others. Whatſoeuer you ſhall further receiue from vs by the mouth of our Embaſſador* Muſtapha, *you may therto giue full credence. Fare you well.*

From our Imperial Palace at Conſtantinople, the 10 *of May,* 1461.

Scanderbeg hauing receiued theſe letters, and wel conſidered of the ſame, returned him anſwer as followeth:

C

The Soldier of CHRIST IESVS, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, vnto *Mahomet* Prince of the Turks, greeting.

Scanderbeg his anſwer to Mahomets former Letters.

YOur Letters (moſt Magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs, wherin you write of your exceeding loue and ſingular affection toward vs, confirmed as you ſay by old acquaintance, which being grown vp betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmly rooted, and as it were into nature conuerted, ſhall alwaies retaine his force and ſtrength. But foraſmuch as it ſeemeth good vnto you to awake the ſame, hauing a long time D *and many years lien as it were aſleep; and to make a motion that we ſhould enter into a certain new league and confederation, whereof amongſt other conditions of the League by you propounded, this is one, That your Forces may freely paſſe through my Kingdom to inuade the Venetians. Vnto this your requeſt, worthy* Mahomet, *it ſtandeth neither with equitie nor with myne honor to conſent, forſomuch as the Venetians are myne eſpeciall good friends and confederats. And for that you deſire to haue my ſon* Iohn *with you in hoſtage, for the better aſſurance of the peace betwixt vs; I ſhould peraduenture do it (moſt Noble* Mahomet) *if fatherly affection would giue me leaue. But ſithence I haue no more but him, and hee as yet a tender childe; it is not for the good of either of vs, to haue him now taken from vs, when as he ought of vs to be moſt tenderly cheriſhed, and carefully inſtructed. As for that you requeſted concerning your Merchants, That they may freely and ſafely traffique into my Kingdom, I can be content to yeeld there-* E *unto, and wiſh heartily that there might be a free intercourſe of our Merchants indifferently with their commodities into both our Kingdoms. Further, Whereas you earneſtly perſuade mee, boldly and without fear to come vnto you, that by ſuch interview and perſonall preſence, our great deſire, grown of long abſence, might be the better ſatisfied: in this thing (moſt excellent Prince) I cannot but praiſe your moſt honorable diſpoſition, and commend your good nature; and would therfore boldly follow your perſuaſion, if my other vrgent affairs, and the gouernment of my kingdom would ſo permit. But what ſhall I doe? my ſon* Iohn *(as I ſaid before) but little, and as yet vnfit to gouern; and my people (as you know) loue alwaies to haue ſomthing to do; being by nature a fierce and reſtles nation, whom I my ſelf haue much a do to rule and gouern. For all that, I will come vnto you according to your deſire, expecting only a more commodious time. So fare you well.*

F

From our Camp the 30 *of May,* 1461.

When *Mahomet* had receiued theſe Letters, and wel peruſed the ſame, he writ to him again in manner following:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of all the parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, greeting.

Mahomets letters to Scanderbeg, for the concluding of a perpetual peace between them.

YOur Letters we haue receiued by our Embaſſadour Muſtapha, *wherin you giue vs to vnderſtand, That you like of none of the conditions of peace by vs propounded, but only that concerning our merchants and men of trade, that they might freely and at their pleaſure vſe their traffique and trades with their merchandiſe to and fro, and vpon this condition only you grant vs peace. This your offer wee accept of, and all the reſt of your excuſes we willingly admit: wherfore I promiſe vnto thee, my louing* Scanderbeg, *and will perform all that thou doſt require, and vpon that reſolution reſt; and wil ſo long as I liue obſerue and keep a ſincere and inuiolable peace with thee for euer, except thou firſt giue cauſe for the violating of the ſame. And for that purpoſe haue wee with our vſuall and Imperiall Seal ſigned theſe our Letters, which we by our Embaſſador* Muſtapha *haue ſent vnto thee, as therby confirming to thee this perpetuall peace. Wherfore you alſo (if you be ſo content) may ſubſcribe, and with your Seal confirm this of ours; that I in like maner may haue alſo your like conſent and agreement. And would further, That you would command knowledge therof to be made by open proclamation through all your kingdome, as I will in like maner cauſe to be don through myne. And for the more manifeſtation of this my loue toward you, I would alſo that you ſhould vnderſtand, That of myne own meer motion and bounty, I do freely giue vnto you all thoſe things which you by force of arms haue taken from my father in Albania and Epirus, ſo that you may poſſeſſe and enioy the ſame as if they had alwaies bin yours and your Aunceſtors. Wherfore I giue, grant, and confirm vnto thee and thy heirs, all the right, title, or intereſt, which I hertofore had therin, and from henceforth will alwaies account and repute thee as a Prince of Albania and Epirus, and ſo call thee. And as I haue promiſed thee in the faith of a King, will neuer herafter with wars moleſt thee or thine, except thou thy ſelf giue cauſe therof. Wherfore after you haue with your ſeal confirmed theſe things, you may commend them to our faithfull Embaſſador* Muſtapha, *to be by him brought vnto vs; to whom I would you ſhould in all things giue full credit. So fare you well, and render vs loue for loue.*

From our Imperiall Palace at Conſtantinople, the 22 of Iune, 1462.

A peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

Vpon receit of theſe letters a peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg* & the ſame by publique proclamations ſolemnly publiſhed through both their kingdomes, to the great rejoicing of many. Which peace was for a ſeaſon faithfully kept on both ſides, vntill that the Turks lying in garriſon vpon the frontiers of Epirus, began after their wonted maner again to fetch preys and booties out of the country. Of which iniuries *Scanderbeg* by Letters complained to *Mahomet*: who anſwered, that he was altogether ignorant therof, and ſeemed to ſhew to be much offended with the inſolencie of the doers therof, and forthwith cauſed many things to be again reſtored. By which means the peace before concluded, was ſtill as before continued.

A little before the concluſion of the aforeſaid peace, great wars began to ariſe betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, who all this while being in league with the Turkes, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of merchandiſe, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbors harms and miſeries, vntil that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their own houſes, and as it were to waken them out of a dead ſleep. For *Mahomet* after he had ſubverted the empire of Conſtantinople, and driuen *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the Emperors brethren out of Peloponeſus (now called Morea) reſted not ſo contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captains diſturbed the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their poſſeſſion, Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, with diuers other ſtrong towns in Peloponeſus ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt. And now it chanced that about this time, *Ioſhue*, *Mahomets* lieutenant in Peloponeſus, had by the treaſon of a Greek prieſt, vpon a ſudden ſurpriſed the city of Argos: and *Omares* another of his great Captains, hauing firſt ſpoiled the Countrey about Naupactum (now Lepanto) entred farther into the territory of the Venetians about Methone & Corone, making hauock of all that came in his way. With which injuries, plainely tending to open war, the Venetian Senators being much troubled, ſat oft times in counſel, deliberating with much care, what courſe to take in a matter of ſo great importance. Some being of opinion,

A that it were beſt to ſend Embaſſadors to *Mahomet*, ſo to make proof if the matter might by
fair means be redreſſed. Others contrariwiſe deemed it to no purpoſe ſo to do; forſomuch as
ſuch great and manifeſt outrages, nothing differing from plain hoſtility, could not poſſibly be
don without the Tyrants knowledge and expreſſe command. After the Senators had often
met together, and with many great reaſons debated the matter to and fro, and yet for all that
concluded nothing (as in conſultations of great matters with a multitude, it moſt commonly
falls out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time to bring the multitude vnto ſome
certain reſolution, than it is afterward to performe the action) in this ſo great a diuerſitie of
opinions concerning ſo weighty a cauſe, at length one *Victor Capella*, a noble Gentleman and
graue Senator, ſtept vp in the midſt of the Senat, and there frankly deliuered this notable
B ſpeech vnto the reſt, concerning the matter propounded, as followeth:

The notable ſpeech of *Victor Capella*, to perſuade the Venetians to take vp arms againſt Mahomet.

I haue before this, at other times by long experience often noted (moſt noble Senators*) that in all our*
greateſt conſultations of matters concerning our common ſtate, ſome are alwaies ſo addicted, or rather wed-
ded to their own conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the reaſonable opinion of
others contrary to their own, the chief cauſe of our ſlow reſolutions. Wherfore I haue thought good briefly
at this time to call vpon you for reſolution, forſomuch as I ſee we muſt of neceſſity take vp arms, be we ne-
uer ſo loth or vnwilling: for to my vnderſtanding, you do but betray the State, in delaying the time to
make preſent war vpon the barbarous enemy. Yet many principal men among vs aduiſe vs to beware that
we do not raſhly or vnaduiſedly determin of matters of ſo great conſequence; and think it requiſit that we
C *ſhould ſend embaſſadors vnto the Tyrant to expoſtulate with him his vniuſt dealing in breaking his faith*
and league; and withall to requeſt him to obſerue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if haply
he may rather by perſuaſion than by arms be moued to change his purpoſe: and if by this means nothing
may be obtained, then at length they think it neceſſary to reſolue to make war vpon him. They alledge fur-
ther, that if we ſhall attempt war, our cities in the continent, bordering vpon the Ionian in Peloponeſſus,
with diuers others of ours in the firm land, will not be able to hold out long, but for want of neceſſaries
muſt needs periſh with the firſt of the trouble. Beſides that, if thoſe places ſhall be waſted and ſpoiled, great
loſſe (as they ſay) ſhall enſue therby vnto moſt of vs in priuat: The greateſt motiue (perhaps) wherfore
they think it moſt conuenient to defer the wars, and for that purpoſe to ſend our Embaſſadours vnto him.
Of which Embaſſage firſt by your leaue a few words. At ſuch time as theſe our Embaſſadours, men of
D *great wiſdom and reach, not long ſince came vnto him, he had of them no regard, but dallying off the time*
with fraudulent, deceitfull, and gloſing ſpeeches, did indeed ſuch things to the contrary as we leaſt hoped.
Wherfore I cannot well deuiſe (if we ſhould ſend them or ſuch others againe) what eſpeciall thing of all
that we then gaue them in charge, they ſhould now propound vnto him, hauing already ſaid what is to bee
ſaid: except they ſhould ſay, That wheras we are not of ſufficient ſtrength and power to wage war againſt
him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talk, and by that ſimple means to redreſſe our injuries; and
vpon the matter, to ſhew our ſelues preſt and ready to fall to agreement with him, according as ſhall ſtand
with his good pleaſure and liking. Truly this were good plain dealing, but it will not ſerue our turn. Ar-
gos *is already taken from vs, and he maketh open war vpon vs: wherein hee doth but prooue our courage,*
and try how long we will put vp theſe injuries: if we will quietly digeſt theſe, he will then confidently
E *and without fear proceed further. But if we ſhall (as beſt beſeemeth vs) valiantly reſiſt him, he ſhall be*
glad of ſuch reſt as we will giue him; and when he knoweth not well which way to turn himſelf, ſhal be as
glad as we to lay down arms, and to ſeek for peace: wheras if we ſhall do otherwiſe, I fear we ſhall repent
our ſelues when it will be too late. It is reported, That as ſoon as he was come into Peloponeſus, *he went*
himſelf in perſon vnto Eubœa, *to view the city of* Chalcis*: and going a ſecond time out of* Peloponeſus, *he*
ſounded the depth of the paſſage, and came within ſight of the city, of purpoſe to haue aſſaulted it, if he had
found opportunitie: at which time he himſelf rid ouer that ſtreit of the ſea betwixt Bœtia *and* Eubœa,
and curiouſly viewed in what place he might moſt conueniently paſſe ouer with his Army to beſiege the
city. Verily theſe are the moſt manifeſt ſignes of war, wherby any man may ſufficiently proue, that he hath
long ſince reſolued, ſo ſoon as he is ready, to make war vpon vs. Whileſt wee are yet dreaming in the midſt
F *of our long conſultations, he will proceed in the wars he hath begun, and cutting vs ſhort, augment his own*
dominions. Then will he blame his Lieutenants and Captains as authors therof; but ſtill be doing that
beſt ſerueth his purpoſe. And whilſt no man oppoſeth himſelf againſt him, his power daily increaſing, he
will do the beſt he can ſuddenly to ſwallow vs vp, being vnprouided. For he may eaſily raiſe great forces,

that by ſufferance of others maketh himſelf of great ſtrength there where he had before no footing. Shall G
we then ſay that we haue no wars with this incroching Tyrant? Some I know feed themſelues and others alſo with vain hopes, ſaying, That he will neuer turn his forces vpon vs, nor ruinate our eſtate, although he might at eaſe do it: Wherfore (ſay they) let vs refrain from wars, and vſe our peace and quietnes; yet omitting nothing in the mean time that ſhall be needfull for our ſafety. But forſomuch as it plainly appeareth vnto all men, by that which is before ſaid, that he hath already indeed proclaimed war againſt vs, inuading our countries, ſurpriſing our cities, and killing our people: Whether think you it more expedient or profitable for vs to ſit ſtill and ſuffer our dominions to be taken from vs, or rather by open war to make the barbarous King know the greatnes of our power and ſtrength? For if we ſhall enter into open war, we being in arms ſufficiently prouided againſt all euents, and with carefull eye attending all his attempts, ſhall eaſily auoid both himſelf and all his deuiſes. Who if he be ſuffered to runne ſtill on forward H
with his proſperous ſucceſſe, people will daily more and more fall vnto him, in hope to liue the better as his friends. For which cauſe I think it better to prefer an honorable war before a doubtfull peace. As for delay, it hath hurt many great States, and our ſelues moſt of all; wherby we haue in ſome ſort betrayd the Empire of Greece, with the wofull Emperor himſelf, when as this Tyrant battered the walls of Conſtantinople: for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then left to themſelues. After that, we deſpiſed and rejected the pittiful complaints of the Princes of Peloponeſus, who with tears craued our aid: and now we ſee that famous country loſt, and fallen into his hands through our ſloath and negligence. Of late, when as the King of Boſna humbly requeſted our aid, and promiſed fully to requite our curteſie, and whatſoeuer els we ſhould do in his behalf, we ſuffered his kingdom to be loſt, and himſelf to be cruelly murthered by the Turks. For all theſe things of vs thus neglected, we cannot eſcape the infamous report of the I
reſt of the nations of Europ, but that we for the greedy deſire of trade and filthy gain, haue forſaken, and for our parts betrayed whole kingdoms and nations, agreeing with vs both in maners and religion; and to haue ſtood ſtill and looked on, vntill they were ſubdued and brought into thraldom by the Turks. Wherfore in few words to ſhut vp the matter, if we ſhould ioyn in league with the Hungarians, and enter into arms, we ſhould ſo be able to keep our own: wheras if we ſhall vſe delayes, and hunt after peace, we ſhall in ſhort time ſee that he will ſuddenly deuour vs, being vnprouided, and wreſt from vs all our prouinces and territories which border vpon him. And therfore it is in my opinion beſt to ſend our Embaſſadors into Hungary, with a great maſſe of mony, to ſtir vp that warlike nation into the fellowſhip of this war. And beſide the navy we now haue in readines, to put to ſea as many more ſhips and gallies as we are able. The great Biſhop alſo is not to be forgotten, but by all means to be drawn as a chief man into this War. Beſides all K
this, we muſt do what we can to raiſe vp rebellion againſt the Turk in Peloponeſus: which will be no hard matter to bring to paſſe. For if the Peloponeſians riſe vp in arms with one of their poor princes hich revolted from the Turkiſh King, and forſaking all that they had, adventured themſelues into all manner of peril and danger; what think you they will do when they ſhall ſee ſo great forces comming both by ſea and land againſt the Turkiſh King? It were good alſo, that we ſhould ſend two thouſand Italian Horſmen into Peloponeſus, to animate the people. Who when they ſhall ſee vs thus to proceed, will vndoubtedly preſently revolt from the Turks, and yeeld themſelues and their countrey vnto vs, from whence we may moſt commodiouſly vex and moleſt this Tyrant. For there is no where better entrance into his Kingdome, than by the way of Peloponeſus. So that ioyning in league with the Hungarians, we ſhall beſet him on euery ſide: they all along the riuer of Danubius, and we out of Peloponeſus. Let vs not therfore ſit ſtil with our hands L
in our boſoms, ſuffering our countries to be taken from vs, and our ſubiects made bondſlaues to the Turks; but incouraging them by our example, animate them to take vp arms, and valiantly to reſiſt the cruell and barbarous Tyrant.

The Venetians take vp Armes againſt the Turks.

The greater part of the Senat mooued with this graue Senatours ſpeech, decreed without delay to make Wars, and to ſend their Embaſſadors to the Pope, the King of Hungary, and other the Chriſtian Princes their Neighbors, to craue aid of them in theſe Wars againſt the Turks. According to this Decree, the Venetians for defence of their territory ſent one *Bertholdus Eſte* a valiant Captain, with an Army into Peloponeſus: where at his firſt comming, he in ſhort time recouered the City of Argos before loſt. And departing thence, marched M
through the country with his army of fifteen thouſand men, vnto the ſtreight of Corinth, called Iſthmus. At which place *Alouiſius Lauretanus*, Admirall of the Venetians (by appointment before made) did meet him: and there ioyning their forces together, with great labour

in the ſpace of fifteen daies fortified all that ſtreit from the Ionian to the ſea Ægeum, with a continual rampier and double ditch in length about fiue miles. In which work they vſed the help of thirty thouſand men, and in doing therof were much furthered by the ruins of the old wall before deſtroied by *Amurath*. The Venetian Commanders hauing fortified this ſtreit, incamped before Corinth, and laid ſtreit ſiege vnto it: where at the ſecond aſſault, *Bartholdus* the General deſirous by his own forwardnes to incourage his ſoldiers, was in that aſſault grieuouſly wounded with a ſtone caſt down vpon him from the wall: of which hurt he ſhortly after died. Neuertheles the ſiege was ſtil continued by *Betinus Calcinatius*, who ſucceeded *Bartholdus* in his place. But whilſt the Venetians lay thus at the ſiege of Corinth, ſuddenly news was brought vnto the camp, That *Mahomet* was comming with a great army himſelfe in perſon, to raiſe the ſiege, and to deſtroy the new fortifications at Iſthmus. Wherupon the Venetians left the ſiege, with purpoſe to haue defended the late fortified ſtreit: but after. that it was certainly known that *Mahomet* was euen now at hand with an Army of fourſcore thouſand Turks, *Betinus* diſtruſting with his ſmall number to be able to defend the ſtreit againſt ſo puiſſant an army, left the place ſo lately before fortified, and with all his Army retyred to Neapolis, there to keep the ſea coaſt.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* without any reſiſtance at all entred with a world of men by the ſtreit into Peloponeſus; and when he had with the great ſlaughter of the country people romed vp and down about Argos, he came to Neapolis, and in moſt terrible maner aſſaulted the city twice; both which times he was notably repulſed by the Venetians, and many of his men ſlain. Departing thence, he deſtroied and waſted the country about Methone (now Modon) and Corone, and aſſaulted the city of Iuncum, but with no better ſucces than he had before Neapolis. Wherfore Winter now drawing on, he returned again with his army to Conſtantinople.

After his departure, the Venetians ſpoiled all that part of Arcadia which was ſubiect to the Turk, requiting him with like injuries as he had don them before. Not long after, *Lauretanus* the Venetian Admiral had the Iſland of Lemnos deliuered vnto him by one *Cominius* a famous pyrat, who had ſurpriſed the ſame and taken it from the Turks; but diſtruſting how he ſhould be able to keep the ſame, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, *Vrſatus Iuſtinianus* a great Magnifico among the Venetians, was ſent to ſucceed *Lauretanus* their Admiral: but whilſt he was ſcouring the Ægeum with a fleet of 32 great gallies, *Andreas Dandalus* General of their forces at land, inconſiderately incountring with the Turkes horſemen between Mantynia and Pytheme, was by them ouerthrown and ſlain, and with him diuers other gentlemen of great account: in which skirmiſh fifteen hundred of the Venetians were ſlaine together with their General. And as fortune is neuer more conſtant than in miſchief, ſo at the ſame time *Vrſatus* General at ſea, landing his men in the Iſland of Lesbos, beſieged the city of Mytelene, and gaue therunto two great aſſaults, wherin he loſt fiue thouſand men: And vnderſtanding that the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the city, raiſed the ſiege and ſailed into Eubœa, and from thence paſſed ouer into Peloponeſus, where he ſhortly after died with ſorrow and grief of mind. In whoſe place the Venetians ſent another famous Captaine called *Iacobus Lauretanus*.

The Venetians enter into Confederatiõ with other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk.

The Venetians wel conſidering the great power of the Turkiſh Emperor, labored by their Embaſſadors to draw as many of the Chriſtian Princes as they could into the fellowſhip of this war; but eſpecially the Great Biſhop, by whoſe meanes they were in good hope to bee greatly ſtrengthned. *Pius* the ſecond of that name was then the Great Biſhop; who at firſt anſwered the Venetian Embaſſadors, That he muſt take away the little Turke, before he had any thing to do with the great: meaning thereby *Sigiſmundus Maletaſta* Prince of Ariminum, whom he deadly hated, for that he took part with the French againſt the Aragonians. Howbeit the wars in Italy being wel appeaſed, and *Pius* ſtil ſolicited by the Venetians, made great preparation againſt the Turks; giuing it out, that he would in perſon himſelfe go vnto thoſe Wars: and by his authority (then much regarded) procured great aid out of Germany, France, Spain, and other Countries alſo farther off. At which time alſo voluntary men in great number reſorted out of all parts of Chriſtendome, into Italy, ready to aduenture their liues in thoſe Religious Warres. At the ſame time alſo the Venetians had with much adoo by the working of *Paulus Angelus* Archbiſhop of Dyrrachium, perſuaded *Scanderbeg* to renounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into Arms again; which he preſently did, and ſpoiled the borders of the Turkes Dominions next vnto him. Wherwith *Mahomet* was no leſſe troubled, than with all the reſt of the great preparation of the Chriſtian army, which *Mahomet* feared might tend to the vtter ruin of his Kingdome. So dreadfull was the name of *Scanderbeg* among the Turks. Wherfore thinking it moſt conuenient for his affairs to reconcile him if it were poſſible, by his embaſſador ſent for that purpoſe wrot vnto him as followeth. G

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperor of the Eaſt and of the Weſt; to *Scanderbeg* Prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, Greeting. H

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I Haue alwaies had thy fidelity and vpright dealing in great admiration, most noble Prince Scanderbeg: *for which cauſe I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a Prince of ſuch an heroical and princely perfection, ſhouldſt ſo inconſiderately and without any occaſion break the faith and league which thou not long ſince ſolemnly contractedſt with me. For as I am aduertiſed, thou haſt entred into the confines of our dominion with a great army, and with fire and ſword deſtroying all that thou couldſt, haſt caried away with thee a great booty. Of which thing I know right well that the Venetians are the only cauſe, by whoſe counſell and perſuaſion thou haſt bin ſet on to do this deed; and ſeduced by their allurements and ſubtill perſuaſions, haſt made war vpon me, and art become the faithles breaker of thine own league, and of the ſacred law of Nations. Yet do I little or nothing blame thee therfore, regarding more the cauſe of the ignominie, than the deſpight it ſelf, and lay the blame vpon them who haue alwaies bin my foes and capitall enemies, rather than vpon thee.* I *But alas what is this vnto me* (Scanderbeg) *that thou haſt done, which poſſeſſe ſo many and ſo large dominions? Didſt thou think to do ſo great hurt vnto our kingdome, by ſpoiling a little piece of our country, and by ſtealing our cattel, more like a theef and robber, than an open enemy? Which thing I yet account not worth the name of an injury. But if thou thinkſt ſo good, proceed not in theſe thy doings; for I make more account of thy friendſhip and loue, than of whatſoeuer to mee is deareſt: becauſe (as thou knoweſt) I haue alwaies born vnto thee an eſpeciall fauour, and loued thee moſt entirely. And therfore as often as I call to remembrance our tender years and old familiaritie whilſt we liued together in my fathers court at Hadrianople, I canot but think my ſelf bound vnto thee in all curteſie. And therfore* (my good Scanderbeg) *I moſt heartily requeſt and intreat thee, that we renuing the former concluſions of peace, may of new confirm the ſame with ſolemne Oath: wherewith if the former peace had bin eſtabliſhed, thou wouldſt not haue ſuffered thy ſelf to haue bin now of the Venetians ſo circumuented or ſeduced.* K *It is therfore needfull that we now again for euer confirm a league and peace betwixt vs by ſolemn and ſacred oath on both ſides: which if thou ſhalt do, (as I hope thou wilt, and in this be aduiſed by me) thou and thy poſterity ſhall vndoubtedly alwaies reign in peace, and in ſafety poſſeſſe whatſoeuer is yours. Wheras if thou ſhalt do otherwiſe, beleeue me it wil repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knoweſt already my force, which whether thou be able to withſtand or not, thou wert beſt to bee well aduiſed. The poor Princes thy neighbors, the Venetians thy ſeducers, canot deliuer thee from my force and power. Doſt thou not ſee the Grecians almoſt all rooted out before thy face? the emperors of Conſtantinople and Trapezond by vs depriued of their empires? the Princes of Servia and Raſcia deſtroyed? the King of Boſna put to death? and all the Kings of Aſia, with many other Kings and Princes moe vanquiſhed and ouerthrown, and made ſubject to me?* L *Wherfore* Scanderbeg *I aduiſe thee in this to follow my counſel, keep thy promiſe, and ſo beleeue me thou ſhalt not be deceiued. Concerning theſe matters we haue giuen further commandment to our Embaſſador and ſeruant* Muſtapha, *who comes vnto thee. To whom doubt not to giue credit in any thing. Farewel. From our Imperial city of Conſtantinople, the 7 of Ma. 1463.*

Scanderbeg hauing by the aforeſaid meſſenger receiued theſe letters, and wel conſidered of the ſame, returned anſwer as followeth.

The Champion of Chriſt Ieſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, Prince of the Albaneſes and Epirots; to the moſt excellent *Mahomet* King of the Turks, Greeting. M

Scanderbeg his anſwer to Mahomets letters.

You maruell (moſt noble Mahomet) *that my ſoldiers (as you ſay) contrary to the League and the conditions*

A *conditions of our peace, haue entred into your confines, and from thence carried a great booty. Of which*
thing you ſay the Venetians are the authors, whom you call your mortal Enemies: inferring afterwards,
that you are little therwith offended, for that you are a moſt mighty Prince, and can eaſily diſgeſt ſuch
vnkindnes, for the great loue you bear vnto me: and the rather, for that I did it deceiued (as it pleaſeth
you to ſay) by others. All theſe things you can eaſily forgiue and forget, ſo that I will by ſolemn Oath confirm
the ſame conditions of peace that were in our former League betwixt vs agreed vpon. And therunto
you do greatly vrge me, you admoniſh and counſell me to follow your aduice, as tending to the great profit
and ſecuritie of me and my poſterity, leſt haply whilſt I ſeek to pleaſe the Venetians, I incur your heauy diſpleaſure.
Beſides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon vp as it were in a catalogue, the people, nations,
Kings, and Princes, by you ouercome and ſubdued. But what is that which is ſo ſtrange (I pray you) and
B *which you ſo much maruel at (moſt noble* Mahomet*?) Is it not for that my ſoldiers did that in the confines*
of your dominions, wherof they were (of right) ſorry, and had therof to me complained, that your ſoldiers
had before don the like in their goods and poſſeſsions. Wherfore if they alſo vpon a military brauery
(as is your manner of phraſe) haue made themſelues whole, and done one ſhrewd turn for another, reuenging
injury receiued, and not inferring any of new; there is no cauſe that you ſhould either think it ſtrange,
or blame me. I would my ſelf haue reſtrained my ſouldiers, although they were grieuouſly injured (I wil
plainly confeſſe vnto you a troth) I would haue appeaſed their angry minds, inflamed with deſire of reuenge;
if you (a Prince of all others moſt rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that ful reſtitution
might haue bin made vnto them of all ſuch things as they had loſt, or els would with condigne
puniſhment haue chaſtiſed the inſolencie of your ſoldiers: which you would ſeem to couer with the term of
military wantonnes or brauery; an excuſe ſcarſe currant amongſt children. For although offences are in
C *all places grieuous, yet ought they moſt of all ſo to be deemed in martial affairs. What I pray you, would*
you haue me take it for a laſciuiouſnes in your men of war? eſpecially when I had receiued ſo great loſſe;
when as you might with a word firſt haue reſtrained them from doing it, and at your pleaſure corrected
them after the deed was done. Wherfore (moſt excellent Mahomet*) take you alſo in good part theſe our*
tearms, which you haue accuſtomed hitherto moſt gloriouſly to giue and ſell vnto vs, whilſt you alwaies couer
your reach with ſome excuſe or ſhew of right. As for that in excuſing me vnder colour of old acquaintance
and friendſhip, you invey againſt the Venetians, verily you do them wrong; for why, thoſe
good, iuſt, and vertuous Princes are not to be ſlandered by you, as ſeducers of me or others. Beſides, what
need that inuincible State to enter into counſell with me, or (as it pleaſeth you to ſay) to allure me to fall at
ods with you, or to proſecute you as an enemy? who of themſelues, yea (I ſay) of themſelues alone, when
D *occaſion ſhall require, are able to dare you in plain battell, and to abate your pride. Furthermore, wher as*
you aduiſe me to reiect their friendſhip, your labor is therin but loſt; for what man is ſo deſperat, or hated
of his ſubiects, that would not chuſe rather to erre with that moſt honorable Senat, than to be in the right
with you? eſpecially I, who haue of long time bin confederat with them, and am of all others vnto them
moſt dear: which you for all that had no regard of, but according vnto your vntruſty dealing, breaking
inſunder the bonds of peace, ſpoiled and waſted their territory in Peloponeſus. Neither can your great
threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkiſh manner thunder and pour out againſt me, except I will be
ouer-ruled by you. For it is the part of an Albaneſe, both to endure when need ſhall require, and alſo to do
ſuch things as beſeem a man of courage. You canot make me afraid, being but a ſmall Prince, with my honorable
friends the Venetians. And what are you? ſo great an Emperor of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and
E *of all parts of the world, as you vainly term your ſelf? Truly you make mee ſmile, and other Chriſtian*
Princes laugh you to ſcorn, in vſurping falſly to your ſelf the ſtately title of the Emperour of the World.
What poſſeſſe you in Aſia the greater? Verily nothing. Is all yours in Aſia the leſſe? Not ſo. What haue
you in Europ, except Thracia, Myſia, part of Grecia, and Peloponeſus, with the Iſle of Mytelene? As for
Afrik, you neuer ſet your foot therin. Is this to be Emperour of the world? But ſuppoſe, ſuppoſe (I ſay)
[illegible] Mahomet*, that all from the fartheſt part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therfore ſo to*
ſwell, as to contemn all others. Ceaſe to boaſt, and learn now if you can the ſpecial, but true examples of humane
fragility. Where are now the Aſſyrians which ſometime ſwayed the world? Where be the Medes?
where the Perſians and the Greeks, where are the Romans the great Commanders of all? Verily, Tamberlane
the Scythian King (called the Terror of the world) was farre greater than you, who in triumph
F *drew before his chariot thy great grandfather* Baiazet *in a chain, who had before won ſo many victories;*
whom neuertheles he ouerthrew in the plains of Armenia, with three hundred thouſand Turks, hauing in
his army (as is reported) twelue hundred thouſand men, greater than Xerxes *or* Darius*, whoſe Armies*

couered the ſeas, and dried vp the riuers before them as they went; yet for all this (noble Mahomet) *they are all caſt out by him that caſteth out all Nations, the finger of the Higheſt hath brought them all to nought. Wherfore learn to know your ſelf to be a man alſo; truſt not too much to the multitude of your ſoldiers, and ſtrength of your armies; for oftentimes great and puiſſant Armies haue bin ouerthrown with far leſſe, as all hiſtories bear witnes: wherof it is commonly ſaid, Thou ſhalt not praiſe the valor of the Generall, before he be brought to the triumph. And do you not think,* Mahomet, *that God will fauor the better cauſe? You know, you well know, that all your kingdom is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and vniuſtly poſſeſſed: for which cauſe I am not afraid not only to withſtand you when you ſhall come, being ſo great a Prince; but alſo valiantly and couragiouſly to dare you into the field, and by the power of God both to hope for and haue a notable victory ouer you. We haue ſoldiers alſo who know how to vſe their weapons, to march before their enemies, and how to bear themſelues in the heat of the battell. Wherfore, to that you ſay vnto me for the renuing of the former league, you labor now but in vaine to circumuent me with ſuch fair gloſſes; I haue your faith in ſuch diſtruſt, and your friendſhip in deteſtation: foraſmuch as you cunningly and ſubtilly, after the maner of your Anceſtors, whatſoeuer you do, or whatſoeuer you promiſe vnto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thruſt me out of my kingdom. Yet thus long I haue by Gods help well eſcaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in ſhort time be an end of all theſe matters, when all your ſleights and deuiſes ſhall not eaſe you, neither your working head or Turkiſh pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that ſo much ſtomack you; there commeth after me a great number of Chriſtian Princes: behold, the whole Chiualry and glory of the Chriſtian commonweal is in arms and comming againſt thee with all their force: all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom haue combined themſelues together, with the great Biſhop, againſt thy ſtate, and will in ſhort time be preſent to deſtroy thee and thy Kingdome. Wherefore (worthy* Mahomet) *I haue thought it good in regard of our old friendſhip (although the ſame hath by you beene greatly impaired and violated) to forewarne you of all theſe things, that you might gather your wits together; and in time prouide for the ſafety of your ſelf and kingdom. You ſee the force and power of many great Princes, from which whether you can eſcape or no I know not: yet you may, if you will follow my aduice, you may, I ſay, make both your name and empire, of great greater, of famous moſt renowned, of fortunat moſt happy and bleſſed: if caſting from you the groſſe errors of the Mahometan ſuperſtition, you will embrace the faith and truth of Chriſt Ieſu, and at length haue regard of your ſouls health. And you which excell all your predeceſſors in highnes of ſpirit and pregnancie of wit, ſuffer not your ſelf and your ſubiects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errors: but do that (as a wiſe Prince) of your own accord, which otherwiſe you wil ſhortly of neceſsity be conſtrained to do. To ſay, Had I wiſt, hath euer bin accounted a great diſgrace from the mouth of an Emperor. At length amend and meaſure your ſelf. Behold, Almighty God doth offer you means, wherby you may quiet the whole ſtate of your kingdom, and all our Kings and Princes loue, honour, and reuerence you. Neither let the ambitious deſire of ſoueraignty, or immoderat care of thoſe things you poſſeſſe, trouble you from ſo doing: for whatſoeuer you haue vniuſtly and vnlawfully vſurped, the Chriſtian Princes will grant, confirm, and eſtabliſh vnto thee, as if they had bin your own by antient inheritance. So ſhall you be a true Monarch indeed, and rule and reign lawfully, if you ſhall embrace this faith, and worſhip God aright: which ſo ſoon as you ſhall feel the ſweetnes of, you wil be ſorry you knew it no ſooner, you will grieue at the time you haue loſt, and vtterly deteſt and abhor all that filthy ſuperſtition which the moſt filthy falſe Prophet* Mahomet *hath left amongſt you.*

From our Camp, the 26 of May, 1463.

With theſe letters *Scanderbeg* diſmiſſed the Turks Embaſſador. About which time he receiued letters from the great Biſhop, that he, accompanied with the Chriſtian princes, would without delay come ouer into Epirus with a ſtrong army of valiant Chriſtians, to join their forces with his againſt the common enemy of the Chriſtian Religion: exhorting him in all their names to denounce war againſt the Turkiſh king. Which thing *Scanderbeg* moſt joifully vndertook, and without delay with all his power brake into the Turks dominion, burning and deſtroying the country before him as he went: from whence he returned laden with the ſpoil there gotten.

When *Mahomet* had peruſed *Scanderbegs* letters, and certainly vnderſtood of the great preparation made againſt him in Italy, as alſo of the great ſpoyle of late made by *Scanderbeg*, he became exceeding melancholy, as a man much troubled in minde, which dayly more and

more

A more increaſed: for that he ſaw not the wonted cheerfulneſſe in his men of war, but all full of
heauines and deſpaire, as if they had bin men already vanquiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, he ſpeedily
took order for the leuying of a great army; fortifying his cities and ſtrong holds, leauing nothing
vndone that was poſſible, for the aſſurance of his ſtate. And to repreſſe the fury of *Scanderbeg*,
ſent *Seremet Baſſa* with fourteene thouſand ſouldiers to lie vpon the borders of Epirus,
with charge only to attend vpon him. Who mindfull of his charge, came into Macedonia, to
the city Ocrida, now called Alchria, in the very confines of Macedonia towards Epirus, and
there lay with his army; ſome part thereof lodged in the city, and the reſt in places more conuenient
neere about the ſame.

The comming of the Baſſa, as alſo the manner of his lying was not vnknown to *Scanderbeg*,
B who deſired nothing more than to be doing with him. Wherefore he ſecretly in the night
marched towards Ocrida with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, and being come within three miles
of the towne, lay cloſe in ambuſh, & vpon the breaking of the day ſent out 500 horſemen towards
the enemy, vnder the conduct of *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Petrus Angelus*, two valiant and expert
captains, to draw him if they could into the field. But *Scanderbeg* had before commanded
them, that if the enemy did come forth to fight, they ſhould make but ſmall reſiſtance, but retire
back as if they had fled, and ſo to traine him on to the place where the army lay. Which
was ſo well performed by the two ſkilfull captaines, that the Baſſa with all his power was according
as they could haue wiſhed, drawn into the field, and brought to the very place where
Scanderbeg lay, who ſuddenly riſing vp with all his army, aſſailed the Turks on euery ſide, and
C ſlew them as Deere incloſed in a toyle. In this battell ten thouſand of the Turks were ſlaine,
the Treaſurer of the army with twelue other of great mark were taken priſoners, and brought
bound to *Scanderbeg*, who were preſently ranſomed for forty thouſand Duckats.

Ten thouſand Turks ſlaine.

Scanderbeg hauing obtained the victory, returned with triumph into Epirus, dayly expecting
the comming of the great army out of Italy: *But fatal Deſtiny, the mighty controller of mens
higheſt deſignes, had not ſo appointed.* For when *Pius* the great Biſhop had out of al parts of Chriſtendome
aſſembled a great army (whereof the greateſt part were voluntary ſoldiers) and all
things were now in ſuch readines, that he had put himſelf vpon the way, and was come to Ancona,
a city vpon the ſea ſide (where *Chriſtophorus Maurus* duke of Venice came vnto him, with
ten gallies well appointed, to haue accompanied him in thoſe wars: and all men were now in
D expectation of ſome great matter to haue bin done) ſuddenly he fell ſicke of a feuer, and died
in the yere 1464. Whereupon the army was forthwith diſperſed, and all that great preparation
fruſtrated, to the exceeding grief of many Chriſtian Princes, and no leſſe ioy of the Turks,
who now reioyced to ſee themſelues deliuered of ſo great a feare.

About this ſame time, *Victor Capella* chiefe perſuader of this warre betwixt the Venetians
and the Turks, was by the Senat ſent general of their forces at ſea, in ſtead of *Lauretanus*, whoſe
yeare was then expired. He hauing receiued the charge from *Lauretanus*, and ſayling out of
Eubœa, in ſhort time tooke from the enemy the city of Aulis in Peloponeſus ouer againſt
Chalcis, and alſo the city of Larſum in the gulfe of Theſſalonica, with the Iſle of Himber: afterwards
landing his men by night at Pyræus, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the city of Athens (now
E called Sethina) ſometime the mother of learning, and moſt noble city of Grecia; and from
thence carried away with him into Eubœa all the people he there found, as his priſoners, together
with the rich ſpoyle of that city. Whilſt he lay in Eubœa, he was perſuaded that the
city of Patras in Peloponeſus would be deliuered to him by the Chriſtians that dwelt therein,
if he did but ſhew himſelfe before it. Wherupon he departed from Eubœa, and comming
into the gulfe of Patras, landed foure thouſand footmen vnder the leading of *Barbaricus*, and
two hundred horſemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was Captaine. *Barbaricus* marchiug toward
Patras, was come within a mile of the city; when many of the horſemen, and of the vnruly
mariners, diſorderly ſcattering abroad, neglected the intended ſeruice, and ſought after
pillage all about the countrey. The Turks garriſons taking this opportunity, ſet vpon them
F with their horſemen, and ſo eaſily ouerthrew them, being ſcattered and out of order. At the
firſt encounter, *Barbaricus* himſelfe was ſlaine; *Ragius* Captaine of the horſemen was taken, and
aliue empailed vpon a ſharp ſtake. Of all them that were landed, ſcarce a thouſand were left,
who ſaued their liues by flying vnto the gallies. With this ouerthrow *Victor* the Venetian admirall
was greatly diſcomforted, yet hauing conceiued ſome hope of better ſucceſſe, in few

The Venetians attempting to win Patras, receiue great loſſe

dayes

daies after attempted again to haue taken Patras, but with like hap as before : for hauing loſt G a thouſand of his men about the city, and the reſt glad to take their flight to the fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonor to depart thence. And ſo full of ſorrow and heauines returning into Eubœa, oppreſſed with melancholy he there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians deceiued of the great hope they had conceiued of the general preparation made againſt the Turks, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their wars againſt ſo mighty an enemy ; by their Embaſſadors ſolicited *Matthias*, not long before choſen King of Hungary, to join in league with them, and to take vp arms againſt the Common Enemie; offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſum of money , beſides a large yearly penſion for the better maintenance of thoſe wars. For which he ſhould to his power by land defend all their Territory betwixt the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatique, againſt the inuaſion of the H Turk.

This *Matthias* (ſyrnamed *Coruinus*) was the yonger ſon of the moſt famous Captaine *Io. Huniades*, whoſe elder brother *Vladiſlaus*, a gentleman of ſuch courage as might well ſhew whoſe ſon he was, being not able to diſgeſt the injuries and diſgraces don vnto him and his brother, by *Vlricus* County of Cilie, and vncle to *Ladiſlaus* the yong king of Hungary and Bohemia, for the deſpight hee alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*; ſlew the ſame *Vlricus* at Alba-Regalis, euen in the Kings court. Which injury the yong King was glad for the preſent to wink at, and alſo to grant him pardon ; as hauing taken away the man whoſe immoderat power wel ſtood not with the Kings ſafety : but indeed fearing the citiſens of Alba, & the men of war, who exceedingly fauored the ſons of *Huniades* for their fathers ſake. For all that, I *Ladiſlaus* returning into Bohemia, cauſed both the ſons of *Huniades* vpon the ſudden to be apprehended, and moſt cruelly executed, *Vladiſlaus*, being then about twenty ſix years old. *Matthias* the yonger brother was kept in priſon , expecting nothing els but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune; as vndoubtedly he had, had not *Ladiſlaus* the yong King vpon the ſudden, as he was vpon the top of his mariage with *Magdalen* the French Kings daughter, by vntimely death bin taken away. After whoſe death, the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a military election choſe this *Matthias* his yongeſt ſon, then priſoner at Prague, to be their King. Wherof *Pogebrache* (who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, of an old gouernor, had made himſelf the yong King of Bohemia) hauing ſpeedy intelligence, as he was ſitting at ſupper, ſent for *Matthias* his priſoner, and when he was come, commanded K him to ſit down at the vpperend of the table : wherat the yong gentleman, being then but about 18 years of age, and ſore abaſhed, began to craue pardon. But when the King would needs haue it ſo, and that he was ſet, to quiet his troubled thoughts, hee willed him to bee of good cheer, for that he had good news to tel him. Good news (ſaid he) if it would pleaſe your Majeſty to grant me liberty. Yea that (ſaid the King) and more too; and then ſaluting him by the name of the King of Hungary, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the general conſent of the Hungarians choſen their King. And ſo in few dayes after, married to him his daughter : which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his eſtate, and royally accompanied him into Hungary, where hee was with great ioy and triumph receiued of the Hungarians; ouer whom he afterwards glorioſly reigned for the ſpace of 38 years. In which L time he notably inlarged the kingdom of Hungary, and became a far greater terror vnto the Turks, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therwithall (which is not to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great fauorer and furtherer of good letters and ingenious deuiſes.

Matthias of a priſoner choſen K. of Hungary.

But to return again to our purpoſe. *Matthias* hauing wel conſidered of that the Venetians had requeſted ; anſwered them, That they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to giue aid to the Hungarian kings his predeceſſors : yea and that more was , thought it a thing not reaſonable, that any ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands, foraſmuch as they then receiued no harm from the Turk, but were in league and amity with him: ſo that the Hungarian Kings wanting their help, had many times receiued greater loſſe from the Turk than other- M wiſe they ſhould haue don, if they had bin by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch vnkindnes, and to grant them what they had requeſted ; promiſing the next Spring to inuade the Turks Dominion, and according to their requeſt to take into his protection all their Territory betwixt the Rhetian Alps and the Adriatique. Which thing hee

moſt

A moſt honorably performed; for with the firſt of Spring he paſſed ouer Danubius at Belgrade with a puiſſant army, and raſed the forts which the Turks had built therabout; and ſo entring into Seruia, layd all the Country waſt before him: and afterwards laden with ſpoil returned home, carrying away with him twenty thouſand Captiues. Neither ſo reſted hee, but with great good fortune maintained great wars with *Mahomet* during all the time of his reigne, and afterward with his ſon *Bajazet* alſo; wherein he moſt commonly returned with victorie: So that it is of him as truely as briefly written, That no Chriſtian King or Chiefetaine did more often or with greater fortune fight againſt the Turkiſh Nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet deliuered of the great fear he had before conceiued, of the general preparation of B the Chriſtian princes againſt him, determined now to work his will vpon ſuch as were neereſt vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of *Seremet* with his army in Epirus, ſtuck in his ſtomacke: in reuenge wherof, he now ſent *Balabanus Badera* a moſt valiant Captaine, with fifteen thouſand horſmen and three thouſand foot to inuade Epirus. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a Churles ſon of that country; who being of a boy taken captiue by the Turks, as he was keeping his fathers cattel, and of long time brought vp in ſeruitude amongſt them, framing himſelf vnto their religion and manners, after long ſeruice got the credit of a good common ſoldier. But when as at the taking of Conſtantinople it was his fortune to be the firſt man of the Turks army that gained the top of the walls, and entred into the City; he was for that piece C of ſeruice euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly eſteemed: and beſides his other great preferments, now ſent Generall of his Army into Epirus. Who as ſoon as he was come to Alchria, (a City vpon the frontiers of that Countrey) ſent many rich preſents vnto *Scanderbeg*, making ſhew as if he had bin deſirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without further purpoſe to trouble his Country: yet indeed waiting for nothing more than ſome notable opportunitie, ſuddenly to do him the greateſt miſchief he could. But *Scanderbeg* well ſeeing into the malice of the man, rejected his feigned friendſhip and gifts, and in deriſion ſent him a ſpade, a mattock, a flail, with other ſuch inſtruments belonging vnto Huſbandry; willing him to take in hand thoſe tools, and to follow his fathers courſe of life, and to leaue the conducting of Armies vnto men of greater skill and better place. Which diſ D grace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part; purpoſing with himſelfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be therof ſharply reuenged. Wherfore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a ſmal power lay not far off vpon the borders of his Kingdom, hee determined ſuddenly in the night to ſet vpon him before he was aware of his comming, and ſo if it were poſſible to ouerthrow him. But *Scanderbeg* hauing knowlege therof by his Scouts, ſet forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that he was diſcouered, ſtaid vpon the way, and incamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*, who had then in his army but four thouſand horſemen, and and one thouſand and fiue hundred foot, but all choiſe men, and moſt expert ſouldiers, and then lay in a large pleaſant Vally called Valchal; at the farther end wherof *Balabanus* lay alſo incamped, neer vnto a rough and wooddy hill which incloſed that part of the vally. Whilſt E both Armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well conſidering the ground the Enemy had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battel, with cheerfull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers: ſtreightly charging them vpon pain of his diſpleaſure, That if the Enemy vpon the fortune of the battell ſhould chance to fly or to retyre, they ſhould not in any caſe purſue them farther than the ſtreights of the hil wherby the enemy lay. Gheſſing too truly, that he would in ſo conuenient a place leaue part of his Army in ambuſh, as a ſure refuge to truſt vnto, whatſoeuer ſhould befall. When he had thus encouraged and inſtructed his ſouldiers, he roſe with his Army, and in good order retyred vnto the riſing of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay, of purpoſe to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the Enemy ſhould follow to giue him battell. *Balabanus* ſeeing him F retyre, and the ſmall number of his army, thought verily that he had fled for fear: and therefore to ſtay him who meant nothing leſſe than to flie, ſet forward in great haſt. The Turkes thinking vpon ſo great aduantage to haue found no great reſiſtance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chaſe; and by that time they were come vnto the place where hee ſtayd, were by their haſt greatly diſordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old truſty ſouldiers

Mahomet ſends Balabanus to inuade Epirus.

Balabanus goes againſt Scanderbeg.

*The battell be-
twixt Balaba-
nus and Scan-
derbeg.*

ers nothing diſmayed with the haſty comming and hideous clamour of the Turks, receiued G
them with great courage; ſo that there began a fierce battell, with much ſlaughter on both
ſides, which for a good while ſtood doubtfull. Yet ſuch was the inuincible courage of *Scan-*
derbegs reſolute ſoldiers, that the Turks (who as then fought in great diſorder) were at laſt put
to flight, and with much ſlaughter chaſed vnto the ſtreights of the mountain, where *Scander-*
beg had before commanded his men to ſtay. But certain of his beſt and principall Captains
forgetting what he had ſaid to them, and led on (whether with the heat and fury of the battel,
or rather with inevitable deſtiny, is hard to ſay) vnaduiſedly purſued the enemy into thoſe
Streights, wherof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they ſhould not
enter: where they were on euery ſide beſet by their enemies, ariſing out of an ambuſh; and
after they had a long time deſperatly fought as wild beaſts incloſed with Hunters, at the laſt H
oppreſſed with multitude, were together taken and brought to *Balabanus*, by whom they were
forthwith ſent to *Mahomet* to Conſtantinople. Who as ſoon as he heard of their taking, is
reported with great rejoicing to haue ſaid, Now am I ſure that the ſtrength of *Scanderbeg* is
broken. The names of the principal men which were there taken, was *Moſes Golemus* of Di-
bra, the greateſt Captain of Epirus next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelf; *Giuriza Vladerius*, *Scander-*
beg his Kinſman; *Muſachius*, *Scanderbeg* his Nephew by his ſiſter *Angelina*; *Ginius Muſachius*,
Ioannes Perlatus, who valiantly defended Sfetigrade againſt *Amurath*; *Nicolaus Beriſius*, *Geor-*
gius Chucca, and *Ginius Maneſius*: wherof euery one of them was able to haue conducted a
great Army, and might worthily haue bin accounted amongſt the greateſt Captaines of that
Age. The taking of theſe worthy men brought ſuch a generall ſorrow and heauineſſe vpon I
Epirus, that the victory was nothing accounted of, euery man lamenting the loſſe of ſuch no-
table Leaders. *Scanderbeg* carefull of their deliuerance, preſently ſent an Embaſſadour vnto
Mahomet, requeſting that he might redeem his priſoners, either by exchanging of others for
them, or els for ſuch ranſom as it ſhould pleaſe him to ſet down. But hee knowing them to
be *Scanderbeg* his beſt Captains, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they
ſhould be ranſomed for any gold. But after he had vſed them with all the deſpight that hee
could imagin, cauſed them all by little and little to be ſlain quicke; in which miſerable tor-
ment they liued fifteen dayes, and ſo died. *Scanderbeg* hearing therof, was therwith rather in-
couraged than any way diſcouraged; and in reuenge thereof, with fire and ſword entred into
the Turks Dominions, ſparing nothing that hee could either burn, or poſſibly by any other K
means deſtroy.

*Moſes & other
worthy Cap-
taines cruelly
executed by
Mahomet.*

Mahomet glad of the taking of theſe notable men (although they were bought with the
liues of many of his people) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the only man who knew how to
fight againſt *Scanderbeg*: and in reward of his good ſeruice ſent him diuers rich gifts, with
commandment to repair again his Army, & to proceed in his wars ſo happily begun. Which
thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet truſting more to his policie than to his
ſtrength, lying at Alchria, ſent again diuers rich preſents to *Scanderbeg*, as deſirous to liue in
peace by him; but ſeeking indeed to bring him into ſecuritie, & ſo ſuddenly (if it were poſ-
ſible) to intrap him. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well perceiuing, rejected his feigned friendſhip
together with his preſents, as ſent from a baſe peſant. Whereupon *Balabanus* entred into a L
new deuice, and by ſecret means with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbegs* ſcouts, whereof
ſome were *Balabanus* his kinſmen, though it were to *Scanderbeg* vnknown. By which practiſe
he had in the night vpon the ſudden oppreſſed *Scanderbeg*, lying incamped at Oronychium, if
Scanderbeg himſelfe (who commonly ſpent moſt part of the night in carefull watch) going
about the Camp, had not in the ſilence of the night a far off perceiued the comming of the
enemy by the noiſe of his horſes; and therupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his army in
ſuch order as he beſt could, was ready to receiue him, and at laſt after a great fight put him to
flight; and hauing him in chaſe, ſlew moſt part of his army, *Balabanus* himſelf with a ſmal rem-
nant hardly eſcaping.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Balabanus* was ouerthrowne, and his Army loſt, M
he was in doubt whether to ſend another Generall, or els to proue again the fortune of the
old. But after he had wel conſidered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant Captain, and one that
well knew the Countrey of Epirus, and withall a mortall enemy vnto *Scanderbeg*, he reſolued
wholly to ſtay vpon him, and not to ſend any other. So committing to his charge fourteene
thouſand

A thouſand horſmen and three thouſand foot, ſent him again to inuade Epirus: and the more to
encourage him, promiſed to make him King of that country, if he could ſubdue *Scanderbeg*.
Balabanus with his army comming to Alchria, and ſtill in vaine plotting how he might circumuent
his wary enemy; after his wonted manner ſent diuers preſents to *Scanderbeg*, which
he ſtill ſcornefully refuſed. Three months he lay ſtill at Alchria, with nothing more troubled
than with his own thoughts: but finding nothing that pleaſed himſelfe, he determined to aduenture
by plaine force to ſubdue him. And vpon that reſolution marched with all his army
into the great plains neere vnto Sfetigrade, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his army alſo, which
then conſiſted of eight thouſand horſmen and fifteen hundred foot; with which ſmall power
he refuſed not to joyne battell with *Balabanus*, being in number two to one. But after they
B were come to handy blows, to haue ſeene *Scanderbeg* his men fight, a man would haue thought
them rather to haue beene raging Lyons than men, they ſo furiouſly aſſailed their enemies,
without regard of perill or danger, as men nothing afraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill
gouerned that battell, carefully prouiding for euery danger: himſelfe valiantly fighting in the
head of this battell, but not without care of the reſt, ſtill ſending in ſpeedy reliefe where moſt
need was, and bringing in freſh ſupplies in ſtead of them that were wounded or ſlaine, performed
all the parts of a moſt worthy chiefetaine and valiant ſoldier: where moſt perill was, there
was he ſtreight, and at his preſence danger fled, as if victory had attended vpon him. But
whileſt he thus fought in the midſt of his enemies, his horſe fortuned to be ſlaine vnder him,
and falling downe with him, ſore bruiſed one of his armes, whereof he complained long time
C after. The Turks ſeeing him downe, preſſed on fiercely to haue ſlaine him: but he was quickly
reſcued by his own ſouldiers and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*,
a great commander in the Turks army, ſlew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon ſuch a terrour
fell vpon the Turks, that they began to retire, and after a while to betake themſelues to
plaine flight. *Scanderbeg* purſuing them with ſuch execution, that of that great army few eſcaped
with *Balabanus* to carry newes home.

The battell of Sfetigrade betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

Balabanus now thrice vanquiſhed by *Scanderbeg*, and in the laſt battell hauing loſt what he
could looſe, except he ſhould haue loſt himſelfe, returned to *Mahomet* at Conſtantinople, of
whom he was ſharply rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had ſo often receiued. At which
time *Balabanus* at firſt gaue place to the Kings fury; but afterward when the heat was ouer, he
D with a large diſcourſe cunningly excuſed himſelfe, imputing all theſe miſhaps vnto the appointment
of God, and the fortune of war: and in the end told *Mahomet* plainly, That it was
but in vaine to ſend ſuch ſmall armies into Epirus. But if it would pleaſe him at once to ſend
two valiant captaines with a puiſſant and ſtrong army, who diuiding the ſame betwixt them,
& entering at one time into diuers parts of Epirus, might ſpoile the country before them, and
encloſe *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he ſhould aduenture to giue either of them battell; being
before reſolued neither of them to offer him battell, or yet to accept of the ſame being by him
offered, except the other were alſo at hand: and ſo by mutuall conſent to vndertake him, but
neuer ſingle. By which courſe he promiſed vnto him an eaſie and aſſured victory: for as much
as it were impoſſible for any man ſo beſet, and as it were on euery ſide coupt vp with his enemies,
E either to eſcape or yet to make any great reſiſtance. This perſwaſion of *Balabanus* ſo well
fitted the Tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himſelfe to be the man to put his own
deuiſe in execution: giuing him commiſſion to leauy ſuch an army as he ſhould think ſufficient
for the performance of that ſeruice: and withall to aſſociat vnto himſelfe for his companion
which ſoeuer of his captaines he pleaſed. *Balabanus* according to his commiſſion, tooke
muſters of the men of war, and made choice of forty thouſand good ſouldiers, and choſe one
Iacup Arnauth (otherwiſe called *Iames* the Epirot, becauſe he was alſo borne in Epirus, a valiant
captaine) to be his companion: whom he ſent with ſixteene thouſand ſoldiers by the way
of Theſſalia and Grecia into Epirus, commanding him in no caſe to joine battel with *Scanderbeg*,
vntill he himſelfe were alſo come into the country with the other part of the army. And
F ſo ſetting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the neerer way through Thracia and Macedonia,
came firſt into Epirus with twenty thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, and encamped
in the vally of Valchall. *Scanderbeg* both by his eſpials and letters from his ſecret friends
in the Turks court, hauing certaine intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpoſe, had in
readineſſe againſt his comming a ſtrong army of eight thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand

Scanderbeg his ſcouts traiterouſly fly to Balabanus.

ſand foot,all choiſe ſoldiers. And now hearing that he was come into Epirus,and incamped in G
Valchaal,ſent out three eſpials to diſcouer in what order he lay: one of which ſpies was *Balabanus*
his kinſman (but not ſo knowne to *Scanderbeg*) by whoſe perſuaſion the other two when
they had taken ful view of *Balabanus* his army,and ſhould haue returned to *Scanderbeg* to haue
giuen intelligence of that they had ſeene, like falſe traitors went ouer to *Balabanus*, and diſcouered
vnto him all that they knew concerning *Scanderbeg*: hoping thereby to receiue ſome
great reward,as their fellow had before borne them in hand. *Scanderbeg* maruelling that his eſpials
returned not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had bin by the enemy
intercepted, and vſing many times in matters of ſuch importance to truſt himſelfe beſt;
preſently went out with fiue luſty ſoldiers, and rid forth to diſcouer the maner of the enemies
lying. *Balabanus* like a crafty fox, miſtruſting that *Scanderbeg* deceiued of his firſt ſpies would H
for like purpoſe ſend forth others, laied certain horſmen in ſecret ambuſh in diuers places, to
intercept them if it were poſſible. Theſe horſmen lay not ſo couert,but that they were in good
time deſcried by *Scanderbeg* and his followers (who with *Argus* eies, pried into euery buſh and
thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen into their danger: and yet but ſo that he
came to handy ſtroks,where *Scanderbeg* and his followers oppreſſed with multitude,were glad
to fly as faſt as they could into the next wood,the Turks horſmen following them at the heels.
It fortuned that as they were flying,a great old tree was fallen croſſe the way,which *Scanderbeg*
putting ſpurs to his horſe,leapt ouer with one of his men after him; the other foure not able
to get ouer, turned backe vpon the Turks, and there fighting were ſlaine. One of the Turks
which ſo hardly purſued *Scanderbeg* being wel mounted,forced his horſe to leape the tree,and I
ſtill followed after *Scanderbeg*: who looking backe and ſeeing bnt one, turned vpon him and
ſlew him: the other Turks hauing ſlaine foure of *Scanderbegs* men which could not get ouer
the tree,returned. And *Scanderbeg* accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe againe
to his campe;and there with all ſpeed put his army in readineſſe to go againſt *Balabanus*
before the comming of his companion, with the other part of his army. Vpon which reſolution,after
he had with cheerfull perſuaſions encouraged his ſouldiers, and filled their minds
with hope of victory, he ſet forward, and came with great ſpeed vnto the valley of Valchaal
where *Balabanus* lay. *Scanderbeg* had diuided his army into foure ſquadrons; whereof *Tanuſius*
had the leading of one, *Zacharias Groppa* of another, the third was committed to *Peieus Emanuel*,and
Scanderbeg himſelfe conducted the fourth. So ſetting forward, he ſent before certaine K
companies of harquebuſiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemy and to draw him forth vnto
battel. *Balabanus* alſo ſhewed himſelf with his army in ſeemly order before his tents,but there
ſtood faſt and would not ſtir,expecting continually the comming of his fellow. Which *Scanderbeg*
perceiuing, and that he ſought but to dally out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight
had againe retired his army into the ſafety of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him,
continually skirmiſhing with ſuch as he ſent out,daring him to the field,& brauing him vnto
his trenches,in ſuch ſort,as if he would haue forced the ſame,and by ſtrong hand haue ſet him
out thence: wherat the Turks fretted and chafed exceedingly, inſomuch that they were ready
to riſe againſt their Generall,becauſe he would not lead them forth to battell,but ſuffer them
to be ſo diſgraced. *Balabanus* mindfull of that he had promiſed to *Mahomet* his great lord and L
maſter, did what he might to haue deferred time; but when he ſaw that his fellow came not,
and that he could no longer delay the matter;being ſo continually aſſailed & braued by *Scanderbegs*
ſouldiers, that his Turks therewith prouoked, were ready oftentimes to haue iſſued
out without his direction,and now no remedy but that he muſt needs fight, placed his men in
good order, and ſo went out of his trenches to giue battell, himſelfe leading the left wing
thereof:where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce fight, many falling on both ſides.
But *Scanderbeg* ſtrengthned with the old gariſon of Croia,and the moſt expert ſoldiers of Dibra,
preuailed vpon the Turks & forced them to giue ground,yet ſtill keeping their order. The
fight was ſo great in this part of the battell,that in other places they ſtood almoſt ſtill as lookers
on,expecting the doubtful fortune of their Generals:which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, M
drew certaine troups out of the right wing, whereas he ſaw was leaſt danger, which ſpeedily
fetching a compaſſe about, charged the ſide of the enemies army; and againe withdrawing
themſelues, and with wonderfull celerity wheeling about, ſet vpon the backe of them that
fought in the left wing: ſo that the Turks there fiercely charged both before and behind, by

them

A them of *Scanderbeg* his army, fell in other places with a great ſlaughter. *Balabanus* with exceeding courage gainſtood his enemies, ſo long as there was any hope left: but when he ſaw the fortune of *Scanderbeg* to preuaile, and all about him to become deſperat, he made ſhift for himſelfe, and fled out of the battell as faſt as he could. The reſt of the army being in other places before troubled and diſordred, fled alſo, ſome one way, ſome another, euery man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed *Balabanus* eſcaped: the reſt were for moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners.

Scanderbeg had ſcarcely well breathed himſelfe after this victory, and diuided the ſpoyle amongſt his ſouldiers, but that newes was brought to him in Poſt from the lady *Mamiza* his ſiſter, then lying at Petrella, That *Iacuppe Arnauth* was by the way of Belgrade come into Epi- B rus with an army of ſixteene thouſand horſemen, burning and deſtroying the country before him, and then lay incamped in the plaines of Tyranna the leſſe. When *Scanderbeg* to proue the minds of his ſouldiers, had cheerefully imparted vnto them ſuch newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing diſmaied, but ready to follow him with ſuch cheerefulneſſe of countenance and mind, as if they ſhould haue gone to ſome great feaſt or banquet; reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a diſcomfited army. This cheerefulneſſe of his ſouldiers, *Scanderbeg* tooke as an aſſured token of his good ſucceſſe; and hauing all things in readineſſe, preſently ſet forward, and in ſhort time came to the place where the enemy lay. *Iacuppe* hearing of his comming, remoued his campe into a corner of the plaine Tyranna, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more ſafety for his army to lie in. C *Scanderbeg* hauing taken the Plaine, incamped his army in the ſame place from whence *Iacuppe* was but a little before departed, where he reſted one whole day. The next morning, to terrifie his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of *Balabanus*) he cauſed diuers of the Turks heads which were ſlaine in the late battell (which he had brought for that purpoſe) to be caſt before the trenches of the enemy; and withall, diuers of them which were taken priſoners, to be ſhowne: which *Iacuppe* beholding, in great deſpaire ſaid, *I ſee the euill hap of Mahomet.* Immediatly after, *Scanderbeg* ſent forth 500 horſemen to skirmiſh with the Turks, commanding them, ſo ſoone as they were charged by the enemies to retire, if haply they might ſo be drawne into battell. Which fell out accordingly: for *Iacuppe* now ſeeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing alſo without further delay to try his fortune, came D readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long; for *Scanderbeg* perceiuing in what part of the army *Iacuppe* was, bent his greateſt force that way, and ſingling him out, with his owne hand ſlew him. Wherewith the Turks being diſcouraged, forthwith betooke themſelues to flight, and in flying, were for moſt part ſlaine or taken. Thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury of the ſword, ſtragling thorow the country by thicke woods and blind waies, were by the country people either ſlaine or taken priſoners. In theſe two battels were ſlaine of the Turks 24000, and 6000 taken. And of *Scanderbeg* his men were loſt about a thouſand. *Scanderbeg* and his ſoldiers were ſo weary of the ſlaughter of the Turks, that when it was told him the next day, That *Balabanus* was fled but with one cornet of horſemen, and might eaſily be ſurpriſed if he were well purſued; he ſaid, *O let ſome of our enemies liue to report* E *their owne ſlaughter, and our victory.* After that *Scanderbeg* had in this ſort vanquiſhed theſe great captaines, he preſently entred into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleaſure without reſiſtance, made hauocke of all that came in his way: and after returning to Croia with victory, brake vp his army, and gaue his ſoldiers leaue to depart euery man to his owne dwelling.

Iacuppe ſlaine by Scanderbeg, and his army diſcomfited.

1465 Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Mahomet* had with great rewards procured two Turks to vndertake to kill *Scanderbeg*. Theſe traitors came vnto *Scanderbeg* as fugitiues, making ſuch ſhew of the deteſtation both of *Mahomet* his tyrannicall gouernment, and vaine ſuperſtition, that they were both of *Scanderbeg* and others, reputed to be indeed the men, they deſired to be accounted: and ſo after they had learned the principles of the Chriſtian religion, were by F their owne deſire baptiſed. But treaſon againſt Princes whom God hath in his moſt mighty protection, cannot be long couered; much leſſe, without his great ſufferance performed. So fortuned it, that theſe two falſe diſſembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunity to performe their diueliſh deuice, vpon ſome occaſion fell at variance betwixt themſelues, and in their heat let ſome ſuch words fall, as being taken vp by ſome there preſent, drew them both into ſuſpition: and thereupon being ſtreitly examined, it was at laſt by them confeſſed, That they were ſent by *Mahomet*, of purpoſe to haue ſlaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treaſon they were both preſently executed; as they had right well deſerued. When *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Balabanus* was ouercome, *Iacup* ſlaine, and both their armies almoſt quite deſtroyed, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almoſt franticke: and afterwards calling together his great Baſſa's, reſolued by their aduice, not to ſend any more Generals againſt *Scanderbeg*, but to go himſelfe in perſon, with ſuch an army as ſhould at once make an end of his wars in Epirus for euer. Hereupon commiſſions were directed thorow all his kingdome, and an army raiſed of two hundred thouſand men. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertiſements, fortified all his cities and ſtrong holds, eſpecially the city of Croia; vpon the fortune whereof depended the whole ſtate of his kingdome. Into this city he put a ſtrong garriſon of his moſt valiant and faithfull ſoldiers, and thorowly furniſht the ſame with all things neceſſary for the enduring of a long ſiege: and left one *Balthazar Perduci* (a graue and worthy captaine) Gouernour thereof. With like care he prouided for the ſafety of his other cities, and tooke order that the country people were either receiued into the ſtrong towns, or elſe conueied into other places of refuge, and left nothing abroad in the country for the Turks to prey vpon; as he had in like caſe done long before, at the comming of old *Amurath* to the ſiege of Croia, as is before in his life declared.

Mahomet commeth to the ſiege of Croia.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had ſet all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with fourescore thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of *Mahomet* his army) was entred into Epirus, and ranging ouer the country two daies, came and ſate downe before Croia: vpon whom the Gouernor at his firſt comming made many braue ſallies. In few daies after came *Mahomet* with his huge army, and there incamped alſo: who at his firſt comming ſummoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as it pleaſed himſelfe, (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthy Gouernor returned him no other anſwer, than by continuall thundring ſhot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* cauſed ſuch ordnance as he had to be planted for battery; and commanded other new to be caſt, of ſuch mettall as he had for that purpoſe brought in maſſe: all which, he did rather to ſtrike a terrour into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the city by force: knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almoſt impregnable. Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus buſied, and little or nothing preuailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods and mountains, with a ſmall army of moſt valiant and couragious ſoldiers, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomets* army, and ſuch as brought in victuall or neceſſaries for his campe: and many times in the night ſuddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great campe, with great ſlaughter, and with continuall alarmes neuer ſuffered them to reſt in quiet. *Mahomet* ſeeing his army to decreaſe dayly, and no hope of winning the city but by famine, which would require a long ſiege: and fearing alſo to make that ſame place againe famous by ſome notable miſchance which might happen vnto himſelfe vnder the wals of Croia, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*; determined to returne himſelfe to Conſtantinople, and to leaue *Balabanus* with a great part of his army to continue the ſiege. Vpon which determination, he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the ſiege, to *Balabanus*, ioyning vnto him eight of his moſt expert captaines; yet ſo, as that they ſhould be all at *Balabanus* his command. And ſo leauing with him three and twenty thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and with euery one of the other eight Captaines ſeuen thouſand mo, departed himſelfe with the reſt of his army from Croia, towards Conſtantinople. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine ſmall forts, and with faire promiſes corrupting the Gouernor of a place called Chidna, wherein eight thouſand of *Scanderbeg* his ſoldiers lay, had the ſame deliuered into his power, vpon his faith before giuen, That all the ſoldiers with the reſt of the people ſhould in ſafety depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promiſe, he cauſed them all moſt cruelly to be cut in pieces, ſparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great griefe and weakning of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before receiued ſo great a loſſe. And after he had ſo raged, he in great melancholy returned vnto Conſtantinople.

Scanderbeg diſdaining to haue his chiefe city beſieged by *Balabanus*, (ſometime one of the baſeſt of his fathers ſubiects) and yet finding himſelfe vnable to relieue the ſame, for as much

as

A as the ſouldiers were with continuall wars ſore waſted, and his wary enemies lay ſo encamped,
as that they were not but by a ſtrong army to be remoued, ſent vnto the Venetians and other
the confederat princes of Albania,Illyria,and Dalmatia,praying of them aid now at his need
againſt that enemy,which preuailing againſt him,would forthwith ſet vpon them. All which
princes promiſed forthwith to ſend their ſuccours. At the ſame time alſo he paſſed ouer into
Italy ſecretly,and diſguiſed in ſimple attire,came to Rome, to craue aid of *Paulus* the ſecond
of that name,then great Biſhop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing
of that he came for; ſo cold was his deuotion: onely at his departure he gaue vnto *Innetrio,*
Scanderbeg his treaſurer,a poore almes of three thouſand duckats. —

Scanderbeg returning into Epirus, found all ſuch aid ready as was promiſed from the confederat
B Princes,but eſpecially from the Venetians,which was for moſt part drawne out of their
garriſons of Scutari, Driuaſto, Alyſſa, and Dirrachium: ſo that he had in few daies in his army
thirteene thouſand foure hundred choice ſouldiers. With this ſtrength he marched towards
Croia: but vnderſtanding by the way,that *Ionima* was within a daies journy, comming
with a new ſupply to his brother *Balabanus*, he drew out certaine troups of his beſt horſemen;
and coaſting ouer the country in the night,ſuddenly came vpon the Turks, and put them to
flight: where amongſt others, *Ionima* himſelfe, with his ſonne *Hedar*, were taken priſoners;
whom he ſhewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit ſo happily performed, he
with all ſpeed returned to his army: and ſo marching to Croia, by plaine force draue the
Turks from the mountaine Cruina, their greateſt ſtrength, and neereſt to the city of Croia.
C Which thing when *Balabanus* ſaw, he with certaine troups of horſemen rid euen to the gates
of the city, perſuading the defendants to yeeld the city, making them in the name of his maſter
ſuch offers and promiſes as he thought might moſt moue them. But they nothing regarding
his words, but rather inſenced with his preſumption, ſallied out vpon him, and inforced
him to retire:but he therewith enraged,and halfe mad for anger,came vpon them with a freſh
charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the city. In which skirmiſh
he was by one *Georgius Alexius*,with a bullet, ſhot quite thorow the throat; and feeling himſelfe
mortally wounded,ſetting ſpurres to his horſe,ran as faſt as he could to his campe, where
he preſently fell downe from his horſe and died. The Turks diſcouraged with the death of
their General,& the comming of *Scanderbeg*,roſe the ſame night, & with great ſilence retired
D themſelues vnto the plain of Tiranna,about eight miles from Croia.*Scanderbeg* the next morning
entring the forſaken tents of the Turks,found therin great ſtore of corne and other victuals;
which he cauſed to be forthwith conueied into the city, & in triumph followed after himſelfe,
to the great joy and comfort of his late beſieged ſubjects: whom he highly commended
for their fidelity, and bountifully rewarded according to their deſerts. The ſame day he
ſent certaine companies of ſouldiers to take the ſtreit paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs
paſſe in their returne out of Epirus; which when the Turks vnderſtood, they ſent two meſſengers
to *Scanderbeg* (who ſeemed to be men of good account in the army) offering in the name
of the reſt of the captaines and commanders, to deliuer vnto him their horſes and armes, ſo
that they might in ſafety depart with their liues. Which their requeſt *Scanderbeg* propounding
E to his counſellors & captains, was by them diuerſly diſgeſted. In concluſion they receiued
this anſwer from *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, That as they came into his country, without his
commandment,ſo ſhould they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turks receiuing this ſhort
anſwer by their meſſengers, & conſidering that they muſt needs in that bare country in ſhort
time periſh, either with famin or with the ſword; the ſame night departed from Tiranna, and
in the dead time of the night entring the aforeſaid ſtreits,by plain force deſperatly brake thorow
and eſcaped, but not without their great loſſe: for whoſe eſcape the common ſouldiers
murmured grieuouſly againſt *Scanderbeg*,and were not without much ado appeaſed. In ſhort
time after,*Scanderbeg* recouered all ſuch places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him,and put
to ſword the ſoldiers he had left for the keeping of the ſame; which done,he brake vp his army,
F retaining only two thouſand horſmen & a thouſand foot for the defence of his frontiers.

Scanderbeg ſurpriſeth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his ſonne.

The Turkiſh tyrant hearing of the euil ſucceſſe of his affaires in Epirus,as that his Generall 1466
was ſlaine, Croia relieued,his army diſcomfited,and all that he had done, brought to nought;
fretted thereat exceedingly,and was therewith ſo much grieued,that he could not for a ſeaſon
eat or drink,or take reſt,his diſcontented thoughts ſo much troubled him. In the end,to reme-

dy the matter, he reſolued the next Spring to go again in perſon himſelfe with a moſt puiſſant G
army into Epirus; and ſo if it were poſſible, to make a full conqueſt thereof: of which his pur-
poſe *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding, prouided for his comming, as he had in former time. The
Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former reſolution, with a mighty army entred
into Epirus, and there with exceeding labour and charge, firſt repaired or rather re-edified the
old ruines of the city of Valmes, wherein he left a ſtrong garriſon, of purpoſe to trouble that
part of the country. From thence he marched to Dirrachium (now called Durazzo, but of old
time Epidamnum) a city vpon the ſea coaſt; then in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, famous for
many things in the time of the Roman Empire, but eſpecially for the flight of the Roman Se-
nat thither, and their entertainment there in the time of the ciuil wars betwixt *Caſar* and *Pom-*
peius. This city *Mahomet* thought to haue taken vnprouided, & ſo vpon the ſudden to haue car- H
ried it; but was therein much deceiued, finding it ſtrongly fortified and manned both by the
Venetians and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there ſpent ſome time, and to his great loſſe in
vain attempted the city, he riſe vpon the ſudden: and retiring into Epirus, came and ſat down
againe before Croia, of purpoſe by his ſudden comming to haue terrified the citizens: and
vainly perſuaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in Dirrachium, for that in the aſſailing therof he
had diſcouered many of *Scanderbegs* men, and thereby ſuppoſed him to haue been there alſo;
the greateſt cauſe why he ſo ſuddenly riſe and came to Croia. At his firſt comming he offered
great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the citiſens, if they would forthwith yeeld vp their
city; otherwiſe he threatned vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart
thence before he had it: whereunto he receiued no other anſwer out of the city than was ſent I
him by the mouth of the cannon, or brought him by many moſt braue ſallies. *Scanderbeg* in the
mean while continually moleſting his campe, and euery night falling into one quarter or ano-
ther thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what ſmall purpoſe it would be for him to lie
there long, riſe with his army, and marched againe to the ſea ſide, to a place now called the
head of Redon vpon the gulfe of Venice, not far from Dirrachium, where *Scanderbeg* had begun
to build a new city called Chiurill, not yet finiſhed: which *Mahomet* in deſpight of the man,
raſed downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirots were retired into the
mountaines, he went to ſeeke them out, and was with great loſſe by thoſe mountaine people
repulſed: *Scanderbeg* ſtill following them at the heeles, and awaiting all opportunities, dayly
cut off part of his army. So that at laſt the tyrant deſpairing of any good to be done in that K
expedition, was glad to depart out of Epirus, hauing atchieued nothing worth his comming,
and ſo, full of diſcontentment and melancholy returned vnto Conſtantinople.

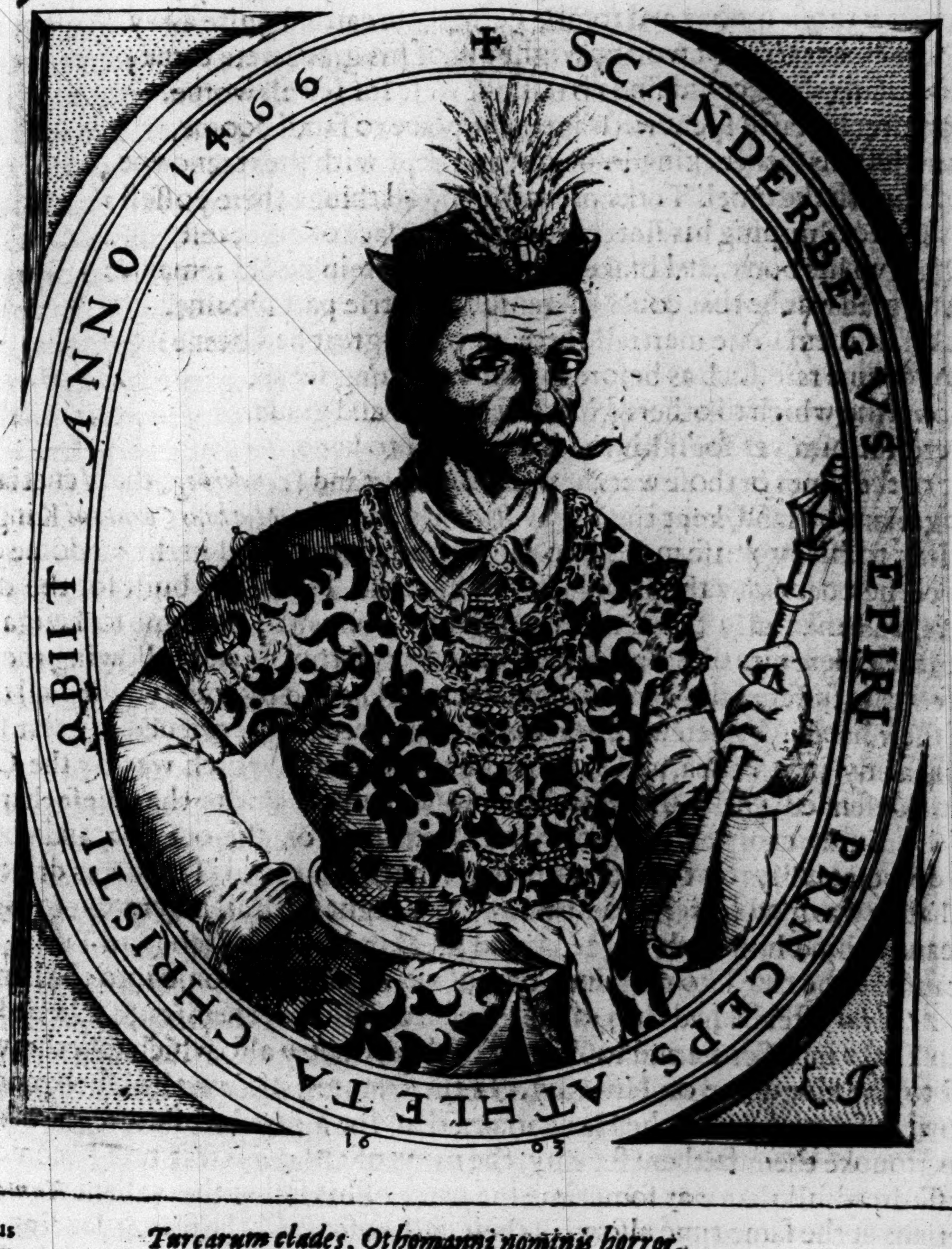
After all theſe great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid ouer moſt part of Epirus, to view the ſtate of
his kingdome, and ſo at laſt came to Lyſſa (a city of the Venetians, which he had alwaies ſpe-
cially liked) there to confer with the Venetian legat and other the confederat princes, of mat-
ters concerning their ſtate in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly, how they
might take the city of Valmes, which *Mahomet* had the laſt yere built in the ſeignory of *Ary-*
Scanderbeg falleth ſicke.
annites Comynat, and much troubled that part of Epirus. But whileſt he lay there, he fel ſicke of
a feauer, which daily ſo increaſed vpon him, that he became ſicke euen vnto death: and now
perceiuing his end to draw nigh, ſent for his wife and ſon, with the princes and lords his confe- L
derats, & the embaſſadors of the Venetians, into his bedchamber. Where after he had at large
with greater pain notably diſcourſed of his troubleſome life led among them, than he had be-
fore paſſed the ſame, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to enſue, he earneſtly
exhorted them to continue in vnity & concord, and valiantly to ſtand in defence of their reli-
gion, country, and liberty. And afterwards turning his ſpeech to his wife and his ſon, commen-
ded them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the
confederation betwixt him and them, were in honor bound to protect his ſon and kingdome,
during the time of his minority, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the ſame. In fine, he
willed his wife after his death to paſſe ouer with her ſonne into Apulia, where they might in
ſafety and quiet liue vpon ſuch poſſeſſions as he there held by the gift of King *Ferdinand*. And M
ſo after he had with moſt feruent praier commended his ſoule into the hands of Almighty
The death of Scanderbeg.
God, departed in peace the 17 day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1466, when he had li-
ued about 63 yeares, and thereof reigned about 24. His death was worthily lamented of all
Chriſtian Princes, but eſpecially of the Venetians and Princes of Albania, who had now loſt
their

A their moſt carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the ſorrow of his ſubjects is not to be expreſſed, euery man bewailing him, as the only ſtay of the common-weale, and as if with him they had loſt all their hope. His dead body was with the generall lamentation of all men roially buried in the cathedrall church of S. *Nicholas* at Lyſſa: where it reſted in peace, vntill that about nine yeares after, the Turks comming to the ſiege of Scodra, by the way tooke the city of Lyſſa, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in ſome part of their happineſſe, if they might but ſee or touch the ſame: and ſuch as could get any part thereof, were it neuer ſo little, cauſed the ſame to be ſet, ſome in ſiluer, ſome in gold, to hang about their necks, or weare vpon their bodies; perſuading themſelues by the wearing thereof to be partakers of ſuch good ſortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himſelfe whileſt he liued:
B which is not vnaptly by *Gabriel Fairnus* of Cremona, thus in verſe expreſſed.

Scanderbeg buried at Lyſſa.

The body of Scanderbeg digged vp by the Turkes, and of them greatly honoured.

SCANDERBEG.


✝ SCANDERBEGVS EPIRI PRINCEPS ATHLETA CHRISTI OBIIT ANNO 1466
16 03

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 3.

Turcarum clades, Othomanni nominis horror,
Epiri tutela, illo jacuere ſepulchro:
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt oſſa Georgi.
Nunc & membra viri, & diſſectum in fruſtra ſepulchrum
Interijt, ſparſi manes, conciſa vaguntur
Oſſa, nec in gelida nunc ſaltem morte quieſcunt.

Namque vt is aſſertum toties cum laude paternum
Imperium, exacta moriens ætate reliquit :
Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcæ.
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile buſtum,
Oſſaque, marmoraque, inuictum condentia corpus,
Abſtulerant, ſibi quiſque in partes ſecta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor ineſſet :
Et genium præſtare bonum, ſortemque valerent.
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat, abſtulit illi :
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hoſti.

In Engliſh thus :

The bloudy bane of faithleſſe Turks, and terrour of that name,
Epirus ſtrong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame :
Within that tombe wherein long ſince, Great *Caſtriotus* lay ;
But now thoſe limbes and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away.
The remnants of that worthy wight out of his graue were torne ;
And being dead, could find no reſt, but were for Iewels worne.
For after he, farre ſpent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,
And left his fathers kingdome, got and kept with great renowne ;
Forthwith the cruell Turks preuail'd, and all things there poſſeſt :
Who worſhipping his ſtately tombe, and place of quiet reſt,
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine :
And glad was he that could thereof ſome little part obtaine.
As if in them ſome martiall force, or vertue great had beene :
Or fortune rare, ſuch as before in him was liuing ſeene.
So vertue, which to others giues a ſepulture and graue,
Bereft it him, yet for'ſt his foe in honour it to haue.

Mathias King of Hungary, taketh the kingdome of Boſna from the Turks.

Moſt part of the times of thoſe wars betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by ſea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turks ſtrongly buſied. *Mathias Coruinus* King of Hungary (according to his promiſe made vnto the Venetians) entered in the kindome of Boſna, I where by force he ouerthrew the ſtrong forts which the Turks had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to Iaziga (of ſome called Iaitze) the chiefe city of Boſna, which he at length tooke : and following the courſe of his victory, ſcarcely ſuffered the Turks to breath, vntill he had by force wreſted all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieued, in great fury came with a ſtrong army into Boſna, and laid hard ſiege to Iaziga, which was by the Chriſtians right valiantly defended, vntill *Mathias* with a puiſſant army came to the reliefe thereof : who ſo troubled the Turks campe with continuall skirmiſhes on the one ſide, and they of the towne with deſperat ſallies on the other ; that at length the proud Turke was driuen to ſuch extremity, that he was glad ſecretly to ſteale away by night with all his army into Seruia; and L for haſt to leaue behind him both his tents and great ordnance, which (the Turks Hiſtories report) he cauſed to be caſt into the riuer, becauſe it ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies, & relieued the city, followed the Turks into Seruia, and tooke part of that country alſo, which together with Boſna he vnited to the kingdome of Hungary. In theſe warres, *Mahomet* had ſuch proofe of the force and power of *Mathias* and the Hungarians, that for a good while after he had no great ſtomacke to prouoke them farther : for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become vnto the Turks no leſſe dreadfull, than was ſometime the name of his father the valiant *Huniades*.

The Venetians at the ſame time alſo with their gallies ſcoured the ſeas, & landing their men ſometime in one place, ſometime in another, did great harme in many places of the Turks dominion neere vnto the ſea coaſt. M Amongſt other their Generals at diuers times ſent from that ſtate, one *Nicholas Canalis* ſucceeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before ſpoken of) as ſoone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of Salonichi, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongſt the ſea ſide : And afterwards returning into Peloponeſus, A poneſus, he fortified the towne of Legoſticium in the gulfe of Patras; which worke the Turks with their often skirmiſhes laboured to haue hindred, but in deſpight of all they could do, it was brought to perfection, and a ſtrong garriſon therein left for the defence thereof; which done, he returned againe to Eubœa. Shortly after, he with the ſame fleet put to ſea againe; and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Macedonia and Thracia, ſurpriſed the city of Ænus which ſtandeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in antient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the femous city Hadrianople, and Philippopolis are alſo ſcituate. *Canalis* after he had taken the ſpoyle of the City, returned to his Gallies, carrying away with him two thouſand captiues into Eubœa. At the ſame time alſo, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholas Duchaine* againſt his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principality of Zadrima, neere vnto the B riuer of Drino in Epirus, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turks which came in the quarrell of *Alexius*.

1470 *Mahomet* not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiuing that the Iſland of Eubœa (now called Nigroponte) was for the commodious ſcituation and ſtrength thereof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all theſe wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a moſt ſure place of refuge; determined with himſelfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by ſea and land for the gaining of that place. This Iſland of Eubœa is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer againſt that part of Græcia which was of old called Bæotia, from whence it is ſeparated with a narrow ſtreit of the ſea: it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, and wood C fit for ſhipping. The chiefe city therof, was in antient time called Chalcide, and of latter time Nigroponte, by which name alſo the whole Iſland was knowne: albeit the Turks now call it, Egribos; a populous, rich, and ſtrong city; ſo fortified with wals and Bulwarkes, that (in moſt mens jugements) it ſeemed a place impregnable. Vnto this ſtrong city, *Mahomet* reſolued to lay ſiege; knowing well, that vpon the fortune thereof depended the ſtate of the whole Iſland. Wherfore he aſſembled a mighty army, and made great preparation both by ſea and land: and when all things were in readineſſe, ſent *Mahomet* (the great Baſſa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other ſmall veſſels well furniſhed with ſouldiers, mariners, and all things neceſſary by ſea into Eubœa: and with a great army marched himſelfe by land through Achaia, vntill he came ouer againſt the city of Chalcis. The Venetian Admirall hearing D of the comming of the Turks fleet, ſet forward to haue met them neere vnto the ſtreits of Helleſpontus: but after he had by his eſpials deſcried the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himſelfe too weak, ſhaped his courſe to the Iſland of Sciros. The Baſſa comming out of the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, couered the ſea with his fleet, & holding on his intended courſe, without let came to Eubœa: where at the firſt landing, he tooke Stora and Baſilicon, two ſmal townes, which he raſed to the ground, and from thence went directly to Chalcis. As ſoone as this great fleet was there arriued, *Mahomet* cauſed a great bridge to be made of his ſmaller veſſels ouer the ſtreit betwixt Achaia and Eubœa: whereby he paſſed all his army, and ſo belaied the city round both by ſea and land. And after he had planted his battery, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals: wherein he had in ſhort time made faire breaches, and the ſooner, for E that one *Thomas* of Liburnia (chiefe canonier of the city) before corrupted by the Turks, by ſignes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakeſt: whereby they ſo aptly planted their battery, as if they had taken view on the inſide of the wals. Which foule treaſon was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthily executed. Yet little preuailed the tyrant thereby; for ſuch was the induſtry of the defendants, that whatſoeuer he had by the fury of his great ordnance beat downe by day, that, they with reſtleſſe labor repaired again by night. Thus was the ſiege continued thirty daies, in which ſpace many a ſharpe aſſault was giuen by the Turks, to their great loſſe; and the city ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtians. At length the Venetian Admiral (to the great comfort of the beſieged) came with his fleet within view of the city, making ſemblant as if he would haue giuen F the Turks battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raiſed his ſiege, and haue got himſelfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians ſhould with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and ſo haue ſhut him vp into that Iſland: which thing it was thought the Admiral might haue done to his great praiſe, if he would as a couragious chiefetaine haue aduentured the matter, as he was earneſtly requeſted by the captaines of euery priuate gally;

Chalcis the chiefe city of Eubœa beſieged by the Turks.

Treaſon in the city.

who generally grieued to ſee him ſo great a commander, to let ſlip ſo faire an opportunity. But he fearing to come any neerer, came to an anchor and moued not, neither gaue any ſigne of comfort or reliefe to the beſieged. Which thing the Turkiſh King quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them ſaultable, brought on his men to the breaches, promiſing them the ſpoile of the city, with many other great rewards and high preferments according to their particular deſerts, whereof he ſaid, he would himſelfe be an eie-witnes. Hereupon the Turks gaue a moſt fierce and furious aſſault; which the defendants with inuincible courage receiued, and made ſuch ſlaughter of them, that the ditches were filled, & the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turks. But ſuch was the number of that populous army (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turks) that the liuing little felt the loſſe of the dead: *Mahomet* continually ſending in new ſupplies of freſh men, in ſtead of them that were ſlaine or wounded: ſo that one could no ſooner fall, but two or three ſtept vp in his roome, and ſo ſucceſſiuely, as if new men had ſprung out of the bodies of the dead. Twiſe they had euen won the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull ſlaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadfull aſſault was maintained a whole day and a night without intermiſſion. At length the defendants being for the moſt part ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the towne now aſſaulted almoſt round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like reſolute men, ſold their liues at a deere price vnto the Turks. Amongſt the ſlaine Chriſtians, were found the dead bodies of many notable women, who ſeeing the ruine of the city, choſe rather to die with their friends in defence thereof, than aliue to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies.

Chalcis taken by the Turks.

Mahomet being now become Lord of the city, and hauing loſt forty thouſand of his Turks in that ſiege, in reuenge thereof cauſed all the men that were found in the city aliue, to be put to moſt cruell death, eſpecially the Italians, vpon whom he ſhewed his tyranny with moſt exquiſit and horrible torments. *Paulus Ericus* Gouernor of the city, with a few others, who with him were fled into the caſtle, without reſiſtance deliuered the ſame vnto him, vpon his faithfull promiſe, that they might in ſafety depart: but after that he had got them into his power, the perfidious tyrant without regard, commanded them all to be cruelly murthered. The Gouernors daughter a maiden of incomparable beauty, was amongſt the reſt taken priſoner, and for her rare perfection, by them that tooke her preſented to *Mahomet* as the mirror of beauty: The barbarous tyrant greedy of ſo faire a prey, ſought firſt by flattering words and faire perſuaſion, to induce her to conſent to his deſire: but when he could not ſo preuaile, he fell into another vaine, and began to ſhew himſelfe in his owne nature, threatning her with death, torture, and force, worſe than death it ſelfe, if ſhe would not otherwiſe yeeld vnto his appetite. Whereunto the conſtant virgin (worthy eternall fame) anſwered ſo reſolutely, and ſo contrary to the tyrants expectation, that he being therewith enraged, commanded her to be preſently ſlaine. The horrible and monſtrous cruelty, with the filthy outrages by that beaſtly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that city, paſſeth all credit. Chalcis thus won, the reſt of that fruitfull Iſland without further reſiſtance yeelded vnto the Turkiſh ſlauery, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamity happened vnto the Venetian ſtate, or rather (to ſay truly) to the generall hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale, in the yeare of our redemption, 1470.

The fruitfull Iſland of Eubœa taken by the Turks.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the ſiege, had in the ſight of the City lien at anchor as a looker on, fearing now that the city was loſt, to be ſet vpon by the Turks fleet, hoiſed ſaile, and laded with diſhonour returned in haſte vnto Venice, where he was by the commandement of the Senat committed to priſon, and afterward with all his family exiled to Vtinum.

1471

Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his army out of Eubœa, and his fleet returned to Conſtantinople: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the city, a little before loſt. But *Mahomet* had therein left ſo ſtrong a garriſon, that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their gallies, and to forſake their Iſland.

Chalcis thus loſt, with all the Iſland of Eubœa, the Venetians choſe *Petrus Mocenicus*, a valiant and diſcreet gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in ſtead of *Canalis*: and by their embaſſadours ſolicited *Sixtus* the fourth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, and *Ferdinand* King

A of Naples, with *Lewis* king of Cyprus, and the grand maſter of the Rhodes, to joyne their forces
together with theirs againſt the great and common enemy: which thing all the aforeſaid
Chriſtian princes promiſed them to do. And the more to intangle the Turke, they at the ſame
time ſent *Caterinus Zenus* their Embaſſadour with rich preſents vnto *Alymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes*,
the great king of Perſia, to incite him on that ſide againſt the Turke: in which negotiation *Zenus*
ſo well behaued himſelfe, that the next yeare following, that great king tooke vp armes
againſt *Mahomet*, and had with him mortall wars, as ſhall be in conuenient place hereafter declared.
Mahomet not ignorant of the proceedings of the Venetians, and that they did what they
might to ſtir vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were poſſible) into hatred
with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the
B Chriſtian princes with the cruelty he had of late vſed againſt them of Chalcis, thought it not
beſt as then further to prouoke them, and ſo happily to bring all at once about his eares; but
for a ſeaſon to lie ſtill at Conſtantinople, as if he had been deſirous now to liue in peace, not
meaning further harme: hoping thereby, that although he concluded no peace with any of
them (which indeed he was not deſirous of) yet that tract of time might mittigat the hanousnes
of the fact, and coole the heat of their diſpleaſure; whereby it came to paſſe as he wiſhed;
that nothing worth the ſpeaking of was that yere attempted againſt him: and becauſe the Perſian
king was the man of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, he ſought by his Embaſſadors to pacifie
him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Chriſtians: requeſting him, if it were
for nothing els but for the community of the Mahometan religion, wherein they well agreed,
C and were thereby the profeſſed enemies of the Chriſtians, to withdraw his hand, and in their
cauſe to ceaſe to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it ſo ſtood with his purpoſe) the zeale of
religion, whereas otherwiſe he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But *Zenus* the Venetian
Embaſſadour lying continually in the Perſian court, ſo wrought the matter with *Vſun-Caſſanes*,
that he told the Turks Embaſſador plainly, That he could not nor would not longer
endure the manifeſt injury and wrong done vnto him by the Turkiſh King: and farther, that
he had made a faithfull league with the Chriſtian Princes, and therefore would to the vttermoſt
of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectually performe what
thing ſoeuer he had promiſed: and ſo diſmiſſed them, now no leſſe diſcontented than were
before the Perſian Embaſſadours at ſuch time as they returned from the Turks court, hauing
D obtained nothing they then requeſted concerning the Emperour of Trapezond.

1472

The Venetians aided by King Ferdinand, the Biſhop of Rome, and the great maſter of the Rhodes, doe the Turks great harme all alongſt the coaſt of the leſſer Aſia.

The yeare following, *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arriued in the Iſle of
Lesbos, where he did great harme. From thence he paſſed the bay of Adramittium into the
leſſer Aſia, and ſore ſpoiled the country about Pergamus. After that he landed again at Cnidus
vpon the coaſt of Caria, where he tooke a great booty: and ſo hauing done the Turks exceeding
much hrme in Aſia all alongſt the ſea coaſt oppoſite to Græcia, he returned laden
with ſpoile towards Peloponeſus. In his returne about the promontory of Malea, vpon the
coaſt of Peloponeſns, he met with *Richaienſis* comming vnto him with 17 gallies from King
Ferdinand: by whom he was certified, that the great Biſhops fleet was ready to come forth
alſo. After mutual gratulation, as the maner at ſea is, the Admirals joyning their fleets in one,
E landed at Methone, now called Modon, then a city of the Venetians in Peloponeſus: where
after they had well refreſhed their ſoldiers, and taken in freſh victuals, they put to ſea againe;
and ſailing through the Iſlands, landed in Aſia, where they were at their firſt landing encountered
by the country Turks, whom at laſt they put to flight, and by the ſpace of foure daies
tooke what pillage they could in the country: where the ſouldiers found great ſtore of rich
booty, eſpecially of Turky carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence
they ſailed to Halicarnaſus, which is part of Caria (where ſometime ſtood the ſtately tombe
which Queene *Artemeſia* built for her husband *Mauſolus*, accounted amongſt the wonders of
the world) where they tooke a wonderfull ſpoile. There came vnto them *Nicholas* Biſhop of
Modruſſa, with twenty gallies ſent from the great Biſhop: whom the other two Generals
F welcomed with great joy. At the ſame time alſo came thither two gallies from the great maſter
of the Rhodes. With this fleet of eighty fiue gallies, they ſailed to the Iſle of Samos
ouer againſt Epheſus (ſometime a place of great fame, but then altogether deſolate and vnpeopled)
there to conſult for their further proceedings in thoſe warres. Looſing from Samos,
they tooke their courſe alongſt the ſea coaſt of Aſia, and landed at Attalia, the chiefe city

of Pamphilia, a place of great traffique: where they found in the ſubburbs of the city great G ſtore of many rich commodities, brought thither out of Ægypt and Syria; whereof they took what pleaſed them, and burnt the reſt together with the ſubburbs. Vnto the city it ſelfe they began to lay ſiege, but perceiuing that it was not without great loſſe of their men to be taken, they departed thence: and running all alongſt the coaſt of Pamphilia, burnt and deſtroied what came in their way, and ſo returned backe againe to Rhodes: where they met an Embaſſadour from *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian King, to the Biſhop and the Venetians, for great ordnance; whereof that ſo mighty a Prince was altogether vnfurniſhed. Of this Embaſſadour they vnderſtood that *Vſun-Coſſanes* was entered into league with the Chriſtian Princes, and now buſie in making preparation againſt the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* requited the Venetians with no leſſe harme in Epirus and Dalmatia, than they had done to him in Aſia: for now that H *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turks mightily preuailed vpon the weake Princes of Epirus and Albania, with the countries adjoyning. The Chriſtian fleet departing from the Rhodes, landed in the countty of Myndians, a part of Caria, and with great ſpoile returned to the Iſland of Naxos, one of the Cyclades: from whence King *Ferdinand* his gallies returned home, laded with much rich ſpoile: for now the yeare was far ſpent. Yet after the departure of the Kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legat returned backe again into Aſia, and there landing their men tooke the famous city of Smyrna in Ionia, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire. At which time alſo they did great harme about Claxomene, not farre from Smyrna. So Winter drawing now faſt on, they returned, laded with the rich ſpoiles of Aſia; the Legat into Italy, and *Mocenicus* into Methone. I

1473

Mahomet no leſſe troubleſom vnto the Mahometane Princes than to the Chriſtians.

The inſatiable deſire of Soueraignty, whereunto the Turkiſh King was naturally inclined, had continually armed him, not onely againſt the Chriſtian Princes, but againſt others alſo euen of their owne ſuperſtition: making no great difference betwixt the one and the other, if ſo he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftily circumuented the King of Myſia, a country in Aſia, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force ſubdued his kingdome, left not one of the kings bloud aliue. After that, he inuaded Cilicia, which the Turks call Caramania, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caſſambet* reigned, and draue them both out of Cilicia: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vſun-Caſſanes*; *Caſſambet* the younger aſſiſted by his old friends, ſought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turks K poſſeſſed, and was beſieging certaine townes vpon the ſea coaſt, which being taken from the Turks would eaſily draw all the reſt of the kingdome after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the firſt of the Spring come vpon the coaſt of Cilicia, at the requeſt of *Caſſambet*, landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Victor Superantius*, and certaine pieces of great artillery, wherewith he ſo battered the wals of Sichinum, that he enforced the Turks therein to yeeld vp the city: which he deliuered to *Caſſambet*. In like maner he tooke the city of Corycus, which he alſo reſtored to *Caſſambet*. At laſt he laied ſiege to Seleucia, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer Orontes, and was built by King *Seleucus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, diſtant from the ſea about fiue miles: the Gouernor of this city diſcouraged with the ſight of the great artillery, deliuered the city to the Venetian captaine, L who by the appointment of the Admirall reſtored the ſame to *Caſſambet*. Who by this means brought againe into his kingdome, gaue great thanks vnto the Admirall, promiſing both for himſelfe and for his brother to be alwaies friends vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from Cilicia, landed his men in Lycia, and harried that country alongſt the ſea coaſt. And this *Mocenicus* ſailed into Cyprus, to appeaſe a great inſurrection there raiſed againſt the Queene, who was by her huſband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Grittus*, was by the decree of the Senat appointed Admirall, and already come into Peloponeſus, he with as much ſpeed as he could haſted thither, to giue vp his charge, and ſo to returne home againe to Venice.

About this time the great Perſian King *Vſun Caſſanes* began to make war vpon the Turkiſh M emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderſtanding whereof, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe briefly to ſhew by what means this *Vſun-Caſſanes* of a ſmall Prince aſpired to the kingdome of Perſia, and ſo in ſhort time grew to that greatneſſe, that he was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by theſe warres betwixt him and the great

Turkiſh

A Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*. This *Vſun-Caſſanes* of whom we now ſpeake, was the ſonne of
that *Tachretin*, who with other poore Princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Bajazet*
the firſt, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the Great, Emperour of the Turks, and was againe
reſtored by great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Bajazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*,
his ſon *Vſun-Caſſanes* (of ſome called alſo *Aſymbeius*) obtained that ſmall territory, which
his father had in Armenia: nothing anſwering vnto the greatneſſe of his conceits. Wherefore
not contented with ſuch poſſeſſions as was from his father deſcended vnto him, hee began to
ſhoulder for more roome, with ſuch weake Princes his neighbors as he thought he might beſt
deale withall; wringing one prouince from this Prince, another from that, and thruſting ſome
others quite out of all that they had: and in ſhort time ſo inlarged his dominion, that he had
B got into his hands a great part of Armenia, and was reputed both for a mighty and fortunate
Prince. Inſomuch that *Calo Ioannes*, then Emperor of Trapezond (whoſe power altogether anſwered
not to the greatnes of his ſtile, being for moſt part ſhut vp within the bounds of Pontus,
and fearing the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet*, whoſe name began then to
grow dreadfull vnto his neighbor Princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Deſpina* in marriage,
by ſuch allyance to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the Turkiſh tyrant, if need ſhould require.
At which marriage it was agreed, That *Vſun-Caſſanes* ſhould in the right of his wife enioy all
the kingdome of Pontus, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *David* his brother:
and that *Deſpina* ſhould ſo long as ſhe liued haue the free exerciſe of her Chriſtian Religion.
By this woman, *Vſun Caſſanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for
C that ſhe was the mother of *Hyſmael*, afterwards the great king of Perſia, commonly called *Hyſmael
the Sophy*; of whom more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the life of *Selymus*. *Vſun-Caſſanes* honoured
with this marriage, and ſtrengthened with this new allyance, ceaſed not, after his wonted
manner, dayly to incroch vpon his neighbor Princes: and proceeded ſo far, that at length
he began to lay hand vpon a part of Armenia, which was then part of the Dominion of the
Perſian King. *ZenZa* (whom ſome call *Ztokies*, which was indeed the name of his father) reigning
then in Perſia, by his Embaſſadors admoniſhed, and in ſort commanded *Vſun-Caſſanes* to
hold himſelfe content with his owne, or at leaſt, with that he had alreadie wrongfully taken
from others, & not to preſume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatning otherwiſe
to take him as an enemy to his ſtate, and to turne his forces vpon him. With which em-
D baſſage *Vſun-Caſſanes* being much offended, gaue the embaſſadors no entertainment, but commanded
them with ſpeed to get them out of his Kingdome, and to tell their Maſter, That he
would ſhortly himſelfe in perſon come and debate the matter with him face to face. With
which proud anſwer from ſo meane a Prince the Perſian King moued, leuied ſuch an army for
the inuading of him, as was thought to haue been ſufficient to haue ſubdued a farre greater
Prince: and ſo appointed, ſet forward toward Armenia. *Vſun-Caſſanes* much inferiour to this
great King in wealth, and number of men, but not in haughtines of minde, and valiantnes of
courage, ſtayd not to expect the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemy, but full of hope ſet forward
to meet him, and by great journies ſought to come vpon him before he could haue any
knowledge of his comming: yet had he then in his army ſcarcely one man to ten, but al armed
E with couragious hearts, & conducted by a moſt fortunat chieftaine which feared nothing. So
holding on his way, at length he met with the great army of the Perſians, with whom he preſently
ioined battell: and after a long and cruell fight ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with
ſuch a ſlaughter as might well haue weakned the forces of a right great kingdome. The great
king more inraged then diſcouraged with his ouerthrow, raiſed a far greater army than before
the very ſtrength of his kingdome: reſoluing now, not to ſend any more his lieutenants, but to
go in perſon himſelfe againſt ſo deſperat an enemy. All things being in readineſſe, he ſet forward,
and at length met with the Armenian Prince, whom he found as ready to giue battell as
he was at the firſt. So being both deſirous to try their fortune, they ioyned battel; wherein the
Perſians were againe diſcomfited and put to flight; and moe of them ſlain in that battell, than
F were brought into the field in the firſt army. *ZenZes* the Perſian king was there ſlain with *Vſun
Caſſanes* his owne hand, & *Cariaſaphus* his ſon taken priſoner: whom the Armenian prince vſed
with the greateſt honor could be deuiſed, giuing vnto him the honor and title due to the Perſian
king, taking to himſelfe the bare name of the protector of the Perſian ſtate: which he did
onely to pleaſe the Perſians, and to keep them quiet vntill he had got ſome more aſſured poſ-

Vſun Caſſanes in a great battell ouerthrows the King of Perſia.

ſeſſion of that kingdome. But after he had in the two former battels broken their greateſt ſtrength, and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernor got into his power the regall city of Tauris, with the reſt of the cities & ſtrong places of that great kingdome, and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues; he ſecretly diſpatched out of the way the poore titular King his priſoner, (the laſt of the poſterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himſelfe the higheſt place, which admitteth no partner. Whileſt this reſtles Prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well ſetled in his new gotten kingdom, *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor, no leſſe ambitious than himſelfe, had ſcornfully reiected the Embaſſadors and Preſents which *Vſun-Caſſanes* had ſent; and hauing ſhamefully put to death *Dauid* the Emperor of Trapezond, his allyance, had conuerted all the kingdom of Pontus (which *Vſun-Caſſanes* of right claimed as his wifes dowry) into the form of a prouince, and ſo vnited it vnto the Turkiſh empire. Which ſo manifeſt a wrong, *Vſun-Caſſanes* in the newnes of his ſo late atchieued greatneſſe, durſt not aduenture to addreſſe: but after that he was ſurely ſeated, and had with the courſe of time ouercome all dangers at home, being dayly prickt forward with the remembrance of the former iniuries (ſtill ſuggeſted by the importunity of his wife *Deſpina*, and the ſolicitation of the Venetians, to whom he had by ſolemn promiſe bound himſelfe) he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his forces vpon his proud enemy the Turkiſh Emperour. Hereupon he raiſed a great army, and being well appointed of all things neceſſary, paſſing through Armenia toward Pontus, neere vnto the riuer Euphrates was encountred by *Muſtapha* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſon, a yong Prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Baſſa of Romania, whom *Mahomet* (fearing ſuch a matter) had ſent before with a ſtrong army out of Europe, to ioine with ſuch forces as *Muſtapha* had already raiſed in Aſia, ſo to withſtand the inuaſion of the Perſian. Theſe two great Commanders *Muſtapha* & *Amurath* ioyning battell with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, were by him in the plain field ouerthrown; where *Amurath* the great Baſſa himſelfe, with thirty thouſand Turks were ſlain; *Muſtapha* with the reſt of the army by ſhamefull flight ſauing themſelues.

1474 *Two huge Armies of the Turks and Perſians in field together.*

Now when *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Amurath* was ſlaine, and his army diſcomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled: but purpoſing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of his new forces; ſo that at the time by him appointed, was aſſembled a great and mighty army of 320000 men. *Vſun-Caſſanes* in like maner was in the field with an army, nothing in number inferior vnto his enemy. Theſe two Mahometan Kings, drawing after them their huge armies, met together neer the mountaines of Armenia, where at the firſt encounter, one of the Turks great Baſſa's was ſlaine, with 40000 Turks: with which hard beginning the proud tyrant was ſo daunted, that he could hardly be perſuaded to proue his fortune any further, but contenting himſelfe with that loſſe, was about to haue retired; and had vndoubtedly ſo don, if ſome of his moſt expert and valiant captains which might be bold with him, had not ſharply reproued him, that hauing ſo populous an army as ſcarcely felt that ſmall loſſe, he ſhould once thinke of returning without victory. With which their comfortable perſuaſions he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more ſafetie he withdrew his army into a ſtreit betwixt two mountaines, and with his carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which carriages he placed his great ordnance, and on the either ſide his archers. The Perſians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories, came on as men fearing no perill, to haue charged the Turks euen in their ſtrength; preſenting their whole army before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turks Artillery; which ſuddenly diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of them, brake their ranks, and tooke away a number of them. Beſides that, the Perſian horſes terrified with the vnacquainting and thundring report of the great ordnance, were not to be ruled by their riders, but ſtarting back, ran ſome one way, ſome another, as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confuſion *Mahomet* perceiuing, preſently tooke hold of the occaſion offred, and with his horſmen fiercely charged them, being now by themſelues intangled and out of order. Neuertheleſſe the Perſians made great reſiſtance, and ſlew many of the Turks: but ſtill fighting confuſedly and out of order, they were at the laſt inforced to fly: in which flight a great number of them were ſlaine, and their tents alſo taken. *Zeinal*, *Vſun Caſſanes* his eldeſt ſonne, labouring to ſtay the flight of the Perſians, was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turks: yet had they no great cauſe to brag of their winnings, hauing

A loſt in that battell forty thouſand ſouldiers:whereas of the Perſians fell not aboue ten thouſand. *Mahomet* containing himſelfe with this deare bought victory,returned homewards : and *Vſun-Caſſanes* leauing another of his ſons with his army for the defence of Armenia,returned likewiſe to Tauris. But whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were in their greateſt expectation,what might be the euent of theſe wars betwixt theſe two mighty Mahometan kings,they vpon the ſudden concluded a peace, and confirmed the ſame with new affinity, excluding the Chriſtians quite out of the ſame. This laſt battell betwixt *Mahomet* and *Vſun Caſſanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474. about foure yeres before the death of *Vſun-Caſſanes*,who died the fifth of Ianuary, in the yeare 1478.

In the time of theſe wars died the noble *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne,at Iconium,hauing ſpent himſelf with reuelling among his paragons;or as ſome write, commanded to die, B by his father,vpon this occaſion. This youthfull Prince vpon a time comming to the court to ſee his father(or as they terme it, to kiſſe his hand)became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes* Baſſa,a Lady of incomparable beauty, and daughter to *Iſaac* Baſſa,the chiefe man in the Turkiſh empire,next vnto *Mahomet* himſelfe: but finding no means to compaſſe her in whom his ſoule liued,he awaited a time when as ſhe (after the manner of the Turks) went to bathe her ſelfe,and there as he found her all diſroabed, ſhamefully forced her, without regard either of his own honor,or of hers. Of this ſo foule an outrage, *Achmets* her huſband, with his cloathes and hat all rent for madnes, came and grieuouſly complained to *Mahomet*,crauing vengeance for the ſame. Vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replyed, *Art not thou thy ſelfe my ſlaue ? and if my ſon* C Muſtapha *haue knowne thy wife, is ſhe not my bondſlaue he hath to doe withall ? Ceaſe therefore thus to complaine,and hold thy ſelfe therewith content.* Neuertheleſſe he in ſecret ſharply reproued his ſon for ſo hainous and diſhonorable a fact by him committed,and commanded him to goe out of his ſight : and as he was of a ſeuere nature, cauſed him within a few dayes after to be ſecretly ſtrangled. Neuertheleſſe,the wrong done to the Baſſa, ſunke ſo deep into his haughty mind,as that he would neuer admit excuſe therfore,but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Baſſa *Iſaac* his father in law,and in fine, the very cauſe of his vtter deſtruction,as is afterward declared in the life of *Bajazet*.

The death of the noble Muſtapha;Mahomet his eldeſt ſonne.

Mahomet deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the peace he had lately concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian king,was now at good leiſure to imploy all his forces againſt the Chriſtians. D And bearing a deadly hatred againſt the Princes of Epirus and Albania,with a wonderfull deſire to extend his empire vpon the Ionian & Adriatick, that he might from thence but look toward Italy,which he began now to long after,he determined with himſelfe firſt to ſubdue thoſe countries, as ſtanding in his way, both for the inuaſion of Italy, and of the territories of the Venetians. And foraſmuch as the ſtrong city of Scodra(otherwiſe called Scutary) then in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians,for the commodious ſcituation therof ſeemed to giue him the beſt entrance into the countries of Albania, Epirus, Dalmatia, and to ſuch cities as the Venetians held alongſt the ſea coaſt, he reſolued there to begin his wars.

1475

This city was of great ſtrength,as well for the naturall ſcituation thereof, as for the ſtrong fortifications therin made by the hand of man:which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of,but E preſuming of his owne ſtrength and power, vainly perſuaded himſelfe, that no place was now able long to hold out againſt him. Wherefore hauing prepared all things fit for the beſieging thereof,he ſent *Solyman* Baſſa an Eunuch(whom he made his lieutenant generall in Europe,in the place of *Amurath* Baſſa,before ſlain by *Vſun-Caſſanes*) with 80000 ſoldiers to beſiege Scodra. This great Baſſa according to his charge came,and with great pomp incamped round about the city,the fiue and twentieth of May. Shortly after hauing planted his battery,he began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals, and ceaſed not by all meanes he could deuiſe, to trouble the defendants:and when he had by force of the cannon don what he could, gaue diuers ſharp aſſaults vnto the City, but was ſtill with great loſſe valiantly repulſed by them of the City. Long it were to declare, how often,and in what terrible manner that warlike Baſſa *Mahomet*, F his chiefe captaine,attempted to haue woon the city : as alſo to ſhew how they of Scodra, directed by their worthy Gouernor *Antonius Lauretanus*,valiantly defended themſelues and their City : nothing was omitted that the enemy could do or deuiſe for the gaining thereof, but all his deuices and attempts were ſo met withal by the defendants,that they ſerued him to no other purpoſe but to the deſtruction of his people. Whileſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of

Solyman Baſſa beſiegeth Scodra with an army of eighty thouſand men.

ſeſſion of that kingdome. But after he had in the two former battels broken their greateſt ſtrength,and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernor got into his power the regall city of Tauris,with the reſt of the cities & ſtrong places of that great kingdome,and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues ; he ſecretly diſpatched out of the way the poore titular King his priſoner,(the laſt of the poſterity of the mighty *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himſelfe the higheſt place,which admitteth no partner. Whileſt this reſtles Prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well ſetled in his new gotten kingdom,*Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor,no leſſe ambitious than himſelfe,had ſcornfully reiected the Embaſſadors and Preſents which *Vſun-Caſſanes* had ſent ; and hauing ſhamefully put to death *Dauid* the Emperor of Trapezond,his allyance, had conuerted all the kingdom of Pontus(which *Vſun-Caſſanes* of right claimed as his wiues dowry) into the form of a prouince,and ſo vnited it vnto the Turkiſh empire. Which ſo manifeſt a wrong,*Vſun-Caſſanes* in the newnes of his ſo late atchieued greatneſſe,durſt not aduenture to addreſſe:but after that he was ſurely ſeated,and had with the courſe of time ouercome all dangers at home,being dayly prickt forward with the remembrance of the former iniuries (ſtill ſuggeſted by the importunity of his wife *Deſpina*,and the ſolicitation of the Venetians,to whom he had by ſolemn promiſe bound himſelfe)he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to try his forces vpon his proud enemy the Turkiſh Emperour. Hereupon he raiſed a great army,and being well appointed of all things neceſſary,paſſing through Armenia toward Pontus,neere vnto the riuer Euphrates was encountred by *Muſtapha*(*Mahomets* eldeſt ſon,a yong Prince of great hope)and *Amurath* the great Baſſa of Romania, whom *Mahomet* (fearing ſuch a matter) had ſent before with a ſtrong army out of Europe,to ioine with ſuch forces as *Muſtapha* had already raiſed in Aſia,ſo to withſtand the inuaſion of the Perſian. Theſe two great Commanders *Muſtapha* & *Amurath* ioyning battell with *Vſun-Caſſanes*,were by him in the plain field ouerthrown;where *Amurath* the great Baſſa himſelfe,with thirty thouſand Turks were ſlain;*Muſtapha* with the reſt of the army by ſhamefull flight ſauing themſelues.

1474

Two huge Armies of the Turks and Perſians in field together.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Amurath* was ſlaine,and his army diſcomfited,he was therewith exceedingly troubled: but purpoſing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of his new forces ; ſo that at the time by him appointed,was aſſembled a great and mighty army of 320000 men.*Vſun-Caſſanes* in like maner was in the field with an army,nothing in number inferior vnto his enemy. Theſe two Mahometan Kings,drawing after them their huge armies, met together neer the mountaines of Armenia, where at the firſt encounter,one of the Turks great Baſſa's was ſlaine,with 40000 Turks:with which hard beginning the proud tyrant was ſo daunted, that he could hardly be perſuaded to proue his fortune any further,but contenting himſelfe with that loſſe,was about to haue retired,and had vndoubtedly ſo don,if ſome of his moſt expert and valiant captains which might be bold with him,had not ſharply reproued him,that hauing ſo populous an army as ſcarcely felt that ſmall loſſe, he ſhould once thinke of returning without victory. With which their comfortable perſuaſions he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more ſafetie he withdrew his army into a ſtreit betwixt two mountaines, and with his carriages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which carriages he placed his great ordnance, and on the either ſide his archers. The Perſians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories,came on as men fearing no perill,to haue charged the Turks euen in their ſtrength ; preſenting their whole army before they were aware,into the mouth of the Turks Artillery;which ſuddenly diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of them,brake their ranks, and tooke away a number of them. Beſides that, the Perſian horſes terrified with the vnacquainting and thundring report of the great ordnance,were not to be ruled by their riders,but ſtarting back,ran ſome one way,ſome another,as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confuſion *Mahomet* perceiuing,preſently tooke hold of the occaſion offred,and with his horſmen fiercely charged them,being now by themſelues intangled and out of order. Neuertheleſſe the Perſians made great reſiſtance, and ſlew many of the Turks: but ſtill fighting confuſedly and out of order,they were at the laſt inforced to fly:in which flight a great number of them were ſlaine, and their tents alſo taken. *Zeinal*, *Vſun Caſſanes* his eldeſt ſonne, labouring to ſtay the flight of the Perſians, was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turks: yet had they no great cauſe to brag of their winnings, hauing loſt in that battell forty thouſand ſouldiers: whereas of the Perſians fell not aboue ten thouſand. *Mahomet* containing himſelfe with this deare bought victory, returned homewards: and *Vſun-Caſſanes* leauing another of his ſons with his army for the defence of Armenia, returned likewiſe to Tauris. But whilſt the Chriſtian Princes were in their greateſt expectation, what might be the euent of theſe wars betwixt theſe two mighty Mahometan kings, they vpon the ſudden concluded a peace, and confirmed the ſame with new affinity, excluding the Chriſtians quite out of the ſame. This laſt battell betwixt *Mahomet* and *Vſun Caſſanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474. about foure yeres before the death of *Vſun-Caſſanes*, who died the fifth of Ianuary, in the yeare 1478.

The death of the noble Muſtapha, Mahomet his eldeſt ſonne.

In the time of theſe wars died the noble *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, at Iconium, hauing ſpent himſelf with reuelling among his paragons; or as ſome write, commanded to die, by his father, vpon this occaſion. This youthfull Prince vpon a time comming to the court to ſee his father (or as they terme it, to kiſſe his hand) became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes* Baſſa, a Lady of incomparable beauty, and daughter to *Iſaac* Baſſa, the chiefe man in the Turkiſh empire, next vnto *Mahomet* himſelfe: but finding no means to compaſſe her in whom his ſoule liued, he awaited a time when as ſhe (after the manner of the Turks) went to bathe her ſelfe, and there as he found her all diſroabed, ſhamefully forced her, without regard either of his own honor, or of hers. Of this ſo foule an outrage, *Achmets* her husband, with his cloathes and hat all rent for madnes, came and grieuouſly complained to *Mahomet*, crauing vengeance for the ſame. Vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replyed, *Art not thou thy ſelfe my ſlaue ?. and if my ſon* Muſtapha *haue knowne thy wife, is ſhe not my bondſlaue he hath to doe withall ? Ceaſe therefore thus to complaine, and hold thy ſelfe therewith content.* Neuertheleſſe he in ſecret ſharply reproued his ſon for ſo hainous and diſhonorable a fact by him committed, and commanded him to goe out of his ſight: and as he was of a ſeuere nature, cauſed him within a few dayes after to be ſecretly ſtrangled. Neuertheleſſe, the wrong done to the Baſſa, ſunke ſo deep into his haughty mind, as that he would neuer admit excuſe therfore, but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Baſſa *Iſaac* his father in law; and in fine, the very cauſe of his vtter deſtruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Bajazet*.

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Solyman Baſſa beſiegeth Scodra with an army of eighty thouſand men.

Scodra, *Mocenicus* hauing receiued ſuch commandment from the Senat, came and ioined himſelfe to *Grittus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of Boliana, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the city of Scodra ſtandeth. Theſe two great Commanders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull conſent did what they might for the furtherance of the common good, a thing not common: firſt they put ſtrong garriſons, with all things neceſſary, into Colchinum, Lyſſa, Dirrhachium, and other cities of their ſeigniory vpon the ſea coaſt. After that, they went vp the riuer Boliana with certain gallies, and came within ſight of Scodra, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants, as with an aſſured promiſe of reliefe: which thing it grieued the Turks to behold, who therfore went about to haue ſhut in thoſe ſame gallies with a great chaine drawn croſſe the riuer, where it was narroweſt betwixt them and the ſea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies ſlew 500 of the Turks, and wounded diuers others, and ſo returned again to ſea. It was afterward attempted by the aforeſaid Admirals, if a new ſupply might haue been put into the city: but the enemy had ſo beſet the ſame, that it was not poſſible to be done. In the meane time, *Matthias* King of Hungary (receiuing a great yerely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries againſt the Turke) hearing that Scodra was beſieged, began to make ſuch ſpoyle in the Turks dominions, bordring vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Baſſa from the ſiege of Scodra, to defend his own frontiers. So the Baſſa after he had lien three months with his great army at the ſiege, and loſt 14000 of his men, wherof the greateſt part died of ſicknes taken by long lying in the rotten mooriſh ground neere vnto the riuer, by commandment from his Maſter, roſe with his army and departed. The Venetians alſo, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the ſame contagion: *Triadanus Grittus* died thereof, and *Mocenicus* the other Admirall fell thereof dangerouſly ſicke, but being ſomewhat recouered, returned home, and was ſhortly after for his good ſeruice choſen Duke of Venice, *Marcellus* the old Duke being then dead. With this diſhonor taken at Scodra *Mahomet* was ſo diſcontented, that he appointed a yearely fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the ſiege of Scodra.

Matthias King of Hungary inforceth the Turkes to forſake the ſiege of Scodra.

The ſame yeare that this great Baſſa *Solyman* had in vain beſieged Scodra, he was afterward ſent with a great army into Valachia, where he was ſo intangled in the woods and fens, by *Stephanus* the Vayuod, that he loſt all his army, and with much ado eſcaped himſelf, by the wonderfull ſwiftneſſe of a mare whereon he rid.

1476 The yeare following, which was the yeare 1476, *Mahomet* ſent out a great fleet to ſea, vnder the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his chiefe counſellor and man of war, (whoſe very name was dreadful in all places where he came) in hope to haue by treaſon ſurpriſed the Iſland of Crete: but that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpoſe diſappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpoſe for Crete, and ſent the ſame *Achmetes* with his fleet into the Euxine (or as the Turks call it, the black ſea) to beſiege the rich city of Caffa. This city was in antient time called Theodoſia, ſcituate in the country of Taurica Cherſoneſus, faſt by the ſea ſide, and had of long time bin in poſſeſſion of the Genowaies, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great Emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken Conſtantinople, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his ſtrong caſtles built vpon the ſtreits of Helleſpontus and Boſphorus, taken away both the traffique of Merchants into thoſe ſeas, and all poſſible meanes for the Genowaies to ſend ſuccor to that city: yet it is credibly reported, That one valiant Captaine vndertooke to carry his companie (in number not aboue one hundred and fifty men) by land from Genoa to Caffa, not much leſſe than two thouſand miles, and worthily performed what he had vndertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, incloſed the city both by ſea and land: which diuided in it ſelfe by reaſon of the diuers diſpoſition of the Inhabitants, being of diuers Nations, ſome Genowaies, ſome Greeks, ſome Armenians, but moſt Tartars, could not long hold out, but was in ſhort time giuen vp to the Baſſa, vpon condition, That the Genoway Merchants, who were there both in number many, and exceeding rich, might in ſafetie depart thence with their wealth. Which promiſe the Baſſa performed not; but when he was poſſeſſed of the city, ſent ſuch as he thought good, to Conſtantinople, and commanded the reſt vpon paine of death, not to depart thence, or to conuey away from thence any part of their ſubſtance. In ſhort time after, the whole countrey of Taurica Cherſoneſus yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance. At which time alſo the Tartar Princes, namely the Precopenſes and Deſtenſes, terrified with the greatnes of the Turke, cowardly yeelded themſelues as tributaries vnto him; euer ſince which time they haue liued a moſt ſeruile and troubleſom life, ſubiect to euery command of the *Othoman* Emperor; for whom they haue done great ſeruice many times in their wars, againſt the Perſians, the Polonians, the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Germanes, as in the proces of this Hiſtory well appeareth; and as the aforeſaid nations their neighbors, with others alſo further off, haue euen of late to their great loſſe felt.

1477 Although the Venetians had in theſe late wars loſt the great and fertile Iſland of Eubœa, with the ſtrong city of Chalcis, the ſureſt harbor for their gallies; yet held they ſtill diuers ſtrong towns and commodious hauens by the ſea coaſt, both within Peloponeſus & without; as Methone, Corone, Tenarus, Naupactum, & others: which ſtanding as it were in the boſom of his empire, *Mahomet* ſore longed after. And therefore to ſatisfie his ambitious deſire, ſent *Solyman* (the great Baſſa of Europe) with a ſtrong fleet into Peloponeſus. Who entring the gulfe of Corinth, at his firſt comming layd ſiege to Naupactum, now called Lepanto, a city ſtanding in the gulfe of Corinth, in the countrey of Ozolæ neer vnto Locris, ouer againſt Peloponeſus. *Antonius Lauretanus* (for his late good ſeruice done in defending of Scodra, made Admiral for the Venetians) came with ſpeed to Naupactum, and in deſpight of the enemy ſo furniſhed the city both with men and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull, that the Baſſa now out of hope to win the city, roſe vpon the ſudden with his army, and in a great fury departed, after he had lien there foure months. In this fret returning towards Conſtantinople, he put certain companies of his men to ſhore in the Iſland of Lemnos, in hope to haue vpon the ſudden surpriſed the City of Coccinum: but as they were about to haue entred, they were contrary to their expectation, manfully reſiſted by ſuch Chriſtians as by chance were next the gate: where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that city) was much commended; who ſeeing her father ſlain in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, deſperatly fighting in defence of her countrey, with thoſe few which were there at the firſt; and ſo kept the Turks out, vntill the reſt of the citiſens (moued with the alarme) came to the gate, and forced them, not without ſome loſſe, to retyre again to their gallies. Not long after, *Lauretanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Baſſa was departed thence for Conſtantinople, hauing in this expedition don nothing that was expected at his hands.

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not from time to time by one of his great captains or other to inuade Epirus, and the other parts of Albania; aed ſo gaining ſomtime one part, and ſomtime another, had ſubdued moſt part thereof. And about this time his army lay at the ſiege of Croia: for reliefe wherof, the Venetians (in whoſe protection it was) ſent *Franciſcus Contarenus*, a noble gentleman, their lieutenant, with ſuch forces as were ſufficient for the raiſing of the ſiege. He finding the Turks in the plaine of Tyranna, gaue them battell; which a great while ſtood doubtful: at length victory inclining to the Venetians, the Turks began to flie; after whom the Venetians made no great purſuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, took their tents, with ſuch forts as they had raiſed againſt the City. Thus whileſt the Venetians thinke themſelues in ſure poſſeſſion of the victory, & out of feare of their enemies, they were through their own too much ſecurity, by and by themſelues ouerthrown: For whilſt the common ſouldiers hauing their minds more ſet vpon the ſpoyle, than vpon the purſuit of the enemy (the battell as yet ſcarce ended) ſcatter themſelues, and the captaines were conſulting, whether they ſhould lodge that night (which began then to approch) in the enemies tents, or not; in the midſt of their conſultation, the Turks hauing perceiued their diſorder, ſuddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great reſiſtance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight a thouſand of them fell, amongſt whom *Contarenus* the Generall, and diuers others of good place and calling, were ſlain alſo. This ouerthrow the Venetians tooke a great deale better than that which ſhortly after followed in the confines of Italy, at the riuer of Sontium.

Croia beſieged by the Turkes.

Contarenus the Venetian Generall ſlaine.

Mahomet hauing conquered a great part of Albania, and dayly incroaching vpon the Chriſtians, made diuers incurſions into the countries of Dalmatia, Hiſtria, and Carniola; yea, and ſomtimes went ſo far, that he and his Turks entred into the prouince of Friuli, called in antient time, Forum Iulij, a part of the Venetian ſeigniory, and ſo carried away with them many priſoners,with much ſpoyle. For remedy whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and wonderful labour fortified alongſt the riuer of Sontium,from Goritia,to the fens of Aquilea, the ſpace of twelue miles,and there built two Forts,wherin they continually kept ſtrong garriſons for the defence of the country. Wherby the countrey people thinking themſelues now in ſafety,began to fall into ſecurity(the dangerous ſicknes of all common weales)neglecting by their carefull watch to foreſee a far off the enemies comming, as they had before vſed. It fortuned at this time, that *Aſa-Beg* (whom ſome call *Marbecke*) one of the Turks great Captaines, vpon the ſudden when no ſuch thing was feared, came and ſhewed himſelfe in an euening vpon the further ſide of the riuer Sontium,with 1000 horſmen:vpon the ſight of whom, an alarm was raiſed in both forts,and euery man put himſelfe in readines,as if he ſhould euen preſently haue ioyned battel:but it was ſo nigh night,as that nothing could then be done;yet the Venetian garriſons ioyning themſelues together,watcht all that night in arms. There was at that time in both thoſe forts,3000 horſmen,and ſome few companies of footmen,all vnder the command of *Hieronimus Nowel* County of Verona:a famous Captaine of that time: who with the reſt of the captains reſolued if they could, to keep the Turks from paſſing the riuer; if not,then to giue them battell. *Marbecke*, Generall of the Turks army, taking good view of the place, in the night time ſecretly conueyed a thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers ouer the riuer, foure miles off,in ſuch a place as the Venetians feared leſt,deeming it impoſſible for any man, there to haue paſſed ouer. Theſe men he appointed to lie in ambuſh behind a great hill, in ſight,not far from the other ſide of the riuer,& vpon a ſigne giuen,preſently to diſcouer themſelues,and charge the enemy. The next morning very early,he ſent certaine troups of his readieſt horſemen ouer the riuer, which by offring to skirmiſh with the Venetians, might draw them into the field,and then as men in doubt whither to fight or to fly,to tole them on to the place where the ambuſh lay. The Venetians had diuided themſelues into three battalions; whereof the Generall himſelfe had the leading of the firſt, who ſeeing theſe diſordred troups comming to skirmiſh with him,encountred them fiercely, & eaſily put them to flight(being ſo determined before)and in that flight earneſtly purſued them;eſpecially the Counties ſon,a valiant yong gentleman,who with others like himſelfe, thought by that days good ſeruice to gain vnto themſelues great honour. When the Turks General ſaw that the Venetians following the chaſe, were gone a great way from the riuer, he forthwith paſſed ouer with the reſt of his army,and followed the Venetians at the heels:which the Turks which before fled,now beholding,turned again vpon their fierce enemies,and valiantly withſtood them. At which very inſtant the other Turks vpon ſigne giuen ariſing out of ambuſh, came down from the hill Licinis,with ſuch violence and clamour,that the Venetians therewith diſcouraged,would haue fled if they could haue told which way:but they were on euery ſide ſo beſet,that there was no way left for them to eſcape; but were there all ſlaine, except ſome few which yeelded themſelues, and ſo were ſaued. The other two battalions of the Venetians, diſcouraged with the ſlaughter of the firſt,fled incontinently,and in flying were many of them ſlain. In this battell the County himſelfe,with his ſon,and many other notable gentlemen,and halfe the horſmen were loſt. The Turks incouraged with this victory, the next day ſpoyled all the countrey of Friuli,betwixt the riuers of Sontium, (otherwiſe called Liſonzo) and Tiliauentum, and cruelly burnt all the country before them;ſo that at once 100 country villages were to be ſeen on a light fire together, which ſtood ſo thick,that it ſeemed as if one continuall fire had wholly couered all the face of the countrey. The barbarous Turks laden with the ſpoyle of that rich countrey, and driuing before them great numbers of miſerable captiues, as if they had been flocks of ſheep, returned to Sontium. But when they had paſſed the riuer, and had trauelled homeward one days iourney,and all men thought they had now bin quite gon, they ſuddenly returned back again, and poſting through the countrey they had before ſpoyled, came to the riuer of Tiliauentum,which they deſperatly paſſed, and did no leſſe harme on that ſide the riuer,than they had before on the other: and ſo carrying away with them what they pleaſed, returned by the ſame way they came, hauing filled all that part of Italy with terror and feare. This ouerthrow of Sontium the Venetians account among the greateſt loſſes which they receiued from the Turks in all theſe their long wars.

The Turks ſhew themſelues at the riuer of Sontium.

The countrey of Friuli ſpoyled by the Turks.

1478 The next yeare about harueſt the Turks came againe with a far greater power: and paſſing the riuer of Sontium,came before the forts of Gradiſca,where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay with a ſtrong

A ſtrong garriſon of the Venetians, offring him skirmiſh, ſo to haue drawne him into the field. But the wary captain conſidering the great ſtrength of the enemy, and the loſſe receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his ſtrength, but ſtood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemy at ſome more aduantage: which thing the Turks fearing, durſt not diſperſe themſelues abroad for the ſpoyle of the countrey, leauing ſo ſtrong a garriſon of the enemies behind them. And therfore when they had gone about forty miles into the countrey, they turned their courſe vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alps) towards Germany, and there grieuouſly ſpoyled the mountainy people; ſtrangely paſſing through thoſe abrupt and high mountains with their horſes, where men could hardly either go or ſtand on foot without ſomething to ſtay vpon. And ſo when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compaſſe about, returned home another way.

1479

Vid. Marinum Barletium de expug. Scodrenſi.

B *Mahomet* remembring the ſhamefull repulſe he had about foure yeres before receiued at Scodra, and hauing the name of that city dayly ſounding in his eares, determined now once again to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and ſo to giue peace to his ambitious deſires. And becauſe he would not again be diſhonored with that he purpoſed to take in hand he gaue out order into all parts of his dominions, both in Europe & Aſia, for the aſſembling of his beſt ſoldiers and men of war. Now when all things were in readines, and ſuch an army aſſembled as he ſeldome or neuer had a ſtronger; firſt he ſent forth *Aly-Beg* (Warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongſt the riuer Danubius) with eighty thouſand of the ſouldiers called Achanzij, towards Scodra. Theſe Achanzij are horſmen, which for their good ſeruice, according to their deſerts, haue certain lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their C liues; for which they are of duty bound to ſerue vpon their owne charge, as the forerunners of the Turke his army, whenſoeuer he goeth to beſiege any place: theſe be they which firſt enter into the enemies countrey, burning and ſpoyling what they can, vntill they come to the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That ſo ſoon as all the army is come vnto the place to be beſieged, they may then at their pleaſure either depart or ſtay.

The Gouernor of Scodra vnderſtanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks deſignes, with al care & diligence fortified the town, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemy had bin already preſent; and plentifully prouided all things neceſſary for the induring of a long ſiege. The aged and vnneceſſary people he D ſent out of the city into other places of more ſafety farther off; in whoſe ſtead he took in great numbers of ſtrong and able men which dwelt in the country round about: among whom were many mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like quality, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of Scodra, luſty bodies enured to hardneſſe, who in the long ſiege following did great ſeruice.

The poore countrey people fly for feare of the Turks.

Whilſt this preparation was making in Scodra, behold, the mountaines a far off Northward from the city, began to ſhine with many great fires, and all the country was couered with thicke ſmoake, which euery houre ſeemed to draw neerer and neerer; when within ſhort time after, the poore country people (which as yet were not all fled) with ſuch traſh as they could wel carry, came running for life all ouer the country to the ſtrong cities vpon the ſea ſide, crying out that the Turks were come. E

The next day, which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eighty thouſand Achanzij, came into the ſuburbs of the city, and there incamped; ſo that none could goe in or out of the gates: which was not the leſt part of his charge. To him, by the commandment of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* gouernor of Boſna, and *Malcotius* with ſeuen thouſand horſemen ioined themſelues vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Auguſtus*) that the maieſty of his countenance, with the reſplendant beames iſſuing out of his eyes (as if it had bin the rayes of the Sun) were of ſuch piercing brightnes, that no man was able with immooued and fixed eye long to behold the ſame. Theſe horſmen (the forerunners, as I ſaid, of *Mahomets* great army) the Chriſtians much troubled, with often ſallies and ſhot, out of the town, and ſlew many of them F with little or no loſſe vnto themſelues.

When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the city ten daies, came *Taut Gaiola* the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople with fiue and twenty thouſand ſouldiers, and about twelue thouſand camels, for moſt part laden with mettall in maſſe, for to make great Ordnance of, and other neceſſaries for the camp. The Baſſaes great and ſtately Tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon the top of an high hill called the Baſſaes hill, becauſe in that place *Solyman Baſſa* had lien in the former ſiege about foure yeres before: the Baſſa's army lay incamped betwixt the ſame hil and the towne. This *Taut Gaiola* was borne in Epirus of baſe parentage, and was from thence by the Turks carried away young to Conſtantinople; where for his ſharpneſſe of wit and rare actiuity, he grew into ſuch fauor, firſt with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Bajazet* his ſonne, that he was by them promoted to the greateſt places of honour, next vnto themſelues: wherein he became ſo popular, & had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of the people, that it was ſuſpected of ſome he would haue aſpired to the Turkiſh Empire himſelfe. Preſently after the comming of this great Baſſa, workmen were ſet a work about the caſting of the great ordnance, and making readie of other things for the ſiege. The Chriſtians alſo were no leſſe buſie about their fortifications, the Gouernor appointing to euery man his charge, and which part of the wall to defend: yet keeping continually in the market place certain companies (with the enſignes of S. *Marke* and S. *Stephen*) to ſerue as freſh ſupplies, as need or occaſion ſhould require. Whilſt the great ordnance was in caſting, the Baſſa cauſed a great bridge of timber to be made ouer the riuer, that ſo he might at his pleaſure paſſe ouer his men, and command both ſides of the riuer. The Chriſtians in the mean time with vigilant eie ſo attending the Turks, that none of them could ſtir within ſhot, but he was forthwith ſet off and ſlaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of Aſia (commonly called the great Baſſa of Natolia) came alſo in great pompe to the ſiege with thirty thouſand ſouldiers brought out of Aſia: perſonable men, but not counted ſo good ſoldiers as they of Europe: for it is a common ſaying among the Turks, That the men of Europe, and the horſes of Aſia do beſt ſeruice. This great Baſſa was honorably met and welcommed by the other great Baſſa of Conſtantinople, and was quartered vpon another ſide of the city, where his rich pauilion (all of Green) was pitcht in a vineyard about a mile from the town. *Muſtapha* to proue the courage of his ſouldiers, propounded a reward to which ſoeuer of them, as durſt aduenture but to goe and touch the wals of the city: vpon which occaſion, two of his ſoldiers paſſing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterpriſe. But making what haſt they could poſſibly, they were both ſlain from the wall, and one of their bodies recouered by certaine valiant ſouldiers which ſallyed out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a launce ſet vpon the wals for the Turks to behold.

Two of the Turks attempting to touch the wals of Scodra, are both ſlain, and one of their heads ſet vp vpon the wall.

The fifteenth of Iune, 5600 Ianizaries came into the camp, with foure white enſignes: at whoſe comming all the ſouldiers of both the Baſſa's camps gaue a wonderfull ſhout, and welcomed them with great ioy. Theſe are the great Turks guard and beſt ſouldiers, in whom the greateſt ſtrength of his kingdom conſiſteth, and are called the ſons of the great Sultan. After whoſe comming, *Mahomet* himſelfe was daily expected. Three dayes after, came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reuerence done vnto them by the reſt of the Turks, ſeemed to be men of great place and authority: theſe men deſired, that they might with ſafety ſpeake with the Gouernour of the City, and the reſt of the Captaines, to deliuer vnto them ſuch a meſſage, as they had for their good (as they ſaid) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their requeſt being granted, the elder of them, after he had with many glorious words ſet forth the power of his Maſter, and what he had done to other great Cities, with their Princes; and further ſhewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they ſhould long ſtand vpon their defence: he began to perſuade them to yeeld vp the City, aſſuring them of all kind vſage, with many rich rewards from the great Emperor; whereas otherwiſe, they were to expect nothing but extreme miſery and moſt ſhameful death. Wherunto anſwer was in the name of them all giuen by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a graue and worthy citiſen, That they were not afraid of the greatneſſe of *Mahomet*, or of any thing he had done, or could doe: and that he ſhould find it hard to inforce them, but impoſſible to perſuade them to deliuer their city: and therefore that he might at his pleaſure vſe his forces againſt men fully reſolued rather to yeeld vnto nature her laſt due, than to hearken to any compoſition: and in concluſion told them, that if they ſhould at any time after make any ſuch motion, they ſhould not expect any other anſwer than from the mouth of the Canon. With which ſhort anſwer theſe great men departed, not a little diſcontented.

At this ſame time the ſtrong city of Croia (which the worthy *Sanderbeg* had liuing ſo honorably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdome, in the protection and poſſeſſion of the

A the Venetians) hauing holden out a yeres ſiege, after that all the kingdome of Epirus & moſt part of Albania was loſt, for lack of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerſtarued defendants (who then ſeemed rather ghoſts than men) might at their pleaſure in ſafety depart: which agreement the faithleſſe Turke brake, and without mercy put them all to the ſword. This heauy news was deliuered to them of Scodra, by certain Chriſtians in the Turks camp: wherewith they were much grieued, but nothing at all diſcouraged.

Whiles the Turks thus lay at the ſiege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of Scodra (being in circuit about an hundred miles) came many times downe the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turks camp: for remedy whereof, they were inforced to build certain ſmall gallies to keep them in, who for all that, many times ſtole ſecretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

B The two and twentieth of Iune, the Turks mounted two great peeces of ordnance vpon the top of the hill wheron the Baſſa lay; whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round ſtone, of three hundred pound weight, & the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherwith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of Artillery at the foot of the ſame hil; which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the reſt, about the middle of the ſame hil; which caried a ſhot of ſix hundred and fifty pound weight. In this while, eight thouſand of the Turks ſoldiers, called Aſapi (which are known from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the camp. And ſhortly after came *Mahomet* himſelfe with all his army to the riuer of Drimon, whither the two great Baſſaes of Aſia and Conſtantinople C went with great pomp and triumph to meet him.

The ſecond of Iuly, *Mahomet* with all his army before the riſing of the Sunne came to the campe before Scodra: where after he had well viewed the ſcituation thereof, he is reported to haue ſaid, *O what a faire and ſtately place hath the Eagle choſen out for her ſelfe to build her neaſt, and to hatch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pauilions were ſet vp for *Mahomet* himſelfe, but one far greater than the reſt, diſtant from them about a flight ſhot, which was the place wherein he held his councell; the other were for his owne priuat vſe. Round about theſe his tents, lay the Ianizaries incamped, a good diſtance off; yet ſo cloſe one to another, as if it had bin a perpetuall rampire or ſtrong trench, whereinto was but one entrance, continually garded with a moſt D ſtrong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the reſt of the army encamped: ſo that al the countrey as farre as a man could ſee was couered, and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe ſnow: and ſtill more people reſorted to the campe dayly; ſo that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his army of all ſorts of people, about 350000 men, all gaping to deuoure that poor city: a ſight of it ſelfe ſufficient to haue danted the courage of right valiant men: but what can be terrible to them that feare not to die? Againſt this terror of the enemy, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable perſuaſions and exhortations of one *Bartholomeus*, a Preacher, (ſometimes one of the worthy *Scanderbegs* ſouldiers) who afterwards giuing himſelfe to the ſtudy of diuinity, became a zealous Preacher, and in this ſiege did notably comfort the Chri- E ſtian defendants againſt the terror of ſo great an army of miſcreants. Al this while the battery was ſtill maintained; and the fifth of Iuly the Turks mounted two other great peeces, wherof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Baſſa's mount, was of an incredible greatnes, diſcharging a ſhot of twelue hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whoſe name it was with much cunning and induſtry made: with which huge peece, the Turks euen from the beginning of the ſiege had threatned the beſieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes peece. The next day they planted vpon the ſame mount a ſeuenth peece, which carried a ſhot of fiue hundred and fifty pound weight: from which time they battered the city with the aforeſaid ſeuen great peeces, and ceaſed not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to caſt great bals F of wild fire into the city, ſo to haue ſet it on fire: wherby diuers of the citizens were inforced to vncouer their houſes couered with ſhingle, and by men appointed for that purpoſe, to watch the fall of ſuch fire-workes, and ſo to quench the ſame: which they ſo carefully looked to, as that the deuiſe of the enemy took no effect at all. At the ſame time alſo the Turks out of their ſhort mortar peeces, caſt huge great ſtones of incredible weight, which falling from hie, did

Mahomet in perſon himſelfe commeth vnto the ſiege of Scodra.

The order of Mahomets campe.

moſt terribly cruſh in peeces whatſoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few dayes after, the enemy mounted three other great peeces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and carried a bullet of thirteen hundred weight; from which time they dayly battered the city with ten ſuch peeces, as the like hath ſeldome times bin heard of: and the arrows fell ſo thick into the city, as if it had bin continuall ſhowres of haile, ſo that no man could well goe or ſtir in the ſtreets without hurt. Yet in the middeſt of all theſe dangers the Chriſtians valiantly defended the city, and with their deadly ſhot from the wals and mounts exceedingly anoyed the enemy. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Baſſa's mount, and the ſame day battered the wals with a hundred ſeuenty eight ſhot of this huge artillery.

Mahomet hauing by the fury of his great ordnance, beaten down a great part of the wall, and that now nothing ſtood in his way but ſuch ſimple repaires as the defendants had made of timber & planks, with earth caſt in betwixt, was in good hope in ſhort time to becom maſter of the towne: and therefore ſent certain companies of his Ianizaries and other ſoldiers (which he with continual ſupplies of freſh men ſtil relieued) to aſſault the breaches, ſo if it were poſſible to enter the towne, or at leaſtwiſe to burn ſuch fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which ſeemed vnto him at firſt ſo eaſie, he found in execution full of difficulty and danger: for the Turks approaching the breach, found there reſolute men, a ſurer defence than any wall: whoſe valiant courage ſerued in-ſtead of a ſtrong bulwarke. So whilſt the Turks deſperatly ſtriue in the face of the breach either to enter or to ſet fire vpon the new fortifications made for moſt part of timber, and the defendants with no leſſe reſolution do what they may to the vtmoſt to repulſe them, many were on both ſides ſlaine, but eſpecially of the aſſailants. Which *Mahomet* well perceiuing, and that by that manner of aſſault he gained nothing but notable loſſe and ſpoyle of his beſt men, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his battery to be againe forthwith renewed; euery day ſhaking the wall with 160 or 180 moſt terrible great ſhot, and one day with 194, the greateſt battery that he made in one day during that ſiege.

After this great battell, the tyrant cauſed a freſh aſſault to be giuen, but with little or rather worſe ſucceſſe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, and among them, ſome of good place, as *Franciſcus Patauinus*, *Franciſcus Scorbaro*, two Italian captains, and ſome other of the better ſort of the citizens were there ſlain with the great ſhot, wherof the enemy that day diſcharged into the breaches 193, yet were they with greater loſſe inforced againe to retire, and with ſhame to giue ouer the aſſault.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, *Mahomet* continuing his batterie with no leſſe fury than before, ſtill ſought by force of his artillery to open a way into the city: and the third day after the former aſſault, gaue a more furious and deſperat attempt vnto the city than before, inſomuch that the Turkes were in the breaches come to handy ſtrokes with the Chriſtians, and there made a moſt cruell and deadly fight; wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks moſt; yet were there many of the Chriſtians alſo ſlaine, eſpecially with the Turks great ordnance. It was a right ruthfull ſight to haue ſeen the rampiers at the great gate of the city beaten down flat to the ground, and to lie ful of the rent bodies of the Chriſtians; at which place the enemy ſo preuailed, that he was euen now ready to haue entred; for the Turks ſo furiouſly aſſailed the defendants, and the murthering ſhot from the Baſſa's mount fell ſo thicke and ſo terribly into the breach, beſide the infinit number of arrows, that there was ſcarce any of the Chriſtians which defended that place, but they were either ſlain or grieuouſly wounded. But when all ſeemed now moſt deſperat and forlorn, and the greedy enemy euen ready to deuoure his prey, a new ſupply of luſty ſouldiers well armed, came couragiouſly to the breach, and as Lyons encountring the enemy, draue him down again, and ſo inforced him with great loſſe to retire. *Mahomet* grieued with this repulſe, in his fury cauſed 173 great ſhot to be diſcharged into the city, and afterwards ſending for his great Baſſa's, and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind, as followeth:

Mahomet purpoſing to giue a generall aſſault, incourageth his captaines and ſouldiers thervnto.

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthy ſoldiers) that now it is the third month ſince this city hath by vs bin moſt ſtreitly beſieged, and with all manner of Artillery and engines of war impugned, aſſaulted, and on euery ſide aſſailed, the wals thereof vtterly ſubuerted, and the bulwarkes layd flat with

the

A *the ground, and (as you ſee) as good as raſed: beſides that, ſo oft as we haue ſet fire vpon their fortreſſes, ſo often we haue prouoked them of Scodra to fight, and haue alſo much vexed them with aſſaults. Laſt of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnproued, nothing vnattempted, which could be deuiſed, the eaſilier to ouercome them, being wearied, worne out, and their ſtrength ſpent. Wherefore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enemy can recouer his ſtrength or repaire his breaches, let vs incloſe the city round, and giue them a general and terrible aſſault: and therfore euery one of you make your ſelues ready, and exhort your ſouldiers in the camp, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the city. Now will I proue and know them that are worthy of my pay. Thou the Baſſa of Conſtantinople, with thy ſquadrons and certain companies of the Ianizaries our faithfull guard giue charge vnto the breach:* B *in the mean time, let the Baſſa of Aſia with his power aſſault the other parts of the city: let euery man make ready and bring with him what ſo is needfull for this generall aſſault; my mind giueth mee, that to morrow before this time we ſhall win the city: for who is there can reſiſt vs? The town (as you ſee) is bared both of wall and all other defence: the bulwarkes and ditches are laid euen, and an eaſie way for vs to come vnto it: the citizens themſelues weary with ſo many fights and aſſaults, faint and want ſtrength: whereas we are ſtill freſh and luſty: they in number few, we almoſt innumerable: beſides that, we farre paſſe them in the force of our artillery, wherewith many of them ſhall periſh in the defending of the breaches. Who then can gainſay, but that they of Scodra are already our priſoners? Where, vpon ſuch as remaine aliue, I will at my pleaſure vſe the law of armes and captiuity. On therefore couragious hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of Scodra hatefull vnto vs? For which of you doth not with great diſdaine call to* C *remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly ſlaine vnder theſe wals? Can you digeſt your hatred againſt them of Scodra? And ſo many ſlaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harms receiued from them long ſince, let vs but look vpon our late ſlaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeres ſince that we made war with theſe men of Scodra, wherein ſo many thouſands of our people fell, that their ſlaughter is yet almoſt obiects to our eyes, and their bloud crauing reuenge. This very hill whereon we ſtand, and the ſtones yet ſeeme beſprinckled and polluted with their bloud. Wherefore haſte you as men of courage: Take vp armes, valiantly mount the hill, aſſault the town, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your ſelues to the full in the effuſion of the Chriſtian bloud, whereunto our lawes do ſo much exhort vs, and doe what you may with force and ſword, that not one of them of Scodra be left aliue: which you may eaſily bring to paſſe, hauing* D *all things therunto needfull: for there is nothing to withſtand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victory. All things are prepared, all things are ready: an eaſie matter it is for a ſtrong man to ouercome the weake and feeble, that wanteth ſtrength, as do they.*

This ſpeech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applauſe and good liking of the hearers: and now was Scodra to be with all might and main aſſaulted, and not a man there left aliue. Herupon proclamation was made throughout the camp, That euery man vpon pain of death ſhould be ready againſt the appointed time: and the great captains and commanders of the army, departing from *Mahomet*, went vp to the top of the hill whereon the Baſſa lay, and from thence taking view of the city, & laying their heads together, conſulted how they might E beſt giue the aſſault. The defendants on the other ſide alwaies expecting their enemies houering ouer their heads, left nothing vndone that they could poſſibly deuiſe, for the defence of themſelues and the city. Now vpon the top of the Baſſaes mount, was a royall pauilion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the proud tyrant might plainly behold all the aſſault, who with the dawning of the day (being the 22 of Iuly) entring the ſame, the Turks who in the couert of the night had conueied themſelues as neere vnto the wals as they could, vpon the ſignall of battell giuen by a tire of ordnance diſcharged from the Baſſaes mount, ſuddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as Bees, in hope by their ſudden approch to haue taken the Chriſtians at ſome aduantage, wherin they were much deceiued. For they alwaies doubting ſuch a matter, and carefully obſeruing the leaſt motion of the enemy, were alwaies in F readines to meet with their attempts: ſo that the Turks deſperatly ſtriuing to gain the breaches, and the Chriſtians valiantly defending the ſame, there was in diuers places begun a moſt cruell and mortall fight: but eſpecially neere vnto the great gate, where the fury of the cannon had made the wals moſt ſaultable. There the enemy was come to fight hand to hand, and pre-

The city of Scodra aſſaulted by the Turkes the fourth time

uailing vpon the defendants, had ſet vp one of the Turks enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers; G
which *Mahomet* beholding, reioyced exceedingly, thinking the city now as good as taken.
But the Chriſtians ſeeing the danger, ſpeedily repaired thither with new ſupplies, & by plain
force draue the enemy out againe, and beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them alſo that were
comming vp, they caſt downe peeces of timber, great ſtones, wildfire, pots of lime, and ſuch other
things as might moſt annoy them: as for ſhot, none fell in vaine by reaſon of the wonderfull
multitude of the Turks, who ſtood ſo thicke, that a man could hardly haue caſt downe a
grain of muſtard ſeed from the wal but it muſt needs haue light vpon ſome of them: by which
means the Turks were notably repulſed, their enſigne pluckt down, and they inforced to retire
from the wals. Which ſudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith
commanded his great ordnance, with greater fury than euer, to be diſcharged into the H
breach: and with great words commanded the two chiefe Baſſaes which ſtood by him vpon
the mount, to go preſently downe and inforce the ſouldiers which were already retired, to returne
again to the aſſault. Theſe great commanders ſeeing the tyrant in ſuch a fret, forthwith
deſcended from the hil, and where perſuaſion would not ſerue, with their drawn ſwords inforced
the ſoldiers to returne back again to the aſſault. The Turks knowing that they were now
in the eye of their King, and in the preſence of their greateſt commanders, ſtriue with might
and main to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the city were beaten downe to the
ground, ſhaken before this aſſault with 2539 ſhot of the cannon or other peeces of no leſſe
A moſt terrible aſſault. force. The Chriſtians likewiſe in defence of themſelues and their city, with inuincible courage
oppoſed themſelues againſt the Turks: ſo that a more deſperat fight than there was hardly I
euer to be ſeen, deſperat men with deſperat hand aſſailing one another: and the more to increaſe
the terrour of the day, the thundring ſhot, with the clamour of men, and noiſe of the inſtrumens
of war, was ſo great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently fallen together; and
arrowes falling into the city as if it had bin ſhowres of raine, oftentimes darkned the light of
the day. In this dreadfull fight many of the defendants were ſlain; but of the Turks, twenty to
one. Neer vnto that gate, where this terrible aſſault was giuen, were certain loupes hewne out
of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongſt that ſide of the city, out of which the
Chriſtians with their murdering ſhot made lanes amongſt their enemies, and ſlew them without
number. For all that, the mighty Baſſaes and great captains, one while by perſuaſion, another
while by threatning, ſtill forced them forward, & if any turned back, preſently ſlew him: K
ſo that the Turks ſeeing no leſſe danger in retiring than in fighting againſt the enemy, like
deſperat men thruſt forward by heaps, and were ſlain without number. Yet ſtill preſſing on ſo
long as life laſted, and others ſtepping forward in ſtead of them that were ſlaine, they began againe
to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for moſt part either ſlaine or
hurt) and againe recouered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turks enſignes.
Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making ſure account that the city was now his own.
But as the common ſaying is, he that reckoneth without his hoſt, muſt reckon twiſe, ſo chanced
it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, from the beginning of the ſiege left in the market place
ready for all euents, and oftentimes wiſhing for ſome occaſion wherein to ſhew themſelues;
being now in good time aduertiſed of the imminent danger, came with ſpeed to the place of L
the aſſault before the Turks had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountring them,
ſlew a great number of them, and forced the reſt from the rampiers; and plucking downe their
enſignes before ſet vp, in ſtead of them placed their own. With which repulſe the Turks were
ſo diſmaied, that they quite forſooke the aſſault, and in deſpight of their imperious commanders,
not expecting any ſigne of retrait, in haſt retired to the campe. *Mahomet* fallen from ſo
great an hope, and grieued aboue meaſure with this ſhamefull repulſe, returned into his pauillion
fretting and fuming as a man halfe mad, where two dayes he tormented himſelfe with
his own paſſions, not admitting any man to his preſence. The Chriſtians afterwards took the
ſpoyle of the dead Turks, and cutting off diuers of their heads, ſet them vp vpon poles round
about the city, to the terror of their fellows. In this aſſault were 12000 of the Turks ſlain, and M
Twelue thouſand Turkes ſlaine in the laſt aſſault. many mo wounded. Of the Chriſtians were loſt 400: and of them that came to the breach, eſcaped
none, but he was wounded more or leſſe.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies digeſted the laſt repulſe, the ſhame wherof grieued him
more than the loſſe it ſelfe; he ſent for both the great Baſſaes of Conſtantinople and Aſia,
and

A and other two of his chiefe Counſellors, with whom he reſolued to giue another aſſault, and thereon to gage his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, That the defendants were ſo weakned & waſted with the former aſſault, that they could not poſſibly hold out another. Whereupon ſtraight commandment was giuen through the camp, that euery man without exception ſhould be ready to go to the aſſault whenſoeuer they were called vpon: and the more to incourage the ſoldiers, great rewards and preferments were promiſed to them which in time of the aſſault ſhould performe any ſpeciall peece of ſeruice. The firſt appearance of the new Moone (which the Turks worſhip with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this generall aſſault: in the mean time he ſpared not to poure out his fury againſt the wals and rampiers of the towne, by the mouth of the cannon. The Chriſtian defendants B on the other ſide, firſt by hearty prayer commended themſelues and their City to the protection of the Almighty, and afterwards with reſtleſſe labour and no ſmall perill, ſpeedily repaired and new fortified whatſoeuer the fury of the Artillery had ouerthrowne or ſhaken; omitting nothing that could be done or deuiſed for the defence of themſelues and their city. Now as ſoon as the new Moone began to ſhew her ſelfe, the Mahometan Prieſts going about the army, gaue the ſoldiers knowledge thereof (as their maner is) by ſinging of a ſong in manner of a proceſſion; whereunto the whole army anſwered with a ſhort reſponde, but with ſuch a terrible noiſe as was wonderfull to heare; and at the ſame time bowing themſelues to the ground, ſaluted the Moon with great ſuperſtition. All their fond ceremonies performed, they began to draw nigh the city ſo thicke, and in number ſo many, that all the ground for the ſpace C of a mile round about Scodra, was thick couered with men. The Chriſtians expecting euery houre to be aſſailed, were ready vpon the wals and rampiers of the City, to repulſe the enemie: but eſpecially at the great gate where moſt danger was feared, for that the Turks with their great ordnance had made that place of all others moſt ſaultable. Here *Iacobus Moneta* a noble captain, with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman, tooke vpon them to receiue the firſt aſſault, which is commonly of all others moſt terrible: for the Turks vſe in their aſſaults to giue three attempts, whereof the firſt is moſt furious and dangerous, as performed by their beſt ſouldiers: the other two are of leſſe force; but if they faile in all three, they forſake the enterpriſe as men diſcouraged. Whileſt both the aſſailants and defendants ſtood thus in readines, the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went D vp to the top of the Baſſa's mount, from whence he had before beholden the former aſſault: at whoſe comming there were preſently 11 canons diſcharged, and 12 ſmaller pieces (the ſignall appointed for the aſſault.) The Turks vpon this ſigne giuen, with exceeding tumult and moſt hideous outcry (as their manner is) began to aſſaile the City round, and with ſuch wonderfull agility of body and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it were in a trice ſet vp one of their enſignes, which wrs forthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, and the Turks with great ſlaughter driuen down, where many of them were ſlain with ſtones, timber, fire, and ſuch other things caſt down vpon them; beſide a great number ſlain or wounded with ſhot, arrows, and darts, whereof none fell to the ground in vain, by reaſon that the Turks ſtood ſo thicke, that they violently preſſed one another forward, in ſuch ſort, that the formoſt could E by no meanes ſhun any danger, were it neuer ſo great or terrible. In this ſort the aſſault was with great ſlaughter of the Turks continued vntill it was day, they ſtriuing to win the breach, and the Chriſtians moſt valiantly defending the ſame. *Moneta* himſelfe in this fight receiued diuers wounds, and was twice beaten down to the ground; yet ſtill recouering himſelfe, incouraged his ſoldiers, and worthily repulſed the enemy. *Mahomet* ſeeing his ſoldiers beaten from the breach, cauſed a tyre of his great Ordnance to be diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians which ſtood therein thick for the defence therof, by force whereof many of them were rent in pieces, and the reſt ſore diſmayed: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith incouraged came on againe with a freſh charge, forcing themſelues to the vtmoſt to haue entred. But the valiant captain nothing diſcouraged either with the loſſe of them that were ſlain, or the dan- F ger of himſelfe, valiantly withſtood the furious enemy, and maintained the place till new ſupplies came to relieue him, & departed not thence, nor ſuffred any man to depart, til the aſſault was ended. Many were ſlain on both ſides; yet nothing troubled the defendants ſo much as the great ordnance, which being diſcharged from the Baſſa's mount, into the breach, when as the Turks were driuen back, ſlew many of the Chriſtians, leauing the breach almoſt cleere: ſo gi-

The Turks ſuperſtitiouſly reuerence the new Moone.

Scodra againe moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turks.

uing occaſion for the Turks to haue entred,had not other couragious ſoldiers ſtept vp in ſtead of them that were ſlain,who manfully repulſed the enemy. The tyrant from the mount ſeeing the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but fully reſolued now or neuer to haue it,commanded all his forces to be drawne from all other parts of the city,to the great gate,there to renew the aſſault;ſtreitly charging his captains,neuer to return thence vntill they had taken the city. Hereupon the greateſt part of that huge army was forthwith in the ſight of himſelfe brought to the appointed place,and there gaue a ſharp and cruel aſſault at the breach,with ſuch deſperat fury,that in ſhort time they had ſlain moſt of the defendants there preſent,and aduanced diuers of their enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the Mount,rejoiced exceedingly,making ſure account,that the city was now his own: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope,new ſupplies of freſh and couragious men(of purpoſe reſerued for all euents)came to the place of danger,and with great reſolution encountring the wearied Turks, draue them backe, cleared the breach, and ouerthrew the enſignes. Which ſo ſudden an alteration in the breach,wrought no leſſe alteration in the proud tyrants mind, his hope was turned into deſpaire, and his joy into choler: inſomuch that in his fury he commanded all the great artillery to be at once diſcharged into the breach, whereby many of his forward and couragious ſouldiers were ſlaine together with the defendants. At the ſame time the great commanders & captains knowing themſelues to be in the eie of their imperious lord and maſter,with their drawne ſwords forced the poore ſoldiers again forward to the breach; and the more to encourage them,aduentured themſelues alſo among them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Many of the Turks were there ſlaine; yet ſuch was the force and multitude of them which ſtill ſtept vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew ſo thicke, that the defendants oppreſſed with multitude,and ouerwhelmed with ſhot, were hardly able longer to maintain the place, being for moſt part either ſlain or wounded. Wherupon a great cry ran vpon the ſudden thorow the city, that euery man without exception ſhould forthwith repaire to the breach. Which was with ſuch cheerfulnes done,that in leſſe time than was to haue bin thought,a wonderfull multitude of all ſorts of people was there met together, encouraging one another againſt the preſent danger; who all as men reſolued to lay downe their liues in defence of their country, valiantly encountred the Turks vpon the top of the rampiers, and ſo hardly laid vnto them, that notwithſtanding their great number,they began now again to wauer and ſhrinke back. Which thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount,in great rage commanded his canoniers,as faſt as they could to diſcharge the great ordnance into the breach, without regard of his owne men, ſo that together with them he might alſo kil ſome of the Chriſtians:and withall imperiouſly commanded his captaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the aſſault,threatning them with moſt horrible death, if they returned without victory. Hereupon the aſſault was againe renewed,euery man (in ſhew at leaſt) ſet downe there to doe his laſt deuoire. But the great ordnance ſtill playing vpon the breach,ſlew many of the Turks as well as of the Chriſtians. Thrice the great ſhot fell amongſt the Turks themſelues,and rent in ſunder a great number of them which was formoſt, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt: whereof the tyrant had ſmall regard,ſo that together with them he might alſo diminiſh the number of the defendants. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the deſperat fury of the enemy, that the city was in no ſmall danger to haue been preſently taken, had not freſh ſupplies come from other parts of the city which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage reſiſted the enemy. Yet the Turks far exceeding in number(and freſh men continually ſtepping vp in ſtead of them which lay by heaps vnder their feet,and ſerued them in ſtead of ſteps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordnance alſo ſore annoyed the defendants, ſo that with one ſhot (whereby the greatneſſe of the harmes done at other times may be gathered)eighteene of the Chriſtian defendants were ſlaine. As for arrowes,they flew as thicke as haile into the city, ſo that they obſcured the light of the day, and lay in moſt places of the ſtreet a ſpan thicke: ſo that for the ſpace of a moneth after, the inhabitants vſed no other fuell to burne, but Turkiſh arrowes. It was a ruthfull ſight, to haue ſeene the bodies of the valiant Chriſtians rent in ſunder with the great ſhot, and pieces of them cleauing vpon euery wall thereabout, euery ſtreet was ſtained with their bloud, the great ordnance continually thundred, Churches and houſes came ratling downe, yea, the heauy countenance of the

The aſſault renewed againe fiercely by the Turks.

A woefull ſight.

A air it ſelf ſeemed to bewail the miſery of the poor Chriſtians: beſides, the noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of War, with the horrible cry of the helliſh Turks was ſo great and hideous, that it ſeemed as if heauen and earth ſhould haue gon together: nothing was to be heard but the very terrour of the ear, nothing to be ſeen but death, and the inſtruments of death. And in this extremity a great cry ran through the City, That without preſent help all would be loſt at the great gate: wherupon not only they which were whole (which were the feweſt in number) but they alſo which lay wounded or ſick in their beds, chering themſelues vp, with weapons in their hands ran with ſpeed to the place where the danger was, chuſing rather there to die, than to be ſlain in their beds. Thus whilſt the Chriſtians of all ſorts, and from all parts of the city ran deſperatly to the gate, the Turks were on euery ſide hardly preſſed, B and in great number ſlain: yet freſh men ſtil comming vp, as if they had ſprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them ſtil maintained; for the Turks on the one ſide for fear of the tyrant, laboured with might and main to win the City: and the Chriſtians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they ſhould be ouercome, with no leſſe reſolution defended the ſame. In this obſtinacy of minds many fel on both ſides; ſomtime the Turks ſeemed to haue the better, and were ſtraitway by the Chriſtians put to the worſe. Which maner of mortal fight with doubtful euent was continued moſt part of that day; vntil that at length many being on both parts ſlain, and the reſt for the moſt part ſore wounded and hurt, the fury of the aſſault began to aſſwage: for the Turks now weary of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great ſtomack to mount vp the rampiers, where they ſaw no hope C to preuail, but all things threatning preſent death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderful ſlaughter of his men, and that hauing don what was poſſible, they now fought as men diſcouraged; and in diſpair of victory himſelf, cauſed a retreit to be ſounded: which the Turks no ſooner heard, but that they left the aſſault, and without order ran to their Tents as men half feared out of their wits.

A doubtfull fight.

Of this victory the Chriſtians (as they had good reaſon) reioiced greatly; yet was this ioy mingled with much ſorow and heauines, for the loſſe of ſuch worthy men as were ſlain in that aſſault, many of whoſe bodies they were glad to gather vp by piece-meale, ſome here, ſome there, ſome cleauing on this wal, and ſome on that, which they, as the time would giue leaue, honorably buried with the reſt of the ſlain. At which time alſo they with all diligence & ex- D pedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in ſuch readineſſe as if they ſhould haue preſently receiued a freſh aſſault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieued with the ſhameful diſhonor and great loſſe he had receiued at the laſt aſſault, repented himſelf that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wiſhing that he had neuer heard of the name of Scodra: and in his choler and frantick rage moſt horribly blaſphemed againſt God; moſt wickedly ſaying, That it were enough for him to haue care of heauenly things, and not to croſſe him in his earthly actions: in which fury hee deſcended from the mount, and got him into his Tent, where he again tormented himſelf with his melancholy paſſions by the ſpace of two daies, wherin he would neither be ſpoke withall, or admit any man to his preſence. Vpon the third day he called a general Councel of his comman- E ders and beſt ſouldiers, and therupon openly before them all ſaid, That hee was determined to giue the enemy a freſh aſſault, for that being weakned with ſo many aſſaults, hee could not poſſibly be able to hold out another; and therefore he hoped for an eaſie victory. But he had no ſooner ſo ſayd, but all they that heard him, cried out with one voice to the contrary, ſaying that it was not by any means to bee attempted; foraſmuch as his beſt ſouldiers were already ſlain, and the greater part of them that were left, either ſore wounded, or brought vnto that weaknes, that they were not able to do any more ſeruice: and that therefore it were better for them to kil one another, or els himſelf to kill them one by one, than to expoſe them to bee ſhamefully butchered by the Chriſtians. In this diuerſitie of opinions, *Achmetes Baſſa* the great Champion of the Turks (a man reuerend and of great authority, for his birth, yeares, F and rare experience in martiall affaires, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) ſtanding vp, with pleaſing ſpeech calmed his furious mind, and with ſubſtantial reaſons perſuaded him to deſiſt from that his intended purpoſe, and take another ſurer courſe, in manner following.

A notable ſpeech of the great Baſſa *Achmetes*.

Your great valor and worthy praiſes, inuincible Emperor (ſaid he) *who is able to expreſſe? the greatnes wherof the mind of man cannot conceiue, and my dul ſpirit but wonder at: my tongue faltreth to ſpeak of them, neither would this time ſerue ſo much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honor (moſt dread Soueraign) when a Prince hath receiued a kingdom from his Aunceſtors, to be able in ſafety to keep and defend the ſame: greater than this is it, honourably to increaſe and augment it ſo left: but of a ſmall thing, by worthy proweſſe to bring it to the higheſt type of worldly honour, is of all other earthly things the greateſt. Which moſt rare excellencie all men worthily aſcribe to your perfection and felicitie: and I, of all others, can therof bring the moſt aſſured teſtimony, who haue often heard it of myne Anceſtors (which followed the* Othoman *Princes out of Aſia into Europ) that your worthy predeceſſors at their firſt comming into Europ (without offence be it ſaid) poſſeſſed but a corner therof. To whom you afterward by diuine appointment ſucceeding, haue added ſo many prouinces, kingdoms, and empires, as were tedious to rehearſe them. For who can worthily expreſſe, how you haue in Europe ſubdued Conſtantinople, the Imperial city of the Eaſt empire, with all Thracia, Achaia, Grecia, Peloponeſus, Bœotia, Thebes, and the noble city of Athens, the mother and nurſe of all good learning. The empire of Trapezond, with the Emperor therof, is by you ouerthrown: The kingdoms of Servia and Boſna, with the princes of Peloponeſus are by you gloriouſly vanquiſhed. You haue at your command twelue Kingdoms in Aſia the leſſer; Pontus, Bythinia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, Phrygia, Nicomedia, and Nicea, with the famous city of Pruſa. Beſide theſe, Ionia, Doris, Smyrna, Colophon, Epheſus, Miletum, Halicarnaſſus, Pergamus, with the country of Taurica, are vnder your ſubiection. The great countrey of Armenia hath felt your force: the Iſlands of Lesbos, Chios, and Eubœa are parts of your empire. What ſhould I ſpeak of infinit people and nations by you moſt victoriouſly vanquiſhed? This may ſuffice for all, That you haue gained from the Chriſtians twenty prouinces, and two hundred great cities. For it were too long to rehearſe the* Mahometan *Kings and princes by you alſo vanquiſhed: In all your expeditions all things haue yet giuen place to your fortune. The antient monuments may now ceaſe to extoll the praiſes of* Cæſar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, *and other Chieftains of Rome and forrein nations: for why, they are all inferior to you both for victories and countries ſubdued. The* Othoman *Family is vndoubtedly fatall for ſoueraignty; all the world ſhall in ſhort time come vnder your gouernment, and all Nations ſhal ſerue you. As for this town of Scodra, let it not ſo much grieue you worldly things (you know) do oftentimes deceiue our expectation; in them fortune beareth great ſway. Yet for this matter quiet your ſelf; for I dare gage my faith vnto your Imperial Maieſty, that I will in ſhort time find meanes that this City ſhall ſtand at your deuotion. Did not I of late bring into your ſubiection the impregnable city of Croia, which you ſo much deſired? But wheras you would now again forthwith attempt to win it by aſſault, I therin craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of your opinion, but muſt needs think far otherwiſe: for, to attempt War, and to be ouerthrown, is an eaſie matter for euery one to do; but to vanquiſh the enemy, and to carry away the victory, that right few men know. He that conſulteth of ſuch great and weighty matters ought to be free both from fury and deſire, both euill Counſellors. The Chriſtians of Scodra are not in my opinion to be again aſſaulted, for in ſo doing you ſhall but loſe your labor. For if you could not ſubdue them, your Army being then freſh and ſtrong, how ſhall you now ouercome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weake, and feeble? I haue viewed the whole camp, and ſearched euery tent; and found no place, no tent, yea ſcarſly any cabin without groaning, ſighing, weeping, or wailing: in all places was heauines, ſorow, mourning, and death it ſelf: for in the laſt aſſault you loſt aboue 30000 of your beſt ſouldiers: many mo are grieuouſly wounded and maimed; none, but he carieth about him ſome ſigne that he was there: few or none there bee that dare again mount the hill to giue a freſh aſſault, they are all ſo afraid and diſcouraged. Whom when I demanded, how ſo great a fear was come vpon them, and what was the cauſe they had ſo loſt their wonted courage? They anſwered me, That it was the look, euen the very look of them of Scodra, whoſe eies ſeemed vnto them to burn and ſparkle with fire: their ſtern and terrible countenances (ſaid they) haue ſtrook this terror into vs. Wherfore I think it not good to giue a freſh aſſault with men ſo diſmaied; but rather to vſe policie and delay againſt ſuch reſolute enemies. This city of Scodra is the eie and head of all this prouince, which the Venetians haue notably fortified, and planted with ſtore of ordnance and all things els neceſſary for defence therof; but eſpecially with moſt valiant ſoldiers, of purpoſe choſen out of many of their garriſons for the defence of this City. You haue not now to do with the weak and effeminat people of Aſia, but with the hard and rough people of Epirus. And you know (moſt mighty emperor) the ſtrength & courage*

of

A *of this Nation: it is now thirty years that you haue made war againſt this people, and haue not yet altogether*
ſubdued them; and how dangerous and chargeable this war hath bin vnto you, who knoweth not. It
is now ſix moneths ſince we came firſt before this city; we haue intrenched our ſelues round about it, wee
haue day and night layd hard ſiege to it, we haue battered it of long with 11 *canons; I ſpeak not of other*
ſmall pieces or engins of war, with other kinds of ſhot and fire-workes, and whatſoeuer els wee could deuiſe.
We haue many times to our coſt aſſaulted it; what could be don by force, ſtrength, or multitude of valiant
men, is already don in the former aſſaults: Nothing hath bin left vnattempted, no policy, no direction hath
wanted in your leaders, neither courage in your ſoldiers. What ſhould I count the innumerable great ſhot,
or ſpeak of our arrows and darts, deliuered into the city as ſhoures of hail? Did all this, or any thing elſe
we could do, any thing terrifie theſe defendants? Were they not, nay are they not ſtill ready with great aſſurance
B *and courage at all aſſays to incounter vs? You take a wrong courſe, by force to conſtrain them: they*
haue taken vpon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be remoued; there ſhall you bee ſure
ſtill to find them either aliue or dead; and what account they make of their liues, you ſee, they wil ſel them
vnto vs dear for their country, and prefer an honorable death before a ſeruile life. Wherfore againſt men
ſo ſet down, policie is to be vſed; and them whom we cannot by force ſubdue, let vs by delay and time ouercome.
If you will win Scodra, block it vp, build ſtrong forts in places conuenient round about it, & furniſh
them with good ſoldiers, make a bridge ouer Boliana, with a ſtrong caſtle on either ſide, to ſtop the paſſage:
which don, beſiege the other weaker cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the limbes of Scodra, and
ſubdue the country round about; which will be no hard matter for you to do, being maſter of the field. So
muſt Scodra at length of neceſſity yeeld vnto you, as of late did Croia, inforced therunto by famin. Thus
C *may you in ſafety without ſlaughter of your people, come to the full of your deſires.*

The wholſom counſel of the Baſſa ſo well pleaſed *Mahomet* himſelf and the reſt there preſent,
that the aſſault was layd aſide, and preſently order taken for the ſpeedy execution of that
which was ſo wel by him plotted. Whereupon the Baſſa of Conſtantinople with his forces
was ſent to Zabiache, a city in the borders of Dalmatia, ſtanding vpon the lake of Scutari, not
far from Aſcriuium, which in few days was yeelded vnto him. The Baſſa poſſeſſed of the city,
thruſt out all the inhabitants, and leauing therin a garriſon of the Turks, returned againe to
the camp at Scodra. At the ſame time the great Baſſa of Aſia was alſo ſent by *Mahomet* againſt
Driuaſto, a city alſo of the Venetians; which hauing beſieged and ſore battered by the
D ſpace of ſixteen daies, the great tyrant came thither in perſon himſelf, and the next day after
his comming took the city without any great reſiſtance. Such as he found vpon the walls he
put to the ſword; of the reſt hee tooke three hundred away with him to the camp at Scodra,
and there in the face of the city cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlain, of purpoſe ſo to terrify the
defendants. The next day after, he ſent the great Baſſa of Conſtantinople to Lyſſa, called alſo
Aleſſa, a city of the Venetians, ſcituated vpon the riuer Drinus, about thirty miles from Scodra.
The Baſſa comming thither found the city deſolate (for the citiſens hearing of his comming,
were for fear before fled, for which cauſe he ſet the city on fire. Here the Turks digged
vp the bones of the worthy prince *Scanderbeg*, for the ſuperſtitious opinion they had of the vertue
of them; and happy was hee that could get any little part therof to ſet in gold or other
E jewell, as a thing of great price, as is before declared. All theſe things thus done, *Mahomet*
committed the direction of all things concerning the ſiege vnto the diſcretion of *Achmetes*;
by whoſe perſuaſion he left a great power for continuing of the ſiege, departing thence himſelf,
with forty thouſand ſoldiers, for Conſtantinople; curſing and banning by the way all
the country of Epirus, with all the inhabitants therin, and euery part therof, their Corn, their
cattel, and whatſoeuer els was fruitfull: but aboue all other things, the City of Scodra, with
all that therin was, for that he had neuer receiued greater diſhonour and loſſe than he had don
there.

Lyſſa taken by the Turks, and Scanderbeg his bones dig'd vp by them, & had in great reuerence.

After his departure, which was about the ſeuenth of September, the two great Baſſa's of
Conſtantinople and Aſia, according to order before taken, built a great bridge ouer the riuer
F Boliana, and on either ſide a ſtrong Caſtle, to the intent that no relief ſhould that way bee
brought into the city. Which work when they had brought to perfection, and furniſhed both
caſtles with garriſons, ordnance, and all things neceſſary, they left *Achmetes Baſſa* with forty
thouſand ſoldiers to continue the ſiege, and returned themſelues, the one to Conſtantinople,

the other into Aſia. The wary and politique Baſſa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon G him, took ſuch order, that no relief could poſſibly be brought vnto the city either by land or water: and ſo lying ſtill before it a long time, hee brought it into ſuch a diſtres and want of all things, that the poor Chriſtians were fain to eat all maner of vnclean and lothſom things; horſes were dainty meat: yea, they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the ſkins of beaſts ſod. It excelleth all credit, to tell at what exceeding price a little mouſe was ſould, or puddings made of dogs guts. All theſe bare ſhifts and extremities the poor Chriſtians were content to endure euen to the laſt gaſp, rather than to yeeld themſelues into the hands of their merciles enemies.

Whilſt Scodra thus lay in the ſuds, the Venetians weary of the long and chargeable War they had to their great loſſe now maintained againſt ſo mighty an enemy by the ſpace of ſixteen H years, and hauing no means to relieue their diſtreſſed ſubjects in Scodra, thought it beſt to proue if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpoſe they ſent *Benedictus Triuiſanus*, a graue Senator, and a man of great experience, to Conſtantinople, who ſo wel vſed the matter, that after long debating to and fro, at length a peace was concluded: whereof the chief capitulations were, That the Venetians ſhould deliuer to *Mahomet* the city of Scodra, the Iſland of Lemnos, and the ſtrong caſtle of Tenarus in Peloponeſus, and pay him yearly eight thouſand ducats; that they might freely after their wonted maner traffique into the Euxine by the ſtreits of Helleſpontus and Boſphorus Thracius, and other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citiſens of Scodra, it was compriſed in the ſame peace, That it ſhould be at their own choiſe, either to liue there ſtil vnder the gouernment of the Turkiſh emperor, I or els at their pleaſure to depart in ſafety with their goods whither they would. *Triuiſanus* hauing in this maner concluded a peace, in his return homeward, the fourth of April found the Venetian Admiral riding at anchor in the mouth of Boliana. From whence they both by letters certified the gouernor and citiſens of Scodra, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turk, and what prouiſion was therin made for them. Vpon receit of which Letters, the Gouernor calling the Citiſens together, declared vnto them how the caſe ſtood, & there with them entred into conſultation vpon this hard queſtion, Whether they would remaine there ſtil in their natiue country, vnder the Turkiſh tyranny; or forſaking the ſame, liue among other Chriſtians in perpetual exile? But after that the matter had bin throughly debated, and many reaſons on both parts alledged; at length it was by general conſent concluded, that they K ſhould all forſake the city & the houſe of bondage, as dangerous both to ſoul and bodie, and liue as it ſhould pleaſe God, amongſt other Chriſtians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the ſafe departure of them of Scodra, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the city, and were by the Venetians carefully tranſported into other parts of their territory in Italy, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now beſieged the City the ſpace of a whole year) after the departure of the Chriſtians entered the City with great joy and triumph; which place with many others therabout, hath euer ſince, to the great ruth of all Chriſtendom, remained in the poſſeſſion of the faithles infidels. Thus was the ſtrong city of Scodra loſt, and the long wars ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians; which hapned in the year 1478. L

A hard choice.

Scodra yeelded to the Turks.

1480. *Mahomet* now at peace with the Venetians, ſent the ſame *Achmetes Baſſa* (by whom hee had but a little before taken in Scodra) with his fleet of Gallies againſt one *Leonard*, who was Prince of Neritus, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Iſlands neer vnto Peloponeſus. Where the Baſſa arriuing, eaſily took the ſame Iſlands; the poor Prince for ſafegard of his life beeing glad to fly into Italy with his Wife and treaſure, to King *Ferdinand*, whoſe nigh kinſwoman he had maried.

About the ſame time, *Alis Beg* ſyrnamed *Michael Ogli*, *Iſa Beg* the ſon of *Caſſanes*, and *Balis Beg* ſyrnamed *Malcozogli* (men of great account amongſt the Turks, and moſt honorably deſcended) entred into Tranſyluania with a great army of an hundred thouſand men, & brought ſuch a generall fear vpon the Countrey, that *Stephanus Batore* the Vayuod was glad with all M ſpeed to fly vnto *Matthias* King of Hungary, to declare vnto him the danger of his Country, and to craue his aid. *Matthias* at the ſame time lay ſick of the gout: neuertheleſſe hee tooke ſuch order by his Captaines, *Stephanus Cherepetrus* and *Paulus Kiniſius* County of Temeſware, that the Turks were incountred not far from Alba Iulia, and there in a great and bloudy battel defeated: wherin *Iſa* one of their chief captains were ſlain, with 30000 Turks mo. Neither was this victory gained by the Chriſtians without loſſe, *Bator* the Vayuod himſelfe beeing ſore wounded, and eight thouſand men ſlain.

Mahomet longeth after the Rhodes.

Mahomet in his ambitious humor had long time deſired to haue in his ſubjection the Iſland of the Rhodes. For why, it grieued him that ſo ſmall an Iſland ſhould lie ſo neer his great dominions in Aſia, holden by a few Chriſtians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the Mediterranian, beſide many other harms daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatnes. But foraſmuch as the winning of that place was thought to be a matter of great difficulty, and in former times vnfortunatly attempted by ſome of the Mahometan princes, he purpoſed now with good aduice to take this matter in hand. Wherfore calling together his graue counſellors and moſt expert men of war, after hee had declared vnto them the manifold injuries receiued from them of the Rhodes, he required their opinion, whether it were beſt to attempt the winning of that Iſland or no? Some forward men perſuaded him to reuenge thoſe injuries don by thoſe Chriſtians, and to ſubdue that Iſland, which for the neernes to Caria, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion; and not to forbear that enterpriſe for fear of repulſe, foraſmuch as he was able to bring more men to aſſail it, than were ſtones in the wal about it. Others better aduiſed declared the ſtrength of the Iſland, with the valor of the defendants; men alwaies brought vp in arms, and as it were choſen out of all parts of Chriſtendom; ſo that it was (as they ſaid) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by ſome ſuppoſed; whereof ſome of the Mahometan princes had to their no ſmall diſhonor already made ſufficient trial; alledging further, That that ſmal Iſland which ſcarſly appeared in the ſea, was not of that worth, as that he ſhould theron gage his honour, with the liues of ſo many good men and moſt valiant ſouldiers as might ſerue to conquer a kingdome. For all that, *Mahomet* prickt forward with the ſpurs of ambition, and continuall ſolicitation of *Anthonius Meligalus* a fugitiue Knight of the Rhodes, reſolued to follow the counſell of them who perſuaded the war. This *Meligalus* was a Knight of the Order, who when he had prodigally conſumed his ſubſtance (which was great) with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his own qualitie and diſpoſition, fled vnto the Turkiſh Emperor, preſenting vnto him a perfect plot of the City, with all the ſtrength both of it and the Iſle wherein it ſtood, and which way he might with moſt eaſe win it. In which ſeruice they frankly offer to ſpend their liues; but hoping indeed by ſuch foul treachery to repair their broken eſtate. All things being now in readineſſe, *Mahomet* appointed *Meſithes Palæologus* one of his chief Baſſa's (the neer kinſman of *Conſtantinus Palæologus* the laſt Emperor of Conſtantinople) General in that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that ſo great an action. *Meſithes* imbarking his army, in number eighty thouſand, and throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the ſiege, ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and with a pleaſant gale of wind ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Aſia the leſſe, towards the Rhodes: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue Knights) to learne of him the beſt meanes for the ſafe landing of his army. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*, and chief author of this War, he was fallen ſick vpon the way; and in the extremity of his ſicknes growing both troubleſom and lothſom vnto the Turkes that were with him in the ſame Galley, was by the mariners throwne ouerboord aliue, crying out in vain for help, no man vouchſafing to haue any compaſſion vpon him: and thus ſwallowed vp of the ſea, hee receiued in the midſt of the waues the guerdon of his trechery.

A death right worthy ſuch a Traitor.

At this time *Peter Damboys* a Frenchman, an Avergnois, a man of ſingular gouernment, was Great Maſter of the Rhodes; whoſe vigilancie was ſuch, that commonly once in eight daies he had certain intelligence what great matters paſſed in the Turks Court: and therewith of ſuch deep judgment, that he was ſeldom or neuer ouertaken or deceiued with falſe aduertiſements. This carefull Grand Maſter was not ignorant of all theſe great preparations, nor of the comming of the Baſſa: and therfore had before ſtrongly fortified the City, and ſo ſtored the ſame with all things needful, as might wel haue ſerued for many years ſiege; but eſpecially with ſuch ſhot and pouder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an eſpecial means whereby the city was afterwards preſerued. At the ſame time, many valiant and noble Gentlemen hearing of the Turks deſignes, repaired thither out of Italy, France, Spain, Germany & other places of Chriſtendom, cheerfully to aduenture their liues both in defence of the place & of the Chriſtian religion, againſt the common enemy of Chriſtianity. The great Maſter taking a generall view of all the forces he had, to oppoſe againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, found that he had in the city ſixteen thouſand able men; in which number were reckoned many Iewes and other men of ſeruile condition; who in the ſiege following did right good ſeruice. The great Baſſa conducted by the falſe traitor *Demetrius*, ſafely landed both his Army and Artellery in the Iſland the 22 day of Iune, not far from the city. At which time the Great Maſter conſidering that the ſafety of the City conſiſted more in the liuely valour of the defendants, than in the ſtrength of the dead walls or other warlike prouiſion; thought it requiſit as a part of his duty, by cheerefull perſuaſions to incourage them, valiantly to withſtand the force of their enemies. And therfore calling them all together, ſpake vnto them as followeth: G H

The Great Maſters oration to the reſt of the Knights & ſoldiers, to incourage them valiantly to withſtand the Turks

At length (valiant ſoldiers and Fellowes in Arms) we ſee the Turks our mortall enemies (as wee were before aduertiſed, as well by Letters from our friends, as by common Fame) breathing after our deſtruction: in readineſſe to deſtroy our Churches, our Oratories, our Altars, our Religion, and whatſoeuer els we account ſacred or religious; ſeeking the ruin of this noble City, and the cruell death of vs all; gaping at once, to deuour our liues, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot deny, but that the chance of War is doubtfull, and the euent therof vncertain: So when I conſider your valiant courage and cheerfulneſſe of mind, I preſently conceiue a moſt aſſured hope of victory. They haue entred into Arms againſt vs, not ſo much for any deſert of ours, or vpon any other quarrell; as for the vnſatiable deſire of rule, and the great deſpight they bear againſt vs and the Chriſtian Religion. But to withſtand their fury, and to fruſtrat their deſignes, we want neither weapons nor artillery, nor prouiſion for many years. We haue a moſt ſtrong garriſon of French-men, Spaniards, Germaines, Engliſh, and others, the very chiualry of all Chriſtendom: and that which more is, Chriſt Ieſus our Captain and Generall, by whoſe power we ſhall (no doubt) eaſily repulſe the vain force of our moſt graceleſſe and wicked Enemie. The care we haue for the defence of the Chriſtian faith, wherunto we are by ſpeciall profeſſion bound, will animate and incourage vs againſt them, which ſeek for nothing more, than to extend their wicked and groſſe ſuperſtition, to the great diſhonor of God, and of his ſon Chriſt Ieſus. Beſides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and other worthy Chriſtians: they are of Caria, Lydia, Capadocia, and the other delicat countries of Aſia, effeminat perſons brought vp to pleaſure. I ſay it not to draw you into any manifeſt or inevitable danger, neither to feed you with vain hope, or to fill your eares with windy words: but this I promiſe and aſſure you of, that if this ſiege ſhall continue long, hither will come ſuch ſtrong aid out of France, Italy, and Spain, as will ſerue not only to raiſe the ſiege, but to recouer again the Empires of Conſtantinople and Trapezond. Then ſhall our Enemies ſee no good end of their counſells, but all their deuiſes ſo confounded as that they ſhall hardly be able by ſpeedy flight to ſaue themſelues. But ſuppoſe the hardeſt ſhould happen, which I fear not; would not any man account his life moſt happily and honourably ſpent in defence of a good conſcience, and the quarrell of Chriſt Ieſus? Truly my great years and courſe of life, now almoſt ſpent in defence of the Chriſtian Religion (as I euer deſired) doth call me forth, as one ſo aſſured of that good layd vp for me in heauen by Chriſt Ieſus, (whoſe battell we are to fight) that I no whit fear my enemies force or future chance; which for all that, I haue as far as I could, and to the vttermoſt of my power ſo prouided for, as that we ſhall not (I hope) bee therwith ouerwhelmed. Be you therfore of good cheer and comfort (as I know you are) and ſhew your ſelues valiant and couragious, which reſteth wholly in your ſelues: and as for all the reſt, time and our diſcretion ſhall well prouide, I doubt not. I K L

The valiant men and worthy ſoldiers, reſting vpon the aſſurance of their aged gouernor, departed euery man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Baſſa landed his great army, and ſent *Demetrius* the traiterous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certain troupes of horſmen, and ſome foot, to view the ground, where he might beſt incampe with his Army. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the City, was knowne by *Anthony Damboyſe* the Great Maſters brother; by whoſe leaue he ſallied out with a troup of gallant horſmen, and skirmiſhed with them. But the Turks being far moe in number, caſt about to haue incloſed them: which *Anthony* perceiuing, turned vpon them that were comming behind him, and that with M ſuch force, that he ſlew or wounded moſt part of them. In this hot ſkirmiſh, *Demetrius* hauing his horſe ſlain vnder him, and himſelf ouerthrown, was there trodden to death vnder the horſes feet; an end too good for ſo falſe a traitor. *Muratius* a French Knight, vnaduiſedly deſpoyling his dead body, was by the Turks ſlain, and his head preſented vnto the Baſſa in ſtead of *Demetrius*.

The Baſſa approching the city, at his firſt comming took a great orchard, which the Great Maſter had ſtrongly intrenched, and therin placed certain companies of ſouldiers, with ſome ſmall pieces of ordnance: which place if it could haue bin kept, might fitly haue ſerued the defendants to haue at their pleaſure ſallied out vpon the enemy. But they which were appointed to the keeping therof, either terrified with the ſight of ſo great an Army, or els doubting to be able to hold it againſt ſo great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the city, leauing the great ordnance behind them for haſt. In this place the Baſſa, by the counſell of *George Frapain* (a Chriſtian fugitiue of the Rhodes, and now Maſter of his Ordnance) began to plant his battery, and from thence to batter the tower called Nicolea, or S. *Nicolas* Tower, diſtant from the city 300 paces: but againſt this place *Damboyſe* had ſo aptly mounted two great Baſilisks, that he made him glad quickly to forſake the ſame: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpoſe, ſhortly after neer to the ſame place he planted his batterie again, of far greater force than before; wherin, beſide the ordnance of greateſt charge, hee had three hundred ſmaller pieces for battery: wherwith at the firſt he did ſmal harm, for that this *George Frapain* repenting himſelf (as was thought) of his foul treaſon, beſtowed the ſhot to ſmall purpoſe; for which cauſe the Baſſa began to haue him in diſtruſt: which *Frapain* perceiuing, fled by night again vnto the Rhodes, and diſcouered vnto the great Maſter al the ſecrets of the Turks camp. The Turks continuing the battery, had ſore ſhaken the aforeſaid Tower called S. *Nicolas*, and beaten down ſome part therof; which the Chriſtians with great induſtry ſpeedily repaired in beſt ſort they could, for all that the Turks gaue therunto a fierce aſſault by the ſpace of ſix hours, forcing themſelues to the vtmoſt to haue taken it: but perceiuing that it preuailed them nothing, they retyred, hauing loſt eight hundred of their men, with many others drowned in the ſea, of whom the number was not knowne, and a thouſand others ſore wounded.

Eight hundred Turks ſlain.

Meſithes diſappointed of his former purpoſe, bent his artillery againſt the walls of the city, and with continual battery had made a fair breach: but *Damboyſe* foreſeeing the danger, had with great labor caſt vp ſuch rampiers, with a countermure before the breach, that the Baſſa durſt not in any caſe aduenture to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this ſo neceſſary a work, the captains themſelues refuſed not to put to their helping hands: by whoſe example all the reſt of the people who were able to do any thing, being moued, willingly imploied their labor vntil the work was fully finiſhed.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Caly Baſſa* the yonger (a great Courtier) was ſent from *Mahomet*, to ſee with what ſucces the ſiege went forward. Vpon whoſe ariuall it was giuen out through all the Turks camp, That *Mahomet* was in perſon himſelf comming to the ſiege with 100000 men, and 150 pieces of great ordnance. Theſe news (of purpoſe deuiſed to the terror of the defendants) being blown out of the camp into the city, ſtruck an exceeding great fear into the minds of ſome of the defendants, and ſo diſcouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh neighbors that came from Nauar, that they began openly to reaſon in their conuenticles, that it was not poſſible for the city to be defended againſt ſuch a power; and therfore after an inſolent maner deſired leaue to be gon, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt. The Great Maſter vnderſtanding of their doings, ſent for theſe mutinous Spaniards, and after he had ſharply reproued them both of diſorder and cowardiſe, promiſed to ſhip them away forthwith out of the Iſle; ſaying, That hee doubted not, right wel to defend the City againſt the greateſt power of the Turks, without the help of ſuch baſe minded cowards. In the mean time he commanded them to ſurceaſe from their mutinous talk, threatening otherwiſe to make them examples, what it was ſo much to forget themſelues. But theſe Spaniards ſhortly after, better conſidering of the matter, and what a diſhonor it would be both to themſelues and their Nation, if they ſhould ſo diſhonourably be ſent away; repenting themſelues of that they had don, came and craued pardon of the Great Maſter: and to redeem their fault, in all ſallies and ſeruices during that ſiege, ſhewed themſelues moſt valiant and forward men. Neuertheleſs, the Great Maſter would neuer afterwards truſt them in any ſeruice alone. The Baſſa attempting much, and preuailing little, thought it would much further his deſignes, if hee could by any means take the Great Maſter out of the way, by whoſe carefull policie he ſaw all his deuiſes were ſtil countermanded. Wherfore to bring this his purpoſe to paſſe, he practiſed by the means of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian to poiſon him. This *Ianus* hauing conceiued this treaſon from the Baſſa, was receiued into the city of the Rhodes, as a Chriſtian fugitiue fled from the Turks; where he acquainted himſelfe with one *Pythius* an Epirot, of great familiarity with *Marius Philelphus*, of late Secretary vnto *Damboys*, but as then out of fauour and in diſgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutiny. *Ianus* by the meanes of this *Pythius*, whom he had now throughly corrupted, ſought after *Philelphus*, who then as he right wel knew, liued diſcontented, as a fit inſtrument whereby to worke this wicked treaſon; for that he was well acquainted with the cooks and butlers, and other ſeruitors in the great Maſters houſe, and himſelf yet there very conuerſant alſo. *Pythius* preſuming vpon his old acquaintance and familiarity with *Philelphus*, and waiting vpon his melancholy humour, began to perſuade him to reuenge the diſgrace he liued in, and withall to ſhew him the means how to do it, by poyſoning of the Great Maſter; which might (as he ſaid) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philelphus* making ſemblant as if he had not diſliked the motion, was deſirous to know of him what further benefit might thereby ariſe to him more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith ſhewed the Baſſa's letters to *Ianus*, wherby hee aſſured him, That whatſoeuer he ſhould promiſe vnto any man for the furtherance of the practiſe, he would to the full perform the ſame. *Philelphus* hauing got full vnderſtanding of the treaſon, preſently diſcouered the ſame vnto *Damboys*: by whoſe commandment *Ianus* and *Pythius* were ſtraightwayes apprehended, and being examined, confeſſed the whole treaſon. For the which *Ianus* loſt his head; and *Pythius* (as he had well deſerued) was ſhamefully hanged. *Philelphus* for his fidelitie was pardoned his former error, and again receiued into the Great Maſters fauor.

Treaſon againſt the Great Maſter diſcouered and the Traitors executed.

The Baſſa vnderſtanding that the treaſon was diſcouered, and the traitors executed, was much grieued therat. Neuertheles he ceaſed not with his continual battery to ſhake the city, but eſpecially the caſtle of S. *Nicolas*, for the aſſailing whereof hee made wonderfull preparation. Among other things he had framed a great bridge, ſtaied with ſtrong ropes and cables, ouer a fret of the ſea, betwixt the place of his battery & the ſame tower, wheron 6 men might march abreſt; in which deuice he repoſed great hope. But as the Turks were making faſt this bridge, and had, as they thought, brought the worke to a good perfection; *Geruaſe Rogers* an Engliſhman, of great courage, and very skilfull in ſea matters, found meanes by night to cut and break in ſunder all the ropes and cables wherwith the bridge was ſtaid: which now looſe, was by the violence of the ſea quickly caried away, and the Turkes diſappointed of their purpoſe. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great Maſter honorably rewarded, and of him in publique audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious battery of the Baſſa ſtill maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon ſmall boats and lighters, faſt moored with cables and anchors, and diuers pieces of great ordnance placed in fuſts and gallies. So that the tower was at one time battered both by ſea and land, the defendants aſſailed with ſmall ſhot and arrows innumerable, and the Tower at the ſame inſtant deſperatly aſſailed. But *Damboyſe* had ſo placed his great Ordnance, that with the force therof the bridge was broken in ſunder, four great fuſts ſunke, with great ſtore both of men and ordnance: the defendants alſo in the Tower, with ſhot, timber, ſtones, and other ſuch like things prouided for that purpoſe, grieuouſly ouerwhelmed the Turks that were ſcaling the wals, & beat them down with great ſlaughter. This hot aſſault was deſperatly maintained by the Turks, from three a clock in the morning till ten: when the Baſſa ſeeing no hope to preuail, gaue ouer the aſſault, hauing loſt therin aboue 2500 men; whoſe dead bodies ſhortly after driuen on ſhore, were ſpoiled by the Chriſtians. The ſame night two mercinary ſoldiers of Crete, going about to haue fled vnto the enemy, were apprehended and put to death; and *George Frapain*, who in the beginning of the ſiege fled from the Turks, now againe vehemently ſuſpected of treaſon, was executed alſo.

2500 Turkes ſlain in the aſſault.

Thus neither force nor treaſon preuailing, the Baſſa becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued that might better his cauſe, ſent certain meſſengers to the Great Maſter, offering to him

in

A in the name of the Turkiſh Emperour,great rewards,with many honorable preferments, if he
would yeeld vp the city, which he could not (as they would haue perſuaded him) long hold
againſt ſo mighty an enemy : wiſhing him now in his declining eſtate not to refuſe ſuch honorable
and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards conſtrained to accept of far worſe, or
els through his deſperat wilfulneſſe plunge himſelfe and his people into ſuch extreme perill,
as ſhould be impoſſible for him or them to find any way out of. Wherunto the Great Maſter
in briefe anſwered, *That he would not willingly in his ſure eſtate vſe the counſell of his enemy : neither
in his greateſt diſtreſſe refuſe cheerefully to yeeld his life vnto Almighty God,to whom he did owe it; and
that with far better will than to yeeld vp the city vpon any conditions, beare they neuer ſo faire a ſhew of
honor or profit.* The meſſengers perceiuing his conſtant reſolution, rather to die than to yeeld
B his city,began(according to inſtructions before giuen them by the Baſſa)to temper with him
another way,and to perſuade him to yeeld vnto the mighty Emperour ſome ſmall yearely tribute
or other homage,as an acknowledgement of his greatneſſe, and ſo to liue as his friend in
peace. But the Great Maſter knowing by the wofull examples of others,that in that ſmall requeſt
lay included the beginning of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauery; vtterly refuſed to pay
him the leaſt tribute,or to do him the leaſt homage that could be deuiſed. With which anſwer
the meſſengers returned,hauing obtained nothing of that they were ſent for.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter.

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter, reported by the aforeſaid meſſengers vnto the
Baſſa,troubled him exceedingly ; for though he had ſmall hope by force to win the city, yet
he was alwaies in hope vntill now,at his pleaſure, to forſake the ſiege with ſome ſuch reaſonable
C compoſitions as might ſtand with his honor.But ſith nothing remained now,but by plain
force to conſtraine his enemies, he reſolued for the ſafegard of his honor, in that extremity
to vſe that extreme remedy : wherefore beſide the great pieces of battery he had already planted
againſt the wals, he mounted diuers ſmaller pieces much higher, thereby the more to annoy
the defendants, by beating downe their churches and high built houſes. His ordnance
thus placed, he battered the city day and night for the ſpace of foure daies together without
intermiſſion:during which time,the Chriſtians out of the city ſpared not, liberally to beſtow
their ſhot among the enemies alſo : ſo that the aire ſeemed to grow thicke, and the light of
the day to be darkned with ſmoake of the great ordnance ; and the great ſhot came ſo thicke
into the city,that the fearefull women and children were glad to ſhroud themſelues from the
D danger thereof,in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great battery, that at
length the ſtrength of the wall gaue place to the fury of the cannon, & a faire breach was laid
open for the enemy to enter : which was no ſooner made, but that with the firſt ſhew thereof
the Turks gaue thereunto a deſperat aſſault ; and preuailing by reaſon of their multitude,had
vpon the ſudden recouered the top of the wals,and there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes : but the
Chriſtians ſpeedily comming in on euery ſide to the defence of the breach, they were againe
quickly repulſed & beaten down into the ditches,out of which moſt of them neuer riſe more.
At which time the Turks in another place with their ſcaling ladders had gained the top of
the wals, and there aduanced their enſignes alſo, and were now fiue hundred of them entred
the city and come into the ſtreet called the Iew-ſtreet : where they were encountered by the
E Great Maſter and his followers,and all ſlain that were already entered,and their enſignes that
ſtood vpon the wals thrown down. The reſt yet ſcaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune
of their fellowes, were likewiſe beaten from the wals, and with wonderfull ſlaughter rejected.
So that the Baſſa not able longer to endure the ſlaughter of his men, being in both places repulſed,
cauſed a retreat to be ſounded,and left the aſſault;wherein he had loſt of his moſt forward
men about fiue thouſand,with ſmal loſſe of the Chriſtians. In this aſſault,the Great Maſter
himſelfe receiued fiue wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue been
deadly : which yet afterward was very well cured with the reſt.

A faire breach made by force of the Turks battery.

After that the Baſſa had by the ſpace of three months to ſmal purpoſe ſpent all his forces and
deuices vpon the city, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raiſe his ſiege, and
F depart,or to tarry & expect ſome better fortune,which in al his former actions had ſeemed almoſt
to haue waited vpon him;to forſake the ſiege,was diſhonorable ; and to continue it without
hope,preſented no leſſe danger. Beſides that,in the former aſſaults he had already loſt nine
thouſand of his beſt ſouldiers, and all the reſt of his army were filled with heauineſſe and deſpaire,
to heare the wofull ſighing and groaning of their fellows,of whom fifteen thouſand lay

diſperſed in the campe, ſore wounded, and ready many of them to giue vp the ghoſt: and alſo but euen a little before, two great ſhips ſent from *Ferdinand* king of Naples with men and munition, were in deſpight of all the Turks gallies ſafely arriued at the Rhodes, to the great ioy and incouragement of the beſieged, & no leſſe diſcontentment of the Turks. Whilſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumor was raiſed in the camp, That the Chriſtian Princes were comming with great power to relieue the towne with which news the whole army was exceedingly troubled, whereupon he raiſed his ſiege. Some others ſay, that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his army in the Iſland of the Rhodes, with the difficulty of the ſiege, and now ready to go in perſon himſelfe againſt the Sultan of Ægypt, ſent for the Baſſa; and that ſo the ſiege was raiſed. Howſoeuer it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the vines and trees growing in that part of the Iſland, to be cut down and ſpoyled: and ſo after he had poured forth his fury vpon the ſenceles creatures, which he could not according to his deſire exerciſe vpon the people, again imbarked his army, and with ſhame departed, the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt.

The Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

At the ſame time that the Rhodes was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert captain *Achmetes Baſſa*, with a great fleet and a ſtrong army to make an entrance into Italy (for no kingdome was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not he might now command) and hauing long before conquered Conſtantinople, otherwiſe called new Rome, was ſtill dreaming (I wot not what) of the conqueſt of old Rome alſo. The miſchieuous Baſſa according to his Great maſters deſignes, imbarked his army at Vallona (otherwiſe called Aulona) a ſea town in the borders of Macedonia; and from thence paſſing directly ouer that narrow ſea, which is in bredth about 60 miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of Italy, called in antent time Apulia (now Puglia) neer to the old and famous city of Hydruntum, at this called Otranto: whereas ſoon as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich country along the ſea coaſt, and took ſuch infinit ſpoyle as might well haue ſatisfied the greedy deſire both of himſelfe and of his hungry ſouldiers: all which rich booty he cauſed to be conueyed into his gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure ranged vp and down the country by the ſpace of fourteen daies: and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he layd ſiege to Otranto, the chiefe city of that country, and as it were the key of that part of Italy: and hauing with ſuch ordnance as he took out of his gallies, made a breach, eaſily entred the ſame, and ſo without any great loſſe took the city. A thing not greatly to be maruelled at, foraſmuch as it was but weakly manned, and more weakly defended, by men altogether liuing in ſecurity in the midſt of their wealth and pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernour, and the chiefe men of the city, for ſafeguard of their liues fled into the great Cathedrall Church, as into a Sanctuary; where they were all together moſt miſerably ſlain. The reſt of the citiſens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the ſword (as people reſerued to moe miſery) were afterward ſhipt ouer into Græcia, and there ſold for ſlaues. The landing of the Turks in Apulia, with the taking of Otranto, brought a general feare vpon all Italy, inſomuch that *Sextus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of Rome, forgetting all things ſaue himſelfe, was about to haue forſaken the city for feare. Now after the Turks had at their pleaſure ranſackt Otranto, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turks in Italy) and victualled for eighteen months, and there leauing eight thouſand of his beſt ſoldidiers in garriſon, returned himſelfe with the reſt to Vallona, and ſo by land to Conſtantinople to know his great Maſters further pleaſure: but purpoſing with himſelfe, with the firſt of the next ſpring to haue returned with greater forces again to Italy, for the proſecuting of his former victory. Which if he had don, it was greatly to haue bin feared, that all that goodly country, ſomtime miſtreſſe of the World, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian Princes, had in ſhort time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turk for euer.

Achmetes landeth his army in Apulia neer to Otranto, and ſpoyleth the country.

Otranto taken by the Turks.

But whilſt the great Baſſa (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and deſtruction of faire Italy: God, in whoſe hands the hearts of Kings are, put an hook in the great tyrants noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time the Caramanian King, aided by the Perſian and the Sultan of Ægypt, had in a great battell ouerthrowne *Bajazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſonne then liuing) and ſlain moſt part of his army: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant army, and taking

A *Achmetes* with him as his chiefe man of war, rejecting the wars of Italy vnto a more conuenient time, paſſed ouer into Aſia: where vpon the way, about a daies journy ſhort of Nicomedia a city of Bithynia, at a place called Geiuiſin he fell ſicke, and there for the ſpace of three daies grieuouſly tormented with an extreme paine in his belly (which ſome ſuppoſed to be the colicke) died; but being indeed as moſt men thought poyſoned; when he had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof reigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His body was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometan temple, which he himſelfe firſt built at Conſtantinople.

Mahomet dieth at Geiuiſin in Bythinia, not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

1481

He is buried at Conſtantinople.

The deſcription of Mahomet.

The death of this mighty man (who liuing troubled a great part of the World) was not much more lamented by thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, (who euer liuing in feare of his B cruelty, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatneſſe, were glad to heare of his end. He was of ſtature but low, and nothing anſwerable to the height of his mind, ſquare ſet, and ſtrong limmed, not inferior in ſtrength (when he was young) vnto any in his fathers Court, but to *Scanderbeg* only: his complexion was Tartar-like, ſallow and melancholy, as were moſt of his anceſtors the *Othoman* Kings; his looke and countenance ſterne, with his eies piercing, hollow, and a little ſunke as it were into his head, and his noſe ſo high and crooked, that it almoſt touched his vpper lip. To be briefe, his countenance was altogether ſuch, as if Nature had with moſt cunning hand therein depainted and moſt curiouſly ſet forth to view the inward diſpoſition and qualities of his mind, which were on both parts notable. He was of a very ſharpe and apprehenſiue wit, learned, as amongſt that nation, C eſpecially in Aſtronomy, and could ſpeake the Greeke, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldee, and Perſian Tongues. He delighted much in regarding of Hiſtories, and the liues of worthy men, eſpecially the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Iulius Cæſar*, whom he propoſed to himſelfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto very fortunate; a ſeuere puniſher of injuſtice, in them eſpecially to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of juſtice. Men that excelled in any quality, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentill Bellin* a Painter of Venice, whom he purpoſely cauſed to come from thence, to Conſtantinople, to draw the liuely counterfeit of himſelfe, for which he moſt honourably rewarded him. He ſo ſeuerely puniſhed theft, as that in his time all the waies were ſafe, and a theefe ſcarcely to be heard of. But theſe good parts were in him obſcured with moſt D horrible and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others moſt perfidious, ambitious aboue meaſure, and in nothing more delighted, than in bloud: in ſo much that it is probably gathred, that he was in his time the death of eight hundred thouſand men: craft, couetouſneſſe, and diſſimulation, were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in compariſon of his greater vices. In his loue was no aſſurance, and his leaſt diſpleaſure was death: ſo that he liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had iſſue three ſonnes, *Muſtapha* (dead before him, as is before declared) *Bajazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of ſome called *Zizimus*, competitor of the Empire with his eldeſt brother; whom he exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his reigne, ſo that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which opportunity (by God himſelfe no doubt offered for the ſafegard of Italy) *Alphonſus* E Duke of Calabria (King *Ferdinand* his eldeſt ſonne) taking hold vpon, with all the power he could make in Italy, beſieged the Turks in Otranto; with whom he had many ſharpe skirmiſhes, wherein he loſt diuers of his great Captaines and Commanders, as the County *Iulio de Aquaina*, *Loys de Capua*, and the County *Iulio de Piſa*, with others, and was ſtill by the ſtrong garriſon of the Turks put to the worſe; vntill ſuch time as being ſtrengthened with aid out of Spaine and Portugall, (but eſpecially with certaine companies of moſt valiant ſouldiers ſent from *Matthias Coruinus* out of Hungary, whoſe forces the Turks moſt feared) he began to cut them ſhort, and ſtreitly beſieged the city both by ſea and land: vntill at length the beſieged Turks hearing of the death of the great Emperour, and now hardly preſſed with the dangers of a ſtreit ſiege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall, (then F ready to haue come to their reſcue with fiue and twenty thouſand ſouldiers) yeelded vp the city vnto the Duke, vpon compoſition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terrour of all Italy holden that ſtrong city by the ſpace of a yeare. And ſo was that rich Countrey rather by the mercy of God (in taking away the great Tyrant) preſerued, than by the ſtrength or policy of the

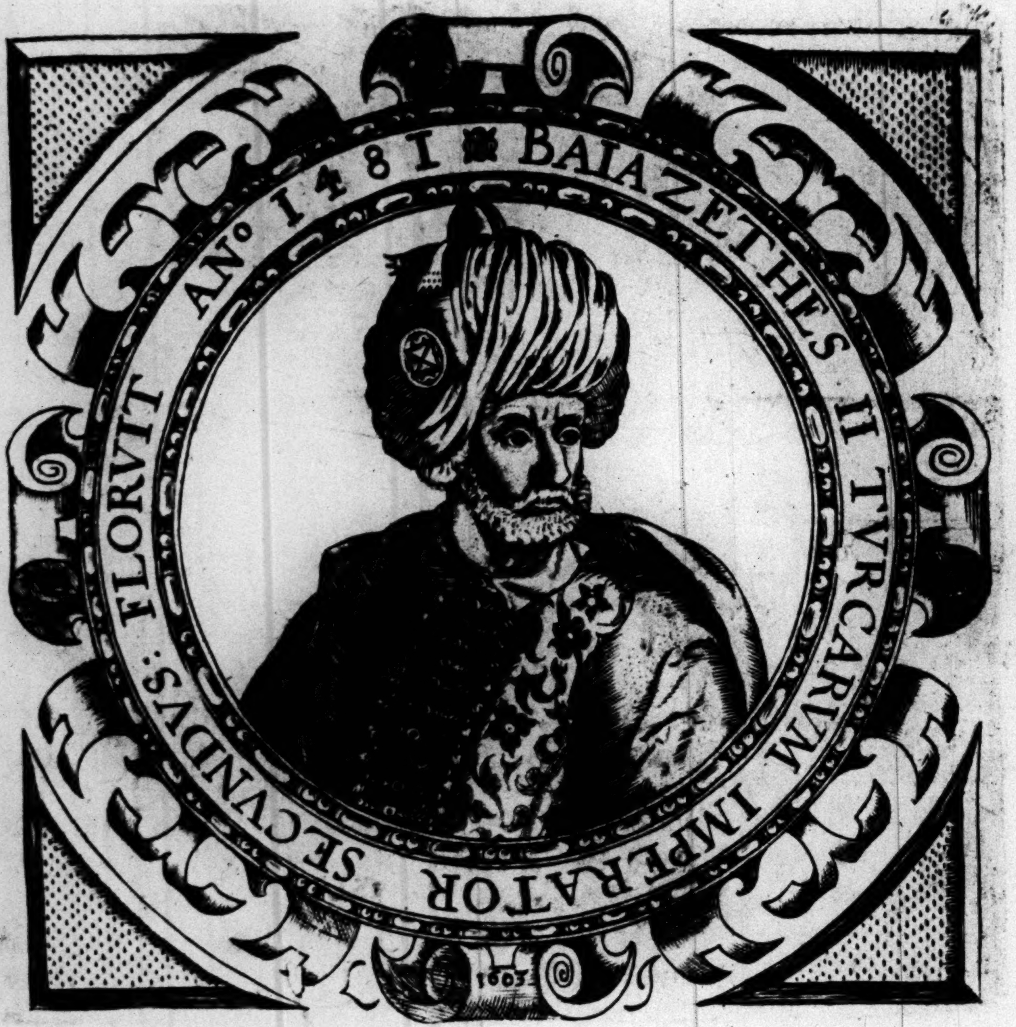
The ſonnes of Mahomet; Muſtapha, Baiazet, and Zemes.

Otranto yeelded vp to the Turks vpō compoſitiō.

Inhabitants, which was then in great danger to haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of G the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea, and after his death, to the power of *Bajazet* his ſon, had he not by domeſticall troubles beene inforced to turne himſelfe another way, and as it were to neglect in time to relieue his diſtreſſed garriſon in Otranto, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet *the Great.*	*Emperors*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Conſtantinus Palæologus, laſt Chriſtian Emperor of Conſtantinople,*	1444.	8
		Of the Weſt	*Frederick the third, Archduke of Auſtria,*	1440	54
	Kings	*Of England*	*Henry the ſixth,*	1422.	39
			Edward the fourth,	1460.	22
		Of France	*Charles the ſeuenth,*	1423.	38
			Lewis the eleuenth,	1461.	22
		Of Scotland	*Iames the ſecond,*	1437.	24
			Iames the third,	1460.	29
	Biſhops of Rome		*Nicolas the V,*	1437.	8
			Calixtus the III,	1455.	3
			Pius the II,	1458.	6
			Paulus the II,	1464.	7
			Xyſtus the IV,	1471.	13


BAIAZETHES II TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SECVNDVS: FLORVIT AN° 1481
1603

Phil. Lonicer. Tur. Hiſt.li.1.

Arma manu quatiunt fratres hoſtilia regnum,
Hinc Bajazethes, Zizimus *inde petit.*
Bajazethes *rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum*
Zizimus *extrema mœnia ſorte petit.*
Suſtinet & bello, varias & pace, procellas,
Bajazethes *fœlix & miſer, inter opes.*
Iam ſenio tremulus, fert bella domeſtica, regno,
Agnato ejectus, dira venena bibit.

Like earth borne brethren, *Bajazet* and *Zizimus* in armes,
Seeke for the Turkiſh Empire great, the one by th'others harmes.
Vntill that *Bajazet* preuail'd, and *Zizimus* was faine
To fly to Rhodes, from thence to Rome, whereas he caught his baine.
Great ſtormes endured *Bajazet* in peace and bloudy broyles:
A man both happy and accurſt, amongſt his richeſt ſpoyles.
But now forworne with trembling age, and ciuill diſcords new,
Thruſt from his Empire by his ſonne, died poyſoned by a Iew.

THE LIFE OF *BAIAZET*, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SECOND EMPEROR OF THE TVRKES.

Diſſentiõ among the Turkes about the ſucceſsion.

VPon the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, great troubles began to ariſe about the ſucceſsion in the Turkiſh empire; ſome of the Baſſa's and great captaines ſeeking to place *Bajazet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Mahomet*, in the Empire; and others with no leſſe deuotion labouring to C preſerre *Zemes*, or *Gemes*, otherwiſe called *Zizimus*, *Bajazet* his younger brother. By occaſion whereof there aroſe two great and mighty factions, which in few daies grew to ſuch heat, that many great tumults and hot skirmiſhes were made in the imperiall city, betwixt the fauourits of both factions, and great ſlaughter committed. In theſe broiles the proud Ianizaries for an old grudge ſlew *Mahomethes* one of the foure great Baſſa's, a man by whoſe graue counſell moſt of the weighty affaires of the Turkiſh empire had been managed during the reigne of the late Emperour: and proceeding further in their accuſtomed inſolency, ſpoiled all the Chriſtians and Iewes which dwelt amongſt them, of all their wealth and ſubſtance; at which time the rich merchants and citiſens of Conſtantinople D which were naturall Turks themſelues, eſcaped not their rauenous hands, but became vnto them a prey and ſpoyle alſo. The other three Baſſa's of the court, *Iſaac*, *Meſithes*, and *Achmetes*, (lately returned from the winning of Hydruntum in Italy) although they ſecretly maligned and enuied one at the greatneſſe of another, yet to appeaſe theſe ſo dangerous troubles, and to aſſure their owne eſtates, joyned hands together, and by their great authority, and multitude of followers and fauourits, found meanes that *Corcutus* (one of the younger ſonnes of *Bajazet*, a young Prince of eighteene yeres old) was as it were by the generall conſent of the Nobility and ſouldiers ſaluted Emperour, and with great triumph and ſolemnity placed in the Imperiall ſeat. In whoſe name, the aforeſaid Baſſa's at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Bajazet* or *Zemes*, then both abſent, the one at Amaſia, and the other E at Iconium in Lycaonia. For the jealous Turkiſh Kings neuer ſuffer their ſonnes to liue in court neere vnto them, after they be growne to yeres of diſcretion; but ſend them to gouerne their prouinces far off: where they are alſo vnder the command of the Emperors lieutenants generall in Aſia or Europe, and may not depart from their charge without great danger, not ſo much as to viſit their father, without expreſſe leaue and commandement. So jealous are thoſe Tyrants, yea, euen of their owne ſonnes.

Bajazet commeth to Conſtantinople.

Bajazet and *Zemes* hearing of the death of their father, and of the troubles in the imperial city, haſted thitherward with all ſpeed, where *Bajazet* being the neerer, firſt arriued: but finding the Empire already poſſeſſed by *Corcutus* his younger ſon, and himſelfe excluded, he in griefe of his heart poured forth moſt grieuous complaints before God and man, calling heauen and F earth to witneſſe of the great wrong and injury done vnto him by the proud Baſſa's. And what by tears and humble obteſtations, what by great gifts and greater promiſes, but moſt of all by the earneſt labor and ſolicitation of *Cherſeogles* Viceroy of Grecia, and the Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, both his ſons in law, preuailed ſo much with the great Baſſa's & ſoldiers of the court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and courteous diſpoſition, ouercome by their intreaty and the reuerence of his father, reſigned vnto him the imperiall gouernment, which he preſently C tooke vpon him with the generall good liking of the people, and made *Corcutus* Gouernor of Lycia, Caria, and Ionia, with the pleaſant and rich countries thereabouts; allowing him a great yerely penſion for the better maintenance of his eſtate, with promiſe alſo of the empire after his deceaſe: and ſo ſent him away to his charge, where he moſt pleaſantly liued during the reigne of his father *Bajazet*, giuing himſelſe wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which made that he was afterwards leſſe fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of war.

Zemes riſeth againſt his brother Bajazet.

Zemes thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderſtanding by his friends how all things ſtood at Conſtantinople, and that *Bajazet* was already poſſeſſed of the empire; returning with great ſpeed, raiſed a puiſſant army in the countries which were vnder his command, and marching through the heart of Aſia the leſſe, by the way as he went, tooke into his poſſeſſion ſuch H cities and ſtrong places as he thought beſt; and ſo entring into Bithynia, tooke the great city of Pruſa, the antient ſeat of the *Othoman* Kings. Purpoſing in himſelfe, that as *Bajazet* had ſhut him out of Europe, ſo he would alſo in requitall thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkiſh empire which is beyond Helleſpontus in Aſia, & to make himſelf lord therof. Wherin fortune at the firſt ſeemed vnto him moſt fauourable, all the people whereſoeuer he came yeelded vnto him obedience as vnto their Prince and Soueraigne: ſo that in ſhort time he ſeemed both vnto himſelfe and to others, in ſtrong poſſeſſion of that part of the Empire.

Bajazet goeth againſt Zemes.

Of theſe his proceedings *Bajazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiuing the greater part of his empire now in danger to be loſt, and doubting further, that *Zemes* his ambitious mind would hardly reſt therewith long contented; for remedy of ſo great a miſchiefe leuied a ſtrong and I puiſſant army, wherewith he paſſed ouer into Aſia, and come to Neapolis a City of Anatolia, neere whereunto *Zemes* lay with his army ſtrongly incamped. As *Bajazet* was vpon the way againſt his brother, *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (in the confeſſion of all men the beſt man of war and moſt expert Captaine amongſt the Turks, and of all others moſt entirely beloued of the Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed preſented himſelfe vpon his knees before *Bajazet*, his ſword hanging at his ſaddle bow: to the admiration of many, who could not but wonder to ſee ſo worthy a Chieftaine of ſo great place in time of ſeruice, without any apparant cauſe, in ſuch humble manner to appeare before his Soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to do with armes. It chanced many yeares before, in the mortall warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great Emperour of the Turks, and *Aſſymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes* the King of Perſia, that *Bajazet* hauing the K leading of the right wing of his fathers Army, had not martialled it in ſo good order as was to *Mahomet* his good liking: for which cauſe he commanded this *Achmetes* to goe and ſet that part of the battell in better order. Which his Soueraignes command whiles he moſt skilfully performed, *Bajazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne diſgrace, in great choler threatened the Baſſa, to finde a time when he would be reuenged vpon him. But hee being a man of great ſpirit, and one that durſt both do and ſay much, perceiuing his meaning, bid him doe what pleaſed him; and laying his hand vpon his ſword, ſolemnly vowed, That whenſoeuer he came to command as Emperour, he would neuer weare ſword in field: the remembrance whereof was the cauſe that he then came in manner aforeſaid, ready to ſerue if he were thereto commanded, or otherwiſe to endure what ſo his Princes pleaſure was. *Bajazet* L perceiuing that the vnkindeneſſe ſo long before conceiued, was not yet digeſted, in token of grace ſtretched out to him his ſcepter, and taking him vp, commanded him to girt his ſword vnto his ſide, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgiuen and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a moſt valiant and expert captaine, made him Generall of his army, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the reſt of the army; who ſo ſoone as they ſaw him, gaue out diuers great ſhouts for joy, as if victory had moſt aſſuredly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and incamped ſo neere as he could to *Zemes*, and ſo lay by the ſpace of ten daies: during which time, many ſharpe skirmiſhes were made with diuers fortune; ſometime the one ſide preuailing, and ſometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell; wherein after a long and M cruell fight, and great ſlaughter on both ſides, the fortune of *Bajazet*, conducted by the policy of *Achmetes*, preuailed againſt *Zemes*. Who ſeeing his Army ouerthrowne, betooke himſelfe to flight, and came to Iconium: in which flight many of *Zemes* his followers were taken priſoners; whom *Bajazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the perſua-

Achmetes made Generall of Bajazet his army.

A ſion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others ſuffered them all to be put to the ſword.

Zemes flieth into Syria.

Zemes doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had ſtaied three daies at Iconium, cauſed his treaſure, plate, jewels, and other things of great value and light carriage to be truſſed vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a ſonne and a daughter, accompanied with a ſmall retinue, fled into Syria; then part of the dominion of *Caytbeius*, commonly called the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from Iconium, but that *Bajazet* came thither with his army, to haue ſurpriſed him: but vnderſtanding of his flight, hee tooke order for the peaceable gouernment of that part of his Empire. And ſo hauing ſuppreſ- B ſed that dangerous rebellion, and againe reduced that troubled part of his Empire to his obeiſance, returned with victory to Conſtantinople.

1482

The diſtreſſed Prince *Zemes* trauelling through Syria, came at length to Ieruſalem: where he ſtayed a good ſpace, deuoutly viſiting the monuments of that moſt antient and famous city. From thence he trauelled into Ægypt; where at his firſt entrance into the country, he was met by diuers of the greateſt nobility of that kingdome, ſent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to Caire, and there preſented to *Caytbeius*, of whom he was graciouſly welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, he declared the cauſe of his comming, as followeth:

Zemes his ſpeech to Caytbeius, Sultan of Ægypt.

C *If it were not to me certainely knowne (moſt victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence deſcended, or with what injury enforced, after long and painefull trauell I am here arriued; it would much concerne me to vſe another manner of beginning of my ſpeech, and with greater proteſtation of words to ſeeke your gracious fauour. But foraſmuch as all theſe things are vnto your moſt royall Majeſty ſufficiently knowne, as I do well perceiue in this, that your infinite clemency hath entertained me with farre greater kindeneſſe, than I in ſuch my aduerſe fortune durſt wiſh for, much leſſe requeſt: Now nothing remaineth for me to ſay, more than juſtly to complaine vnto your inuincible Majeſty, of the wrong and iniury done vnto me by* Bajazet, *whom I may more juſtly tearme my cruell enemy than kinde brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himſelfe my fathers* Empire *by great tumult and ſlaughter, hath with all hoſtility and force of armes perſecuted me his brother, excluded out of the Impe-* D *riall City, and then liuing in Bythinia, troubleſome neither to him, nor any of his people, and neuer reſted vntill he had chaſed me out of the bounds of my fathers* Empire. *Neither hath the jealous deſire of Soueraignty (whereof my father whileſt he liued, had him alwaies in diſtruſt) ſo much moued him vnto this ſo cruell fact, as a certaine vnnaturall cruelty towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred againſt me his brother in particular: for he which is already poſſeſſed of the* Empire. *and doth with all hoſtility perſecute a priuate perſon, ſubject and expoſed to his injury, that man thirſteth not after Soueraignty, but after bloud; neither deſireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles aroſe in Conſtantinople, and many bloudy skirmiſhes were fought betwixt the fauourites of both of vs, it cannot with any truth be laied to my charge, as done by mine aduiſe or counſell, I being at the ſame time ſo farre from thence. Neither am I juſtly to be blamed, if that after my fathers de-* E *parture I put my ſelfe vpon the way towards Conſtantinople, eſpecially being ſent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and quality: but his fortune preuailing, I gaue place, and leſt my comming to the Imperiall City might haue beene the occaſion of new troubles, I returned aſide into Bythinia, and ſo to Pruſa, with purpoſe there to haue reſted in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But ſo farre was he from that, to ſuffer me there to reſt, as that I was by him moſt cruelly aſſailed as an open enemy: and had I not by ſpeedy flight withdrawne my ſelfe from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my fathers kingdome, I muſt haue yeelded my ſelfe, my bloud, and life, as a ſacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me ſo mortall an enemy, or thirſteth after my life ſo much for feare, as for very hatred and malice: for what is there in me to feare? Verily nothing: Conſtantinople is his, the fauour of the great Chiefetaines and men of warre is his, the treaſure and regall riches are all his; wherefore he* F *hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will ſway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the* Othoman *family alone, and he, yea, none but he, muſt liue alone.* Xerxes *was a mighty King, and yet in that great and large Kingdome he not onely preſerued his brethren in ſafety, but had them alſo in great honour and eſtimation. What did* Alexander *the Great? Who not onely tooke pleaſure in*

his brother, but had him alſo as a companion of his moſt glorious expedition : and many other famous G
Kings of forreine Nations, and of our owne family, haue ruled both more ſafely, and better ſtrengthened,
with the counſell and aid of their moſt louing brethren, rather than with others. But Bajazet *is of a*
farre other minde, reputing violence and hautineſſe of heart to be his greateſt and ſureſt defence : herein
his fierce nature delighteth, more than in the lawfull courſe of nature, juſtice, and equity ; he had rather
haue his brother his enemy than his friend, and to driue him into exile, than to make him partaker of
his counſels. But I beſeech thee moſt puiſſant Monarch, the faithfull keeper and maintainer of our
Law and Religion, by the ſacred reliques of our great Prophet Mahomet, *which thou haſt at Ieruſa-*
lem and Mecha, ſuffer me not, a Kings ſonne, to liue in baniſhment and exile, poore and miſerable,
a ſcorne of his brothers cruelty, farre from home, farre from his country and Kingdome ; but regarding
the Law of the great Prophet, lift vp the aflicted and oppreſſed, and by the great authority which you H
haue, bridle domeſticall wrong ; or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy ſword, and ſuffer not
our Empire, with ſo great trauell founded, by the cruelty or folly of one wilfull man to be ouerthrowne :
which ſhould be no more grieuous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your moſt high eſtate, and all
other Kings and Princes of our Religion. For you of your ſelfe vnderſtand right well, what deadly
enemies the Chriſtian Princes are vnto the Turks : and do you thinke that if any great warre (which I
wiſh not) ſhould ariſe of this our diſcord, that they would long reſt in quiet, and as idle beholders ſtand
looking on vntill it were of it ſelfe appeaſed? Or rather hauing ſuch an opportunity preſented, would not
with might and maine ſuddenly inuade our Kingdome, before ſhaken with ciuile warres, and ſeeke the
vtter ruine and deſtruction of the ſame? Which their deſire if that hatefull people could bring to paſſe
(which thing Mahomet *turne vpon themſelues) my minde abhorreth to thinke how farre that miſ-* I
chiefe would runne : For the Othoman *family once rooted out, there is none of our Religion, (your*
Majeſty onely excepted) which is able to withſtand their power : wherefore you muſt then ſtand for
your ſelfe and all the reſt, you alone muſt withſtand the force of the Chriſtians, you muſt maintaine that
warre with much loſſe, and greater charge, and moſt vncertaine ſucceſſe. Wherefore, inuincible Mo-
narch, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that pittying our eſtate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedy is
yet to be had, to deale with Bajazet *by your Embaſſadours, That though he will not receiue me his bro-*
ther as partner of the Empire, yet at leaſt to admit me into ſome ſmall part of my fathers Kingdome : Let
him raigne and rule, let all things be at his command ; let it be lawfull for me poore man but to liue in reſt
and quiet ſomewhere, poſſeſſing but ſo much as may ſuffice me honeſtly to leade a priuate life. Which
thing if he ſhall refuſe to grant, although he neither feare the Lawes of God or man, yet as I haue at Ieru- K
ſalem, ſo will I alſo ſhortly at Mecha (if by your leaue I may) complaine vnto the great Prophet, of the
injuries done vnto me by my cruell and vnnaturall brother ; and afterwards make proofe of your compaſ-
ſion towards me, all which I hope ſhall much auaile. But if (which I would not) I ſhall proue all theſe
things in vaine, ſith deſperation enforceth men to all extremities, I will goe with fire, ſword, and ſlaugh-
ter, by ſecret and open force, by right and wrong ; and hated, will vex my hatefull brother by all manner of
miſchiefe, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, vntill I be either
receiued into part of the Empire, or elſe together with my life leaue thoſe deſperate and loſt things for
him alone to enjoy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with diſgrace and infamy to protract
a lingring loathed life.

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the diſtreſſed prince, willing him to be of L
good cheere, and patiently to beare his preſent hap: foraſmuch as it became a man borne in ſo
high fortune, not to be diſcouraged with any miſchance, or diſmaid if things fell out other-
wiſe than he looked for: commending him withall, for that he ſaw in him no leſſe courage than
might well haue becommed his better eſtate ; and willing him to liue ſtill in hope, promiſed
to do what in him lay, to reconcile him to his brother, and to perſuade him that he might be
receiued into ſome part of the kingdome : and to that purpoſe ſhortly after diſpatched away
an honorable embaſſage to *Bajazet*. *Zemes* in the meane while, by the ſame Sultans leaue, vpon
a ſuperſtitious deuotion trauelled into Arabia, to viſit the temple of *Mahomet* at Mecha, and
his ſepulchre at Medina. Vpon his return to Caire, the Embaſſadors before ſent, returned al- M
ſo, but not hauing obtained any thing they deſired : for *Bajazet* would not giue eare to any a-
greement, but ſeemed altogether to contemne and deſpiſe his brother. Wherfore *Zemes* more
vpon ſtomacke & deſire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the Empire, determined with

Caytbeius the Ægyptian Sultan ſendeth embaſſadours to Bajazet.

A himſelfe, to make open war vpon him; repoſing ſome good hope in his ſecret friends, and in the reuolt of ſome of the great captaines, who diſcontented with the gouernment of *Bajazet*, ſecretly wiſhed for his returne.

Whileſt he was thus plotting theſe weighty matters, a meſſenger with letters came fitly from the King of Caramania, offering with all the power he could make, to joyne with him, if he would take vp armes againſt his brother. This poore titular King then liued in Armenia, and being able by his friends to make ſome good force, was in hope by joyning with *Zemes*, to recouer ſome part of the Caramanian Kingdome, from whence his father was not many yeres before driuen by the force of the late Turkiſh Emperour *Mahomet* the Great, *Bajazet* his father. It is hard to ſay, whither of theſe diſtreſſed and exiled Princes gaue the greater B encouragement to the other, to take this deſperate war in hand, being both together far vnable by all the friends they could make, to encounter with the great power of *Bajazet*. But what is ſo dangerous or deſperat, which aſpiring minds will not attempt in hope of a Kingdome? whoſe brightneſſe ſo dazeleth their eies, that they can ſee nothing but it.

1483

The king of Caramania ſoliciteth Zemes to take vp armes againſt Bajazet

Hereupon *Zemes* hauing receiued great gifts of the Ægyptian Sultan, with promiſe of aid, departed from Caire (the Sultan earneſtly perſuading him to the contrary) and as it was before appointed, met with the Caramanian King vpon the borders of Aſia the leſſer: where they concluded to joyne together ſuch forces as they had, and to inuade *Bajazet*. Which they accordingly did: for raiſing all the power they could, they entred into Cilicia, (now called Caramania) and joyning their armies together, incamped betweene Iconium and Larenda. C Neither did *Bajazet* in time of ſo great a danger ſit ſtill; not ſo much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his captaines [illegible]ouldiers, whom he knew either to loue, or at leaſt not to hate the young Prince his brother. Wherefore he raiſed a great army, and ſent *Achmetes* (the great wan of war) before with the one part thereof, himſelfe following after with a far greater ſtrength: for at that time he had vnder his enſignes two hundred thouſand men.

As he was marching with this great army, a rumor was raiſed in the campe, That ſome of his chiefe captains had conſpired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the ſouldiers ſecretly fauouring *Zemes*, would vpon the joyning of the battell forſake him, and take part with his brother. Which report ſo troubled *Bajazet*, that he ſtood in doubt what to doe, or whom to truſt: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common ſoldier D more, than the Generals bounty, he forthwith cauſed a wonderfull maſſe of mony to be diuided amongſt the captaines and ſoldiers, loding their minds with ample promiſes of far greater rewards, for their fidelity and valour to be ſhewed in that preſent ſeruice. Hauing thus aſſured himſelfe of the wauering minds of his ſouldiers, he began to draw neere to Iconium, where his enemies lay incamped: and by gloſing letters and flattering meſſengers made ſhew openly, as if he had beene very deſirous to come to ſome good agreement with them, but ſecretly went about to ſtop all the ſtreits and paſſages, in ſuch manner as that it ſhould not be poſſible for them againe to retyre backe into Syria: for he doubted nothing more, but leaſt they being few in number, and in ſtrength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon ſo great diſaduantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retyre themſelues into Syria, and ſo to his E exceeding trouble and infinite charge protract that war.

Zemes perceiuing his brothers ſubtill drift, and ſeeing no ſuch reuolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by letters to him bin promiſed; and weighing with reaſon his owne weake forces, retyred in good time vnto the ſtreits of the mountain Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria. Here, deſpairing of all good ſucceſſe in the enterpriſe he had taken in hand, he perſuaded the Caramanian King his confederate to giue place vnto the time, and to reſerue himſelfe vnto his better fortune: and ſo breaking vp his army, with a few of his followers came down to the ſea coaſt of Cilicia; where he hired a tall ſhip to attend in readineſſe, that if any ſudden danger ſhould ariſe, he might go aboord, and ſo ſaue himſelfe by ſea. In the mean time he ſent a meſſenger vnto *Damboys* Great Maſter of the Rhodes, certifying him, That for as F much as he had no place of ſafety left amongſt his owne people, wherein he might ſhroud himſelf from the fury of his brother, ſtill ſeeking after his life, he would vpon his ſafe conduct come to him into the Iſland of the Rhodes. Which his requeſt the Great Maſter eaſily granted, deeming the flight of ſo great a Prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable to the Chriſtian Commonweale: and thereupon he preſently ſent forth certaine gallies to fetch him

Zemes flyeth to ſea.

him from the troubleſom coaſt of Cilicia. But before theſe gallies were come, *Zemes* was inforced by the ſudden acces of his enemies, for the auoiding of preſent danger, to go aboord G
on that ſhip which hee had prouidently before prepared to be in readineſſe for ſuch purpoſe. And hauing put a little from the ſhore, ſhot back again an arrow with letters made faſt vnto it, directed vnto his brother *Baiazet*, containing as followeth:

Zemes his Letters to his brother Bajazets

Thou knoweſt (moſt vnkind and cruell brother) that I fly not vnto the Chriſtians, the mortal Enemies of the Othoman *family, for hatred of my religion and nation; but inforced therunto by thy iniurious dealing, and dangerous practiſes which thou inceſſantly attempteſt againſt me, yea euen in my extreame miſerie. But this aſſured hope I carry with me, that the time will come when as thou the authour of ſo great wrong, or thy children, ſhall receiue the iuſt guerdon of this thy preſent tyrannie againſt mee thy brother.* H

It is reported, That when *Baiazet* had read theſe letters, he was ſo troubled in mind, that for certaine daies he gaue himſelfe wholly to mourning and heauines, and would in no wiſe be comforted: inſomuch that he was brought into the campe by the Baſſaes, as a man halfe diſtraught of his wits, ſhunning for a ſeaſon all mens ſpeech and company.

Zemes flieth to the Rhodes.

Zemes ſailing to the Rhodes, was there honorably receiued of the Great Maſter, and all the reſt of the knights of the Order: to whom in their publick aſſembly three days after, he openly declared the cauſes of the diſcord betwixt his brother and him; alledging for colour of his rebellion, That although *Bajazet* were his elder brother, yet that he was born whilſt his father yet liued in priuat eſtate, vnder ſubiection and command, long before he poſſeſſed the Kingdome, and ſo no Kings ſon: whereas he himſelfe was the firſt born of his father, being an Emperour, and ſo not heire of his fathers priuat fortu [illegible] es was *Bajazets*) but of his greateſt honor I
and empire; and yet not of ſuch an haughty mind, but that he could haue bin content to haue given place to his brother, ſo that he could haue bin contented likewiſe to haue granted him ſome ſmall portion of the empire, wherin he might ſafely haue liued as a poor prince, and his brother: but that ſuch was his pride, as that hee would not vouchſafe to ſuffer him to liue ſo much as a poor priuat life in any corner of ſo large an empire, and was therefore by his vnnaturall and tyrannous dealing inforced to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes; of whom forſomuch as he had alwaies heard much honor, he was in good hope to find ſuccor and reliefe in that his diſtreſſed eſtate; proteſting vnto God and the world, That if euer it ſhould bee his good fortune by their means and help to obtain the empire, he would neuer be vnmindfull of K
ſo great a benefit, but to make with them a perpetual and inuiolable peace, and ſo to reſt their faſt friend for euer. The great Maſter on the other ſide comforting him with cheerfull ſpeeches, promiſed to keep him in ſafety from the fury of his brother, and further to commend his cauſe to the other Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom.

The deſcription of Zemes.

This exiled prince *Zemes* was about the age of 28 years when he came to the Rhodes; of ſtature tal, ſomwhat corpulent and wel limb'd, gray eyed, but looking ſomwhat aſquint; hook noſed, and in the middle riſing, in ſuch maner as the Perſians commend in their Kings; of colour brown, ſpare of ſpeech, and by nature cholerick; a great feeder, ſo that he ſeemed rather to deuour his meat, than to eat it; much delighted in ſwimming, & to lie abroad in the night; penſiue and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer merry but in the com- L
pany of the grand Maſter: a religious obſeruer of the ſuperſtition from which he could neuer be withdrawn during the long time he liued in exile: learned as among the Turks, ſo that hee wrot the hiſtory of his fathers life. But leauing him in ſafe keeping with the grand Maſter of the Rhodes, let vs again return to the courſe of our hiſtory.

Baiazet hauing now the ſecond time chaſed away his brother, after he had wel quieted that part of his troubled kingdom in Aſia, returned againe to Conſtantinople, carefully attending when ſome new motion ſhould be made by his brother to his further diſquiet. But when hee vnderſtood that he was with the Great Maſter of the Rhodes, he ſent certain of his Baſſa's (amongſt whom *Achmetes* the great ſouldier is reported to haue bin one) vnto the Great Maſter, requeſting him to deliuer vp *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderful ſum of money. Which M
diſhonourable requeſt when it could by no means be obtained, the ſaid Embaſſadours in the name of their maſter concluded a peace very commodious for the Rhodians; wherin among other things it was agreed, That the Great Maſter ſhould keep *Zemes* in ſafe cuſtody, ſo that hee ſhould no more trouble the Turkiſh Empire: in conſideration whereof, and for his honourable

A notable vſage, *Bajazet* ſhould yearely pay vnto the Great Maſter thirty thouſand duckats the firſt of Auguſt, which was afterward accordingly paied.

1484

It fortuned that whileſt *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (emploied in matters abroad) was abſent from the court, *Bajazet* diſcourſing with the other Baſſaes his graue counſellors, vpon his late expedition into Aſia againſt his brother, ſeemed to be highly offended with the vntruſtineſſe and doubtfull faith of ſome of his greateſt captains and ſoldiers; yet vpon whom he might iuſtly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it ſeemed by his talke, he ſhould ſomewhat diſtruſt the great captaine *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Iſaac* the moſt antient Baſſa of the court, and of greateſt authority next vnto *Bajazet* himſelfe (whoſe daughter, a lady of exceeding beauty, *Achmetes* had long before married, but doubting that ſhe had yeelded her honour to the B wanton luſt of *Muſtapha* the eldeſt ſon of *Mahomet* the late Emperour, had put her from him, and would by no means be reconciled; for which cauſe there was a ſecret hatred euer after betwixt thoſe two great Baſſaes) perceiuing the Emperors diſcontented and ſuſpitious humour, and deſiring nothing more than the deſtruction of *Achmetes*, took hold vpon this opportunity, and by all meanes he could deuiſe, encreaſed the ſuſpition of the treaſon, which had already too much poſſeſſed the jealous Emperor: ſometimes craftily imagining intelligence to haue paſſed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his power and authority, which (as he ſaid) was ſo great with the Ianizaries and ſoldiers of the court, that they by reaſon of his often imployments, were wholly at his deuotion; ſo that he might at his pleaſure do more in *Zemes* his quarrell, than ſhould ſtand for the ſafety of *Bajazet*; a matter well to be conſidered C of, and alſo carefully preuented. For remedy of which dangers, it was thought neceſſary, that *Achmetes* at his returne to court, ſhould be taken away and ſlaine.

Achmetes his death contriued.

Achmetes fearing nothing leſſe than that which was contriued againſt him, came after his wonted manner to the court; and was with the other great Baſſaes inuited to a ſolemne ſupper which *Bajazet* had commanded to be prepared, to ſolace himſelfe after his trauels (as it was giuen out) with his chiefe Baſſaes. To this royall ſupper came *Achmetes* with the reſt of the bidden gueſts, miſtruſting nothing, and was there ſumptuouſly feaſted by *Bajazet*: who to make his gueſts the merrier, dranke wine plentifully himſelfe, cauſing them alſo to drinke in like manner; ſo that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet dayly more and more vſed, eſpecially by their great men in their feaſts. Supper now ended, and the D night far ſpent, *Bajazet* in token that they were welcome, and ſtood in his good grace, cauſed certaine rich robes of pleaſing colours to be brought forth, and to be caſt vpon euery of his gueſts one, giuing beſides vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon *Achmetes* was caſt a gowne of blacke veluet, which among the Turks may well be called the mantle of death, being ſo ſure a token of the Emperors heauy indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth, or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the Emperours commandement ſo caſt. *Achmetes* ſeeing himſelfe now vnder the ſhadow of death, and knowing it but vaine to intreat for mercy, as he was a man of great ſpirit, brake forth and ſaid, *Oh cachpogly* (which is as much as to ſay, thou ſonne of a whore) ſith thou intendedſt ſo much cruelty againſt me, why didſt thou not put it in execution before thou hadſt inforced me to drink E this impure and forbidden wine? and ſo caſting his eies vpon the ground ſat ſtill. The other Baſſa's hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the Emperor, and crauing pardon for their exceeſſe, kiſſed the ground at his feet and ſo departed: with whom *Achmetes* offered to haue gone out alſo, but was forthwith commanded to ſit ſtill, for that the Emperour had to talke with him in ſecret. The Baſſa's were no ſooner departed, but the terrible executioners of *Bajazet* his wrath ſtept in, and laid hands vpon *Achmetes* to haue ſlaine him; when one of the Eunuchs in greateſt fauor with the tyrant, ſtanding by, aduiſed him not to be too haſty in executing of ſo great a man, ſo entirely beloued of his beſt ſouldiers and men of war, but rather to ſtay his execution for a while to ſee how the matter would be digeſted; and in the meane time by torture to wreſt it out from him what might be got, to make it in ſome ſort appeare, that he died F for his due deſert. Hereupon *Bajazet* deferred his execution to a further time, and cauſed him there preſently to be ſtript, and carried away to be tortured.

Amongſt other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Baſſaes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his ſons, a gentleman of great hope; who miſſing his father among the reſt, began preſently to miſtruſt that all went not wel; & ſpeedily running

Achmetes his ſon ſtirreth vp the Ianizaries to help his father.

from one of the Baſſaes to another, with much ado learned the hard eſtate of his father: whereof he was alſo at the ſame inſtant aduertiſed by a ſecret friend neere about *BajaZet*. Hereupon this yong gentleman began forthwith piteouſly to lament his fathers miſhap, and to exclaim againſt the cruelty of *Bajazet*; called on the Ianizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his fathers great and manifold deſerts towards them, together with his imminent danger: and ſo running vp and downe the city in the dead time of the night, had in ſhort time raiſed vp all the Ianizaries in armes: who vnderſtanding of the danger of their antient commander, who they generally loued and honored as their father, came running by heaps from all parts of the city vnto the court gate, there with terrible exclamations doubling and redoubling their *Bre, Bre*, (which barbarous word they commonly vſe in expreſſing their greateſt diſcontentment and fury) & did indeed ſo furiouſly beat at the court gate, that *Bajazet* fearing leaſt they ſhould breake in by violence, cauſed the outer gate to be ſet open, and ſhewing himſelfe from aboue out of a yron window, demanded of them the cauſe of that tumult and vprore. To whom they inſolently anſwered, That they would by and by teach him as a drunkard, a beaſt, and a raſcall, to vſe his great place and calling with more ſobriety and diſcretion: and among many other opprobrious words wherewith they ſhamefully loded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi, Bengi* (that is to ſay, Batchelor or Scholler) which amongſt thoſe martiall men, contemners of all learning, is accounted a word of no ſmall reproch and diſgrace. And after they had in moſt deſpightfull manner thus reuiled him, they proudly commanded him forthwith to deliuer *Achmetes* vnto them, or elſe to take that ſhould enſue thereof. *Bajazet* terrified with this inſolency of the Ianizaries, and fearing ſome ſudden violence to be offred, commanded *Achmetes* to be without delay deliuered vnto them: which was done in ſuch haſt, that he was brought forth before them almoſt naked, bare legged, and bare headed, bearing in his body the manifeſt markes of his hard vſage. The Ianizaries receiuing him with great rejoycing, ſupplied his want of apparell with ſuch habiliments, as they for that purpoſe vpon the ſudden tooke from *Bajazets* minions: and ſo taking him vpon their ſhoulders, with great joy carried him out of the court, ſtill crying vnto him, How he did, and how he felt himſelfe? And ſo guarded him home, ready no doubt to haue ſlaine *Bajazet* and rifled the court, if he would haue but ſaid the word. But he yet loyall, laboured with good words to appeaſe that tumult, and to pacifie the fury: excuſing that which *Bajazet* had done againſt him, to haue been done only to correct him, for that happily he had forgotten ſome part of obedience and duty. Neuertheleſſe, hereupon remained no ſmall heart burning betwixt *Bajazet* and the Ianizaries for a long time after: yet *Bajazet* for feare of them reconciled himſelfe to *Achmetes*, and in open ſhew had him in greater honour than before, promoting him euen vnto the higheſt degrees of honor, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more by the continuall inſtigation of the old Baſſa *Iſaac*: by whoſe perſuaſion, when it was thought that all had been forgotten, he was by *Bajazets* commandement as he ſat at ſupper in the court, thruſt through the body and ſlaine. This was the miſerable end of *Achmetes*, the great champion of the Turks, and one of the greateſt enemies of Chriſtendome that euer liued in the Turkiſh court: for by him, *Mahomet* ſubuerted the Empire of Trapezond, tooke the great city of Caffa (called in antient time Theodoſia) with all the countrey of Taurica Cherſoneſus, the impregnable city of Croia, with all the kingdome of Epirus, the ſtrong city of Scodra, and a great part of Dalmatia, and laſt of all Otranto, to the terror of all Italy: by him alſo, *BajaZet* vanquiſhed and put to flight his brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good ſeruices, he was by the tyrant (vpon a meere ſuſpition) thus cruelly and ſhamefully murthered. About this time alſo, *Caigubus* (*Zemes* his ſonne) then but a childe, was by the commandement of *Bajazet* his vncle, ſtrangled, in the new tower of Conſtantinople.

Bajazet for feare deliuereth Achmetes to the Ianizaries.

Achmetes ſlaine.

Bajazet now grieuouſly offended with the pride and late inſolency of the Ianizaries, cauſed ſecret inquiry to be made, of them which were the authors of thoſe late ſtirs; & finding them to be the officers of their companies, and ſpecially thoſe which had before ſlain *Mahomet Baſſa* the great polititian, immediatly after the death of *Mahomet* the late Emperor, at which time they had alſo raiſed great tumults, and done much harme in the city; he vnder color of preferment, ſent away thoſe authors of ſedition into diuers parts of his Empire, appointing vnto them (as vnto old ſoldiers and men of good deſert) certaine lands and reuenues for their maintenance and preferment. But as ſoone as they were departed, he by ſecret letters commanded

A the gouernors and magiſtrats in thoſe places wherunto they were ſent,ſuddenly to apprehend them,and as traitors put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Ianizaries of the court and about Conſtantinople,hearing what had hapned to their fellowes,became wonderfull diſcontented, and began to mutine in diuers places of the city, vttering ſpeeches againſt the Emperour full of deſpight and reuenge. Which thing when *Bajazet* vnderſtood,and had well conſidered the late danger he was in,together with the intollerable pride and inſolencie of thoſe his maſterfull ſlaues; he ſecretly purpoſed in himſelfe for curing of ſo dangerous a diſeaſe,to vſe a moſt deſperat remedy: which was, ſuddenly to kill and deſtroy all the Ianizaries, eſpecially thoſe which were belonging to the court, or about Conſtantinople. This his purpoſe he imparted to diuers of his greateſt Baſſaes,charging them vpon paine of his heauy B diſpleaſure not to diſcloſe it:and for the execution therof,had ſent for great numbers of thoſe ſoldiers,which are called Acanzij,who are among the Turks reputed for the beſt ſort of common ſouldiers. Moſt of all the Baſſa's to whom he had imparted this his cruell deuiſe,much diſliked thereof,as too full of perill and danger: yet ſeeing him fully reſolued for the performance therof,would not,or durſt not ſay any thing to the contrary. Only *Alis* & *Iſhender Baſſa* (both diſcended of the honorable family of *Michael Ogli*) diſſuaded him from attempting any ſuch thing:alledging firſt,that the Ianizaries were in number many,ſoldiers of great courage and experience,reſolute men,and ſuch as would ſell their liues deare:Then,admitting that he ſhould kill all them about the court and in Conſtantinople; yet foraſmuch as all his ſtrong towns and caſtles,eſpecially in the frontiers and chiefe places of his dominions, were C poſſeſſed and holden by ſtrong garriſons of other Ianizaries, fellows & friends of theſe (who would vndoubtedly take vp arms in defence of themſelues,and reuenge of their dead friends) it were a thing very like to endanger himſelfe,together with the whole ſtate of his empire,beſide the great diſhonour which would grow vnto himſelfe thereby for euer.

1487

Bajazet purpoſeth to deſtroy the Ianizaries.

This ſo dangerous an exploit,wherin the hands of ſo many were to be vſed, was not kept ſo ſecret, but that the vigilant and wily Ianizaries had got an inckling therof;and therupon began dayly more & more to ſuſpect the matter,both by the often and ſecret repaire of the great men to the court, more then they had before ſeen, & alſo by the vnwonted multitude of thoſe Acanzij,which were dayly brought vnto the imperial city by great troups. Wherfore fearing to be ſuddenly ſurpriſed,they banded themſelues together,and openly ſtood vpon their gard: D and by chance lighting vpon *Alis Beg* as he came from the court,(who was indeed their beſt friend) after their barbarous manner,with many opprobrious & contumelious words,demanded of him,if he were not one of them who had conſpired their deſtruction:and without more ado had preſently ſlain him,had he not (as a wel ſpoken man) with great proteſtations & oths perſuaded them, that he neuer conſented to any ſuch thing, or that they needed to feare any ſuch thing from him: and ſo with much ado rid himſelfe out of their hands.

Bajazet ſeeing his purpoſe diſcouered,and that he could not without great bloudſhed, and danger both to his eſtate and perſon,worke his will vpon the Ianizaries; by the counſell and aduice of them that ſaw further into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open proclamation, That the Ianizaries and other his men of war (of whom he had a great E power now aſſembled at Conſtantinople) to be in readineſſe againſt a certain prefixed day, to go with him into Moldauia,as if he had raiſed that power for that purpoſe only. But when the time was come that he ſhould ſet forward,the Ianizaries put themſelues in order of battel by themſelues, and would in no wiſe ioyne themſelues with the reſt of the army, or receiue the Emperor into the midſt of their ranks,as they had alwaies before accuſtomed; but furiouſly ſhaking their weapons at him,told him plainly, that he had ſought their deſtruction, and bid him therefore if he thought it ſo good,to ſet his executioners to worke vpon them, whom he ſhould find both ready and able to defend themſelues. To pacify their fury, *Bajazet* was glad to giue them good words,and to vſe al the means he could (by his great Baſſa's and other captains which were able to do any thing with them) to perſuade them to be quiet;ſwearing vnto F them by the holy ſoule of his father (a ſolemne oath amongſt the Turks) that he would not harme or wrong the meaneſt of them. So with much ado they were at length appeaſed, and receiued *Bajazet* into the midſt of them, as their wonted manner was.

This dangerous tumult ſo quieted, *Bajazet* ſet forward, and paſſing ouer Danubius, entred into Moldauia, where he firſt layd ſiege to a ſtrong town ſtanding vpon the Euxine ſea,called

Bajazet inuadeth Moldauia.

of the Turks Kele, but in antient time Achilleia, which was at length deliuered vnto him by compoſition. From thence he went to Ac-Girmen, otherwiſe called Aſprocaſtron, which after a months ſiege was alſo deliuered by compoſition: which two ſtrong places ſo woon, he returned again to Conſtantinople.

Many great Princes ſue to the Maſter of the Rhodes for Zemes.

Many great Princes deſirous of *Zemes*, labored by their embaſſadors to haue obtained him of the Great Maſter of the Rhodes: firſt *Bajazet* his brother, fearing leſt he ſhould at one time or other again break forth vpon him, or els ſet vp by the Chriſtian Princes, trouble his eſtate, offred great ſums of money to haue had him deliuered into his hands: and *Charles* the French king purpoſing the conqueſt of Naples, (which he in few yeres after performed) and after that to haue inuaded Grecia, thought *Zemes* a moſt fit inſtrument for the furtherance of thoſe his high deſigns, and was therfore wonderfull deſirous to haue had him. *Matthias* alſo K. of Hungary (a fortunat Warriour againſt the Turke) perſuaded that the hauing of him might be vnto him a great furtherance in the courſe of his victories, ſought by all the meanes he could to haue obtained him. At which time alſo *Innocentius* the eight of that name, B. of Rome, no leſſe deſirous than the reſt, to haue in his keeping ſo great a pledge of peace and war (the bridle of the Turks fury, together with the large penſion he was ſure to receiue yearely from *Bajazet* for the ſafe cuſtody of him) ſo wrought the matter by *Lyonel* Biſhop of Concordia, his cunning Legat, that the Great Maſter, fearing on the one ſide to be conſtrained by the great power of *Bajazet*, to grant that he had ſo often refuſed, and now ſo earneſtly ſolicited on the other ſide by the Biſhop, cauſed *Zemes* to be deliuered to him at Rome in the yeare 1488: for which doing he was by the Biſhop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinall. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the Biſhop (who receiued from *Bajazet* a yerely penſion of forty thouſand duckats) remained in ſafe cuſtody at Rome all the time of *Innocentius*, and alſo of *Alexander* the ſixth his ſucceſſor: vntill that the French King *Charles* the eight, paſſing through the heart of Italy with a ſtrong army againſt *Alphonſus* king of Naples, in the yere 1495, and making his way through the city of Rome, ſo terrified the great Biſhop (who altogether fauoured & furthered the title of *Alphonſus*) that he was glad to yeeld to ſuch articles and conditions as pleaſed the king: and among the reſt, to giue in hoſtage vnto the king his graceleſſe ſon *Cæſar Borgia Valentinus*, and alſo to deliuer to him *Zemes* his honourable priſoner, as ſhall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Bajazet* his reigne, whileſt he was buſied againſt his brother *Zemes* in Aſia, *Iohn Caſtriot* the ſon of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunatly ouerthrowne the Turke in a battell neere vnto Croia, recouered a great part of Epirus out of their poſſeſſion. At which time alſo *Iohn Chernouich* a Chriſtian Prince of Albania, caſting off the Turkiſh yoke impoſed vpon him by the late Emperor *Mahomet*, ſuddenly took vp armes, and by the help of the Venetians valiantly repulſed the enemies out of that part of Albania; and ſo troubled *Bajazet*, that he was glad to ſuffer him peaceably to inioy all that he had by force recouered, and further to content himſelfe with a ſmall tribute for the reſt.

1486

Bajazet inuadeth Caramania.

Bajazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom ſome call *Pyramet*) the King of Caramania, for aiding his brother *Zemes* againſt him; in reuenge thereof raiſed a great army both in Europe and Aſia, and marching alongſt Aſia the leſſe, through the countries of Phrygia, Myſia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphilia, entered at length into Caramania. But the king of Caramania, hearing before of his comming, and knowing himſelf too weak too meet him in field, fortified the ſtrong Cities and places of his Kingdome, and retyred with his army into the ſtreits of the mountain Taurus, where it parteth Cilicia from Syria; wherein he was in more ſafety than in any of his ſtrongeſt holds. *Bajazet* finding no way to come to him, ſpent moſt part of the Summer in ſpoyling of the open country: but perceiuing his enemies could not ſo be drawn into the field, he layd ſiege vnto the famous city of Tarſus, being the chiefe City of the champaine part of Cilicia (the natiue place of S. *Paul* the Apoſtle) and in ſhort time ſo battered the wals of his City with his great ordance, that he had made them ſaultable. The Citiſens conſidering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their City, their liberty, liues, and goods reſerued. Of which their offer *Bajazet* accepted, and moſt honourably performed his promiſe for their ſafety; not permitting any of his ſouldiers to enter the City, more than ſuch as muſt needs for the guard of his perſon, and ſafe keeping of the City. And foraſmuch as Winter began now to grow faſt on, he diſperſed his ſouldiers into the Countrey

Tarſus in Cilicia yeelded to Bajazet.

trey villages round about, not ſuffering the countrey people to til or ſow their land, or to do any thing els which might turne to their profit or good, whereby they were inforced to yeeld themſelues wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian King ſeeing his people dayly fall from him, & fearing to be at length forſaken of his ſoldiers alſo, in this his diſtres obtained aid both of men and mony from *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of Ægypt, and ſo withal the power he could make, tooke the field, with the firſt of the next Spring, fully reſolued to try the fortune of a battel, although in ſtrength and power he knew himſelf much inferior to his puiſſant enemy.

A long and terrible battell betwixt Bajazet and the King of Caramania.

Bajazet glad to ſee his enemy ſo forward, ſpeedily aſſembled his army, and without delay offered him battell: which the Caramanian King refuſed not. So between them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage of the ſouldiers, was maintained the whole day with doubtfull victory and great ſlaughter on both ſides, new ſupplies ſtill comming on in ſtead of them which were ſlaine. The day declining, the Caramanian King (whoſe fatall deſtiny had now appointed him vnto his laſt work) ſeeing his wearied ſoldiers rather ouerlaid with multitude, than vanquiſhed by force, to begin to giue ground to their enemies; couragiouſly thruſt forward with his guard and other valiant ſoldiers about him, with ſuch fury, that he brake into the midſt of his enemies battaile; where being known, he was forthwith enuironed by the Turks, and ſo hardly charged on euery ſide, that hauing his horſe ſlain vnder him, he was inforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his owne hand ſlain diuers of his enemies, he fell down dead in the midſt of them. His ſoldiers diſcouraged with his death, turned their backs & fled, and in flying were for the moſt part either ſlain or taken priſoners. After this victory, *Bajazet* ſpeedily ouerran all that large countrey, and without reſiſtance in ſhort time brought vnder his obeyſance all the countrey of Cilicia.

There was at that time in that part of Cilicia which is called Trachea, and lieth toward the ſea ſide, an antient Mahometan Prince who had vnder his command moſt part of that countrey, with the famous and populous city of Scandeloro, the chiefe place of his reſiance. This prince had of long time liued betwixt the Chriſtian kings & the kings of Caramania, as neuter, ſtill fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had till then chiefly maintained his ſtate by the allyance he and his anceſtors continually held with the Kings of Cyprus and the grand maſters of the Rhodes. Againſt this poore prince, the only one now left in Aſia the leſſe, not ſubiect to the Turkiſh kings, began *Bajazet* now to turn his forces; purpoſing before he proceeded any further, to make a full conqueſt of the leſſer Aſia, and ſo to make all ſure behind him. Of which his purpoſe the Prince hauing knowledge, and wiſely weighing his own ſmall power to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy, offred by his Embaſſadors to deliuer to *Bajazet* his chief city of Scandeloro, with all the reſt of his territory in Cilcia, vpon condition, that *Bajazet* ſhould giue vnto him other poſſeſſions for it, in ſome other part of Aſia the leſſer, to the like value. Which his offer *Bajazet* accepted, and ſo became lord of all the ſea coaſt, from the ſtreits of Boſphorus, to the confines of Syria.

After he had thus conquered Cilicia, with a great part of the mountain Taurus, he deſcended into Armenia the leſſe, and in ſhort time brought vnder his ſubiection ſo much of that country, as alſo of Cappadocia, as was ſomtime belonging to the Caramanian Kings. When *Bajazet* had thus ſlain the Caramanian King, and ſubdued that moſt antient kingdome of the Turks, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glory and power of the *Othoman* Kings, he left *Muſtapha*, one of his great Baſſaes, at Iconium, with his Aſian army, to keep in obedience thoſe new woon countries: and as a triumphant conquerour returned himſelfe to Conſtantinople, where he was of his ſubiects ioyfully receiued.

1487

After that *Bajazet* had thus inlarged his Empire with the kingdom of Caramania, and was now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of Ægypt and Syria; he began to ſwell in diſdain againſt that mighty Prince, for that he had giuen aid againſt him, firſt vnto his brother *Zemes*, and after that to the Caramanian King in theſe late wars: of which wrong purpoſing to be reuenged, he ſhortly after appointed one *Caragoſa Baſſa* his lieutenant in Aſia, with *Iſkender* another of his great Captaines, with a ſtrong army to inuade Syria, then part of the great Sultans Kingdome. Theſe two great commanders well appointed for the purpoſe, when they were come to the vttermoſt parts of Cilicia, the new bounds of *Bajazets* Empire, were then to paſſe by the confines of *Aladeules* his Kingdome, before they could paſſe the

great mountaine Taurus to come into Syria. This *Aladules* commanded as king ouer the rude G
and fierce people which dwelt alongſt that great and rough mountaine, and was then in league
with the Sultan. He hearing of the approach of the Turks army, with a great number of his
mountain people lay in ambuſh in the ſtreits whereby the Turks muſt needs paſſe, of purpoſe
to intercept them. *Iſhender* marching in the vantguard with a great number of the voluntary
ſouldiers called Acanzij, as the manner of the Turks is, and fearing nothing leſſe, than to be
ſet vpon by the mountain King, before he was aware was come into the midſt of his enemies,
and was by them ſo fiercely charged on euery ſide for their places of aduantage, that he there
loſt moſt part of his men, and forſaken of the reſt, which ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues,
he with his two ſons and others were taken priſoners. *Michael-Beg* the eldeſt of the two, being
faſt bound, was ſlain by one of *Aladules* his followers, whoſe brother he had ſlain in that skirmiſh: H
his head being cut off, was by the commandment of *Aladules* carried to his father *Iſhender*,
the more to grieue him: who diſdainfully willed the meſſenger not to ſhew it vnto him,
but to bid his maſter eat it if he would. With which anſwer *Aladules* was exceedingly mooued;
neuertheleſſe pittying the old mans miſery, he ſhortly after ſet *Iaxis-Beg* the yonger brother
at liberty: but *Iſhender* himſelfe he ſent priſoner to *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at Caire,
where he remained in priſon fiue yeres after. *Caragoſes* the Baſſa diſcouraged with the loſſe of
ſo great a man, retyred with his army backe againe into Cilicia, and from thence aduertiſed
Bajazet what had hapned, by whom he was commanded to return to Conſtantinople, as a man
vnfit for ſo great an enterpriſe.

1488

Achmetes being diſcomfited is taken priſoner, and ſent to Caire.

The next Spring following, *Bajazet* conſtant in his former reſolution for the inuaſion of Siria, I
ſent *Achmetes* another of his Baſſa's, with a far greater army than had *Caragoſes*, againſt the
Sultan: who was no ſooner come to the further part of Cilicia, but he was there at a place, called
of the Turks, Tzucur Oua, encountred by the Ægyptians & Arabians, and there in a great
battell ouerthrowne; wherein he himſelfe fighting moſt valiantly, loſt two of his fingers, and
being taken priſoner was ſent to Caire.

1489

Bajazet with this ouerthrow rather inſenced than diſcouraged, made great preparation the
next yere againſt the Sultan both by ſea and land, ſuch as he had not before at any time made.
And when all things were now in readines, ſent *Alis Baſſa* (of ſome called *Calibeus*) and *Cherſeogles*
his ſonne in law, two notable captains, with a great and puiſſant army by land, againſt the
Ægyptian Sultan: at which time he requeſted of the Venetians, with whom he was then in K
league, That he might by their good leaue, as occaſion required, refreſh his fleet (then ready
to put to ſea for the inuaſion of Syria, as he ſaid) in their Iſland of Cyprus. Which his requeſt
was by the generall conſent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the great danger
of their State: yet wiſely doubting leſt *Bajazet* taking that deniall in euill part, ſhould ſeeke to
haue that by force, which he could not obtain by requeſt, they preſently ſent *Franciſco Priuolo*
their Admirall, to ſea with thirty gallies for the defence of that Iſland. He hearing that one
fleet of the Turks gallies, lately come out of Helleſpontus, lay houering at the Iſland of Sciros,
expecting a far greater from the coaſt of Ionia; and carefully conſidering how ſecret and
ſudden the Turkiſh deſignements were, although it was giuen out that al this great preparation
was made againſt the Sultan: yet to prouide that they ſhould not ſuddenly ſurpriſe the Iſle L
he ſpeedily ſent ſundry companies of ſoldiers, eſpecially archers, out of Creta into Cyprus,
for the better defence thereof; but ſtayed himſelfe with his fleet at the Iſland of Naxos, that
ſo at hand he might be the readier to withſtand whatſoeuer the Turks intended. But when he
vnderſtood that all their fleet was met, and now ſet forward, he hoyſed ſayle, & held his courſe
directly for Cyprus. In the meane time the Turkiſh fleet ſayling alongſt the coaſt of Lycia,
Pamphilia, and Cilicia, kept on their courſe vntil they came vpon the coaſt of Syria: by which
time *Calibeus* and *Cherſeogles* were come with a mighty army into Cilicia, neer to the mountaine
Taurus.

Caitbeius the Ægyptian Sultan hauing before had certain intelligence of the great preparation
that *Bajazet* had made againſt him, had before ſent *Vsbeg* a moſt valiant and politick captaine, M
with a ſtrong army of his Mamalukes and other his moſt expert ſouldiers into Syria, to
be ready at all times to withſtand the Turks. This worthy Chieftaine vnderſtanding of the
comming of the Turks army, thought it greater policy, to carry the calamities which alwayes
wait vpon great armies, into the enemies country, than to receiue it into his own boſom. And
there-

A therfore although he knew himſelfe for number to be far inferior to his enemies, yet ſupplying that want with the valor, courage, and aſſured confidence he had repoſed in the approued and inuincible force of his Mamalukes, he expected not the comming of the enemy into Syria, but paſſing ouer the mountain Amanus, and ſo deſcending into Cilicia, met him not far from Tarſus, in the ſame place (as it was thought) where *Alexander* the great had long before in a great battel vanquiſhed *Darius*.

A long and terrible battell betwixt the Turks and the Mamalukes.

Theſe two puiſſant armies come from far out of diuers parts of the world, the one to meet the other, were no ſooner come together, but that with like cheerfulnes they joined battell; and that with ſuch violence and fury, that the earth ſeemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a moſt preſent deſtruction threatned vnto them all: which terrible and cruel fight was B maintained all that day, with doubtful victory, and exceeding ſlaughter on both ſides; the politique Generals with new ſupplies of freſh ſoldiers continually relieuing the moſt diſtreſſed parts of their battels; and they likewiſe as men prodigall of their liues, reſolutely offering themſelues to all dangers. When this moſt dreadful fight had in this ſort endured the whole day, and many thouſands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the gronnd, the approaching night brake off the battel, and both the armies ſore wearied and weakned (but eſpecially the Turks) retyred to their camps, where they reſted that night.

But the Egyptians comming to their camp, found all their Cariages with their prouiſion of victuals and other neceſſaries quite taken away and gon. Which thing (as ſome write) the bordering people of the country (for moſt part liuing vpon robery) had don in time of the C battel, to pleaſe the Turks: or as ſome others report, they which had the charge therof, terrified with the greatnes of the Turks army, and doubtfulnes of the battel, fled away, & taking their way alongſt the ſea ſide, fled into the hands of the Turkes which were put on ſhore out of the gallies, and ſo were of them ſpoiled. Howſoeuer it was (for in ſo great vncertainty I dare not affirm) certain it is, that the Egyptians were ſore troubled with the loſſe of their prouiſion, fearing that if they ſhould now ſtay longer in the Country, they ſhould forthwith be driuen to great extremities for want of neceſſaries. Wherfore when they had euil reſted that night, the next day early in the morning they preſented themſelues in order of battel before their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them battel. The Turks diſdaining to ſee any prouder in field than themſelues, after they had in good order ranged their battels, ſet forward D with enſignes diſplaid againſt their proud enemies. There began a moſt terrible bloudy battel, fought with ſuch deſperat reſolution, as if they had ſolemnly vowed, either to ouercome, or die in the place where they ſtood. A man would haue ſaid that the former daies fury had bin but a play in compariſon of this: many valiant ſouldiers with their dead bodies couered the ſame ground wheron they liuing ſtood, when they receiued the firſt incounter of their Enemies. Of both thoſe great armies none were ſeen to giue ground, or once look backe; the Turks Ianizaries & the Egiptians Mamalukes (the vndoubted ſtrength of the greateſt Mahometan Monarchs, ſoldiers for their valor much feared, & through the world renowned) there buckled together, and ſtanding foot to foot, ſpent the vttermoſt of their forces one vpon another; as if they would in that battel haue made it known vnto the world, which of them were E to be accounted the beſt ſoldiers. Whilſt victory ſtood thus doubtfull, and the day was now far ſpent, *Vsbeg* the Egyptian General, with fifteen thouſand valiant horſmen (whom hee had reſerued for that purpoſe) gaue a freſh aſſault vpon the Turks ſquadrons, with ſuch force, that they had much ado to keep their order, and began now to giue ground: which was by and by made good again by other freſh men ſpeedily brought on by the Baſſa's. Then became the battel more fierce than before, euery man ſtriuing to the vtmoſt of his power to ſel his life to his enemies as dear as he could. In which maner of fight all the reſt of the day was ſpent, vntill that after the going down of the Sun, the darknes of the night comming faſt on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battell, and to retyre themſelues into their camps, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

F The Turks Baſſa's taking view of the army, and finding that of an hundred thouſand fighting men, which they brought into the field, there was ſcarce a third part left, and moſt of them alſo maimed or hurt; & doubting to be ſet vpon again the next morning by their reſolute enemies, fled away ſecretly the ſame night, leauing behind them for haſt their tents well ſtored with victuals and all other things needfull. The Ægyptians alſo hauing loſt one half of their

The Turks flie away by night.

army (which was at the firſt ſeuenty thouſand) and wanting their neceſſary prouiſions, were retyred alſo the ſame night into the mountaine Taurus, not knowing any thing of the flight of the Turks. And ſome of the ſouldiers paſſing quite ouer the mountaine without ſtay, into Syria, raiſed a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans army was ouerthrown, and that the Turks had got the victory: ſo vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battel, euen to them that were preſent therein. The Ægyptians lying that night vpon the ſide of the mountaine, had ſpeedy intelligence from *Aladules*, of the flight of the Turks: which being alſo confirmed by his eſpials to be true, he preſently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turks campe, where he found plenty of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreſhing of his army.

Aladules the mountain king, with the people called Varſacide, by whoſe confines the Turks muſt needs in their returne paſſe, robbed and ſlew many of them in their diſordred flight; and had ſo ſtopped the paſſages, that they were in flying ouertaken by the Mamalukes, and ſlaine with ſo great a ſlaughter, that of all that great army of the Turks few remained aliue to carry news home. *Calibeius* and *Cherſeogles* the Baſſaes, were in that flight both taken priſoners, and afterwards preſented to *Caytbeius* the Sultan, at Caire, with eighteen enſignes of the Turks Sanzacks, which are great men amongſt them, hauing euery one of them the regiment and command of ſome one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the Baſſaes.

Neither was the fortune of *Bajazet* his nauie at ſea, better than that of his army at land: for as it lay at rode vpon the coaſt of Syria at the mouth of the riuer Orontes, which runneth by the famous city of Antioch, his gallies were by tempeſt and rage of the ſea put from their anchors, and in the ſight of their enemies ſwallowed vp of the ſea, or elſe driuen vpon the maine, and there with the ſurges of the ſea beaten in pieces. *Bajazet* not a little troubled with theſe loſſes both by ſea and land, at length with much ado, by his Embaſſadors concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he reſtored all ſuch places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him *Calibeius*, *Cherſeogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Iſbender*, with all the reſt of the Turks priſoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

1492 *A peace concluded betwixt Bajazet and Caytbeius.*

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt theſe two great and mighty Princes, *Caytbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circaſſian ſlaue, by many degrees of honour, and by the fauor of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich Kingdome of Ægypt, which he right worthily gouerned to his immortall praiſe by the ſpace of two and twenty yeares; commanding at one time the great and rich countrey of Ægypt, with all Affricke, as farre as Cyrene, Weſtward; and Iudea, with a great part of Arabia, and all Syria, vnto the great and famous riuer Euphrates, Eaſtward. In the latter end of his reigne he (ouercome with the importunitie of his wife *Dultibe*, an Arabian borne, a woman of a haughty ſpirit) ioyned his ſonne *Mahomethes*, a yong man of about foure and twenty yeares old, with him in the fellowſhip of his kingdome; that ſo poſſeſſed of it his father yet liuing, he might the better inioy it after his death. Contrary to the cuſtome of the Mamulukes, who of long time had not vſed to haue their king by ſucceſſion, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choice, immediatly after the death of *Caytbeius* ſlew *Mahomethes* his ſon; and in a few months after, foure moe, who one after another without their good liking had aſpired vnto the Kingdome; neither could they be contented, vntill ſuch time as that they had according to their wonted cuſtome ſet vp a Sultan of their owne choice.

About the ſame time that the aforeſaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane Princes, *Bajazet* and *Caytbeius*, *Charles* the French King was making great preparation againſt *Alphonſus* king of Naples; giuing it out, That after he had recouered that kingdom, he would forthwith from thence inuade the Turks dominions in Grecia. Which great attempt the haughty King was induced to take in hand, by the perſuaſion of diuers of his Nobilitie, but eſpecially by the ſolicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* Duke of Millan: wherby the whole ſtate of Italy was in ſhort time after ſore ſhaken, and *Sfortia* himſelfe, Author of theſe troubles, at laſt carried away by the French, miſerably ended his dayes as a priſoner in France. *Alphonſus* the Neapolitan King doubting the greatneſſe of the French King his enemy, entered into a confederation with certaine of the States of Italy, againſt the French, but eſpecially with *Alexander* the ſixt then Biſhop of Rome: for the better aſſurance whereof, hee gaue his

A his baſe daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Biſhops ſon, and made him Prince of Carinula:
his other ſon *Francis* he entertained alſo in great pay to ſerue him in his wars. And by
his Embaſſadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of France, gaue *Bajazet* to vnderſtand,
what the French King had purpoſed againſt them both, requeſting him to aid him with ſix
thouſand horſemen and as many foot againſt their common enemy, promiſing to giue them
honourable entertainment during thoſe wars. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great
Biſhop ſent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, ſkilfull in the Turkiſh language, Embaſſador to *Bajazet*,
to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by ſea and land, the young French
King (deſirous of honour and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade Naples;
and then, with what great power (after he had diſpatched his warres in Italy) he purpoſed to
B paſſe ouer into Græcia; and that he had to that end earneſtly trauelled with him to haue *Zemes*
his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he deſired to vſe as a moſt fit inſtrument for the
troubling of his ſtate and Empire, by reaſon of his many friends: yet that his Holineſſe hauing
the French in diſtruſt as a proud and ambitious people, as alſo carefull for the danger of
the city of Rome, and of the ſtate of Italy in generall) had entered into a confederation with
Alphonſus King of Naples, with their vnited forces to withſtand that proud nation, both by ſea
and land, wanting nothing more for the accompliſhment therof, than mony: by which means
only, *Bajazet* might (as he ſaid) prouide for the ſafety of his kingdome in Græcia, if he would
put to his helping hand, to furniſh them with mony for the entertainment of ſouldiers: foraſmuch
as the city of Rome, and the kingdome of Naples, were the ſureſt wals of that ſide of
C the *Othoman* Empire; if he not altogether refuſing the charge, would not ſpare for a little coſt
to maintaine the war rather in that forreine country, than to receiue it, brought home to his
owne doore: concluding, That it were much more commodious and eaſie with his treaſures
to repreſſe his enemy in a ſtrange country a far off, than by dint of ſword and plaine battell in
his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, That they which haue neglected and ſet at
nought remote dangers, for ſparing of charge, haue afterwards bin inforced with greater danger
to receiue the ſame into their own boſomes, when as they were become deſperat and paſt
remedy. *Bajazet*, who both by his eſpials and often letters and Embaſſadors from *Alphonſus*,
knew all this to be true, gaue great thanks to the Biſhop by his Embaſſador, for that he ſitting
in ſo high place, did ſo friendly and in ſo good time admoniſh him, both a ſtranger and of a
D contrary religion, of things of ſo great conſequence: yet for anſwer, he willed him to returne
again vnto his maſter with one *Daucius* his Embaſſador, who ſhould carry with him both mony
and other his ſecret reſolutions concerning thoſe matters. Among other things giuen him
in charge, was an Epiſtle written in Greek, wherin the barbarous king with great cunning perſuaded
the Biſhop to poiſon *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrary to
his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Bajazet* ſtood in feare and doubt, leaſt hee
ſhould by ſome chance eſcape out of priſon to the troubling of his ſtate. For the performance
of this his requeſt, he promiſed faithfully to pay vnto the Biſhop, two hundred thouſand duckats,
and neuer after ſo long as he liued to take vp armes againſt the Chriſtians. Otherwiſe
than had his father *Mahomet*, and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies
E vnto the name of Chriſtians, neuer ceaſed by continuall wars to worke their woe.

Alphonſus king of Naples, and Alexander Biſhop of Rome craue aid of Bajazet againſt Charles the French King.

Baiazet ſendeth Dautius his embaſſador to Alexander Biſhop of Rome.

But *George* the Biſhops embaſſador, and *Dautius*, trauelling towards Italy, and hauing now
happily paſſed the Adriatike, as they were about to haue landed at Ancona were borded by
Io. Rouereus, brother to *Iulianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in thoſe quarters) and
cleane quit of their treaſure and whatſoeuer elſe they had aboord. *Rouereus* pretending for the
defence of the fact, That the Biſhop did owe him a great ſum of mony, due vnto him for his
good ſeruice done in the time of *Innocentius* his predeceſſor, for which he now paied himſelfe.
Neither could the Biſhop, much troubled with that injury, euer after recouer one part thereof,
although he threatned vengeance with fire and ſword, and alſo ſought for recompence of
the Venetians, whom it concerned to ſaue the Turks harmeleſſe in thoſe ſeas: for why, *Rouereus*
F bearing himſelfe vpon the French, which were now vpon comming, whoſe faction he followed,
kept the mony, and ſet at nought the Biſhops thundering curſes and vain threats. *Dautius*
himſelfe, *Bajazets* Embaſſadour being ſet on ſhore, was glad to goe on foot to Ancona;
and ſo from thence paſſing vp the riuer Padus, came to *Franciſcus Gonzaga*, duke of Mantua, of
whom (for the antient friendſhip betwixt him and *Bajazet*) he was courteouſly entertained

Io. Rouereus robbeth the Turks Embaſſador.

and furniſhed both with money and apparell, and ſo ſpoiled returned into Grecia, to carry newes vnto his maſter how he ſped.

When *Bajazet* vnderſtood by *Dautius*, the euill ſucceſſe he had in his laſt iourny, he forthwith ſent *Muſtapha* one of the Baſſaes of the court, vnto the great Biſhop *Alexander*, with like inſtructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in Italy, and came to Rome in ſafety; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great Maſter. But amongſt many other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he moſt ſought for at the Biſhops haads.

1435 At the ſame time, which was in the yeare 1435, the French King *Charles* the eight of that name, paſſing through the heart of Italy with a ſtrong army againſt *Alphonſus* King of Naples; and taking his way without leaue through the city of Rome, ſo terrified *Alexander* the Biſhop who (as we haue before ſaid) altogether fauoured, and as much as in him lay, furthered the cauſe of *Alphonſus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all ſuch articles and conditions as it pleaſed him then to demand: not purpoſing in himſelfe at all the performance of any of thoſe things, which for feare he had with great ſolemnity promiſed, as the ſequel of the matter afterwards declared. Amongſt other things, he was enforced to giue vnto the king his graceleſſe ſon *Caſar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the Cardinals) in hoſtage, for the performance of the other of his promiſes. Which diſgrace the crafty old Biſhop ſought to couer, by gracing his ſon with the title of the Legat: and with him he was alſo inforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Bajazets* brother, his honourable priſoner; who to the great profit of the Biſhop and his predeceſſor, had remained in ſafe cuſtody at Rome about the ſpace of ſeuen yeares.

Zemes dieth, poiſoned by Alexander Biſhop of Rome.

But *Zemes* within three daies after he was deliuered to the French, died at Caieta, being before his deliuerance poiſoned (as it was thought) with a pouder of wonderfull whiteneſſe and pleaſant taſt; whoſe power was not preſently to kill, but by little and little diſpercing the force therof, did in ſhort time bring moſt aſſured death: which pleaſant poyſon, *Alexander* the Biſhop, skilfull in that practiſe (corrupted by *Bajazets* gold, and enuying ſo great a good vnto the French) had cauſed to be cunningly mingled with the Sugar wherewith *Zemes* vſed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead body was not long after ſent to *Bajazet*, by *Muſtapha* his Embaſſador, who to the great contentment of his maſter, had thus contriued his death with the Biſhop. Not long after, this dead body ſo far brought, was by the appointment of *Bajazet*, honorably interred among his anceſtors at Pruſa. *Caſar Borgia* alſo the Biſhops ſon, a little before giuen in hoſtage vnto the French King, deceiuing his keepers at Velitras, returned againe to

The euill life of Caſar Borgia.

Rome before the French King was come to Naples. This wicked impe come of an euill ſtrain, not worth the remembrance but by way of deteſtation (the very monſter of nature, if a man ſhould well conſider the courſe of his whole life) ſhortly after his eſcape, enuying at the honor of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the Biſhop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one time merily ſupped with his ſaid brother, with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterouſly cauſed him to be vnawares murdred in the ſtreets as he was going home, and his dead body to be caſt into the riuer of Tiber. Then caſting off his prieſtly habit with his Cardinals robes, he took vpon him the leading of his fathers army in his brothers ſtead, and gaue himſelfe wholly to martiall affaires; a vocation beſt fitting his fierce & bloudy diſpoſition: and with exceeding prodigality, wherewith he exhauſted his fathers coffers and the treaſures of the church, bound faſt vnto him deſperat ruffians and ſoldiers (eſpecially Spaniards, his fathers country men) ſuch as he knew fitteſt to ſerue for the execution of his moſt horrible deuiſes. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were ſuch as all good men deteſted, yet did the old hipocrit his father wink therat, fearing (as it was thought) to be murdered of the viper, himſelfe, when it ſhould ſerue for his purpoſe. Now when he had thus ſtrengthned himſelf, and that he was become a terror to all the nobility of Rome and the ſeigniories thereabout, he by the deuice and help of his father (who deſired nothing more than to make him great) firſt draue the moſt honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the city, and afterwards out of Latium: and by moſt execrable trechery, poyſoned or killed the honorable perſonages of the great houſes of the *Vrſini* & *Cajetani*, taking to himſelf their lands & poſſeſſions. With like cruelty he ſtrangled at one time four noblemen of the *Camartes*: & draue *Guido Feltrius* out of Vrbin. He took the city of Piſarum from *Io. Sfortia*, who with much difficulty eſcaped his bloudy hands: and draue the *Malateſtaes* out of Ariminum. The great lady *Catherine*

A *rine Sfortia* he thruſt out of Forum Liuij and Forum Cornelij, and ſhamefully led her in triumph
through Rome. And neuer ſatisfied with bloud, which he without meaſure ſhed, he
took the city of Fauentia from *Aſtor Manfredus*, a young gentleman of rare perfection: whom
after the beaſtly tyrant had moſt horribly abuſed againſt nature, he cauſed to be cruelly ſtrangled,
and his dead body to be caſt into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the meaſure of his iniquity,
and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile moſt part of the Roman
nobility, and purpoſing by the ſupportation of his father, to make himſelfe Lord and Soueraign
both of the City, and of all Latium, in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of
the moſt Higheſt attached and caſt down, and that by ſuch means as he leaſt feared: for being
with his father at a ſolemne ſupper in the Vaticane, of purpoſe prepared for the deſtruction of
B certain rich Cardinals and ſome other honorable citiſens, they were both poyſoned by the fatall
error of one of the waiters, who miſtaking of a flaggon, gaue the poiſoned wine to the accurſed
Biſhop and his ſon, which was prepared for the gueſts; whereof the old Biſhop in few
dayes after died. But his ſonne who had drunk the ſame more delaid with water, although he
died not of long time after, yet preſently fell into ſuch an extreme ſickneſſe, that he was not
able to help himſelfe, or to command his deſperat followers, wherof he had great ſtore: but lying
ſicke, in ſhort time ſaw himſelfe of them forſaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the third,
and *Iulius* the ſecond, one after another ſitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enioyed
that pontificall dignity but ſixteen dayes: and *Iulius* ſucceeding him, cauſed this *Cæſar Borgia*
(who of right had deſerued a thouſand deaths) to be ſhut vp in the caſtle called Moles Adriani,
C from whence he ſet him at liberty vpon the deliuery of certaine ſtrong holds which were
yet holden by his garriſons. After he had thus rid himſelfe out of *Iulius* the Biſhops hands, he
fled to Oſtia, and ſo by ſea to Naples: where he was by the commandment of *Ferdinand* king
of Spain, apprehended by *Gonſaluus* the Great, and tranſported into Spaine, for feare leaſt he,
being of a moſt troubleſome nature, and much reſorted vnto by his old fauorits, ſhould raiſe
ſome new ſtirs in Italy. He was no ſooner arriued in Spain, but he was caſt into priſon in the
caſtle of Medina, where after he had lien three yeres he deceiued his keepers, and with a rope
which he had gotten, let himſelfe down from an high tower of the caſtle: and ſo eſcaping, fled
to the king of Nauarre, whom he afterwards ſerued in his wars, and was in an hot skirmiſh againſt
the kings enemies (wherin he had obtained the victory) ſlain with a ſmall ſhot. Vnworthy
D after ſo many horrible villanies, to haue ended his days ſo honorably. His dead body was
found ſtript, and ſo brought to the king vpon a bad beaſt, as if it had bin a dead calf all naked;
which was by his commandment honourably buried at Pamphilona.

The death of Cæſar Borgia.

But to return again from whence we haue ſomthing too long with this troubleſome body
gone aſtray. The French King hauing thus loſt both his great hoſtages, *Zemes* the Turke by
death, and the Cardinall *Borgia* by eſcape, held on his iourney towards Naples, and with wonderfull
ſucceſſe preuailed as he went, all places yeelding to him without any great reſiſtance.
Alphonſus ſeeing himſelfe deſtitute of ſuch aid as he had in vaine requeſted both of the Turkiſh
Emperour and of the Venetians, and now almoſt beſet with his mighty enemy, to whom
ſo many ſtrong places had in ſhorter time bin deliuered than any man had before imagined;
E and withall conſidering with himſelfe, how that he had loſt the hearts of his ſubiects (the
ſtrongeſt defence of Princes) for that moſt of the Nobility, and eſpecially the Neapolitanes,
hated him for his too much ſeuerity in puniſhing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein
the Princes of Sarne and Salerne were chiefe; and the common people were no leſſe offended
with the grieuous and heauy exactions, required of them for the maintenance of theſe wars,
inſomuch that their murmuring ſpeeches came oftentimes to his own hearing; as oftentimes
it fals out, That the hatred of the ſubiects againſt their Princes, which hath for feare of long
time bin diſſembled during their proſperity, more franckly and fiercely breaketh out in their
declining eſtate: for theſe cauſes, *Alphonſus* fearing to be forſaken of his people, as a man in
deſpaire, with abundance of tears openly in the ſight of all the Neapolitans, reſigned his kingdome
F of Naples to his ſon *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet ſcarcely reigned one whole yeare
after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies paſſed ouer to Mazerea, a city of
Cilicia. His ſon *Ferdinand* a Prince of rare perfection and ſingularly graced with all the vertues
of true nobility, and thereto dearly beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment
of the Neapolitans with great ioy & acclamations ſaluted King, and ſo hauing performed

The French King inuadeth Naples.

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned preſently to his army. By G
this time the French King with all his forces was entred farre into the kingdome of Naples;
and hauing taken by aſſault certaine cities which truſted too much to their owne ſtrength,
ſtrucke ſuch a generall terror into the minds of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place
now ſtrong ynough to abide his batteries, or power ſufficient to encounter his forces. *Ferdinand*
the yong king with his army had taken the ſtreits of the forreſt of S. *Germane*, thereby to
impeach the further paſſage of the French King. But whilſt he was there buſied, he was ſuddenly
aduertiſed, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines
broken into Campania, and ſo was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to be
ſhut vp betwixt two ſtrong armies of the enemies, he retired ſpeedily to Capua, a ſtrong city
ſcituat vpon the riuer Vulturnus; purpoſing there by meanes of that deepe riuer, to ſtay the H
French from paſſing farther. But whilſt he lay there, news was brought to him, that all the city
of Naples was in an vprore, and that the citiſens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which
way to turn themſelues. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with theſe bad news, commended the
charge of his army and the defence of the City of Capua to his chiefe Captains, and rid himſelfe
in poſt back againe to Naples.

Ferdinand departeth from Capua to pacifie an vprore at Naples.

It is a ſtrange thing to tell, what a ſudden alteration enſued vpon his arriuall there: for ſuddenly
all the tumult was appeaſed, euery man laid down his arms, and welcommed him with
a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and inuincible courage, and of ſo comely a
perſonage, as might eaſily win the hearts of his ſubiects; inſomuch, that when he earneſtly requeſted
them, that they would not traiterouſly betray him to his barbarous & cruell enemies, I
being their naturall King, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongſt them: they
all with one conſent anſwered, That they would ſpend their liues and goods in his quarrell, ſo
long as he ſhould keep his army whole, & defend the city of Capua: but if it ſhould ſo chance
that the Aragonians ſhould be ouerthrown, or els for feare abandon that city, and the French
King, as victor, to approch the city of Naples, he ſhould do both againſt reaſon and equity, if
by exacting fidelity and allegiance of his ſubiects, apprehended with ſo iuſt a feare, he ſhould
ſo expoſe that noble city with the fruitfull countrey thereabout, to be ſpoyled and deſtroyed
by a mercileſſe and cruell enemy. Whilſt *Ferdinand* was thus buſied in appeaſing and confirming
his wauering ſubiects at Naples, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come
before Capua. The citiſens of Capua, although they were alwaies well affected to the Arogonian K
kings, yet ſeeing the French King as a moſt violent tempeſt to beare downe all before
him, began now to conſult amongſt themſelues of yeelding vp the city; whereunto they were
the more prickt forward, by the ſudden reuolt of the great captaine *Triuultius* with his followers;
5 as alſo by the departure of *Virginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous commanders,
who ſeeing themſelues forſaken of *Triuultius*, fled with their companies vnto the city of Nola.
In this diſcomfiture of King *Ferdinands* army, the Frenchmen had entred into the ſuburbs
of the city: which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaſpar* (two valiant Germane captaines) beholding, ſallied
with their companies out of the city, of purpoſe to abate the pride of the French, and to
confirme the doubtfull citiſens. Theſe worthy Captains, when they had with exceeding valour
repulſed the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the city, could not be ſuffered L
to enter, but were by the citiſens ſhut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats
cut by the enemy. In which perplexity they were glad vpon their knees to intreat the cowardly
citiſens ſtanding vpon the wals, not in ſuch traiterous manner to betray their friends ready
in their defence to beſtow their liues: and with much intreating, at length obtained of thoſe
heartleſſe men, that they might by ten and ten in a company be receiued in at one gate of the
city, and ſo put out at another, fartheſt from the danger of the enemy: in which ſort when they
had paſſed through the City, they took the way towards Naples: and vpon the way met with
the King at Auerſa, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his abſence at Capua:
who although he ſaw his army diſperſed, and all things now deſperat, yet went he on forward,
and came to the very gates of Capua, and there called vpon diuers of the chiefe men of the M
City, requiring to be let in. But when he ſaw there was none to giue him anſwer, and an enſigne
of the French King diſplayed vpon the wall, in token that the city was become French,
he returned to Naples: where he found the gates now ſhut againſt him, and all the citiſens
vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the ſouldiers which came from Capua,

A more than the King himſelfe; for flying fame preuenting his return, had filled euery corner of
the city with report, That all the chiefe captains of his army were either gone ouer to the enemy,
or els for ſafegard of their liues fled: That the whole army was broken vp, and Capua yeelded
to the French. Wherefore the Neapolitans framing their fancies according to the condition
of the time, began now alſo to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French, and to haue
King *Ferdinand* in contempt: which he well perceiuing, and fetching a compaſſe farther off
from the city, came to the caſtle, wherinto he was receiued with his followers by his faithfull
captains therein before left. But prouidently foreſeeing that he could not there long ſtay, but
that he ſhould be beſieged by his enemies both by ſea and land, he commended the keeping
of that peece to *Alphonſus D'aualus*, a moſt valiant captaine, and departed himſelfe with twenty
gallies wel appointed vnto Ænaria, an Iſland not far from Naples, hauing in it a commodious
B harbor and a ſtrong caſtle: where fortune, neuer firme but in miſery, ſeemed again to deride the
poore remainder of his honor: for comming thither, the Captain of the caſtle, vnworthily named
Iuſtus, forgetting his duty towards his ſoueraigne, of whom he had before receiued many
extraordinary fauors, moſt traiterouſly now in his ſo hard diſtreſſe ſhut the gates of the caſtle
againſt him at his landing, and vnkindly refuſed to receiue him. With which vnexpected ingratitude,
the poore King was wonderfully perplexed and almoſt abaſhed: yet with earneſt intreaty
and ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his father and
himſelfe had in times paſt beſtowed vpon him, he preuailed ſo much with this vnthankfull
man, that he was content to receiue him into the caſtle, ſo that he would come but himſelfe alone:
of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king ſeemed to accept. So the captain
C hauing opned a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance thereof ſuddenly ſtabd to the
heart with a dagger by king *Ferdinand* and ſlain in the midſt of his armed ſoldiers: which was
don with ſuch a countenance & maieſty, that the warders with the weapons in their hands, diſmaid
with his look, forthwith at his commandment opned the gate, and receiued him in with
all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of Princes reſteth a certain
diuine Majeſty, in al fortunes aboue the common courſe of nature: which is of power to daunt
the hearts of moſt diſloyall traytors in the performance of their vnnaturall treaſons. The next
day after the departure of king *Ferdinand* from the caſtle of Naples, *Charles* the French King
was receiued into the city, with ſuch pomp, triumph, and acclamation of the Neapolitans, as
D if they had euen then by the benefit of that forraine King, bin reſtored to perfect liberty, and
deliuered out of ſome long and hard bondage. Shortly after, the caſtle of Naples, with all the
ſtrong places thereabout were yeelded to the French, and Embaſſadors ſent from all the princes
and people of that Kingdome, yeelding themſelues into the power of the French King.
Then *Ferdinand* ſeeing all loſt and gone, departed from Ænaria, where he lay expecting the euent
of his hard fortune, and ſailed into Sicilia. Thus the houſe of Arragon in leſſe than fiue
moneths, loſt the Kingdome of Naples, about 63 yeares after that it was firſt taken from the
French by *Alphonſus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great grandfather.

A moſt reſolued act of King Ferdinand.

Charles the French King receiued into Naples.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this war, had long before filled
the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in Europe; but when they
E ſaw the French enſignes diſplayed vpon the wals of the Caſtles and ſtrong townes along the
coaſt of Calabria and Salerne, ſuch a ſudden feare fell vpon the Turks garriſons alongſt the
coaſt of Epirus and Macedonia on the other ſide of the Adriatick, ouer againſt that part of Italy,
that many of them forſook their charge: the Chriſtians in thoſe places, as alſo in Grecia
and Peloponeſus, beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, & to make
the beſt preparation they could to ioyne with the French againſt the Turks: but eſpecially the
rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called Acrocheraunij in the borders
of Epirus, who preſently took vp armes, refuſing to be any longer tributary vnto the Turkiſh
Emperour.

This proſperous and ſpeedy ſucceſſe of the French King in the conqueſt of Naples, filled
F the minds of moſt of the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of the Turkiſh Emperor, with a doubtfull
expectation, whither his greatnes would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affected
the empire of Rome, and to make himſelfe the ſole monarch of Italy. Which conceit no
little troubled both the great Biſhop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then Emperour. *Bajazet* alſo
feared much, leaſt hee ſhould vpon the ſudden turne his forces into Epirus or Grecia, to

his no ſmall diſquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduiſed King of Spaine, was no leſſe carefull for the G
ſafety of Sicilia. *Lodouicus Sfortia* alſo (ſhortly after created Duke of Millan, the chiefe occaſion
of the French Kings comming into Italy, and a great aider of him in thoſe warres) began
now to conſider better of the matter, and to ſtand in doubt of the King, whom he well perceiued
to make ſmall reckoning of his word or promiſe, ſo that he might thereby inlarge his dominions.
And the Venetians, who in all theſe wars had ſtood looking on as neuters (in hope
that when the Aragonians and French had with long wars, which they vainly imagined, well
weakened one another, that they might then at their pleaſure ſhare out ſomething for themſelues)
were now in doubt with the reſt of the ſtates of Italy to loſe ſome part of their owne
territory: for now there was no Prince or ſtate in Italy able to oppoſe themſelues againſt the
French, but ſtood all as it were at his deuotion. H

A great league made by diuers Chriſtian Princes againſt the French King.

Wherefore the aforeſaid Princes, namely *Maximilan* the Emperour, *Ferdinand* K. of Spain,
Alexander Biſhop of Rome, the ſtate of Venice, and *Lodouicus Sfortia*, Duke of Millan, for the
more aſſurance of their eſtates, by their Embaſſadors ſpeedily ſent from one to another, concluded
a ſtrong league among themſelues; whereof the chiefe capitulation was, That if any of
theſe confederats ſhould vpon their own accord make war vpon any other prince, they ſhould
do it vpon their owne charges: but if any of them ſhould chance to be inuaded, by any other,
that then euery one of theſe confederates ſhould of their owne charge ſend foure thouſand
horſe and ten thouſand foot in aid of their confederat ſo inuaded, vntill the wars were ended:
which league was to endure for twenty yeares. The fame of this league was welcome to many
other Princes, but eſpecially to *Bajazet*, who now feared nothing more, than the forces of the I
French, and had therefore offred to the Venetians, to aid them both by ſea & land againſt the
French, if their affaires ſhould ſo require. This league ſo much pleaſed not other Princes, but
it troubled the French king more, as of purpoſe made againſt him; although it was by the confederates
pretended to be made only for their own ſafety. Wherefore he with all expedition
placed his beſt Captaines with ſtrong garriſons in all the cities and ſtrong holds of the Kingdome
of Naples, and left *Mompenſer* his viceroy in the city of Naples, and with the reſt of his
army returned into France; purpoſing by the way as he went to terrify the diſſembling biſhop,
ſo if it were poſſible to draw him from the league: and afterwards to deale with *Sfortia* & the
reſt as he might. But when he was come neer vnto Rome, the Biſhop for feare fled out of the
city to Peruſium, intending from thence to haue fled to Venice, if the French King ſhould K
haue further purſued him. *Charles* deceiued of his purpoſe, in peaceable maner entred the city,
and there ſtayd three dayes, and ſo departed; vſing violence againſt none, but againſt ſuch as
were well known to be of the Aragonian faction. From Rome he marched to Piſa; and ſo with
much paine paſſing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tarrus, not far from Parma, ſet vpon by
Franciſcus Gonzago Duke of Mantua, Generall of a great army which the Venetians and *Sfortia*
had raiſed vpon the ſudden to haue ſtopped his paſſage: in which battel he was in great danger
to haue bin taken or ſlaine, and there loſt his Tents, with all the rich ſpoyle gotten in the rich
kingdom of Naples: yet hauing at length with great ſlaughter valiantly repulſed his enemies,
he afterwards returned in ſafety home.

Ferdinand recouereth his kingdome of Naples from the French, and dieth.

About the ſame time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the yong king *Ferdinand*, lately L
driuen out of his Kingdome by the French King, returned againe out of Sicilia to Naples:
where he was ioyfully receiued of the Neapolitans, and by the help of his friends (but eſpecially
of the great *Gonſaluus*, ſent in his aid by *Ferdinand* King of Spaine) in leſſe than a yeres
ſpace recouered the Kingdome of Naples againe from the French: and then dying without
iſſue, left the ſame vnto his vncle *Fredericus*. Wherein the vncertainty of worldly honours, the
chiefe felicity of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one kingdom the chief
gouernment was ſix times changed in leſſe than the ſpace of three yeares: for firſt, *Ferdinand*
the elder dying, left that kingdome vnto his ſonne *Alphonſus*, at ſuch time as the French King
was making preparation for thoſe wars: *Alphonſus* deſpairing of his owne forces, reſigned the
Kingdome to his ſon *Ferdinand*, when he had ſcarcely reigned fully a yeare: *Ferdinand* in leſſe M
than three moneths was driuen quite out of Italy by *Charles* the French King: *Charles* poſſeſſed
of the kingdome, in ſhort time after was againe diſpoſſeſſed by the ſame *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand*
hauing with much trouble thruſt out the French, died within leſſe than a yere: After
whom ſucceeded *Fredericus* his vncle, no leſſe vnfortunat than the reſt: and *Charles* the French

King

A king himſelf liued not long after, but died ſuddenly as he came from playing at Tenis, being then but 27 years old; leauing the flouriſhing kingdom of France, with the troubleſome title pretended to the kingdom of Naples, vnto *Lewis* his ſucceſſor, who liued with great trouble to conquer the ſame, and with greater grief to loſe it again.

The death of Charles King of France.

1496.

1497.

The Turkes inuading Podolia and Raſſia, are in their return for moſt part loſt.

But to return again to the courſe of our hiſtory, from whence the great occurrents of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpoſe) haue a little too far led vs. *Bajazet* deliuered of two great fears, firſt by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and afterward by the caſting out of the French out of Naples; began now to turn his forces vpon the Chriſtians, and by his Lieutenant *Bali-Beg* Sanzack of Siliſtra, inuaded the countries of Podolia and Raſſia, beeing part of the Polonian kingdom, where the Turks did great harm, and carried away many priB ſoners. But comming again the ſecond time, and making ſuch like ſpoil as before, they ſtayd ſo long, that the cold of Winter (which in thoſe Countries is very extream) was now come on: and in their return, as they were about to haue paſſed through Moldavia, they were by *Stephanus* Prince of that Countrey, denied both paſſage and victuals, and forced to take the way alongſt the ſea coaſt: where many of them ſtragling from their Army, were by the way cut off and ſlain by the Moldavians; and the reſt, what by the extremitie of the cold, what for want of food, and foulneſſe of the way, periſhed: ſo that of that great Army, very few returned home. The Turks Hiſtories report, That in this Expedition were loſt forty thouſand Turks.

He ſent alſo *Cadumes* one of his Baſſa's into Illyria, who ſpoiling that country, with a part C of Croatia, was incountred by 9000 Croatians and Hungarians, neer vnto the Riuer Morava, vnder the leading of County *Bernard Francopain*; where after a cruel & bloudy fight the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, & aboue 7000 of them ſlain; the reſt ſaued themſelues by flight through the woods and mountains. Of the Chriſtians that were loſt, many were drowned in Morava, chuſing rather ſo to end their daies, than to fall into the hands of their bloudy Enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the General, who would needs giue the Turks battel in plain field, although he was earneſtly intreated by County *Io. Torquatus*, to haue kept the ſtreits of that country, wherby he might haue had great aduantage of the enemy. *Torquatus* himſelf hauing loſt all his horſmen in that battel, and his horſe killed vnder him, fought valiantly on foot, vntil he was by the multitude of his enemies oppreſſed and ſlain. The Baſſa to D giue *Bajazet* a ſure teſtimony of the victory, cauſed all the noſes of the ſlain Chriſtians to be cut off and put vpon ſtrings, and ſo by Waggon ſent them as a barbarous Preſent to Conſtantinople.

After the death of *Charles* the French King, *Lewis* the twelfth hauing obtained that Kingdom, wrot himſelfe alſo Duke of Millan, as deſcended of one of the daughters of *Io. Galeatus* firſt Duke of Millan: in which his ſuppoſed right he was fully reſolued to make warre vpon *Sfortia* then Duke of Millan. And for his better ſucces in thoſe wars, ſought by all means he could to draw ſome other of the Princes and States of Italy into the fellowſhip of that intended war; but aboue all others the Venetians, as moſt commodious for his purpoſe; with whom he made a firm league, and for the aid they were to giue him, couenanted, That they ſhould E haue for their ſhare the city of Cremona, with all the pleaſant country about Abdua, then a part of *Sfortia's* dominions. Which was afterwards accordingly performed.

Sfortia vnderſtanding of this compact made againſt him, & knowing himſelf far too weak of himſelf to ſtand againſt ſo puiſſant enemies; attempted firſt to ſet *Maximilian* the Emperor, with the States of Germany, vpon the French King. But that not ſorting to his deſire, he ſought to agree with the King, by offering to hold his Dukedome of him, by paying him a yearly tribute. After he had thus in vain proued all the meanes he could deuiſe, to haue appeaſed the French King, and prouided for his own ſafety; he by his Embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, certified *Bajazet* of the confederation betwixt the French King and the Venetians, and that their purpoſe was after they had oppreſſed him and ſome other of the States of Italy, F then with their vnited forces to inuade his dominions: and that therfore it were good for him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue aid againſt thoſe who would in ſhort time become his moſt dangerous enemies. By this meanes the Duke was in good hope, ſo to buſie the Venetians, by bringing in the Turk vpon them, as that they ſhould ſtand the French in ſmall ſtead. At which time alſo the Embaſſadors of Florence did what they could to pricke forward the

Turk to make wars vpon the Venetians, for the malice they bare againſt them for protecting G them of Piſa againſt the oppreſſion of the Florentines.

Bajazet perſuaded by the Embaſſadours, and calling to remembrance the injuries before don him by the Venetians; firſt by aiding *Iohn Caſtriot* the ſon of *Scanderbeg*, and *Iohn Chernovich* another prince of Epirus, (wherby he loſt a great part of that countrey, and was alſo further inforced to yeeld to ſuch conditions as altogether ſtood not with his honor) and again, by denying to giue his fleet leaue to put into their habors of Cyprus, in the time of his wars againſt the Sultan of Egypt: all which he was glad then to endure, for fear leſt that his brother *Zemes* (then liuing) ſhould by their means bee ſet vp againſt him; promiſed now to doe what the Embaſſadors had requeſted: glad in his mind, that the diſcord of the Chriſtian princes had preſented vnto him ſo fit an opportunitie of reuenge. H

1499.

Friuli part of the Venetian territory ſpoiled by the Turks.

Herupon he made great preparation both by ſea and land againſt the Venetians, and vpon the ſudden cauſed *Scander Baſſa* his Lieutenant in Illyria, with twelue thouſand horſmen to break into the country of Friuli, part of the Venetian territory vpon the borders of Italy. The Baſſa as he had in charge, paſſing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the countrey, burning and deſtroying all before him as far as Liquentia, carying away with him all the poore country people priſoners. But when he was come to the banks of Tiliaventum, & vnderſtood that he came too late to pleaſure the duke of Millan (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without reſiſtance driuen him quite out of Italy & Germany) he there with more than barbarous cruelty put 4000 poor priſoners to the ſword: and ſo hauing filled the country with mourning and with bloud, returned from whence hee came, loded with the ſpoyle of I that rich country.

At the ſame time alſo, *Bajazet* put to ſea ſuch a fleet, as none of his predeceſſors had before ſet forth; and with a great army in perſon himſelf marched alongſt the ſea coaſt of Morea, in ſuch ſort, as that his army by land, and his fleet at ſea, as neer as they could kept euen pace the one within ſight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themſelues, but ſet forth a ſtrong fleet vnder the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admiral; in number far inferior to the Turks, but for equipage, ſtrength, ſkilful mariners, and al other maner of warlike prouiſion much ſuperior. For which cauſe the Turkes, although defied and braued by the Venetians, yet durſt not at the firſt join with them in battel, but ſtil kept alongſt the coaſt of Morea, not daring to put farther off into the ſea. In this their courſe the Venetians troubled them K exceedingly, ſometimes making ſhew as if they would haue conſtrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giuing them chaſe, neuer departing far from them, wiſely accounting it right good ſeruice, if they could but keepe that huge fleet from landing in Italy or other place of the Venetian territory. Moſt men were in good hope, that if thoſe great fleets ſhould haue joined in battel, the Venetians ſhould haue had a notable victory, for that the enemy as afraid kept ſo dangerous a courſe, and ſo neer the main. The longer they thus ſailed, the more was the State of Venice offended with their Admiral, that he contrary to all expectation delayed to fight, ſtil ſuffering the dangerous enemy to approch neerer and neerer their territories: and there were none which had not rather hee ſhould haue ſet all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtful war. Whilſt all men were thus in expectation L of ſome great exploit to be don vpon the enemy, newes came to the city, That the Turks fleet had put into the hauen Sapientia in the Iſland Sphraga, to water, and was there embayed by the Venetians. This report was of all men joyfully receiued, as if the victory had bin already aſſured: and ſo much the more, for that it was vainly ſuppoſed that it would be gained without any great loſſe. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter far otherwiſe, ſaying, That the place wherin the enemy lay was ſuch, as that he might ſafely at his pleaſure depart thence. Yet forſomuch as the Turkes fleet was more ſubiect vnto danger in putting out of the Harbor, than in the wide ſea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admiral would ſet vpon them as they ſhould come forth again. Whilſt men were thus diuining to and fro, and the Venetians attending the comming forth of the Enemies fleet, it M fortuned that *Andreas Lauredanus* and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant gentlemen) but a little before come from Corcyra of purpoſe to be preſent at the battell, were the firſt that began the fight; and with their two nimble ſhips (after they had exchanged a few bullets) boorded a tall Ship of the Turks, being of ſuch beauty and burthen, that ſhe ſeemed rather a Ca-

Fight at ſea betwixt the Turks & the Venetians.

ſtle

A ſtle than a ſhip; wherof one *Baruch* of Smyrna (a notable pirat) was Captain: who after a long and cruel fight, perceiuing that he muſt either yeeld, or by force be taken, deſperatly fired his own ſhip, by the rage wherof both ſhe and the Venetian ſhips faſt grapled vnto her, were all three together burnt downe to the water. Many of the men, to ſhun the violence of the fire, leapt ouer boord into the ſea, where ſome of them were taken vp by other ſhips, and ſome periſhed. Some few other of the Venetian fleet couragiouſly aſſailed the Turkes at their comming out, and doing great harm, put the Turks whole fleet in no ſmall fear. But moſt part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a far off; vnto whom the other, before in fight with the Turks, after they had don what they could, retyred alſo. But by that they had don it appeared plainly, that the Venetian Admiral that day let ſlip out of his hands a moſt notable victorie, B if he as a reſolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemy.

After this fight the Turks held on their courſe, ſtil keeping Morea on the right hand, whom the Venetians ſtil followed: at length the Turks fleet was come to the entrance of the gulf of Patras, where the Venetians again faintly ſetting vpon them, ſuffered them to recouer the gulf, with no leſſe diſhonor than they had before let them eſcape at the port Sapientia: for the Venetians hauing the aduantage of the place, and better appointed for fight at ſea, might eaſily (as it was ſuppoſed) haue gained the victory, if the commanders (but eſpecially the admiral) had bin ſo forward in that ſeruice as became men of their ſpirit. But many of them afraid to fight, lay aloof; ſo that *Dauthes* the Turks Admiral, who perceiuing himſelfe too weake, had purpoſed to run his gallies on ſhore, and ſo to haue fled to the army at land, if he had felt C himſelf ouercharged by the Venetian fleet; had now contrary to his expectation, recouered the gulf he deſired, though not without loſſe of ſome of his gallies. Within this gulf ſtands the antient city of Naupactum (now called Lepanto) then ſubiect to the Venetians, whither *Bajazet* was now come by land with his Army: and now by the comming of his fleet into the gulf, laid hard ſiege to the city both by ſea and land. They in the city ſeeing themſelues on euery ſide beſet with their enemies, without any great reſiſtance fel to compoſition with *Bajazet*, and ſo yeelded vnto him the city, which the Turks hold at this day.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turks.

Grimanus the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice, was for all his euil ſeruice (or rather for that he, according to his mild nature, had not vſed ſeueritie againſt thoſe Captaines that refuſed to fight) caſt in priſon: and although he was a man mightily befriended, yet was hee D by a publique decree baniſhed into one of the Abſytides, Iſlands vpon the coaſt of Liburnia. From the firſt foundation of the city of Venice, was neuer man impugned with more ſpight, or defended by greater friends; but Common hatred preuailing, hee was neuertheles exiled. Thus *Bajazet* hauing made a rode into the Venetian territory by *Scander-Baſſa*, and taken from them the City of Naupactum, with the Countrey thereabout, returned with victory to Conſtantinople.

The next year following, being the year 1500, *Bajazet* put to ſea a greater and ſtronger fleet than he had the year before; and himſelf in perſon with a puiſſant army of 150000 men entered by the ſtreit of Corinth into Peloponeſus, and marching thorow the Country, came and incamped before the ſtrong City of Methone (now called Modon) then vnder the gouern- E ment of the Venetians; at which time his great fleet met him there alſo by ſea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beſet the city both by ſea and land, and with long and continual battery made three great and fair breaches in the walls, he gaue vnto the ſame two terrible aſſaults, and that with ſuch deſperat fury, that many of them which went firſt vnto the breach, ouerthrown by the preſſe of them that followed, were troden to death. Yet neuertheles the city was both times valiantly defended by the citiſens and garriſon ſoldiers. So that when he had don what he could, he was glad to retyre from the walls, hauing filled the Town ditches with the bodies of his ſlain Turks. The Venetian Admirall *Triviſanus* lying then at the Iſle of Zacynthus, (but far too weak to fight with the Enemie) in the beginning of the ſiege ſent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptiſta Polanus*, with two Gallies full of men and munition in F relief of the beſieged; and now doubting their further wants, ſent *Io. Maripetrus*, *Alex. Cothius* of Corcyra, and *Cachuris* of Hydruntum, with three other great Gallies, with men, munition, and ſuch other things as he thought needfull for defence of the City. Theſe three reſolute Captains comming with a full winde, and packing on all their ſailes brake thorow the Turks great fleet lying in their way, and ran themſelues aground vnder the Walls of the town:

1500

Methone beſieged both by ſea and land by Bajazet.

Town: for they of the Towne had ſo barred the hauen for fear of the enemy, that they could G
not poſſibly get in that way. The Citiſens and Soldiers ioyfull of the comming of this freſh
ſupply, and withall fearing leſt the Gallies ſhould be ſet off again from them by the Enemy,
came running by heaps from all parts of the City, towards the ſea, to receiue this new-come
aid. Which was don with ſuch a confuſed diſorder, that diuers places of the city toward the
land were left without defendants, as if there had been no Enemie neer. Which the Ianizaries
quickly perceiuing, preſently entred by thoſe forſaken places, with very little or no reſiſtance.
Then the Citiſens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries already entred,
made way for the reſt of the Army; which ſwarming into the City, ſlew without pitty euery
one that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians, with all the ſouldiers but then newly
landed out of the three Gallies. In this ſlaughter, *Anthonius Fabrius* and *Bardella* (both H
Gouernours of the Town) with *Andreas Falco* Biſhop of Methone, in his Pontificalibus,
and his Mytre on his head, were ſlaine. None eſcaped their fury, but ſuch as were for their
ſtrength reſerued for ſeruile labor, or for beauty, to the Victors luſt. And of theſe, a thouſand
bound faſt together in long ropes, were brought to *Bajazets* Pauilion, and there in his ſight,
by his commandement cruelly murthered. The Cities of Corone and Pylus (now called
Nauarrinum) ſometimes the dwelling place of old *Neſtor*, terrified with the taking of Methone,
yeelded themſelues by Compoſition to *Bajazet*. The City of Chriſſeum, now known
by the name of Caput S. Galli, was taken alſo by *Cherſeogles*, *Bajazet* his ſon in law. Al theſe
were Cities belonging to the Venetians. Nauplium alſo was beſieged by *Haly Baſſa*, but yet
ſtil defended by the Venetians. *Bajazet* hauing new fortified the city of Methone, and ſtored I
it with new inhabitants, left in it a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo with victory returned to Conſtantinople.

Methone taken by the Turks.

Corone, Pilus, and Criſſeum yeelded to the Turks.

1501 About this time *Triviſanus* the Venetian Admirall died, of griefe of mind, as ſome ſuppoſed.
In whoſe place the Senat ſent one *Benedictus Piſaurius* a noble & valiant Gentleman, who
with the Venetian fleet followed the enemy, then departing from the ſiege of Nauplium, purſuing
them euen vnto the ſtreits of Helleſpontus, ſtil cutting off ſuch as ſtragled or taried behind
the reſt of the fleet. By which means he took aboue twenty of their Gallies, and in his
return took from the Turks the Iſland of Ægina; and landing in diuers places of the Turkes
Dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterward meeting
with *Gonſalvus*, ſyrnamed the Great (ſent by *Ferdinand* King of Spain, to aid him againſt the K
Turks) at Zacynthus, hee inuaded Cephalenia (which *Triviſanus* his predeceſſor had in vain
attempted the year before) and layd hard ſiege vnto the City; which for a ſpace was valiantly
defended by the Turks, but yet at length by the good conduct of *Gonſalvus* it was by force
taken; when as *Giſdare* the Gouernor therof, with his garriſon of Turks, had before fought it
out euen to the laſt man. The City being taken, all the whole Iſland yeelded forthwith to the
Venetians.

Sephalenia taken by the Venetians.

Piſaurius hauing taken Cephalenia, repaired the city, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon for the
defence of the Iſle, departed for Corcyra; where he was aduertiſed that the Turkes were rigging
forth a great fleet againſt the next Spring, wherof ſome part lay in the Bay of Ambracia
not far from Corcyra; ſome at Eante, and the reſt within the ſtreits of Helleſpontus. Wherefore L
purpoſing to do ſome exploit vpon thoſe gallies which lay in the Bay of Ambracia; to
auert the mind of the enemie from perceiuing of that which he had ſecretly with himſelf intended,
he ſent the greateſt part of his fleet vnto the Iſland of Neritos, who ſuddenly landing
ſhould put the inhabitants in fear. The Captains ſent about the buſineſſe, cheerfully put in
execution what the Admirall had commanded, and by their ſudden landing raiſed ſuch a tumult,
that all the Countries therabout were filled with the expectation of that which ſhould
enſue therof. The Bay of Ambracia is ſo ſtreitned on either ſide with the mountains of Epirus,
that the entrance therof is but half a mile ouer: but by and by opening it ſelf into a great
wideneſſe, and running vp into the land, maketh a moſt pleaſant and ſafe harbor for ſhips and
Gallies to ride in. *Piſaurius* with a fair wind comming thither with eight Gallies well appointed, M
when the Turks thought him to haue bin at Neritos, and entring the ſtreit, rowing
farther into the Bay, burnt one of the Turks great gallies, to the terror of all them that dwelt
round about the Bay; and carried away with him eleuen more, laded with munition and Victual,
through the ſtreit; the Turkes in vain fretting thereat, and doing what they could with
their

A their great ordnance from ſhore, to haue ſunk him in going out of the Bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey again to Corcyra. Not long after he alſo recouered the caſtle of Pylos in Morea: which as it was ſuddenly gotten, ſo was it as ſuddenly loſt. For *Camalia* a notable Turkiſh pyrat, who had bin abroad ſeeking after purchaſe, putting in that harbor by chance, took 3 gallies there left by the admiral for defence of the place, and ſo terrified the faint-hearted captain, that he fel to compoſition with the pyrat to yeeld him the caſtle, ſo that he and his ſoldiers might in ſafety depart. Which the pyrat granting, had the caſtle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with far greater ſtrength haue poſſibly won. So was Pylos for fear twice in one yeare yeelded vp vnto the Turkes, and was both times the death of the cowardly captains that gaue it vp, being both beheaded by commandement of B the Admiral. About the ſame time *Piſaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turks gallies lying in the riuer Eante, vpon the coaſt of Macedonia, but not with ſo good ſucces as before; for the Turks made more carefull by the loſſe they had but a little before receiued at Ambracia, did now more vigilantly look vnto their gallies. So that when *Piſaurius* had in certain ſmall veſſels made of purpoſe for that ſeruice, imbarked two hundred reſolute ſouldiers, to haue gon vp the riuer to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way, after they had a good way entred into the riuer, incountred by the Turks and inforced to return. But before they could get out of the riuer, the wind roſe ſo contrary, with ſuch a ſtif gale in the mouth of the riuer, that the mariners ouermaſtred with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and ſpent al their ſtrength, were driuen on ſhore, ſome on the one ſide of the C riuer, ſome on the other, and ſo fel into the hands of their enemies, of whom it booted not to craue mercy.

Pylos taken frā the Turks, and againe yeelded vnto them.

About this time *Bajazet* took alſo the antient and famous city of Dyrrachium, now called Durazo, from the Venetians; before ruinous, and almoſt quite abandoned by the inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept now that the Turk had got all the Country round about it. The Venetians ſore preſſed with theſe wars ſo long maintained againſt the Turkes, had many times craued aid of other Chriſtian princes, and were wel holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of Cephalenia. And now *Lewis* the French King, vpon a good deuotion to that war, ſent the Lord *Raueſtein* with ſeuen tall ſhips and fifteen gallies wel appointed, out of Prouince and Genoa, to aid the Venetians his friends. This fleet departing from Naples, where D they had by the way put in, and paſſing about Italy, and ſo through the Ionian ſea, came vnto Melos one of the Cyclads; at which Iſland *Piſaurius* with his fleet in ſhort time arriued alſo. From whence they by mutual conſent departed together to inuade the Iſland of Lesbos; and being there ſafely arriued, landed their forces, and laid ſiege vnto the ſtrong City of Mytilene, where by the fury of their artillery they in ſhort time had made a fair breach in the wall. In the time of this battery, whilſt the breach was in making, *Piſaurius* with part of his fleet ſailed to Tenedos: for it was reported, that certaine of the Turkes Gallies were then comming for that place out of Helleſpontus. Which report, as ſome write, was of purpoſe giuen out by the French, therby to draw the Venetian Admirall from the ſiege; that ſo in the mean time they being in good hope to take the town in his abſence, might themſelues carry away the E honour therof, together with the rich ſpoile. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpoſe departed, enuying at the honor of the French. Which is hardly to be beleeued in ſo honourable a perſonage, and in an action ſo much concerning the good of his Commonwealth. Howſoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his abſence was by the French preſently aſſaulted; although that *Paulus Valateſius* the Venetian Vice-admiral earneſtly requeſted the French Admiral to deferre the aſſault for a while, and to expect the comming of *Piſaurius*. Which his counſell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the aſſault. The Frenchmen after their maner furiouſly aſſailing the breach, were valiantly repulſed by the Turks; ſo that in the breach was made a deadly and horrible fight, many falling on both ſides. Yet for all that, the City was manfully defen- F ded by the Turks, and the Frenchmen were inforced to retyre. The French Admiral hauing taken this repulſe, commanded all things to be caried aboord, purpoſing to haue forſaken the ſiege, and ſo to haue departed. When in the mean while the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much ado perſuaded the French to ſtay. Wherupon the battery was again begun with

Dyrrachium taken by the Turk.

Mytilene beſieged.

greater fury than before; and now the leaders were conſulting of a freſh aſſault to be giuen; G
when ſuddenly news was brought, That the Turks fleet was comming to relieue the city: and
therupon the aſſault was for a time deferred, and the battery continued. But thoſe Turks that
came being in number but few, were for moſt part by them in the gallies taken and caſt ouerboord;
ſome few that got to land, ſaued themſelues in the woods & deſart places of the Iſle.
By this time the city was again made ſaultable, and the Venetians with great courage aſſailed
the breach, and had twice gained the top of the Rampiers, from whence they were againe
both times beaten down by the Turks, the French al the while looking on. Many valiant men
were there ſlain and hurt; and in the end the Venetians were glad with loſſe to retyre, as had
the French don before. Whilſt this was in doing, a pinnace came to the fleet with news, That
the Great Maſter of the Rhodes was comming with his gallies to the ſiege: wherupon the admirals H
determined to maintain the ſiege vntill his comming. But the next day after, the

The ſiege of Mytilen broken vp.

French Admiral changing his purpoſe, ſhipped his men; and hoiſing ſail departed to Chios;
and ſailing thence toward Italy, was ouertaken with a terrible tempeſt, wherin the Admirall
gally with two others were loſt, with 800 good ſoldiers; the Admiral himſelf with aboue forty
others were by chance contrary to all hope ſaued, and with much danger with his weatherbeaten
fleet recouered the hauen of Tarentum. The Venetian Admiral thus forſaken of the
French, and ſeeing the time paſt wherin he expected the comming of the Great Maſter of the
Rhodes, brake vp the ſiege and departed from Lesbos to Chios, and from thence to Paros,
where he found the Maſter of the Rhodes with his gallies, vnto whom he complained greatly
of the inconſtancy of the French, imputing it to them, that the city of Mytilen was not won. I
1502. Neither were they behind with him, but in all places where they came laid the fault as much
or more vpon him. From Paros the Venetian Admiral took his courſe to the Iſland of Melos,
where he found one *Rhichius* an arch pirat of the Turkes, who by force of tempeſt was driuen
on ſhore, and by the ſudden comming down of the Iſland people taken. Him (for that he had
exerciſed exceeding cruelty vpon certain Chriſtians that he had taken) *Piſaurius* cauſed to be
faſt bound to a ſpit, and with a ſoft fire to be roſted to death. From Melos he returned to Corcyra,
and there wintred.

The next Spring, *Piſaurius* with certain gallies which *Alexander* Biſhop of Rome had ſent
vnto him, vnder the command of *Iacobus Piſaurius* Biſhop of Paphia, ſailed to Neritos, now
called S. Maura, which is an Iſland parted from the firm land with a little fret of the ſea, long K
time before that way let in by the Corinthians. Here *Piſaurius* ſuddenly landing his men, ſurpriſed

Neritos taken by the Venetians.

the Iſland, and with wonderful celeritie and induſtry caſt vp two great trenches, in ſuch
ſort and to ſo good purpoſe, that 3000 of the Turks horſemen comming at a low water, ouer
that narow ſtreit which parts the Iſland from the maine, were with loſſe repulſed, and forced
to retyre. Wherupon S. Maura the chief city was forthwith deliuered to *Piſaurius*, with the
reſt of the Iſland.

The Venetians weary of this long and chargeable war againſt ſo mighty an enemy, ſent *Lodouicus*
Manetius their embaſſador to *Bajazet*, to treat with him for peace: but *Bajazet* ſtood vpon
ſuch hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded. Yet *Manetius* ſo diſcreetly
vſed the matter, that *Bajazet* ſent with him at his returne to Venice, his Embaſſadour, to propound L
vnto the Senat ſuch conditions as it pleaſed him to grant them peace vpon. This embaſſador
had audience in the Senat twice, where he in his maſters name propounded ſuch vnreaſonable
and proud conditions, that they were by the Senat rejected, and ſo he himſelfe diſmiſſed
and ſent back again.

1503. The year following, the Venetians ſent an Embaſſador to *Bajazet*, who moued with the pitiful
complaints of his own ſubjects, for the daily harmes they receiued of the Venetians alongſt
the ſea coaſt, as alſo for want of trade; and fearing alſo ſome troubles like to ariſe in his
kingdom in Aſia (as indeed there did not long after) yeelded himſelf more willingly to heare
of peace than before. This embaſſador, called *Zacharias Phriſcus*, was wel heard of *Bajazet*, and
after long ſuit, brought the matter he came for into ſome good terms; and being honourably M
rewarded by the Turkiſh Sultan, returned home, carying with him to the Senat far more reaſonable
conditions of peace than had at any time before bin by *Bajazet* propounded. Herupon
the Venetians ſhortly after ſent *Andreas Gritti* (an honorable Senator) a man wel knowne

A to *Bajazet*, both for his famous traffique in former time at Conſtantinople, and alſo for that in
theſe late wars he was taken priſoner at the winning of Methone, and his life ſpared at the
interceſſion of *Cherſeogles* (*Bajazets* ſon in law) and afterward ranſomed: hee in the name of the
State from whence he came, concluded a peace with *Bajazet*. The capitulations whereof were,
firſt, That the Venetians ſhould deliuer vp the Iſlands of Neritos and Leucadia, reſeruing to
themſelues the Iſland of Cephalenia only. Then, That *Bajazet* ſhould reſtore all ſuch goods
as had bin taken from the Venetian merchants in theſe late wars. And that it ſhould be lawfull
for them (as they were wont) ſafely to traffick into the Euxine ſea, and to Conſtantinople,
and there to haue their Conſul or gouernor as they had in former time. And laſtly, That
the Venetian territory ſhould be certainly known, and ſeparated from the Turks by certaine
B bounds and limits. Theſe conditions were ſolemnly agreed vpon, and confirmed both by *Bajazet*
and the ſtate of Venice; and ſo a firm peace concluded in the year 1503, after the Wars
had continued betwixt them about the ſpace of fiue years.

Peace concluded betweene Bajazet & the Venetians.

The ſame year *Bajazet* aſſembled a great and puiſſant army of his beſt and moſt approued
ſoldiers, as wel in Aſia as Europ, which met together at Sophia, purpoſing as it was thought,
to haue inuaded Hungary: but worthily doubting the ſucces of that war againſt ſo warlike a
nation, he changed his purpoſe, and leauing *Achmetes Baſſa* with his Aſian ſoldiers at Sophia,
turned himſelf with the reſt of his Army into Albania, to reduce thoſe rebellious people again
to his obeiſance; and had before ſent a fleet of gallies to ſtop the paſſages of that country
alongſt the ſea coaſt. But the country people vnderſtanding of his comming, fled into the
C high and rough rocks and mountains, from whence they did the Turks great harm. Who neuertheles
with incredible labor and aduenture mounting thoſe difficult places, and killing an
exceeding number of thoſe mountain and ſauage people, carried all the women and children
they could light vpon, away with them priſoners; and with fire and ſword made all the country
deſolat. After which ſpoil don, *Bajazet* returned with his army to Manaſtirum: and departing
thence, vpon the way met with a Deruiſlar (which is a phantaſtical and beggarly kind of
Turkiſh Monkes, vſing no other apparel but two ſheepe-skins, the one hanging before, the other
behind) a luſty ſtrong fat fellow, attyred after the maner of his order, with a great ring in
each ear: who drawing neer vnto *Bajazet*, as if he would of him haue receiued an Almes, deſperatly
aſſailed him with a ſhort ſcimitar which he had cloſely conueyed vnder his hypocritical
D habit. But *Bajazet* by the ſtarting of the horſe wheron he rid (beeing afraid at the ſudden
approch of the hobgoblin) partly auoided the deadly blow by the traitor intended, yet not altogether
vnwounded. Neither had he ſo eſcaped the danger, had not *Iſkender Baſſa* with his
horſmans mace preſently ſtrook down the deſperat villain as hee was about to haue doubled
his ſtroke; but now ſtruck dead, he was forthwith rent in pieces by the ſoldiers. This treacherous
and deſperat act ſo much mooued *Bajazet*, that he proſcribed all them of that ſuperſtitious
order, and baniſhed them out of his empire.

Bajazet in danger to haue bin ſlain by a Deruiſlar or Turkiſh Monk.

After ſo many troubles, *Bajazet* gaue himſelf to a quiet courſe of life, ſpending moſt part
of his time in ſtudy of philoſophy, and conference with learned men. Vnto which peaceable
kind of life he was by natural diſpoſition more inclined than to wars; albeit that the regard
E of his ſtate, and the earneſt deſire of his men of war, drew him oftentimes euen againſt his wil
into the field. As for the ciuil gouernment of his kingdom, hee referred it wholly to his three
principal Baſſa's, *Alis*, *Achmetes*, and *Iachia*, who at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things. After
he had in this pleaſing and quiet kind of life, to his great contentment paſſed ouer fiue years;
of a little neglected ſparke ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a fire in Aſia, as was hardly after with much
bloud of his people, and danger of that part of his Empire quenched: the reliques whereof yet
troubleth thoſe ſuperſtitious people at this day. Which thing was brought to paſſe by the
crafty deuice of *Chaſan Chelife* & *Schach Culi* his boy (whom ſome cal *Teckel Schachoculis*, and
others *Techellis*) two hypocritical Perſians; who flying into thoſe countries, with the counterfeit
ſhew of feigned holines hauing procured to themſelues a great name among thoſe rude
F people, with a number of windy headed fellows (filled with the nouelty of their new doctrin)
raiſed firſt ſuch a diuerſitie of opinions about the true ſucceſſors of their vntrue prophet, and
afterwards ſuch a rebellion amongſt the people, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other
was not a good while after with great bloudſhed appeaſed.

Bajazet by nature peaceable.

But for the better vnderſtanding of the ground of theſe troubles,which hapned at this time G
in the reign of *Bajazet*,by occaſion of theſe two fugitiue Perſians;as alſo for the mortall wars
which afterwards inſued betwixt *Hyſmael* (commonly called the great Sophy of Perſia) and
Selymus,*Bajazets* ſucceſſor;it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe, briefly to declare the great
mutation which at this time hapned to the Perſian kingdom,as well in the State it ſelf,as in
matters of their ſuperſtition. At ſuch time as *Aſymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes* reigned in Perſia,there
was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Iouius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honorably deſcended
among the Perſians,who contemning worldly honor,riches,pleaſure,and whatſoeuer
els belonged to delicacie of life(commonly accounted the greateſt part of humane felicity)
as vanities and trifles,led ſuch a ſtreit and auſtere kind of life, with ſuch continencie and contempt
of the world,as that the vulgar people,for moſt part giuen to pleaſure,wondring at that H
in him,which they could not or would not imitate;began to haue the man in ſingular admiration,
for the opinion they had conceiued of his vpright life and rare vertues. The fame of
this new prophet(for ſo he was accounted)was grown ſo great in the Perſian kingdom, that
people without number reſorted out of all parts of Perſia and Armenia, vnto the great City
of Tauris,to ſee the man. And he the more to ſeduce the multitude(delighted in nouelties)
began to inveigh againſt the common receiued opinion of the Mahometans, concerning the
true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet ; and to reuiue the opinion of *Giuni*,ſyrnamed *Sofi*;perſuading
the people (as if he had bin inſpired with ſome diuine inſpiration) that none of the
profeſſors of the Mahometan religion ſhould inherit the kingdom of heauen after death, but
ſuch as were the followers of *Haly*,the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and his I
fellow in writing. Whom he taught them only to honour,as priuy to the mind of the great
Prophet,and ſo to receiue his writings, as of all others moſt authentical ; rejecting *Ebubekir*,
Omer and *Oſman*,with their writings,as moſt wicked and accurſed men : whom the Turks had
euer,and yet do with the other Mahometans,honor and worſhip as the true ſucceſſors of their
great Prophet,and his ſincere Interpreters,together with the aforeſaid *Haly*; whom the Perſians
do only acknowledge,and therfore in their prayers do commonly ſay, *Curſed bee* Ebubekir,
Omer, *and* Oſman, *and God be fauorable to* Haly, *and well pleaſed with him.* Which their difference
about the true ſucceſſor of their Prophet,in whom was no truth,hath bin,and yet is one
of the greateſt cauſes of the mortall Wars between the Turkes and the Perſians ; and not the
diuers interpretation of their Law (as many haue written)which amongſt the Turks and Perſians K
is all one.

The Turks and Perſians differ not about the interpretation of their Law, but about the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet Mahomet.

Haider maries Martha, daughter to the great King Vſun-Caſſanes.

Vſun-Caſſanes mooued with the fame and vertues of this new Prophet , or rather (as ſome
thought)deſirous to win the hearts of the multitude that had receiued this new phantaſie;
gaue him in mariage his daughter *Martha*,begotten of the Chriſtian lady *Deſpina* the daughter
of *Calo-Ioannes* Emperor of Trapezond. Which mariage the Chriſtian Emperour made
with the Mahometan prince,and he alſo accepted therof, therby to ſtrengthen themſelues againſt
the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet* the Great, whoſe power was then become a terror vnto
all his neighbor princes;but to how ſmal purpoſe this policie ſerued them both,is before declared
in the life of the ſaid *Mahomet*. At the concluſion of this mariage,the emperor had ſpecially
couenanted with *Vſun-Caſſanes*,that his daughter *Deſpina* might haue the free exerciſe L
of the Chriſtian religion.Wherby it came to paſſe,that this *Martha* her daughter, inſtructed
by her mother,became a Chriſtian alſo : who now maried by her father vnto this preciſe hypocrit
Haider Erdebil,in ſhort time bare him a ſon called *Hyſmael*; whom ſhe ſo much as ſhee
could trained vp in the principles of Chriſtian religion. Wherby it came to paſſe that afterwards
when he had by rare fortune obtained the kingdome of Perſia, hee alwaies during his
life had the Chriſtians in good regard,and neuer found fault with their religion.

Haider thus graced with the mariage of the great kings daughter *Martha*,only for his rare
vertues and puritie of life, as was commonly ſuppoſed, grew now into far greater credit and
eſtimation of the people than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began generally to
be receiued,and the number of his followers ſo greatly augmented,that *Iacup* ſucceeding his M
father *Vſun-Caſſanes*,but lately dead, began to haue his brother in law *Haiders* power and credit
in ſuſpect;and to diſtruſt leſt the Perſians(who ſecretly fauored the remainder of the poſteritie
of their antient kings) ſhould aſſemble together vnder color of this new ſuperſtition,
and

A and raiſe ſome dangerous rebellion before he was well ſetled in his ſeat. For he was not ignorant,
that *Aſembeius Vſun Caſſanes* (his father) had but by force and policie vſurped the Kingdom,
hauing killed *Moloonchres* the lawfull King. Wherof there aroſe two factions, ſome fauoring
the Vſurper, and other-ſome the poor remainder of the deſcent of their antient Kings
of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which cauſe *Iacup*, as he was of a ſuſpitious and troubleſom nature,
and aboue meaſure jealous of his eſtate, nothing regarding the neere allyance or reputed
holineſſe of his godly brother in law, cauſed him (ſuſpecting no ſuch matter) to be ſecretly
murthered: and ſo hauing ſtruck off his head, with fire and ſword perſecuted al the profeſſors
of that new doctrine; ſo to deliuer himſelf for euer of that his vain and needleſſe fear: *Hyſmael*
the ſon of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great Sophy of Perſia) beeing then but a
B child, as it were by fatal deſtiny eſcaped the fury of his cruel vncle *Iacup*, and fled into Hyrcania,
vnto one *Pyrchales* his fathers friend, who then ruled in a ſmall territory neer vnto the Caſpian
ſea.

Haider Erdebil ſecretly murthered.

Amongſt many others of the diſciples and followers of *Haider* (which in that cruell perſecution
were glad to fly for ſafegard of their liues) the two before named, *Chaſan Shelife* and
Schach Culi, afterwards ſyrnamed *Cuſelbas*, in outward ſhew both of vertue and learning not inferior
vnto their maſter, flying that dangerous tempeſt, and paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates,
came into Armenia the leſſer, and there took vp their dwelling at the great mountaine Antitaturus;
at the foot wherof the broken rocks haue diuers dark and obſcure caues, made partly
by art, partly by nature; which place is by the Inhabitants called Teke-Ili: wherof diuers Hiſtoriographers,
C I know not whether deceiued by the name of the place, or els wittingly tranſferring
the name of the place vnto the man that liued therin, haue called this *Schach Culi* (who
of the two proued of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name wee wil alſo from
henceforth cal him. A thing hertofore much vſed among the religious, and alſo ſome of the
children of great princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were born,
or where they moſt liued. This place is both wholſom and exceeding pleaſant, for the varietie
of fruits and liuely ſprings, wherwith the plaines adioyning are continually watered, and
the mountains at all times of the year garniſhed.

Here *Shelife*, with his companion *Techellis*, hauing ſeparated themſelues from the company
of men, and giuen themſelues wholly to a contemplatiue life; for diuers yeares liued moſt
D ſtreitly and ſeuerely, contenting themſelues with ſuch things as the earth of it ſelfe afforded,
without ſeeking for better. Theſe hypocrits were firſt ſeene, and afterward acquainted with
the ſhepheards and herdſmen liuing vpon the mountains, and in proces of time with the rude
husbandmen and country people, who wondring at their ſtreit and deuout kinde of life, relieued
them with all things neceſſary. Yea *Baiazet* himſelf, hearing of their auſtere and deuout
maner of liuing, ſent them yearly ſix or ſeuen thouſand aſpers, as his alms giuen them vpon
charitie and deuotion. But afterwards when they began to tell fortunes, and as it were by the
way of diuination to prognoſticat of things to come, the rurall people held them for more
than men, and conceiued of them a firm opinion that they were ſome diuine prophets. And
ſo were by the country people firſt drawn into the country villages, and afterward, as if it had
E bin againſt their wils, into the cities; where they had in ſhort time filled all the countrey far
and neer with the admiration of their fame. But after they began to publiſh their new phantaſied
doctrine concerning the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet *Mahomet*, they wanted
not their new fangled followers (as had *Haider* their maſter before amongſt the Perſians) who
had them in ſingular reuerence, perſuaded now by them, that they ſhould be condemned for
euer, if they did not, as they were by them taught, giue the honour of the true ſucceſſion of
their great Prophet, only to *Haly*, and him only to reuerence and call vpon next vnto the great
Prophet himſelf.

When they had thus with their often ſermons and blinded prophecies ſeduced the people,
and in ſhort time won great credit among the vulgar ſort, of themſelues too much giuen
F to nouelty and ſuperſtition; they commanded their diſciples & followers to wear vpon their
Turkiſh hats a red band or riband, whereby to be knowne from others that were not of their
profeſſion. Of which red bands or ribands, they who profeſſed this new ſuperſtition, were, and
yet are ouer all the Eaſt part of the world called by the name of *Cuſel-baſſa's*, that is to ſad, *Red-heads*.

The beginning of the Cuſelbaſſa's

Hyſmael his behauiour in the time of his exile.

Hyſmael alſo liuing in exile, moſt earneſtly embraced that new ſuperſtition which *Haider* G
his father had before taught in Perſia, but with far better fortune and ſucceſſe. For as ſoon as
he was grown to mans eſtate, he following his fathers maner of life, and being by nature won-
derfull eloquent, comely of perſon, exceeding wiſe, and of an inuincible courage, was of the
rude vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man; ſo that hee grew to be of great
fame and power amongſt thoſe barbarous people with whom he liued. And not the baſe and
vulgar ſort only, but diuers noblemen alſo, and others of good reputation, once allured with
the noueltie of his doctrine, the more to manifeſt their good will toward the author of their
ſect, after they had forſaken their old ſuperſtition, ceaſed not (as the maner of men is) to com-
mend him in the higheſt degree of vertue and honor. And he himſelf as yet but a youth, alto-
gether bending his wit to the ſetting forth of himſelf, making ſemblant of more than was in- H
deed in him, obtained, as if it had bin againſt his wil, riches, honor, fame, and authority; of all
which things he as a notable diſſembler ſeemed to make no account or reckoning. Neither
were ſome wanting who would ſwear, that *Haider* his father (as hee was an excellent Aſtrono-
mer) calculating his natiuitie, ſhould ſay, That he ſhould proue a great prophet, and the Au-
thor of true religion, who ſubduing the greateſt part of the Eaſt, ſhould become as glorious
both in matters of religion and martial affairs, as was *Mahomet* the great Prophet himſelfe.
Which report being bruted abroad among the common people, greatly increaſed his autho-
ritie, & gaue them ocaſion to talk of wonders. Not long after, *Hyſmael* was firſt by the admira-
tion, or rather aſſentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had bin by ge-
neral conſent, ſyrnamed *Sophos*, which amongſt thoſe people ſignifieth a Wiſe man, or the In- I
terpreter of the gods. Theſe proſperous beginnings, with the troubled ſtate of the kingdom
of Perſia, incouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vncle *Iacup* the Perſian King
was long before dead, being together with his ſon poiſoned by his adulterous wife: the which
he preſently perceiuing, inforced her to drink of the ſame cup; and becauſe he would be ſure
ſhe ſhould not eſcape, with his own hand ſtruck off her head, and immediatly after died, with
his ſon. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe about the ſucceſſion, and diuers great men
one after another aſpired to the kingdom, which they enioyed not long. And among the reſt
Elvan Beg (whom *Iovius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time ſtood in no ſure poſſeſſion of the king-
dom, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyſmael returneth into Armenia, and recouereth his inheritance.

Hyſmael taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the moſt able men of his follow- K
ers, and receiuing ſome ſmal aid from his poor old friend *Pyrchales*, entred into Armenia, and
there partly by the fame that ran of him, and partly by the good wil of the people, rather than
by any force, recouered his fathers inheritance, wherunto the remembrance of his dead father
did not a little further him. He incouraged by this good beginning, daily grew ſtronger and
ſtronger, by the continual repairing vnto him of ſuch as hauing once receiued the doctrine of
Haider, were glad of long, for fear of perſecution, to diſſemble the ſame: but now hauing got
an head and chieftain to cleaue to, began openly to ſhew themſelues again, and in great num-
ber to reſort vnto him, in hope of the good ſucces of their Religion, not ſo happily begun by
his father.

Sumachia taken by Ayſmael

His power thus daily increaſing beyond his expectation, he beſieged Sumachia, a City in L
the confines of Media, which he took by force and ſacked, and with the ſpoil thereof both en-
riched and armed his ſoldiers, which before were for moſt part naked men. The taking of this
city wonderfully increaſed both his fame and credit; as oftentimes it falleth out, That hau-
ty minds, couragiouſly attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their firſt attempts
make way vnto the full of their ſtately deſires. So after this, *Hyſmaels* thoughts were not ſo
low as to think of the taking of this or that little city; but how hee might now compaſſe the
great City Tauris, the very ſeat of the Perſian kings, and afterwards the kingdome it ſelfe.
Wherupon repoſing no leſſe confidence in his own good fortune, than the valor of his ſoldi-
ers, he marched with his army directly to the City of Tauris, and that with ſuch expedition,
that he was come before it before any ſuch thing was feared, much leſſe prouided for it. *El-* M
van the Perſian King was then at Tauris, and had but a little before fought a great battell a-
gainſt his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdom: and hauing vanquiſhed him, draue him out
of Armenia and Perſia. And afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of Ci-
uile Wars, had cauſed diuers of the chief Citiſens of Tauris, which had taken part with his
bro-

Hyſmael commeth to Tauris.

A brother againſt him to bee ſeuerely executed, filling the eies of their friends with the horrible ſpectacle of their diſmembred bodies, and the hearts of moſt men with ſorow and heauines: wherby he had ſo alienated the minds of the Citiſens from him, that now vpon *Hyſmaels* approch, they were al ready to forſake him: of which their diſpoſition *Hyſmael* was beforehand informed, and vpon the good hope therof had haſted his comming. *Eluan* the Perſian King thus ouertaken on the ſudden, had not time to raiſe ſuch forces as might ſuffice either to incounter his enemy, or defend the city; wherfore diſpairing of his own ſtrength, and iuſtly fearing the reuolt and fury of the diſcontented Citiſens, as a man diſmaid ſuddenly fled out of the city. After whoſe departure, the gates were preſently ſet open to *Hyſmael*. For the citiſens which in thoſe troubleſom times (wherin the two brethren contended for the kingdom) had B ſuffered great calamitie, choſe rather in that preſent danger to receiue a Conqueror as then was *Hyſmael*, than to their vtter deſtruction to oppoſe themſelues againſt him in the quarel of their cruell King. And the rather, for that they ſaw a general ſecuritie and open way to preferment propoſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould receiue the reformed Religion of this new Conqueror.

Hyſmael entring the city, ſlew certain of the Kings gard which were not yet departed, and then vtterly raſed the ſtately tomb wherin his vncle *Iacup* was after the manner of the Perſian Kings royally buried. And to mitigat the ſorow hee had ſo long conceiued for his Fathers death, and with reuenge to appeaſe his angry ghoſt, he cauſed the tyrants bones to be digged vp and ſcattered abroad, and the memorial of his name to be quite raſed out of all the places C of the city.

Hyſmael takes the city of Tauris, & defaceth the tomb of his vncle Iacup.

Although *Hyſmael* was thus poſſeſſed of the regal city of Tauris, and had therby made way for obtaining the whole kingdome, yet hee knew that ſo long as *Eluan* liued, his conqueſt was not vnto him aſſured: and therfore to the vtmoſt of his power hee augmented his Army with new ſupplies taken vp in that populous city, whom he furniſhed with armor and weapons taken out of the Kings armory. In the mean time news was brought vnto him, That the Perſian King before fled into the fartheſt part of his kingdom, was now comming from Scyras with a great army againſt him: and that *Moratchamus* his brother forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raiſed a great army about Babylon in Aſſiria, in ſhort time to join with his army.

D *Hyſmael* neuertheleſſe nothing terified with the report of the great preparation of the two brethren againſt him, to the intent he might ſeeme to vndertake this War by Gods appointment, and vpon a greater aſſurance than his own ſtrength, reſolued to go againſt them. And ſo after he had muſtred his army, and in beſt maner he could prouided all things neceſſary, hee ſet forward from Tauris; vſing no other perſuaſion to incourage his ſouldiers, but that they ſhould all, as became reſolute men, make haſt and follow him whom God had giuen them for a chieftain and leader, vnto a moſt aſſured victory. The Perſian King was at the ſame time ten daies journy from Tauris, when *Hyſmael* with incredible celeritie preuenting the fame of his comming, was come to the mountain Niphates, which parteth Armenia from Aſſyria: which mountain *Eluan* purpoſing ſhortly after to paſſe ouer with his populous Army, had ſent beE fore his ſcouts to diſcouer the ſtreit paſſages, and a multitude of pioners to make the wayes more commodious for his great army to paſſe. Which thing *Hyſmael* vnderſtanding, and politickly conſidering that it ſhould be much for his aduantage, if he ſhould firſt himſelf paſſe ouer thoſe great mountains, and ſo vpon a ſudden ſet vpon his enemies then lying in ſecuritie, and fearing nothing leſſe than ſuch a deſperat attempt; vpon that reſolution aduanced his enſignes vpon the mountains, and hauing with ſmall reſiſtance diſcomfited them which kept the paſſages, came down the ſame mountaines like a tempeſt, and furiouſly aſſailed the King then lying in his camp on the other ſide at the foot of the mountain: vpon whoſe approch ſuch a hurly-burly was raiſed in the Kings camp, that what for the confuſed tumult of the ſouldiers, and fearful outcries of the multitude of baſe people that followed the Camp, the King F could ſcarſly giue order to his captains what he would haue don, or yet incourage his ſouldiers, or put them in order of battel. So that *Hyſmael* giuing a fierce onſet with his Armenian ſoldiers, there was ſuddenly begun a moſt terrible and bloudy battell. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyſmael* faile him, whoſe courage and prowеſſe did neuer faile: for aſſailing the Kings battell of footmen with three ſquadrons at once, hee had ouercome them and put

Hyſmael goeth againſt the Perſian King.

them to flight before that the horſmen could arm themſelues and mount their horſes,which were for moſt part vnſadled and vnbridled at his comming. The king,who had nothing either feared or foreſeen this ſo ſudden a miſchief,but had vainly perſuaded himſelf, That the very fame of his comming with ſo huge an army, would ſo terrifie his enemies, as that he ſhould find none either at Tauris,or in all Armenia,that durſt make reſiſtance; was glad now to run to and fro to incourage his ſouldiers,to ſtay his diſcomfited battels,yea and to come to handy blows himſelf. But when neither his captains nor ſoldiers could put in execution his ſudden directions,which he was inforced to giue in that imminent danger,being ouercome with ſhame and deſperation,he reſolutely thruſt himſelf into the head of his battel,and there valiantly fighting was ſlain. Wherupon the Perſian horſmen,the greateſt ſtrength of the kings Army,hauing now no King for whom they ſhould fight, betooke themſelues to flight; after whom followed the archers and all the reſt of the Kings army.

Elvan the Perſian king ſlain.

When as *Hyſmael* had with leſſe loſſe than a man would haue thought ſo great a victory could haue bin atchieued,poſſeſſed the enemies Tents,he made no great purſuit after them, for that he thought it more requiſit to refreſh his ſoldiers,throughly wearied & almoſt ſpent with long trauel and late fight: wherfore for certain daies he repoſed himſelf and his Army in thoſe his enemies forſaken tents. Afterwards,when he had receiued Embaſſadors from diuers places,yeelding their cities and towns,and that the fauour of the people generally inclined to him,together with the victory; he marched with his army to Seyras,where hee was of the citiſens who had before heard of the victory,joyfully receiued, & his army relieued with all things he could deſire. *Hyſmael* there entertained with the greateſt honors that the fearful citiſens could poſſibly attribute to him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the truth & excellencie of his fathers doctrine; and withall gaue out ſtreit proclamations, That hee would account all them for his enemies,which did not within the ſpace of thirty daies renounce all their old ſuperſtition,and receiue this new found verity (as he would haue it.) Wherfore,foraſmuch as on the one ſide were propoſed moſt certain rewards by the happy courſe of his victories; and on the other was threatned exile and torture to ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly perſiſt in their opinion;in ſhort time he drew al the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine:and afterwards hauing payd his ſoldiers with the riches of that great city, he gallantly furniſhed both his old and new ſoldiers that wanted armour, with moſt excellent armor and furniture. For in that city,one of the greateſt and moſt famous of the Eaſt,were many ſhops full of all kind of armor,which the armorers with wonderfull cunning vſed to make of iron and ſteele, and the juice of certain herbs,of much more notable temper and beauty than are theſe which are made with vs in Europ; not only head-pieces, curiaſſes,and compleat armors, but whole capariſons for horſes,curiouſly made of thin plates of iron and ſteel. Departing from Scyras he took alſo the great city of Saphas, ſuppoſed to haue bin the city in antient time called Suſa,and Sultania; which for the wonderful ruins of the huge buildings, is deemed to haue bin the antient and famous city Tigranocerta. Theſe great matters quickly diſpatched, and hauing in euery city placed gouernors of his own ſect; he paſſed ouer the Riuer Tygris, into Meſopotamia,of purpoſe to expulſe *Moratchamus* the late Kings brother out of Babylon,who was yet in arms,and had intended (as is before ſaid) to haue paſſed into Armenia,to haue joyned his forces with the King his brother. But now terrified with his brothers calamity (who together with a moſt puiſſant army,and the ſtrength of the Perſian kingdom, was in one day fallen from the height of ſo great a fortune) thought it not beſt to try his fortune in the field againſt ſo fortunat an enemy, but forthwith to withdraw himſelf into the remoteſt places of that large kingdom,and from thence to expect ſome better fortune. For he wel knew that hee was not able to withſtand his victorious enemy, now leading after him a moſt puiſſant army; who not long before with a ſmall power had vanquiſhed and ſlain his brother in a great battel. *Hyſmael* now by the greatnes of his fame and forces,& as it were by the fauor of God himſelf,become a terror to all the princes of the Eaſt, entered into Meſopotamia after the flight of *Moratchamus*,and receiued al that great prouince into his ſubiection,euery man ſtriuing as it were who ſhould firſt by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion purchaſe himſelf the fauour of the victorious conqueror. In brief, *Moratchamus* already terrified, and repoſing no great hope in himſelf or his own power,neither deeming it ſafe to ſhut vp himſelfe within the walls of any ſtrong City, truſt vp his things of greateſt price,and with his Wiues and children fled into Arabia.

Hyſmael goeth againſt Moratchamus.

A This *Moratchamus* is he whom ſome Hiſtoriographers called *Mara Beg*, and is in the Turks Hiſtories called *Imirſa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of *Bajazet*, and recouering part of the Perſian kingdome, was ſuddenly murthered by ſome of his Nobility, whom he purpoſed ſecretly to haue put to death, if they had not preuented the ſame by murthering of him firſt: *Hyſmael* hauing victoriouſly ſubdued a great part of the Perſian kingdome, and filled all the Eaſt part of the world with the glory of his name, returned out of Aſſyria into Media, and tooke in ſuch cities and ſtrong holds as were yet holden by the garriſons of the late Perſian King. And afterwards returning into Armenia, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caſpian: for that thoſe nations, in antient times tributaries to the Perſian Kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile B wars wherewith the kingdome of Perſia, and all the Eaſt countries, with the ruine of the Kings houſe, had been of late turmoyled; had neither paied any tribute by the ſpace of foure yeres, nor ſent any honourable Embaſſage, as they were wont, and as was expected, eſpecially in ſo great a victory and alteration of the State.

Hyſmael hauing thus obtained the Perſian kingdome, in ſhort time became famous through the world, and was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be ſpoken of, than the innouation he had made in the Mahometane ſuperſtition: for by his deuice and commandement a new forme of praier was brought into their Mahometan Temples, far differing from that which had been of long time before vſed. By reaſon whereof, *Ebubekir*, *Homer*, and *Oſman*, the ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*, C before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, and their writings nothing regarded; and the honour of *Haly* exalted, as the true and onely ſucceſſor of their great Prophet. And becauſe he would haue his ſubjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turks and other Mahometans, he commanded that they ſhould all weare ſome red hatband, lace, or riband vpon their heads; which they religiouſly obſerue in Perſia vntill this day: whereof they are of the Turks called *Cuſelba's*, or *Red heads*. And in ſhort time he had ſo vſed the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his ſubjects; inſomuch that his ſayings were accounted for diuine Oracles, and his commandements for Laws: ſo that when they would confirme any thing by ſolemne oath, they would ſweare by the head of *Hyſmael* their King: and when they wiſhed well to any man, they vſually ſaid, *Hyſmael* grant D thee thy deſire. Vpon his coyne which he made both of ſiluer and gold, on the one ſide was written theſe words, *La illahe illalahu* Muhame *dun reſul allahe*: which is to ſay, *There is no gods but one, and* Mahomet *is his Meſſenger*. And on the other ſide, *Iſmaill halife lullahe*; which is to ſay, *Hyſmael the Vicar of God*.

Hyſmael exceedingly beloued and honored of his ſubjects.

1508 Whileſt *Hyſmael* was thus wreſtling for the Perſian Kingdome, *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis* (whom we haue a little before declared to haue bin brought out of the mountains and deſarts, into the country villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countries of Armenia and a great part of the leſſer Aſia with the nouelty of their new doctrine and opinions, firſt phantaſied by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterwards reuiued by *Haider Erdebil*, *Hyſmael* his father) hauing gathred a great army of ſuch as had receiued their doctrine, inuaded the Turks E dominion. For after that *Techellus* (this cold Prophet) had with wonderfull felicity in the preſence of many prognoſticated of things to come; and *Hyſmael* the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and baniſhed man) was thought to haue grown vnto the higheſt type of worldly honours, not by mans helpe, but by vprightneſſe of life, and the fortunat paſſage of an vndoubted religion: ſuch a deſire of receiuing that new ſuperſtition poſſeſſed the minds of the people in generall, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profeſſion had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne Cogniſance of the *Cuſelba's*. Firſt they met together at the city of Taſcia, at the foot of the mountaine Antitaurus, or as the Turkiſh hiſtory reporbts, at the city of Attalia, to the number of 10000, vpon a great Faire day; where they layd hands vpon the chiefe magiſtrate of the city, and F executed him, ſetting his quarters vpon foure of the higheſt towers of the city: and further perſuaded by theſe new maſters of this new ſuperſtition, to take vp armes in defence of themſelues and of their ſincere religion (as they termed it) in caſe that any violence ſhould be offered them by the irreligious Turks; they all ſwore, neuer to forſake their Captaines for any diſtreſſe, or yet refuſe any labour or aduenture for the honor of their moſt holy religion (as they

Chaſan Chelife & Techellis inuade the Turks dominions.

would haue it) in defence whereof they had already vowed their ſoules and bodies. Theſe ringleaders of rebellion, ſeeing the minds of their frantick followers, ſo well prepared for their purpoſe, and repoſing a great confidence in their valour and reſolution; and withall conſidering that the mony which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the country people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not ſufficient to maintaine ſo great a multitude, gaue leaue by publike proclamation to their vnruly followers, to forrage the country round about them, and to liue vpon the ſpoile of them which would not receiue their new found doctrine. Wherupon they diuiding themſelues into diuers companies, and ranging vp and down the country, brought into the camp abundance of cattell, and other ſuch things as the country yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude ſtil increaſing) they entred into Lycaonia, a populous & fruitfull country, where they refreſhed themſelues many daies, roaming vp and downe to the great grieuance and terrour of the people; and brought ſuch a feare vpon the whole country, that they which dwelt in open dorps and villages, were glad to fly with their wiues, children, and goods, into the ſtrong city of Iconium: for proclamations were in many places ſet vp in the names of *Chaſan Chelife*, and *Techellis*, wherin many both ſpirituall and temporal bleſſings were in moſt ample maner propoſed to all ſuch as ſhould forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine already eſtabliſhed in Perſia: but vnto ſuch as ſhould obſtinately perſeuere in their old ſuperſtition, after they had once drawne their ſword, was threatned vtter deſtruction without hope of pardon of life. So that all the inhabitants therabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, ſome for feare of death, ſome vpon inconſtancy, ſome for ſafegard of their goods and poſſeſſions (dearer vnto them than any religion) ſome other indebted, infamous, in danger of law, beſide many fugitiue ſeruants, dayly reſorted to theſe new maſters. Not long after, whilſt the Turks were making preparation for the ſuppreſſing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horſemen ſent from *Hyſmael*, came in good time to theſe new prophets: for *Hyſmael* in fauour and furtherance of that new ſuperſtition, had a little before by fit meſſengers exhorted them to proceed couragiouſly in their ſo religious an enterpriſe, and to joine martiall force vnto the religion they profeſſed: promiſing further, not to be wanting vnto them at their need, but to ſend them skilfull Leaders, and from time to time to furniſh them with coyne for the maintenance of that war. All this *Hyſmael* did openly in deſpight of *Bajazet*, of ſmall beginning to ſow the ſeed of greater war. For he bearing an old grudge againſt *Bajazet* for the former wars betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, as alſo for their diſagreement in matters concerning their ſuperſtition, and prickt forward with the heat of youth, deſired nothing more in the greatneſſe of his power, and proſperous ſucceſſe of his affaires, than to haue occaſion to make war with the Turkiſh king: for which purpoſe he ſent his Embaſſadors vnto the State of Venice, to joine with them in league and amity, in ſuch forme and ſort as they had long time before, by *Caterinus Zemes*, *Barbarus*, and *Contarenus* their Embaſſadors, concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the great Perſian King his grandfather. The chiefe thing that he requeſted of the Venetians, was, That they would ſend him out of Italy by the way of Syria, men skilfull in the caſting of great ordnance, and with their fleet to trouble *Bajazet* by ſea: promiſing in the meane time himſelfe to fill Aſia the leſſe with his army by land, and ſo to giue a faire occaſion vnto them, to recouer by ſea all ſuch places as they had before in the late wars loſt vnto the Turks vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus and Grecia.

Hyſmael ſends embaſſadors vnto the Venetians, to joyne in league with thē againſt Bajazet

The Venetians hauing with all courteſie entertained the Embaſſadours, gaue them anſwer, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the antient league and amity they had made with the Perſian King; the remembrance whereof was vnto their State a thing moſt pleaſant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new King was an enemy vnto the Turke, and had them in ſuch regard, as to participat to them the cauſes of that war: and further to promiſe vnto them thoſe things, which if his grandfather *Vſun-Caſſanes*, or his vncle *Iacup* would haue performed, he ſhould not now haue had need to make wars with the Turkiſh Emperor. But ſuch was the alteration of things and times, that as the Perſian kings then liued at home in peace, thought it not good to ſtir whilſt *Bajazet* was buſie in Europe; ſo now their State ſtanding in far worſe condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wiſhed, and moſt of all deſired; for that they thought it not good to break the league which they had not long before made with *Bajazet* the Turkiſh emperor: eſpecially then, when ſundry warlike nations of Europe conſpiring together, and diuers mighty Kings prouoked with no injury, but only enuy-

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A ing at their happy eſtate, made warres vpon them; yet neuertheleſſe were in good hope, that God would ſtand in their iuſt defence, and ſtill preſerue their ſtate, which no enemies power had for the ſpace of 700 yeares and more beene able to ouercome. Wherefore they ſhould ſhew vnto their King, that they would as occaſion ſhould ſerue, and as it ſhould ſtand with the good of their State, do their vttermoſt deuoire to make him vnderſtand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendſhip of ſo great a King: nor any thing more honorable, than by mutuall counſell and combined forces to aſſaile the Turke their common enemy.

Shortly after, the Embaſſadors (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their gallies to Cyprus, and ſo from thence to Syria, where they had ſecret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the ſon B of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embaſſage vnto *Vſun-Caſſanes* into Perſia) Gouernour of the Venetian Merchants at Damaſco. Which thing *Bajazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the paſſage of the Perſian Embaſſadors that way, complained grieuouſly both by his Embaſſadors and letters vnto *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt, That he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him; in ſuffering theſe Embaſſadors ſo to paſſe throughout the middeſt of Syria, vnto the Chriſtians their common enemies, to ſtir them vp to war. Whereupon all the Venetian Merchants which were at Tripolis, Aleppo, Damaſco, Berytus, and Alexandria, and eſpecially *Zenus* himſelfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to Caire, where they were many times inforced in chaines to anſwer vnto ſuch things as were layd to their charge, and after they had by the ſpace of a yeare C endured the manifold deſpights of the proud Mamalukes, hardly obtained to eſcape with life and liberty.

The two ſeditious Prophets, *Chaſan* and *Techellis*, well ſtrengthened with the aid of the Perſians, were now come vnto Iconium the moſt famous city of Lycaonia; and waſting all the country before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repreſſing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahomethes*, two of *Bajazet* his nephews (who in ſtead of their fathers *Alem Schach*, and *Tzian Schach*, the ſons of *Bajazet* before dead, gouerned thoſe countries) gathered together their forces, and diſdaining to ſuffer ſuch diſgrace by ſuch a rabble of raſcal people, in the ſight of ſo famous a city, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too muſt haſt, and ioyning battell in a place D of diſaduantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would theſe ringleaders in that victory haue forborne to haue aſſailed Iconium, but that they wanted Artillery and engines of war requiſit for the beſieging of cities.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Bajazet his nephewes ouerthrowne by Techellis.

Corcutus alſo, one of the ſons of *Bajazet*, hauing at the ſame time leuied a conuenient Army about Thiatyra, Sypilus, Magneſia, and Phocea, durſt not further ſtir or ſet forward againſt the rebels, although they lay diſperſed about the country faſt by him. Theſe new prophets with enſignes diſplaied, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the leſſer Aſia, entered at length into Bythinia, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Caragoſes Baſſa* the Viceroy of Aſia, comming againſt them with a great army well appointed, which he had a little before raiſed vpon the bruit of the comming of theſe rebels, and had alſo E commanded *Achometes* (whom the Turks call *Achmetes*) the eldeſt ſonne of *Bajazet* then liuing, Gouernor of the great countries of Capadocia and Pontus, to raiſe his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they ſhould hap to be put to the worſe, would neither be able to retyre, neither to keepe the field, being ſo ſhut vp betwixt two ſo great armies. But *Techellis* by his ſpeedy comming fruſtrated theſe deſignes of the Viceroy; for marching with all ſpeed, he was vpon *Caragoſes* before he was well aware of his comming, neere vnto the mountaine Horminus, as he was then taking vp of more ſoldiers, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had been going againſt ſome puiſſant enemy. The Viceroy ſeeing the Rebels approch, although he had before not purpoſed to haue encountered them before he had raiſed far greater forces; thought it not now to ſtand with his honor, to refuſe to giue them F battell, although his army for moſt part conſiſted of the rude country peiſants, taken vp vpon the ſudden out of Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, and Bythinia, raw ſoldiers, and for moſt part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in thoſe countries are preſſed againſt their wils out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turkes called Aſapi, who of the Ianizaries are ſcarcely accounted for men. But his greateſt confidence he repoſed in the approued valour of his antient horſemen, by whoſe means he doubted not in ſafety to retyre out of the battell, G and to ſaue himſelf if any thing ſhould fall out otherwaies than wel; making no great account of the common ſouldiers, more than by them if he could, to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other ſide (their greateſt force conſiſting of footmen) had no hope to ſaue themſelues by flight, but only by plain valour and dint of ſword. Which *Techellis* well conſidering, exhorted his ſoldiers to remember into what country they were come, and that there was no cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to fly vnto, if they ſhould not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs couragiouſly (ſaid he) ſet forward againſt our enemies, and by victory defend our liues, together with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our ſoules and bodies. He had ſcarcely ſaid thus much, but that his whole Army, in token of cheereſulneſſe, gaue a moſt terrible ſhout, and without further ſtay ſet vpon their H enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horſemen in the wings, thereby to haue compaſſed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had ſet all his footmen in one great ſquare battell, and his Perſian horſemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his freſh-water ſouldiers could ſcarcely abide the ſight of *Techellis* his army; for in the front of the battell ſtood ſouldiers throughly armed, and all the reſt of his army with red hats vpon their heads, as if they had beene embrued with bloud, which wonderfully terrified the Baſſaes cowardly and vnskilfull ſouldiers: ſo that hauing endured the fight ſcarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkiſh horſemen which had valiantly aſſailed the rebels army on both ſides, although they had ſlaine many with their arrowes and lances, and ſomewhat diſordered the battell, for that the footmen were enforced to leaue their places, and I to preſſe ſtill on forward againſt them; yet when *Techellis* his ſoldiers (hauing ouercome the footmen, and diuiding themſelues into diuers ſquadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horſes, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewiſe betooke themſelues to flight alſo. Then the Perſian horſemen (which all this while had ſtood ſtill as lookers on) left their ſtandings, and following the chaſe ſlew many of the Turks in their diſordred flight: and following faſt on, incloſed the Viceroy as he was ſtaying of his horſemen, and could not for the thickeneſſe of the duſt well diſcerne his enemies; ſo that he had beene there taken, if he had not been ſpeedily reſcued by his guard, and ſo deliuered from that danger. The reſt of the Turks horſemen ſaued themſelues by flight. In this battell ſeuen thouſand of the Turks footmen were ſlaine, and all their enſignes taken, with great ſtore of prouiſion. K

The battell betweene Caragoſes & Techellis.

Techellis beſiegeth Caragoſes the Viceroy, in the City of Cutaie.

After which victory, *Chaſan* and *Techellis* reſting their army one day, marched to the city of Cutaie, neere vnto the mountaine Hormonius: this city is ſcituated as it were in the midſt of Aſia the leſſe, and is the ſeat of the Turkiſh Emperors Viceroy in Aſia; as Sophia in Mœſia is for his other Viceroy in Europe: for it was reported, that the country people had for feare of the preſent war conueyed thither the greateſt part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himſelfe with his chiefe horſemen were fled thither alſo: neither doubted they, but that all the army might be greatly enriched by the wealth of that city, if they ſhould without delay employ their whole forces for the gaining thereof, their enemies now altogether diſcouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* alſo deeming that enterpriſe of ſo much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces, comming before the city, placed ſuch field pieces L as he had before taken in the battel, & his archers in ſuch fit places as might moſt anoy the defendants: afterward he cauſed ſcaling ladders to be ſet vp, and proclamation made thorow all his camp, That the whole ſpoile of the city ſhould be the ſoldiers if they could take it; with promiſe of greater rewards to them that ſhould firſt recouer the top of the wals. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approached the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of ſhot, or danger of death; ſtriuing who ſhould firſt mount the ladders, & ſome climbing one in the necke of another, ſo to get vp by the ruins of the wall. The defendants in the meane time from aboue caſting down vpon them great ſtones, timber, fire, ſcalding water, lime, ſand, and ſuch like without meaſure: wherewith although many were ouerthrowne and cruſht to death or ſpoiled, yet others preſently ſtept vp in their place; neither was any of them ſeen, for M feare of the preſent danger to ſhrinke back or be diſcouraged: for the Viceroy on the one ſide, and *Techellis* on the other, were both eie-witneſſes of euery mans valour in that hot ſeruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope, for feare to be enforced to giue ouer the aſſault ſo begun; and the other with the due regard of his honor, life, and ſtate, all ſubiect to that danger, A ger, and therefore in perſon himſelfe performed all the parts of a worthy chiefetaine and couragious ſouldier. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce aſſault of the enemy, and for moſt part wounded, *Techellis* continually ſending in freſh men, and withdrawing ſuch as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the city in two places ouer the heaps of the dead bodies: and hauing repulſed the defendants, burſt open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole army. Then began a miſerable ſlaughter of the ſoldiers and poore citiſens in euery houſe and corner of the city. At which inſtant the Palace (whither the Viceroy had retyred himſelfe with his family) was alſo taken: the Viceroy himſelfe with his wiues and children were there alſo taken priſoners, and the ſtately Palace built with marble, in a trice conſumed with fire.

Caragoſes the Viceroy with his wiues and children taken by Techellis in the City of Cutaie.

B The rich city of Cutaie, the ſeat of the great commander of the Turkiſh Empire in Aſia, thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole army both beautified and inriched with the ſpoile thereof: he perſuaded himſelfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the city of Pruſa alſo, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings in Bythinia, and ſo endanger the whole ſtate of the Turks Empire in Aſia, if he ſhould now without delay carry the terror of himſelfe thither, before the Turks could in that country make head againſt him, or the citiſens be able in ſo ſudden a feare to make any ſufficient prouiſion for the defence of themſelues and their city; and ſo in the courſe of his good fortune to vſe the courage and cheerefulneſſe of his ſouldiers. Wherefore appointing a day when he would ſet forward, he commanded all things neceſſary to be made ready for the taking of that rich city, being neither ſtrongly walled, neither furniC ſhed with any good garriſon for the defence thereof.

But whileſt he was making this preparation, a new army, lately ſhipt ouer the Helleſpont from Callipolis into Aſia, inforced him to change his former determination. For *Bajazet* waked at the name of *Techellis*, & the fame of the new ſuperſtition now generally receiued in Perſia, had long before giuen commandement to his ſonnes, nephewes, and the Viceroy of Aſia, That they ſhould with all carefulnes prouide, that that part of his kingdome tooke no harme thereby. But after he ſaw *Techellis* of a poore hermit become a great captaine, and backt alſo with the Perſian King, and all his dominions in Aſia in danger of ſome great alteration, he ſent *Alis Baſſa* with his Europeian army. This *Alis* an Eunuch, borne in Macedonia (yet for his courage comparable with the greateſt captaines) had for his many and worthy deſerts, in the D time of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Bajazet* his father, got vnto himſelfe both the honour and name of a moſt famous chiefetaine. He hauing made choice of the principall horſemen of Epirus, Macedonia, Seruia, Illyria, and Thracia, and joining vnto them ſeuen thouſand Ianizaries (the moſt aſſured hope of the Turks in all their expeditions) paſſed ouer from Callipolis into Phrygia, and vpon the way directed his letters vnto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Bajazet* his ſons, and to all the other Sanzacks and Gouernors of the Turks prouinces in Aſia, That they ſhould with as much ſpeed as they could, raiſe their forces and meet him in Galatia. But *Techellis* aduertiſed of his comming, thought it beſt for him to depart out of Pontus, and to retire to ſome place of more ſafety, leſt by longer ſtaying he ſhould be encloſed by his enemies, repairing thitherwards on euery ſide; or elſe vpon ſome great diſaduantage to joyne battell: E for he ſaw, that if he ſtaied neuer ſo little, he ſhould find no ſafe paſſage or place of refuge to retyre vnto, hauing left ſuch large and ſpacious Countries, ſo many enemies Cities, ſo many great riuers, ſo many diſcontented people behind him; all which the firſt fauor of the vulgar ſort, and ſpeedy courſe of his victory, had a little before layd open vnto him. Wherefore calling together his Captaines and moſt expert men of war to conſult vpon the matter, it was generally thought to be a point of meere madneſſe, or elſe of extreme neceſſity, with ſo ſmall a power of vnskilfull ſouldiers, without any ſufficient ſtrength of horſemen, to joyne battell with ſuch an enemy as better knew the countrey than he, and far exceeded him both for number and expertneſſe of his ſouldiers. Wherefore *Techellis* truſſing vp his rich prey he had before gotten, began now with ſpeed to retire backe againe with his followers through F Galatia. But the Baſſa hauing intelligence almoſt euery houre by letters and eſpials, both of the retyring of *Techellis*, and the way he held, paſſed ouer the riuer Sangarius, and coaſting the country, came and incamped betwixt the cities of Cutaie and Ancyra, which way it was ſuppoſed the enemy would paſſe. Where when he had there a while reſted his wearied ſouldiers, and was certainely aduertiſed, that the rebels had taken another way, he ſet forward againe,

Bajazet ſendeth Alis Baſſa out of Europe againſt Techellis.

and after fiue daies march in the plaines of Galatia, ouertooke the ſtraglers of the enemies, G
who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the army: all whom the Baſſa commanded
to be cruelly put to the ſword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Baſſa, or at leſtwiſe
with a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſtay his purſuit, cauſed *Caragoſes* the Viceroy, whom he had
carried along with him in chaines, to be cruelly empailed by the highway ſide, vpon a ſharpe
ſtake ſet faſt in the ground, and ſo left him ſticking for the Turks to wonder at. But *Alis Baſſa*
nothing diſmaied with the horrible death of ſo great a perſonage, held on his way with more
haſt than good ſpeed, exhorting his ſouldiers patiently to endure the painfulneſſe of the long
march, and to ſtraine themſelues to take reuenge of thoſe rebellious theeues and robbers, who
deſtroying the country before them, ſpared not ſo much as the Turks children, and the temples
of their religion; and ſo the day following came into the plaines of Ancyra. The ſame H
day alſo *Achomates* came vnto the Baſſa with ten thouſand ſouldiers. *Alis Baſſa* perceiuing that
he could not poſſibly with his whole army ouertake his enemies, marching with greater ſpeed
before him, and grieued at the heart to ſee them eſcapes out of his hand, reſolued to proue if
he could with his horſemen ouertake them: whereupon leauing his footmen with *Achomates*,
he himſelfe with eight thouſand horſe following the enemy vpon the ſpur, ouertooke the
rereward of their army at the mountaine Olyga, a little from the city of Ancyra, vnto whom
he gaue an hot skirmiſh.

The battell betwixt Alis Baſſa and Techellis.

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the riſing of the hil,
although he ſaw his men faint with long trauell and the ſcorching heat of the Sun, yet quickly
perceiuing that he ſhould haue to do only with horſemen, and that in a place of aduantage, I
turning his army, and orderly placing his ſoldiers, as the ground & the ſhortneſſe of the time
would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impreſſion of the Turks, and with their long pikes and
arrows at the firſt repulſed them: ſo that it ſeemed they would neither haue giuen ground vnto
the bragging horſemen, neither haue done any thing not beſeeming their former victories,
had not *Alis Baſſa* ſent 1000 Carbines, who in troups orderly following one another, deliuered
their ſhot as thicke as haile vpon the enemy; with which ſtorme many of them being ſlain,
and moe wounded, their ranks began to be ſomewhat diſordred: whereupon the other horſemen
breaking in, with great ſlaughter ouerthrew the vauntgard of *Techellis* battell: in which
conflict *Chaſan Chelife* himſelfe was ſlain. *Techellis* alwaies at hand where moſt need was, euen
in the midſt of the ſlaughter of his men ſet in order a new battell of his moſt ready and beſt K
armed ſoldiers, the only remedy in ſo great a diſtreſſe; and bringing them on into the front of
the battell, oppoſed them againſt the horſemen, now (as they thought) in poſſeſſion of the victory;
commanding them by little and little to retire vnto the mountaine, to the intent that
they might ſeeme to do that by commandment of the Generall, which they were like enough
to haue done of themſelues for feare: hoping that it would ſo come to paſſe, That the Turks
finding the diſaduantage of the place, would leaue ſo hardly to aſſaile them. But the Baſſa encouraged
with the firſt ſucceſſe of the battell, exhorted his ſoldiers to vrge the victory, now
almoſt as good as gotten, & not to giue the enemy ſpace to recouer the ſtrength of the mountain,
but valiantly to charge them, and with a little ſhort paines that day to end all the war, to
the honor of *Bajazet* their ſoueraigne, and worthy commendations of themſelues in generall. L
In this ſort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his beſt horſmen (to animate the reſt, and to
ſhew his own valor) brake through the enemies battell: which thing he in the ſame heat, with
more courage than diſcretion, attempting to performe the ſecond time, was incloſed by his
enemies and ſlain: vpon whoſe fall the fortune of the battell was in a moment changed; for the
Turks, which erſt fought couragiouſly, hauing beaten backe and almoſt ouerthrown their enemies,
now diſmaied with their Generals death, began to fight but faintly, and by little & little
to giue ground, and at laſt turning their horſes about, fled. On the other ſide *Techellis* his ſoldiers
who but a little before had repoſed greater hope in the ſtrength of the place and the
mountain, than in their weapons and valour, now encouraged with new hope, and taking heart
in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thruſt forward, and with a moſt terrible noiſe M
crying victory, put to flight the Turks horſemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as
they had by the Generals raſhneſſe loſt a notable victory almoſt already gained. *Techellis* although
he knew that the enemy could neither refreſh his horſes, nor yet with any aſſurance
keepe the field, if he ſhould haue purſued him; yet hauing loſt many of his beſt ſoldiers, & the

Chaſan Chelife ſlaine.

Alis Baſſa ſlain.

reſt

A reſt of his army ſore weakened with trauell, faſting and fighting, determined to refreſh his
wearied followers vpon the mountain Olyga. From whence after a few daies he marched ouer
the riuer Halys vnto the city of Taſcia, his old dwelling place, and ſo to the city of Celenis,
which the riuer Marſya (much ſpoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by
the name of Maras, but as then the regall ſeat of the mountaine King *Aladeules*. The Turkes
horſemen hauing thus in ſome ſmall ſort rather reuenged the injuries done by the rebels, than
obtained any victory, returned to *Achomates*, who was then comming on with the footmen.
Not long after, *Bajazet* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alis Baſſa* his Generall, ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa*,
a warlike captaine, and of great experience (borne in Epirus) in his ſtead. Who as ſoone as
he had receiued the charge of the army from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into Cappadocia,
B and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine Antitaurus, came in few
daies vnto the city of Taſcia, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and deſtroying
the country all about, he came and encamped with his army at the foot of the mountaine.
The Baſſa had in his army about forty thouſand horſe and foot, well appointed, with many
field pieces, and plenty of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare
country. *Techellis* terrified with his comming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hyſmael* the
Perſian king, and wanting alſo great artillery, and beſides that, ſeeing his ſoldiers greatly both
diminiſhed and diſcouraged with the late battell at Olyga, determined not vpon ſo great diſaduantage
to meet his enemy in the plaine field, but to keep the rough mountains and thicke
woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe thoſe ſtrong places, he ſhould either
C receiue ſome aid from *Hyſmael*, or by the heat of the Turks leaders take them at ſome notable
aduantage. In the meane time many notable ſkirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the ſoldiers on both
ſides: for the Turks fetching a compaſſe oftentimes about the mountains, and ſeeking for the
beſt paſſages, by the eaſie riſing of the hils, came to ſkirmiſh with their enemies: and *Techellis*
his ſouldiers on the other ſide, ſallying many times out of the woods and abrupt places of
the mountains, valiantly aſſailed the Turks. After they had a long time in this ſort, as if it had
been in diſport, rather proued their forces one vpon another, than done any great matter; the
Turkes prying into euery corner, at length perceiued two waies whereby their whole army
with enſignes diſplaied might without any great difficulty be brought vnto the top of the
mountaine, and ſo into their enemies ſtrength. The Baſſa hauing well viewed and conſidered
D the places, cauſed the Ianizaries at one inſtant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the
aforeſaid waies, and the reſt of his army by the other: who with ſoft pace climing vp the
ſteepe mountains, with their targuets defended themſelues as well as they could againſt their
enemies darts and ſhot. For *Techellus* his ſouldiers hauing before taken the high mountaines
and places of aduantage, caſt downe vpon the Turks great ſtones and ſhot without number, as
if it had beene out of ſome ſtrong fort. But the Turks bending certaine ſmall field peeces againſt
the places which moſt anoied them, eaſily draue them from their ſtandings, the harquebuſiers
ſtill following their enſignes, ſhrouded cloſe vnder the targuetiers, and deliuered their
deadly ſhot as ſhoures of raine vpon their enemies. Whoſe deſperat approch *Techellis* perceiuing,
cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and with all his army retired further off into the higher
E mountaines and rougher woods. The night following, perceiuing that by the euill ſucceſſe of
the former ſkirmiſh he had loſt a great part of his credit and ſtrength, he with great ſilence
forſooke the woods, and paſſing quite ouer the mountaines fled into Armenia, then part of the
Perſian kingdome. Neither did the Turks perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and
that their ſcouts entring the thick woods, and finding the enemies baggage, with ſome wounded
ſoldiers not able to fly, brought newes vnto the Baſſa of the enemies departure, and of his
ſpeedy flight into Armenia. Which thing, when he by them that were taken, vnderſtood to
be certainely true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that he had not preſently vpon the enemies
retreat beſet the wood round, he ſent his horſemen forthwith to purſue them: but all in
vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne waies gone into Armenia. Some few ſtraglers not
F able to make ſo much haſt as the reſt, were ouertaken by the Turks horſemen, and brought
backe to the Baſſa. —

Ionuſes Baſſa ſent by Bajazet, Generall of his army againſt Techellus.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Ionuſes* cauſed ſtreit inquiſition to be made through all the cities
of the leſſer Aſia, for all ſuch as had profeſſed the Perſian religion: and them whom he found
to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, he cauſed to be put to death with moſt exquiſit tor-

ments, and the reſt to be burnt in their foreheads with an hot yron, thereby for euer to be knowne; whom together with the kinſfolks and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he cauſed to be tranſported into Europe, and to be diſperſed through Macedonia, Epirus, and Peloponeſus: for feare leſt if *Techellis* now fled into the Perſian Kingdome, ſhould from thence returne with new forces, they ſhould alſo repaire againe vnto him, and raiſe a new rebellion. This was the beginning, courſe, and ending, of one of the moſt dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkiſh Empire: wherein all, or at leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of their dominions in Aſia, might haue beene eaſily ſurpriſed by the Perſian King, if he would throughly haue proſecuted the occaſion and opportunity then offered.

Techellis burnt at Tauris.

The remainder of *Techellis* his followers, flying into Perſia, by the way lighting vpon a Carauan of Merchants laden with ſilkes and other rich merchandiſe, tooke the ſpoile thereof: for which outrage comming to Tauris, the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hyſmael* executed, and *Techellis* himſelfe to the terrour of others burnt aliue.

1509

A great earthquake at Conſtantinople.

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a great and terrible earthquake in the city of Conſtantinople and the countries thereabouts: by the violence whereof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall city, with many ſtately buildings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thouſand people ouerwhelmed and ſlaine. The terrour whereof was ſo great, that the people generally forſooke their houſes and lay abroad in the fields: yea, *Bajazet* himſelfe, then very aged and ſore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof remoued from Conſtantinople to Hadrianople; but finding himſelfe in no more ſafety than before, he left the city and lay abroad in the fields in his tent. This earthquake endured by the ſpace of eighteene daies, or (as the Turkes Hiſtories report) of a moneth, with very little intermiſſion; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miſerable calamities which ſhortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake enſued a great plague, wherewith the city was grieuouſly viſited, and for the moſt part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceaſed, and the mortality aſſuaged, *Bajazet* cauſed the imperial city to be with all ſpeed repaired, and to that purpoſe gaue out commiſſions into all parts of his dominions for the taking vp of workemen: ſo that there were at once in work eighty thouſand workemen, who in moſt beautifull manner in the ſpace of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great city.

The children of Bajazet.

Bajazet had by his many wiues, eight ſonnes and ſix daughters, which liued to be men and women growne: and the ſons all Gouernors in diuers prouinces of his large Empire: whom the Turkiſh Hiſtories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Scach*, *Tzihan Scach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Bajazet* his court, and (as he of himſelfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the ſonnes of *Bajazet*, maketh mention but of theſe ſix, *Sciemſcia*, *Alemſcia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names ſomething differing from the other. *Sciemſcia* the eldeſt, Gouernor of Caramania, for his towardlineſſe moſt deerely beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his ſubjects greatly lamented. *Alemſcia* died in like manner, of whoſe death as ſoone as he was aduertiſed, by mourning letters written in blacke paper with white characters (as their maner of writing is, in certifying of heauy news) he caſt from him his Scepter with all other tokens of honor, and cauſed general mourning to be made for him in the court, and through all the city of Conſtantinople, by the ſpace of three daies; during which time all ſhops were ſhut vp, all trading forbidden, and no ſigne of mirth to be ſeene: and for a certaine ſpace, after the manner of their ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne ſacrifices to be made for the health of his ſoule, and 7000 aſpers to be giuen weekely to the poore. His dead body was afterward with all princely pompe conueyed to Pruſa, and there with great ſolemnity buried. *Tzihan* Gouernour of Caria, and *Mahomet* Gouernor of Capha, vpon their fathers heauy diſpleaſure, were by his commandement both ſtrangled.

Of his other foure ſons, *Achmet*, otherwiſe called *Achomates*, *Machmut*, or *Mahometes*, *Corcut*, or *Corcutus*, and *Selymus*: the ſecond (namely *Mahometes*) was of greateſt hope and expectation, not giuen to ſenſuality or voluptuous pleaſure, as *Achomates* his eldeſt brother, neither altogether bookiſh as was *Corcutus*, nor yet of ſo fierce and cruell a diſpoſition as *Selymus*: but of ſuch a liuely ſpirit, ſharp wit, bountifull diſpoſition, and princely carriage of himſelfe,

A ſelfe, that in the judgement of moſt men, he ſeemed already worthy of a kingdome. Which
immoderat fauour of the people, cauſed his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Bajazet* alſo him-
ſelfe to haue him in no ſmall jealouſie, as if he had affected the Empire, and was in ſhort time
the cauſe of his vntimely death: which thing he nothing doubting, haſtned (as fatal things are)
by ſuch meanes as he leaſt feared might haue procured any ſuch mortall diſtruſt or danger.

Moſt of *Bajazte* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes*
were by one and the ſame mother: for which cauſe, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleaſure in him
than in any his other brethren, although it were not anſwered with like loue again. *Achomates*
was Lord and Gouernor of Amaſia; and this *Mahometes*, of Magneſia; who deſirous to ſee the
manner of his brothers life and gouernment, diſguiſed himſelfe with two of his familiar and
B faithfull friends, as if they had bin religious men, of that order which the Turks call *Imalier*.
[Theſe men are for moſt part comely perſonages, borne of good houſes, who in cleanly attire
made after an homely faſhion, do at their pleaſure wander vp and downe from towne to town,
and country to country, noting the diſpoſitions and manners of the people, whereof as fitteth
beſt their purpoſe, they make large diſcourſes afterwards to others: they commonly carry
about with them ſiluer cymbals, wheron they play moſt cunningly, and therunto ſing pleaſant
and wanton ditties: for which idle delight they receiue mony of the people, as an almes giuen
them of deuotion. Theſe are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens
beds; men altogether giuen to eaſe and pleaſure, and are of the Turks called, The religious
brethren of Loue: but might of right, better be tearmed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than profeſſors of
C any religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two conſorts, as men of this profeſſion, trauelled vp
and downe the countries of Pontus and Capadocia (where *Achomates* commanded) and ſo to
the city of Amaſia; receiuing for their merry glee by the way as they went, the almes and
deuotion of the fooliſh countrey people. And being at length come to Amaſia vpon a ſo-
lemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who paſſing by, ſtaid
awhile liſtening attentiuely vnto their pleaſant and alluring harmony; which was for that
purpoſe moſt curiouſly and ſkilfully before deuiſed, and by them both with their inſtruments
and voices performed. When they had ended their muſicke, and according to the manner of
their idle profeſſion expected his deuotion; *Achomates* being a man of a ſpare hand, comman-
ded fiue aſpers to be giuen them in reward [which is about ſix pence of our mony.] *Mahome-*
D *tes* diſdaining his brothers baſe reward, as a ſigne of his miſerable diſpoſition, would in no
wiſe diſcouer himſelfe, as he had before determined; but taking horſe, returned with ſpeed to
Magneſia: from whence he wrote taunting letters to his brother *Achomates*, ſcoffing at his
good husbandry (no praiſe to a Prince) and in contempt ſent him backe againe his fiue aſpers;
which thing *Achomates* tooke in ſo euill part, as that he was neuer afterwards friends with him.
The report of this fact was in ſhort time diſperſed throughout all parts of the Turkiſh Em-
pire, diuers men diuerſly deeming of his purpoſe therein.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this ſort plaid with his brother *Achomates*, he attired him-
ſelfe with certaine of his truſty followers as if they had beene ſeafaring men, and with a ſmall
barke came to Conſtantinople, and there landing as aduenturers from ſea, tooke diligent view
E both of the imperiall city, and of the city of Pera ſtanding oppoſit againſt it, curiouſly noting
how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It hapned whileſt he
was thus ſtaying at Conſtantinople, that *Bajazet* had appointed a ſolemne aſſembly of all his
chiefe Baſſaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was deſirous to haue the ſight of, as alſo of the fa-
ſhion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions preſſed to haue entred in at the court
gate, they were by their baſe apparell taken of the porters to haue bin rude mariners, and ſo by
them kept out. Wherefore conſulting what to do in that caſe, he went and preſently bought a
moſt beautifull Chriſtian captiue boy, and the next day comming again to the court with two
of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at ſea) requeſted to be let in, for that they
had brought a preſent for the Emperor. So finding meanes to be admitted to the preſence of
F *Bajazet*, one of his conſorts (as if he had bin a ſea captain) boldly ſtept forth, and with due reue-
rence offered the preſent vnto the Emperor; which he thankefully tooke, and in token therof
gaue him his hand to kiſſe, and commanded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vn-
to him, with two other of leſſe value vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, ſuppoſed to be the ſaid
captaines followers: who all this while ſtood afarre off, as if it had beene for reuerence of the

Mahometes diſguiſed as a ſeafaring man, commeth to Conſtantinople and ſo to the court.

Emperour, but indeed for feare to be diſcouered. As theſe counterfeit gueſts were returning G from the court in their garments of fauour, they hapned to meet with three courtiers which knew *Mahometes*; who diſmounting from their horſes, had done him honour and due reuerence, as to the ſonne of the great Emperor, had he not by ſecret ſignes forbidden them, as one vnwilling to be knowne. When he had thus ſeene his father, the court, and the imperiall city, he went againe aboord, and ſo with ſpeed returned to Magneſia.

The report of this his doing, had in ſhort time filled both the city and the court, and was at laſt brought to *Bajazets* ears: which raiſed in his ſuſpitious head many a troubleſome thought, greatly fearing, that in theſe ſly practiſes lay hidden ſome ſecret and deſperate conſpiracy, dangerous to himſelfe and his other children. Wherefore after long diſcourſe had with the three great Baſſaes then of his ſecret counſell, concerning the matter, to rid himſelfe of all H feare, he reſolued in any caſe to take him away. And therefore cauſed them in his name to write vnto *Aſmehemedi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poyſon him with a ſecret poiſon, for that purpoſe incloſed in thoſe letters ſent vnto him: with promiſe of great rewards and preferments for that his ſeruice, to be afterwards receiued from the Emperor: charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he ſhould ſo conceale it, as that *Mahometes* ſhould haue no diſtruſt thereof; the leaſt ſuſpition whereof, would tend to his vtter deſtruction. This *Aſmehemedi* for ſom vnkindnes bare a ſecret grudge againſt *Mahometes*, which *Bajazet* knowing of, made choice of him the rather: and he on the other ſide, partly to performe the old tyrants command, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat wrong, vigilantly awaited all

Mahometes poiſoned by Aſmehemedi.

oportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* ha- I uing diſported himſelfe in the gardens of pleaſure, and being thirſty after his exerciſe, called for drinke: *Aſmehemedi* alwaies at hand, in a guilt boule fetcht him ſuch drinke as he deſired, whereinto he had ſecretly conueied the deadly poyſon ſent from *Bajazet*. *Mahometes* hauing drunke thereof, in ſhort time began to feele himſelfe euill at eaſe, and preſently ſent for his phyſitians: who thinking that he had but ſomething diſtempered himſelfe with drinking too much cold drink in his heat, perceiued not that he was poiſoned, vntil that within ſix daies after, he died. Of whoſe death *Bajazet* aduertiſed, could not abſtaine from mourning, although he himſelfe had bin the only author thereof: and the more to manifeſt his heauineſſe, commanded all the court to mourne with him, and praiers to made in their temples after their ſuperſtitious manner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his ſoule. His dead body K

Aſmehemedi juſtly rewarded for his treachery.

was afterwards carried to Pruſa, and there honourably buried with his anceſtors. *Aſmehemedi* the traitor in reward of his faithfulneſſe towards his maſter, was by the commandement of *Bajazet* caſt into priſon, and neuer afterwards ſeene, being there (as it was thought) ſecretly made away.

Now had *Bajazet* but three ſons left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* Gouernour of Amaſia, was a man both politick and valiant: but much giuen to pleaſure and delight: him *Bajazet* and moſt part of the great men of the court fauoured aboue the reſt of his brethren; except ſuch as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his milde and quiet nature, was of moſt men beloued, but not thought ſo fit for the gouernment of ſo great an Empire; eſpecially by the Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court, for that he was (as they thought) altogether L drowned in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, a thing nothing agreeing with their humor. Yet might *Bajazet* ſeeme to do him wrong, if he ſhould not according to his promiſe againe reſtore him vnto the poſſeſſion of the Empire, which he had almoſt thirty yeares before receiued at his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more hauty diſpoſition than to brooke the life of a ſubject vnder the command of either of his brethren, and altogether giuen to martiall affaires, ſought by infinit bounty, feigned courteſie, ſubtill policy, and by all other meanes good and bad, to aſpire vnto the Empire. Him therefore the Ianizaries with all the great ſouldiers of the court, yea, and ſome of the chiefe Baſſaes alſo (corrupted with gifts) wiſhed aboue the reſt, for their lord and ſoueraigne: deſiring rather to liue vnder him which was like to ſet all the World on a hurly burly (whereby they might increaſe M their honor and wealth, the certaine rewards of their aduentures) than to lead an idle and vnprofitable life (as they tearmed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable Prince.

Whileſt men ſtood thus diuerſly affected towards theſe princes of ſo great hope, *Bajazet* now far worne with yeares, and ſo grieuouſly tormented with the gout that he was not able

to

A to helpe himſelfe: for the quietneſſe of his ſubjects and preuenting of ſuch troubles as might ariſe by the aſpiring of his children after his death, determined whileſt he yet liued (for the auoiding of theſe and other ſuch like miſchiefes) to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion in ſome one of his ſonnes; who wholly poſſeſſed of the kingdome, might eaſily repreſſe the pride of the other. And although he had ſet downe with himſelfe, that *Achomates* ſhould be the man, as well in reſpect of his birth-right, as of the eſpeciall affection he bare vnto him; yet to diſcouer the diſpoſition of his ſubjects, and how they ſtood affected, it was giuen out in generall termes, That he meant before his death to make it knowne to the World, who ſhould ſucceed in the Empire, without naming any one of his ſonnes; leauing that for euery man to diuine of, according as they were affected: which was not the leaſt cauſe, that euery one of his ſonnes with B like ambition began now to make ſmall account of their former preferments, as thinking onely vpon the Empire it ſelfe.

Firſt of all *Selymus*, whom *Bajazet* had made Gouernor of the kingdome of Trapezond, rigging vp all the ſhips he could in Pontus, ſailed from Trapezond ouer the Euxine (now called the blacke ſea) to the city of Capha, called in antient time Theodoſia, and from thence by land came to *Mahometes* King of the Tartars called Præcoponſes, a mighty Prince, whoſe daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and diſcouering vnto him his intended purpoſe, beſought him by the ſacred bonds of affinity betwixt them, not to ſhrinke from him his louing ſonne in law in ſo fit an opportunity for his aduancement: And withall ſhewed vnto him, what great hope of obtaining the Empite was propoſed vnto him C by his moſt faithfull friends and the ſoldiers of the court, if he would but come neerer vnto his father (then about to transfer the Empire to ſome one of his ſons) and either by faire meanes to procure his fauor, or by entering with his army into Thracia, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other brethren for the ſucceſſor. The Tartar King commending his high deuice, as a kind father in law with wonderful celerity cauſed great ſtore of ſhipping to be made ready in the Ponticke ſea, and Mœotis, but eſpecially at the Ports at Copa and Tana, vpon the great riuer Tanais, which boundeth Europe from Aſia: and arming fifteene thouſand Tartarian horſemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promiſing forthwith to ſend him greater aid if he ſhould haue occaſion to vſe the ſame. Theſe things being quickly diſpatched, *Selymus* paſſing ouer the riuer Boryſthenes, and ſo through Valachia, came at length to Danubius, and D with his horſemen paſſed that famous riuer at the city of Chelia: his fleet he commanded to meet him at the port of the city Varna, called in antient time Dionyſiopolis, in the confines of Bulgaria and Thracia: he himſelfe ſtill leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending in ſhew quite another thing than he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it out as if he had purpoſed to haue inuaded Hungary.

1511

Selymus aided by Mahometes his father in law, riſeth againſt his father.

But *Bajazet* a good while before aduertiſed, that *Selymus* was departed from Trapezond, and come ouer into Europe, maruelling that he had left his charge in Aſia (the rebellion of *Techellis* and the Perſian war yet ſcarce quieted) and that vpon his own head he had entertained forreine aid to make war againſt the moſt warlike nation of the Hungarians; and farther, that with his army by land, he had ſeized vpon the places neereſt vnto Thracia, and with a E ſtrong nauy kept the Euxine ſea; he began to ſuſpect as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and intended againſt himſelfe: for the crafty old ſire had good proofe of the vnquiet and troubleſome nature of his ſon, eſpecially in that without his knowledge he durſt preſume to take a wife from among the Tartars, and afterwards with no leſſe preſumption of himſelfe raiſe an army both by ſea and land: whereby he eaſily perceiued, that he would neuer hold himſelfe contented with a ſmall kingdome, ſo long as he was in hope by deſperat aduenture to gain a greater. Yet thinking it better with like diſſimulation to appeaſe his violent and fierce nature, than by ſharpe reproofe to moue him to further choller, he ſent vnto him embaſſadors to declare to him with what danger the Turkiſh Kings had in former times taken vpon them thoſe Hungarian wars: for example whereof he needed not to goe further than F to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding loſſe had made proofe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he ſhould do well to expect ſome fit opportunity, when as he might with better aduice, greater power, and more ſure hope of victory, take thoſe wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, That he had left Aſia, inforced thereunto by the injuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into Europe, by dint of ſword

Baiazet ſendeth Embaſſadors to Selymus.

and the helpe of his friends,to win from the enemies of the Mahometan religion a larger and G
better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had giuen him, bordering
vpon Hiberia and Cholchos, bare and needy people, liuing as connies amongſt the
rocks and mountaines. As for the Hungarians whom they thought to be a people inuincible,
and therefore not to be dealt withall,he was not of that baſe mind to be daunted with any danger,
were it neuer ſo great: and yet that in his opinion the war was neither ſo difficult or dangerous,as
was by them pretended; foraſmuch as the antient prowеſſe of that warlike nation
was now much changed,together with the change of their Kings; and their diſcipline of war
not onely much decaied,but almoſt quite loſt, after that *Vladiſlaus*, farre vnlike in policy and
prowеſſe,had ſucceeded the renowned *Matthias* in that kingdome. Neither had he(as he ſaid)
from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of war, as knowing H
that neither God nor man would be wanting to him, who with an honourable reſolution did
aduenture vpon vertuous and worthy attempts:and that therefore he was fully reſolued for his
owne honour (which his father had in ſome ſort blemiſhed by the immoderate aduancement
of his brethren)either to die honourably in the field in battell againſt the enemies of the Mahometan
religion,or elſe gloriouſly to extend the bounds of the Turkiſh Empire: and that he
would not (though one of the youngeſt in the *Othoman* family) be accounted inferiour to any
of his brethren in vertue and prowеſſe. Thus was the Hungarian war neuer by *Selymus* intended,notably
by him pretended,and with no leſſe diſſimulation by *Bajazet* diſſuaded. The Embaſſadours,
although *Selymus* in all his ſpeeches ſhewed no token of peace: yet in his fathers
name preſented vnto him diuers gifts, thereby if it might be to appeaſe his fierce and cruell I
mind.Vnto his old gouernment they adjoined Samandria,which the Hungarians call Schenderouia,a
ſtrong city of Seruia vpon the borders of Hungary, with many other ſtrong towns
in the ſame country: they gaue him alſo threeſcore thouſand ducats, beſide a thouſand garments
of cloth and ſilke: with good ſtore of prouiſion wherewith to relieue and content the
ſoldiers by him entertained: leſt that they drawne far from home in hope of ſpoile, ſhould
take it in euill part if they ſhould be ſent away emptie handed. *Selymus* in a happy time hauing
receiued theſe gifts, returned the Embaſſadours vnto his father, with more doubtfull
anſwer and vncertaine hope than before: yet changing nothing in himſelfe of his former reſolution,ſecret
meſſengers and letters from his friends in the court ſtill whetting him forward
(too much already inflamed with deſire of ſoueraignty) perſuading him to make haſt and to K
repoſe his greateſt hope in his quicke ſpeed; for that they vnderſtood, that about the time of
his ſetting forward,his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power,being ſent for out
of Capadocia by his father.

Preſents giuen to Selymus by his fathers Embaſſadors.

Bajazet would appoint his ſucceſſour whileſt he yet liued.

In the meane time *Bajazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*, reſolued vpon that,
whereof he had long before in his minde deeply conſidered, and now ſaid openly, That hee
would appoint his ſucceſſor,who in ſtead of himſelfe,ſpent with yeares and ſickeneſſe,ſhould
bring with him the floure of youth and ſtrength of body, fit to gouerne ſo great an Empire.
But when thoſe things were propounded vnto the ſouldiers of the court by the foure great
Baſſaes (who in all things both of peace and wars had next place vnto the Emperor himſelfe)
it was forthwith gainſaied by thoſe martiall men, crying aloud with one voice, That they L
would know no other Emperor but *Bajazet*, vnder whoſe conduct and good fortune they had
now ſerued aboue 30 yeres: and therfore would not ſuffer him to liue a priuat life in obſcurity,who
with ſo many victories and ſtrong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* Empire vnto
that height of renown & glory.They ſaid moreouer,that there was in him yet ſtrength enough
if he would but with the reuerend honor of his age retain the majeſty of his place,and the glory
he had gotten with his long and happy reigne, and moſt famous victories: and that of his
children, ſuch a one ſhould vndoubtedly in his due time ſucceed in the Empire, as of right
ought: only they wiſht, that the old Emperor might in the mean time liue in health, with a
long and happy reigne: neither needed he (as they ſaid) to feare that after his death any controuerſie
ſhould ariſe among his ſons about the ſucceſſion; for that the *Othoman* progeny vſed M
to attain the imperiall ſeat,according to the old cuſtome of their anceſtors the *Othoman* kings,
by right and order only,and not by corruption or faction. But if he would needs vpon his own
priuat good liking, or as it were by new adoption, proceed to make choice of ſuch a one as the
people & the men of war(his moſt loiall & faithful ſubjects)nould not ſo well like of,it would
be

A be an occaſion of much more trouble, and haply the means to bring in that confuſion of the
State,which he thought therby to eſchu. For then,beſide the diſlike of the people,the other
brethren would neuer indure ſo notable an injury,or euer be at quiet,vntil they had (as men
wrongfully caſt off and diſinherited) by ſtrong hand and indangering of all,recouer their honor
loſt by the headſtrong wil of their aged father.

The ſoldiers thus before inſtructed by the friends and fauorits of *Selymus* (who with mony
and large promiſes had corrupted their captains and chief officers) ſpake theſe things frankly,
to haue deterred the old Emperor from his purpoſe. But he thinking that they had (as he
himſelf did) eſpecially affected *Achomates* his eldeſt ſon (for that they had generally proteſted,
That they would againſt all injuries defend his honor,vnto whom the Empire ſhould of
B right appertain) ſaid he would make choice of *Achomates*,if it ſhould ſtand with their good
liking. But the chief of the ſouldiers,who corrupted by *Selymus*,had together ſold both their
faith and themſelues, cunningly commended *Achomates*, and ſeemed wonderfully to like of
him; yet to accept of him for their Soueraign, *Bajazet* yet liuing, they ſaid was not agreeing
with the antient cuſtom of the *Othoman* Kings, neither for the behoof of the men of war, neither
yet good for the ſtate of the Empire; foraſmuch as neither his brethren, *Corcutus* and *Selymus*,
neither the ſoldiers of the court,could patiently endure the leaſt touch of the ſuſpition
of infidelitie; which they muſt needs do, if hee as a ſuſpitious father ſhould doubt either of
the loue or loyaltie of his moſt dutiful ſons,or of the faith or conſtancie of his moſt faithfull
ſeruants,wherof he had made ſo many trials. Beſides that,it ſeemed vnto them all vnreaſonable,
C that by the odious preiudice of that fact, the ſoldiers ſhould be left defrauded of the rewards
vſually granted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the Empire,ariſing of the
ſpoil taken from them which are of religion different from the Turks. For it is a cuſtom,that
immediatly vpon the death of the Turkiſh Emperor, all the Iews and Chriſtians which dwel
at Conſtantinople,Pera,Hadrianople,Theſſalonica,and Pruſa,eſpecially merchants,expoſed
vnto the injuries of the Turks,are by the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court ſpoiled of
all their wares and goods,and become vnto them a prey: neither will they giue their oath of
allegeance vnto the new Emperor,vntil he haue granted vnto them all that prey,as a bounty;
and haue ſolemnly ſworn by his own head (the greateſt aſſurance that can by Oath bee giuen
among the Turks) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget all the outrages
D before committed. When *Bajazet* ſaw his men of war thus generally to oppoſe themſelues
againſt the tranſlation of the empire to *Achomates*,he of purpoſe to corrupt the minds of them
which were before already corrupted,promiſed to giue them fiue hundred thouſand duckats,
if they would ſtand fauorable to *Achomates*,and accept him for their Soueraign:which maſſe
of mony his cuſtomers and receiuers vndertook to leuy of the ſame merchants ſtrangers and
Iewes,and to pay it as *Bajazet* had promiſed. Yet the ouerthwart forwardnes of theſe men of
war ouercame the good fortune of *Achomates*; although the reward promiſed were great. For
why,they had in their martial minds conceiued far greater rewards & preferments, if in ſted
of a peaceable and quiet prince,a monſtrous Tyrant of reſtleſſe nature (ſuch as was *Selymus*)
might by their helpe and meanes aſpire to the Empire. Thus *Bajazet* driuen from his hope,
E thought it beſt for the preſent to diſſemble the matter,& concealing his grief, with patience
to put vp that diſhonor,vntil a fitter opportunitie were offered for the effecting of that hee ſo
much deſired.

Bajazet ſeeks to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.

Selymus aduertiſed by his friends,with what affection and and faſtneſſe the ſoldiers of the
Court had in the ſecret fauor of him, openly withſtood the earneſt deſire of *Bajazet* for the
preferment of *Achomates*;becauſe he would no longer fruſtrat the expectation of his fauorits
by lingring or delay,or ſeem to diſtruſt the ready good wils of the men of war towards him,
left the borders of Hungary, & with his army marching thorow Thracia,incamped at length
vpon the riſing of a hill not far from Hadrianople, from whence the neighing of his horſes
might eaſily be heard,and his tents from the high places of the city diſcouered. From thence
F he ſent a meſſenger to his father then lying in the city,to certifie him,That foraſmuch as hee
had not of many years before ſeen him, he was now therfore deſirous to come vnto his preſence
to viſit him, before he croſſed the ſeas backe again by his appointment to Trapezond.
And the rather, becauſe it might ſo chance that he ſhould neuer ſee him again, beeing now
both aged and diſeaſed. Beſides that,it much concerned (as he would haue had him beleeue)

Selymus marcheth with his army toward Hadrianople.

Selymus his diſſembling Embaſſage to his father.

the quietnes of his kingdom in Aſia,and the vnity of his children,if the controuerſie betwixt G
him and his brother *Achomates*, which could not ſafely be committed to meſſengers, might
by themſelues be diſcouered to him their father, as an indifferent hearer and decider therof.
Wherefore he humbly beſought him to appoint him a time and place to giue him audience
in,and not to deny him leaue to come and kiſſe his hands: which thing his Anceſtors neuer
refuſed to grant to their poor friends,much leſſe to their children. *Bajazet*, who a few dayes
before vnderſtanding of the comming of *Selymus*, and throughly ſeeing into his deuices, had
called vnto him certain of his Sanzacks or chief captains, with their ſelect companies out of
the neereſt parts of Grecia,and had alſo ſet ſtrong watch and ward through the City; fearing
leſt vnder colour of parle,his ſoldiers attending about his own perſon, corrupted by *Selymus*
and his friends(who euen then loded with gifts and promiſes,were ſecretly vpon the point of H
reuolt) ſhould be quite drawn away from him,and ſo he himſelf at length bee either by open
force oppreſſed,or ſecret trechery circumuented, thought it beſt to cut him off at once from
all hope of conference,or acces vnto his preſence. Wherfore ſeriouſly blaming him, That he
had vpon his own head brought his army into another mans prouince; that he in arms required
audience; and laſtly, That he ſo inſolently abuſed his fathers lenitie and patience;he by
the ſame meſſenger ſent him further word, That he ſhould not preſume to approch any neerer
vnto him,or expect any thing appertaining vnto peace; who garded with forreine power,had
without his fathers leaue entred into arms,and ſpoiled the countries of his friends. And that
therfore he ſhould do wel,with all ſpeed to retyre out of Thracia, yea and out of Europ alſo,
and diſbanding his forces,again to retyre himſelf vnto his charge in Pontus;in which doing I
he ſhould find greater fauor and kindnes with him his father, than euer he had before: but if
he would needs proceed in the courſe by him begun,then he would no more take him for his
ſon,but for his enemy,and before it were long, ſharply chaſtiſe him for his malapert inſolencie,
little differing from vnnatural trechery. The meſſenger with this anſwer diſmiſſed,it was
not long after,but that *Bajazet* was by his Eſpials aduertiſed, That *Selymus* the night following
was riſen with his army, and marched directly toward Conſtantinople; whither he was
ſent for by his friends,in hope that vpon his approch with his Army, ſome ſudden tumult or
vprore would to his auail ariſe in that ſo great and populous a city. Wherupon *Bajazet* fearing
leſt in ſtaying at Hadrianople,he might loſe the Imperial city of Conſtantinople,early
in the morning by breake of the day departed from Hadrianople towards Conſtantinople. K
Vpon his departure,*Selymus* peaceably entred the city of Hadrianople, the Citiſens fearing,
that if they ſhould haue made any reſiſtance,their vnſeaſonable faithfulneſſe toward *Bajazet*
might haue turned to their vtter deſtruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreſhed his army
with the plenty of that city,according to his former determination ſet forward again,of purpoſe
by long and ſpeedy marches to haue preuented his fathers comming to Conſtantinople.
Bajazet was yet ſcarſly come to Chiurlus,or rather Tzurulum, an antient ruinous city almoſt

Selimus encountreth his father.

vpon the mid way betwixt Hadrianople and Conſtantinople, when warning was giuen him
by them that followed his army,that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the
ſtraglers of his army,and with hot skirmiſhes ſtaying and troubling his rereward. The aged
Emperor more mooued than terrified with the ſtrangenes of the matter,becauſe his marching L
ſhould not ſeem as if it were a flight or chaſe,commanded his ſtandard to be ſet vp,and al his
army to make a ſtand; of purpoſe that if *Selymus* ſhould come vp to giue him battell, hee
might find him in readineſſe. The great Captains and Noblemen then preſent with *Bajazet*,

Bajazets chief Commaunders ſecretly fauouring Selymus, diſſuade him frō giuing him battell.

whether it were for old acquaintance,or vpon ſome new inclination of their affection,or elſe
vpon hope of new allyance and preferment,wiſhing well vnto *Selymus*, and therefore indirectly
and cunningly fauoured him, ſeemed not to like of *Bajazet* his reſolution,to be ſo far mooued
(as they ſaid) with the youthfull heat and lightneſſe of his ſon,as to ſeek reuenge by battell,
whereas the victory it ſelf could yeeld him nothing but ſorrow,but the ouerthrow threatened
deſtruction both to himſelfe and all them that were with him: the imminent euent
whereof ſeemed to be ſo much the more dangerous and fearefull, by how much hee was at M
that time inferiour vnto his ſonne both in warrelike prouiſion and number of armed ſouldiours.
Wherefore it were the beſt courſe for him (ſaid they) to moderate his anger, and not
now in the winding vp of his life, to make too much haſt by a miſerable death in a wofull
battell to blemiſh the whole glory of his former life. There was (as they would haue perſuaded

A ſuaded him) but one only courſe to be taken, full of wholſome policie and ſafety; which was,
that he ſhould with ſuch ſpeed as he had begun, march on forward to Conſtantinople, that ſo
Selymus excluded out of the city (his chiefeſt hope) and then not knowing which way to turn
himſelf, ſhould either of his own accord, or for fear of his fathers greater forces, thinke of return;
and ſo with his raſcall followers more honeſtly periſh by their hands whoſe countries
he had ſpoiled, and vpon whom he muſt of neceſſity liue in his return, than by the ſword of his
father. The author of this counſel was *Muſtapha*, the moſt antient Baſſa of thoſe which beeing
in greateſt authoritie vnder the Emperor, are only of his priuy counſel, and ſway all matters
of importance concerning either peace or war: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malicious
mind loathing *Bajazet*, as one that had too long reigned, hated him alſo for certain priuat
B diſpleaſures conceiued of the emulation of the other yonger Baſſa's by him promoted; & ſecretly
bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and fauor reſembling his grandfather
the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought vp himſelf, and him of all the ſons of *Bajazet*
he thought moſt worthy of the empire. This *Muſtapha* was born in the town of Seres (neer to
Amphipolis) the ſon of a Greek prieſt, a man of a ſly, crafty, and ſubtil wit, alwaies ſubiect to
corruption: which diſeaſes of mind were in him well to haue bin diſcouered by his froward
look and ſquint eies, the certain notes of a nature to be ſuſpected. Next vnto this *Muſtapha*
was *Boſtanges Baſſa*, born of the honorable houſe of the *Deucagina* in Ætolia, and therof called
Deucagiuoli; a man for his couetouſneſſe, ambition, and treachery, infamous, as the foul & miſerable
end of his life afterwards declared. Vnto this man *Selymus* had by ſecret mariage betrothed
C one of his daughters, now mariageable, as a reward of his corrupt faith. By the which
ſleight he alſo allured *Ajax* (Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and great Maſter of the houſhold)
to promiſe his aid for the obtaining of the empire; wherunto he ſaid he was by deſtiny
called: and by his means drew other inferior captains ſecretly to fauor his quarrel; to whom
he ſpared not to promiſe whatſoeuer might pleaſe their humors. Yea the captains almoſt generally
either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater
commanders, of themſelues leaned that way. Of all the reſt, only *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (whom the
Turks hiſtories call alſo *Achmet Hertezeck Ogli*) a faithfull conſtant vpright man, free from all
double dealing and deceit, a faſt and aſſured friend vnto *Bajazet* his father in law, was of opinion,
That the immoderat pride and inſolencie of *Selymus* was euen there by force of Armes
D and ſtrong hand forthwith to be oppreſſed, before he ſhould approch any neerer vnto the Imperiall
city, for fear of raiſing ſome further tumult or trouble there than were well to bee appeaſed;
which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends moſt of all deſired. Neither was it to be
thought (as *Cherſeogles* ſaid) that the naked Tartarian horſemen, although they were in number
more, would euer be able to abide the firſt charge of *Bajazets* well armed penſioners. As
for the Ianizaries, of whoſe approued faith and valor tried in many dangers, he had before had
good experience; there was no doubt but that they would now to the vtmoſt of their power
defend the perſon and honor of their aged and victorious Emperor, who had of long time ſo
wel of them deſerued; and alſo to reuenge his quarrel vpon diſobedient *Selymus*, who neither
fearing God, the iuſt reuenger of ſuch vngratious dealing, neither the infamy of men, had moſt
E vnnaturally lift vp his ſword againſt his father, wickedly to depriue him of life, of whom hee
had receiued life. Wherfore he perſuaded him, in his own iuſt quarrell to go forth vnto his
ſoldiers with cheerful countenance, and putting them in mind of the benefits they had from
time to time moſt bountifully receiued at his hands, as alſo of their allegeance and duty; to
make them to vnderſtand, that repoſing his truſt in their fidelity and valour, he had reſolutely
ſet down with himſelf, in that place before he went any further, by their faithful hands to chaſtiſe
the preſumptuous inſolencie of his vnnaturall ſonne, together with his rebellious Followers.

Cherſeogles Baſſa the onely great man faithfull to Bajazet perſuadeth him to giue battell to Selymus.

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherſeogles*, it ſhall not be amiſſe,
both for the honor of the man, and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Chriſtians, to ſtep
F a little out of the way, to ſee the cauſe why he being a Chriſtian born, turned Turk. For hee
was not (as almoſt all the reſt of the great men about *Bajazet* were) taken from his Chriſtian
parents of a child, and ſo brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown
turned Turk: yet ſo, as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Chriſtian religion, or loue toward
the Chriſtians; a thing not common among ſuch renegats. He being the ſonne of one

Cherſeogles, a ſmall prince of Illyria neer vnto the black mountain; and going to be maried to a Lady whom he moſt intirely loued, and vnto whom he was already betrothed, honourably deſcended of the houſe of the Deſpot of Servia; his intemperat father with luſtfull eye beholding the yong Lady of rare feiture and incomparable beauty, deſired to haue her for himſelf; and regarding more the ſatisfying of his own inordinat deſire, than his own honour, or the fatherly loue of his ſon, took her in mariage himſelf; all his friends laboring in vaine to diſſuade him, and with open mouth crying ſhame of ſo foul a fact. Wherfore the yong man, mooued with the indignitie of ſo great an injury, and driuen headlong with diſpair, fled firſt to the Turks garriſons which lay not far off, and from thence to Conſtantinople; where the fortune of the man was to be wondred at: for being brought before *Bajazet*, who with cheerefull countenance entertained him, for that he was honorably deſcended, and well liked both of the man, and of the cauſe of his reuolt; ſmiling vpon him, ſaid, *Be of good cheere, noble Youth, for thy great courage is worthy of far greater fortune than thy fathers houſe can afford thee; now in ſted of thy Loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father (the kinſwoman of a poor exiled Prince) thou ſhalt haue giuen thee in mariage the daughter of a great Emperor, of rare and ſingular perfection.* And not long after abjuring his religion, and changing his name of *Stephen*, to *Achomates* and *Cherſeogles*, he maried one of *Bajazets* daughters, a princeſſe of great beauty, and deſerued to haue a place among the Baſſa's of greateſt honor in the court. Yet ſtil retaining the remembrance of his former profeſſion, with a deſire to return therto again: inſomuch that he kept in his ſecret cloſet the image of the Crucifix, which he ſhewed to *Io. Laſcaris*, as to his truſty friend, as hee himſelf reported. This man at ſuch time as the city of Modon was taken by the Turks, and a multitude of poor Chriſtian captiues cruelly put to death in the ſight of *Bajazet*, by erneſt intreaty ſaued the liues of the Venetian Senators; and afterward deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, beeing priſoner at Conſtantinople, and condemned to die; who not many years after was choſen Duke of Venice. He was the chief means whereby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of *Bajazet*. He alſo by his great authority, and of his own charge redeemed innumerable Chriſtians from the ſeruitude of the Turks, and ſet them at liberty. Neither is his kindnes toward the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at ſuch time as the aforeſaid *Io. Laſcaris* the notable and learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the tenth, ſought antient works of famous Writers, hee procured the Turkiſh Emperours Letters patents, that he might freely at his pleaſure ſearch all the Liberaries in Grecia, to the great furtherance of good letters.

Now *Bajazet* incouraged by this mans perſuaſion (as is aforeſaid) and hearing as hee lay in his pauilion, the alarm of the enemy, with the tumult & clamor of his own ſoldiers as if they had bin men afraid; and ſundry meſſengers alſo at the ſame time comming to him with news, That *Selymus* with his Tartarian horſmen had almoſt incloſed the rereward of his Army, and already taken ſome of his baggage; grinding his teeth for very madneſſe and grief of mind, with tears trickling down his hoary cheeks, got him out of his pauilion in his horſ-litter (for he was at the ſame time ſo troubled with the gout, that hee was not able to ſit on horſ-backe) and turning himſelf vnto the Penſioners and Ianizaries ſtanding about him, as their maner is, ſaid vnto them,

Bajazets ſpeech to the ſoldiers and Ianizaries of the Court.

Will you, foſter-children, valiant ſoldiers, and faithfull keepers of my perſon, who with great fortune haue ſerued me in field aboue the ſpace of thirty years; and for your faithful and good ſeruice haue both in time of peace and war, of me receiued ſuch rewards, as by your own confeſſion and thankſgiuing, far exceeded your own expectation, and the meaſure of our treaſures: Will you (I ſay) ſuffer the innocent Father to be butchered by his graceles ſon? And your old Emperor, tormented with age and diſeaſes, to be cruelly murthered by a company of wild Tartars, little better than arrant rogues and theeues? Shall I be now forſaken in this my heauy old age and laſt act of life? And ſhall I be deliuered vnto myne enemies, by them, by them (I ſay) who many years ago with great faithfulnes and inuincible courage defended myne honor and right againſt my brother Zemes? and haue many times ſince, not only valiantly defended this Empire againſt moſt warlike nations, but alſo victoriouſly augmented the ſame? But I wil not ſo lightly beleeue that which to my no ſmall grief is brought vnto myne ears concerning the reuolting of my army: neither if I did beleeue it, am I ſo fearfull as to be therwith diſcouraged; or to ſeek to make ſhift for my ſelf. For to what purpoſe ſhould I think of flight, as though I could in any place find more faithfulneſſe, A *or ſurer defence than with you? And concerning your ſelues, what ſhould be your hope by this ſo infamous trechery? If any of you (for I cannot beleeue that you are all ſo mad) without regard of faith, of worldly ſhame, or the fear of God, haue polluted your minds with the pernitious conceit of ſo foul a treaſon; doe you think to gain greater rewards and preferments by your trechery and villany, than by your fidelitie & conſtancie? There be many which carefull of my perſon, perſuade me to reſerue this my ſicke and feeble body vnto my better fortune, and to commit my ſelfe to flight, ſo rather to ſaue my life with ſhame and infamy, than to end my daies with honor and glory. Which is ſo far from my thought for the apprehenſion of any fear to do, that I will to the contrary forthwith giue the fierce Enemy battell, and in this my laſt danger make proof of all your fidelitie and valor, and of euery one of your good wils in particular: and ſo by conduct of the Higheſt either defeit the power and breake the ſtrength of this graceleſſe man; or els hauing* B *reigned aboue thirty years an Emperor, end my daies together with them which ſhall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulneſſe and loyaltie, although I ſhould bee moſt ſhamefully and diſhonorably betrayed and forſaken of ſome of myne own Gard. Which thing though lying fame would make me beleeue, yet will I not fear it vntil I make proof therof.*

The commõ ſort of the Ianizaries faithfull to Bajazet, deſire battell.

The common ſort of the Ianizaries (vnto whom the great Commanders and captains corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude imparted their purpoſe for transferring the empire to *Selymus*) began to cry out as if it had bin with general conſent, That he ſhould not doubt to join battel with his enemies, and ſo to make proofe of their conſtant fidelitie and valour. Which was done with ſuch a cheerefulnes and deſire, expreſſed by great C ſhouts, clapping of hands, and clattering of armor, that it ſeemed they would play the parts of reſolute ſoldiers, and that as guiltleſſe men they tooke it grieuouſly to be once ſuſpected of treaſon or infidelitie. Others alſo who ſecretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for faſhion ſake followed them with like cry, but ſpecially the great Commanders of the Emperors court and army, now changed their affection, whether it were for ſhame of the fact, or for fear of diſcouering themſelues out of ſeaſon, is vncertain. Wherfore according to the maner of ſuch men, which through their mutability and miſchieuous diſpoſition, fearing to be conuinced and diſcouered, adde vnto the preſent a ſecond and new treaſon or treachery to couer the former: ſo *Muſtapha* and *Boſtanges*, not daring now to ſhew themſelues for *Selymus*, to make a great ſhew of their feigned loyaltie toward *Bajazet*, departed themſelues out of his pauilion D to incourage the ſoldiers and to marſhal the battel.

The battell betwixt Bajazet and Selymus.

Bajazet ſick in his chariot, by the aduice of *Cherſeogles* the faithful Baſſa placed his battell in this order: The Sanzacks (which are the gouernors of prouinces) with their horſemen, in number about 6000, he ſet in the front of the battel: the Spachi oglans and Siliphtars, who are the chief horſemen of the Court, and as it were the Emperours Penſioners, were placed as two wings on each ſide of the great ſquadron of the Ianizaries; in the midſt whereof was old *Bajazet* himſelf. Other 4000 horſemen (ſeruants to the great men of the Court) were left in the rereward, and to gard the baggage. Theſe ſlaues (for ſo indeed they are) for their apparell and furniture, and for their valor alſo, are little inferior to their maſters, by whom they are ſo ſumptuouſly maintained both for ſtrength and oſtentation. The battel thus ordered, *Bajazet* E commanded the trumpets to ſound, and a red enſigne in token of battell to be diſplaied. On the other ſide, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horſmen in both wings, and his Turks in the middeſt, in manner of an halfe moon, for that he in number of horſemen far exceeded his father, did almoſt on euery ſide incloſe him, and ſo charge him. The Tartars when they were come within 100 paces of their enemies, caſting themſelues (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, empty within in manner of a crowne, and ſo running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrows, caſt vpon their enemies whole ſhowres of ſhot, as if it had bin hail, to the great annoiance of the Turks. When as in the mean time the other Tartarian archers farther off, ſhooting their arrows not right forth, but more vpright towards heauen, which falling directly down, ſore gauled the Turks horſes alſo. But the old ſoldiers, F taught by the example of their captains, ſerred cloſe together, and caſting their targets ouer their heads as if it had bin one whole roofe or penthouſe, receiued their Arrowes with leſſe harm, and haſted with as much ſpeed as they could to come to handy blows. The penſioners alſo at the ſame inſtant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battell, where his Turkiſh horſmen ſtood: and *Ajax* captain of the Ianizaries,drawing out 700 ready harquebuſiers out of the ſquadron of the Ianizaries,with them aſſailed the hindmoſt of one of the wings of the Tartars: and the four thouſand ſeruants left in the rereward, as deſirous as the reſt to ſhew their forwardnes,with great ſlaughter repulſed the other wing of the Tartars,which came to haue ſpoiled the Turks carriages. This fierce battel betwixt the father and the ſonne, with doubtful euent indured from noon vntil the going down of the Sun; *Selymus* in many places ſtil reſtoring his declining battel,and fighting himſelf as for an Empire. But after that the Tartars,hardly charged by the harquebuſiers,were not able to abide the ſhot,eſpecially their horſes,being with the vnwonted noiſe therof wonderfully terrified,and ſo carrying back their riders whether they would or no,began to fly, the reſt of the horſmen could neither by commandment,threatning,or wounds,be inforced to ſtay, but turned their backes and fled. The footmen alſo whom *Selymus* had attyred and armed after the manner of the Ianizaries, being forſaken of their own horſemen,were now by *Bajazets* horſemen compaſſed about and almoſt all ſlain.

Selymus his army diſcomfited.

Selymus his army thus ouerthrown,and himſelf hardly beſet, was by certaine troups of his Turkiſh horſemen which yet ſtayed with him,deliuered from the preſent danger, and beeing wounded, was mounted vpon a freſh horſe, and ſo with all ſpeed hee could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be purſued and ouertaken by his fathers ſpeedy horſemen,hee changed his horſe,and took another of a wonderfull ſwiftnes: and ſo reſeruing himſelf to his future fortune,with a few of his followers fled to Varna,and from thence by ſea to Capha.

The horſe wheron *Selymus* fled was all cole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to ſay, a blacke Cloud) whom *Selymus* as a good ſeruitor euer after exempted from all ſeruice;and had him in ſuch eſtimation,that couered with Cloth of gold,he was as a ſpare horſe without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, firſt into Perſia,& afterward into Egypt,where he died at Cair, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horſe, had a monument erected for him. Wherein *Selymus* ſhewed himſelf more kinde than vnto his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murthered, and hardly afforded vnto ſome of them ſo honourable a Sepulture.

The eſtimation Selymus had of his horſe wheron he eſcaped fro his father.

In this battel,of 40000 which *Selymus* brought into the field,eſcaped not aboue 8000,but they were either ſlain or taken priſoners. Of *Bajazets* army were loſt about 700,and 3000 hurt with Tartarian arrows. Which loſſe he preſently reuenged with extream cruelty, cauſing all ſuch as were taken priſoners to be without mercy put to the ſword in his ſight; whoſe heads were laid together by heaps,and their dead bodies as if they had bin towers. Of this notable battel betwixt the father and the ſon in the year 1511, Chiurlus, called in antient time Tzurulum,before an obſcure old ruinous city (or as *Iouius* calls it,a village) became famous. But much more afterward by the fatal deſtiny of *Selymus*,who not many years after,ſtrucken with a moſt lothſom and incurable diſeaſe,ended his daies in the ſame place with an vntimely and tormenting death; God (as it is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the ſame place taking iuſt puniſhment for his former diſloyaltie toward his father,as ſhal herafter in due time and place be declared.

Three daies *Bajazet* lay ſtil in the ſame place where he had obtained the victory,vntil ſuch time as all his ſouldiers were again returned from the chaſe of the enemy: after that, he held on his way to Conſtantinople, and there bountifully rewarded his ſouldiers. In the meane time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had hapned betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*,with the euent thereof, came with an Army of 20000 from Amaſia, thorow the countries of Galatia and Bythinia,vnto the city of Scutari,called in antient time Chriſopolis (though ſome ſuppoſe it to haue bin the famous city of Chalcedon) which city is ſcituated vpon the ſtreit of Boſphorus,directly againſt the city of Conſtantinople. In this place *Achomates* incamped his army,neer the ſea ſide, expecting what courſe his father would take after ſo great a victory. For beſides the prerogatiue of his age, and the eſpecial loue of his father towards him,the general affection of the vulgar people,with the good opinion he had of himſelf,had already filled his mind with the hope of the Empire. Wherfore hee ceaſed not night nor day to ſend meſſengers ouer that narow ſtreit to Conſtanſtantinople,and moſt earneſtly to ſolicit *Bajazet* his father, in ſo fit an occaſion to make haſt to diſpatch what hee had

ſo

A ſo long before determined, concerning the reſignation of the empire. He alſo importuned his friends and familiars in beſt manner he could to commend him to his father, and in moſt ample ſort to extoll his graue purpoſe for tranſlation of the empire; and to do the vttermoſt of their devoir, that ſeeing God and good fortune had iuſtly ouerthrown the raſh attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the ſooner obtain the empire, of which he was the vndoubted heir.

Bajazet deſires to prefer Achomates vnto the Empire.

Bajazet, who of himſelfe and according to his old good liking was altogether deſirous of the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their perſuaſions eaſily intreated to haſten the performance of that he had before determined for transferring the empire. And making no great ſecret of the matter, commanded certain Gallies to be made ready for the tranſporting of *Achomates*
B from Scutario to Conſtantinople. But the great Baſſa's and ſoldiers of the court, the ſecret fauorits of *Selymus*, vnderſtanding the matter, began again openly to reſiſt and impugn his purpoſed determination, and to alledge the ſame reaſons they had before at Hadrianople alledged: in fine they ſaid plainly, they would by no means ſuffer him ſo far to diſable himſelf, as an inſufficient man to reſigne the empire, who of late had with ſo valiant and couragious an heart fought for the honor of his crown and dignitie: and that therfore ſo long as hee liued, they would acknowledge no other Soueraign but *Bajazet*. Yet for all that, as they meant not to cut off *Achomates* hope, ſo neither ought he to diſtruſt the good wil of the men of war; but that he being a man of moſt approued and known valor, might in due time with their general good liking injoy his right, which ſhould then without all queſtion be due vnto him as
C the eldeſt ſon of their Emperor. They ſaid moreouer, That they had in the late battel againſt *Selymus* ſufficiently declared what minds they were of, both towards their Emperor & *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repoſe in the fidelitie of their ſoldiers, who to maniſeſt their faithfulnes and loyaltie, had not refuſed to offer themſelues to the haſard of a moſt vnequal battel, yea their liues vnto death it ſelf. O foul diſſimulation, the couert mask of all miſchief! vnder which, meer trechery is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged Emperor too too much flattered, *Achomates* ſhamefully deluded, and the man that might not as then without ſome addition of diſgrace bee named, *Selymus*, euen bloudy *Selymus* ſecretly ſought for aboue all men to be preferred.

Bajazet by this offwardnes and inſolencie of the ſoldiers again diſappointed of his purpoſe,
D or els (as ſome thought) delighted with the ſweetnes of ſoueraignty; for that after the late victory he ſeemed (as one grown yong again) neither to feel himſelfe old or vnable ſtill to gouern ſo great an empire; ſent word to *Achomates*, how the matter ſtood; & that he ſhould forthwith depart from Scutari to his old charge at Amaſia, from whence he would again call him, at ſuch time as he had with new bounty won the hearts of the ſoldiers; & procured the good liking of other the great men in court, wherby ſo great a matter and not vſuall, might the better and with more ſecurity be effected.

Achomates thus deceiued of his hope & expectation, grieuouſly complaining that he was ſo mocked of his father, and contemned of the ſoldiers of the court, began to mix his new requeſt with words of heat and diſcontent, and to invey againſt his father, for making him a by-
E word (as he termed it) and a laughing ſtock vnto the World, after hee had taken the paines to come ſo far, and that by his ſpecial appointment. But if he proceeded ſo to doat, and to make ſo great reckoning of the ſoldiers of the court, that in reſpect therof he neither regarded his promiſe, nor that was right and iuſt, he would himſelf by force of arms take vpon him the defence of his own honour and right, ſo lightly eſteemed by his father, and reuenge the diſgrace offered vnto him by others.

Wherunto *Bajazet* anſwered by the Cadeleſcher (which is a man of greateſt place and authoritie among the Turks in matters concerning their ſuperſtition, and therfore of them honored aboue others, as the ſacred interpreter of their law) that he did neither well nor wiſely, without iuſt cauſe to fall into ſo great rage and choler, as by his ſpeech and force to think to
F extort that good which was only by loue and loyaltie to be gained: whereas all things ſhould be ſurely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly deſcend vnto him, if by vntimely haſt hee did not mar that hope which he ought by ſufferance and patient expectation to cheriſh. He might (as the Cadeleſcher told him) learn by that late example & fortune of his brother *Selymus*, what might be for his own good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger, deſpe-

deſperatly to thruſt himſelf headlong into ſuch an action as he could not poſſibly ſee the end G of, than moderating by reaſon his hot paſſions, to expect with patience the opportunitie of time, and fitnes of occaſion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

Achomates inciteth his two ſons Amurathes and Aladin to take part with him againſt their grandfather Bajazet.

Achomates inflamed with anger and grief of the repulſe, all the while the Cadeleſcher was deliuering his fathers meſſage, gaue him many ſharp taunts, and had much adoe to ſtay himſelf from offering of him violence, oftentimes threatning him, that in ſhort time both his father ſhould dearly buy the changing of his purpoſe, and the ſoldiers of the court their treacherous dealing. And ſo ſending him away with this ſhort anſwer, he preſently roſe with his army, and paſſing thorow Bythinia, cruelly ſpoiled the country in his return to Amaſia. There daily more and more inflamed with the grief and the indignitie of the repulſe before receiued, he determined to inuade the leſſer Aſia: that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that hee muſt needs H by force of arms try his right againſt either of his brethren, he might therin vſe the wealth of that rich prouince. Wherby if it ſhould chance that he ſhould by the practiſe of any fail of the whole empire, yet he ſhould at the leaſtwiſe be poſſeſſed of the one half therof, and be the readier for all euents, hauing all theſe great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherſore calling vnto him his two ſons, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, young princes of great hope, after he had grieuouſly complained of the vnkindnes of his father *Bajazet*, and of the injuries don againſt him by his enemies in the Court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtain the empire, except they would forthwith enter into arms with him, and ſo together with him, defend both his and their own right and honour, againſt the malice and injuries of their enemies: which hee ſaid would be an eaſie matter to doe, by ſurpriſing the leſſer I Aſia, if they would couragiouſly enter vpon it; foraſmuch as all Pyſidia, Licaonia, Pamphilia, with the ſea coaſt of Ionia, were not as then kept with an army or navy. And as for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to be made of him, who according to his quiet diſpoſition would be content either to ſit ſtil, or els in regard of his iuſt quarrell to take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet ſtate with the troubled, and ſo enter into arms, might eaſily be thruſt out of whatſoeuer he poſſeſſed. As for the Gouernors of the reſt of the prouinces, hee doubted not but that they would alſo yeeld either to his commaund or fortune. Wherſore he willed them to pluck vp their hearts as men of courage, and to go into the countries therabouts to take vp men, and whatſoeuer els were needful for the wars. Theſe gallants, of their own youthfull diſpoſition ready enough for ſuch a matter, and now incouraged K with their fathers perſuaſion, did what they were by him commanded, and had in ſhort time raiſed a notable army of voluntary ſouldiers, of whom the greateſt part were of ſeruile condition. But *Achomates* himſelfe, beſides his old army which he had formerly led againſt the Perſian rebels, leuied new forces alſo, and called forth into the field all the able men that were to be found in the Cities round about: and ſo running through the prouinces, proclaimed himſelf king of Aſia; and ſuch as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, thoſe he and his two ſons in diuers places proſecuted with all hoſtility: by which means many cities, eſpecially ſuch as were but meanly fortified, partly for fear, partly by conſtraint, were deliuered vnto him.

After that, he entred with his army into Licaonia and the borders of Cilicia, where by embaſſadors L and often letters he requeſted *Mahometes* his brothers ſon (who then gouerned thoſe countries) to aid him in his iuſt quarrell againſt them, who by crafty and ſiniſter perſuaſions had to his diſhonor and diſgrace withdrawn his fathers good will from him, and ſo far ſeduced him, that he was determined to appoint another ſucceſſor in the empire, than him his eldeſt and firſt begotten ſon. Which their malice he would (as he ſaid) preuent, and by force of arms recouer his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about to haue put him in poſſeſſion therof whilſt hee yet liued, had hee not by the ſiniſter practiſe of others bin hindred. For the recouery wherof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid him with men and victual, and ſo further his iuſt cauſe, he promiſed that he ſhould find a far better Vncle than he had found a father, and that his preſent friendſhip ſhould in time be moſt amply M and bountifully requited.

Wherto *Mahometes* anſwered, That he could not do what his vncle had required, except he were ſo commanded by his grandfather *Bajazet*, whom alone hee acknowledged for his dread Soueraign: and that it was not for him to iudge whether he did right or otherwiſe, That hee would

A would not in his life time reſigne the empire to his ſon. But this (he ſaid) he was not ignorant of, that hee was not to yeeld his obedience to any other, ſo long as hee liued poſſeſſed of the Empire: to whom both his father *Tzihan Schach* whilſt he liued, and himſelfe alſo, had giuen their oath of obedience and loyaltie. Wherfore it were good for him to pacifie himſelf, leſt in ſeeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he ſhould to the offence of all men wrong his father, and by too much heat & haſt ouerthrow both his hope and honor; which of right ſhould be moſt great, if he could but in the mean time haue patience, and ſtay himſelf a while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing leſſe than ſuch an anſwer, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for loue or fear haue preſently come vnto him, and now finding his requeſts to bee with greater grauitie and conſideration denied by his nephew, than were by reaſon of him demanded, B entred with his army into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and ſword began to deſtroy the country before him. Which *Mahometes* with ſuch power as hee had thinking to remedy, was by the way incountred by his vncle, not far from Larenda, and there ouerthrown; and taking that city for refuge, was there certain daies beſieged by *Achomates*, and at laſt, together with his brother (then but a child) deliuered into his hands, at ſuch time as the City was by the fearfull citiſens by compoſition yeelded vnto him. *Achomates* hauing taken the city with his two nephews, cauſed *Mahometes* his counſellors, with his foſter brother, by whoſe perſuaſion it was ſuppoſed that he had ſo anſwered his Vncle and indangered himſelf, to bee put to death.

1512.

Theſe proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Bajazet* with griefe and indignation, that he ſhould C in ſo great years be ſet vpon by two of his own ſons one after another. Yet to proue if thoſe troubles might without more bloudſhed be pacified, he ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to reprooue him for his diſloyaltie, and to command him forthwith to ſet at libertie his two Nephews, *Mahometes* & his brother, and ſo without more ſtir to get him again to Amaſia: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. But hee, which by how much the more he had after his repulſe ambitiouſly affected the empire, had reſolued with himſelfe to deal ſo much the more cruelly in his proceedings; hauing receiued this meſſage from his father, cauſed the chief embaſſador (for that he had in frank ſpeech deliuered his meſſage, and denounced vnto him wars) to be in his own preſence put to death; and threatned the reſt with the like, if before the going down of the Sun they auoided not his camp.

Bajazet ſends Embaſſadours to Achomates.

Achomates killeth his fathers Embaſſador.

D This outrage highly offended *Bajazet*, and alienated the mindes of many, before well affected to *Achomates*; for that without any reuerence to his father, and contrary to the law of nations, he had violated the Embaſſadors ſent to him for peace. Vpon the firſt bruit herof, the ſoldiers which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Bajazet* exclaimed, that the inſolencie of *Achomates* was not longer to be ſuffered, but forthwith by force to be repreſt: that by ſufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worſe; and that if *Bajazet* ſhould prolong the time, and in fatherly ſort ſeek by fair means to reclaim him, he ſhould afterwards in vain craue the aid of his beſt ſoldiers againſt his rebellious ſon, ſtrengthned by his owne long ſufferance. *Muſtapha* alſo the chief Baſſa, with *Boſtanges* and others of great place (who ſecretly fauored *Selymus*, and had cunningly cauſed theſe things by fit men to be diſperſed among E the ſouldiers) began at firſt to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the ſtrangenes and heinouſnes of the fact, in ſuch ſort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer. But afterward, when they ſaw that *Bajazet* was throughly heated, both by his own angry diſpoſition and the ſpeech of the ſoldiers, and vpon the confidence of his former victory againſt *Selymus*, now ready to ſeek reuenge; they began then to heap freſh coles vpon the fire, and bitterly to invey againſt *Achomates*, as a traitor to his aged father and the ſtate; and withall highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the Ianizaries and ſoldiers of the court, who for the ſafety and honor of their aged Emperour were moſt preſt and ready to expoſe themſelues, their liues, and whatſoeuer els they had, vnto new dangers.

So was *Achomates* by the craft and ſubtiltie of theſe great men, by the anger of his father, F and the iudgement of the ſoldiers, proclaimed traitor; and order taken, that the ſoldiers of the Court, with the Europeian horſemen, ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed be ſent againſt him into Aſia. But when choice was to be made of ſome valiant and worthy Generall that might take vpon him ſo great a charge, which ſeemed eſpecially to appertain vnto ſome one of the great

Achomates proclaimed traitor.

Baſſa's: it was ſtrange to ſee how they all began to ſtrain curteſie at the preferment, and euery G
one to refuſe the place, and diſable himſelfe, ſaying, That it were a great indignitie, that the
Emperors Army ſhould be led againſt his ſon by any of his ſeruants: and the ſouldiers (hauing
their leſſon before hand) ſaid plainely, That they durſt not nor would not draw their
ſwords, or lift vp their hands againſt the ſon of the Emperor, and heir apparant of the empire,
except they were conducted and commaunded by ſome of the *Othoman* bloud in perſon preſent
with them: for ſo had his brother, long before when hee rebelled in Cilicia, and now of
late *Selymus* his rebellious ſon, bin both ouerthrown and vanquiſhed, euen by the conduct of
Bajazet himſelf, and not by any of his ſeruants. Theſe things all tended to this purpoſe, that
Selymus might by indirect means be reconciled to his father, (whom they ſecretly fauoured,
although for fear of diſpleaſure they durſt not ſo much as name him, but by way of diſgrace) H
and by this very meanes to make way for his returne to Conſtantinople, and ſo conſequently
giue him power to ſeiſe vpon the Empire. For it was probably ſuppoſed, that neither *Bajazet*
himſelf, being very aged and diſeaſed; neither *Corcutus* (altogether buried in his ſtudy)
would vndertake the mannaging of thoſe Wars. So that of the *Othoman* Family onely *Selymus*
was left, to whom that charge might be committed; all the Nephews of *Bajazet*, by reaſon
of their tender yeares, as yet vnfit for the ſame. At theſe ſpeeches of the Baſſa's and the
ſouldiers, *Bajazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his palace, excuſing himſelf
by reaſon of his great years and diſeaſed body. But complaining deeply, That *Corcutus*
in following the vain title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the meane
time neglected other ſtudies and honourable qualities, better beſeeming his princely birth I
and Calling. As he was thus reaſoning with himſelf, and deuiſing what courſe to take, *Muſtapha*
the old Baſſa, who all the time of his reign had vſed to diſ-burthen him of his cares, hauing
by way of talk drawn him into a full diſcourſe concerning the proceeding to the intended
War, ſet vpon him with this crafty and premeditated ſpeech, framed of purpoſe for his
deſtruction.

The crafty oration of the great Baſſa Muſtapha to Bajazet, for the bringing home of Selymus.

Your Majeſty may not (moſt dread Soueraign) although by years and ſtrength of body you were neuer
ſo wel able, you may not, I ſay either tranſport your army, or your ſelfe paſſe ouer in perſon into Aſia; leſt
whilſt you are there from place to place chaſing Achomates, *you leaue a far more dangerous enemy behind*
you in Europe, who may in your abſence ſeiſe vpon Thracia, Græcia, yea and the Imperiall City it K
ſelfe, deſtitute of ſufficient Defendants. Do we not heare, that Selymus *is raiſing of new forces aboue*
Varna? to expect a new ſupply of horſemen from the Tartar king his father in law? And already as
it were houering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater ſpirit and courage, than to be daunted or diſmayed
with the misfortune of one battell? or if you ſhall ſend ouer your old beaten ſouldiers into Aſia, and call
Corcutus *into Europe, with the forces he leauied the laſt yeare, who in time of your ſickneſſe may withſtand*
the attempts of Selymus: *will he feare theſe freſh water ſoldiers of Aſia, or their phyloſophicall*
Generall, which feared not the ſoldiers of your court, the pickt and choſen men of the world, and your ſelfe
a moſt worthy and victorious Emperor? You are deceiued, and (if I may be ſo bold ſo to ſay) you throughly
ſee not into the doubtfull euent of things, if you thinke not, that you muſt at one time wage war againſt
two dangerous enemies, euen in the remoteſt parts of your Empire, in Aſia and Europe: For whileſt you L
ſhall go about to expulſe Achomates *out of Cappadocia,* Selymus *neerer at hand, and awaiting all opportunities;*
will by and by at your back raiſe a moſt dangerous war in the very heart and chief ſtrength
of your Empire. But if you, mooued with the greatneſſe and due conſideration of the danger, ſhall goe about
to defend Thracia, and for that purpoſe retaine with you the moſt approoued and faithfull ſouldiers
of the Court, you ſhall ſee all Aſia on a fire before your face: neither will Achomates *make an end*
of waſte and warre, vntill ſuch time as he hath drawne the Empire of Aſia vnto himſelfe. Wherefore
if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your ſelfe, ſhould
by your ſelfe and the conſent of all men be iudged traiterous vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof
the one through raſhneſſe, the other vpon pride and vaine diſcontentment, hath riſen vp in armes
againſt you: Why doe you not in ſo doubtfull and perplexed a matter, preferre ſafe and ſound aduiſe before M
that which masketh vnder the ſhew of maieſtie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one
time correct and be reuenged vpon, to ſet vpon them as occaſion ſhall ſerue when they are together
by the eares betwixt themſelues? This is the onely hope of your ſafetie, this is the onely way, if you
ſhall reſolue (as the common prouerbe ſaith) to driue out one naile with another, and ſo to ouercome

your

A *your enemies: moderat for a while your hot deſire of reuenge, and for the preſent diſſemble your griefe;*
grant vnto one of them pardon, and in ſhew take him into your grace and fauour, imploy him againſt the
other: ſo ſhall you without danger, howſoeuer it ſhall fall out, perſecute the one whom you loue not, with the
haſard of the other whom you truſt not; and at your pleaſure oppreſſe him to whom you ſhall commit your
enſignes and army: the hands of your faithfull and truſty ſoldiers being euer at your appointment ready
to take reuenge. So ſhall you with ſecuritie make an end of this war, expoſing vnto the danger, him whome
you had rather to ouercome as your enemy, by him whom you wiſh alſo to periſh.

Muſtapha had ſcarſe made an end of ſpeaking, but the other Baſſa's (as they had before agreed
B amongſt themſelues) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to perſuade
Bajazet to call home his ſon *Selymus*, and to make him General of his Army againſt his
brother; ſaying, that he had already endured ſufficient puniſhment for his former diſloyalty,
and therfore it was like that he as a wel corrected child would from thenceforth contain himſelf
within the compaſſe of his moſt dutifull obedience. Wheras *Achomates*, proud of his
birthright, hauing of late violated his fathers Embaſſadors, and filled all Aſia with rebellion,
was not like to be brought to any reaſonable conformity, vntill hee were by force of Armes
pluckt down, and ſo made to know himſelf, in like manner as was his brother *Selymus* of late.
Bajazet ſeeing that in reſoluing of a matter of ſo great conſequence, *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (his ſon
in law, and the only faithful counſellor then about him) ſat all ſilent, hanging the head, as one
C of a contrary opinion to the reſt, ſtood a great while in doubt what to reſolue vpon. He could
not ſo eaſily forget the late injuries don againſt him by *Selymus*, it was yet freſh in memory,
how that he had out of Aſia inuaded Europ, ſurpriſed Hadrianople, giuen him battel, indangered
his perſon by his Tartarian horſmen, and that only by the goodnes of God hee had obtained
the victory. On the other ſide, his Majeſty contemned, his Nephewes impriſoned, his
Embaſſadors violated, the cities of Aſia ranſacked, and all thoſe goodly Countries preſently
ſmoking with the fire of rebellion, ſo filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that
he deſired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whileſt he was thus ſtrugling with his owne
thoughts, and doubtful what to do, the vnfaithful Baſſa's by deep deceit and trechery (*Cherſeogles*
moſt inſtantly perſuading the contrary) ouercame him ſo far, as with his owne hand to
D write letters to *Selymus*, promiſing, that forgetting all injuries paſt, he would vpon the hope of
his loyaltie receiue him into his former grace and fauor, and make him General of his army,
if he would without delay repair to Conſtantinople, and ſo paſſe ouer into Aſia againſt his rebellious
brother *Achomates*.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Conſtantinople, *Corcutus* being aduertiſed by Letters
from his friends, of the weak eſtate of his aged father, and by what perſuaſions hee had
bin induced (after that *Achomates* had bin proclaimed Traitor) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and
to make him General of his Army; came down out of Magneſia to Phocis, and there imbarking
himſelf in his Gallies, ſailed to Conſtantinople. Where being arriued, he went preſently
to the Court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourits; and entring
E into the priuy chamber, humbled himſelf before his father, and kiſſed his hand: and after
much talk had betwixt them of diuers weighty matters, is reported to haue ſpoken vnto him
as followeth.

Corcutus comes to Conſtantinople.

Corcutus his oratiō to his father Bajazet.

It is now about thirty yeares paſt (moſt reuerend father and dread Soueraign) ſince that I (being choſen
and proclaimed Emperor by the prerogatiue of the ſoldiers of the Court, by generall conſent of the Citiſens
of this Imperial City, and by the graue judgement of the wiſe and graue Baſſa's of the Court) haue
cheerfully and willingly, and as I may truly ſay, with my own had deliuered from my ſelf to your Maieſty,
the poſſeſſion of this moſt glorious kingdom and Empire. Which thing what worldly Wight would haue
don, but either a Madman, or els a moſt kind ond louing ſon? Vnto which ſo rare an example of a religious
F *and louing heart, I was not by any fear or conſtraint inforced, but only by regard and contemplation of*
your own ſacred perſon, and due conſideration of my duty. Neither did it in the courſe of ſo many yeares
euer repent me of that my ſingular kindeneſſe and duty done; when as I contenting my ſelf with ſuch things
as you had vnto me aſſigned, and with the generall commendation of my well-doing, as wel as with a king-

dom,thought this your great eſtate and higheſt type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet G
contentment of my pleaſing Studies; when as I accounted it a vain thing, and not beſeeming the reſolu-
tion of a ſetled and quiet mind,to long after theſe worldly things,which being had and inioyed to the ful,
work no full contentment in the vnſatiable deſires of man : and that ſurmounting vertue, and the ſweet,
ô moſt ſweet meditation of heauenly things, promiſed vnto my contemplatiue and rauiſhed minde, things
of far more worth and Majeſty than all the Kingdoms and Monarchies of the world. But whilſt I was
tracing this path,little regarding worldly honour, or the glory of an Empire; and was for pure deuotion
and deſire of knowledge trauelling into the fartheſt part of Arabia, vnto the Altar of our moſt ſacred
Prophet Mahomet*;and ſo to the Indians, as to men of a more exact knowledge and ſincere profeſſion;you*
in the midſt of my trauel drew me out of Egypt by the long hands of the Egyptian Sultan,back again into
Phrygia; commanding me, that eſchuing the manifold dangers which in my long trauel I muſt needs H
haue fallen into,I ſhould from thenceforth haue more regard of my life and health,and to expect the fruit
both of my loyaltie towards you,and of your fatherly loue towards me. As if you had bin then of opini-
on,that the time would come,when for the euill diſpoſition of ſome,an innocent man,deuoted vnto the ſtu-
dy of wiſdom and learning,might be a ſtay both vnto your ſelf and the whole Othoman *Family. Since*
which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your command,and with as much care and integrity as I poſ-
ſibly could,diſcharged my charge : and in the late Perſian war,raiſed and brought into the field myne ar-
my,wherwith I defended the frontiers of my prouince from the incurſions of the Barbarians. But after
they were vanquiſhed,and by your forces driuen out of the leſſer Aſia, and that my vnnatural and grace-
les brethren,the one of them in Europ as a moſt deſperat Recreant,had in plain battell aſſailed the perſon
of your moſt ſacred Maieſty (his reuerend father, far ſpent with age, and then grieuouſly tormented with I
the gout) of purpoſe to haue at once depriued you both of your life and empire. And the other in Aſia ſee-
king by like diſloyalty and moſt horrible treaſon there to poſſeſſe himſelf of a kingdom, had beſieged and
taken priſoners his brothers ſons his nephews, yong princes of great expectation, your faithfull and lo-
uing ſubiects;and proceeding further,had ſet all that part of your empire on a broil: I thought my ſelf in
duty, and to repair hither vnto your Imperial Majeſty, for that I ſaw it came to paſſe, not without the
prouidence of the moſt Mighty,that I might at ſuch time eſpecially requeſt the iuſt reward of my due de-
ſert of you my moſt reuerend and louing father, the moſt religious obſeruer of equity and Iuſtice:when as
you hauing had too great proof of the infidelity of my vnnatural brethren,might moſt fitly and moſt com-
modiouſly perform that which you vpon great reaſon might now grant vnto me your dutiful and obedient
ſon,although my former deſerts had merited no ſuch thing. Wherfore moſt gratious, I beſeech you, by all K
your fatherly loue and affection towards mee, and my known loyalty towards you, to vouchſafe before the
comming of Selymus,*to haue regard of myne honor,with the ſtate of your empire: for when he ſhal once*
in arms break in,he wil at a trice cut of all hope of pacification,and ſupported by the men of war,confound
all things at his pleaſure. For I hear,that the very garders of your perſon,and chief commanders of your
armies,altered in diſpoſition towards you,do but expect the good offer of time,when they may willingly ſa-
lute for their Emperor and Soueraign, him whom your good fortune of late, full ſore againſt their wills,
ouerthrew in open field. Wherfore that empire wherof I was ſomtime poſſeſſed, and for the rare deſert of
myne antient loyaltie toward you, is of good right due vnto me,reſtore to me again whileſt you may, and
whilſt it is yet in your power,in this ſudden and momentary occaſion now preſented. For your Maieſty ſhal
in vain fauor my moſt iuſt and vpright claim,after that you (hauing once receiued into the Imperial city L
a deſperat and ambitious man) haue for euer loſt your liberty,together with your ſelf.

Bajazet comforteth Corcutus,and promiſeth to reſigne to him the empire,after that Selymus was paſt ouer into Aſia.

Corcutus with tears ſtanding in his eies,hauing ended his ſpeech,the aged Emperor moued
with a fatherly affection,and the reaſonable perſuaſion of him his only loyall and moſt kind
ſon,comforted him vp with good words,and willed him to be of good cheer, and withall diſ-
couered vnto him the very ground of his reſolution in calling home of *Selymus*; telling him
further, That he could be wel content to reſigne to him again the Empire,but that it was not
in his power ſo preſently to do,for fear of the ſoldiers of the court,who had (as he ſaid) of late
withſtood him in the like motion, and would againe with tooth and naile gainſay it, if hee
ſhould but giue the leaſt occaſion for them to ſuſpect any ſuch matter. But that by the plot M
now laid,*Selymus* ſhould vnder the title of honor be drawn out of Europe, together with the
ſoldiers of the court, into Aſia againſt *Achomates* (both bars vnto his preſent deſire for tranſ-
ferring of the Empire; in whoſe abſence it ſhould be in his power freely to diſpoſe thereof

at

A at his pleaſure: which he promiſed preſently to reſigne vnto him, ſo ſoone as they were once paſſed ouer into Aſia. Which thing once don, although it were not altogether to their liking, yet feared he not, that either the captains or ſoldiers, who had of late ſo honorably and faithfully defended him againſt *Selymus*, ſhould now for his ſake diſlike of *Corcutus*, or attempt any thing not beſeeming the glory of their late deſert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnnaturall and rebellious ſons, *Achomates* and *Selymus*, ſhould once joine battell (as it was moſt like they ſhould) that either the one or both ſhould by the juſt judgement of God periſh for their ſo great diſobedience, murdred by the hands one of another. *Corcutus* not much diſliking o his fathers purpoſe, and reſting himſelfe wholly vpon his fauor, thought it not good further to argue the matter his father had ſo well conſidered of; but taking his leaue returned to his lodg-B ing not without hope of obtaining the Empire, and ſo remained many daies after at Conſtantinople: during which time he ſought neither by gifts nor golden promiſes to procure the loue and good liking of the great Baſſaes or ſoldiers of the court; for that he as a plain vpright man, thought it not good by ſuit and corruption (the great promoters of the vnworthy) to ſeeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauor & promiſe.

In the mean time *Selymus* his faſt friends aduertiſing him of the comming of *Corcutus* to the court, aduiſed him to make haſte, and with all ſpeed poſſible to come to Conſtantinople; for that it was to be feared, leſt *Bajazet* being very aged, and withall eaſie to be drawn away, might by the perſuaſion of *Corcutus* be induced to alter, yea, and perhaps quite breake off the courſe before well ſet for his moſt ready preferment. Vpon which news, *Selymus* attentiuely waiting C vpon nothing more than to haue exceſſe vnto his friends in court, and before reſolued, at his firſt comming thither not to ſpare for any coſt in corrupting the men of warre, and ſo to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the Empire; made now no ſtay but with certaine troups of horſemen, commanding the reſt to follow after, came with wonderfull celerity to Conſtantinople. *Corcutus* with the great Baſſa's and Courtiers, and moſt part of the ſoldiers of the court, going to meet him at the gates of the city, at his entrance receiued him with a kiſſe (as is the manner of the Turks) and brought him through the midſt of the city, all the people running out by heapes to haue a ſight of the man, of late in euery mans mouth for his deſperat rebellion, but now welcommed with much thundring ſhot in token of triumph, and the joyfull acclamation of men, women, and children, and people of all ſorts. So that it eaſily appeared, that all the ha-D tred before conceiued againſt him, for his late outrage againſt his father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in ſhort time before his other brethen aſpire vnto the Empire.

The next day after, *Selymus* came to the court, and hauing acceſſe to his father, fell proſtrate before him and kiſſed his feet, and with the greateſt ſhew of humility poſſible, craued of him pardon for his diſloyalty. O deepe diſſembler, and traitor of all other moſt trecherous! of late in field with ſword drawne to haue ſlaine his aged father, but now proſtrate at his feet; and within an houre mounted perforce into his imperiall ſeat.

The old Emperour ſmiling vpon this Crocodile, in moſt kinde manner tooke him vp, and courteouſly ſaid vnto him:

Thy faults, ſon Selymus, *are ſo much the leſſe, for that they haue found ſpeedy repentance, wherefore* E *I do the more willingly grant thee pardon: but from henceforth endeauour thy ſelfe, that God who hath giuen thee a notable ſpirit and courage, may alſo be thought to haue indued thee with a good and well diſpoſed minde. There is a martiall matter ready, worthy thy hardneſſe, wherein thou mayſt ſufficiently manifeſt vnto the world thy forwardneſſe and courage: there when time ſerueth let it appeare.*

Bajazets crafty ſpeech vnto his ſonne Selymus.

Shortly after was called a Councell for the wars, but eſpecially for the chuſing of a Generall to goe againſt *Achomates*: the honour of which place when many would haue giuen to *Selymus*, he began with great diſſimulation to refuſe, making as though he would not in any caſe be preferred before his brother *Corcutus*, to whom he would (as he ſaid) willingly giue place, both in reſpect of his yeares and learned diſcretion, who could no doubt with greater authority and wiſedome mannage that war: as for himſelfe, now he had obtained his fathers F gratious pardon and fauour, he could well content himſelfe with any corner of the Empire, were it neuer ſo little.

The crafty diſſimulation of Selymus.

But *Corcutus* and his friends, who had repoſed all their hope and all their deuiſes in the departure of *Selymus* with the ſoldiers of the court; as if they had with great modeſty contended on both ſides, againe perſuaded him, yea, and inſtantly requeſted him not to refuſe that honour, by generall conſent without any diſgrace to his brother, giuen to him as to a worthy G Chiefetaine of great experience in martiall affaires. So *Selymus* with wonderfull cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his fauorits, whileſt he ſeemeth craftily to refuſe the thing he moſt deſireth, is by the generall conſent of all parts choſen Generall of the army to go againſt his brother *Achomates*. Which was no ſooner made knowne vnto the ſouldiers, eſpecially the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the court; but they before inſtructed, with loud acclamations ſaluted him not for their Generall onely, but for their ſoueraigne Lord and Emperor alſo: and ſo without further delay put themſelues in armes to defend and make good that they had done, if any better diſpoſed ſhould ſeeme to withſtand them or diſſent from them.

Selymus by the ſouldiers thus ſaluted Emperour, at firſt made ſhew as if he had beene halfe vnwilling to take vpon him the Empire; and ſo began faintly to refuſe it, as moued ſo to doe H by the due reuerence and regard of his father, yet liuing. But after a while he ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated: and then commending himſelfe and his cauſe wholly to the men of warre, to binde them vnto him the faſter, promiſed beſide the particular fauours he ought them, to beſtow a right great and generall largeſſe amongſt them: which he afterwards accordingly performed.

After that, he requeſted the chiefe Baſſaes and commanders of the army there preſent, to go forthwith vnto his father, and to take ſuch order (ſeeing it was the mind of the whole army it ſhould be ſo) that the Empire might by his good will, without further trouble or tumult, be forthwith transferred vnto him.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa, in whoſe wyly head all this matter was (to his owne worthy de- I ſtruction) firſt hammered; whether it were vpon a new fineneſſe of his owne, or that *Selymus* (as it was giuen out) had threatned to kill him, except he would go and ſhew all the whole proceſſe of the matter to his father: comming as a man diſmaied to *Bajazet*, (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the ſoldiers, was come out of his chamber, into the open roomes of his Palace) in few words deliuered vnto him this moſt vnwelcome meſſage, as followeth:

The blunt ſpeech of Muſtapha to Bajazet perſwading him to reſigne the empire to Selymus.

Emperour (ſaid he) *the men of war haue in their Councell ſaluted* Selymus *both their Generall and Emperour, which their choice they require thee to ratifie, being ready preſently to breake into the Court to kill vs both, if thou ſhalt refuſe forthwith to reſigne the Empire. They all with one conſent requeſt that of thee, which they haue already put into the hand of another. Wherefore it is a thing of far more danger, to ſeeke to recouer that thou haſt already loſt, than willingly to yeeld that which is already taken from thee,* K *ſeeing it is not by any force or policy to be regained. They in armes, in fury, and now entred into rebellion, thinke vpon ſome greater miſchiefe.*

Bajazet troubled with feare and choler, and then too late perceiuing the trechery of the Baſſaes, and how he had bin by them betraied; pauſing a while at the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, afterwards in fury brake out into theſe words:

The reſolute anſwer of old Bajazet to Muſtapha and the other Baſſaes.

Falſe and forſworne, do you thus betray me? and with ſuch monſtrous villany requite mine infinite bounty? Why do you not alſo as murtherers take away my life, which could not endure for a while to expect the diſſolution of this my weake and aged body; but depoſing your iuſt and lawfull Soueraigne, muſt needs in poſt haſte ſet vp a moſt wicked and graceleſſe man to reigne ouer you? But much good do it you with your deſired Emperour, the contemner of God, and murtherer of his father: to whom ere it be long, L *you ſhall full deerely pay the price of this your perfidious dealing and trechery againſt me. And he himſelfe beginning his Empire by moſt vnnaturall treaſon, murder, and bloudſhed, ſhall not (I hope) eſcape the heauy hand of God, the vndoubted and ſeuere reuenger of ſo great impiety and treaſon.*

Muſtapha, with *Boſtanges* and *Ajax* as falſe as himſelfe, returning backe againe to the ſoldiers, ſpeaking not a word of the ſorrow and indignation of *Bajazet*, told them how that he was well content to reſigne the Empire, and ſo had appointed *Selymus* (to whom both God and the generall conſent of the men of war had already deliuered the Empire, to ſucceed him in the Empire. When this their ſpeech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold vp their heads and looke big on the matter: and others who before ſtood doubtfull what to do, ſeeing now no other remedy, in haſt ioyned themſelues vnto the M ſame faction. Whileſt all things were thus diſorderly carried by the vnruly ſouldiers, *Selymus* was by them mounted vpon a couragious horſe, and ſo with all pomp conducted vp and downe moſt of the faire ſtreets of the Imperiall city; and with the generall voice and clamor of the people (howſoeuer their minds were for moſt part otherwiſe affected) ſaluted Emperor. And the

A the ſame day both the great Baſſa's and the ſouldiers in generall, were all ſolemnly ſworne vnto *Selymus*, as their only Lord and Emperour.

Corcutus, whether it were for griefe of his hope now loſt, or for feare of his life, although *Selymus* had promiſed to giue him the city of Mytilene, with the Iſland of Lesbos, ſecretly embarked himſelfe and ſo returned to Magneſia.

Corcutus flieth.

Bajazet of late one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world, but now thus thruſt out of his empire by his ſon, deteſting both him and the treachery of his ſubiects, and ouercome with ſorrow and melancholy, determined of himſelfe, before he were thereto enforced by *Selymus*, to forſake Conſtantinople, and to retyre himſelfe to Dymotica (a ſmall city wholeſomely ſcituated in Thracia, not far from Hadrianople; where in former time he had for his pleaſure B beſtowed great coſt, and now as he thought beſt fitted his preſent eſtate.) Wherefore cauſing great ſtore of treaſure, plate, jewels, and rich furniture to be truſſed vp, he with fiue hundred of his houſhold ſeruants, full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, with teares trickling downe his aged cheekes, departed out of the Imperiall city, towards Hadrianople, with purpoſe from thence to haue gone to Dymotica. *Selymus* brought him about two miles vpon his way, and ſo returning againe to Conſtantinople, tooke poſſeſſion of the Palace.

Bajazet being then about ſeuenty ſix yeares old, or as ſome report full foureſcore; and beſide his old diſeaſe of the gout, ſore weakened with heauineſſe and griefe of minde, was not able to trauell aboue fiue or ſix miles a day, but was conſtrained by the extreamity of his pain and weakeneſſe, to ſtay ſometimes two or three daies in a place. Whileſt he was thus C trauelling, *Selymus* no leſſe carefull of the keeping of his eſtate, than he had before been for the obtaining of the ſame, began now to doubt, That if he ſhould depart from Conſtantinople, and with all his Forces paſſe ouer into Aſia againſt his brother *Achomates*, *Bajazet* in the meane time might in his abſence returne to Conſtantinople, and ſo again poſſeſſe himſelf both of the city and the empire. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he reſolued moſt viper like before his going to kill his father, and ſo moſt vnnaturally to depriue him of life, of whom he had receiued life: ſuch is the cruell and accurſed nature of ambition, that it knoweth neither father, mother, brother, wife, kindred, or friend, no ſometimes not her owne children; the fury whereof was neuer in any more pregnant, than in this moſt monſtrous and cruell tyrant *Selymus*.

D The readieſt and moſt ſecret way he could deuiſe for the effecting of this his damnable deuice, (which without great impiety could not be ſo much as once by him thought vpon) was, to worke it by poyſon: vpon which reſolution he ſecretly compacted with *Haman* a Iew, his fathers chiefe Phyſitian, to poyſon him; promiſing him for his reward a penſion of ten duckats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terrour and feare, as well as with reward, enforced to be the miniſters of miſchiefe; he to be the more ſure of this Iew, (prone enough for gaine to do euill) threatned him with moſt cruell death, if he did not both ſecretly and ſpeedily worke this feat, commanding him ſo ſoone as he had done it, to returne vnto him to Conſtantinople.

Selymus practiſeth with Haman a Iew, Bajazet his phyſitian, to poyſon him.

The deceitfull Iew moued both with the feare of death and hope of reward (two great motiues) E comming ſhortly after to *Bajazet*, and finding him very weake, ſeeming to be very carefull of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a potion, which ſhould both reſtore to him his health, and alſo ſtrengthen his weake body, if it would pleaſe him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Bajazet* nothing diſtruſting his old phyſitian whom he had ſo often and ſo long truſted, ſaid he would gladly take it. Early the next morning commeth the Iew with the deadly poyſon in a cup of gold, *Bajazet* yet ſleeping, which he ſet downe in the chaire of Eſtate, and ſo ſtood waiting vntill the aged Prince ſhould of himſelfe awake. But *Bajazet* ſleeping ſoundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men ſleepe their laſt) and withall ſomewhat longer than ſtood with the Iewes purpoſe, he preſuming of his wonted practiſe, awaked him and told him, That the time to take the potion was almoſt paſt, and aſked him if F it were his pleaſure then to take it. *Bajazet* doubting no treaſon, willed him to bring it: whereof when the Iew had taken the ſey, (hauing before himſelfe taken a preſeruatiue againſt that poyſon) he gaue it to *Bajazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the Phyſitian commanding them that waited in his bed-chamber, and attended on his perſon, to keepe him well couered with warme cloths, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill he had well ſweat.

Bajaset poyſoned by the Iew.

This curſed Iew hauing thus poyſoned the aged Prince, to auoid the danger of the fact, and to G
carry the firſt newes thereof to *Selymus*, ſecretly conueied himſelfe away, and fled in haſte to
Conſtantinople. But *Bajazet* attainted with the force of the poyſon, began firſt to feele moſt
grieuous gripings in his ſtomacke, the ſtrong paine whereof appeared by his miſerable complaining
and heauy groaning; in the middeſt of which torments he gaue vp the ghoſt, in the
yeare 1512, when he had raigned thirty yeres. The Turks report that he died a naturall death:
but *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who at that time ſerued in *Bajazet* his chamber, and was preſent
at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead body the euident tokens of poyſon were to be
ſeene. His dead body with all his treaſures were preſently brought backe againe to Conſtantinople,
and deliuered to *Selymus*, who cauſed the body of his father to be with the greateſt ſolemnity
that might be, buried in a moſt ſumptuous tombe, in a chappell neere vnto the great H
Mahometan temple, which he had before built for himſelfe at Conſtantinople: which Monument
there remaineth at this day to be ſeene. His ſeruants were all by *Selymus* reſtored to
their places which they before held in the court in the time of their old Maſter, excepting fiue
of the pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their Maſter aboue the reſt, had attyred
themſelues all in mourning apparell: for which cauſe they were by the commandement
of *Selymus* caſt in priſon, where two of them were put to death; the other three at the ſuit of
Solyman, *Selymus* his ſon, and of other two Baſſaes, were ſaued: but being ſtript of their rich apparell
and whatſoeuer elſe they had gotten vnder *Bajazet*, they were inrolled for common ſoldiers
vnder *Sulluſtares Baſſa*. Of theſe three, *Antonius Vtrius* (the Genoway before ſpoken of)
was one, who after ten yeres of miſerable captiuity amongſt the Turks, at laſt eſcaped at ſuch I
time as *Selymus* was by the Perſian diſcomfited: and with much adoe returning againe into
Italy, wrote the hiſtory of all ſuch things as he himſelfe had there ſeene, with the calamities
of *Bajazet* his houſe, and a great part of the tyrannous reigne of *Selymus*.

The death of Bajazet.

Selymus causeth two of his Fathers Pages to be put to death for mourning for their Maſter.

Hamon the falſe Iew (as the ſame author reporteth) comming to Conſtantinople, and expecting ſome great reward for his foule treaſon, by the commandement of *Selymus* had his head preſently ſtrucke off: with this exprobation of his trechery, That opportunity ſeruing, he would not ſticke for reward to do the like againſt *Selymus* himſelfe. Of this *BajaZet*, *Ianus Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

Hamon the Iew iuſtly rewarded for his treachery.

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum Elog. lib. 4.

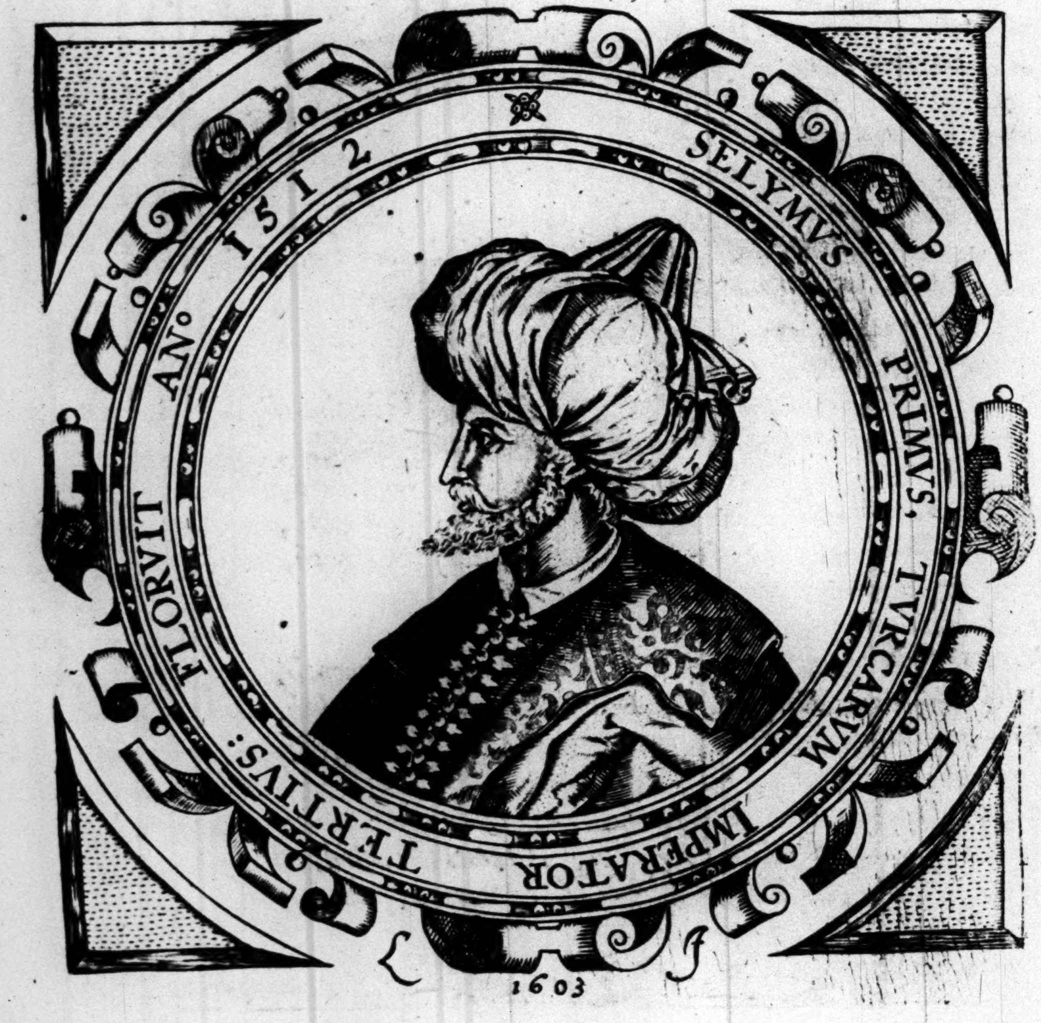
Dum rerum exquiris cauſas, & dum procul Hunnes
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromataſque domas:
Bajazethe, *domi proles tua te petit armis,*
Et te per fraudes amouet imperio.
Adijcit inde novum ſcelere ſcelus, & tibi miſcet
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempeſtiuos crudelis vipera fætus,
Per ſua ſic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum eſt, cui ſint ingentia regna tyranno,
Si timeat natos, progeniemque ſuam?

In Engliſh thus:

Whil'ſt that thou *Bajazethes* ſeekes of things the hidden cauſe,
And faine wouldſt bring the Hunne and Ruſſe vnder thy Turkiſh lawes:
Thy ſonne at home ſteps vp in armes againſt thy royall Crowne,
And by falſe treaſon and deceit findes meanes to plucke thee downe.
Whereto he addeth miſchiefe more, and ſtreit without delay,
By poyſon ſtrong in glittering boule doth take thy life away:
The cruell viper ſo brings forth her foule vntimely brood,
Which eat and gnaw her belly out, their firſt and poiſoned food.
What things may Princes hold for ſafe, that do great kingdomes ſway,
If of their children they muſt ſtand in dread and feare alway?

FINIS. *R. K.*

Christian Princes of the ſame time with Bajazet *the ſecond.*	*Emperours of Germany*		*Frederick the third, Archduke of Auſtria,*	1440.	54
			Maximilian the third,	1494.	25
	Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the fourth,*	1460.	22
			Edward the fifth,	1483.	0
			Richard the third,	1483.	3
			Henry the ſeuenth,	1485.	24
			Henry the eighth,	1509.	38
		Of France	*Lewis the eleuenth,*	1461.	22
			Charles the eighth,	1483.	14
			Lewis the twelfth,	1567.	17
		Of Scotland	*Iames the third,*	1460.	29
			Iames the fourth,	1489.	25
	Biſhops of Rome		*Xyſtus the IV,*	1471.	13
			Innocentius the VIII,	1484.	8
			Alexander the VI,	1492.	11
			Pius the III,	1403.	26 daies
			Iulius the II,	1503.	9


SELYMVS PRIMVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR TERTIVS: FLORVIT ANo 1512
1603

Phil. Lonicer. Turc. Hiſt. l. 1.

En Selymus, *ſcelere ante alios immanior omnes:*
In patris, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Perſas mouet inde ferox: Memphitica regna
Deſtruit: & Syros Æthiopaſque domat.
Hinc in Chriſticolas irarum effundere fluctus,
Ipſorumque imo vertere regna parat.
Cum diro victus proſternitur vlcere: Chriſtus
Scilicet eſt populi, portus & aura ſui.

Lo *Selymus*, in cruelty exceeding others farre,
His father, and his brethren both, deſtroies with mortall warre.
The Perſian fiercely he aſſailes: and conquers Ægypts Land:
The Syrian, and the Moore likewiſe, he tam'd with mighty hand.
But purpoſing in his mad mood, the Chriſtians to confound,
And the memoriall of their name to root from off the ground,
A loathſome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end:
Chriſt is to his the ſafeſt Port, when he will them defend.

THE LIFE OF *SELYMVS*, FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

1512

C This *Selymus*, by fauor of the great Baſſaes and men of war whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father *Bajazet* firſt of the Empire, and ſhortly after of his life alſo, and now fully poſſeſſed of the Empire himſelfe, firſt tooke view of the treaſures which the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors his anceſtors had before of long time heaped vp in great abundance: out of which he gaue vnto the ſouldiers of the court two millions of duckats; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulneſſe towards them, augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euery horſeman foure aſpers a day, and to euery footman two aboue their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bounty, he greatly aſſured vnto himſelfe the minds of the men of war.

Selymus goeth into Aſia againſt his brother Achomates.

D Shortly after he paſſed ouer with a great army into Aſia, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall city of Conſtantinople vnto his only ſonne *Solyman*: and marching into Galatia, came to the city of Ancyra, in hope there to haue oppreſſed his elder brother *Achomates*. But he vnderſtanding before of his comming, withall wiſely conſidering how vnable he was to withſtand his forces, fled before into the mountains of Cappadocia vpon the confines of Armenia, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all ſorts of people, yea, euen of ſuch as were but of ſmall ability themſelues, and vnto him meere ſtrangers; that ſo he might in beſt manner he could, prouide ſuch ſtrength as might ſerue him to make head againſt his brother, and for the recouery of Aſia.

Selymus murthereth fiue of his brothers ſonnes.

E *Selymus* hauing ſpent that ſummer without doing any thing worth the ſpeaking of, and conſidering that he could not well Winter in that cold country neere vnto the great mountaine Taurus, by reaſon of the deepe ſnowes and extreame cold there vſually falling; and that to go farther was to no purpoſe, foraſmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place, and mountain to mountain, was not to be ſurpriſed; he retyred backe again into Bythinia, and ſending his Europeian horſemen downe to the ſea coaſt, and the Ianizaries to Conſtantinople; reſolued to winter with the reſt of his army at Pruſa. At which time being wholly bent againſt *Achomates* his competitor of the Empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father *Bajazet* had before concluded with *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungary, *Sigiſmundus* King of Polonia, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of Children) ſuperfluous which might concerne the eſtabliſhing of his Empire, he called vnto him fiue of his brothers ſons, *Orchanes* the ſonne of *Alem Scach*; *Mahometes* the ſonne of *Tzihan Scach*; *Orchanes*, *Emirſa*, and *Muſa* the F ſonnes of his brother *Mahometes*; all young Princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt ſixteene and twenty, excepting *Muſa* who was not paſt ſeuen yeares old: Of all theſe, *Mahometes* (whom his vncle *Achomates* had a little before taken priſoner at Larenda, as is before declared, and vpon the death of *Bajazet* had againe ſet him at liberty) being about twenty yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beauty of

the *Othoman* family : which great perfection,as it woon vnto him the loue and fauour of the G
men of war,and alſo of all the people in generall : ſo did it haſten his ſpeedy death;onely *Sely-*
mus his cruell vncle enuying at his life. After he had got theſe poore innocents into his hands,
he ſent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers,demanding of them, Whether it were not
better that ſome fiue, eight, or ten perſons ſhould be taken away, than the ſtate of the whole
Empire ſhould with great effuſion of bloud be rent in ſunder,and ſo by ciuile wars be brought
in danger of vtter ruine and deſtruction ? Who although they well perceiued whereunto that
bloudy queſtion tended,yet for feare of diſpleaſure they all anſwered, That it were better ſuch
a ſmall number ſhould periſh,than that the whole ſtate of the empire ſhould by ciuile war &
diſcord be brought to confuſion;in which generall calamitie,thoſe few muſt alſo of neceſſity
periſh with the reſt. Vpon colour of this anſwer, and the neceſſity pretended, he commanded H
theſe his nephewes before named, to be led by fiue of his great captaines into the caſtle of
Pruſa, where they were all, the night following moſt cruelly ſtrangled. It is reported, that
Mahometes with a penknife ſlew one of the bloudy executioners ſent into his chamber to kill
him ; and ſo wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead : and that *Selymus* being in a
chamber faſt by, and almoſt an eye-witneſſe of that was done, preſently ſent in others, who
firſt bound the poore Prince, and afterward ſtrangled him with the reſt : whoſe dead bodies
were buried at Pruſa amongſt their anceſtors. The cruelty of this fact wonderfully offended
the minds of moſt men,inſomuch that many euen of his martiall men filled with ſecret indig-
nation, for certaine daies abſented themſelues from his preſence, ſhunning his ſight as if he
had beene ſome fierce or raging lyon. I

1513

Selymus ſeeketh after the liues of Amurath & Aladin,the ſons of Achomates his brother.

Of all the nephewes of old *Bajazet*,only *Amurath* and *Aladin* (the ſons of *Achomates*) yet re-
mained, whom he purpoſed to ſurpriſe vpon the ſudden, and ſo to rid himſelfe of all feare of
his brothers children;hauing then left none of the *Othoman* family, but them and his two bre-
thren vpon whom to exerciſe his further cruelty. Theſe two young Princes had a little before
recouered the city of Amaſia, from whence they were the Summer before expulſed by their
vncle *Selymus*, at ſuch time as *Achomates* their father was glad to fly into the mountaines of
Capadocia. *Selymus* fully reſolued vpon their deſtruction, ſent *Vſegi* one of his Baſſaes with
fiue thouſand horſemen, who by great iournies trauelling to Amaſia, might vpon the ſudden
come vpon theſe two yong Princes,and take them altogether vnprouided, and as then fearing
no ſuch danger:which was thought no great matter for the Baſſa to do,foraſmuch as he might K
with his light horſemen eaſily preuent the fame of his comming ; and the City of Amaſia
where they lay,was neither well walled, nor as then furniſhed with any ſufficient garriſon for
defence therof : beſide that, *Achomates* himſelfe was at that time abſent,buſied in taking vp of
ſoldiers vpon the frontiers of Caramania. But *Muſtapha* the old Baſſa,by whoſe ſpeciall means
Selymus had obtained the Empire (as is afore declared in the life of *Bajazet*) being priuy vnto
his wicked purpoſe, and now in mind altogether alienated from him, deteſting his moſt exe-
crable tyranny,both for the vnworthy death of *Bajazet*,his father, & the guiltleſſe bloud of ſo
many yong princes his nephews by him ſhed without all pitty ; and hauing compaſſion of the
imminent danger whereinto theſe two brethren were now like alſo to fall ; by ſecret and ſpee-
dy meſſengers gaue them warning of the comming of the Baſſa, and of all that was intended L
againſt them. Who vpon ſuch knowledge giuen,preſently aduertiſed *Achomates* their father
thereof,and laid ſecret ambuſh themſelues for the intercepting of their enemies. So that with-
in few daies after, the Baſſa comming with his horſemen towards Amaſia, fell before he was
aware into the middeſt of his enemies : at which time alſo, *Achomates* following him at the
heeles, ſo ſhut him in with his army on euery ſide, that moſt of his men being ſlaine, he him-
ſelfe with diuers other captaines were taken priſoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his
commandement committed to ſafe cuſtody.

Vſegi Baſſa taken priſoner.

Now it fortuned, that ſome of *Achomates* ſoldiers ſcoffing at the priſoners whom they had
taken,told them how they had bin deceiued,and how all the matter had been carried (ſo hard
a thing it is to haue euen the greateſt counſels in court kept ſecret)boaſting,that they wanted M
not their friends, euen of ſuch as were moſt inward with *Selymus*, who ſecretly fauoured the
better cauſe,& would not long ſuffer the cruell beaſt to rage further : all which things *Selymus*
his ſoldiers reported again after they were ranſomed and returned home. But *Vſegi* the Baſſa
lying ſtill in priſon,and getting certain knowledge of the whole matter, by ſecret letters gaue

Selymus

A *Selymus* to vnderſtand, that *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa whom he moſt of all truſted, had ſecret intelligence wth *Achomates*, and had been the only cauſe of the loſſe of his army.

Selymus of late enuying at the great honour and authority of *Muſtapha*, and wiſhing him dead, (whoſe deſert he was not able, or at leaſtwiſe vnwilling to requite) cauſed him vpon this accuſation without further triall to be ſecretly ſtrangled in his ſight, and his dead body (as it were in ſcorne of his former felicity) to be caſt out into the ſtreet for euery man to gaze vpon. This was the ſhameful end of this traiterous Baſſa, who had of long time at his pleaſure commanded all things in the Turkiſh Empire, and was for riches, power, and authority, next vnto the Emperors themſelues: but now lieth as a dead dog in the ſtreet, no man daring for feare to caſt earth vpon him. A rare ſpectacle of the vncertainty of worldly felicity, and a worthy B example of diſloyalty. But *Achomates* hearing what had happened to *Muſtapha*, in reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vſegi Baſſa* his priſoner; and according to his courteous nature ſet all the reſt of the priſoners at liberty.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſhamfully murthered.

Vſegi Baſſa put to death.

Selymus thirſting after nothing more than the guiltleſſe bloud of his brethren and nephews, vpon whom he had againſt all right vſurped the kingdom, whereof he neuer thought himſelfe ſufficiently aſſured ſo long as any of them breathed; began with the firſt of the Spring to deuiſe with himſelfe, how he might firſt take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at Magneſia, and hauing caſt off all hope of the Empire, gaue himſelfe wholly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, which he (ſeduced with ambition) had in euill time a little before forſaken; but now retyring himſelfe thereto againe, as to his greateſt contentment, ſpent his time in quiet C contemplation, not attempting any thing againſt his cruell brother vſurping the Empire. *Selymus* reſolued vpon the deſtruction of this harmleſſe Prince, ſuddenly commanded his captaines to make choice of 10000 horſemen to be in readineſſe within three daies, giuing it out that he would make an inrode vpon the ſudden into Cappadocia. In the number of theſe horſemen, *Antonius Menauinus* a Genoway, author of this hiſtory (as he of himſelfe reporteth) was one.

All things being in readines againſt the appointed time, *Selymus* in perſon himſelfe ſet forward with his army from Pruſa, ſtill keeping the way on the right hand; ſo that the ſouldiers, who thought they ſhould haue marched directly into Cappadocia, and ſo to Amaſia, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrary courſe they held, that they were to go for Lydia and Ionia. When a valiant ſouldier among the reſt, who had ſometime D ſerued one of the Baſſaes in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumſtances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, ſecretly conueied himſelfe out of the army, and being excellently well mounted, taking the neereſt way, came to Magneſia, and gaue *Corcutus* warning of the comming of his brother. *Corcutus* conſidering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the meſſenger, and leauing his houſe in ſuch order as it was wont to be, fled with two of his ſeruants to the ſea ſide, in hope to haue found paſſage either into Creet or elſe Rhodes.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the caſtle of Magneſia before the riſing of the Sun, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceiued of his expectation, he fell into a great rage, and with cruel torments examined all his brothers ſeruants and Eunuchs, What was become of him, and where he had hid himſelf? E and with much ado got it out of them, That he had warning of his comming by a fugitiue ſouldier, and was thereupon fled, but whether they knew not. Wherefore *Selymus* ſtaied there fifteen daies, during which time he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made all ouer the country, and along the ſea coaſt, for to haue apprehended him. But when after much ſearch he could heare no tydings of him, he cauſed all his brothers treaſure & rich furniture to be truſſed vp, and to be ſent by ſea to Conſtantinople. So leauing one of his captains with a thouſand horſmen in garriſon at Magneſia, he returned againe to Pruſa with as much ſpeed as he came from thence: verily ſuppoſing, that his brother was for ſafegard of his life, by ſea fled into Italy. All this while *Boſtanges*, *Selymus* his ſon in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coaſt of Ionia, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of eſcaping by ſea: ſo that he was faine to hide himſelfe in a caue F neere vnto the ſea ſide, not far from Smyrna; liuing in hope, that after a few daies the fleet would depart, and ſo he ſhould finde ſome opportunity to eſcape.

Selymus taketh the ſpoile of his brother Corcutus.

After he had thus a great while in feare moſt miſerably liued with country crabs and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of ſtate) and was with extreme neceſſity inforced to ſend his man for reliefe to a poore ſhepheards cottage thereby, he was by a country peſant diſcoue-

red

Corcutus taken.

red to *Caſſumes*, who with two much diligence ſought after his life: and being by him apprehended, G was carried towards the tyrant his brother at Pruſa.

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as ſoone as he vnderſtood that he was within a daies journy of Pruſa, ſent one *Kirengi Ogli* (who of his ſquint looke was called *Chior Zeinall*) to ſtrangle him vp vpon the way, and to bring his dead body to Pruſa.

The lamentable death of Corcutus.

This captaine comming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his ſleepe, told him his heauy meſſage; how that he was ſent from his brother *Selymus* to ſee him executed, which muſt as he ſaid preſently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with theſe heauy news, and fetching a deepe ſigh, deſired the captaine ſo long to ſpare his life, vntill he might write a few ſhort lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore requeſt being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkiſh verſe (for he had ſpent all his time H in ſtudy) reproued his brother of moſt horrible cruelty; vpbraided him, that he had not only moſt diſloially thruſt his father out of his Empire, but alſo moſt vnnaturally depriued him of life, of whom he had before receiued the ſame: and not ſo content, had moſt tyrantouſly ſlaine his brothers children; and now like an vnmerciful wretch thirſted after the guiltleſſe bloud of himſelfe and *Achomates* his brethren. At laſt concluding his letters with many a bitter curſe, he beſought God to take of him juſt reuenge for ſo much innocent bloud by him moſt vnnaturally ſpilt. And when he had thus much written, he requeſted the captaine, that it might together with his dead body be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any further delay he was according to the tyrants command preſently ſtrangled. The next day after, when the dead body was preſented vnto *Selymus*, he vncouered the face thereof, to be ſure that it was he, and ſee- I ing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruell nature and ſtony heart) he burſt out into tears; proteſting, that he was neuer ſo much grieued or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cauſe, he commanded general mourning to be made for him in the court, and with princely ſolemnity buried his body. Three daies after, he cauſed fifteen of thoſe diligent ſearchers who firſt found *Corcutus*, to haue their heads ſtrucke off, and their bodies to be flung vnto the ſea, ſaying, That if he were by any extremity driuen to fly and hide his head, they would not ſtick to ſerue him in like maner as they had don his brother.

Now of al the poſterity of *Bajazet* remained none aliue to trouble the cruel tirants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two ſons: who vpon the approch of the Spring, ſet forward with his army from Amaſia, excited by the often letters of his friends, who aſſured him, that *Selymus* K might vpon the ſudden be eaſily oppreſſed, if he would with al expedition come to Pruſa; foraſmuch as the Ianizaries and Europeian horſmen, the vndoubted ſtrength of his army, were at that time abſent, and he himſelfe as one hated both of God & man, could not in ſo ſudden and vnexpected danger tel what he were beſt to do, or which way to turn himſelfe: wherefore they willed him without delay to haſten his comming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, leſt in the mean time *Selymus* ſhould call together his diſperſed forces: God (they ſaid) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunity and meanes to do great matters, if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therefore he ſhould do well now by celerity and courage to ſeeke to better his euill fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers kingdom; for if Summer were once come on, he muſt either gain the victory by plain battell, L which would be a hard matter, or els get him packing out of Capadocia and all Aſia the leſſe.

Achomates, who before had promiſed vnto himſelfe better ſucceſſe, as well for the great ſtrength he had of his owne, as for the new ſupply of horſemen he had procured from *Hyſmae* the Perſian King, but eſpecially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late cruelty, ſhould in the time of the battell be forſaken of his owne ſoldiers; yeelded to the perſuaſion of his friends, who with many pleaſing words ſet before his eies glorious things, eaſie to be ſpoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore when he was come into Galaria with ſomewhat more than 15000 horſemen, hauing for haſt left his footmen by eaſie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertiſed of his comming, by ſpeedy meſſengers ſent for his horſemen to Pruſa. In the meane time whiles he is leuying other common ſouldiers, and expecting the M reſt of his forces; fortune, which alwaies fauoured his attempts, did then alſo auert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulneſſe of his followers, and ſhewed to him the open way to victory. For *Achomates* ſecret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing firme in their good will toward him, did earneſtly by letters perſuade him (being already ſet for-

ward.

A ward,and now come as far as Paphlagonia) to make haſt,and to come before *Selymus* his forces
were come together: for that he had ſent for the Ianizaries and Europeian horſemen, and did
with all ſpeed and diligence make all the preparation he could poſſibly; which for all that
would all come too late, if he ſhould vpon the ſudden come vpon him before he was proui-
ded. Which letters being by chance intercepted, gaue *Selymus* certaine knowledge both of
his brothers purpoſe and comming, together with the treaſon intended againſt him by his
owne ſeruants: wherefore executing them who had writ thoſe letters, he in their names cau-
ſed others to the ſame effect to be written to *Achomates*, perſuading him with all ſeed poſſible
to come ſtill on, and not to ſtay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might eaſily be oppreſſed
with a few troups of horſemen, if *Achomates* would with ſpeed but come and ſhew himſelfe
B vnto his friends and fauorites: who vpon the firſt ſignall of battell would raiſe a tumult in the
army, and vpon the ſudden kill *Selymus*, vnaduiſedly going to and fro in the battell. Which
letters ſo written, *Selymus* cauſed to be ſigned with the ſeales of them whom he had before
executed,and found meanes to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*,as if they had bin
ſent from his friends: who giuing credit to the ſame, and preſuming much vpon his owne
ſtrength,doubted not to leaue his footmen, who followed eaſily after him, vnder the conduct
of *Amurath* his ſon; and came and encamped with his horſemen neere vnto the mountaine
Horminius,vpon the banke of the riuer Parthemius.*Selymus* alſo departed from Pruſa,and ha-
uing receiued into his army ten thouſand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the ſtreit)
ſent before *Sinan Baſſa*, Generall of his Aſian horſmen, to know & make proofe of the ſtrength
C of his enemies. The Baſſa as yet not knowing where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he
was,being deceiued by the darkeneſſe of the morning,fell into a place of diſaduantage,where
he was ſet vpon by *Achomates*,and hauing loſt ſeuen thouſand of his men, was glad with other
eight thouſand which were left,to fly backe vnto *Selymus*.

Treaſon againſt Selymus diſcouered.

Sinan Baſſa diſcomfited by Achomates.

For all this loſſe,was not *Selymus* diſcomforted, or doubtfull of the victory, but forthwith
marched on forward to the riuer Elata, which runneth directly out of the mountaine Hormi-
nius into Pontus,watering moſt large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called
the plaines of the new land. So did *Achomates* alſo, who although he knew his brother to be
euery way too ſtrong for him,yet being encouraged with the late victory,and in hope that his
friends in *Selymus* his army(whom he vainly ſuppoſed to haue bin yet liuing)would in the ve-
D ry battell doe ſome notable matter for him, and that victory would follow his juſt quarrell;
reſolued neither to retire backe, neither to expect the comming of the reſt of his army. The
riuer was betweene the two camps,and the number of both armies certainely diſcouered: yet
could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a ſafe retreit vnto the reſt of his army)
poſſeſſed with a fatal madneſſe,be perſuaded(conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger)in time
to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and his army,carried headlong (as it ſeemed) by ineuita-
ble deſtiny to his fatall deſtruction,which preſently after enſued.

Selymus a little before the going downe of the Sun, with his army paſſed ouer the riuer Ela-
ta,and gaue generall commandement through all his campe,that euery man againſt the next
day ſhould be ready for battell: and in a wood not far off placed a thouſand horſemen in am-
E buſh,vnder the leading of *Canoglis*,his wiues brother,a valiant yong gentleman,whom his fa-
ther had a little before ſent from Taurica vnto his ſon in law with a choſen company of Tar-
tarian horſemen: vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge, that when the battell was joined,he ſhould
ſhew himſelfe with his horſemen vpon the backe of his enemies,and there to charge them.

Selymus with his army paſſeth ouer the riuer.

As ſoone as it was day,*Selymus* in a great open field put his army in order of battell,placing
his horſemen in two wings,ſo that all his ſpearemen were in the right wing,& the archers and
carbines in the left: in the maine battell ſtood the Ianizaries with the reſt of the footmen. On
the other ſide *Achomates* hauing no footmen, diuided his horſemen into two wings alſo.

Whileſt both armies ſtood thus raunged, expecting but the ſignall of battell, a meſſenger
came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his maſters name, to try the equity of their quar-
F rell in plain combat hand to hand:which if he ſhould refuſe, he then tooke both God and the
World to witneſſe, that *Selymus* was the only cauſe of all the guiltleſſe bloud to be ſhed in the
battell,and not he: whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, that he was not to try his quarrell by the ap-
pointment of *Achomates*: and though he could be content ſo to do,yet would not his ſoldiers
ſuffer him ſo to aduenture his perſon and their owne ſafety: and ſo with that anſwer returned
the

the meſſenger backe againe to his maſter, giuing him for his reward a thouſand aſpers. G

Achomates hauing receiued this anſwer, without further delay charged the right wing of his brothers army, who valiantly receiued the firſt charge: but when they were come to the ſword, and that the matter was to be tried by handy blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Perſian horſemen; who being well armed both horſe and man, had before requeſted to be placed in the formoſt ranks, by whoſe valor the right wing of *Selymus* his army was diſordered, and not without great loſſe inforced to retire backe vpon their fellowes. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all means to encourage them againe; and preſently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and piſtals, in ſtead of them that were fled: and at the ſame time came on with the Ianizaries alſo, who with their ſhot enforced *Achomates* his horſemen to retire. *Achomates* himſelfe carefully attending euery danger, with greater H courage than fortune came in with freſh troups of horſmen, by whoſe valor the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victory made doubtfull: but in the fury of this battell whileſt he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victory, *Canoglis* with his Tartarian horſemen riſing out of ambuſh, came behind him, and with great outcries cauſed their enemies (then in the greateſt heat of their fight) to turne vpon them: at which time alſo the footmen ſtanding cloſe together aſſailed them afront, and the horſemen whom the Perſians had at firſt put to flight, now moued with ſhame, were againe returned into the battell: ſo that *Achomates* his ſmall army was beſet, and hardly aſſailed on euery ſide. In fine his enſignes being ouerthrowne and many of his men ſlain, the reſt were faine to betake themſelues to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing loſt the field, and now too late ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe I by flight, fell with his horſe into a ditch, which the raine falling the day before, had filled with water and mire: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtaine ſo much fauour at their hands as to be preſently ſlaine, but was reſerued to the farther pleaſure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderſtanding of his taking, ſent *Kirengen* (the ſame ſquint-eyed captaine which had before ſtrangled *Corcutus*) who with a bow-ſtring ſtrangled him alſo. His dead body was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterward by his commandement in royall manner buried with his anceſtors in Pruſa.

Achomates ſtrangled.

Amurath and Aladin the ſons of Achomates. fly, the on into Perſia, and the other to Egypt.

Now *Amurath*, *Acomates* his ſonne, vnderſtanding vpon the way by the Perſian horſemen (who ſeered together, had againe made themſelues way through the Turks army) of the loſſe of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to Amaſia: and there after K good deliberation, reſolued with his brother to betake themſelues both to flight; he with the Perſian horſmen paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, fled vnto *Hyſmael* the Perſian king: but *Aladin* the yonger brother paſſing ouer the mountaine Amanus in Cilicia, fled into Syria, and ſo to *Campſon Gaurus* the great Sultan of Ægypt.

After this victory, *Selymus* hauing in ſhort time and with little trouble brought all the leſſer Aſia vnder his obeiſance, and there at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, determined to haue returned to Conſtantinople: but vnderſtanding that the plague was hot there, he changed his purpoſe, and paſſing ouer at Callipolis and ſo trauelling through Grecia, came to Hadrianople, where he ſpent all the reſt of the Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortality was ceaſed, returned to Conſtantinople; where it was found, that an L hundred and threeſcore thouſand had there died of the late plague.

Hyſmael the Perſian King, whoſe fame had then filled the World, hearing of the arriuall of *Amurath*, ſent for him and demanded of him the cauſe of his comming. The diſtreſſed young Prince, who but of late had loſt his father, together with the hope of ſo great an Empire, and now glad for ſafegard of his life to fly into ſtrange countries, oppreſſed with ſorrow, by his heauy countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expreſſed the cauſe of his comming: yet in ſhort trained ſpeech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vncle, with the reſt of his couſins, all Princes of great honour, had of late been cruelly murdred by the vnmercifull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like fury ſought alſo after the life of himſelfe and his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* family, who to ſaue their liues, were both glad to M fly, his brother into Ægypt, and himſelfe to the feet of his imperiall Majeſty.

Hyſmael moued with compaſſion, and deeming it a thing well beſeeming the greatneſſe of his fame, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him reliefe, willed him to be of good comfort, and promiſed him aid. And the more to aſſure him therof, ſhortly after

gaue

A gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* (for his
tyranny become odious to the world) ſhould by any meanes miſcarry (as with tyrants commonly
falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* Family, ſore ſhaken with his vnnaturall crueltie,
none was to be preferred before this poore Prince *Amurat*: beſides that, it was ſuppoſed, that
if he ſhould inuade him with an army out of Perſia, that vpon the firſt ſtirre, all the leſſer Aſia
mourning for the vnworthy death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his
cruelty and ſhamefull murthers had worthily deſerued to be hated together both of God and
man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hyſmael* furniſhed *Amurat* his new ſonne in
Law with ten thouſand horſemen, willing him to paſſe ouer the riuer of Euphrates at Arſenga,
B and to enter into Cappadocia, as well to make proofe how the people of that Countrey
were affected towards him, as of the ſtrength of the enemy: after whom he ſent *Vſta-Ogli*, the
moſt famous Chiefetaine amongſt the Perſians, with twenty thouſand horſemen moe, with
charge, That he ſhould ſtill follow *Amurat* within one dayes journey: and he himſelfe with
a farre greater power ſtayd behind in Armenia, doubting to want victuall, if he ſhould haue
led ſo great an army through thoſe vaſt, barren, and deſolate places, whereby he muſt of neceſſity
paſſe.

1514

Amurat ſpoyleth Capadocia.

Amurat marching through the leſſer Armenia, and entring into the borders of Cappadocia,
had diuers towns yeelded vnto him by his friends; ſome others he tooke by force, which he either
ſacked or elſe quite raſed; and brought ſuch a generall feare vpon the inhabitants of that
C prouince, that the people ſubmitting themſelues to him all the way as he went, it was thought
he would haue gon directly to Amaſia, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captain whom *Selymus*
had left for his lieutenant in Aſia) with a great army come to meet him at Sebaſtia, which
at this day is called Siuas. This *Chendemus* had alſo long before aduertiſed *Selymus* both of the
preparation and comming of the Perſians, as ſoon as he had learned by his eſpials, That they
were paſſed the riuer Euphrates. Vpon which news *Selymus* came preſently ouer into Aſia, and
commanding all his forces to meet together at Pruſa, had with wonderfull celerity leauied
thereabout forty thouſand common ſoldiers. Which ſo ſoon as *Amurat* vnderſtood, as well by
ſuch priſoners as he had taken, as by aduertiſement from his friends, although he was very deſirous
to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* ſhould with his wonted
D celerity come againſt him, he ſhould be intangled in the ſtreits of the mountain Antitaurus,
he retyred backe again to *Vſta-Ogli*. But *Selymus*, who all that yeare had in his hauty thoughts
bin plotting ſome ſuch notable exploit as were worthy his greatnes, ſtanding in doubt whether
he ſhould by ſea and land inuade Hungary, the Rhodes, or Italy, at that time ſore ſhaken
with ciuill warres, hauing now ſo fit an occaſion giuen him by the Perſian, to the great ioy of
all Chriſtendome, conuerted himſelfe wholly to the Eaſt, and in thirty dayes march came to
Arſenga. Where ioyning his army with *Chendemus*, when he vnderſtood that his enemies hauing
harried the country, were again retyred, prickt forward with the griefe of the iniury, and
deſire of reuenge, with hope of victory he reſolued to follow after them foot by foot, and
forthwith to enter into Armenia the greater, the principall prouince of the Perſian kingdom.

Selymus reſolueth to inuade the Perſian.

E But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in Councell propounded by
them which had beſt knowledge of thoſe Countries, were great and many; all which by his
owne good hap and inuincible courage, he himſelfe afterwards ouercame: for the ſouldiers
which had in ſhort time already marched by land out of Illyria, Epirus, and Macedonia, into
Cappadocia, muſt of neceſſity in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they
were to endure the ſharp and pinching cold of the huge mountaine Taurus, and by and by after
the moſt vehement and ſcorching heat in the plaines of Armenia the leſſer, with extreme
thirſt, hunger, and moſt deſperat want of all things: and well the more, for that the Perſians
in their retreat, ſpoyling the countrey as they went, had vtterly deſtroyed all that might ſerue
for the vſe of man, of purpoſe to leaue nothing to their enemies but want of all things, if
F they ſhould purſue them: beſides that, his moſt expert Captaines ſtood in no ſmall doubt of
the petty Princes of Armenia the leſſe, and the mountaine King *Aladules*, whom they were
to leaue behind them at their backs, without any great aſſurance of their friendſhip, who they
well knew would leaue them, if any thing ſhould happen otherwiſe than well to *Selymus*,

either in the battell, or for want of victuals, or in the ſtreit paſſages. For they were to be re- G lieued with victuals from the Armenians: and *Aladeules* forces then in readineſſe, were neither for number nor power to be contemned; who alſo with caſtles commodiouſly placed, and ſtrong garriſons, at his pleaſure commanded all the ſtreits, paſſages, and entrances which led out of Capadocia into Armenia and the Perſian kingdome: for all the mountaine countries were vnder his command, and his kingdome ſtretched from the mountaines called Scodriſci neere vnto Pontus, all alongſt the great mountaine Taurus vnto Amanus, which diuideth Cilicia from Syria.

Amongſt the reſt, old *Chendemus* Viceroy of Natolia, a man of great experience, and of all others in greateſt credit, fauour, and authority with *Selymus*, perſuading him to ſtay a while in Capadocia, and there to refreſh his Europeian ſouldiers already weary of their long trauell, H and ſo to expect the comming of his enemies. And to perſuade him from the dangerous expedition into Perſia, ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Chendemus Baſſa diſſuades Selymus from going any further againſt the Perſians.

It is not to be thought (moſt mighty and inuincible Emperour, that the Perſians are fled for feare, becauſe they retyred before they ſet eye vpon vs their enemies: it is a fineneſſe, and they plainely go about to entrap vs, whiles they by flight make a falſe ſemblant of feare. Know we not what cunning heads, what able bodies Perſia breedeth? Will they feare the naked Turkiſh light horſemen or archers, which with their couragious barbed horſes and themſelues ſtrongly armed, feared not the Scythian ſhot: or (if that be too little) which by their valour haue vanquiſhed ſo many nations, and gained vnto their King ſo great and large an Empire? Thinke you, that you haue either greater or better forces than had long ago Caſſumes *your vncle, or great* Mahomet *your Grandfather; who diuers times prouing their forces againſt this enemy, where more than once put to the worſt, I my ſelfe then ſeruing in their camps neere vnto Trapezond and the mountaines of Nicopolis. I will not deny, but that the great ordnance which you carry with you may ſtand you in great ſtead, ſo that fit place may be found to beſtow ſo many field pieces in: but this ſcorched ground, the froſen and abrupt mountains, with the vaſt and ſolitary plaines beyond them, terrifie me, whom all the armed Forces of our enemies in places of great aduantage could not diſmay. You muſt fight not only with your valiant enemies, but with the difficulties of nature alſo. Neither may your Majeſty giue any credit to the Armenians or* Aladaules, *Princes of moſt doubtfull faith: although at your firſt ſetting forward they ſhew a faire face, and ſeeme neuer ſo friendly: for they will but expect and await ſome fit occaſion to take you at an aduantage, and ſo to ſet vpon you when you leaſt feare them. But* K *admit you were aſſured of victory, ô with how much warme bloud of your beſt ſouldiers ſhall you buy the the ſame? with what other ſoldiers, with what other forces will you defend Grecia, if the Chriſtian Kings hearing that you for enlarging your Empire, or deſire of fame being gone into the furtheſt part of Armemenia, ſhall in the meane time inuade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wiſedome, with ſafety to defend your owne, than with danger to ſeeke for that is other mens; if Princes of greateſt policy haue repoſed the glory of their victory, not in the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter of their enemies, but in the ſafety and preſeruation of their own ſoldiers: ſpare to obiect your ſelfe and your army to moſt manifeſt danger, and vnaduiſedly to commit all at once to the hazard of good fortune: which being a moſt tickle and vnconſtant miſtreſſe, if ſhe ſhall but once dally with your dangerous attempts, you ſhall through your raſhneſſe in far ſhorter ſpace tumble downe headlong from the tipe of ſo great Majeſty, than you haue thereunto a* L *while ago by your rare vertues worthily aſpired.*

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce nature, ſo would he haue all things done according to his own deuice and direction: and though he were not a little moued with this ſpeech of ſo graue a counſellor and moſt expert commander, and ſaw many of his captaines troubled with the imagination of the future danger; yet in a fume refuting ſome little of that which *Chendemus* had ſaid, he diſmiſſed the Councell, proteſting openly, that he would proceed in his intended purpoſe, hap what hap ſhould, from friend or foe: although that old fellow were (as he ſaid) ſo carefull of his life, that he feared to die a noble death. Which *Selymus* had no ſooner ſaid, but preſently others about him, accuſtomed to ſerue his humor, which enuied at the glo- M ry and wealth of old *Chendemus*, tooke hold vpon theſe words, and beginning with the greatneſſe of his forces, the valour of his ſouldies, the ſtore of his artillery, with his own inuincible fortune; made eaſie matters of all the former diſſiculties, and with great words labored to ex-

tenuat

A tenuat al that the graue Baſſa had before ſaid concerning theároweſſe and power of the enemy. After that they began to diſcredit *Chendemus*; ſaying, That hee being a martial man, and of known reſolution in al his moſt warlike actions, had not ſaid as before, for want of courage, or any diſtruſt of the victory, but of purpoſe to hinder that moſt honorable expedition, and to cut off all hope of victory, (which was, as they ſaid, as good as already gotten) beeing before loden with *Amurats* great promiſes, and the gold of Perſia. Wherefore they wiſhed him to beware of the ſly old Fox his wyles and treaſon, and to proceed on in his expedition ſo much the more boldly; and not to think that his ſoldiers would refuſe any danger or labor ſo long as they ſaw courage in himſelf, but would be ready (as they ſaid) to vndertake the moſt deſperat difficulties of war, and deſired nothing more than to be conducted into thoſe far Countries, B where by their martial proweſſe & valiant acts they might make their Emperor *Selymus* equal with the Great *Alexander*, and themſelues comparable to his Macedonians. And to work the vtter deſtruction of this moſt faithful Counſellor without all recure, theſe falſe flatterers ſuborned bold faced accuſers, who falſly and ſhamefully affirmed, that hee had receiued great ſums of mony of *Amurat*, and did not therfore in time go againſt the Perſian robbers; whereby all the former calamities happened (as they ſaid) in that prouince. For which pretended cauſes *Selymus* commanded *Chendemus* without further hearing to be ſlain: but indeed to terrifie others from like liberty of ſpeech, and withall to teach them, to deem thoſe deuices and counſels as moſt excellent, which their ſoueraign ſhould as it were by diuine inſpiration find out himſelf, and ſo to accept of them without contradiction. The ſudden death of this moſt C faithful counſellor *Chendemus* ſtrook an exceeding fear into the minds of all men, for that ſo honorable a perſonage, of late in ſo great credit and fauor with his Soueraigne, was without hearing executed; whom they had knowne as a man of great account both for his proweſſe and policie, to haue ſtood faſt on *Selymus* ſide, firſt in his wars againſt his father, and of late againſt his brother: not doubting but that *Selymus*, by nature cruel, and ſuſpitious euen of trifles, would with like tyrannie not ſpare men of meaner calling, who ſpared not his deareſt and moſt antient friends.

Chendemus Baſſa by the commandment of Selimus ſlain

Selymus marching from Arſenga, came to the confines of the leſſer Armenian kings, and of *Aladeules*; where by his Embaſſadors he requeſted the kings of thoſe nations (who were then in arms) that they would join their forces with his againſt the Perſian, and to go with him in- D to Armenia the great; promiſing that when the wars were happily ended, he would giue vnto them all ſuch teritory as ſhould chance in thoſe wars to be taken from the enemy, as a reward of their aid. But theſe poor kings, who hated both *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*, for the manifold injuries they daily receiued in the frontiers of their dominions, lying in the midſt between them (as it commonly falleth out, that the weakeſt go the wals) craftily expecting the euent of this war, would not openly ſhew themſelues, but anſwered, That they had taken vp Armes for no other purpoſe but for the defence of themſelues and their kingdoms. Not meaning in that doubtfull War to bear themſelues as enemies vnto either of thoſe two mighty princes their friends and Neighbours, of whoſe iuſt grieuances they were not able or worthy to determin; yet if they would without hoſtilitie, in peaceable manner paſſe through their Dominions, E they promiſed to giue free paſſage vnto him and his Army; and after he was entred into Armenia the greater, to relieue him with ſuch prouiſion of victual as their bare countrey could afford.

Selymus thus deceiued of this his firſt hope, (for why, hee thought thoſe poor kings would at the firſt either for loue or fear haue bin ready to haue done him all the ſeruice they could) diſſembled his grief for the preſent, as wholly bent againſt *Hyſmael*, fearing that if he ſhould by word or deed offend thoſe neuter princes, he ſhould haue them at his backe his moſt aſſured and vndoubted enemies. Wherefore paſſing the mountaine called Scodriſci, he came in 8 days to the great mountain Moſchij, which the famous riuer Euphrates, with his mighty ſtream and hugy broken banks, ſeparateth from the great mountain Antitaurus, & with per- F petual ſteep ridges runneth into Iberia and Colchis, and on the Eaſt diſcouereth Armenia the greater. Here *Selymus* with enſignes diſplaied marching alongſt the bank of the riuer, departed not from the ſame, for fear to lack water in that hot and barren countrey; and ſo held on his way directly Eaſtward, leauing the Countrey of Armenia the leſſe vpon his left hand, and the frontiers of the kingdom of *Aladeules* on the right, vntil he came to the mountain Periardo.

riardo. This great mountain, famous for the riſing of two great and notable riuers out of it, is for the wonderful fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called Leprus, which is to ſay, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuers and contrary Marſhes, with many arms water and inrich that champian and dry country. *Selymus* hauing made ſo great a journey, and yet not able ſo much as by report to vnderſtand what was become of *Hyſmaels* ſo great and populous army, which he knew was but a little before departed out of Cappadocia; as a man in doubt and half afraid, ſtaied and incamped his army at the head of the riuer Euphrates; and from thence ſent out his ſcouts euery way, if haply they could intercept ſome which might giue them knowledge of their enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for fear of the Turks comming, or that *Hyſmael* their king had ſo commanded, were all before fled out of that part of the country wherby *Selymus* was to paſſe with his army; and hauing forſaken their houſes, had carried away with them, or els by fire deſtroied whatſoeuer might ſerue for the vſe of man. G H

Selymus ſends out his Scouts, who returne with bad newes

The Turkiſh ſcouts after they had by the ſpace of two daies ſcoured vp & down the country, returned back again to *Selymus*, not hauing taken ſo much as one man; ſhewing vnto him, That all things were deſtroyed before him, and nothing left but wild fields and a moſt deſolat country, without any appearance of man or beaſt: and that they were of opinion, that either the Armenian guids were deceiued in the way, or els had of purpoſe brought them into ſuch deſart places, wheras wanting paſture for their horſes, and food for men, they muſt needs together periſh with hunger. Which their preſent fear was greatly increaſed by the weak kings whom they had left behind them at their backs; but eſpecially *Aladules*, who either for fear or ſhame had a few daies at the firſt holpen the Turks with victuals, but after they were farther entred into Armenia, performed nothing of that he had before moſt faithfully promiſed: ſeeking therin the fauor of *Hyſmael*, who he thought would with the ſame good fortune vanquiſh the Turks, that he had not long before the greater part of the Eaſt. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to ſuſpect treaſon, to fear famin, to dread the deſarts and forſaken places, and with grief of mind to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his faithfull Counſellor had before moſt truly told him. For all that, he ſhewed himſelf to his ſoldiers with cheerfull countenance, as a man nothing diſmaid: which his firm conſtancy ſeemed to promiſe to their diſcouraged minds good ſucces, with ſpeedy victory. Wherefore calling vnto him his Guids, and ſuch as beſt knew the country, and vnderſtanding by them, that on the right hand beyond the mountain Periardo lay the moſt fruitful country of all Armenia, he roſe with his army, and compaſſing the hil toward the North, turned down toward the riuer Araxes, and aboue the city of Coy paſſed his army ouer the riuer, his footmen by little bridges, and his horſemen by foords. For Araxes vntil it haue receiued ſuch riuers into it as fall out of the marſhes of Periardo, runneth but with a ſmall ſtreame, and is in ſome places eaſie to be paſſed ouer. I K

Selymus paſſeth ouer Araxes.

Selymus had ſcarſly wel got ouer the riuer and incamped his great army, when *Vſta Ogli* (who hauing joined his forces with *Amurat*, lying incamped not far off, and fearing leſt the City of Coy and the vnprouided citiſens ſhould by the ſudden comming of the enemy be oppreſſed) quickly roſe with his army, and ſet forward to meet the Turkes: for that city of all others in that country, for freſh fountaines and riuers moſt pleaſant (wherein the Perſian kings, for the great plenty of al maner of fruit, & wholſomnes of the air, leauing Tauris, were wont to ſpend moſt part of the ſummer) had then in it many rich citiſens and ſumptuous buildings; which *Vaſta Ogli* thought good betimes to reſcue, and not with diſhonour to loſe that rich city, looking as it were vpon it; and leauing it vnto the enemy, to ſuffer him there to refreſh his hunger-ſtarued ſoldiers with plenty of all things. *Caſsinus* an Armenian born, and preſent in thoſe wars, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) ſhew vnto him, That this city of Coy was in antient time that moſt famous city which was called Artaxata, which *Domitius Corbulo* deſtroied. Neither did *Hyſmael* himſelf (although he had but a little before ſent the greateſt part of his forces againſt the Coraxeni, who were then riſen vp againſt him in rebellion, as one that made no great reckoning of the Turks, or euer thought that they durſt haue come ſo far into Armenia) make any delay, but forthwith as ſoon as he had heard of the comming of *Selymus*, came alſo in perſon himſelf vnto his army. L M

By chance *Vſta Ogli* (who contrary to all mens expectation had till then ſhunned to fight, A or come in ſight of his enemies, of purpoſe with leſſe danger and loſſe of men to ouerthrow them afterward, being ſore weakned & almoſt ſpent with long trauel & want of victuals) lay then incamped neer the city, when as the Turks ſcouts, vpon the comming of *Hyſmael*, perceiued by the riſing of the duſt, and the neighing of the Perſian horſes, that ſome greater power was at hand. Which ſo ſoon as it was noiſed in the Turkiſh Camp, they began to rejoice exceedingly, and to conceiue the firſt hope both of their ſafety and victory: glad that now meeting with their enemies, they ſhould either by victory turn their labor, toil, famin, and extremities, wherwith they had a long time ſtriuen, into eaſe and plenty of all things, or elſe by honorable death end all their miſeries at once. For many of the horſmen, eſpecially of them which came out of Europ, whoſe horſes were ſtarued for want of forrage, and the common B footmen ſpent with long trauell, and grieuouſly troubled with the flix (who trauelling in the extream heat of the ſun, had for moſt part liued vpon Crabs and other wilde fruits, with a bad ſupping made of meale and vineger, and almoſt diſpairing to get the ſight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hyſmael as ſoone as he was come within ſight of his enemies, repoſing great confidence as wel in the valor of his ſoldiers, as in his own rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to giue them battel. Wherupon he ſent an herald vnto *Selymus*, accompanied with certain skilful ſoldiers, which ſhould in beſt ſort they could take view of the number and force of their enemies, of their artillery, and in what ſort they lay incamped: and to tell him, That foraſmuch as he had no title vnto Armenia, nor that the Turks had at any time claimed C any intereſt therin, he could not but maruel, why he had againſt all right entred with his Army into his dominion. But if he haply vpon a vain preſumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of Macedon, ſhould think ſo much of the world his own, as he could by his ſword & good fortune win, he ſhould then make himſelf ready againſt the next day to make proof of his fortune, and the forces of others not inferior to his own.

Hyſmael ſends an herauld to Selymus.

Wherunto *Selymus* anſwered, that the freſh remembrance of the manifold injuries done to the Turks by the Perſians, was ſuch, as might giue him iuſt cauſe to take vp arms: foraſmuch as long ago, both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his Vncle *Caſſumes*, and euen of late his father *Bajazet*, and he himſelf alſo in his wars againſt his brother *Achomates*, had receiued great wrong and diſhonor from the Perſians. All which things, although they were of themD ſelues important, yet he eſteemed not of them as ſufficient cauſes of war, but only ſought after his enemy *Amurat* his brothers ſon, who had of late ſpoiled Cappadocia; whom if hee would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutual lawes of amity and friendſhip among princes for the maintenance and preſeruation of their eſtates and kingdoms required, then he would withdraw his forces, and peaceably return into his kingdome: otherwiſe, hee threatned with fire and ſword to deſtroy not the frontiers of Armenia, but euen the heart of Perſia. And diſmiſſing the herauld, both the armies for that day lay ſtil in their trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battel.

Selimus his anſwer vnto Hyſmael.

The next day *Selymus* by perſuaſion of his Captaines brought his army into the open field, and in order of battel ſet forward againſt his enemies, which lay about two miles off; thinking E that *Hyſmael* a prince of ſo great name would ſtraightway accept of battel: yet what ſtrength the Perſian King was of, what number of men hee had, what manner of horſemen, how armed, and with what weapons, he could not certainly learn: for beſide that the Perſians are by nature ingenious and ſubtil, the ſoldiers generally ſo reuerenced and loued *Hyſmael* their King, that no one was found to haue gon from him to the Turk; wheras many reuolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Perſian captains.

The order of Selymus battell.

Selymus, who had at that time 80000 horſmen vnder his enſignes, placed *Chaſan Baſſa*, his lieutenant General of Europ, with his Europeian horſmen in the right wing; and *Sinan Baſſa* with his Aſian horſemen in the left; and before them both the Acanzij, which are voluntary horſmen the forerunners of the Turks Army, who in hope of ſpoil follow the Turkes Wars F out of all countries: in the middle battel he placed the Aſapi or common ſoldiers, which baſe and half naked people, as men of little worth or eſtimation, are commonly thruſt into the front of the Turks battels, to receiue the firſt fury of the enemy, and to blunt their ſwords, more than for any other good ſeruice: directly behind them he beſtowed his great artillerie, garded with 4000 horſemen: laſt of all followed himſelfe with his choſen pentioners and

Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmal field pieces and his cariages,as with a double trench : G
for he had (as their maner is) ſo inuironed himſelfe round with his ſadled Camels made faſt
one to another with long chains,that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench, from whence
he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed army ; and in caſe of extremitie being in
the midſt of his ſtrength,might as out of a ſure fort repres the furious aſſault of his enemies.
He alſo commanded his footmen in the vauward of his battel,that vpon the approch of the enemies
horſe, they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace
for the great ordnance which was placed behind them,to play in the middle betweene them.
On the contrary part *Hyſmael*, who by the Turkes fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuices of his
enemies,calling to him the chief Commanders of his army,ſhewed vnto them, that there was
no doubt of victory,ſo that they could ſhun the fury of the great Artillery : which he aſſured H
them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen diuide themſelues, they
would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts, and giue place to the fury of
the great ordnance : for which purpoſe he cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplaid, wherunto
they ſhould at the time appointed retyre ; the one for himſelf and thoſe whom he conducted ;
the other for *Vſta Ogli* and the reſt of his army.

Hyſmael with 30000 Perſians giues battell to Selymus with 300000.

Hyſmael (as *Iouius* reporteth)had in his army about thirty thouſand horſemen,without any
footmen,among whom were ten thouſand men at Arms,reſolute gentlemen of great experience,
all gallantly mounted vpon couragious barbed horſes, and themſelues brauely armed,
both for the ſhew,and the terror of the enemy; their weapons were a good lance,a ſure ſcimitar,
and a horſmans mace ; the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and head-pieces, & were I
either archers on horſeback,or els vſed light horſmens ſtaues made of Aſh after the Spaniſh
faſhion,wherwith they ſerued at the half ſtaf : as for guns they had none, in which thing only
and number of men they were inferior to the Turks. But ſuch was the inuincible courage and
noble minds of the Perſians,that contemning the huge multitude of their enemies(being in
number about 300000) and making no reckoning of their great Artillery,they doubted not
with ſo few to giue them battel.

Hyſmael hauing giuen the ſignal of battel,came on with his Army,exhorting his ſouldiors
then to remember the honor they had long before gotten in many battels, and couragiouſly
to follow him their Soueraign, whom they by their worthy ſeruice and many victories had
made the greateſt Monarch of the Eaſt : telling them, that they ſhould haue now to doe but K
with naked men,whoſe weapons were but weak ſtaues and light targets,and their horſes little
poor jades almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant men at
arms.

On the other ſide,*Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies,by the riſing of the duſt,
cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his army by his captains and officers,that the time of
battel which they had ſo long wiſhed for,was now come ; wherin if they would worthily acquit
themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies, they ſhould to their immortall fame extend
the Turkiſh empire from the Perſian ſea to the mountain Caucaſus. But if they cowardly
forgetting their antient prowes,ſhould faint in time of battel,they were not then to thinke
by any means to eſcape by flight back again thorow thoſe great plains & deſolat countries ; L
where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh,or els to their perpetual infamy be taken
priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues be inforced to ſerue the Perſian women :
foraſmuch as beſides the great diſtance of place,both the great riuer Euphrates, and the huge
mountain Taurus,and the faithleſſe King *Aladeules* (who had ſhut vp all the paſſages) did cut
off all hope from them if they ſhould be ouercome,by any means poſſible to eſcape backe again
into Capadocia.

The great and mortall battel between Selymus and Hyſmael.

When *Hyſmael* was come neer with his Army, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen diuiding
themſelues,made place for the great artillery to play,as was before appointed ; hee alſo preſently
diuiding his horſmen, charged the right wing of the Turks army with ſuch force,that
after a moſt terrible fight betwixt the half armed Turks,and the valiant Perſian men at arms, M
Chaſan Baſſa the great commander of the Europian horſmen, with the formoſt of that Wing
being ſlain,and many more after them,he inforced all that wing to retyre to that place where
Selymus himſelf with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide *Vaſta Ogli* hauing receiued no little
harm by the Turks great ordnance,becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelf and his
fol-

A followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmael*, charged the Aſian horſmen in the left wing, & there
in a bloudy battel made great ſlaughter of the enemy, but not with like good hap as did *Hyſmael*:
for whilſt he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt ranks aſſailed his enemies, he was ſtruck
with a ſmal ſhot and ſlain. With whoſe fall the Turkes were greatly incouraged, inſomuch
as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had loſt the third part of the left wing,
began afreſh to renue the battell, and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians, and with their harquebuſiers
(wherwith the Perſian horſmen were wonderfully terrified) draue them headlong
vpon the Turks common footmen. The Perſians, whether it were forced by neceſſity, for that
they had loſt ſo great a Commaunder, and not well able to gouerne their horſes, terrified
with the thundring ſhot; or els for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented to them greater
B place of aduantage; ſerring themſelues together, brake through the middle of the battell
of the Turkiſh footmen, and bearing them down before them with a mighty ſlaughter, came
to the great ordnance, and there ſlew the cannoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces at all
aduentures, in that great medly made a great ſlaughter, as well of their own men as of their enemies.
And ſo without ſtop, as victorious conquerors, made way through the midſt of their
enemies, vntil they came to the right wing, where *Hyſmael* was ſtill hardly charging the Europeian
horſmen, who hauing before loſt *Chaſan* their Generall, and being many of them ſlain or
wounded, were already inforced to retyre: but now charged afreſh vpon the ſide, had much
ado to indure the fury of their enemies, but as men in extream danger were glad to cry to *Selymus*
for help.

Vſta Ogli ſlain

C In this hard diſtreſſe *Selymus* in two places opened his Carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it
were intrenched, and preſently ſent out part of his horſmen. And by and by turning himſelfe
vnto his Ianizaries, ſaid, *This daies victory is reſerued (moſt worthy ſouldiers) vnto your valor and labor;*
wherfore now valiantly ſet forward, and as freſh and couragious men aſſaile your wearied enemies;
their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the weight of their armor.
But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not very forward, but ſtood ſtill, as
men willing in ſo great a danger to keep themſelues ſafe within the ſafegard of their munition.
Wherfore whilſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the midſt of the heat of
this victory, compaſſing in the Europeian horſmen, ſlew them downright, *Selymus* in the mean
time looking on, and wiſhing in vain to help them. *Fabritius Carrectus* Maſter of the Rhodes,
D who of all theſe things had certain intelligence, writ to *Leo* the tenth then Biſhop of Rome,
that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commanded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſwaſion or intreaty
to be induced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſmen, but as men diſtruſting the
euent of the battel, choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucces thereof, than with moſt
manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues to the violence of the Perſian horſmen, which had as
a tempeſt ouerborn the vantgard of the Turkiſh footmen.

The Perſians were now ready on euery ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength:
when *Sinan Baſſa*, although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned, yet following the Perſians
through the midſt of the heaps of the ſlain footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*,
and with certain freſh troups which had eſcaped the fury of *Vſta Ogli*, reſtored the battell, before
E almoſt loſt: but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis Beg* and *Mahomet* his brother,
deſcended of the honorable family of the *Molcozzij*, which for nobility among the Turks
is accounted next to the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their warlike father
Malcozzius, famous for that wofull expedition hee made into Friuli againſt the Venetians in
the reign of *Bajazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged, but ſtill in hope, commanded all the
great ordnance wherewith he was inuironed, which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge, to bee
diſcharged: by the violence wherof ſuch ſlaughter was made as well of his own men as of his
enemies, mingled together, that what for duſt, what for ſmoke, and thundring of the artillery,
hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing, & their horſes being ſo terrified
with the thundring report of the great ordnance, that that they were not now to be ruled; the
F battel was broken off, the victory yet doubtful. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the terrour
of this day, number it amongſt their diſmal daies, terming it, *The only day of doom.*

The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.

Hyſmael in this furious battel hauing receiued a wound vnder the left ſhoulder with a ſmall
ſhot, by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew himſelf to haue his wound ſearched: which thing
vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* & his army: for the Perſians by and by following

ing their King, leſt the victory, now in all mens opinion almoſt gotten. But after that *Hyſmael* perceiued the wound was not deep, for that the ſtrength of his armor had ſo broken the force of the ſhot, that it pierced not far into his body, he was about to haue charged the Turkes afreſh: but vnderſtanding of the death of *Vſta Ogli*, in whom for his ſingular experience in martial affairs, he had repoſed his greateſt confidence; and his captains alſo perſuading him, not to make ſo light reckoning of his wound, the grief wherof he yet felt not, being warm, but to haue regard to his own health: he in ſeemly order ſoftly marched away in ſuch ſort, that his departure had no reſemblance of flight. And paſſing by the city of Tauris, willed the chief of the citiſens to open the gates of the city to *Selymus*, if he ſhould come thither, and to receiue his garriſons, rather than by vain conſtancie to fal into vtter deſtruction: and ſo marched himſelf into the confines of Media.

The Perſian Tents taken by the Turks.

But the Turks intangled with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for fear, nor ſtrength for wearines to purſue their enemies, yet comming to the Perſian tents took them without reſiſtance; where beſide the rich pauilions wrought with needle-work of ſilk and gold, & much other pretious furniture, many noble Ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the maner of the Perſians had followed their husbands in thoſe wars; whom *Selymus* cauſed to be all ſet at liberty vntouched, excepting one of the wiues of *Hyſmael*, whom he detained & gaue her in mariage to one of his Baſſa's. Some which were preſent at this battel, reported, That amongſt the heaps of them that were ſlaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Perſian women, who being armed, and following their husbands, died with them in the battel; whom *Selymus* cauſed to be honorably buried.

This was that notable battel fought in the Galderan fields, neer to the city of Coy, betwixt theſe two great princes, the ſeuenth day of Auguſt, *An. Dom.* 1514. In which battell *Selymus* loſt aboue 30000 men, amongſt whom was *Chuſan Baſſa* his great Lieutenant in Europ, ſeuen Sanzacks, in which were the two *Malcozzian* brethren, who labouring the one to reſcue the other, were both together ſlain. Beſide his common footmen, of whom he made leaſt account, he loſt moſt part of his Illyrian, Macedonian, Servian, Epirot, Theſſalian and Thracian horſemen, the vndoubted flour and ſtrength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almoſt all ſlain or grieuouſly wounded.

Selymus for all this great loſſe, by the confeſſion of his enemies hauing gotten the victory, and receiuing embaſſadors from Coy and the Cities therabouts, and the great City Tauris, promiſing to relieue him with whatſoeuer he needed, and to do what els he ſhould command; marched directly to Tauris, deſiring both to ſee and poſſeſſe himſelfe of that City, as one of the chief palaces of the Perſian Kings. This city is two daies journy diſtant from Coy where the battel was fought, & is verily thought to be the famous city called antiently Ecbatana, about 150 miles diſtant from the Caſpian ſea. The citiſens were ready at the comming of the Turks, and brought them great ſtore of victuals out of the city, where *Selymus* had lodged his army in the ſuburbs, thinking it no ſafety to lodge within that great and populous City, contenting himſelf to haue the gates therof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with ſtrong gard. Some report, That *Selymus* durſt not truſt the Perſians, and therfore neuer went into the City but diſguiſed in the habit of a common ſouldier. Yet ſome others ſay, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the ſtately palace of the Perſian King, and there had great diſcourſe with them of Tauris, concerning his late victory. But whilſt he thus ſtayed at Tauris, and with himſelf purpoſed to ſpend that Winter in Armenia, he called together his great Captains and Commanders of his army, to know how they liked therof: who fearing his diſpleaſure, referred themſelues to his owne reſolution. Onely *Muſtapha* his chiefe Baſſa chanced to ſay, That it were good that the minds of the Ianizaries and the other ſouldiers of the court ſhould therin be known. Which his ſpeech *Selymus* took in ſuch euill part, that he preſently commanded him out of his ſight, and depriued him of his greateſt honour. And the more to diſgrace him, ſent one of his jeaſters after him, who in great ſcorne and deriſion comming behinde him, cut off part of his Tulipant that hung down as the faſhion was. But the Ianizaries vnderſtanding the matter, and much offended with the indignitie which was offered to the great Baſſa, whom they dearly loued, roſe vp all together in arms, and told their emperor *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any caſe Winter ſo far from home in the enemies country: and therfore that it were beſt for him betime to conſider of the matter, for that they

The Janiſaries mutine againſt Selymus.

were reſolutely ſet down to forſake him, if he would needs ſtay, and not with ſpeed return. *Selymus* much troubled with this inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and hearing daily, That *Hyſmael* with new ſupplies out of Iberia, Albania, and Parthia, was comming vpon him with greater power than before, and conſidering withall, with what difficulty and danger he had eſcaped in the late battel, preſerued rather by his good fortune and force of his artillery, than the valour and proweſſe of his ſoldiers; and withall ſuſpecting the multitude and ſtrength of the Tauriſians, of whoſe fidelitie he could make no reckoning; he changed his former determination, and reſolued again to return into Capadocia. Wherupon hauing contrary to his promiſe exacted a great maſſe of mony from them of Tauris, he departed thence, carying away with him 3000 families, the beſt artificers in that city, eſpecially ſuch as were skilful in making of Armor and weapons, and ſo with ſpeed retyred towards the riuer Euphrates, a longer way than that wherby he came; fearing to return again by the head of Araxis and the mountaines Periardes, for meeting the Iberian and Albanian horſemen, who were reported to be then comming againſt him.

Hyſmael vnderſtanding of his departure, followed after with as much ſpeed as hee could, leauing behind him for haſt his cariages and ſuch of his ſoldiers as were not able to endure ſo long and ſpeedy a march. Yet for all his haſt (foraſmuch as *Selymus* was gon a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his army vntil he was come to the great riuer Euphrates; where *Selymus* ſtaying two daies, and hauing made diuers little boats, was paſſing ouer his footmen: which becauſe they were not ſufficient for the ſpeedy tranſportation of ſo great a multitude, many for haſt ſwam ouer the riuer with bladders, and ſome aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken pieces of their cariages, which they had for that purpoſe burſt in ſunder. *Selymus* himſelf got ouer to the farther banke in a little boat, hauing before cauſed his horſemen with their horſes at once to take the riuer, of purpoſe to breake the violence of the ſtreame, wherby his footmen and Camels with their burdens got ouer with leſſe danger, and ſome of his field pieces were alſo with leſſe difficulty tranſported: yet for all his ſpeed, the Georgian horſmen, the forerunners of *Hyſmaels* army, being come within ſight before the Turks were al got ouer, raiſed ſuch a fear and ſtir all alongſt that ſide of the Riuer, that 2000 of the Turkes were in their haſty paſſage there drowned, diuers field pieces left ſticking in the mud, and much of the baggage caried away with the force of the riuer. The Georgians contented with ſuch things as were left, purſued them no further: for the wheels of the Turks cariages intangled together with the violence of the ſtream, had ſtaied a great part of the Turkiſh traſh, floting in the riuer, and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the ſhore; all which the Georgian horſmen eaſily drew out. *Hyſmael* in the mean time rejoicing at nothing more, than that hauing chaſed away his enemies, he had alſo recouered much of the great Ordnance, by which he had before receiued ſo great hurt.

Selymus in paſſing the Riuer Euphrates, receiueth great loſſe.

Selymus by ſpeedy flight thus got out of the hands of the Perſians, found his paſſage much more dangerous at the mountain Antitaurus than he had before thought of: for *Aladeules* the mountain King hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his ſauage people before taken all the ſtreit paſſages of the mountain country; who euery night in theeuiſh maner aſſailed the Turks, as they with their weake and weary companies paſſed through thoſe rough and broken waies; and robbing their cariages, preſently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thick woods and rocky mountains. *Aladules* himſelf in the mean time (by whoſe fraud all this was don) euery day excuſing himſelf, as if it had bin don againſt his wil, by the rude mountain people, inured to ſuch deſperat roberies; whom neuertheles he ſaid he would in ſhort time ſeuerely chaſtiſe, ſo ſoone as hee could finde the authors therof. In the mean while for faſhion ſake ſending a little ſpare prouiſion for certaine daies, did euery night rob and ſpoil the Turkes by his ſouldiers, as they could take them in places of aduantage. Againſt which miſchiefs *Selymus* could neither by polcie, neither his ſouldiers by induſtry prouide any ſufficient remedy. Wherfore diſſembling the injuries he daily receiued, purpoſing to be therof in time reuenged, together with the foul & trecherous dealing of the faithles king; holding on his way, he with much ado came at length to Trapezond, and from thence to Amaſia, where hee ſpent that winter in repairing his ſoreweakened army; purpoſing with the firſt of the ſpring to make war vpon *Aladules* and the mountain people, who in his return had don him ſo great harm and injury.

Selymus comes to Amaſia.

In this ſort *Iouius*, one of the great hiſtoriographers of that time, reporteth the aforeſaid G
wars betwixt *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*; whoſe credit in that matter other Writers haue ſince for
moſt part followed. Howbeit *Io. Ant. Mananinus* a Genoay who ſerued in thoſe wars, doth in
his book concerning Turkiſh affaires, dedicated to the French King, much otherwiſe report
of the ſame. Which to ſatisfie the deſirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to
ſet down, as it is by himſelf reported.

The former hiſtory as it is reported by Io. Ant. Menauinus a Genoay, preſent at doing thereof.

Selymus (ſaith he) with his army, in number about three hundred thouſand men, being come
to the riuer Euphrates, found the bridge broken down by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies
incamped in conuenient place on the farther ſide of the riuer, with their forces greatly increaſed
by new ſupplies lately ſent from the Perſian King; ſo that there was then in the Perſian
army about 90000 men horſe & foot, the horſmen for the moſt part furniſhed with two horſes H
apiece for ſeruice. And although *Selymus* did what he might to know whether the Perſian
King were in perſon himſelf in the Camp, or els (which he moſt feared) was raiſing of greater
forces in Perſia; yet could he by no means learn the truth of that he deſired. Wherfore repairing
again the broken bridge, he firſt ſent ouer his two great Lieutenants, of Grecia and Natolia,
who paſſing ouer the riuer, incamped themſelues as they thought conuenient. The next
morning, about two hours before the riſing of the Sunne, *Amurat* ſuddenly aſſailed the great
Commander of Grecia, *Chaſan Baſſa*, in his trenches, and by plain force diſcomfited the Turks
and by good fortune took from them their tents: wherupon ſuch a terror and fear came vpon
the other great Commander of Natolia, that his ſouldiers thruſting themſelues for fear into
the riuer, ſwam ouer with great danger, and again joined themſelues with the reſt of the army. I
Selymus troubled with the great loſſe thus receiued, cauſed all his great artillery to be placed
all alongſt the hithermoſt banke of the riuer Euphrates; and becauſe the enemy ſhould not
perceiue the ſame, ranged certain companies of his ſoldiers before the Ordnance, as if they
ſhould preſently haue paſſed the riuer: who vpon ſignall giuen ſhould forthwith withdraw
themſelues and giue place to the great ordnance bent vpon the enemy. But when fire was giuen
to theſe great pieces, many of them being ouercharged burſt in ſunder, and ſlew diuers
of the Turks: many alſo of their rich horſes and mules being neer vnto the riuers ſide, and terrified
with the thundring ſhot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with
their riders. The Perſians alſo receiuing great loſſe, retyred farther off for fear of the great artillery.
So *Selymus* without reſiſtance paſſing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith [illegible]wards the K
enemy; whom the Perſians as men nothing diſmaid, notably incountred. The battell was of
long time doubtfull, and much bloud ſhed on both ſides; and if the appro[illegible] of the night
had not broke off the force of that fight, the Perſian army rather ouercharged with the multitude
of the enemy, than vanquiſhed by valor, had vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow:
but by the benefit of the night they without further loſſe eſcaped the purſuit of the Turkes.
Vpon this victory, *Selymus* left his cariages and baggage with his footmen; and taking with
him only his horſmen, ſet forward with intention to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the regal
city Tauris, before the fame of the late fought battell could be caried thither; the Perſians in
the mean time being no leſſe carefull of their affairs. The day before, ten thouſand men well
appointed, which had not yet bin in the battel, were comming to *Hyſmael*. Theſe he craftily L
laid in the Turks way, commanding them vpon the approch of the enemy, to flie as if it had
bin for fear. *Selymus* in the morning deſcrying theſe horſmen at hand, ſuppoſing them to be
ſuch of his enemies as being ouertaken with the darknes of the night, were not able to follow
the reſt of the Army, exhorted his ſouldiers couragiouſly to purſue their diſcouraged Enemies.

The Perſians ſeeing the Turks, of purpoſe betook themſelues to flight; and they ſuſpecting
no deceit, followed faſt after them, vntill that about mid-day being weary of the purſuit, and
comming vnto a little riuer that was in their way, there ſtaid to refreſh themſelues; and after
they had taken a ſhort repaſt, againe purſued the Perſians, ſtill leauing behinde them ſuch as
were not able ſo faſt to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they ſhould ſurpriſe M
and ranſack the rich city of Tauris. The Turkiſh horſmen thus drawn far from the footmen,
the Perſian horſmen left in ambuſh, in the mean time ſet vpon the Turkes footmen (lying
as they ſuppoſed in great ſecuritie) and with a great ſlaughter ouerthrew them: at which
time they alſo took all *Selymus* his treaſure and great Artillery. Which ouerthrow was by

ſpeedy

A ſpeedy poſts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind already conceiued the ſacking of Tauris) & withall that the fierce enemy was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abaſhed with this vnexpected newes, and the loſſe of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thouſand Perſians which had before of purpoſe fled, perceiuing, now turning themſelues vpon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly: ſo *Selymus* incloſed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great ouerthrow: and the Turks thus hardly beſet, and almoſt deſpairing of their liues, and hauing loſt their enſigns brake out ſidewaies betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* ſeeing all deſperat and forlorne, betooke himſelfe to flight alſo with the reſt: and paſſing the riuer Euphrates, brake down the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Perſians ſhould further purſue B him, and with much trouble and no leſſe danger comming at length to Amaſia, aſſembled thither the reliques of his diſcomfited army. Such of the Turks as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keep way with the reſt, were all ſlaine by the Perſians.

The Genoway author thus concludeth his Hiſtory, That the Perſian King did not more reioice at this victory, than did he himſelfe for the ouerthrow of the Turks, hoping in that their ſo great a confuſion to free himſelfe of his long & miſerable thraldome, and to find a way vnto his natiue countrey parents: afterwards he did, flying firſt to Trapezond and there taking paſſage into Europ, he came to Hadrianople, from thence he trauelled by land on foot to Salonica, and there chancing vpon certaine ſhips of Chriſtian Merchants which had brought corne thither, he was by them tranſported into the Iſland of Chios; from whence he ioyfully C returned to Genoa his natiue country, after he had amongſt the Turks endured ten yeres captiuity: moſt part wherof he liued as a page in old *Bajazets* priuy chamber, and the reſt as a ſoldier of the court in the reigne of *Selymus*; and therfore well acquainted with the faſhion of the Turks Court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now ſhall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpoſe, here with *Iouius* a little to digreſſe in comparing theſe two great Princes *Hyſmael* and *Selymus* together, who in that time had filled the world with the glory of their fame: that wearied with bloudy broiles, and the wonderfull chances of war, we may a little repoſe our ſelues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable.

Selymus and Hyſmael compared together.

Theſe two mighty Princes, as they were for royall deſcent, ſtrength of body, courage of D mind, riches, and power, equall, and had thereby obtained like fame and renowne: ſo in conditions and qualities of mind, and martial diſcipline, they much differed. Firſt of all (beſide the mutual hatred of the one nation againſt the other, deliuered as it were by ſucceſſion from their grandfathers and fathers) theſe two Princes, and ſo likewiſe their ſubiects alſo, were at great ods about an idle queſtion of their vain ſuperſtition, the one preferring & honoring *Eububekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the moſt true and rightful ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no leſſe deuotion honouring *Haly*, and deteſting the three former; differing otherwiſe in few or no points of their moſt fond ſuperſtition: yet did they vnder the colour and zeale of their religion (as they would haue it) both pretend iuſt cauſes of war, although their euil diſſembled ambitious deſires, plainly declared vnto the world, that they both ſhot at one E and the ſame mark, *viz.* By confirming their power & ſtrength, to extend the bounds of their great Empires. For *Hyſmael* of purpoſe affected the fame and glory of *Darius* and *Xerxes* the antient Perſian kings, who hauing ſubdued Aſia, with great boldnes paſſed ouer into Europ: and *Selymus* the greatnes of *Alexander* of Macedon, who ſubuerted the Perſian empire. Which their aſpiring thoughts, maſking vnder the vaile of zeale towards their religon, ſeemed not altogether vain; fortune with like indifference immoderatly fauoring their bold ambitious and endleſſe deſires. But in *Hyſmael* appeared ſuch a wonderful deuotion and grauity, that his haughty thoughts were with the reuerend maieſty thereof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhuman cruelty did blot and obſcure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward and puniſhment retained the maieſty of his empire, but with greater fame of ſecurity than bounty. Becauſe it F was expedient in the exact diſcipline of that ſeruile gouernment, wherof the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire conſiſteth, to vſe all rigor and ſeuerity: otherwiſe then it ſtood with the ſtate of *Hyſmael*, who leauied alwaies his armies of his Nobilitie and men free borne, with whom temperat iuſtice, ciuil courteſie, & popular clemency, are of greateſt force, to win their fidelity, faith, and loyalty: for that there is no man well borne, which feareth not more the

Hyſmael maieſticall.

blemiſh of infamy than the heauineſſe of puniſhment: ſo that it was not to be maruelled, if G
Hyſmael by ſuch honorable vertues did mightily defend the glory of his maieſty & renowne.
Vnto theſe his rare vertues, was alſo ioyned a comlineſſe of face (the faireſt gift of nature)
well beſeeming ſo great a monarch: for he was well coloured, quick eyed, yellow bearded, and
that which among the Perſians is accounted the ſigne of antient nobility, hook noſed; & was
withall exceeding eloquent: by which good gifts, he wonderfully woon to himſelfe both the
Selymus tyrannicall.
eies and hearts of ſuch as beheld him. But in *Selymus*, his ſtern countenance, his fierce and piercing
eies, his Tartar-like pale colour, his long muſtacho's on his vpper lip, like briſtles, frild
back to his necke, with his beard cut cloſe to his chin, did ſo expreſſe his martiall diſpoſition
and inexorable nature, that he ſeemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but miſchiefe
and cruelty. Which diuerſity of countenances was alſo accompanied with no leſſe diuerſity H
Hyſmael courteous.
of affections, and ſo conſequently with far vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hyſmael* was of
nature courteous and affable, eaſie to be ſeen and ſpoken withall, doing nothing that beſeem'd
his regall function, but in the ſight of all men: his manner was to dine openly in the company
of his nobility, delighting much in hawking and hunting, accompanied with his noblemen
and the Embaſſadors of forraine princes: He would oftentimes run, leap, and proue maſteries
with his chiefe courtiers, being himſelfe a moſt excellent horſman and cunning archer: in his
exerciſes he was ſo popular, that he would not ſtick openly to bathe himſelfe and ſwim in his
princely bathes: his wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobility or neighbor princes, ladies
of great chaſtity, he neither loathed nor diuorced; after the antient maner of the Perſian kings,
who alwaies vſed moſt tenderly to loue and cheriſh their wiues, doing them all the honor poſſible I
in court, as partakers of all their fortune, and carried them, their children, nurſes, & richeſt
furniture into their fartheſt wars, to their great trouble & charge, by the preſence of ſo deer
Selymus churliſh.
pledges the more to incourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwiſe
did all things in ſecret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his
pages & eunuchs only, and ſatiſfying natures want with ſome one ſimple diſh of meat: he ſeldome
went abroad but to the church, vpon the friday the Turks chiefe Sabboth; and then ſo
beſet with his pentioners and other ſouldiers of the court, that although he vſed to ride alone
mounted vpon ſome couragious horſe, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him among ſo
many armed men, who with great pride & inſolency kept back the beholders: he was ſeldom
ſeen abroad in the city, chuſing rather for his recreation to paſſe ouer in his gally to Aſia, and K
there alongſt the ſea coaſt to take the aire: his wiues he would not ſuffer to come to court, neither
vſed their company but for procreation ſake, and that (as was thought) without any great
good countenance or familiarity, for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but more delighted
with vnnaturall pleaſure, thought a mans body and minde to be not a little weakened
with the allurements of women: wherefore he ſeldome reſorted to the cloiſter of choice paragons
in the midſt of Conſtantinople, ſhut in on euery ſide with high & blind wals: thoſe dainty
peeces, either taken from their Chriſtian parents, or by chance ſurpriſed by pirats, are there
moſt curiouſly kept by antient matrons and old eunuchs, by whom they are with all diligence
inſtructed in the principles of the Mahometan law, and to read the Arabian tongue, and withall,
cunningly and comely to ſing, play, dance, and ſow: but *Selymus* of all others vſed ſeldomeſt L
to ſee their allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or deſirous of many (and
oftentimes vnfortunat) children; hauing but one ſon (*Solyman*) by the daughter of *Muhamet* a
Tartar king, who afterwards by the ſufferance of God, proued a great plague to the Chriſtian
commonweale. Such ſpare time as he had from his ſerious & weighty affairs, he vſed to ſpend
in walking in his gardens with ſome of his Baſſaes or other great courtiers, and in beholding
and noting the Noblemens children there ſporting themſelues, would diſcourſe and conſult
of many things of great importance. Some houres he would ſpend in the bathes, and in reading
the Hiſtories of his Anceſtors and other forraine Princes: imitating therein his grandfather
Mahomet the Great, who cauſed almoſt all the Hiſtories of the famous Princes of the
world to be tranſlated into the Turkiſh language, and their liuely counterfeits to be with cunning M
hand drawne, that by their worthy examples he might be the more inflamed to extend
his fame and glory. He would many times ſcoffe at the great buſines of his father *BaiaZet*, who
(as he ſaid) was ſo drowned in the ſtudy of *Auerrois* (determining nothing certainly of the
nature of the ſoule) and the motions of the heauens, that he deſired rather the name of a ſharp

diſputer,

A diſputer amongſt the idle profeſſors of Philoſophy, than of a renowned chiefetaine amongſt his valiant ſoldiers and men of war.

One of the Perſian embaſſadors finding him pleaſantly diſpoſed, demanded of him, why he did not weare his beard long, as his father *Bajazet*, and other great princes of that age had don, therby to ſeeme vnto their ſubjects of greater majeſty: to whom he anſwered, That he liked not to carry about with him ſuch an vnneceſſary handfull, whereby his Baſſaes might at their pleaſure lead him vp and downe the court, as they had done his father: noting therby, that *Bajazet* whileſt he yet liued, had bin too much ouerruled by the Baſſaes; which he could by no means indure, following no mans aduice but his own in whatſoeuer he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Perſians themſelues, they in their wars had great diſaduantage of the B Turks: for as they were ſtrong in horſmen, ſo were they deſtitute of expert trained footmen, by whoſe only means the Turks haue atchieued their greateſt victories, and performed their greateſt wars. Beſide this, it was a great want in the Perſians, that they had not the vſe of guns, againſt whoſe fury no ſufficient reſiſtance can be made, or force of man oppoſed: as appeared by the lamentable example of *Vſun Caſſanes* at Artenga, and now of *Hyſmael* in the Calderan fields; whoſe victorious armies of horſemen were both places put to the worſe by the terror and violence of the Turks artillery. For the naked Turkiſh horſeman is not to be compared with the Perſian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a ſtrong cuiras, a ſure head-piece, and a good targuet: whereas the Turkiſh Europeian horſemen, altogether naked, vſe onely a ſquare or crooked buckler, wherewith they do ſcarcely couer themſelues: and the C Aſian horſemen, bucklers made of ſoft reeds, wound round, and couered with ſome kinde of ſilke. The Perſian horſemen alſo, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing ſtaues of good aſh, armed at both ends, fight with them as occaſion ſerueth at the halfe ſtaffe, after the maner of the Numidians, and with doubling and redoubling their often thruſts from on high, do eaſily wound or kill the vnarmed Turks, with their horſes: whereas the Turkiſh horſemen, after the manner of the Grecians, couching their ſtaues in their reſts, do at the firſt courſe moſt commonly breake the ſame, being made of light and brittle firre, and ſo preſently come to their ſcimitars or horſemans maces, being in all other things far inferior to the Perſian man at armes. As for the Turkiſh archers on horſebacke, they are in no reſpect to be compared with the Perſians, who well mounted and ſurely armed, and vſing both greater and ſtronger D bowes, ſhoot more deadly arrows, and ſo make ſmall account of the Turks. So that all things well conſidered, the Perſian army, deuoted to their King, as well for the great and firme opinion conceiued of his high courage and diuine ſpirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged, although it was in number far inferior, yet had it bin of the Turks inuincible, if it had not bin ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murthering artillery, and wonderfull multitude of men. The cauſe why *Hyſmael* out of ſo many great and large prouinces then vnder his obeiſance (able in antient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, & to drink the riuers dry) brought now ſo ſmall an army againſt the Turkiſh Emperor, breaking into the heart of Armenia; was, for that *Hyſmael* to win the hearts of the people by bounty, had remitted a great part of his cuſtomes and tributes, ſo as then ſtood beſt with his policy, hauing but E lately aſpired to the kingdome, and thruſt downe his neere kinſmen, the poſterity of *Vſun-Caſſan* and *Iacup*, the rightfull inheritors thereof: ſo that his coffers being empty, and wanting mony, the ſinewes of war, he was not able to raiſe ſo great an army as otherwaies he might out of thoſe populous kingdoms & countries, yeelding plentifully all things neceſſary for mans vſe. Whereas with *Selymus* it was far otherwiſe: whoſe horſemen, footmen, captaines, canoniers, both at ſea and land, officers of peace and wars, receiued their daily wages and monthly paies in ready mony, of his treaſurers and paimaſters: for defraying of which charge he neuer wanted coyne, hauing an ineſtimable maſſe of mony alwaies in ſtore in the ſeuen towers at Conſtantinople: and his yerely tributes and reuenues ſtill exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The ſtrength of the Perſian King conſiſted in three kind of ſoldiers: the firſt were they F which were accounted ſouldiers of the court: the ſecond, ſuch as were by cuſtome and duty bound to ſerue him in his wars: and the third, ſuch as were ſent to him from the Princes his neighbors and confederats. Thoſe which were accounted ſoldiers of his court, had their certain ſtipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge; of whom, according to the old cuſtome of the Perſian kings, they at certaine times receiued armor, horſes, apparell, tents,

The Perſians better horſemen than the Turks.

The cauſe why Hyſmael came with ſo ſmal an army againſt Selymus.

The countries ſubject to Hyſmael.

and wages, euery one as he is in place and degree. And being attended vpon with a gallant and G
ſtrong garriſon of theſe, he maintained the majeſty of his court, eſpecially when he rideth in
progreſſe. The nobility and antient gentlemen of his country, who hold lands and poſſeſſions
diſcended vnto them from their anceſtors, or holden by the gift of the King, are ſent for in
time of wars, and are of duty bound to performe ſuch like ſeruice as the nobility and gentlemen
of Italy, France, and Spaine do vnto their ſoueraignes: theſe hardly amount to the number
of twenty thouſand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the reſt content
themſelues with head-pieces and jacks, and vſe for their weapons either horſemens ſtaues or
bowes, which they can moſt cunningly handle, diſcharging their arrows very neere vnto that
they aime at, either forward or backeward. They which come vnto him from forrein Princes,
confederat or tributary, are commnoly ſent from the kings and princes of Iberia, Albania, and H
the countries bordering vpon Media and Armenia; who being halfe Chriſtians, beare a mortall
hatred againſt the Turkes. *Hyſmael* the Perſian King had then vnder his dominion theſe
great and famous countries, Armenia the greater, Sulthania, Perſia, Aſſyria, Meſopotamia,
Media and Parthia: wherof Armenia is the chiefeſt, famous for the great city Tauris, called in
antient time Ecbathana: this country yeeldeth vnto the Perſian King his beſt footmen; but
his choice horſemen come from out of Perſia, and eſpecially from Scyras, called of old Cyropolis:
the next vnto them are from Aſſyria, the chiefe city wherof is Bagadat, called in antient
time Babylon. The Medes and Parthians are of all others accounted the beſt archers next vnto
the Scythians. ―

1515

Selymus with a new army entreth into Armenia.

But now to returne againe from whence we haue a little too far ſtraied. *Selymus* after his I
great expedition againſt *Hyſmael*, wintering at Amaſia, by his lieutenants and captains in Europe
and Aſia raiſed ſuch a power, that with the firſt of the Spring he entered againe into the
confines of the Perſian kingdome, with a greater army than before, and that ſomewhat ſooner
than the extreame cold of that part of Armenia (ſubject to the ſnowie mountaine Taurus)
would either well ſuffer, or that the enemy thought it had beene poſſible for him to haue ſo
done. There was vpon the further ſide of the riuer Euphrates a ſtrong towne called Clamaſſum,
ſcituate a little aboue that place where the riuer Melas (much celebrated by the Grecian
Poets) falleth into the riuer Euphrates; which towne for the commodious ſcituation therof,
ſtanding vpon the firſt entrance of the paſſage into Armenia the great, the Perſians had furniſhed
with a ſtrong garriſon: this towne *Selymus* thought good in any caſe to be maſter of, K
by taking wherof, and of ſome other holds thereabout, he ſhould open a faire way for himſelfe
into his enemies country. *Hyſmael* at the ſame time was gone with all his power againſt the
Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and other ſauage people dwelling neere vnto the Caſpian ſea, then vp
in arms againſt him: which wiſhed opportunity *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge ouer the
riuer Euphrates, paſſed ouer with his army, came before the towne, and laid hard ſiege to the
ſame before his enemies were all aware of his comming. The Turks at their firſt approch
compaſſing the city round with their huge multitude of harquebuſiers and archers, braue the
defendants from the wals; and ſtill without reſt or intermiſſion bringing on freſh men, as *Selymus*
had before taken order, and others at the ſame time breaking open the gates, and in diuers
places ſcaling the wals, enforced the defendants to forſake their ſtandings, and to retyre L
themſelues into the market place, where although they were before ſore ſpent with labor and
wounds, yet did they there with wonderfull courage a great while notably withſtand the multitude
of their enemies ſtill ſwarming in, and in defence of their country, like reſolute men,
fought it out vnto the laſt man.

Selymus hauing taken and ranſacked Clamaſſum, with two other ſmall caſtles which the defendants
had for feare before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred and ambitious
deſire prickt forward againſt *Hyſmael*, and thirſting after nothing more than the ſubuerſion of
the Perſian kingdome: yet he thought it not good to enter further into Armenia, before he
had out of thoſe forreſts and mountains chaſed the mountain king *Aladeules*, who but the yere
before had moſt trecherouſly done him and his army ſo many injuries in his return from the M
Perſian expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cauſe fearing his owne eſtate, as ſoone as he vnderſtood
that *Selymus* had againe taken the field, and that he was come to the riuer Euphrates,
and ſo to Clamaſſum, ſpeedily aſſembling his forces, had in ſhort time raiſed a great army for
the defence of himſelfe and his Kingdome: purpoſing that if *Selymus* ſhould goe farther

A into Armenia, then after his wonted maner to looke on as a beholder, and by the euent of the war, to take occaſion of prey, and by ſhutting vp the paſſages of his country, at his pleaſure to rob and ſpoile the Turks in their returne. Wherefore *Selymus* leauing a garriſon at Ciamaſſum, retired backe againe ouer the riuer Euphrates vnto the mountaine Antitaurus, where it was reported that his enemies lay.

Aladeules his kingdome.

This *Aladeules* (as is aforeſaid) ruled ouer the rude and ſauage mountaine people, inhabiting the great mountaines Taurus and Antitaurus: which mountaines as it were linked together one to another, run from the mountains called Scodriſci, and the borders of Capadocia, with a perpetuall riſing, through many large prouinces and countries vnto the great mountain Amanus, and vttermoſt bounds of Cilicia. The people of this country were by nature fierce B and warlike, more famous for nothing than for the want of all things; who as men dwelling in a rough and bare country, could little or nothing profit by husbandry: yet in ſuch places as would beare any paſture, they had their breed of horſes and cammels, and did with all diligence vſe graſing; but the greateſt part of their liuing conſiſted in hunting and ſtealing. Theſe are ſuppoſed to haue had their beginning from the Galatians, Capadocians, Armenians, and the old inhabitants of Aſia the leſſe, which by long and continuall wars in former ages, and eſpecially by the lamentable irruption of the Scithians, were inforced to forſake their cities and dwellings, and for ſafegard of their liues to fly into thoſe rough and deſolat mountains. Theſe diſtreſſed people ſearching euery hill and euery dale, and following the opportunity of the riuers and fountains, but eſpecially the mildeſt temperature of the aire, and fauourable aſpect C of the Sun, built in many places poore country villages, and afterwards diuers faire townes; where in proceſſe of time they growing to better eſtate, there riſe vp ſome amongſt them, which ouerruling the reſt, ambitiouſly tooke vpon them the name of kings, deſiring to be had in regard, and to be feared of their neighbours, although they commanded but ouer rough woods and ragged rockes. Neere vnto the confines of *Aladeules* kingdome is the city Orpha, which many ſuppoſe to haue bin the famous city Edeſſa, becauſe that as yet there remaineth certaine monuments of *Baldwin* in Latine letters; who after his brother *Godfrey* was poſſeſſed of Ieruſalem, is reported to haue taken Edeſſa, and there reigned. Not far from thence is alſo the antient city Amyda, which at this day is called Caramida, joyning vpon Meſopotamia: which country lying betweene the two great riuers Euphrates and Tygris, is now called D Diarbecha. The chiefe city of *Aladeules* kingdome was Maras, ſo called as may be thought of the faire riuer Marſias running through it out of the mountaine Cælene, taking the name of *Marſias*, ouercome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the verſes of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*, after he ſaw that *Selymus* with his army was entered into the frontiers of his kingdome, and drawing neere vnto him, brought downe all his horſemen, in number about fifteene thouſand, from the mountaines into a faire large valley; commanding his footmen whereof he had great ſtore, to keepe the mountaines on the right hand and the left: where hauing the high rocky mountains and ſtreit paſſages much for his aduantage, he determined in that place which he had long before choſen and fortified, to expect the comming of his enemies. *Selymus* conſidering the diſaduantage of the place, although he perceiued the victory could not without great E loſſe of his men be obtained; and before perſuaded that his enemies would neuer haue willingly beene drawne to battell: yet made no doubt to aduenture his fortune, preſuming vpon the multitude and ſtrength of his army. Wherefore he commanded *Sinan Baſſa* the Eunuch (whom he had made generall of the Europeian horſmen in ſtead of *Chaſan Baſſa* before ſlaine) with a ſquare battell to charge the enemy afront, foraſmuch as the place would not ſuffer him to range his battell in length, nor to vſe any wings: and he himſelfe with his Ianizaries and Aſian horſemen followed after in the rereward. Neither were the ſoldiers of *Aladeules* vnmindfull of themſelues and their king, who valiantly fought in the head of the battell, but hauing ſpent their arrowes, did couragiouſly receiue the furious aſſault of the Turks: and ſtanding cloſe to them, ſtill keeping the aduantage of the ground, did with ſuch force repulſe F them, that the old beaten ſoldiers of the Turks ſeemed little or nothing to preuaile either with their multitude or valor: for the Turks by reaſon of the ſtreightneſſe of the place, could not incloſe them on either ſide, and were beſide grieuouſly wounded by *Aladeules* footmen, who ſtanding vpon the ſides of the hils, with their darts and arrowes from aboue, ouerwhelmed the Turks in the valley. When *Selymus* ſaw that *Aladeules*, contrary to his expectation,

Selymus aſſaileth Aladeules.

made ſtrong reſiſtance, and valiantly withſtood his forces; he drew certaine companies of harquebuſiers out of his owne ſquadrons, and ſent them to relieue their fellowes: and at the ſame inſtant commanded the Ianizaries for all the danger to mount the hill. Then the mountaine people terrified with the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſhot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backs, and by knowne waies fled into their ſure haunts, in the mountaines and woods faſt by, yet the greateſt ſlaughter fell amongſt theſe footmen, who when they ſaw the horſemen put to flight, and the Ianizeries comming vp the hils againſt them, did with much difficulty, by ſteepe and broken waies clamber vp the high mountaines: as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the ſtrength of mens legs and other their wonted forces faile them moſt, when ſurpriſed and ouercome with ſudden feare, they deſire to run and fly faſteſt. The Turks hauing them in chaſe, had the killing of them vntill the going downe of the Sun. The horſmen with the King, vpon their ſwift horſes, well acquainted with thoſe rocks and rough waies, with little loſſe retired themſelues into the further and ſtronger places of the mountains.

Aladeules flies into the mountaines.

Aladeules after this diſcomfiture, finding himſelfe in all things far inferiour to his enemy, thought it beſt by protracting the war, to weary him out: wherefore as the Turks purſued him, and burnt the poore country cottages ſtanding in their way, he ſtill fled from mountaine to mountaine, neuer offering battell or ſhewing himſelfe, but in places of great aduantage: and therefore *Selymus* fearing leſt in that barren rough and vnknown country, he ſhould either want victuall, or by ſome other means be intrapped, if he ſhould ſtill with the whole army follow after his ſtrong enemies; vpon the ſeuenth day left off to purſue him any further. And encamping himſelfe in the moſt conuenient place of that country, ſent *Sinan Baſſa* with his light horſmen, who carrying with them certaine daies victuals, ſhould ſtill at the heeles follow the enemy, and with all ſpeed & policy poſſible hunt after the king himſelfe. *Selymus* in the meane time curiouſly inquiring of the country captiues after the ſtrength of *Aladeules*, and what means he had to maintaine the war; found, that he had taken with him his beſt men both horſe and foot; and had commanded the country villages to forſake the villages, of purpoſe to leaue all deſolate to the enemy: and hauing ſurely intrenched himſelfe vpon a certaine ſtrong rocke (whither he had before conueied great ſtore of prouiſion) was reſolued not to giue battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawn them into the impregnable ſtreits of the mountains, where their hugy multitude ſhould little auaile them, but to increaſe their owne loſſe. Another cauſe there was alſo (as they ſaid) for that he feared to be betraied by *Alis Beg* his kinſman, Generall of his horſemen; who firſt fled in the late battell; whoſe vnfaithfulneſſe and hatred might ſeeme to proceed of a juſt ground, for that *Aladeules* had in former time trecherouſly murthered his father, vpon a jealous ſuſpition of his aſpiring vnto the kingdome.

Selymus vnderſtanding all this, cauſed the captiues to haue their yrons ſtruck off, and in ſtead of their gyues lading them with gifts and promiſes, ſent them to *Alis Beg* with ſecret letters and rewards, to perſuade him in ſo fit a time to reuenge his fathers death; which thing if he would perform by ſome notable exploit vpon *Aladeules*, he ſhould both purchaſe vnto himſelfe great credit with *Selymus*, and alſo the kingdome. Theſe homely meſſengers according as was giuen them in charge hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Baſſa*, within a few daies had ſo wrought, that *Alis beg* (whom the deſire of a Kingdome together with *Selymus* his rewards prickt forward to ſeeke reuenge) was eaſily drawne to joyne hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladeules*, who miſtruſting all things, warily looked vnto himſelfe, he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Baſſa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladeules* his beſt horſemen: by whoſe meanes the reſt alſo which remained being with rewards corrupted, one company after another came at laſt all ouer vnto the Baſſa. *Aladeules* circumuented with this vnexpected trechery, which neuer before thought it poſſible that his men ſhould all ſo ſuddenly haue forſaken him and reuolted to the Turks, was now glad to repoſe all his hope in ſecret flight. But *Sinan Baſſa* & *Alis Beg*, hardly purſuing him as he fled thorow the mountains, hiding himſelfe in rocks and the thick woods, at laſt drew him out of a caue, being betraied by the country peaſants. *Aladeules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to death, & his head in great deriſion afterwards carried about thorow all Aſia the leſſe: and afterward by way of barbarous oſtentation, ſent by *Selymus* to the Senat of Venice, as a loathſome teſtimony of his victory. *Aladeules* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his kingdom to the form of a prouince, which he diuided into three parts, & after the maner of the Turkiſh gouernment, ap-

Aladeules taken & brought to Selymus, is put to death.

pointed to euery part a Sanzacke: yet ſo, that *Alis Beg* ſhould be chiefe ouer the reſt, with ſuch ſoueraignty, as that he wanted nothing of a King but the name only. And for the better gouernment of all things in that new gained kingdome, he left *Sinan Baſſa* there all the reſt of that Summer; with commandement, that after he had ſet all things in good order, he ſhould winter at Iconium; and he himſelfe with a ſmall traine returned to Conſtantinople, for he had heard that whileſt he was buſied in his wars againſt *Hyſmael* and *Aladeules* in Armenia, that the Hungarians had made diuers incurſions into Seruia, and ſpoiled that country. Wherfore for feare of loſing Samandria (which ſtanding neere to Danubius, for the conuenient ſcituation thereof is reputed the bulwarke of Seruia and Thracia) he ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa*, then Gouernour of Boſna, with eight thouſand horſemen, who paſſing the riuer Savus entered into Croatia as far as Catinum: and at the ſame time tranſported another army ouer Danubius into Hungary, to the intent that the Hungarians at one inſtant beſet with double danger, ſhould be inforced to feare their owne State; and withall to ſhew vnto the World, of what ſtrength and power the *Othoman* Emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the preſent, and the time to come, to the daunting of the Chriſtians; if he ſhould by his happy attempts make it knowne, that hee could at once eaſily and readily maintaine ſo many and ſo puiſſant armies, and wage ſo great warres in diuers parts of the World, and ſo far diſtant one from another.

Selymus inuadeth Hungary.

In the end of the yere, when he had thus with double inuaſion troubled the Hungarians, he ſpent the Winter following at Hadrianople and Conſtantinople, in making of greater preparation for war than euer he had before from the beginning of his reigne. For he was aduertiſed, that the great monarchs of the North his neighbors, namely, *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Vladiſlaus* King of Hungary, and *Sigiſmundus* King of Polonia, with the Princes of Germany, had combined themſelues together to make war vpon him. But after he had learned by his ſure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge ſent into all parts of Europe, diligently to obſerue what was done in the courts of theſe great princes) that all the great meetings of the Chriſtian Princes proued nothing but glorious words and ſumptuous banquets, he being rid of that vaine feare (God ſo appointing) turned himſelfe and all thoſe his wonderfull preparations againe toward the Eaſt, to the great quiet of Chriſtendome in generall.

Yet leſt happily in the abſence of himſelfe and of his armies, the Chriſtian Princes might take occaſion to inuade his dominions, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his empire with moſt ſtrong garriſons: and left his ſonne *Solyman* (who afterwards proued the ſcourge of Chriſtendome) at Hadrianople with a ſtrong power, and *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his tutor (a man of great wiſedome and gouernment) at Conſtantinople. This great Baſſa was of Cilicia, a natiue Turke borne, which was a thing accounted ſtrange, foraſmuch as the great Baſſaes were alwaies choſen of the Chriſtian bloud. After that, he ſent *Cherſeogles* (whom of all others he moſt truſted) with his army into Bythinia, and made *Zafferus* an Eunuch Admiral of his nauy, which he had but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labour and charge rigged forth. Then ſtaying a few daies at Conſtantinople to ſee the young ſouldiers, but then choſen Ianizaries, he departed thence and went to his old army, lying with *Sinan Baſſa* at Iconium, purpoſing to haue againe inuaded the Perſian.

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Selymus goeth to Iconium.

When he was come thither, he vnderſtood that *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt (with a great army leuied in Ægypt and Iudea) was come into Syria; giuing it out that he would aid the Perſian king his confederat, & with al hoſtility enter into Cilicia, if *Selymus* ſhould farther proceed to inuade *Hyſmael* the Sophi his friend & ally. *Selymus* perplexed with theſe news, and fearing that if he ſhould once paſſe ouer the riuer Euphrates, *Campſon* lying ſo neere in readineſſe, ſhould forthwith break in at his back into Aſia by the mountain Amanus, and ſo indanger that part of his dominion; ſtaied at Iconium, and ſent his embaſſadors with great preſents to *Campſon* to pacifie him if it might be. The chiefe men in this embaſſage were the Cadeleſcher, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the opinion they had of his great knowledge in the Mahometan ſuperſtition, who afterward wrot the commentaries of this war; and *Iachis* a great captaine. The ſcope of whoſe embaſſage was, to intreat *Campſon*, that he would not hinder or diſturbe *Selymus* from making war vpon the Perſian King; who had ſo often and ſo forcibly inuaded his dominions in Aſia, and by bringing in a new forme of ſuperſtition, had corrupted and altered the moſt certain grounds of the

Mahometan religion. And if they found him reſolutely ſet downe and not to be by any conditions G
remoued, then with all poſsible diligence to learne his ſtrength and farther deſignes,
ſo far as by any meanes they could, and with all ſpeed to make their returne.

The cauſes mouing Campſon to fall out with Selymus.

But *Campſon* now far ſpent with age, and liuing in the height of worldly bliſſe, although he
knew it fitter for him at thoſe yeres to giue himſelfe to eaſe and quietneſſe, than to thruſt himſelfe
into wars and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many cauſes
both good and neceſſary. Firſt, he deadly hated the man for his inhumane crueltie, and therefore
could neuer be perſuaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time
made with his father *Bajazet*: beſides that, he deſired to abate and repreſſe his audacious inſolency,
growne already by his proſperous ſucceſſe beyond the bounds of reaſon: for *Selymus*
hauing taken Tauris, ouerthrowne the Perſians, and ſlaine *Aladeules*, began now to ſeeme terrible H
to all the Princes that bordered vpon him; and there were many which ſaid he was another
Alexander, who whileſt other Princes ſate ſtill as men aſleepe, did in the meane time plot
in his victorious mind, the Monarchy of the whole World. But aboue all things, the feare of
the loſing of Syria, and conſequently the loſſe of all his kingdome (the quickeſt motiue for
ſtirring vp of the ſuſpitious minds of the greateſt Princes) moſt inforced *Campſon* to take in
hand this war: for as much as the goodly kingdomes of Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria, oppreſſed
with the intollerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore leſſe faithfull to
the Ægyptian kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turks, if the Perſians ſhould by any miſchance
or fortune of war be of the Turks vanquiſhed. For which cauſe *Campſon* in the beginning I
of this war, ſolicited by the Perſian Embaſſadors, had made a firme league and confederation
with *Hyſmael*; and alſo moued with the miſery of the wofull yong Prince *Aladin* the ſon
of *Achomates*, was in mind perſuaded, that the cruel Turkiſh tyrant might by his and the Perſian
kings forces, eaſily be thruſt out of his empire in Aſia and Europe. For *Aladin*, who after
the death of *Achomates* his father, fled to *Campſon* the Sultan of Ægypt (as is before declared)
had liued three yeres as a forlorne and diſtreſſed Prince in the Ægyptians court, and by all
means he could deuiſe incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the injuries and cruelty of his vncle
Selymus. The eldeſt ſon alſo of the late King *Aladeules*, a goodly yong Prince, hauing at once
loſt his father, his kingdome, and whatſoeuer he had elſe, was in good time fled to the Ægyptian
king, and had ſo filled the minds of all men with the indignation and deteſtation of *Selymus*
his exceeding cruelty, that the Princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to K
Campſon, humbly beſeeching him to take vpon him ſo juſt a war: and if by reaſon of his great
yeres he ſhould thinke himſelfe vnable to indure the trauell thereof, it would then pleaſe him
yet to giue them leaue of themſelues to take the matter in hand, for the repreſsing of the inſolency
of that great and wicked tyrant.

The order of the Mamalukes.

Theſe Mamalukes far excelled the Turks, not onely in ſtrength of body, ſkilfull riding, and
goodly armor, but alſo in courage and wealth. Beſide that, they had not forgotten with what
ſmall power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan, ouerthrown the Turks
great armies in Cilicia, firſt at Adena, and afterward at Tarſus, where they tooke priſoners,
Meſites Palæologus the great Baſſa, and *Cherſeogles*, *Bajazet* his ſon in law: by which victory they
grew into ſuch a proud and vaine conceit of themſelues, as if they had bin the onely ſouldiers L
of the World, able of themſelues to vanquiſh and ouercome whomſoeuer they ſhould ſet
vpon. Theſe ſo valiant ſoldiers, were for moſt part of the poore people called in antient time
Getæ, *Zinchi*, and *Baſtarnæ*, borne neere vnto the Euxine ſea and the fens of Mœotis, eſpecially
on that ſide where the riuer Corax falleth into the Euxine ſea: which Country is of later
time called Circaſſia, of the people called Cercitæ neere vnto Cholchis. Theſe miſerable and
wretched people, the Valachians, Podolians, Polonians, Roxolanes and Tartars, dwelling by
Taurica (pulled from their mothers breaſts, or by other violent meanes ſurpriſed) were ſold
to Merchants; who culling out the beſt for ſtrength of body, or aptneſſe of wit, conueied
them by ſea to Alexandria, from whence they were continually ſent to the great Sultan of
Ægypt: & by his appointment were at Caire (after the old maner of that people) deliuered to M
Maſters of fence and ſuch other teachers, who carefully inſtructed them, being ſhut vp in
their ſchooles, in all manner of feats of actiuity: where after they were become able to bend
a ſtrong bow, and taught cunningly to ſhoot, leape, run, vault, ride, and ſkilfully to vſe all manner
of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the Kings
horſe-

horſemen or Mamalukes: and ſuch of them as proued cowardly or vnapt, were made ſlaues vnto the reſt. So that they ſeeing all honor, credit, and preferment, laied vp in martiall proweſſe, did with all diligence and courage imploy themſelues to military affaires, and therin ſo well profited, that oftentimes they which at the firſt were but bare and baſe ſlaues, of the meaneſt of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of ſeruice riſe at length to the higheſt degrees of honour. All theſe Mamalukes were the children of Chriſtian parents, from the time of their captiuity inſtructed in the Mahometan ſuperſtition: for no man borne of a Mahometan father, or of a Iew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horſemen: which was ſo ſtreitly obſerued, that the honor of a Mamaluke horſeman neuer deſcended vnto the ſons of the Mamalukes, yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands, poſſeſſions, and goods: by which reaſon the ſonnes of the Sultans themſelues neuer ſucceeded their fathers in the kingdome. Hereby alſo it came to paſſe, that many Chriſtians of looſe life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abiuring the Chriſtian religion, and ſuffering themſelues to be circumciſed, being men meet for the wars, grew by degrees to great honor: as did *Tangaribardinus* the ſonne of a Spaniſh mariner, who by his forwardneſſe and induſtry grew into ſuch credit and authority with *Campſon* the great Sultan, that almoſt all things were done by his aduice and counſell, and was diuers times by him emploied in moſt honorable ſeruice, being ſent Embaſſador both to *Bajazet* the Turkiſh Emperor, and to the State of Venice, about matters of great importance. Yet his impiety eſcaped not the hand of God, for at length by the enuy of the court he was brought into diſgrace, thruſt out of his place, and caſt into priſon, where he, loaded with cold yron, moſt miſerably died. Neither was it to be maruelled if the Mamalukes were growne to that exceſſe of wealth, foraſmuch as the Ægyptians and Syrians being miſerably by them oppreſſed, were not ſuffered to haue the vſe either of horſe or armor, neither admitted to any matters of counſell; but being impoueriſhed and brought low with heauy impoſitions and daily iniuries of the Mamalukes, gaue themſelues wholly to the trade of merchandiſe, husbandry, and other mechanicall occupations: ouer whom the Mamalukes had power and command, as imperious maſters ouer their ſeruants, and would with greater inſolency than is to be beleeued abuſe the country people, beating and ſpoiling them at their pleaſure; and not ſo contented, rauiſhing their wiues and daughters without redreſſe. The Ægyptians (a people in antient time much renowned for their valour and proweſſe) were by theſe maſterfull ſlaues kept in this miſerable thraldome and ſlauery about the ſpace of three hundred yeres. For after the declination of the Romane Empire, that rich country falling into the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitan Emperors, the Ægyptians ſoone weary of the proud and auaritious ſoueraignty of the Greekes, called in the Saraſins, by whoſe helpe they expulſed the Greekes, and after choſe the Generall of the Saraſins for their King, after whoſe name the Ægyptian Kings were of long time called Caliphes, as they had of antient time bin called by the names of *Pharo* and *Ptolemey*.

The laſt of theſe Caliphes reigned at ſuch time as the Chriſtians vnder the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, paſſing as conquerors through Aſia and Syria, erected the kingdome of Ieruſalem. He being inuaded by *Almericus* ſixt King of Ieruſalem, and finding himſelfe too weake, praied aid of the Sultan of Syria, who ſent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captaine, with a ſtrong power to aid him; but *Sarraco* no leſſe vnfaithfull than couragious, trecherouſly ſlew the Caliph, in whoſe aid he came, and tooke vpon himſelfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* ſucceeded *Saladine* his brothers ſon, who vtterly extinguiſhed the name and authority of the Caliphes in Ægypt, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high Prieſts. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquiſhed the Chriſtian armies in Syria and Iudea, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome of Ieruſalem, as is in the former part of this Hiſtory to be ſeen. *Saladine* dying, left the kingdome of Ægypt to his brother, whoſe poſterity ſucceſſiuely reigned of long time there, vntill the time of *Melechſala*. This *Melechſala* (laſt of the free borne Kings, and of the poſterity of *Saladine*) had great and mortall wars with the Chriſtians, wherein hauing loſt moſt of his beſt ſouldiers, and repoſing no great confidence in the Ægyptians, thought good to ſtrengthen himſelfe with a new kinde of ſouldiers, meere ſlaues bought for mony. For at that time the Tartars breaking into Armenia and Cappadocia, and ouerrunning the people called Comani ioyning vpon Cappadocia, made generall ſpoile of that people, as of priſoners taken by law of armes. Of this baſe people, *Melechſala* for a little mony bought a great multitude, which he tranſpor-

The imperious gouernment of the Mamalukes, in Egypt, Iudea, and Syria.

The beginning of the gouernment of the Mamalukes in Ægypt.

ted into Ægypt,and furniſhed them with armes: by whoſe proweſſe he not only defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but alſo beſieged *Lewis* the French King in his trenches not farre from Camiata,called in antient time Heliopolis, or Peluſium,and ſhortly after in plaine battell tooke him priſoner,as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victory, *Melechſala* was by the conſpiracy of theſe his new ſoldiers ſlaine: in whoſe place they ſet vp one *Turqueminius*, a deſperat fellow of their owne company, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of Ægypt. *Turqueminius* of a baſe ſlaue now become a great Monarch (after the maner of men) forgetting his old companions which had ſo highly promoted him, and hauing them in great diſdaine, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) ſuddenly ſlaine; for which fact he was by thoſe baſe ſoldiers, his companions, choſen Sultan in his place: who for the ſhort time of his reigne did much for the confirming of that ſeruile Monarchy: yet was he at length ſlaine alſo by *Bandocader*, ſometimes one of his fellow ſeruants, who alſo ſucceeded him in the kingdome. After him in long order ſucceeded many valiant men of the ſame ſeruile ſtate and condition,who for breuity I wittingly paſſe ouer. Amongſt the reſt *Caytbeius* (of whom we haue before ſpoken in the life of *Bajazet*) was for wealth and martiall proweſſe moſt famous; who according to the manner of his predeceſſors, did with greater bounty and care maintaine that ſeruile gouernment,than any of them who had before him reigned in Ægypt: and was for his notable gouernment and noble acts juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt Princes of that age. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe in that ſeruile Monarchy about the ſucceſſion. Wherby the Mamalukes drawne into diuers factions,ſome ſeeking to prefer one,and ſome another, had in foure yeres ſpace with ciuile wars ſore weakned their eſtate, and ſlaine diuers of their greateſt Princes which had aſpired vnto that kingdome. For appeaſing of which miſchiefes, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and chiefe men amongſt the Mamalukes with one conſent offered the kingdome to *Campſon Gaurus*, or as the Turks call him, *Canſaues Gauris*, of whom we now ſpeake;a man of great integrity and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of ſo many Kings whom he had ſeene in ſhort time miſerably ſlaine by the ambitious aſpiring of other proud competitors; when he was ſore againſt his will hoiſt vp vpon the ſhoulders of the nobility and chiefe ſouldiers, and ſo carried into the court, as their manner was, began earneſtly to refuſe the kingdome, and to withſtand their choice, excuſing himſelfe as vnfit for ſo high a place; and with teares ſtanding in his eies,beſought the other great lords his friends,that they would forbeare to thruſt him (well contented with his priuate life) into that glorious place ſubject to ſo many dangers;and the rather,for that he neither had mony to giue bountifully to the ſoldiers of the court, as other the Ægyptian Sultans had accuſtomed; neither held that ſufficiency and authority as was requiſite for repreſſing of ſuch violent and ſeditious tumults as were too riſe in that troubleſome time and confuſion of all things.

The moderate and happy gouernment of Campſon.

The nobility on the other ſide perſuaded him, That he would not vpon a fooliſh obſtinacy or vaine modeſty refuſe the offer of his preſent good fortune, but couragiouſly to take vpon him the gouernment of the ſtate,now ſore ſhaken with ciuile diſcord,together with the regall dignity,which was with the generall good liking of all men ſo frankely offered vnto him. At laſt they all by ſolemne oath promiſed vnto him,That they would with all their power, policy,and wealth,maintaine and defend the majeſty of his ſtate; and that the men of war ſhould not demand their wonted largeſſe, before the ſame might by his receiuers and treaſurers be raiſed of his cuſtomes and other reuenewes of the crowne. By which perſuaſions *Campſon* incouraged,ſuffered himſelfe to be ſaluted Sultan,and ſo tooke vpon him the gouernment. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of war ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largeſſe, and by his moderat gouernment had cauſed men generally to haue his proweſſe and wiſedome in admiration, he did with ſuch policy and dexterity reforme the ſhaken ſtate of that kingdome, before rent in ſunder by ciuile wars, taking away by poyſon and other ſecret deuices, ſome few, the chiefe authors of ſedition, that for the ſpace of ſixteene yeares neither tumult nor noiſe of war was at any time heard of in all Syria or Ægypt: worthy vndoubtedly the name of a moſt excellent and fortunate Prince, if when he had by ſingular wiſedome and policy eſtabliſhed the generall peace and proſperity of his kingdome, he could haue there contented himſelfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life not raſhly haue thruſt himſelfe into the dangerous quarrels of other Princes.

A The Cadeleſcher and *Iachis* (*Selymus* his Embaſſadours) departing from Iconium, came in few daies to *Campſon* the great Sultan, who then lay encamped neere vnto the riuer Orantes, at this day called Farfar. Theſe Embaſſadors entertained by *Campſon* with greater bounty than courteſie, and ſhortly after their comming hauing audience in his pauilion, did with moſt temperat and calme ſpeech deliuer their Embaſſage. To whom *Campſon* anſwered, That it was the antient cuſtome of the Ægyptian Sultans (foraſmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and induſtry to keepe the other Mahometan Kings and people in peace and concord amongſt themſelues; whereof he for his part had bin alwaies moſt deſirous: and was for no other purpoſe come with his army into his prouince of Syria, than to perſuade *Selymus* to peace. Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended wars againſt *Hyſmael* B the Perſian king, his friend and confederat, he would then do what ſhould ſtand with his honour and place, and not longer ſuffer all to go to wracke, for the vaine pleaſure and fury of one inſolent and ambitious man. He ſaid alſo, That he had of long time before ſeene into *Selymus* his inſatiable, fierce, and troubleſome diſpoſition; who hauing moſt vnnaturally procured the death of his good father the old Emperor *Bajazet*, and ſlaine his brethren, Princes of great valour, ſeuen of his nephewes, princes of no ſmall hope; with many other of his beſt friends and faithfull counſellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyranny. Wherefore they ſhould tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace ſhould be, if he would from thenceforth deſiſt from inuading of *Hyſmael*, and reſtore to *Aladeules* his ſon, his fathers kingdome, which had of long been vnder the defence and protection of the Ægyptian Sultans, as of right and C reaſon he ought to do: he ſhould in ſo doing, beſide his fauour and friendſhip which might greatly ſtand him in ſtead, reape greater fame and glory by an aſſured and honourable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous war.

Campſon his anſwer to the embaſſadors of Selymus.

The Embaſſadours, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats giue ouer his enterpriſe or lay downe armes, yet to the intent they might the ſooner be diſpatched, and ſo in time aduertiſe *Selymus* of the Sultans ſudden comming, ſeemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reaſonable perſuaſions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: foraſmuch as they were of his ſecret counſell, and men able to do much with him; whereby they truſted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleeue) it would eaſily be brought to paſſe, that thoſe ſparks might be quenched, which all things ſtanding D vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of war. So they being by *Campſon* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, trauelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to Cæſarea.

Campſon alſo remouing from Orantes, came into Comagena vnto the famous city of Aleppo, which city is probably ſuppoſed to haue bin built of the ruines of the antient city of Hierapolis, by *Alepius* the Emperor *Iulianus* his lieutenant; who in that prouince did many notable matters, and called that new-built city after his owne name. It is ſcituate neere vnto the riuer Singa, which riſing out of the mountaine Pierius, with many turnings and windings runneth through Comagena, and being but a ſmall riuer, falleth at length into the riuer Euphrates. This city *Hyalon* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at ſuch time as the Chriſtian Princes of E the Weſt made warre with the Ægyptian Kings, for the kingdomes of Syria and Ieruſalem. Which calamity notwithſtanding, it was againe repeopled; and is at this day a famous city, for the commodious ſcituation thereof much frequented with Merchants from the furtheſt parts of the World. It is ſcarce fiue daies journy from Tripolis and Berytus, the great ports of Syria, and is alſo neere vnto the Turks and Perſians: ſo that the riches of the Eaſt are thither commodiouſly conueied out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine Amanus which parteth Cilicia from Syria: and ſo likewiſe out of Perſia and Meſopotamia ouer the riuer Euphrates, where the city Byrrha of late time bounded the Kingdome of the Ægyptian Sultans, from the Perſians.

Selymus vnderſtanding by his Embaſſadors (who had diligently noted all things in the Sultans F campe) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies; and alſo informed of the Sultans proud anſwer, who had ſo peremptorily preſcribed to him ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as pleaſed himſelfe: thought good to alter his purpoſe, and now to conuert his forces another way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into Armenia, leauing ſo puiſſant an enemy as *Campſon* at his backe, ſeemed a thing too ful of danger: and to giue ouer

Selymus conuerteth his forces from the Perſians againſt Campſon.

the enterpriſe he had with ſo great care and charge vndertaken, at the appointment and pleaſure G of another man, ſtood neither with his honor or ſtate. Wherefore in a matter ſo doubtfull, he reſolued vpon a notable neceſſary point, well fitting the greatneſſe of his mind. He made ſhew as if he would haue gone directly againſt the Perſian, as he had before determined; and that the more certaine report of this his purpoſe might be carried to *Campſon*, he ſent before part of his army with his carriages to the city Suaſſia, in old time called Sebaſta, it ſtandeth in the frontiers of the Perſian kingdome, where the great riuer Euphrates pent vp with the rockes of the mountaine Taurus, breaketh againe violently forth into Meſopotamia: but turning himſelfe vpon the right hand, purpoſed to paſſe the mountaine Taurus, and breaking ſuddenly into Comagena, to come vpon the Sultan before he were well aware of his comming. H Wherefore calling vnto him his truſty Ianizaries, with the other ſouldiers of the court, he openly with cheerefull countenance declared vnto them what he had reſolued to do, with the reaſons of the alteration of his former determination: perſuading them, that the victory would eaſily be atchieued, if they as couragious ſouldiers would with all celerity (before the Mamalukes could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the mountaines, and recouer thoſe difficult paſſages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the Mamalukes. *For why* (ſaid he) *the ſtrength of thoſe horſemen is long ſince decaied and gone: the old Mamalukes, who in the time of* Caitbeius *were of ſome fame and reputation, are all dead. You ſhall in battell meet but with a ſort of gallant horſe-breakers rather then ſouldiers, which can cunningly manage their horſes in ſport, to the pleaſure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enemy, or to indure to be wounded: who as carpet Knights effeminat with long peace, and corrupted with exceſſe and* I *delicacy of their great Cities, neuer ſaw their foes intrenched, or armed enemies, neither haue heard the ſound of a trumpet, but at plaies or ſhewes. Wherefore you are to make but ſmall account of them, being furniſhed with no ſtore of ordnance or ſtrength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpreters of our ſacred Lawes and Religion, hauing orderly performed all their obſeruances, do diuine vnto vs all happineſſe: ſo you as men full of hope, ſet forward cheerefully vnto moſt aſſured victory ouer your proud enemies. For God no doubt fauoureth the quarrell of men juſtly prouoked, and offereth meanes of victory to ſuch as take vp juſt and neceſſary armes. Yet to ouercome the enemy, and to enjoy victory indeed, wholly conſiſteth in the courage and valour of them which deeme nothing better or more honourable, than to ſpend their liues for the honour of their Prince and Country.* Here the Ianizaries ſhaking their weapons, forthwith cried out with cheerefull voice, That he ſhould lead and conduct them whitherſoeuer K he would: ſaying, That they were ready as couragious men, to ouercome all the difficulties of thoſe hard paſſages, and patiently to endure all the labors and dangers incident to that warre.

Selymus encourageth his ſouldiers to goe againſt the Mamalukes.

Selymus, by the mountaine people hauing found out the eaſieſt paſſages, reſolued to paſſe ouer the mountaine with his army in three places: and ſo appointing three great companies of the common ſouldiers and country people, for the opening of the ſtreit paſſages; he commanded the rough and vneuen waies to be made plaine and ſmooth, for the tranſporting of his ordnance, and the broken paſſages to be caſt euen, that ſo his baggage and carriages might the better paſſe: and the more to encourage his ſouldiers to take paines, he promiſed preſent reward to all ſuch as in tranſporting of his ordnance, ſhould take any extraordinary paines. L Whereby it came to paſſe, that the ſame being of the ſmaller ſort, bearing a bullet of no great height, was in ſhort time by the cheerefull labour of his ſoldiers, drawne ouer thoſe great hils and dales: ſo that in fiue daies all his army with his baggage and carriages were got ouer the mountain Taurus, and come into the plaines of Comagena. For that mountaine where it taketh the name of Amanus, which is almoſt in the middle where the riuer Euphrates parteth the mountaine Taurus, and the Bay Iſſicus, is neither exceeding high, or yet impaſſible: for as it commeth neerer the ſea, it is not ſo rough as elſewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilled by the mountaine Cilicians, a fierce kind of people accuſtomed to labor and toile, who are now called Caramanians, which is to ſay, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines; for that the burnt rocks of the mountaine ſeeme a far off to be blacke. M

Alis Beg which betraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before ſent for, as ſoone as the army was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a ſtrong power of his light horſmen, ſpeedily ouerran all that country which is at the foot of Amanus and Taurus: therby to vnderſtand of the country people and ſuch as they could take priſoners, where *Campſon*

A *ſon* lay with his army; and alſo by keeping the paſſages to doe what might poſſibly be done, that *Selymus* his comming might not be knowne to the enemy.

But *Campſon*, who with no leſſe vanity than pride had fondly flattered himſelfe, onely by the authority and greatneſſe of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouerruled him at his pleaſure; could not be perſuaded that he was come ouer the mountaine Amanus, vntill certain newes was brought him, that he was encamped with a moſt puiſſant army within two daies march of him. With which vnexpected newes being ſore troubled, and in the midſt of that danger to ſeeke counſell, as one which began rightly to conſider of his owne ſtrength, and the ſtrength of his enemy; began then to doubt what were beſt for him to do, & in great perplexity ſometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe diſcouraged and diſmaied. And B now become exceeding carefull both of his honor and himſelfe, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to giue place to ſo great a danger, and ſhunning battell to retire with his army into places of more ſafety; or elſe couragiouſly to abide the comming of his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great diſaduantage: foraſmuch as he reputed it far more honourable, after the example of his predeceſſors from whom he had receiued that great kingdome (both gotten and kept by martiall proweſſe) to die with honor in the field, than by ſhamefull and vnwonted flight, either to blemiſh their military glory continued aboue the ſpace of 300 yeres, or for loue of a ſmall remainder of life, being now 77 yeres old, to ſeeme willing to reſerue vnto obloquie and ſhame his laſt daies, depriued of all honour and reputation.

C There were amongſt his chiefetains many, which preferred wholeſome counſell before that which was in ſhew more glorious: but aboue all others, one *Iamburd* ſyrnamed *Gazelles* (ſometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honor, for his long experience in martiall affaires, and at that time Gouernor of Apamia. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turks army, conſiſting for moſt part of expect ſoldiers, with ſo ſmall a power, were a thing of deſperat danger; ſo was he alſo, that it were good ſpeedily to retire, and to chuſe the city of Damaſco, as the fitteſt place for thoſe wars: foraſmuch as the Turks army could make no haſte after them, by reaſon of their footmen and carriages, ſo that they might at eaſe and with ſafety retyre; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were in garriſon in Iudea and Ægypt, and entertaining the Arabians their neighbors, to protract the war vntill D Winter, when as they might eaſily diſtreſſe the enemy for want of victuall. And that it was not to be feared, that Aleppo, if it were furniſhed but with a reaſonable garriſon, could by and by be taken of the enemy, who had but ſmall field pieces not fit for battery. Beſide that, in ſhort time aid would come from the Perſians out of Meſopotamia; yea, and *Hyſmael* himſelfe hearing of the Turks expedition into Syria, was like enough to break into Aſia the leſſe: neither would the Chriſtians refuſe to furniſh them with great artillery from the Iſlands of the Rhodes and Cyprus, againſt that common enemy, if they were thereto in time requeſted. All which things being laid together, he ſaid, the Sultan might afterward vpon euen hand go into the field, if he ſhould thinke it ſo much to concerne his honor, to giue his enemies battell. But foraſmuch as the greateſt wars, which at the firſt had moſt violent and furious motions, E by the politicke enemies delay, did moſt commonly in time grow calme, he ſhould not therefore make too much haſt to aduenture the fortune of battell: for that the errors of war, which many times chanced through the ouerſight or raſhneſſe of the chiefetaines, might well of good men be lamented and deteſted, but hardly or neuer be recouered or amended.

The wholeſome counſell of Gazelles for protracting the war.

Gazelles his graue and conſiderat ſpeech had much moued both the Sultan and others: yet the cheerfulneſſe of the ſoldiers, and fooliſh hardineſſe of the Mamalukes did ſo fill *Campſons* eares, that he could not hearken to ſo good and wholeſome counſell: for as ſoone as they heard certainly of the comming of the Turks, they began to leape and dance, and to rejoyce among themſelues, that the time was come wherin they might make proofe of their valor, and win to themſelues honor. For now (as they ſaid) was come that time they had long wiſht for, wherein F they would by notable ſlaughter of their enemies, aduance the honor and majeſty of *Campſon* their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*: and ſome euen of the chiefe men about *Campſon*, vpon flattery and vaine oſtentation, alledging how honorably and with what ſmall labour they had before ouerthrown the Turks great army at Taurus; perſuading him that the victory would eaſily and without any great danger be gotten. But eſpecially *Cayerbeius* Gouernor

of Aleppo and of the prouince of Comagena (who after his war ended, was in reward of his G
ſoule treaſon, by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greateſt honours of Ægypt) extolling
with glorious words the faithfulneſſe, courage, and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating
the power and ſtrength of the enemy, forced his wits to the vttermoſt to ouerthrow the wholeſome
counſell of *Gezelles*.

A ſecret grudge between Campſon and Cayerbeius Gouernor of Comagena.

For this *Cayerbeius* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart againſt *Campſon*, becauſe he
had ſome few yeres before poiſoned his brother, whom he had in jealouſie, being a man next
to himſelf of greateſt power, wealth, and authority amongſt the Mamalukes, and withall of an
aſpiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himſelfe, and
doubting the like practiſe to be intended againſt himſelf, being, as the maſter of that kingdom
was, ſummoned to a parliament at Caire, feigned himſelfe ſicke, and would not come: wherewith H
Campſon was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it beſt to diſſemble the matter,
& to wait ſome fitter opportunity for the taking away of that proud man, ſo forgetful of his
duty, and bearing himſelfe againſt his ſoueraigne, as if he had bin an abſolute King in his own
prouince: this he thought might moſt couertly be brought to paſſe, if he ſhould vpon the occaſion
of the preſent war (as it then fell out) or els vnder the color of going in perſon himſelfe
to the riuer Euphrates, come to Aleppo: for it was the maner of the antient Egyptian Sultans,
not to account themſelues worthy of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had,
as *Caytbeius* had of late done, encamped their army vpon the ſide of the riuer Euphrates at the
city Byrrha (which ſtanding vpon the banke of the riuer, retaineth at this day both the antient
name and fame) and there with ſolemne pompe had in the ſight of the army forced their horſes I
into the riuer to drinke: giuing to vnderſtand by that ceremony, the greatneſſe of their empire,
and that they were ready by force of armes to proue, that all thoſe countries were theirs
which lay alongſt the riuer Euphrates, from the mountain Taurus, vnto the deſarts of Arabia.
But the conſideration of this war letted that he did not at his firſt comming oppreſſe him, becauſe
he deemed it to ſtand beſt with his preſent affaires: and not yet knowing the purpoſe
of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turks and Perſians, and to defer the execution of his
wrath againſt *Cayerbeius*, vntill the end of the war, for feare leſt the other Mamalukes diſmaied
with the hainouſneſſe of the ſudden fact, ſhould either reuolt from him, or els raiſe ſome mutiny
and rebellion in that populous city. For *Cayerbeius* had by his courteſie and bounty many
ſtrong companies in the army faſt bound vnto him: and beſide that, was of greateſt credit and K
authority with them of Aleppo, hauing in his keeping a ſtrong citadell, built vpon the riſing
of an hill in the midſt of the city, which he kept with a ſtrong and ſure garriſon.

But whiles *Campſon* doth thus ſlowly and conſiderately purpoſe his deſtruction, many of the
Sultans ſecret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, ſecretly aduiſed *Cayerbeius* to beware
of the Sultan, and by ſome good means in time to prouide for his own ſafety. He vnderſtanding
of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, ſent ſecret meſſengers vnto *Selymus*, diſcouering
vnto him the cauſe of his griefe, and promiſing as occaſion ſhould ſerue to come
ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the caſtle with the heart of the citiſens, and all
the ſtrength of his owne horſmen; thereby to prouide for his owne ſafety, to reuenge his brothers
death, and to further his victory againſt *Campſon*: and for performance of promiſes on L
both ſides, required ſecret hoſtages to be giuen. By the ſame meſſengers he alſo aduertiſed
him, what ſtrength the Sultan was of, perſuading him in any caſe to make haſt to giue him
battell before he had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condiſcend to
all that the traitor had requeſted, promiſing of himſelfe far greater things than euer he had
required: aſſuring himſelfe of the victory, if his enemie ſhould loſe ſo much of his ſtrength
by the reuolt of ſo great a commander.

Campſon enforced by the generall conſent of his ſouldiers, and the violence of his ineuitable
deſtiny, then at hand, rejecting the good and faithfull counſell of *Gezelles*, at ſuch time as
Selymus was reported to be at hand; reſolued according to the counſell of the traitor *Cayerbeius*,
to dare him battell. He lay conueniently incamped vpon the riuer Singa, almoſt ten miles M
from the city, in ſuch ſort as that his ſoldiers might vſe the benefit of the riuer, and remoued
from the houſes and pleaſures of the city, might yet neuertheleſſe be eaſily relieued with the
ſtore and plenty thereof.

The Mamalukes notable ſouldiers.

The Mamalukes were ſcarce in number twelue thouſand, but euery one of them, according

A as he was of greater place or calling, ſo had he attending vpon him mo ſeruants, wel furniſhed with horſe and armor. A goodly and inuincible army, if the battel might haue bin tried by true valor. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and ſtern countenance, hauing ſtrong and able bodies, vſed ſuch cunning in all their fights and battels, that after they had giuen the firſt charge with their lances, they would by and by with wonderfull actiuitie vſe their bows and arrows, caſting their targets behind them; and forthwith the horſmans mace or crooked ſcimitar, as the maner of the battel and place required. Their horſes were ſtrong and couragious, in making and ſwiftnes much like vnto the Spaniſh Genets; and that which is of many hardly beleeued, ſo docible, that at certain ſignes or ſpeeches of the rider, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground, a lance, an arrow, or ſuch like B thing; and as if they had known the enemy, run vpon him with open mouth, and laſh at him with their heels, and had by nature and cuſtom learned, not to be afraid of any thing. Theſe couragious horſes were commonly furniſhed with ſiluer bridles, gilt trappings, rich ſaddles, their necks and breſts armed with plates of iron. The horſman himſelf was commonly content with a coat of male, or a breſt-plate of iron: the chief and wealthieſt of them vſed head-pieces; the reſt a linnen couering of the head, curiouſly folded into many wreaths, wherewith they thought themſelues ſafe enough againſt any handy ſtroke. The common ſouldiers vſed thrumbd caps, but ſo thick that no ſword could pierce them.

Campſon of all his army made four battels: the firſt was committed to *Cayerbeius*, becauſe it was in his own prouince where the battell was to be fought: the ſecond was led by *Sybeius*, C who for his wonderful actiuity was of them called *Baluano*, which in their language ſignifieth a tumbler, or one that ſheweth feats of actiuity: he was gouernour of Damaſco, a man of ſingular faith and valor. Theſe two great Commanders were appointed at once to charge both the wings of the Turks army. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third battell, to ſecond either the one or the other of the two formoſt, as need ſhould require. *Campſon* himſelf led the fourth, all gliſtring in gilt armor, behind the reſt almoſt a mile and a half. The laſt was left for defence of the camp.

The order of Campſon his battell.

But *Selymus* according to his wonted maner ſo ordered his battel, that his Aſian horſemen were in the right wing, his Europeian horſmen in the left, his Ianizaries and Artillerie in the main battel, before whom in the middle between the two wings hee placed his moſt valiant D and gallant Pentioners; amongſt whom (contrary to his wonted cuſtome) he choſe to ſerue that day.

The order of Selymus his battell.

Cayerbeius ſo ſoon as he was come neer the enemy, in token of his braue courage gaue a hot charge vpon the Europeian horſmen; and by and by as if hee would haue compaſſed in that wing, wheeled a great way about behind them, where chancing vpon a great company of ſcullians, drudges, and other baſe people that followed the camp, with an infinit number of cammels and cariages, he made there a great ſtir, with little ſlaughter, that as a valiant & cunning traitor, he might in the ſelf ſame time ſatisfie the expectation of his valor and of his treaſon together. In the other wing, the gouernor of Damaſco, to enter vpon the open ſide of the enemy, forbearing to charge him afront, and turning about his troupes on the left hand, entered E ouerthwart their ranks, where the Mamalukes fought with ſuch fury, that hauing made great ſlaughter of the Aſian horſmen, they brake in amongſt them as if it had bin a raging floud, bearing down all before them, vntil they came to the enſignes in the midſt of the wing. Neither could *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by birth an Hungarian, and *Selymus* his brother in law) neither the Imbrahor Baſſa (or maſter of the houſe) though they did what they might to withſtand him, after the firſt were ouerthrown, ſtay the reſt, but that they would needs turn their backs and fly. So *Sybeius* as a valiant conqueror hauing cut in two pieces the right wing of the enemies battel, and thruſting in betwixt the battel of the footmen, and the backs of the pentioners, brought a great terror & fear vpon the whole battel. The matter was now brought to extream danger; for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almoſt cut off from his foot- F men, in whom he had repoſed his greateſt confidence. And now the Ianizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the fortune of *Sybeius*, had ſet vpon the head of the Enemies battell. The Aſian horſemen alſo beeing put to the worſe, and cut in pieces, found no means how to reſtore again their diſordred battel.

In this extremity *Sinan Baſſa* in good time came in with his horſmen: by his comming, for that he had bin but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the Traitor, and had brought with him many freſh troups of horſmen, the fury of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turks again incouraged, and the victory ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillery being by the commandement of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged among them, by the terrible thundring wherof the Mamaluks horſes ſomwhat troubled, could not ſo wel as before be ruled: neither could the men themſelues, although they were of wonderful courage, much preuail, being on euery ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that diſtreſſe being nothing diſmaid, although they were by *Cayerbeius* & their good fortune forſaken, they were not to ſeek either of courage or direction; but ſetting themſelues cloſe together, they brake through the midſt of their enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europeian horſemen, and hurt of the pentioners, and ſo with ſpeed fled toward the camp and city. After whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt troups of his horſmen: for *Selymus* (who that day in the extream heat, for his wonderful pains, courage, and direction, ſeemed vndoubtedly greater than himſelfe) riding vp and down, called erneſtly vpon his ſoldiers to vrge the victory, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying enemies. G H

Campſon had now (his deſtiny ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to haue come to the relief of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be ouercome, to be partaker of the victory: when vpon the way he vnderſtood by them that fled, that *Cayerbeius* was reuolted, his army ouerthrown, and the terror ſo great, as that the flight of his ſouldiers was not now poſſibly to be ſtaied. Beſide that, to augment the fear, it was reported, that the multitude of his enemies & force of their artillery was ſo great, that they were not then to be incountred. With which heauy news the proud old man, who in the perpetuall courſe of his good fortune had neuer taſted of euil hap, was ready for ſorrow and grief of mind to haue ſunke downe to the ground. And forthwith his own men, and the enemy purſuing them, comming vpon him, who in their headlong courſe without regard ouerthrew whomſoeuer they met, euery man making ſhift for himſelf, without reſpect of others harms; he being a corpulent man of great years, and beſide the heauines of his armor, troubled alſo with a rupture, ouercome with heat and griefe of mind fainted in that great preiſe, and ſo falling down, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great majeſty gouerned the kingdoms of Egypt, Iudea, and Siria, many years. The valiant Tetrarchs of Damaſco and Tripolis, whilſt others fled for life, either to the camp or to the city of Aleppo, laboring in the hindermoſt of their flying troups to repres the force of their purſuing enemies, were both fighting honorably ſlain. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the ſame field wherin the battel was fought, and keeping moſt part of his army in arms, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his victory or good fortune; fearing leſt men of ſo great courage as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the couert of the night return and ſet vpon him in his camp. For he knew right wel, that they were ouercome and put to flight rather by the trechery of *Cayerbeius*, and fury of his great ordnance, than by the valor of his ſoldiers. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly vnderſtood of the death of *Campſon*, hauing giuen their horſes a ſhort bait, departed in haſt from Aleppo to Damaſco. The next day *Selymus* remouing with his army, took the rich tents of his enemies, full of all princely ſtore, which he gaue to his ſoldiers for a prey: and marching thence to Aleppo had the city peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*; where he fauorably took the Citiſens into his protection, and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time injoyed. I K L

The death of Campſon.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus by Cayerbeius the traitor.

In this battel were ſlain not aboue a thouſand Mamalukes, but of their ſeruants and followers a great number; mo being ſlain in the flight than in the fight, when as their horſes fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirſt, many of them were inforced to betake themſelues to their feet, & ſo were eaſily ſlain of euery baſe horſman. For a great number of goodly horſes died there, which being foggy fat, and delicatly brought vp in cold ſtables, could not endure the feruency of the heat, and that vnacquainted trauel; for that day al things were burnt with the ſcorching heat of the ſun. M

This famous battell was fought the 17 of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1516, the very ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two years before hee had obtained the victorie againſt *Hyſmael* the great Sophy in the Chalderan fields. *Selymus* loſt in this battell three thouſand horſemen: whereby it may eaſily be gathered, That hee had there receiued a nota-

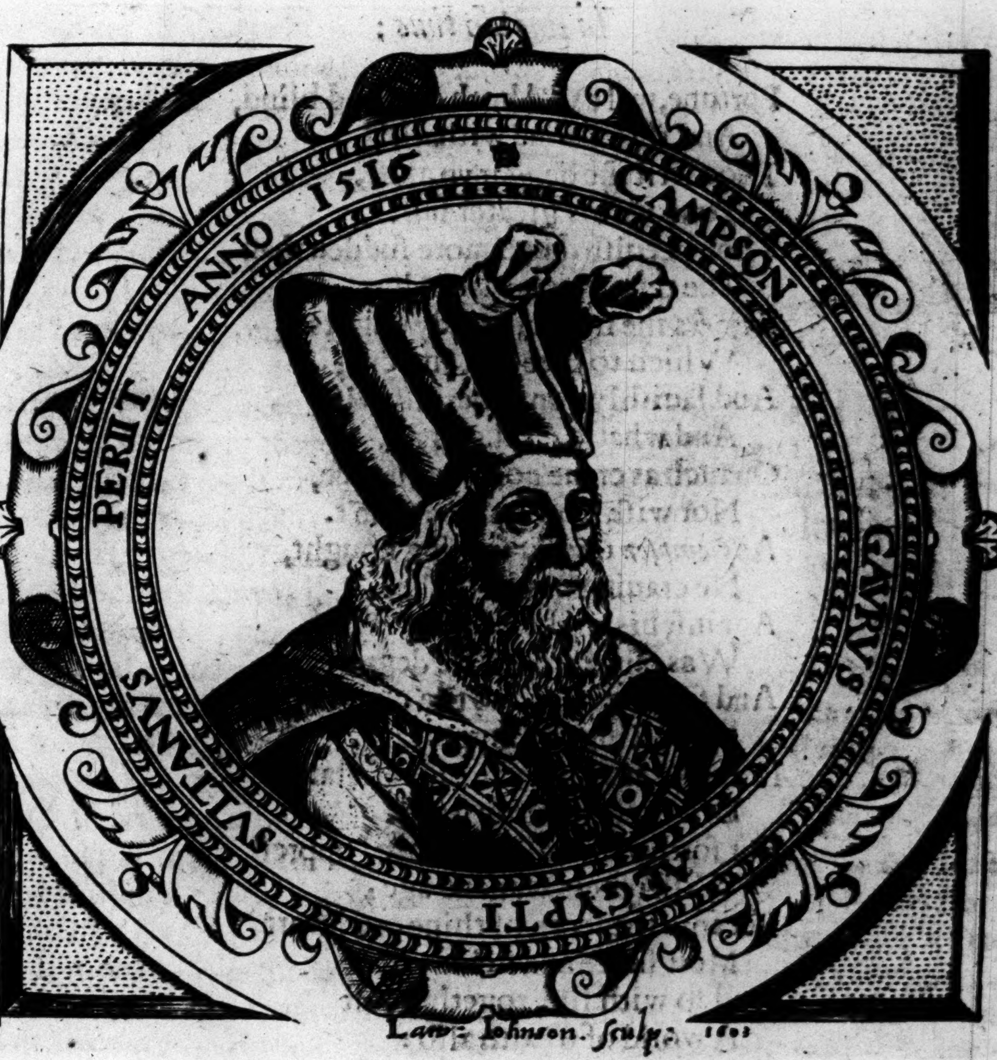
ble

A ble ouerthrow of his horſmen, if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left wing (who by the treaſon of *Cayerbeius* eſcaped with ſmall loſſe) had alſo hapned vpon his *Sybeius*, as the other General did.

The dead body of *Campſon*, found two daies after without any wound appearing therupon, was by the commandment of *Selymus* laid forth in open place for al men to behold; that ſuch as beleeued him yet to liue, and to be gon to repair his army at Cair, might be out of all hope of his return; and others that were already reuolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all fear of him. Not long after when the dead body began to putrifie & grow noiſom, and to conuince the fame of his eſcape, had lien open to the view of all men by the ſpace of three days, it was without any funeral pomp or ſolemnitie ſimply buried in the moſt antient temple of Aleppo. Of the riſing and fall of this great man *Ianus Vitalis* hath written this B Elogium or Epitaph:

Campſons dead body layed out for all men to view.

CAMPSON GAVRVS,
Sultan of Ægypt.


CAMPSON GAVRVS SVLTANVS AEGYPTI PERIIT ANNO 1516
Laur: Iohnson. ſculp. 1603

Paul. Iov. l. 4. Elog. viror. Illuſtr.

Fortuna cæca & ſurda, verè diceris.
Et mente vna prædita.
Ad alta tollis ſcamna in imo conditos,
Vt mox cadant profundius.

Moroſa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugas, deinde te nihil petentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campſon *vt ille* Gaurius, *nil ambiens,*
Nil te proterua flagitans,
Invitus Imperator ora Ægyptia
Tumultuoſa militum
Ex fece plebis factus inſolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora ſydera
Mox excidens altiſsimus,
Abſumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Gravis ſenectæ pondere
Fit ludus atrox impotentis aleæ
Tuæque pervicaciæ,
Amiſit & cum vita, opes quas maximo
Cum regno habebat maximus.

In Engliſh thus:

Fortune, wel call'd both deaf and blind,
And therto fond withall,
Thou ſetſt the beggar vp aloft,
To work his greater fall.
Thou peeuiſh dame, more ſudden than
The thunder clap from hie,
Rejects the ſuits of greedy wights
Which to thee call and cry;
And lauiſhly conſumes thy ſelf,
And whatſo els thou haſt,
On ſuch as craue nothing of thee,
Nor wiſh ought to bee grac't.
As *Campſon Gaurus* ſeeking nought,
Ne crauing ought of thee;
Againſt his wil, by ſoldiers rage
Was rais'd from baſe degree,
And ſoaring vp aboue the clouds,
Made King of Egypts land,
Receiv'd amongſt the higheſt ſtars,
Did there in glory ſtand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppreſt
With rebels, war, and age;
Became the ſcorn of thine orethwart
Moſt fierce and fickle rage.
And ſo with life, together loſt
A world of wealth alſo:
Which with his ſtately kingdom great,
He greateſt did forgo.

Selymus comes to Damaſco.

Selymus hauing receiued the City of Aleppo into his obeyſance, ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa* before him with a great part of his light horſmen, to purſue his flying enemies to Damaſco, whither he himſelf in few daies after came alſo, with the remainder of his Army, when hee vnderſtood that his enemies were departed thence & fled to Cair. They of the city of Damaſco thinking it not to ſtand with their good to ſtay the courſe of his victory, and with their liues to hazard

the

A the great wealth of that rich city; without delay preſently opened vnto him the gates at his comming. By whoſe example other cities alongſt the ſea coaſt mooued, eſpecially Tripolis, Berytus, Sydon, and Ptolemais, ſending their Embaſſadors, and receiuing in the Turks garriſons, yeelded themſelues in like maner.

Not long after, *Selymus* held a great councel in his camp, which then lay vnder the walls of Damaſco: for he would not bring his ſoldiers into the city, for troubling the quiet and populous ſtate therof, together with the great trade of merchandiſe, which at that time was with wonderful ſecurity kept there by merchants of diuers countries comming from far, euen from the remoteſt parts of the world. And in the Campe ſuch was the military diſcipline of that moſt ſeuere commander, that the ſoldiers (knowing the victory to giue them no whit the more B libery) ſuffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citiſens, in the moſt plentifull time of Autumn, to reſt in ſafety vntouched, without any keeper. By which ſeuere & ſtreit gouernment he ſo politickly prouided againſt all wants, that his camp was in all parts furniſht with plenty of all things neceſſary, and that at prices reaſonable. There taking vnto him men skilfull in the laws and cuſtoms of the country, and calling before him the embaſſadors of all the cities of the country, he heard and decided the greateſt controuerſies of the Syrians, appointed gouernors ouer the prouinces and cities, took view of the tributes and cuſtoms, and abrogated many cuſtoms and tributes due vnto the old ſultans, which ſeemed either vnreaſonable or grieuous to the people: therby to gain the fame of a iuſt and bountiful conqueror.

Notable diſcipline in Selymus his army.

When he had thus ſet all things in order in Syria, and ſufficiently reſted and refreſhed his C army, and eſpecially his horſes, which with long and continual trauel were grown megre and lean; he of nothing more deſirous than of the conqueſt of Egypt, and the vtter ſubuerſion of the Sultans ſtate and Mamaluks gouernment, ſent before *Sinan Baſſa* into Iudea with 50000 horſmen, and a ſtrong regiment of harquebuſiers ſelected out of te Ianizaries and other ſoldiers, to try the paſſage of that country, & to open the way for him to Gaza, which was thought would be to him very troubleſom, by reaſon of the wild Arabians roaming vp and downe the Country. The City of Gaza ſtandeth neere vnto the ſea towards Egypt, not farre from the ſandy deſarts, wherby men with much difficulty and dangerous trauel, paſſe out of Syria, and ſo to Cair.

In the meane time the Mamalukes, who vnder the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to Caire, D with all the reſt of their order which were thither aſſembled from all parts of the kingdom; entring into counſel together (as it often fals out in time of danger and diſtreſſe) without all contention or enuy choſe *Tomombeius* (of the Turks called *Tuman-bay*) a Circaſſian born, to be their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honor and power vnto the Sultan; whoſe proweſſe & policy was ſuch, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able & ſufficient to ſtay & vphold the afflicted and declining ſtate of their kingdom. He by their general conſent and good liking promoted to the ſtate of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his own majeſty, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to be repoſed wholly in arms and the fortune of battel; began with great care & ſingular induſtry to prouide armor, weapons, and horſes from all places; he alſo cauſed great ſtore of ordnance to E be caſt, and muſtred great companies of ſuch of his ſlaues as ſeemed meet for the war: beſides that, he entertained for pay many of the Moors and Arabians his neighbors. He alſo for great reward hired men skilful in the Countries, to go thorow the deſarts of the Palmyrens into Meſopotamia, and ſo to *Hyſmael* the Perſian King with letters; earneſtly requeſting him to inuade the Turks dominions in Aſia the leſſe, or with all ſpeed to break into Comagena, being by the departure of the enemy left bare and deſtitute of ſufficient garriſons. And further to aduertiſe him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of Iudæa, might eaſily bee incloſed with their two armies, and ſo be vanquiſhed, or for want of victuals diſtreſſed: and the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turks vpon that coaſt, able from ſea to relieue their Army by land, or yet to tranſport them thence, in caſe they ſhould by chance of War bee diſtreſſed, and ſo think to return. In which doing, he ſhould both relieue the Egyptian Sultan his friend and Confederat, for his ſake brought into ſo great danger; and alſo without any great trouble or peril, notably reuenge himſelf of ſo many ſhamefull injuries as hee had before receiued from that moſt capitall Enemy. Whileſt *Tomombeius* doth theſe things, *Sinan Baſſa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, hauing eaſily repulſed diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

Tomombeius by general conſent of the Mamalukes choſen Sultan of Egipt

Gaza yeelded to Sinan.

maner of theeues and robbers lay vpon the paſſages, had now opened the way, & was come to G Gaza; where the citiſens, although they were in heart faithſul to the Mamalukes, yet for that to ſhut their gates againſt the Baſſa, and to ſtand vpon their gard without a ſufficient garriſon, ſeemed a matter both perillous and vnreaſonable, forthwith yeelded their city vpon reaſonable compoſition, and with the plenty therof relieued the Turks Baſſa, giuing him great, but diſſembled thanks, that by his meanes and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruel bondage of the Mamalukes, promiſing for the remembrance of ſo great a benefit, for euer to remain his faithful ſeruants. *Sinan* commending their ready good will, required of them al ſuch things as he wanted, or had occaſion to vſe; which they ſeemed willing to deliuer, and ſo lodged his army neer to the wals of the city, within the defence of the gardens, purpoſing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*. H

In the mean time (as he was a man of great experience, and moſt ſkilful in martial affairs) he ſought by all means to get knowledge of that deſart and vnpeopled country, not inhabited for lack of water; and eſpecially of the nature of the great ſands wherby *Selymus* was with his army to paſſe. He alſo won by rewards the inhabitants of the country therabouts, by large offers to procure him the fauor of the chieftains and leaders of the Arabians neere vnto thoſe places; and alſo to ſpy what the Mamalukes did at Cair, and wherin they repoſed their chief confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge therof.

On the other ſide, the citiſens of Gaza in heart enemies vnto the Turks, as daily feeling the grieuances of the preſent army, aduertiſed *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Baſſa*, & that that power of the Turks army might eaſily be oppreſſed before the comming of *Selymus*, if a I ſtrong power of the Mamaluks were ſent thither vnder the conduct of ſkilful leaders: promiſing, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time, vpon a ſudden in the night ſet vpon the ſleepy Turks, they would at the ſame inſtant ſally out of the city vpon the Camp, & there with fire and ſword do what harm they could for the ouerthrow of the enemy.

Of this deuice *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked wel, and ſo without delay ſent *Gazelles* with 6000 choiſe horſmen, and a great number of the Arabians, to perform the exploit vpon *Sinan*. For *Gazelles*, in that his wholſom counſel had bin by *Campſon* and others rejected (who being ſtraitway deſirous of battel, had raſhly caſt themſelues & the whole ſtate into ſo great calamity) and afterward in the greateſt danger of the battel, hauing performed all the parts of a politique and valiant chieftain, was grown into ſuch credit, that all men held a great opini- K on both of his valor and direction.

Sinan aduertiſed of the comming of Gazelles, goes ſecretly to meet him.

But he was ſcarſly wel ſet forth, when aduertiſement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming thorow the ſandy Deſarts, vpon the ſudden to oppreſſe him; and that they would be with him before two dais were expired, foraſmuch as they had ſet forward vpon the ſpur, without any cariages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the ſafegard of *Sinans* army, ſo was it of greateſt importance and moment for the ſubduing and obtaining of the full conqueſt of Egypt afterward. But *Sinan Baſſa*, although he knew nothing of the trechery of them of Gaza; yet as a man of a prouident and ſubtil wit, ſuſpecting that ſuch a thing might happen, be- L cauſe he would not haue at once to do with a double enemy, reſolued to go & meet the Mamaluks vpon the way, and to giue them battel. Wherfore with great ſilence diſlodging his army betwixt ten and twelue a clock in the night, hee ſet forward and marched out of ſight of the city about fifteen miles toward Egypt. There was neer vnto that place a little low village wherin trauellers vſed commonly to lodge, for the commodiouſnes of a liuely and plenteous ſpring which there riſeth: there by chance both *Sinan Baſſa* had purpoſed to ſtay, and *Gazelles* in like maner had alſo determined to reſt a few hours to refreſh his army, that he might by night, after he had well refreſhed his horſes, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at Gaza. When news was brought to both the Generals almoſt at one inſtant, by the fore-runners of both armies, That the enemy was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that vnexpected news, for that he perceiued himſelf diſ- M appointed of his purpoſe; and vnable to fight with his enemies in plain battel, eſpecially his horſes being ſore wearied with trauell, was inforced vpon the ſudden for the ſafegard of himſelf & his followers, to reſolue vpon a new reſolution: yet nothing diſcouraged, with cheerful countenance and liuely ſpeech exhorted his ſoldiers to make themſelues ready for battel, &

that

A that which they could not by policie bring to paſſe,they ſhould by plain force perform. *Sinan*
on the other ſide hauing ſomwhat ſooner ſet his men in order of battel than had *Gazelles*,
foraſmuch as he had before at good leiſure taken order what hee would haue don,if it ſhould
come to the point of battel ; with conſtant look and long perſuaſions ful of hope, incouraged
his ſoldiers to fight. But the concluſion of all his ſpeech was, that they ſhould play the men,
and not once think of flight, foraſmuch as all places about them would be ſhut vp and becom
impaſſable,if they obtained not the victory : and that aboue all things they ſhould perſuade
themſelues, that none of them could that day periſh, but ſuch as the immortal God had by
the ineuitable law of deſtiny appointed to die : and that with like haſard valiant men found
life in the midſt of their enemies weapons, that cowards by immutable deſtiny found death
B in their ſafeſt flight.

The battell betweene Sinan Baſſa and Gazelles.

The Baſſa had placed his harquebuſiers in the wings of his battell, which were raunged of
a great length in thin ranks, therby to vſe their pieces at more liberty, and with more eaſe to
incloſe the enemy : in the middle were placed the horſemen to receiue the firſt charge of the
Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approching the enemy, ſent before the troups of the Arabian light horſmen
to trouble the wings of his enemies battel, and with a ſquare battell of his Mamalukes
charged the middle battel of the Turks. The battel was a great while moſt terrible, & the victory
doubtfull: for although the Turks in number far exceeded, yet were they not able to indure
the armed and couragious Mamalukes, but were glad to giue ground; and quite diſordered
by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men diſcouraged, began to looke about them
C which way they might fly. When by the commandement of *Sinan* the harquebuſiers, who
with the firſt volly of their ſhot had repulſed the Arabians , wheeling about, incloſed all the
enemies battel. By which means both men and horſe were afar off ſlain with the multitude of
their deadly ſhot: where true valor helped them not, ſo on euery ſide incloſed. For where any
troup of Mamalukes preſſed forward vpon the Turks, they quickly retyred, and in all places
of the battel, as much as they could, ſhunned to incounter their enemies with their horſmen,
laboring only to gaul them with ſhot. *Gazelles* ſeeing his horſes ſpent with extream wearines,
and that he was not to expect any further help, his Arabians beginning now to fal from him;
and alſo conſidering that many of his moſt valiant ſoldiers were either ſlain or wounded, and
hauing alſo himſelf receiued a great wound in his necke : he with the reſt of his Army made
D way thorow the middeſt of his enemies , and hauing loſt diuers of his enſignes , fled backe
again to Cair through the ſandy Deſarts wherby he came. In this battel was loſt the gouernor
of Alexandria, and *Orchamus* Gouernour of Cair (both men of great account among the
Mamalukes) and beſides them a great number of the Arabians, with a thouſand or more of
the Mamaluke horſmen. Neither got *Sinan* a ioyfull or vnbloudy victory, hauing loſt aboue
two thouſand of his beſt horſmen, and amongſt them certain Commaunders men of great account.

The Turks weary of this battel, which had endured from noon til night, and many of their
horſes fainting vnder them, were not able to purſue their enemies, and therefore incamped in
the ſame place where the battel was fought, neer vnto the fountain. The day following they
E at leiſure gathered the ſpoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies , which were eaſily
known by their long and rough beards, faſtned them vp vpon the Date trees growing therby,
as wel in witnes of their worthy labour, as by that ſtrange and horrible ſpectacle to feed the
eies of their fierce Emperor (who was ſhortly after to paſſe that way) and ſo to manifeſt vnto
him the victory of that day.

In the mean time they of Gaza vpon the riſing of the Sun, perceiuing the Turks camp left
empty, as men not able longer to diſſemble their couert trechery ; and vainly ſuppoſing that
Sinan Baſſa vpon ſome knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes , had for feare retyred
back into places of more ſafety; ſuddenly ſet vpon ſuch as were left in the Camp, which were
for moſt part ſick and weak men (yet in number many) whom they moſt cruelly ſlew, and pre-
F ſently ſet vpon 2000 of the Turks horſmen ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were
come thither the ſame day, enquiring with great carefulnes, what was become of the Baſſa and
his Army ; and ſpoyling them of their Carriages, put them to flight. Who after that diſcomfiture,
ſuppoſing the Baſſa (whom they had thought to haue found at Gaza, tarrying
for the comming of *Selymus*) by ſome miſhap or policy of the enemy to haue beene loſt, with

all his army,and therfore fearfully retyring,were by the way miſerably ſlain by the Arabians: G neither had any one of them eſcaped,if they had not met with *Iuleb* the Gouernor of Achaia at the city of Rama: for he was alſo ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Baſſa* with a ſtrong companie of Grecian horſmen,by whoſe comming the fury of the Arabians was wel repreſſed.Yet theſe pilfering people ſtil calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountains adjoining,and being grown to a great army, ouertook the Turkes at a village called Carasbara,where they inforced them to fight in a place of great diſaduantage.For the Arabians hauing before taken certaine ſtreits,which cloſed in the paſſage at the further end of a large vally,ſhewed themſelues at once before,behind,& on both ſides of the Turks:their weapons were bow and arrows,and long ſpears armed at both ſides, which they nimbly handled after the maner of the Moors. Theſe weapons they moſt skilfully vſed vpon their ſwift H horſes,and both in their charge and retreit wounded their enemies deadly. So the Turkes in number few,and for their horſmens ſtaues inferior to their enemies, durſt not offer to charge them;but keeping cloſe together,hardly defended themſelues,ſtil making way as they went: and had vndoubtedly been brought into extream danger to haue been vtterly loſt,had not *Iuleb* with four pieces of artillery which he brought with him for his defence,driuen them that kept the ſtreits, from their high places, and ſo opening the way, with all ſpeed brought thorow his men. Which ſtreits once paſſed, and comming into the open fields, he with more ſafety marched forward,skirmiſhing afar off with the enemy,with his archers and harquebuſiers,and diſcharging his field pieces where he ſaw the greateſt and thickeſt troupes of thoſe wild people. I

On the other part,the Arabians diſperſedly houering about them in troups,were ſtil in the tail of the army,and ſuch as were wounded or weak,and could not follow the reſt, they ſlew; and ſought by all means to hinder their journy,not ſuffering them(circumuented with ſo many dangers) either to refreſh themſelues,or to take reſt. This was vnto the Turks a moſt diſmal day,for many of them tormented with thirſt,and weakened with wounds and extream labor,gaue vp the ghoſt: and now no help remained in this deſperat eſtate, being ſtil beſet and hardly laid to with a multitude of thoſe fierce and deſperat enemies; when ſuddenly a great number of other Turks came to them in the mid way vnlooked for,being now in deſpaire,and euen at the laſt caſt. For *Selymus* hauing left the Imbrahor Baſſa with a ſtrong army vpon the borders of Perſia,for the defence of Syria and Aſia,and hauing ſent for new ſupplies of ſouldiers K to Conſtantinople, which ſhould with a great fleet be tranſported into Syria, had now remoued from Damaſco:and the better to prouide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow ſcant in that waſted countrey;euery day ſent before great troupes and companies of his army,as it were at certain appointed times.

Selymus doubting Sinan baſſa to haue been loſt,becommeth melancholy.

Newe of Sinans victory comforteth Selymus.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the preſent danger,by the comming in of theſe freſh ſouldiers, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had happened vnto him and his firſt troups,at Gaza and Rama,and all the way after; and alſo what they ſuppoſed by conjectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Baſſa* and his army,for the manifold wyles of ſo dangerous enemies. With which which news *Selymus* became exceeding melancholy, and therupon thought not good to go any further,before he perfectly knew how all ſtood with *Sinan*; in whoſe fortune L he had repoſed al the hope of his good ſucces in that ſo great an enterpriſe.But whilſt he was in this dump,ſuddenly came the Syrian ſpies,who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Baſſa* had don,conuerted that melancholy paſſion into no leſſe ioy and gladnes:for he ſaw that by that victory Egypt was laid open to him,and his deſires as good as half accompliſhed in les time than euer he expected.

The next day after,he remoued with his Army to Rama,and by the way as hee went(to the terror of others)burnt the dwellings,together with the wiues and children of thoſe Arabians who but a little before had don ſo much harm to his men in their paſſage. And from thence ſending before his footmen to *Sinan Baſſa* at Gaza,he himſelf with his horſmen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to Ieruſalem,to viſit that moſt antient and famous City, ſo much M renowned both for the antiquity therof,and the fame of the religion of the Iews.That vnpeopled and deſolat city lay then defaced with the hugy ruins of the old ſacred and ſtately buildings; not inhabited by the Iewes, the antient Inhabitants thereof(who for their inexpiable guilt,as men exiled out of the world, haue no Country or reſting place) but for moſt part by

a few

A a ſew poor Chriſtians, who to the great ſcorn and ſhame of the Chriſtian name, payd yearely a great tribute to the Sultan of Egypt, for the poſſeſſion of the ſacred Sepulchre: when as the Chriſtian princes flouriſhing at that time with glory, power, & wealth, could not by any motiue of immortal glory and fame be incited to reuenge ſo great an injury; but deeming it (as ſhould ſeem) better agreeing with their ſtate to ſpend their time in idle vanities, or mortall war one againſt another, than in the quarrel of the true Chriſtian religion.

Selymus hauing reuerendly worſhipped the antient monuments of the old prophets, & don eſpecial ſacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*, gaue vnto the Chriſtian prieſts keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) mony to maintain them for ſix months; and ſtaying at Ieruſalem but one night, marched in four daies to the reſt of his Army at Gaza: where by B the way he had continual skirmiſhes both day and night with the Arabians, who after their wonted maner were deſperatly at hand in euery place, and where the ſtreitnes of the place inforced the Turks to extenuat their rankes, there would they be ready to skirmiſh with them, and ſuddenly vnlooked for come to handy blows; and when they came into the Vallies, they tumbled down from the mountains great ſtones vpon them, which they had for that purpoſe before prouided. At which time the Turks harquebuſiers, in whom they had greateſt confidence, ſerued them to little purpoſe: for the weather was ſo tempeſtuous and extreame moiſt with continual rain, that the pouder in their flasks became wet and vnſeruiceable, and hardly could they keep fire in their matches. Yet by the valour of the Ianizaries the matter was ſo vſed, that neer vnto the perſon of the emperor no great harm was don by thoſe naked robbers: C for climing vp the hils with pikes in their hands, they droue them from their ſtandings, and inforced them to abandon the ſtreits and high places.

But *Sinan Baſſa* (who after the victory returning to Gaza, had put to death the authours of the late reuolt, confiſcated their goods, and exacted of the people in general a great ſumme of mony, as the iuſt puniſhment of their falſe trechery) hearing now of the comming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious ſoldiers, furniſhed with the ſpoils of their enemies. Whom *Selymus* moſt honorably receiued, and gaue generally to the captains, and particularly to the moſt valiant of the common ſoldiers, garments of ſilk, with a great ſum of money in reward of their good ſeruice.

1517.
Sinan Baſſa goeth to meet Selymus, as hee was comming to Gaza.

After that, he ſtaid but four days at Gaza, for that he thought it not good to giue any long D time of breathing vnto his diſcouraged enemies, now twice ouerthrown; or to ſuffer the new Sultan (not yet wel ſetled in his kingdom) to grow ſtronger by new preparations and ſupplies raiſed in the moſt populous and plentiful country of Egypt. Which to let, although it required great haſt in ſetting forward, and ſerued as ſpurs vnto him, naturally haſting to glory and renown; yet was his army to be refreſhed after ſo long and painful trauel, and great prouiſion to be made for the cariage of water vpon camels all the way through the dry ſolitary and ſandy deſarts. For between Gaza and Cair ly vaſt vnpeopled and barren ſands, which moued by the wind, riſe vp in billows in maner of a wrought ſea, ſo troubleſom, that many times it is not poſſible to ſee for duſt: & the light ſands in many places gauled deep with the wind, wonderfully troubleth the weary paſſengers. But ſuch a ſudden calm inſued the great rain which E fel but three dayes before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that hee could wiſh for the happy conduct of his army: for the air was becom ſo calm, that ther was no blaſt of wind to raiſe the ſand to trouble their ſight; and withall, ſuch plenty of water was found almoſt in euery place, by reaſon of the abundant rain, which being not yet ſunk far into the ground, afforded them water in ſuch plenty, if they digged but two foot deep, that the ſoldiers commonly thought it needles to carry any bottle of water for fear of thirſt. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that paſſage, on euery ſide to houer about the Turks army (as hawks ouer their prey) and ſuffered none of them to ſtraggle out of order, or ſtay behind the reſt of the army, but they were preſently ſnatcht vp and ſlain. Againſt whom *Selymus* prouided an eaſy remedy, by placing his field pieces in diuers parts of his army, which by the F direction of the Leaders (as euery man hapned to be neereſt the danger) were forthwith diſcharged vpon the roaming enemy: and in the rereward of his army were placed ſtrong companies of harquebuſiers, for defence of the weak and feeble ſoldiers, who could but ſoftly follow the army, and therfore were moſt ſubiect to danger.

By this means *Selymus* with ſome ſmall loſſe receiued from the Arabians, in eight dayes march drew neer to Cair, *Sinan Baſſa* going before him;who with his Europeian ſoldiers ſtill kept one daies journy before. There is a village about 6 miles diſtant from the city of Caire, called Matharea,famous for the plenty of moſt excellent Balm,with liquor of al others moſt fragrant and ſoueraigne,diſtilled out of low trees there planted; whoſe outermoſt rinde the people cut with ivory kniues,to giue the liquor paſſage;which Balm for the notable vertues therof being not elſwhere to be had, mens diſeaſes and wanton deſires haue made of a wonderful price. Into that place neer vnto a village called Rhodania,had *Tomombeius* conueyed al his new and old prouiſion of artillery;and had drawn deep ditches ouerthwart al the field and croſſe the highway,which he had cloſely couered ouer with weak hurdls and earth,as if it had bin firm ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thouſand) and a great multitude of Arabian horſmen,lay in places conuenient,of purpoſe that when the Turks battels ſhould approch,they ſhould firſt feel the force of his great Ordnance, before they came within the ſhot of their arrows,& forthwith vpon great diſaduantage with all his forces ſuddenly to ſet vpon them diſordred and intrapped. All which things were ſo cunningly & politickly contriued and done,that there was none in the Sultans Army which doubted of the good ſucces of that day: and a great miſchief had vndoubtedly befallen the Turkes,had not fortune which fauored *Selymus*,and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truly to ſay,the fatall period of that kingdom ſo requiring) by the falſe trechery of a few,fruſtrated the great indeauors of the Mamalukes.

Tomombeius ſeeks to intrap the Turks.

There was in the Sultans army, among the ſoldiers of the court, four Epirot Mamalukes, who grieued to ſee *Tomombeius* (contrary to their deſires) preferred to the kingdom by others of a contrary faction; whether it were vpon a malicious diſpoſition, or vpon hope of reward and better preferment,or for that in ſo great a declination of their kingdom they thought it good to ſeek for new friends of more aſſurance,fled ſecretly to *Sinan Baſſa*,as to a moſt famous captain,and one of their own nation. For this great commander *Sinan*,*Selymus* his right hand, was born in a poor country village of Epirus, in the mountain of Ambracia, whom a ſtrange miſchance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported,that a ſow kept in the houſe wherin he was born,bit off his genitoirs,being then but a child,as he lay by chance ſleeping in the ſhadow;and being made of greater eſteem by that miſhap, was by them that took vp delicat minions for the Turkiſh emperor,brought to Conſtantinople, and preſented to the great Emperor *Mahomet*, *Selymus* his grandfather: where fortune by the fatal direction of his good hap,aduanced him to his appointed honors,whom ſhe had long before diſmembred. By theſe fugitiue Mamalukes,*Selymus* and *Sinan* were inſtructed of all the deuices of the enemy,and eſpecially what ſtratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and policy deuiſed:wherinto they muſt needs fall if they ſhould go directly on, and not forſake the Highway. Wherfore guided by the ſaid fugitiues,they fetcht a great compas on the left hand,and by an vnuſed way,before it was day,hauing eſcaped the front of the enemies Campe,with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and ſhewed themſelues at their backs in order of battel,with their great artillery ready bent,becauſe they were deſirous without delay to join battel.

Selymus comming by a way vnexpected, maketh great confuſion in Tomombeius camp.

Tomombeius now too late perceiuing that his plot was diſcouered by the treaſon of ſome of his own people;although he was therwith aboue meaſure grieued, for that al that he had with ſo great induſtry and the labor of ſo many men brought to paſſe,was through ſpiteful fortune made fruſtrat, and in a moment brought to nought; yet for all that, as he was a man of an inuincible courage,preſently entred into his wonted and deep deuices; and calling to him his chief commanders,quickly told them what he would haue don. Now in this ſhort moment of time he was to do many things at once:the ſignal was to be giuen for the ſoldiers to mount their horſes,and to make themſelues ready,the order of his camp was to be changed,his battel to be ordered,his ſoldiers to be incouraged,and all his great ordnance,as the cauſe required,quite the contray way to be turned: all which things,as they could but hardly and trobleſomly by one commander be directed,ſo were they haſtily and diſorderly at once don by many. But aboue all other things,the great concourſe of people for turning and remoouing the great artillery,moſt troubled the well ordering of the reſt; for many of them were hugie iron pieces of great weight,made faſt in ſtocks of wood,with rings and iron Claſpes, after the old and rude manner of ſhip Ordnance, which for their exceeding and ponderous weight

could

A could not be out of their places remoued, but by the ſtrength of many horſes, and the great labor of men, with levers and rouls put vnder them; and ſuch as were mounted vpon cariages, when they were drawn thorow all parts of the camp, with the great clamour of the diſordered and haſty people, ſome drawing, ſome thruſting forward the ſame, with their tumultuous ſtir and doings wonderfully troubled the other ſoldiers, as they were mounting to horſe, & repairing toward their enſignes. But two things maruellouſly helped theſe difficulties, the ſoldiers cheerfulnes and conſtancy, which was ſuch as paſſeth credit; for they did not vpon any apprehenſion of fear fail either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it happeneth in ſudden accidents, wherin euen the old approued ſoldiers do many times fail of their wonted valor: & although they were twice ouercome in battel, yet ſtil they were of greater ſpirit and confidence, as men B deſtitute neither of courage nor skil, but only of fortune.

Wherfore *Tomombeius* hauing with much ado ordered this battell, and his ſouldiers with great cheerfulnes deſiring the ſignal to bee giuen, commanded all the multitude of his Arabians to compas in the wings of the enemies battel behind, & ſo to skirmiſh with them: that ſo (if it were poſſible) the Turks horſemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight with ſuch an vncertain enemy, be diſordred before he ſet fotward to charge them with his troups; and withall commanded his great Ordnance (which was now turned vpon the enemy) to bee preſently diſcharged. So did the Turkes likewiſe, diſcharging at once from a conuenient diſtance both their greater and ſmaller ordnance; and ſpeedily recharging them, brought them within an arrow ſhot: ſo that for a good ſpace they lay beating the one the other on both ſides C with their great artillery only: in which maner of fight the Egyptian cannoniers were almoſt all ſlain, and many of their field pieces broken by force of the enemies ſhot. For *Selymus* had in his camp many excellent and skilful canoniers, whom he had with great entertainment allured out of Italy and Germany; and eſpecially of thoſe refuce Iewes, who by the zeal of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of Spain, afterwards to the ſhame of the Chriſtians diſperſt thoſe rare and deadly deuices through the Eaſt. The chief of theſe canoniers was one *Iacobus à regio Lepidi*, a cunning enginier, who but a little before ouercome by the Turks rewards, abjuring the Chriſtian religion, reuolted vnto the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Chriſtian canoniers ſerue the Turkes againſt the Egyptians.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battel on both ſides, they gaue out a moſt hideous and dreadful cry, and with exceeding fury aſſailed the Turks in three pla- D ces: for *Selymus* ſtil keeping his wonted order, approched his enemies with his battel in form of a half moon. *Muſtapha Baſſa* had the leading of the Aſian horſemen in the right wing; and *Iounſes Baſſa* of the Europeians in the left: he himſelf ſtood in the main battel with the ſquadron of his truſty Ianizaries, and great ſtore of artillery. But *Sinan Baſſa* the Eunuch, General of the field, led after him a great number of moſt valiant horſmen, drawn out of euery troup, to be ready againſt al the vncertain euents that might happen in the battel, vnto whom he joined 500 harquebuſiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and actiuitie, ſelected out of *Selymus* his own ſquadron, to relieue ſuch part of the Army as ſhould chance to be moſt preſt by the enemy.

The order of Selymus his army.

Sinan Baſſa generall of the field.

So almoſt at one time, whilſt *Tomombeius* ſtood in the main battel againſt *Selymus*, and the E wings of the Mamalukes with equall battel incountred the wings of the Turks; and the Arabians alſo valiantly charging them in the rereward, as they had in charge, foure ſharp battels were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by ſome that were preſent in that battell, that what for the clamor and cry of ſoldiers, what for the noiſe of drums and trumpets, & ſuch like inſtruments of war, what fot the thundring of ordnance, clattering of armor, aud riſing of the duſt, all mens minds were ſo abaſhed and confounded, that running headlong as men furious and deſperat, when neither their ſpeeches could be heard, their tokens known, their Enſigns ſeen, or captains vnderſtood; miſtaking one another in that hurly-burly, they ſlew many of their friends in ſtead of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred, neither did euer two great kings with leſſe care of their perſons and ſafety more reſolutely or F deſperatly make ſhew of their ſtrength & courage: for both of them with like danger both of themſelues and of their armies, ſeeing plainly that they had put both their liues & kingdoms to the haſard of a battel, promiſed vnto themſelues no other hope of ſafety, but what they ſhould obtain by victory. *Gazelles* deſirous both of honor and of reuenge, to requite the Europeian horſmen with like ſlaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from Gaza,

with

Sinan Baſſa with moſt of his followers ſlain by Bidon.

with wonderful fury aſſailed *Ionuſes Baſſa*, and at the firſt incounter brake his firſt ranks, and ouerthrew certain of his guidons; at which time the Arabians couragiouſly preſſing in at their backs, inforced thoſe victorious troups, which in al battels had hitherto caried away the priſe (the very flour of Thracia, Theſſaly, Epirus, Macedonia, & Grecia) to fly & ſhew their backs, which neuer enemy had before that time ſeen. At which time *Sinan Baſſa* carefully attending euery accident, came ſpeedily in with his moſt valiant troups of freſh men, vpon the ſide of the enemy, and reſtored again the battel, now declining and fouly diſordered. But whilſt *Sinan*, who in this his laſt worthy labour had interrupted the manifeſt victory of *Gazelles*, was with an inuincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battell, hee was by the comming in of the couragious Captain *Bidon* with his Mamalukes ouercharged and ſlaine. His moſt valiant followers alſo laboring to reſcue and carry away his dead body, were by *Gazelles* vnfolding his troups (that ſtanding thin, they might at more liberty vſe their ſwords, in which maner of fight the Mamalukes far excelled the Turks) for the moſt part ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight: and that choſen company of fiue hundred of the moſt valiant Ianizaries, now deſtitute of their horſmen, when they had moſt couragiouſly don what was poſſible for men to do, beeing compaſſed round with the Mamalukes horſmen, were all in a maner cut in pieces and trodden vnder foot. Thus reſteth this Eunuch Baſſa in the bed of fame, who liuing had the leading of the moſt warlike Emperor *Selymus* his greateſt armies in his moſt dangerous wars.

Muſtapha in the other wing of the Turks battel, comming on couragiouſly with his Aſian horſmen, did ſore preſſe the left wing of the Egyptians (wherof *Helymus* the Diadare, and *Giapab*, two valiant captains, had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harme by the great ordnance that was diſcharged out of the midſt of *Selymus* his battel ouerthwart the field: which *Muſtapha* perceiuing, and deſirous to blot out the old infamy he had before receiued, did fiercely preſſe vpon them, ſo diſordered, and with his whole troups ouerthrew their broken ranks; and gliſtring in his bright armor, with a loud voice incouraged his Aſian ſouldiers, exhorting them that day with valiant proweſſe or honorable death, to recouer their antient honor, of late loſt in the fields of Aleppo.

Muſtapha and his Aſian ſouldiers ouerthroweth the left wing of the Sultans army.

At the ſame time alſo *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battel of the Turks horſmen, was entred into the ſquadron of the footmen, with his crooked ſcimiter giuing many a deadly wound, himſelf being a valiant big man, and of great ſtrength. The Arabians had alſo in a ring incloſed the vttermoſt parts of the Turks army, and in many places inforced them to turn their battel vpon them, being ſore charged with a doubtfull fight both before and behind: when *Selymus* ſet forward with his battel of footmen, and his ſquadron of Ianizaries, his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge in that his hard diſtres: whoſe inuincible force, neither the couragious barbed horſes nor their victorious riders were able to abide; for part of them with their harquebuſies, and the reſt with their pikes, had ſo ſtrongly ſet the front of their battell, that nothing was able to ſtand wherſoeuer that firm battel, linked together as if it had bin but one whole intire body, ſwaied. Yet was this cruell battel continued with diuers fortune on both ſides, from four a clocke vntill the going down of the Sun: neither was there any part of their armies which had not with diuers ſucces and change of fortune, endured the fury of that battel: for both the victors and the vanquiſhed being inraged with an implacable hatred the one againſt the other, fought deſperatly as men prodigal of their liues: the Mamalukes diſdaining to haue the victory wrung out of their hands by them whom they had in ſo many places diſcomfited; and the Turks taking it in no leſſe ſcorn, that they whom but of late they had ouercome and vanquiſhed in two great battels, ſhould now the third time make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance: ſo that on both ſides their fainting hands and bodies, both wearied and weakned with wounds, ſupported only with anger & obſtinacy of mind, ſeemed yet ſufficient to haue maintained that bloudy battel till the next day, if the darknes of the night now comming on, had not made an end of that daies ſlaughter.

Tomombeius vndoubtedly vanquiſhed, and fearing to be vtterly ouerthrown, firſt cauſed a retreit to be ſounded, that his Mamalukes which were not indeed able to withſtand the Ianizaries, might not ſeem to be put to flight, but rather as men commanded, to retyre. Which he thought to concern much both for incouraging his ſoldiers, and for the keeping of his owne credit and eſtimation with his ſubjects. For now the ſelf ſame fortune which had deceiued

his

A his firſt hopes, ſeemed to him (as it fareth with them in diſtreſſe, ſtill hoping for better) to promiſe him more proſperous ſucceſſe, if he were not diſcouraged: but reſeruing ſuch remainders of his forces as were left, he ſhould againe couragiouſly renew the war.

The battell thus broken off by the approch of the night, the Turks as victors enioying the tents and great artillery of their enemies, purſued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held on their way to Caire, in manner as if they had fled. This great battell was fought vpon a Thurſday, the 24 day of Ianuary, in the yere 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally wounded, and with him the valiant captaine *Bidon*, hauing in the battell one of his legs broken in the knee with a faulchion ſhot, wherewith his horſe was alſo ſlaine vnder him. *Selymus* commanded them both the next day to be ſlaine, either for that their wounds were ſuppoſed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleaſure, with the death of thoſe two honorable B perſonages to appeaſe the angry ghoſt of *Sinan Baſſa*, whoſe death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus cauſeth the Diadare & the valiant captaine Bidon to be ſlaine.

The Turks although they ſtill preuailed, yet was their army greatly impaired euen in their proſperous ſucceſſe and fortunat battels: the fourth part of their army was conſumed with ſickeneſſe and the ſword, and that daies labor had tyred a great number of their horſes, beſide the long iourney they had before endured. For which cauſes *Selymus* was inforced to ſlacke ſomewhat of his accuſtomed haſte: for as yet he had no experience of the diſpoſition of the Ægyptians which dwelt at Caire, neither could he vnderſtand by any certaine report, where *Tomombeius* ſtaied, or vpon what reſolution he reſted. Which things not throughly knowne, he thought it not good to commit himſelfe and his army into that moſt populous and ſpacious city: but ſtaying foure daies at the village of Mathanea and Rhodania, carefully prouided C for his wounded ſoldiers, and cauſed the bodies of ſuch as were ſlaine to be buried, but the dead carkaſſes of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beaſts of the field. And afterward remouing his campe thence, that he might more commodiouſly water, he came to the plaines betweene old Caire and Bulach.

In the meane while *Tomombeius*, nothing diſcouraged with ſo many miſhaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his army commodiouſly betweene the new city of Caire and the riuer Nilus; he alſo armed eight thouſand Æthyopian ſlaues (which kinde of men he had not before vſed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion:) beſide that, he opening the old armoury, put arms into the hands of the Mamalukes ſons, and Moores, (his D vaſſals) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians alſo, and couragiouſly prepared for a greater and more mortal war than before, but foraſmuch as there were many difficulties in the managing thereof, hauing almoſt loſt all his great artillery, with many of his moſt valiant horſemen ſlaine in the former battels; he in his troubled mind did ſo caſt the doubtfull hopes of his laſt deuice, (which cruell neceſſity wrung from him) that foraſmuch as he had by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vſe policy; as he which of late hauing vnfortunatly made proofe of his ſtrength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good againe to aduenture the fortune of a battell: neither was he in hope if he ſhould ſo do, to be able with his ſmall power and deſperat ſupplies to protract the war vntil the heat of Summer, as he deſired. Wherefore he reſolued by night to aſſaile the Turks campe, and if poſſibly he E could, to ſet it on fire. For which his deuice he ſeemed to haue two reaſons: whereof the one conſiſted in the ſpeedy execution, that he might deſperatly attempt to do ſome notable exploit in the night, before the enemy ſhould perceiue the weakeneſſe of his power, which was not great, and ſcambled vp on the ſudden; as alſo before he himſelfe ſhould grow into contempt with the naturall Ægyptians, who deſiring nothing more, than to caſt off the ſeruile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering minds expected but ſome fit occaſion to rebell: The other was, That by the benefit of the night he might auoid the danger of the great ordnance; which in ſudden accidents, and eſpecially in the darkeneſſe of the night, ſerueth to little or no purpoſe: in which kind of ſtrength he had before to his great loſſe learned, that his enemies were too good for him. But theſe his reaſonable policies, when al things F were in readineſſe to haue put the ſame in execution, were in like manner as the firſt, ouerthrowne by the treaſon of as ſuch as ſecretly reuolted from him to the enemy.

Tomombeius his purpoſe diſcouered to Selymus.

For *Selymus* vnderſtanding the whole plot by certain Mamalukes (which hauing the Kings euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in miſery, dayly forſook him) commanded his army to be alwaies in readineſſe, and making great fires in diuers parts of his campe, kept moſt carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to paſſe, that the night following, *Tomombeius* approching his camp, was repulſed, with no ſmall loſſe of his firſt troups which vnaduiſedly were gone on too farr and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his laſt ouerthrow, but that he wiſely miſdoubting the vnwonted light of the fires ſhining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his haſting troups, which were themſelues with more haſt than good ſpeed marching into the the very mouth of the Turks great artillery, bent of purpoſe vpon them.

Tomombeius diſappointed of his purpoſe, by perſuaſion of the Chieftains retired to Caire; for the Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt in plaine field, thought it beſt to proceed in another manner; perſuading him, with the whole ſtrength of his army to man all the conuenient places of that great city, otherwiſe expoſed to the enemies pleaſure, and ſo to keepe the Turks from entring. For they as men brought to this extremity, that they muſt now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children; thought it more honourable and better agreeing with their antient glory, ſo to do in their fight, and in the entrance of their houſes, than elſewhere further off. Wherefore the Mamalukes comming home to Caire, furniſhed all their families and flat roofes of their houſes, with all manner of weapons: euery one of them now humbly requeſting the Ægyptians their neighbours, to take vp armes againſt the Turks their antient and mortall enemies, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be cowardly ſlaine, their goods ſpoiled, and their wiues and children carried away into moſt miſerable captiuity; foraſmuch as the mercileſſe and greedy enemy, if he ſhould once get the victory, would no whit ſpare them, although they ſhould as neuters ſtand looking on, and helpe neither party: for victory (as they I ſaid) alwaies full of inſolent pride, would know no friend but ſuch as with reſolute hand did their vttermoſt deuoire in time of danger for the obtaining thereof.

The Egyptians diuerſly affected toward the Mamalukes.

There were many of the wealthieſt of the Ægyptians, who as they thought the change of the ſtate would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, ſo were they ready in all they could to helpe the Mamalukes their old lords: ſo on the other ſide there were many of the middle ſort of the citiſens, and a far greater multitude of the baſeſt ſort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to loſe, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens loſſes; and withall, remembring what miſery and ſlauery they had endured about the ſpace of three hundred yeares, vnder the proud gouernment of the Mamalukes, kept themſelues cloſe in their houſes, expecting the laſt euent of wars; and ſecretly rejoycing in their hearts, that the time was come K (God ſo appointing) wherein their outragious and cruell maſters ſhould be juſtly and worthily puniſhed for their oppreſſion and hard dealing; and that which gladded them the more, was, That the reuenge ſhould be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wiſhed ſpectacle they well hoped ſhortly to fill their deſired eies.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the city, appointed vnto euery ſtreet a particular captain, in euery publike place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could poſſibly be done or deuiſed; and that which in ſo great a calamity and danger was of all other things the hardeſt, with cheerefull countenance and vndaunted courage made ſhew of greateſt hope. The Mamalukes alſo, beſide the neceſſity L (which in caſes of extremity is of power to encourage and make deſperate the faint hearted coward) prouoked with emulation, ſtraue amongſt themſelues, who ſhould beſt performe all the duties of worthy captaines and ſouldiers: for euery one of them according to his conceit and deuice, cauſed great ditches or great timber-logs to be caſt ouerthwart the ſtreets; ſome in couert trenches ſet vp ſharpe ſtakes, whereupon the enemy falling vnawares might be gaged; otherſome according to their ſtore, furniſhed the windowes and fronts of their houſes in the greateſt and moſt open ſtreets, with harquebuſiers: all which things with many moe, were done with ſuch celerity, that none of the beſt and moſt honourable of the Mamalukes refuſed to handle a ſpade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other baſe labour; ſo that nothing could be ſooner deuiſed, but it was forthwith performed.

The deſcription of the great city of Caire.

This great and antient city of Caire was not compaſſed with any wals, yet were there di- M uers gates and entrances which led vnto it: whereof one broad ſtrait ſtreet came directly from the Eaſt gate vnto the caſtle and middle of the city; the reſt were ſo narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillery could poſſibly be brought, or ſoldiers enter without great danger. Into this place eſpecially had *Tomombeius* conueied his chiefeſt ſtrength; for that he knew his

A enemies muſt of neceſſity come in that way for the largeneſſe of the ſtreets; the other part of
the city be kept with leſſe garriſons. But the innermoſt part where the caſtle ſtood, was kept
with a very great and ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſoldiers: that whitherſoeuer the clamor
of the enemy or danger of the battell ſhould call, they might ſpeedily from thence come with
reliefe. For why, that city of all other the greateſt, could not with ſo ſmall a power as *Tomom-
beius* then had, be in euery place and entrance ſufficiently defended: for within the circuit of
Memphis (now called Caire) are contained three great cities, which joyned one to another
with ſtragling bridges, make one city; wherof the greateſt and moſt populous, is at this day
called new Caire. It lieth in length ſix miles, alongſt the riuer Nilus, from which it is equal-
ly diſtant a mile: the breadth thereof exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the midſt thereof
B is a caſtle ſtanding vpon a little riſing ground, ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the city; more
notable for the beauty and greatneſſe thereof, than for the manner of the fortification: for in
it were many Princely gardens, a faire ſtreet with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yards
and courts, with ſtately chambers opening euery way: the vtter part thereof was garniſhed
round about with towers, fortreſſes, and beautifull battlements, from whence all parts of the
city, the riuer Nilus running by, and the high Pyramides, were moſt pleaſantly to be ſeene.
Not far from this Princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man, the water wherein deri-
ued from the riuer Nilus, is on euery ſide incloſed with moſt ſtately buildings; and is a place
of wonderfull pleaſure, when as a man ſtanding at a window may take both fiſh & foule, wher-
of there is in the lake great ſtore. Another lake there is far greater and fairer than this, in form
C of a triangle, in the vttermoſt part of this new city of Caire toward Bulach: it is filled at the
riſing of Nilus by a great ſluce made of ſtone with yron floudgates, and being joyned to the
great riuer by a broad channell, is able to beare ſmall boats and barges; wherein gentlemen for
their diſport vſed to ſolace themſelues both by day and night in courting their miſtreſſes. The
houſes were all gallantly built afront all about the lake, with porches garniſhed with open ga-
leries, and paued with ſmooth marble euen to the brim of the lake: there the citizens in their
more proſperous times vſed to row vp and downe in boats, and with pleaſant muſicke to de-
light the liſtening eares of the hearers. On the Eaſt ſide of this lake ſtood a moſt ſumptuous
and ſtately pallace, the late work of queene *Dultibe* wife of the great Sultan *Caytbeius*, for man-
ner of the building & inward beauty far exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleaſant
D place: for the wals gliſtered with red marble, and pargetting of diuers colors, yea, all the houſe
was paued with checker and teſſeled worke; the windowes and gates were made of alablaſter,
white marble, and much other ſpotted marble; the poſts and wickets of maſſie yuory, checke-
red with gliſtering black ebony; ſo curiouſly wrought in winding knots, as might eaſilier ſtay
than ſatisfie the eies of the wondering beholder: neither was the furniture in it inferiour to
the magnificence of the building, but ſuch as might fitly anſwer both a princes ſtate, and a wo-
mans quaint deſire. All which things ſhortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victory) car-
ried to Conſtantinople; not ſparing the very wals, but plucking them down, ſo to take out the
curious ſtones whole. Beſide the goodly buildings about that lake, in euery place of New
Caire was to be ſeene the faire houſes of the chiefe Mamalukes, more commended for their
E commodiouſneſſe, than for the manner of their building. The reſt of the buildings of the city
was but low, repleniſhed with the common ſort of baſe people. There are yet extant in diuers
places of the city, three churches of the Chriſtians; wherof one is holden in greater reuerence
than the reſt, for the fame of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the Virgin *Mary*
flying the fury of *Herod*, to haue repoſed her ſelfe with her child *Chriſt Ieſus* the Sauiour of the
World: another dedicated to the Virgin *Barbara*: and the third to S. *George*, which amongſt
thoſe nations are of great fame. Vnto the city of New Caire, the city of Bulacha is joyned
almoſt with continuall buildings. It is of an high and ſtately building, lying cloſe vnto the
riuer Nilus, and was in Summer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other noble men, that
they might at their pleaſure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous ri-
F uer. There land all the ſhips which come vp the riuer; yet the great meeting of the Merchants
is at New Caire. On the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt Bulach, are many cottages made
of hurdles and leaues of Date trees, the dwellings of poore fiſhermen and watermen. A little
aboue Bulach is old Caire, which is alſo joyned vnto the new city with continuall buildings;
yet diſtant from it about two miles and a halfe, and ſtandeth alſo faſt by the riuer Nilus.

Ouer againſt it in the midſt of the riuer is an Iſland, notable for the pleaſantneſſe of the gardens and banqueting houſes therin: in it is an antient temple, famous for the loue of king *Pharaos* daughter, and the danger of *Moſes* (a moſt antient hiſtory, yet euery where there ſtil freſh in memory.) But moſt part of the buildings of old Caire, are now grown into gardens and rude ruins. It is ſuppoſed by many probable conjectures, that there ſomtime ſtood the antient city of Memphis. Vpon the banke of the riuer, the late Sultan *Campſon* built a ſumptuous tower, ouertopping the caſtle in new Caire, to conuey water thither out of Nilus; which being by many wheeles and ingenious deuiſes forced into the top thereof, and there receiued into great ciſterns, was from thence by pipes of ſtone and lead, conueied into all places of the kings great palace at new Caire. About fiue miles diſtant from old Caire on Affricke ſide, ſtand the Pyramides, monuments of the barbarous Ægyptian kings vanity; whoſe proud names and titles Time hath worne out of thoſe huge and wonderfull buildings, of purpoſe made for the vaine eterniſing of their fame and endleſſe wealth; ſo that of them it may now well be ſaid,

The pyramides of Ægypt.

Miramur perijſſe homines? monumenta fatiſcunt:
Interitus ſaxis nominibuſque venit.

What wonder we that men do die? the ſtately tomes do weare:
The very ſtones conſume to nought, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the ſepulchres of the old Ægyptian Kings, diuided into chappels, garniſhed with ſtone of great price curiouſly wrought. Yet are thoſe places loathſome of ſmell, and for darkeneſſe thereof, dreadfull to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a narrow way, almoſt ſwarued vp with rubbiſh, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe of the earth and ſwarmes of remiſe flying about their eares. Some hauing got to the tops of them, report, that the watch tower of Alexandria, and the mouth of the riuer Nilus where it falleth into the ſea, is from thence well to be ſeene: and that for the great height of them, a man cannot ſhoot an arrow ſo high as the midſt of the lower tower wheron the ſpire ſtandeth. Of theſe outragious buildings are written many ſtrange and almoſt incredible things, as that an hundred thouſand men ſhould be occupied continually by the ſpace of twenty yeares, in building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike, and onions onely, amounted to 1600 talents of ſiluer. Theſe wonderfull Pyramides only excepted, nothing is in the three cities more to be wondred at than the multitude of the people, who in number almoſt incredible go vp and downe euery ſtreet: but for moſt part ragged and torne, for that they which held any wealth, durſt not make any ſhew thereof for feare of the Mamalukes. The common people did then generally liue with mutton, hens, and riſe, whereof the country yeeldeth plenty: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but vnwholeſome forced diſhes, and prouocations of glottony, which other nations had to their great coſt and hurt inuented. But againe to our purpoſe.

Selymus encourageth his ſouldiers to the winning of Caire.

When *Selymus* vnderſtood aſſuredly, that *Tomombeius* was retired into Caire, and that the Mamalukes hauing thither aſſembled all their ſtrength, were reſolued there to proue the vttermoſt of their fortune: he with his army drew neerer vnto the city, exhorting his ſoldiers to ſet downe themſelues that day for euer to vanquiſh and ſubdue their enemies, whom they had ſo many times before ouerthrowne; and now a little to force themſelues for the gaining of the rewards due to their former labors and victories: which (as he ſaid) would be ſo many and ſo great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderat deſires imagined. Telling them moreouer, that there was but a few good ſoldiers left with the deſolat Sultan, who already wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keep the field, had made choice to end their daies in the ſight & arms of their wiues and children. Beſide that, he made them beleeue, that he was voluntarily ſent for by the Ægyptians, deadly enemies vnto the very name of the Mamalukes, whoſe vtter deſtruction they earneſtly expected: and had therfore promiſed him for the rooting vp of that wicked and cruell kind of men, to aſſaile them as occaſion ſerued out of their houſes, and ſo to further his victory: yet neuertheles he ſaid, that the accompliſhment of the whole matter, and to make a full conqueſt, conſiſted in the ſubduing of thoſe weak remainders of the vanquiſhed and ſcattered army; foraſmuch as they were not to be accounted as men quite

A quite ouercome,which did yet liue in hope,with weapons in their hands,poſſeſſed of the chiefe
city and ſeate of their Empire. Wherfore that they ſhould thinke,That in the fortune of that
day,reſted the good or bad eſtate and condition of all their liues, honours,and fortunes. Aſſuring
them,that it would be a matter but of ſmall labour and trauell, to bring it to a wiſhed
end,if they would in that new kind of fight (as they had alwaies valiantly in other battels vnder
his conduct)but reſolue with themſelues, that they would ouercome.

This is ſpeech much inflamed the minds of his ſouldiers, but the hope of ſo great a prey
much more: ſo that being in good order and ready,they expected but the ſigne of the aſſault.
When *Selymus* entering by the gate called Baſuela,did at one inſtant thruſt in his horſemen at
diuers places of the great city; but his Ianizaries he brought in by the greateſt and largeſt
B ſtreet. At the firſt entrance of the City, horſemen encountred with horſemen, and made a
bloudy fight in the narrow ſtreets and lanes: but the footmen placing their culuerins and falcons
before, and ſuddenly diſcharging them where they ſaw the thickeſt troups of their enemies,cleered
the ſtreet directly before them. But when they came to the barricado's and trenches,
and were by force to remoue the timber-logs and other like things lying croſſe the
ſtreets,and ſo to paſſe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other ſide vilantly withſtanding
them; they fought with ſuch force and obſtinacy on both parts, that in the memory of man
was neuer a more fierce and cruell battell ſeene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turks in
that fight ſhewed the vttermoſt of their ſtrength and power: not ignorant, that in that, as in
the laſt,they were to fight not for honour only, but euen for their liues and Empire; when as
C greateſt rewards, or elſe extreame miſery, were by dallying fortune on both ſides propounded
both to the vanquiſhed and vanquiſher. At theſe barricado's the Turks receiued great loſſe,
as alſo at the trenches; for they vnaduiſedly running on, the hindermoſt ſtill bearing forward
the foremoſt,tumbled by heapes one vpon another in the couert trenches, and were there miſerably
impailed vpon the ſharpe ſtakes,for that purpoſe before ſet vp by the Mamalukes.The
women alſo and children, with manly courage threw downe ſtones and tyles, and ſuch other
things from the tops of their houſes,and out at their windowes, vpon the Turks: and they on
the other ſide as they could eſpy them,fetcht them off from thoſe high places with their harquebuſies,
or elſe violently brake into the houſes from whence they were aſſailed, and there
fought with diuers ſucceſſe. But moſt part of the Ægyptians, diligently obſeruing the fortune
D both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection
aſſailed ſometimes the Turks, and ſometimes the Mamalukes, ſeeming ſtill notably to
helpe that part whom they ſaw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and moſt terrible
incounters were at once made in diuers places of the city: for as they croſſed from ſtreet to
ſteet,ſometime the one,and ſomtime the other hapned vpon new troups of enemies; and they
which as victors purſued their enemies afront,were by others following them at the heeles,
ſlain downe right;ſo that in the victory no man could aſſure themſelues of ſafety. The lanes
and ſtreets(a moſt horrible thing to behold)did ſo flow with the bloud of them which lay by
heaps ſlaine, that the duſt which at the firſt roſe wonderfull thicke, was quite layd, as with a
plentifull ſhoure of raine:the aire was darkned with the ſmoke of ſhot,and ſhowers of arrows:
E and ſuch was the clamor of the people and ſoldiers,the clattering of armor, and report of the
artillery,that the earth ſeemed to tremble,and the houſes to fall downe.

A moſt mortall battel ſought in Caire.

This dreadfull and doubtfull fight endured two whole daies and nights without intermiſſion:
yet ſo,that the Mamalukes in number few,and not able to endure ſo long labour and watchings,
giuing ground by little and little, and forſaking their firſt munitions, retyred themſelues
further into the city. The third day, beſet with the greateſt danger that could be, as to
loſe themſelues with all that they had, (which commonly enforceth mens courages in their
laſt attempts) they renewed the battell with ſuch reſolution, that they conſtrained the Turks
to retire a great way,and for haſt to leaue behind them certaine of their fiield-pieces. With
which repulſe it is reported,that *Selymus* diſpairing of victory,commanded to ſet fire vpon the
F houſes; moued thereunto with juſt diſpleaſure againſt the Ægyptians, for that *Ionuſes Baſſa*,
now his greateſt man of war, had euen before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head,
by a ſtone caſt out at a window.

A long and terrible fight.

Now were the houſes pittifully burning, and the Ægyptians weeping and wailing cried for
mercy. The Turks themſelues fought but faintly, expecting the ſound of the retreat: when

newes was ſuddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other ſide of the city, G were by *Muſtapha Baſſa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themſelues to flight, as to their laſt refuge. For *Muſtapha* by the ouerture of the Ægyptians and fugitiue Mamalukes, was directed to a faire broad ſtreet, where the Mamalukes had left their horſes ready ſadled and bridled; that if the worſt ſhould chance, they might thither retire, and taking horſe, ſpeed themſelues to ſuch places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All theſe horſes, reſerued by the Mamalukes as their laſt refuge, *Muſtapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight the garriſon which kept them, which was but weake, conſiſting for moſt part of horſe-boies, and muletors; as ſafe enough in ſuch a place of the city as was leaſt to be ſuſpected and feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected miſchances) did not a little daunt the courage of the Mamalukes: who now ſeeing themſelues hardly beſet, and that H dereadfull battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but only by courage; being in their own judgements ouercome, betooke themſelues to flight. Moſt part of them haſting to the riuer of Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his proweſſe and policy) being tranſported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the country of Segeſta: others of them hid themſelues in the houſes of the Ægyptians, and in the loathſome corners of the city. A thouſand fiue hundred of the better ſort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the greateſt Temple of their vain Prophet: where after they had a great while valianlty defended themſelues as out of a ſtrong caſtle, becauſe they would not yeeld themſelues but vpon honorable conditions, at laſt ouercome with thirſt, wearineſſe, and wounds, together with the fury of the great artillery, they yeelded themſelues to the pleaſure of the conqueror: part of whom I the furious ſoldiers ſlew in the porch of the ſame Temple, and the reſt within a few daies after were ſent downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murthered.

Caire taken by Selymus.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victory, forthwith ſent part of his army to quench the fire then raging, and cauſed proclamation to be made thorow al the city, That all the Mamalukes which would yeeld themſelues within twelue houres, ſhould be taken to mercy; but vnto ſuch as yeelded not within the appointed time, ſhould remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Ægyptians alſo that ſhould reueale the hidden Mamalukes, hee propoſed rewards: but to ſuch as ſhould conceale them, he threatned to impaile them vpon ſtakes, and hauing ſold their wiues and children, to burne their houſes: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes before crept into corners, came forth and yeelded themſelues, & were forthwith caſt into yrons. K All which were ſhortly after, contrary to his promiſe, moſt diſhonourably murthered in priſon, (becauſe it was giuen out, they ſought means to haue eſcaped. Many of the Ægyptians which would not breake the bonds of faith and fidelity with the Mamalukes their old lords, being appeached by their malitious neighbours, moſt conſtantly died for their friends, for whoſe ſake they had vowed themſelues to death.

With this victory the Turks growing inſolent, ranſackt euery place of the city, drew out the Mamalukes that had hid themſelues, and ſlew them, rifled the houſes of the Ægyptians, as well friends as foes, and left nothing ſhut vp or in ſecret. And ſome there were, which at one time in the ſame houſes raged with couetouſneſſe, cruelty, and luſt; euery man fitting his owne humour, whereunto he was by nature or cuſtome inclined: for that in time and place of ſo L great liberty, moſt men, but eſpecially the common ſouldier, flattereth himſelfe to the full, making conſcience of nothing, but meaſuring all things according to his inſolent and diſordered appetite. The ſame day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the commandement of *Tomombeius*, was gone to Thebais, to aſſemble the Arabians and to entertaine new ſupplies) came to Caire; but finding all loſt, and ſeeing no poſſibility either by force or policy to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of war, which had ſo often with contrary courſe fruſtrated the endeuours both of himſelfe and his partakers; he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the ſafety of himſelfe and his followers (which were three Arabian captains, and a number of good horſemen) and being M admitted to his preſence, in the midſt of his greateſt captaines boldly ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Gazelles his ſpeech to Selymus.

If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou haſt won to be thy friend, had not enuied our felicity, thou ſhouldeſt not haue (moſt noble Selymus, *at this time, after that all things haue giuen place vnto thy*

valour)

A *valour) matter whereby thou mighteſt excell others in worthineſſe of mind alſo. Whileſt we were in arms againſt thee for our liues and kingdome, our wealth and ſtate yet ſtanding whole, we alwaies as men proudly preſuming vpon their owne vaine ſtrength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turks; yea, to ſay the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that we haue to the vttermoſt of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worſe; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine proweſſe, and moſt proſperous victories (not giuen thee without the prouidence of the immortall God) we humbly come vnto thee, by thy goodneſſe to better our hard and aduerſe fortune: that thou by ſparing and pardoning thy vanquiſhed and yeelding enemies (by which only vertue men come neereſt vnto the gods) maieſt extend thy name aud fame aboue the bounds of the reſt of thine immortall glory. We haue faithfully ſerued* Tomombeius, *ſo long as he held the ſtrength and maieſty, yea, but the* B *name of a King, or liued in any countenance: but ſeeing he is (his deſtiny ſo requiring) driuen out of his country, and wandreth the deſerts, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; we come vnto thee, rather as men of him forſaken, than ſuch as haue forſaken their Prince; ready to ſhew vnto thee our loyalty and valour in our better condition and ſtate: if we may by thy goodneſſe, changing our hard fortune, liue and ſerue vnder thy worthy conduct.*

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valor, wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greateſt enemies, and alſo deſiring to joine in league & friendſhip with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be moſt to be feared, receiued them all courteouſly: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable penſi- C on, and perſuading them to forget their old eſtate, willed them to looke for far greater things of his bounty. Not long after, when as the Moores and wilde Arabians, with certaine Mamalukes that were fled to the city of Achaſia, made incurſions into the country about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turks which went any thing far from the city to ſeeke abroad for forrage, he ſent *Gazelles* with part of his army to repreſſe them: who hauing quickly won and ſackt Achaſia, and ſlaine moſt part of thoſe aduenturers, to his owne great praiſe, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in leſſe time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the country of Segeſta (which is on the other ſide of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miſerably beſet with ſo many miſchiefes, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a ſtrong company of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which he had D by letters ſent for out of the garriſon of that city, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongſt the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that country) which promiſed him their help and furtherance. Beſide that, many of the Ægyptians whoſe houſes and families were become a prey and booty vnto the inſolent Turks, promiſed him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raiſe ſuch a tumult in the city, as ſhould eaſily worke the confuſion of the Turks; foraſmuch as they all hauing endured moſt horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide thoſe moſt inſolent men to rage and reigne ouer them. They ſent him word alſo, that the Turks huge army was now brought to a contemptible number, moſt part of them being ſlaine in the battell at Caire: and the reſt being for the greateſt part brought to extreame weakeneſſe with E wounds and ſickneſſe. For which cauſes as *Tomombeius* his forces increaſed daily, ſo hope alſo, which neuer faileth the poore vanquiſhed and diſtreſſed king, began now alſo to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miſerable eſtate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then moſt cruelly and deſpightfully went about vtterly to ſupplant him (of all other diſtreſſed Princes moſt miſerable) ſeemed but then firſt to change her frowning countenance, and to promiſe vnto him moſt happy and proſperous ſucceſſe.

Albuchomar diſcouereth to Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the trechery of them of Caire.

Whileſt *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Ægyptian, for authority and wealth the greateſt man by far in all the country of Segeſta, whether it were to auert the miſery of the preſent war out of his country; or elſe by the pleaſure of his reuolt to gaine the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things ſeemed to fawne, came and certified him both F of *Tomombeius* his ſtrength, and of the new practiſes of the citizens of Caire. Whereupon *Selymus* cauſed ſtrong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great city: and ſuch citizens as he ſuſpected to fauour *Tomombeius*, he ſhut vp in the caſtle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the city in his poſſeſſion: and placed all alongſt the Riuer, boates furniſhed with men and artillery, to keepe and defend the farther banke of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his paſſage ouer. Yet conſidering with himſelfe, with how great danger he had ſo many times fought with thoſe deſperat enemies, and what a difficulty it would be to intercept *Tomombeius*, (protracting the war in thoſe vaſt and vnknowne countries, and ſtill preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing aſſure himſelfe of all his former victories) to proue if he might be won by clemency and bounty, he reſolued to ſend Embaſſadours vnto him, to perſuade him to lay downe armes, and after ſo many ouerthows, at laſt to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promiſe him vpon the faith of a Prince, That if he would come in and ſubmit himſelfe, he ſhould of the courteſie and bounty of the conquerour, vpon conditions reaſonable repoſſeſſe that his late kingdome, which he ſhould neuer be able by force to regaine. But if he would needs deſperatly proceed to make head againe, forgetting his offered grace, together with his owne diſability, he ſhould afterward when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne iuſt deſert neuer more find at the hands of his angry enemy, any regard of his princely ſtate or dignity.

The cauſes mouing Selymus to ſend Embaſſadors to Tomombeius.

For *Selymus* ſeeing himſelfe by the courſe of his victories drawne into a far country, and not without cauſe fearing with ſo ſmall power as he had left, to be oppreſſed in that ſo great and populous a city, euen with the very multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by ſome honorable compoſition to aſſure himſelfe of ſome great part of that he had won, than by going on, to thruſt himſelfe with his army into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Beſides that, he was certainly aduertiſed, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in euery place leuying new ſupplies of horſemen: and that the fleet which gone into the Arabian gulfe againſt the Portugals, was daily expected at the port Suezzia, wherein were three thouſand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert captains, with great ſtore of good braſſe ordnance: by which good helps *Tomombeius* ſtood in faire poſſibility to recouer his former loſſes, and to returne againe to Caire, whither he was by his ſecret friends moſt earneſtly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Perſians moſt induced him to thinke of peace: for feare that if the Baſſa whom he had left at the mountaine Taurus, ſhould not be able to withſtand the forces of the Perſian King, he ſhould ſo be excluded out of Aſia the leſſer, and Syria alſo, before his fleet could from Conſtantinople arriue with new ſupply of men and victuall at Alexandria.

Selymus his embaſſadors ſlaine by the Mamalukes.

Wherefore he ſent certaine of the moſt reuerend of his Turkiſh Religious, and with them ſome of the moſt honourable Ægyptians, Embaſſadors to *Tomombeius*: who paſſing ouer Nilus, into the country Segeſta, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous cruelty ſlaine by certaine Mamalukes which chanced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any ſuch matter, and to manifeſt their affection towards him, as alſo that they were not deſirous of any peace with the Turks.

This proud and inſolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and ſhortly after made an end of that mortall war, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when he was nothing at all moued, could by no meanes brooke that his enemies, ſo often vanquiſhed and put to flight, ſhould ſo lightly reject his offers vnto them as the caſe ſtood, both honorable and profitable; and that worſe was, violate his Embaſſadors againſt the law of Nations, moſt religiouſly kept euen amongſt the moſt barbarous and ſauage people. Wherefore prouoked by ſo great an injury, he carefully prouided for all things neceſſary for his expedition into Segeſta againſt *Tomombeius*. And becauſe it ſtood not with his honour (as he tooke it) nor with the good of his preſent ſeruice, to paſſe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the ſmall veſſels and lighters he could poſſibly, made thereof a large and ſtrong bridge ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius vnderſtanding by his eſpials, and from his friends at Caire, of the preparations of *Selymus*, and of the bridge he had made; fearing alſo the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably ſuſpected to be alienated from him, by the reuolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of ſo great power and authority amongſt them; determined once againe to proue the fortune of battell, which had ſo often deceiued his expectation. For he juſtly meaſuring of his own ſtrength, and finding himſelfe in all things inferior to his mighty enemy, well ſaw that he was neither able to protract the war, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to fly further into the deſarts, was as he deemed it, nothing elſe but to make ſhipwrack of that ſmall remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherfore by the aduice of his beſt captains

(which

A (which was the laſt indeuor both of himſelfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the prouince of Segeſta with foure thouſand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermiſſion to come to the riuer Nilus. By that deſperat attempt to deceiue the Turks, ſuſpecting no ſuch thing from their vanquiſhed and weake enemy: as alſo by celerity to preuent the fame of his comming; hoping ſo by his ſudden and vnexpected approch to ouerthrow that part of the Turks army which ſhould firſt paſſe the riuer, before they could poſſibly be relieued from the other ſide. Neither was he deceiued in the computation of the time, which he hauing before exactly caſt, with the maner of his trauell, fell out ſo fitly, that he came to the place he deſired, euen at ſuch time as the Aſian horſemen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before gueſſed. The harbengers and pages B of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone ſomething further than the reſt, to make choice of the moſt commodious place for the erecting of the Emperors pauillion; by the riſing of the duſt, firſt perceiued the comming of the enemy: and *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa aduertiſed therof, ſuddenly raiſed an alarum: which ſo vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were already paſt ouer, and alſo on them that were on the further ſide of the riuer.

Tomombeius preſently aſſailing his enemies, as yet but putting themſelues in order, and repairing to their enſignes, at the firſt onſet ſlew ſuch as made reſiſtance, and the reſt he diſcomfited & put to flight. Neither was *Muſtapha* the great commander (although he did what poſſibly he could, by his owne example to haue incouraged them) able either by his owne inuincible courage or other perſuaſion, after his firſt ranks were ouerthrowne, to repaire his diſorde- C red battel, or ſtay the flight of his men: for in that ſo hot and ſudden a skirmiſh all was full of tumult, ſlaughter, doubtfulneſſe, and feare; and all alongſt the banke of the riuer, both aboue and beneath the bridge, were to be ſeen fearfull companies of the Turks, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other ſide for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemy, tooke the riuer and there periſhed: others ſtriuing at the end of the bridge, to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes or others continually ſent from the further ſide, or elſe amaſed with feare, fell into the riuer, and were there drowned: the bridge was ſo broad, that foure horſmen abreſt might eaſily paſſe ouer at once, and ſo great numbers of them in ſhort ſpace be conueied ouer. But when the great ordnance (the Turks chiefe ſtrength) was alſo to be tranſported, fewer troups of horſemen were ſent ouer, than either the greatneſſe D of the preſent danger, or ſuddenneſſe of the chance required. Neither did their great artillery as then ſtand them in any ſtead, for that it could neither be ſo ſpeedily conueied ouer, nor without great hurt be diſcharged from the hither banke to the further, by reaſon of their own men ſtanding betweene them and the enemy.

Tomombeius diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the bridge made ouer Nilus.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmiſh came downe to the riuers ſide, filled a great number of boats, and other ſmall veſſels with his Ianizaries with their harquebuſies, and withall haſted his horſemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes diſtreſſed on the further ſide: in which boats the nimble watermen vſed ſuch diligence in landing of ſome, and preſently in fetching ouer of others, that in ſhort time they had tranſported diuers bands of thoſe moſt ready and valiant ſoldiers: whoſe comming wonderfully comforted the E Aſian ſoldiers, euen now at the laſt caſt, and ready to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglis* alſo, the Tartar kings ſon, and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horſemen to take the riuer, with loſſe of ſome few of his men recouered the further ſide, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that nation was not ſo much to be maruelled at, as they which by troups with their horſes had oftentimes ſwam ouer the great riuers Taurus and Volga, no leſſe dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

Tomombeius at the ſame time, for that he ſaw ſpeedy victory to conſiſt in one thing eſpecially, ſerring his troups together, ſtrained himſelfe with might and maine, to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away ſome few of the firſt boats, he might ſhut in his enemies already come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were faſtened to the F banke, all the bridge with the Turks vpon it, might be borne away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon riſe a moſt cruell and deadly fight, for the reſolute Mamalukes in the front of the battell fought valiantly: and *Muſtapha* well conſidering the danger, had drawn to that place both his enſignes & his beſt ſoldiers: ſo that there was fought ſuch a fight, as a matter of ſo great conſequence required: the Mamalukes plainly ſeeing, that if they could obtaine the place,they ſhould ſhortly after with little ado,ouerthrow all the former victories of their enemies. And the Turks no leſſe ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but loſt men that were already come ouer;and that the reſt of the army together with their Emperor ſo far from home,and in the midſt of his enemies, muſt of neceſſity ſhortly after run the ſame fortune. But *Muſtapha* well relieued by the Ianizaries and the Europeian horſmen,which were now come ouer in great number,not onely receiued his enemies charge, but preſſing vpon them,gained ground, and by little and little inforced them to retire.This is that *Muſtapha* the Hungarian, and *Bajazet* his ſon in law, which for his owne glory and perpetuall fame, built that notable, ſtately, and ſumptuous ſtone bridge (of the ſpoiles of this victory) ouer the riuer Stremon,which at this day men paſſing ouer into Thracia, wonder at, as at a worke beſeeming the greatneſſe of the Roman Empire.

Tomombeius,to giue a time of breathing to his Mamalukes,who,their horſes for wearines now fainting vnder them,were not able longer to ſhew their wonted courage;and deſirous by them again to proue the vttermoſt fortune of the battell,exhorted the Moores & Arabians, a while to charge the enemy, which thing they after the maner of their fight valiantly performed:and ſhortly after,the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themſelues & their horſes,came in afreſh and renewed the battell; with ſuch fury that *Selymus* doubting the victory (although he was by his moſt faithfull counſellors perſuaded to the contrary)yet doubted not to aduenture the bridge, and in perſon himſelfe to go and relieue his diſtreſſed ſoldiers:who by his comming in, encouraged, and in the ſight of their Emperor deſiring euery man for his part by ſome notable ſeruice to deſerue both credit and preferment, repreſſed the fury of the enemy; who in ſhort time after,by the comming on of certain freſh companies of Ianizaries,were notably repulſed,and ſo at length put to flight:whom the horſmen which were not in the battell,purſued all the fields ouer. At length alſo the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the ſtream,were ſomwhat long before they could recouer the farther bank and come to their enemies)were now come in alſo, and with their ſwift horſes following the chaſe, augmented the ſlaughter. But *Selymus* aboue all things deſirous of *Tomombeius*, preſently commanded *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa,*Gazelles*,and *Cayerbeius*,with certaine freſh troups of light horſemen to purſue him at the heeles,and if it were poſſible not to ſuffer him to eſcape : for ſo long as he liued, he could not aſſure himſelfe of any thing he had yet gotten. Theſe vigilant captains not vnmindfull of their charge,followed faſt after him, ouertooke him the next day at the ſluce of a great deepe fen, where he had a little reſted himſelfe and his followers, being then about to cut off a woodden bridge, ſo to haue hindered the enemies purſuit. Some of his followers being there ſlaine, and ſome taken, he was againe inforced to fly. The third day when he had almoſt loſt all his men, and was come with ſome few into the territory of the Secuſſan Prince, theſe great captaines ſtill eagerly purſuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore country people which dwelt in villages thereabout,all extremities and tortures, if they did not with moſt diligent watch and ward ſo keep the paſſages of thoſe mariſhes, as that he ſhould not poſſibly eſcape;he was ſo beſet on euery ſide,that for ſafegard of his life he was glad to hide himſelfe all alone in a foule deepe mariſh : where ſhortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent ſearch of the country peaſants found out,hidden among the flags & bulruſhes,ſtanding in the water vp to the ſhoulders,who deliuered him miſerably bound vnto the Turks. Shortly after, he with certaine captains and other of his chiefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to Caire. *Selymus* before reſolued to put him to death, and the rather for the injury done to his Embaſſadors,would not ſuffer him to come into his preſence, but commanded him to be tortured, ſo to haue cauſed him to haue reuealed the great treaſures of *Campſon* his predeceſſour, which were thought to haue bin by him hidden:in which moſt horrible and exquiſit torments it is reported, that he with great conſtancy & ſterne countenance vttered nothing but certain deep ſighes and grones,ouercomming with patience the tyranny of the proud conqueror:who after that,commanded him in baſe and ragged apparell,with his hands bound behind him, as a theefe or murtherer condemned to die,to be ſet vpon a foule leane cammell, & ſo to be caried in deriſion through al the publike & notable places of the city; that the Ægyptians might ſee him,whom they but a little before had adored for their king,by chance of fortune caſt into extream miſery, by moſt ſhameful death to end both his life & empire together:when they had thus deſpightfully led him as it were in triumph, & brought him to the chiefe gate of the city

The Mamalukes giue a freſh charge vpon the Turks.

The Mamalukes put to flight.

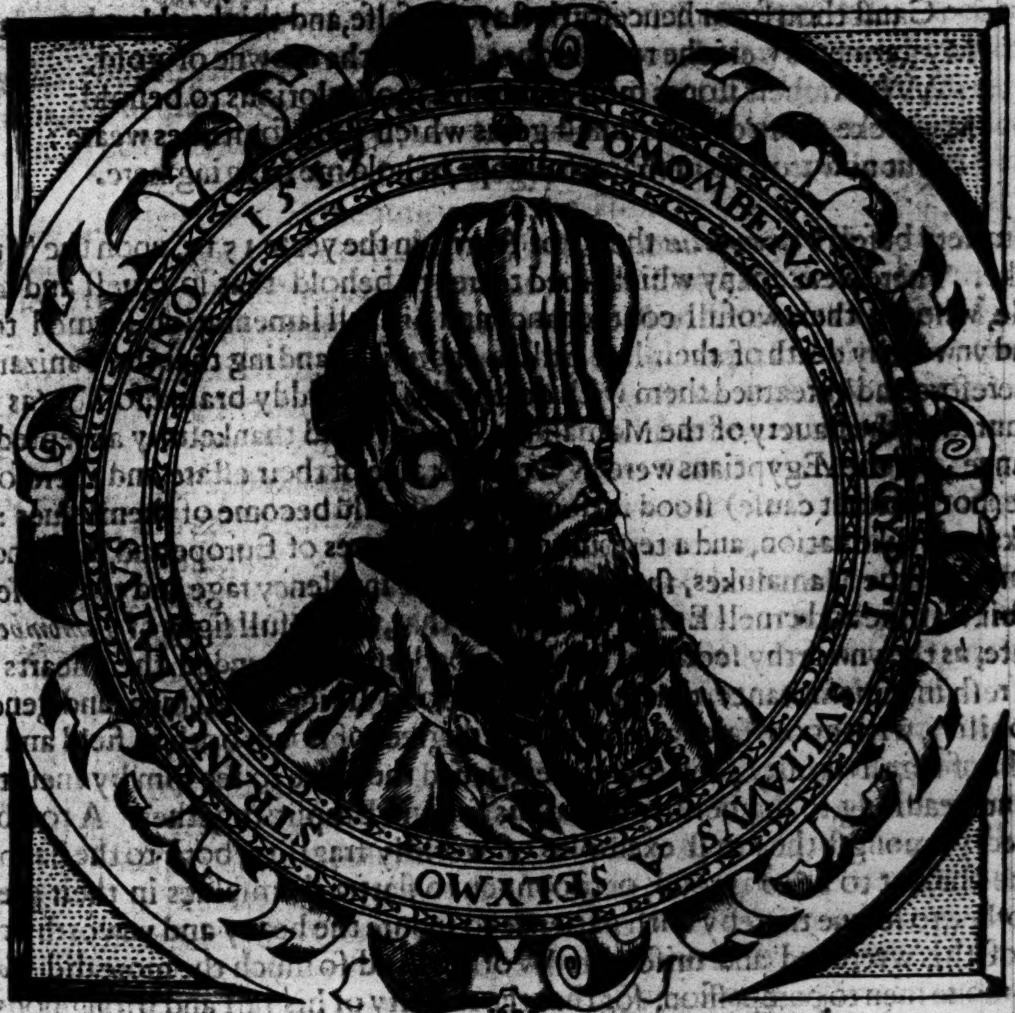
Tomombeius taken & brought to Selymus.

Tomombeius tortured.

A city called Baſuela, they there openly ſtrangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better ſeene, and become more contemptible to all that paſſed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the ſame gate, and ſo left him to the Worlds wonder. *Palearius* propounding him as a mirror both of the better and worſe fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly deſcribeth both his happineſſe and miſery in theſe few verſes following:

The miſerable end of Tomombeius laſt Sultan of Ægypt.

TOMOMBEIVS, THE LAST Sultan of Ægypt.



Paulus Iouius lib. 4. Elog. virorum Illuſtr.

Non fuit in toto, Rex aquè Oriente beatus:
Nec magis in toto Rex Oriente miſer,
Quam dolor Ægypti, olim Tomombeius, *auro*
Ingenti, atque armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoſte fero, miſerum ſimul atque beatum,
Exemplo potis eſt, commonuiſſe ſuo.
Quid rides temerè? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
Et natum poſthac te meminiſſe hominum?
Mitrabeum induto, gemmis auroque corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

Mi quandam ornabant pretiosa monilia collum,
Nunc fractam miseri vili reste fune gulam.

In English thus:

In all the Eaſt a King more bleſt was no where to be found,
Nor in the Eaſt one more accurſt liv'd not vpon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, Ægypts griefe, ſometime for ſtore of gold,
Of power great for martiall force, and kingdome held in hold.
But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be
Both to the happy and diſtreſt, of mans vncertainty.
Why do'ſt thou fondly laugh? Why do'ſt thou vainly crie?
Canſt thou from henceforth ſtay thy ſelfe, and thinke th'art borne to die?
My garments were the royall robes, I wore the crowne of gold,
With richeſt ſtones moſt richly ſet, moſt glorious to behold:
My necke adorn'd with richeſt gems which I did ſomtimes weare:
But now truſt vp, in ſhamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

The Egyptians in doubt of their eſtate, bewaile the death of Tomombeius.

This miſery befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of Aprill, in the yeare 1517, vpon the Munday in Eaſter weeke. There were many which ſhed teares to behold that ſo cruell and lamentable a ſpectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation ſeemed to deteſt that foule and vnworthy death of their late Sultan; notwithſtanding that the Ianizaries reproued them therefore, and threatned them with death, who like giddy braind fooles (as they termed them) enured to the ſlauery of the Mamalukes, ioyfully and thankefully accepted not of their deliuerance; for the Ægyptians were as yet vncertaine of their eſtate, and therefore as men in ſuſpence (not without cauſe) ſtood in doubt what ſhould become of themſelues: fearing leſt the Turks, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the Princes of Europe and Aſia, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, ſhould with no leſſe inſolency rage and tyranniſe ouer them, vnder their warlike and cruell Emperor. Beſides that, the wofull ſight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the vnworthy ſcorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet freſh in remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and generall fauour of the nobility, with good fame riſe vp all the degrees of honor both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignity; and therefore grieued the more to ſee him by ineuitable deſtiny caſt downe headlong, ſo ſhamefully to end his life and Empire together. A notable ſpectacle vndoubtedly amongſt the rareſt examples of worldly fragility, both to the happy and vnfortunat: the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themſelues in their greateſt bliſſe: and the other, to learne thereby with patience to indure the heauy and vnworthy changes and chances of this wretched and miſerable World. And ſo much the more did *Tomombeius* ſo hanging moue men to compaſſion, for that the majeſty of his tall and ſtrong body, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoary beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignity and martiall diſpoſition. The ſame fortune with *Tomombeius* ran alſo diuers of the Princes of the Mamalukes, with ſome others of the common ſort alſo.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almoſt ſlaine, and no power of the enemy to be heard of in all Ægypt to renew the war: *Selymus* diuiding his forces, ſent them forth with his captaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of Ægypt lying further off. They of Alexandria after the battel at Caire hauing thruſt out the garriſon, and eaſily ſurpriſed the caſtle of Pharus (which the weake defendants choſe rather vpon the hope of preſent reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull euent to defend) yeelded themſelues many daies before vnto the Turks. Damiata alſo, called in antient time Peluſium, opened their gates, and ſubmitted themſelues to the victors. There was no city betwixt the riuer of Nilus and the borders of Iudea and Arabia, which yeelded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The Kings alſo of Affricke bordering vpon Cyrenaica, tributaries or confederats of the Ægyptian Sultans, ſent their Embaſſadors with preſents to *Selymus*.

There remained none now but the wild Arabians (a people neuer to be tamed) and eſpecially they of Affricke, who hauing loſt many of their friends and kinſmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would

A would not(as it was thought)ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turkiſh obedience. This wandring
kind of people,liuing for moſt part by theft,had filled the countries from Euphrates,where it
runneth by the Palmyrens,with all the inner parts of Ægypt and Affrick vnto the Atlanticke
ſea,with huge multitudes of men : and being diuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders
haue no certain dwelling places, but liue an hard and frugall kind of life in tents & waggons,
after the manner of the Tartars : their greateſt wealth is a good ſeruiceable horſe,with a
launce or a bundle of darts : they were alway at diſcord and variance amongſt themſelues, by
reaſon whereof they could neuer agree for the expulſing of the Mamalukes, who otherwiſe
had not bin able to haue ſtood againſt them, if they ſhould haue ioined their forces together.
So that the late Ægyptian Sultans ſeemed to hold their ſtate and empire among ſo populous
B a nation, rather by their diſcord than their owne ſtrength : wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by
fit men, vpon his faith before giuen, allured many of their chieftaines and great commanders
to Cair,honorably both entertained and rewarded them. By whoſe example others mooued,
came alſo in daily,and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue their Oath of Allegeance to *Selymus*.
Others which could by no fair promiſes or words be won, being cunningly intercepted
by other captains,and deliuered to *Selymus*,indured the pains of their vain obſtinacy and malice.
The other remote Nations toward Ethiopia, as they had in former time rather acknowledged
the friendſhip than the command of the Egyptian Sultans;ſo now induced with the
fame of the victory,eaſily joined in like amity with the Turks.

Selymus cunningly reducet; the Arabians to his obedience

About the ſame time *Selymus* ſent certain troups of horſmen to Suezzia, a port of the red
C ſea (of old called Arſinoë) about three days journey from Cair ; in which port *Campſon* the
great Sultan(a little before the comming of the Turks) had with infinit charge and 4 yeares
trauel built a ſtrong fleet againſt the Portugals,who by their conqueſts in India had taken away
all the rich trade of the Indian merchandiſe into the Gulf of Arabia,to the great hinderance
of the Egyptian Kings cuſtoms : ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the
Turkiſh wars) *Campſon* had appointed one *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon* Generalls, with a ſtrong
power of Mamalukes and great ſtore of ordnance againſt the Portugals. Theſe valiant Captains
hauing yet don nothing in the ſeruice they were appointed vnto ; as they lay at Gidda,
(the port of the famous city of Mecha,wherin is the temple of their great prophet *Mahomet*)
vnderſtanding of the death of *Campſon*,and of the comming of *Selymus* into Egypt, fell at variance
D betwixt themſelues,one of them beeing willing to continue his obedience towards the
new Sultan,and the other no leſſe deſirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Wherupon
a mutiny ariſing among the ſoldiers, *Amyraſes*,who fauored *Tomombeius*,was inforced to
fly to Mecha : but ſhortly after, *Ray Salomon* requiring to haue him,and threatning all hoſtility
except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of Mecha (fearing to
haue Gidda their port ſpoiled) and ſo ſent back again to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*,that he might
be Admirall alone,his aſſociat being taken out of the way, and by ſome notable fact to inſinuat
himſelf into the fauor of the Conqueror, cauſed *Amyraſes* in the night to be caſt ouerbord,
and giuing to the ſoldiers two months pay,and ſwearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*,
in few days ſailing came back again to Arſinoë,where leauing the fleet,he came directly
E himſelf to *Selymus* at Cair,of whom he was gratiouſly receiued. After that, all the Princes
that were before tributaries or confederats to the late Sultans of Egypt,euen to the confines
of *Dauid* the moſt mighty King of Ethiopia (whom ſome call *Presbyter Iohn*) without delay
entred into the like ſubjection or confederation with the Turks.

Egypt with al the prouinces therunto belonging,thus brought into ſubjection,*Selymus* about
the beginning of Iuly ſailed down the riuer of Nilus to Alexandria (*Cortug Ogli* a famous
pyrat of Halicarnaſſus ſitting at the helm of his gally) there to take view of his Fleet,
but lately come from Conſtantinople with new ſupplies both of men and victuals, ſent from
Pyrrhus Baſſa and his ſon *Solyman*: which after he had wel ſurueyed, and diligently viewed the
wals of the city,and of the caſtle of Pharos, he returned again to Cair. In the mean time the
F Mamalukes in durance at Alexandria, were by his commandement murthred euery mothers
ſon, in the entrance of the priſon. At which time alſo aboue fiue hundred families of the nobleſt
& richeſt of the Egyptians were commanded to remoue from Cair to Conſtantinople,
and a great number of women and children,of the race of the Mamalukes, were tranſported
thither alſo in ſhips hired for that purpoſe. Into this fleet beſides the Kings treaſure and

Of this Cortug-Ogli ſee more in the life of Solyman.

riches,he conueyed all the priuat and publique ornaments of that moſt rich and famous city, with ſuch a couetous and greedy deſire of ſpoil,that the very marble ſtones, commended either for the excellencie of the workmanſhip, or beauty of the ſtone, were violently rent out of the main walls,to his great reproch and infamy. Lying at Cair,he with great pleaſure beheld the riſing of the riuer Nilus, which had then ouerflowed the Countrey next vnto it; and that with ſuch a deſire, that he moſt curiouſly inquired of the old Countrymen the meaſure and nature of the riuer; for by the diuerſitie of the riſing therof (which they by certain marks and meaſures wel find out) they prognoſticat ſomtime abundant plenty, ſometime extreame dearth,and ſomtime reaſonable ſtore:when as the violent riuer moderately or furiouſly breaking out,ſomtime ſo drownes the greateſt part of the country, that all the ſeed ſeaſon it lieth vnder water; and at another time floweth ſo ſparingly,that in many places it ſcarſe layeth the duſt,therby foreſhewing an vndoubted dearth. So that the Egyptians then aſſure themſelues of plenty, when as Nilus keeping a mean, pleaſantly riſeth neither to the higheſt nor loweſt marks of his inundation.

The Mamaluke kingdom,together with the name of the Mamalukes thus ouerthrown,and the conqueſt of Egypt ſo happily atchieued, *Selymus* reſolued to make his return into Syria; and the rather, for that it was reported, That *Hyſmael* the Perſian King was comming with his army into Meſopotamia,and ſo like enough to break into Comagena. Wherfore hauing as he thought good diſpoſed of all things,he left a garriſon of his beſt ſouldiers at Cair, and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable traitor his Deputy and great Commander ouer all that great and new gotten kingdom of Egypt,now conuerted into the form of a prouince, as it remains at this day. Which honorable preferment ſo vnworthily beſtowed,exceedingly both grieued and troubled the great Baſſa *Ionuſes*, before inflamed with the hope and iuſt deſire therof: for now that *Sinan Baſſa* was dead, hee puffed vp with the eſtimation of his own worth and valour, and proud of the wound hee had lately receiued in the preſence of *Selymus* at the entring of Cair,and to the vtmoſt of his power ſuffering no man to grow neer him in credit and eſtimation,thought himſelf the only man now left,to whom of all others that eſpecial and honorable charge ſhould in the judgment of *Selymus* and of the whole Army of right be committed. Neither wanted he the general good liking of the men of war; for immediatly after he was recouered of his wound,when he in the moſt magnificent houſe of the Diadare at Cair (which he in the victory had rather of himſelfe vſurped, than by the gift of *Selymus* obtained) daily kept princely cheer for all commers (no ſmall means to gain the loue of the common ſouldiers) and gaue frankly to them all; to ſome horſes,to ſome beautiful ſlaues,to ſome money, plate,jewels,rich garments,fair armor,and ſuch like; he won vnto himſelf ſuch fauor and credit,that wherſoeuer he ſhould (as the maner was) go to the caſtle vnto the Emperour, he was brought thither with a great and goodly train of his fauorits and followers, as a man in all mens iudgements aſſigned vnto the gouernment of that great and rich kingdom. All which things highly offended the mind of *Selymus*, who as he was apt to ſuſpect,and cruel where he feared; ſo did he alſo in ſecret enuy great vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

The Traitour Caierbeius made gouernor of Cair and Egypt.

Ionuſes enuies at Cayerbeius his preferment.

Ionuſes ſeeing *Cayerbeius* the Traitor thus vnworthily promoted, ouercome with grieſe and indignation (who as a man of a proud and haughty mind took it as don to his owne diſgrace) yet colouring his inward diſcontentment by counterfeiting himſelf ſicke, for certaine dayes came not abroad: neuertheles ſtill more and more tormented both with the injurry (as hee took it) don vnto himſelf, and the vnworthy preferment of the Traitor,hee could not ſo well contain himſelf, but that in his choler ſome words fel from him,wherby his diſcontentment was perceiued. It hapned that *Cayerbeius* comming in curteſie to viſit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drink (which was water and ſugar after the maner of the Egyptians) immediatly after he had drunke, felt ſuch grieuous and vnwoonted gripings and tormentings in his ſtomack and belly,that many ſuppoſed him to haue bin poiſoned by the Baſſa: yet was he by the power and vertue of a more ſoueraign and effectuall remedy preſerued. Which report,whether it were true or no was vncertain,but certain it is that it did ſinke further into the mind of *Selymus* than any man would haue thought. He had alſo but a little before been informed, That many of thoſe rich Egyptian Families which hee had before commanded to be remooued to Conſtantinople,had for great ſums of money obtained of *Ionuſes*

(who

A (who had the whole ordering of the matter) that they might quietly and in ſafety remain ſtil in their own country. Of which his couert dealing great probabilitie was alledged by ſuch as repined at his honor, and ſecretly accuſed him, that thoſe princelike and exceſſiue charges and expences, which he was not able poſſibly to maintain of his ordinary penſion, were royally ſupported with the imbeſelled ſpoil and reuenues of that new gotten kingdom. Which malicious ſuggeſtions, as they tended to the lightening of his credit, ſo alſo another crime, (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further reſpect, is vncertaine) comming in the neck of another, wrought his vtter diſgrace and finall confuſion: for *Selymus* after the manner of great princes (who more ſeuerely to puniſh the former offences, notably diſſembling their preſent anger, expect but the occaſion of ſome new crime) with vigilant eie B waiting vpon his words and deeds, proſecuted him with a mortall and deadly hatred, with full purpoſe to deſtroy him.

Selymus commands the wages of his ſoldiers to be left in garriſon at Cair to be augmented.

A few daies before it was certainly reported, that *Selymus* would again returne into Syria, the ſoldiers appointed to be left in garriſon at Cair, alledging the great diſtance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labor by them already endured, requeſted of the bounty of their moſt fortunat Emperour, that they might haue their wages augmented. Which thing *Selymus* (neuer ſpare handed to his men of war) eaſily granted; commanding *Ionuſes* the ſtately Baſſa, that the ſum they required might be added to their accuſtomed wages, and ſo entred into his accounts for the wars. But he caried headlong with diſcontent, made neither the treaſurers nor pay-maſters acquainted with any ſuch matter as *Selymus* C had before commanded: of purpoſe that the garriſon ſouldiers deceiued of their greater wages promiſed them by their Emperor, might euen at the firſt begin to hate and contemn *Cayerbeius*, as author of ſo great an injury, that ſo the ſtate of Cair, and of that new gotten Kingdom, diſquieted by the mutinie of the gariſon ſoldiers, *Selymus* inforced to change his former purpoſe, ſhould in ſtead of that ſtrange gouernor (hated of the Egyptians for his late treaſon, and not beloued of the garriſon ſouldiers, becauſe he was vnto them a ſtranger) of neceſſity ſend ſome of his own Baſſa's, a Turke, for the better ſtay and aſſurance of that wauering and mighty prouince. But al theſe things (as commonly wicked purpoſes haue their foul euents) fel out in fine far otherwiſe than he had in his troubled mind before conceiued. For *Selymus* being departed out of Egypt, and now on his way almoſt as far as Ieruſalem; the garriſon ſol- D diers of Cair, the pay day being now come, and receiuing no more but their old accuſtomed wages, moued with that euil dealing (as contrary to the Emperors promiſe, and their generall expectation) began with more fury and rage than euer *Ionuſes* had before imagined, openly and inſolently to inſult and threaten the treaſurer and pay-maſters, and with open mouth to rail vpon *Cayerbeius* their gouernor. With which ſo inſolent and opprobrious ſpeeches he aſtonied (as one not yet acquainted with the faſhions of the Turks gariſons) together with the pay-maſters, in beſt maner they could excuſed themſelues vnto the ſoldiers, requeſting them not to think ſo hardly of them, who were altogether innocent in the matter, but with patience to vnderſtand the truth of the cauſe; wherin if they ſhould on their part finde any fraudulent or euil dealing, they craued no fauor, either refuſed any puniſhment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the E pay-maſters ſeeking by all means to auoid both the ſuſpition and the preſent danger; and the mutinous ſouldiers no leſſe haſtning to find out by whom they were ſo abuſed, and to be thereof reuenged, it was at laſt with much ado agreed, that truſty meſſengers ſhould forthwith be ſent vnto *Selymus* (who was not yet gon out of Iudæa) to vnderſtand of him the truth of the matter.

Theſe ſpeedy meſſengers hauing with wonderfull celerity diſpatched their journey, ouertook *Selymus* with his Army a little from Lariſſa in Iudæa: and admitted to his preſence, orderly declared vnto him both the complaints of the ſouldiers, and the carefulnes of *Cayerbeius* and the pay-maſters to excuſe the matter, together with the danger they were in, with euery other accident whatſoeuer which had hapned ſince the time of his departure from the City F of Cair. Which complaint ſo inſenced the mind of *Selymus* with new paſſions of anger and choler, being already ſore alienated with former diſpleaſures, that he without further delay commanded *Ionuſes Baſſa* to be brought before him to anſwer the matter. Who although he were inwardly ſtricken with the guilt of his own conſcience, and ſurpriſed with a deadly feare, which appeared in his colour as pale as aſhes, ſeeing in the angry face and countenance

The anſwer of Jonuſes Baſſa.

of his ſoueraign the moſt certain tokens of his heauy diſpleaſure: yet as he was a man of great G
ſpirit anſwered boldly, That he had forbidden the ſoldiers wages to be augmented, contrary
to his Majeſties command, not vpon any euil meaning to haue inuerted that mony to his own
vſe, neither therby to haue drawn any man of purpoſe into diſgrace, as was by ſome his malicious
enemies ſuggeſted; but for great reaſon, thereby to prouide for his Majeſties Coffers,
wonderfully emptied with thoſe late wars: beſide that, the conſtant report of new troubles
like to ariſe out of Perſia, gaue good occaſion for him to ſpare vnneceſſary charges. Wheras
on the other ſide, as he ſaid, the garriſon ſouldiers were already inriched with the plentifull
ſpoils of Egypt, and in a moſt goodly city poſſeſſed the houſes and lands of the Mamalukes,
feeding vpon the goods of the Egyptians, and had already receiued both greater pay & more
bountiful rewards from him, than euer any ſouldiers had from any his predeceſſors the *Othoman* H
Kings: in which caſe if they were not paſt all modeſty, they might well enough take it
in good part, if they were ſomthing reſtrained in their vnreaſonable requeſts. Hee alledged
moreouer, That great Princes which retain their ſoldiers in reaſonable pay in time of peace
and war, ought ſomtime for warlike diſcipline to require of them a moderation of their deſires;
leſt whileſt they all ſtriue with greedines for their priuat gaine, there want money afterwards
in the common treaſurie to maintain a greater and more neceſſary charge, wars ſtill riſing
vpon wars: ſeeing no Commander, were he neuer ſo valiant or fortunat, euer did any great
matter in wars, if he wanted coin, the moſt proper inſtrument and very ſinues of War, anſwering
to his other moſt heroical parts and ſufficiencie. But as he was yet thus ſpeaking, *Selymus*
full of wrath and indignation interrupted him (for if he ſhould haue ſuffered him in longer I
diſcourſe to haue recounted his former deſerts and worthy ſeruice don, as wel in the time of
his father *Bajazet*, as of late euen in his own preſence, he was like enough to haue had of them
who were able to do moſt with him, interceſſors for him) and ſo without further delay cauſed
him euen there in his own preſence to be executed: ſaying moreouer, that others who would
arrogantly preſume to preſcribe vnto their Soueraigns what they had to do, ſhould for euer
after by the example of that moſt inſolent ſeruant be admoniſhed of their duty and condition.
It is reported, that the ſoldiers in deſpight of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the vnworthy
death of this ſo worthy a man. For he, beſide his notable and rare valour, ſo many times to
his great honour in ſundry battels approued, had by the dexterity of his Grecian wit, comelines
of perſonage, military eloquence, and gallant maner of liuing, ſo won the loue and fauour K
of all men, that there was few or none in all the Army which did not acknowledge himſelfe
ſome way indebted and beholden to him; and did therefore condemn the Emperors cruelty.
They then began to tell, how *Muſtapha* ſyrnamed *Caloger*, a man of wonderfull credit and authority
both with *BajaZet* and himſelf, was in the heat of his fury ſlain without hearing. And
in like maner of rage, old *Chendemus*, a man of greateſt honor and integrity of life, and of al the
chieftains which came out of the great Emperor *Mahomets* nurſery the moſt skilful, had bin
for his graue and wholſom counſel without cauſe murthred. Neither was then *Boſtanges* his
ſon in law forgotten; neither *Cherſeogles* (the moſt honourable for the great place he held in
court, and the mariage of *Bajazets* daughter; and the other a man of no leſſe marke, being his
great Admiral, and bearing himſelf high vpon his infinit wealth, but more vpon his wife, one L
of the daughters of *Selymus*) both which two noble Gentlemen, about two yeares before had
their heads ſtruck off, no man well knowing wherefore; and their dead bodies caſt out at the
Court gate, to the terror of the beholders, as a miſerable ſpectacle of their own miſery & the
Emperors cruelty. Yea, the remembrance of his old tyrannie (renued as it were with this late
outrage) preſented afreſh vnto all mens eies the reuerend old Emperour *Bajazet* his father,
with his two brethren *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, by right both called vnto the Empire before
himſelf; with many other yong princes of the bloud, of great hope and expectation, who as
all men knew, periſhed through the vnnaturall and execrable cruelty of this moſt mercileſſe
man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him; foraſmuch as he without all
fear of God, or regard of worldly ſhame, accounted no practiſe wicked, or deuiſe deteſtable, M
that might ſerue for the better eſtabliſhing of his kingdom: and had ſet down in his minde,
(long before corrupted with ambition and tiranny) That it was far better for the aſſurance of
his eſtate, to be feared of all, than beloued of many: and therfore ſpared no mans life of whom
he had but the leaſt ſuſpition. Howbeit the ſeuerity by him vſed againſt this ſo great a man,

The death of the great Baſſa Jonuſes.

and

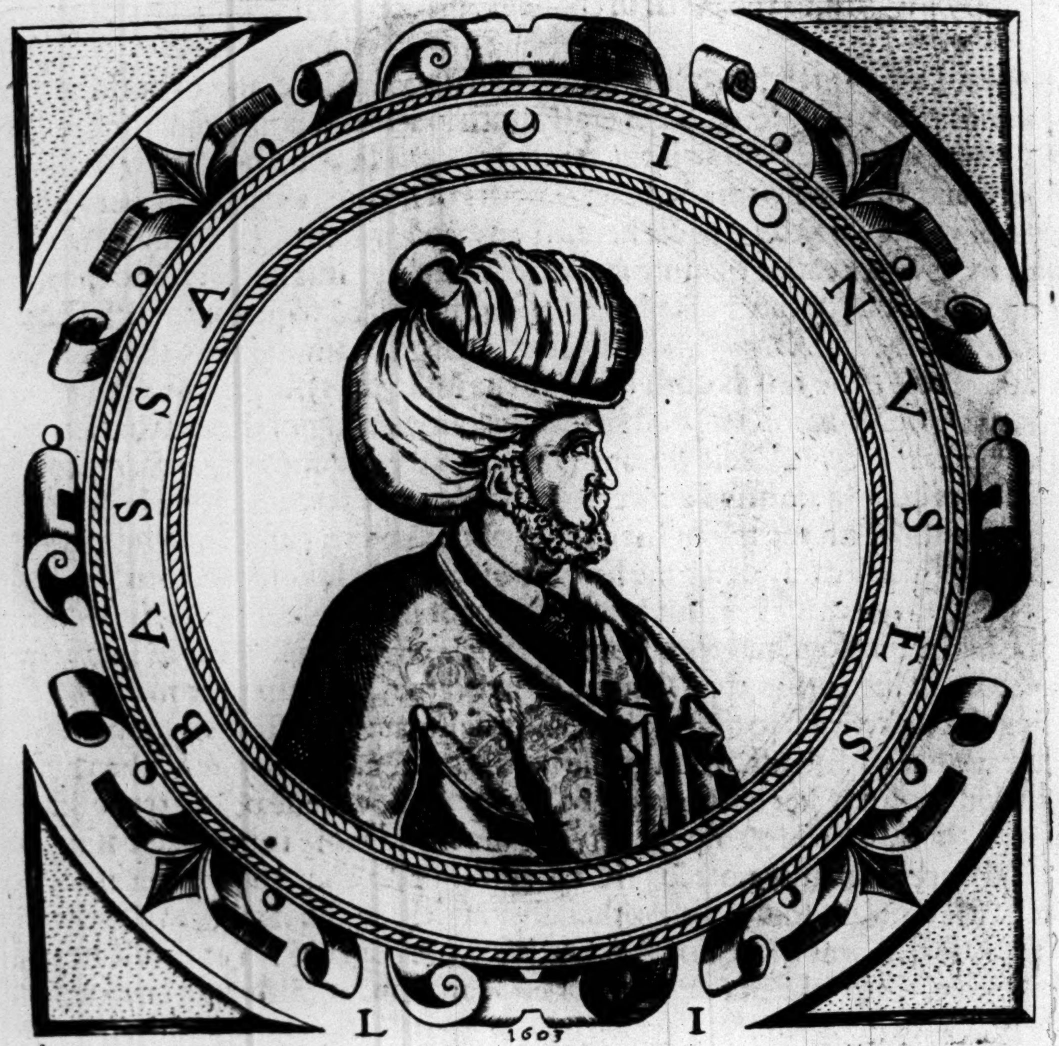
A and ſo gratious with the people, may in ſome ſort be excuſed, as iuſtly mooued thereunto by the preſumptuous & malicious dealing of the proud Baſſa vnder hand, contrary to the charge giuen him by his lord, to the perill of thoſe his great but late conqueſts both in Ægypt and Syria.

This great Baſſa whilſt he yet liued and flouriſhed in the court, in nothing ſo much offended the minds of the people (who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the cruelty by him ſhewed vpon the perſon of the fair lady *Manto* his beſt beloued wife. Who beeing a Greek born, and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, whereunto her louely conditions were alſo anſwerable, was by *Zebalia* her firſt husband (a man of great honor) carried with him into the wars, as his greateſt treaſure and chief delight. But he ſlain, and ſhee by misfortune B falling into the hands of the Turks her enemies, remained ſo priſoner with them for a time; vntil that this great Baſſa *Iouuſes* ſhortly after (ſeeing her among the other Captiues there taken, ſo far to exceed the reſt as doth the Sun the leſſer ſtars) ſurpriſed with her incomparable beauty, became of her amorous; and in too curious viewing of the captiue Lady, was by her himſelf taken priſoner. Where finding her outward perfections no leſſe graced with inward vertues, and her honorable mind anſwerable vnto her rare feature, took her vnto his wife, honoring her far aboue all the reſt of his wiues and concubins; and ſhe again in all dutiful loyalty ſeeking to pleaſe him, for a time liued in all worldly felicity and blis, not much inferior to one of the great Sultaneſſes. But long laſteth not the ſummer fruit of wanton loue, blaſted moſt time in the bloſſom, and rotten before it be wel gathered: for in ſhort time the Baſſa C more amorous of her perſon, than ſecured in her vertues, and after the maner of ſenſuall men, ſtil fearing leſt that which ſo much pleaſed himſelf, gaue no leſſe contentment to others alſo; began to haue her in diſtruſt, although he ſaw no great cauſe why, more than his own conceit not grounded vpon any her euil demeanor, but vpon the exceſſe of his owne liking. Which mad humor (hardly to be euer purged) ſtill more and more in him increaſing, he became ſo froward and imperious, that nothing ſhe could ſay or do, could now ſo pleaſe or content him, but that he ſtil thought ſome one or other, although he wiſt not who, to bee therein partakers with him; ſo fearful was the jealous man of his owne conceits. Yet could he not chuſe but loue thoſe perfections, wherat he could not enough wonder, although hee found no contentment therin, tormenting himſelf, and her whom he ſo dearly loued, with his own paſſionat diſtruſt. D Vntil at length, the fair lady grieued to ſee her ſelf thus without cauſe to be ſuſpected, and wearied with the inſolent pride of her peeuiſh husband, together with his imperious commands, determined ſecretly to depart from him, & ſo to return again into her own country. Which her purpoſe ſhe diſcouered to one of her Eunuchs, to whom ſhe had alſo deliuered certain letters to be by him conueied to ſuch of her friends, as whoſe helpe ſhe was to vſe in her intended flight: which letters the falſe eunuch opened, and for the more manifeſting of the matter, deliuered them vnto the Baſſa his maſter. Who therwith inraged, and calling her vnto him, forthwith in his fury, with a dagger ſtabd her to the heart and ſlew her: ſo together with the death of his Loue, hauing cured his tormenting jealouſies. The liuely counterfeits of theſe two notable perſonages thus vnworthily ſlain, the one by the imperious command of E his Soueraign, and the other by the cruel hand of her husband, thou maiſt in the pages following behold, as they are by *Boiſardus* expreſſed.

Iouuſes Baſſa jealous of his fair wife Manto.

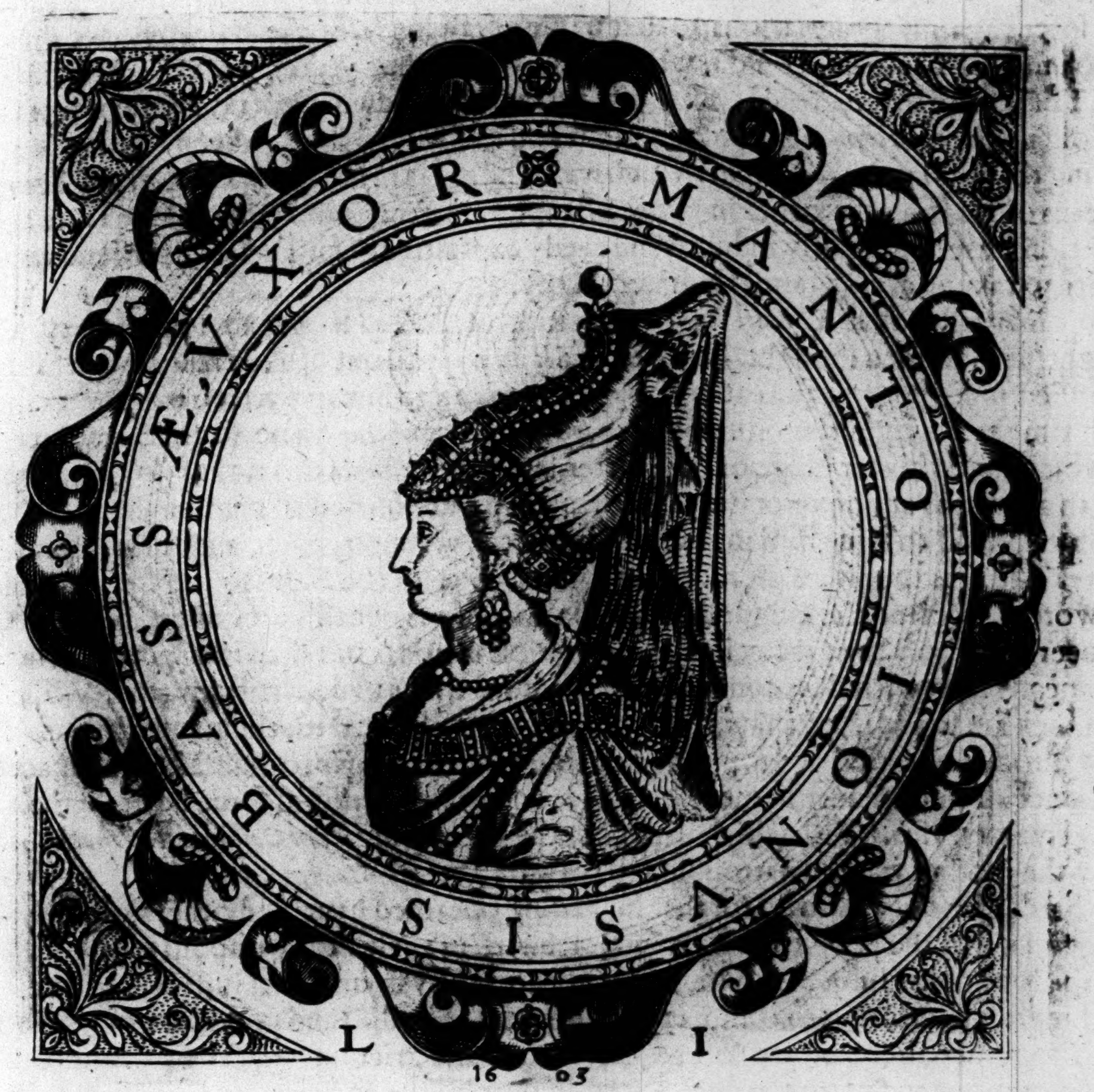
The faire Lady Manto cruelly ſlain by her jelous husband.

IONVSES.



Rejice Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis
Quos confert : erit hic invidioſus honos.
Regna Tomombeo, Campſon, *cum rege reliquit :*
Virtutis Selymus *dicit id eſſe tua.*

Reject the Sultans titles which proud Memphis doth thee ſhow :
From ſuch great honors oftentimes doth greateſt dangers grow.
That *Campſon* with great *Tomombey* loſt both their ſtate and fame,
Vnto thy valor *Selymus* doth yet aſcribe the ſame.



Formam ſi ſpectes, nihil eſt formoſius iſte,
Pectoris & caſti gratia rara fuit.
Sed dum diſſimuli vixit malè iuncta marito,
Infelix miſera morte perempta iacet.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou doſt reſpect, thou canſt none fairer ſee,
Nor in whoſe chaſt and conſtant breſt could greater graces lie.
But whilſt miſmatcht, ſhe liv'd to mourn, inthral'd to jelous brain,
Vnhappy ſhe, with cruel hand was by her husband ſlain.

But leauing this great Baſſa with fair *Manto* vnto their reſt; his courſe thus run, to return again to *Selymus*, who now come into Syria, was by letters from the Himbracor Baſſa or Maſter of his horſe (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his Kingdom, to attend the motions of the Perſians) aduertiſed, That the Perſian preparations which had raiſed ſuch a hot rumor of wars in the beginning of Winter, was grown cold in the heat of ſummer; and that hee had ſeen in all the time of his abode in thoſe quarters, none but certaine ſtragling Companies, who made ſhew as if ſome greater power had beene comming, which had many times made ſudden roads into the Countrey, with whom he had ſundry times proſperouſly encountered;

and it was generally reported by ſuch priſoners as hee had taken,and by his owne eſpialls alſo, That *Hyſmael* troubled with the Hyrcanians and Tartars, had conuerted the greateſt part of his forces againſt thoſe nations:ſo that winter drawing faſt on,and deep ſnows already fallen vpon mount Taurus,he could not though he would that yeare look after Aſia the leſſe, or Syria. There were that reported, That the Tartars which dwel betwixt the two riuers Tanais and Volga,were by *Selymus* his procurement and mony ſet awork to keep *Hyſmael* buſied, by inuading the Iberians & Albanians which were vnder his protection:which thing he wrought by means of *Mahomet* his father in law,the Boſphoran King, who being of the ſame language and nation,by rewards eaſily induced the needy captains of the Tartars his friends and Conſederats,to take vp arms againſt their neighbors. G

The cauſe why Hyſmael inuaded not Selymus, wholy buſied in the Ægyptian wars.

Many maruelled that *Hyſmael* the Perſian king neglected ſo fair an opportunity, whereby H he might(as moſt men thought)haue thruſt *Selymus* quite out of Aſia and Siria,whilſt he was thus buſied in Egypt;yea and eaſily haue deſtroied him,ſhut vp with all his power,eſpecially at ſuch time as the Egyptian Sultans *Campſon* and *Tomombeius* made ſo great reſiſtance. But they which could better judge of the matter,ſaw that *Hyſmael* was not of ſo great power and ſtrength abroad as at home:for his army for moſt part conſiſted of gentlemen,or ſuch as were by cuſtom bound to ſerue him in his defenſiue wars, voluntary men, and ſuch as ſerued without pay. Theſe,as they were the moſt valiant horſemen of the Eaſt, ſo did they with ſingular valor worthily defend the kingdom of Perſia,and alſo as occaſion required, make War with their neer neighbors: but if any longer expedition were to be taken in hand, that they could by no means away withall,accounting it a grieuous thing to depart from their Wiues; vnto I whom they are ſo addicted,that oftentimes they carry them with them into the wars:and being a wanton & fine kind of people,are not able without wages to draw after them,according to their accuſtomed maner,ſo many carriages and horſes as might ſerue both for their neceſſary and wanton vſes. With which difficulty the great King *Vſun Caſſanes*, *Hyſmaels* Grandfather by the mother,was much troubled in his wars againſt *Mahomet* the great. But was now much harder for *Hyſmael* to do,for that he hauing obtained his grandfathers kingdom by the meer good wil of the people,eaſing them forthwith of their heauy impoſitions, did alwaies think the loue of his ſubjects (which is eaſily gotten by bounty and juſtice) the ſureſt riches of his kingdom; and that to commaund only ouer the bodies and goods of his people, their hearts altogether alienated and loſt by moſt heauy and grieuous exactions, ſeemed not the K part of a gratious and natural prince,but of an outragious and momentary tyrant. Wheras *Selymus* on the contrary part,who had by force,miſchiefe,and moſt deteſtable practiſes,ſtept vp into his fathers ſeat,had after the maner of the *Othoman* kings,repoſed his greateſt & moſt aſſured ſtrength,in a ſeruile and mercinary kind of men, whom he might for pay, as his owne Creatures at his pleaſure draw far from home, and as hee beſt liked lead them from place to place,and country to country,for the inlarging of his empire,and eterniſing of his name:and therfore according to the quality of his people, deemed true and ready power to conſiſt only in mony,and the ſeuerity of his own command: wherby he had learned with moſt happy ſucces,in a ſhort time to obſcure all the victories of the former *Othoman* kings, with the greatnes of his own. L

1518. All the winter following, *Selymus* ſtaied with his army in Syria, ſpending his time in viſiting the ports and cities of that prouince,and ſetting things in order for the better aſſurance therof. But vpon the approch of the ſpring,when he certainly vnderſtood that by the procurement of Pope *Leo* the tenth, the Chriſtian Princes were entered into conſultation to make war vpon him,and that ſupplications with great ſolemnity were made for that purpoſe, and honourable Embaſſadours ſent into all prouinces to ſtir vp the greateſt kings of Chriſtendome againſt him; he (leauing *Gazelles* his Lieutenant in Syria) by great journies returned to Conſtantinople:from thence as at hand to behold the deuices & motions of the Chriſtian princes his enemies. In the mean time, fearing no alteration to ariſe in the prouinces of Syria and Egypt,foraſmuch as he wel ſaw, that *Cayerbeius* and *Gazelles* his Lieutenants,beeing at M deadly hatred betwixt themſelues,as wel for old grudges, as for the late treaſon of *Cayerbeius* (the greateſt cauſe of the ruine of the Mamalukes Kingdome) would neuer agree together againſt him, but rather with a certaine emulation ſtriue betwixt themſelues with diligence, faithfulnes,and moderation,who ſhould deſerue beſt in wel gouerning the prouinces by him

committed

A committed to their charge,as indeed they did during the ſhort time of his reign.

Selymus being arriued at Conſtantinople, and purpoſing from thenceforth to turne all his
forces vpon the Chriſtians, cauſed wonderfull preparation to be made for his wars; but eſpecially
at ſea:wherby it was thought that he would haue either attempted the ſtrong Iſland of
the Rhodes(a great moat in his eye)or els ſome part of Italy.But whilſt he was hatching this
miſchief,or ſome other of no leſſe importance,and in the mean time delighted himſelf with
viſiting the cities of Græcia and Thrace, and ſolaced himſelfe in the pleaſant country about
Hadrianople,he was ſuddenly attached with the hand of God,and ſtrucken in the reins of his
back with a canker : which melancholy and deuouring malady contemning all cure, did by
little and little ſo eat and corrupt his body,as that he,before ſo much honoured, became now
B loathſome and odious both to himſelfe and others.

1519.

Selymus purpoſing to inuade the Chriſtians, is ſtruck in the reines of his backe with a canker.

As he lay thus languiſhing,his incurable diſeaſe ſtil increaſing, leaning his head in the lap
of *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa,whom of all others hee moſt loued, ſaid, *O Pyrrhus, I ſee I muſt ſhortly die
without remedie.* Whereupon the great Baſſa tooke occaſion to diſcourſe with him of many
matters : and amongſt others,that it would pleaſe him to giue order for the well beſtowing of
the great wealth taken from the Perſian merchants in diuers places of his empire:perſuading
him to beſtow the ſame vpon ſome notable Hoſpitall for reliefe of the poore. To whom *Selymus*
replyed,Wouldſt thou *Pyrrhus*,that I ſhould beſtow other mens goods,wrongfully taken
from them,vpon works of charity and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glory and praiſe? aſſuredly
I will neuer do it:nay,rather ſee they be againe reſtored vnto the right owners. Which
C was forthwith done accordingly ; to the great ſhame of many Chriſtians, who minding nothing
leſſe than reſtitution,but making *ex rapina holocauſtum*,do out of a world of euill gotten
goods cull out ſome ſmall fragments,to build ſome poore Hoſpital,or mend ſome blind way;
a poore teſtimony of their hot charity.

Selymus lying thus ſicke to death, and rotting aboue the ground in his tent, as he was vpon
the way going to Hadrianople,ſent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*,two of his greateſt Baſſaes,
to prouide for the ſolemniſing of the great feaſt, which the Turks call *Bairam* (and as it were
their Eaſter) purpoſing to come after himſelfe at leaſure, as his weake body would giue him
leaue : and kept with him onely *Ferhates*,the third of his greateſt Baſſaes and priuy Counſellors.
But ſuch was the fury of his foule diſeaſe, continually attainting him with intollerable
D paines, that ſhortly after the departure of the other two Baſſaes, he breathed out his cruell
ghoſt,in the month of September,in the yeare 1520 : neere vnto the city Chiurli, in the ſelfe
ſame place where he had ſomtime moſt vnnaturally aſſailed his aged father *Bajazet*, with purpoſe
to haue ſlaine him, had not the fortune of the old Emperour in a great battell preuailed
both againſt his force and the treaſon of his owne people. Thus intending the miſchiefe he
could not performe,cut off by a lothſome and vntimely death,he to the great ioy of all Chriſtendome
ended his dayes,when he had liued ſix and forty yeares, and thereof reigned eight :
which time of his reigne was nothing elſe but a moſt horrible and dreadfull time of bloudſhed.
His dead body was afterwards ſolemnly by his ſon *Solyman* buried in a new temple at
Conſtantinople,which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather,had for that purpoſe
E before built. Vpon his tombe is ingrauen in the Greeke, Turkiſh, and Sclauonian Tongues,
this ſhort Epitaph.

1520.

The death of Selymus.

The iuſt Iudgement of God.

Hic maximus adſum Selymus, *qui orbem domui.*
Non bella relinquo ſed pergo inquirere,
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euerterere :
Licet oſſa jacent, animus quærit.

Phi. Lon. Tur. hiſt. tom. 1. l. 1.

In Engliſh thus :

F

Lo here I lie,great *Selymus*, which held the World in feare :
  The World I leaue,but not the wars,which I ſeeke,though not here.
No fortunes force,or victors hand,could take from me the ſpoiles :
  And though my bones lie buried here,my ghoſt ſeeks bloudy broiles.

Selymus before his death commends the tuition of his ſon Solyman vnto Pyrrhus Baſſa.

He vſed commonly to ſay, That nothing was ſweeter than to reign without fear or ſuſpition of his kindred. G A little before his death, he commended his ſon *Solyman* to *Pyrrhus Baſſa*, ſtreitly charging him, that after his death he ſhould leaue the Perſian, and turn his forces altogether vpon the Chriſtians. And the more to inſence him to the effuſion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeit of himſelfe hanging at his bed ſide, with ſundry bloudy precepts breathing forth his cruel and vnmercifull diſpoſition.

Tabulæ Epigraphe.

Soldanus Selymus Othomanus, *Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum, Princeps omnium Principum,*
Filius & Nepos Dei. S.S.S.

Ad dextram, Verſus Græca Lingua adſcripit in hunc ſenſum,

Tutus ut imperij Princeps ſibi ſceptra capeſſat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pavore premat;
Ne putet eſſe nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nece fraterna, conſtabilire domum.
Iura, Fides, Pietas, regni dum nemo ſuperſit,
Æmulus, haud turbent religione animum.
Hac ratio eſt, quæ ſola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te ſinit eſſe metus.

Ad ſiniſtram Lingua Sclavonica,

Te ſemel adverſus peccantem, mitis haberi
Ne ſtudias, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus enſe reſcindendum, putreſcere ſi quid
Incipiet, clemens rex malè ſceſtra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porigit anſam
Quaſe ſuſtentans, ad nova damna ruat.

Ad Calcem Tabulæ Lingua Turcica,

Qui non ipſe ſua Princeps haſtilia dextra,
Agmen in adverſum marte favente jacet.
Sed refugit ſævis caput objectare periclis
Dum gravia impavido, prælia corde ſubit:
Iſte ſciat vanis belli ſeſe artibus uti:
Et votis nunquam fata favere ſuis.
Nulla ſibi ſperet, ſuſcepti commoda belli,
Hoſtiles acies quiſquis adire timet.

The Inſcription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus Othoman*, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of all Princes ; the Sonne and Nephew of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written Greek
Verſes to this ſence :

The Prince that ſafely ſeeks to reign, and hold his ſtate in quiet reſt,
Muſt neuer ſuffer troubled care to harbor in his princely breſt :
Nor think it ſin to ſpil the bloud of his moſt neer and deareſt kin,
Not of his brother, ſo therby aſſured ſafety he may win.
Law, Faith, Deuotion, and ſuch like, to break them all he muſt not ſpare,
Nor conſcience make of any thing, to rid him from aſpiring care.
This is the way and only mean that may protect a princes ſtate,
And ſet him ſafe without all fear, whilſt none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudy and tyrannicall precepts left by Selymus unto his ſonne Solyman, which he afterward aſſuredly kept, as is to be ſeen in his life following.

On the left hand of the Table was written in the
Sclavonian Tongue ;

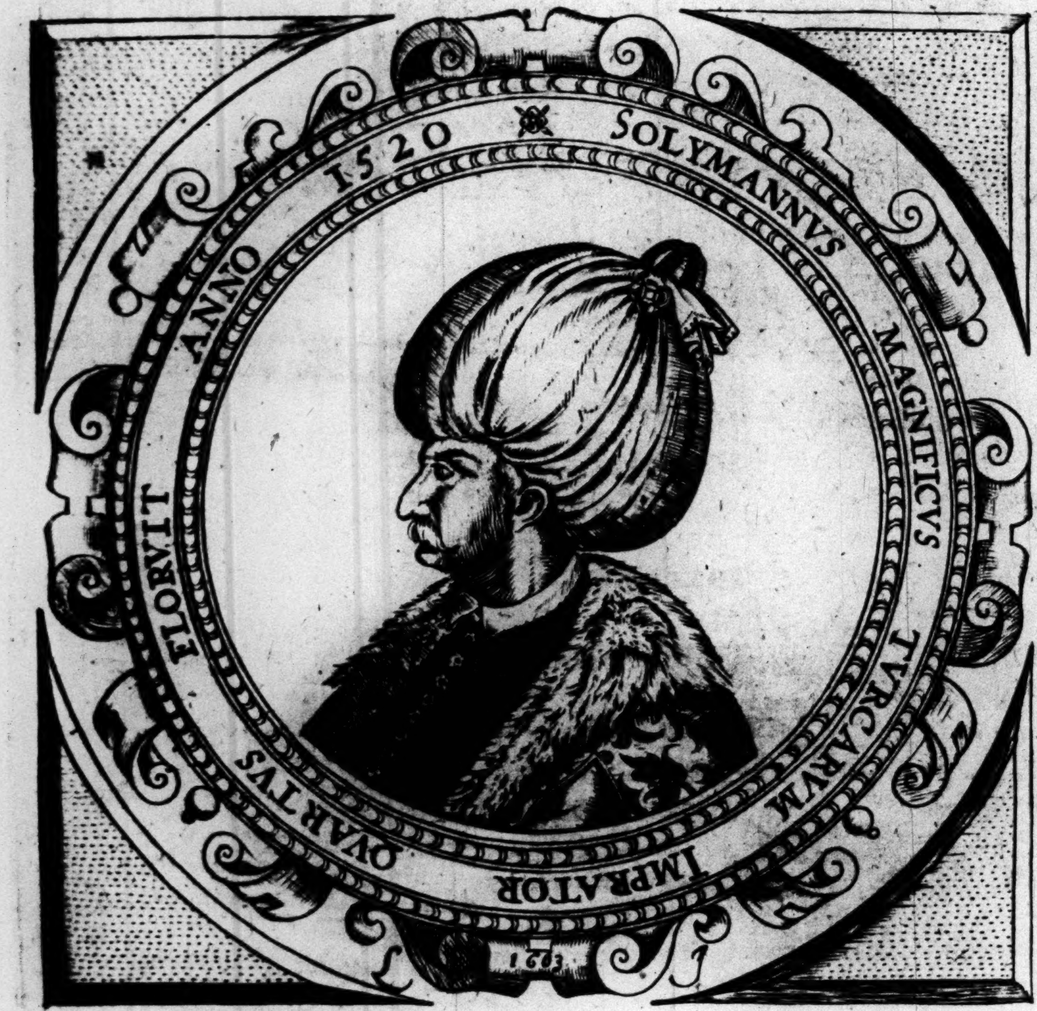
Of him that ſeeks to work thy wo, deſerue not to be counted kind ;
But take him for thy mortal foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away, for fear of doing further harm :
The gentle Prince doth bear ſmall ſway, if no abuſe can make him warm.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to preſume of further grace ;
It doth but ſtrength to Rebels lend, to thruſt their Soueraign out of place.

At the lower end of the ſame Table was written
in Turkiſh Verſe ;

What Prince in perſon dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnappalled heart his deadly darts himſelf to throw ;
But hides his head for fear of harm, and ſhuns the danger of the field,
When martial minds with courage bold withſtand their foes with ſpear & ſhield :
Let him wel know, how that in vain he beareth arms but for a ſhow,
And that the honor of the field wil neuer ſuch a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gain the ſpoil by any wars he takes in hand,
That feareth with couragious mind his enemies forces to withſtand.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus *the first,*	*Emperours of Germany*		*Maximilian the first,*	1494.	25
			Charles the fifth,	1509.	39
	Kings	*Of England*	*Henry the eighth,*	1509.	38
		Of France	*Lewis the twelfth,*	1497.	17
			Francis the first,	1514.	32
		Of Scotland	*Iames the fourth,*	1489.	25
			Iames the fifth,	1513.	22
	Bishops of Rome		*Iulius the II,*	1503.	9
			Leo the X,	1513.	8


SOLYMANNVS MAGNIFICVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR QVARTVS
FLORVIT ANNO 1520
1563

Phil. Lonicer. Hiſt. Turc. l. 1.

Imperij Solyman *patrij moderatur habenas,*
Regnaque Chriſtianum cladibus vſque metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Nexumque Parumque
Tyrrheni infaſtat Littora curua maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Inclyta Sigethi dum mœnia concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.

His fathers Empire *Solyman* doth rule with mighty power,
And Chriſtian kingdomes ceaſeth not with ſlaughter to deuour.
The antiant Rhodes, with Naxos Iſle, and Paros he did take:
And on the coaſts of Italy did wofull hauocke make.
Faire Hungary with armies great he often did annoy,
And with a world of men had thought Vienna to deſtroy.
But whileſt to Sigeth he layd ſiege, in hope the ſame to haue,
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.

THE LIFE OF *SOLYMAN*, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFICENT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

THe death of *Selymus* was with all carefulneſſe concealed by *Ferhates* the onely Baſſa then preſent, for feare leſt the Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court getting knowledge thereof, ſhould after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancy of the Empire, C ſpoile the Merchants and ſtrangers in places where they lay in garriſon, and eſpecially in the imperiall city: and not ſo contented, after their accuſtomed inſolency preſcribe vnto the greateſt Baſſaes at their pleaſure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferhates* diſpatched a truſty meſſenger with letters in poſt to *Solyman* the only ſon of *Selymus*, then lying at Magneſia, certifying him of the death of his father, and that he ſhould deſerue well of his peaceable ſubjects by haſtening his comming to Conſtantinople, whileſt all things were yet in good order, in time to repreſſe with his preſence the feared diſordered proceedings of his men of war.

Solyman hardly perſuaded that his father was dead.

D *Solyman* hauing to his great content peruſed the Baſſaes letters, as one deſirous enough of the empire; yet conſidering the cruell diſpoſition of his father (who vpon a meere jealous conceit of his aſpiring mind, and for certain words by him let fall in diſlike of his fathers extream dealing, had practiſed moſt vnnaturally to haue taken away him by poiſon: which danger he eſcaped only by the carefulneſſe of his mother, who miſdoubting the worſt, cauſed the poiſoned rich ſhirt ſent to him from his father, to be firſt worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in ſhort time after died) and alſo that the letters were ſigned only by *Ferhates*, and the newes not ſeconded by any of the other Baſſaes: fearing ſome hidden and ſecret plot of his father tending to his deſtruction, durſt not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the meſſenger as one to whom he gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus ſpent, and the death of E *Selymus* nothing as yet ſuſpected; *Ferhates* vnderſtanding by his meſſenger the warineſſe of *Solyman*, and that he expected more aſſured aduertiſement, ſent preſently vnto the other great Baſſa's *Pyrrhus* and *Muſtapha* at Hadrianople, that they ſhould without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming he declared the death of the Emperour. Which after they had ſeene to be true, they by another ſecret and ſpeedy meſſenger aduertiſed *Solyman* again therof, confirming thoſe letters with all their hands and ſeals: whereby *Solyman* now aſſured of his fathers death, preſently put himſelfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull journies in few days came to Scutarium, called in antient time Chriſopolis, ouer againſt Conſtantinople. Where he was met with the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, and by him tranſported in a gally ouer that ſtreit paſſage to Conſtantinople, where at his landing the Ianizaries by F the appointment of their captain were ready to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, vntill that *Solyman* being now in the midſt of them, the captaine with a loud voice ſaid vnto them, *Behold your Emperor*. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, *Long liue the great Emperor Solyman*: which conſent of the men of war, is vnto the Turkiſh Emperours the greateſt aſſurance of their eſtate. And ſo with much triumph he was by them brought into the roiall pallace, and placed in his fathers ſeat in the yeare 1520: in which yere alſo *Charles* the fifth was choſen Emperour of Germany. The Ianizaries diſappointed by the Baſſaes of the ſpoile of the Merchants, eſpecially Chriſtians and Iewes, receiued of the bounty of *Solyman* a great largious; and in the beginning of his reigne had their accuſtomed wages ſomewhat augmented alſo, to their wonderfull contentment.

Solyman was about twenty eight yeres old when he began to reigne, and was at the firſt ſuppoſed to haue bin of a milde and peaceable diſpoſition: ſo that the Princes to whom the name of *Selymus* was before dreadfull, were now in hope that a quiet Lambe was come in place of a raging Lyon. But in ſhort time they found themſelues in their expectation far deceiued; and eſpecially the Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon him, vnto whom he became a far more dangerous enemy than was his father before him; conuerting his forces moſt part of his long reigne vpon them, which *Selymus* had almoſt altogether imploied againſt the Kings of Perſia, and Ægypt, the greateſt Princes of the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Gazelles gouernor of Syria rebelleth againſt Solyman.

The firſt that felt his heauy hand was *Gazelles* Gouernor of Syria: who preſently vpon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himſelfe now diſcharged of the oath of obedience which he had giuen to *Selymus*, but not to his ſucceſſors; and earneſtly deſiring to reſtore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes lately ouerthrowne, gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed Mamalukes, which ſpeedily reſorted vnto him out of all parts of Aſia and Africke: and alluring with rewards the leaders of the wilde Arabians, with great numbers of the country people of Syria, diſcontented with the Turkiſh gouernment, entred into open rebellion, and by force of armes draue the Turks garriſons out of Byrrha, Tripolis, and diuers other cities of Syria, taking them into his owne poſſeſſion. And the better to effect that he had taken in hand, he ſent Embaſſadors to Caire, vnto *Cayerbeius*, who had of *Selymus* receiued the gouernment of Ægypt, the vnworthy reward of his horrible treaſon; perſuading him by any meanes to take reuenge of the injury and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turks garriſon to make himſelfe Sultan of Ægypt, and reſtore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the vttermoſt of his deuoire and ſeruice. But *Cayerbeius* either not truſting *Gazelles* his old enemy, or aſhamed by new treaſon to augment his former diſhonor, or els (which was moſt like) miſdoubting his owne ſtrength in performance of ſo great an enterpriſe: after he had attentiuely heard what the Embaſſadours had to ſay, cauſed them preſently in his own ſight to be put to death as traitors, and with all ſpeed certified *Solyman* thereof: who without delay ſent *Ferhates Baſſa* with a ſtrong army into Syria. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and hauing in his power moſt of the cities of Syria, retired himſelf with all his army into the ſtrong city of Damaſco; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Baſſa by long march came alſo. *Gazelles* (reſolued to try the fortune of the field, and ſo either by ſpeedy victory or honourable death to end the matter, rather than to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſhut vp within the wals of the city) vpon the comming of the Baſſa, valiantly iſſued forth with all his power, and gaue him battell; which for the ſpace of ſix houres was moſt cruelly fought, and many ſlaine on both ſides. At length *Gazelles* being oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly aſſailed on either ſide, was inforced to fight in a ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthy Generall and valiant ſoldier, honorably died together with his Mamalukes in the midſt of his enemies, leauing vnto them a bloudy victory. *Gazelles* thus ſlaine, the city of Damaſco with all the country of Syria without any more ado yeelded againe vnto the Turks obedience, which the Baſſa tooke in ſo good part, that he would not ſuffer his ſoldiers to enter into the city, then richly ſtored with commodities of all ſorts, brought thither by Merchants out of diuers parts of the World.

Gazelles ſlaine.

Syria thus pacified, the Baſſa went to Caire in Ægypt, and there commended *Cayerbeius* for his fidelity, confirmed him in his gouernment, and enuying againſt the cruelty of *Selymus* (ſo to pleaſe the *Ægyptians*) wiſhed them to hope for all happineſſe vnder the peaceable gouernment of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And ſo when he had ſet all things in order in both the prouinces of Syria and Ægypt, returned againe to *Solyman*.

The yeare next following, *Solyman* by the counſell of *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his old tutor (a mortall enemy vnto the Chriſtians) and by the perſuaſion of the Ianizaries, reſolued to beſiege the ſtrong city of Belgrade, otherwiſe called Taurunum, ſcituat vpon the borders of Hungary, where the riuer Savus falleth into Danubius. Which city his great grandfather *Mahomet* (ſyrnamed

A named the Great, and before him the warlike *Amurath*) had with all their power, long time before
to their great loſſe and diſhonor, vainly attempted. Wherein vntill that time were reſerued
the enſignes, then taken from the Turks, to their no ſmal griefe, with other trophies of the
glorious victories of the worthy captaine *Huniades*, and the great King *Matthias Coruinus* his
ſon. Wherefore *Solyman* ſending his army before, was come as far as Sophia, a city in Seruia
(the place where the Turks great lieutenant in Europe is alwaies reſiant) before that the Hungarians
were aware of his comming: for they liuing at eaſe all the time that *Vladiſlaus* reigned,
and ſleeping ſecurely vnder the young King *Lodouicus* his ſonne, a man of no experience;
who contenting himſelfe with the title of a King, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo pilled & poled by
his nobility and great clergy men (inuerting all the wealth of the land to their owne priuat
B gaine) that he was not able to raiſe any ſufficient power to go againſt his puiſſant enemy; eſpecially
his nobility, in whoſe hands reſted the wealth of his kingdome, promiſing him much,
but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardy ſouldiers, the ſcourge and terrour of
the Turks, was dead long before; ſo was alſo *Matthias* that fortunat warriour: after whom ſucceeded
others giuen to all pleaſure and eaſe; to whoſe example the people faſhioning themſelues,
forgot their wonted valour, and gaue themſelues ouer to ſenſuality and voluptuous
pleaſure: ſo that *Solyman* without let, preſented his army before the city of Belgrade, and with
battery and vndermining in ſhort time became Lord thereof, hauing loſt few of his people in
that ſiege. How much the loſſe of that ſtrong city concerned the Chriſtian common-wealth,
the manifold and lamentable miſeries which afterwards enſued by the opening of that gap,
C not vnto the kingdome of Hungary onely, but to all that ſide of Chriſtendome, did, and yet
doth, moſt manifeſtly declare. It was won by the Turks the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt,
in the yeare 1521.

Belgrade won by Solyman.

1522

After the taking of the ſtrong city of Belgrade, *Solyman* returning to Conſtantinople,
brake vp his army and there lay ſtill almoſt all the yeare following. During which time he
cauſed great preparation to be made at Calipolis and other his ports, for rigging vp of a great
fleet: which cauſed the Italians, Venetians, and them of the Rhodes, to looke about them, as
men carefull of their eſtates, fearing that thoſe forces would ere long be imploied againſt
ſome or all of them.

About the ſame time *Philippus Villerius* a man of great wiſedome and courage, then following
D the French court, was in his abſence by the knights of the Rhodes choſen Great Maſter of
that honourable company: who embarking himſelfe at Marcelles, after a long and dangerous
journy (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hardly laied for at ſea by *Cortug-Ogli*, a
famous pyrat of the Turks, whoſe two brethren the Knights of the Rhodes had but a little before
ſurpriſed and ſlain, and then held the third in priſon) arriued in ſafety at the Rhodes, where
he was with great joy and triumph receiued.

Philippus Villerius choſen Great Maſter of the Rhodes.

The great Baſſa, by whoſe graue aduice *Solyman* was contented in all his weighty affairs to
be directed, conſulted with the other Baſſaes, of diuers great exploits, which was firſt to be
taken in hand, for the honour of their Emperour and inlarging of his Empire, were of diuers
opinions concerning the beſieging of the Rhodes. *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa of greateſt account, diſſuaded
E the taking in hand of that action, as too full of difficulty and danger: producing for
proofe thereof the example of the great Emperour *Mahomet*, *Solymans* great grandfather; by
whom it was vnfortunatly attempted, and in fine ſhamefully abandoned. But *Muſtapha* next in
place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, ſaid, That the
greatneſſe of their Emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predeceſſors;
as well appeared by the late taking of Belgrade; from whence firſt *Amurath*, and after him,
Mahomet, two of the moſt warlike Princes of the Turks, had with great diſhonour been repulſed:
and ſhould no doubt with like good fortune preuaile againſt the Rhodes alſo, being able
(if need were) to bring more men before it than were ſtones in the wals thereof. Which he
ſo confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that he ſeemed to make
F no doubt of the good ſucceſſe of that war: preſumptuouſly affirming, that vpon the firſt landing
of *Solymans* great army, they of the Rhodes would without delay yeeld themſelues and
their city into his hands.

Amongſt others of great experience, whoſe opinions *Solyman* was deſirous to haue, before he would take ſo great a matter in hand,was the famous pyrat *Cortug Ogli*, a man of a miſchieuous G and cruell nature,but of great experience in ſea matters. Who preſented to *Solyman* by *Muſtapha* and *Ferhates*,two of the greateſt Baſſaes,going before him,after due reuerence done, and commanded to deliuer his opinion,ſpake vnto *Solyman* as followeth :

Cortug Ogli the pyrat perſuadeth Solyman to beſiege the Rhodes.

The greatnes of your deſerts (moſt mighty and puiſſant Emperour) maketh me (being by you ſo commanded) at this time frankly to ſpeak what I think may be for the glory and honour both of your Majeſtie and Empire. I daily hear the pittifull lamentation of the miſerable people of Mytilene, Eubœa, Peloponeſus, Achaia, Caria, Lycia, and all alongſt the ſea coaſt of Syria and Ægypt, bewailing the ſpoil of their Countries, the ranſacking of their Cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with other infinit and incredible calamities which they daily ſuffer of the croſſed Rhodian pyrats, no man withſtanding H *them. Many a time haue theſe wretched people holden vp their hands to me for help, moſt inſtantly requeſting me to be a mean for them vnto your Imperiall Majeſty, whereby they might be protected from the injury, rapine, and ſlaughter of theſe cruell Rouers. Wherfore in their behalf I beſeech your ſacred Majeſty, by the moſt reuerend name of the holy Prophet* Mahomet, *& by your own moſt heroicall diſpoſition, to deliuer your afflicted ſubiects from theſe their moſt cruell enemies, and at length to ſet them free from the fury, captiuity, and fear of theſe Pyrats, more grieuous vnto them than death it ſelf : And conſider with your ſelf, That this inſolencie and iniury tendeth not ſo much to the hurt of your poor ſubjects and oppreſſed people in priuat, as to the diſhonour and diſgrace of your Imperiall name and dignity; which if any other Chriſtian King or Prince ſhould offer, your Majeſty I know would not ſuffer vnreuenged:* I *And will you then ſuffer theſe Robbers, Cut-throats, baſe people gathered out of all the corners of Chriſtendom, to waſt your Countries, ſpoile your Cities, murther your People, and trouble all your ſeas? For who can paſſe by ſea to Tripolis, Damaſco, Alexandria, Caire, Chalcide, Lesbos, Chios, nay, vnto this your Imperiall City of Conſtantinople, without moſt certain and manifeſt danger of theſe Rouers? What haue we heard euery Spring theſe many years, but that the Rhodians had taken ſome one or other of your Ports, led away your people into moſt miſerable captiuity, and carried away with them the rich ſpoiles of your countries? And that which is of all other things moſt diſhonourable, this they doe vnder your noſe, and in your ſight, in the middeſt and heart of your Empire. Pardon me I beſeech you moſt mighty Emperour, if I too plainely ſpeake what I thinke : For whatſoruer I ſay, I ſay it to no other end, but that you ſhould now at length do that which ſhould many yeares ago haue beene done. We your moſt loyall ſubjects* K *may not, nor ought not, for the increaſe of our Mahometan Religion, and for the inlarging of your Empire and Honour, to refuſe to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues, to all hazard and danger without exception. If you likewiſe be carried with loue of glory and renowne, or rauiſhed with deſire of neuer-dying Fame; in what wars can you more eaſily gaine the ſame, or better imploy vs your ſeruants, than in vanquiſhing and ſubduing the Rhodes, the reputed bulwarke of Chriſtendome, which onely keepeth vs from their countries? But ſome will perhaps ſay, your anceſtors haue in former times vnfortunatly attempted that city : ſo did they alſo Belgrade in Hungary; yet hath your happy fortune to your immortall fame brought the ſame vnder your ſubjection, being farre more ſtrongly fortified than in times paſt : and doe you then deſpaire of the Rhodes? Caſt off ſuch vaine and needleſſe miſdoubt. The Turkiſh Empire hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts : Therefore make haſt to beſiege it both by ſea and land.* L *If your ſubjects mourning vnder the heauy burthen of the Chriſtian captiuity, built it with their owne hands for the Chriſtians; cannot they now at liberty, deſirous of reuenge, and fitted with opportunity, with like hands deſtroy the ſame? if it pleaſe you to vouchſafe but to looke into the matter (moſt dread Soueraigne) you ſhall ſee that there is a diuine occaſion by the procurement of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *preſented vnto your moſt ſacred Majeſty, now that the Chriſtians of the Weſt are at diſcord and mortall warre amongſt themſelues. Your Majeſty is not ignorant, that in managing of warres, the opportunity of the time is eſpecially to be followed; and that when occaſion ſerueth, all remiſneſſe and delay is to be carefully auoided : the changes of times are moſt tickle, and if you ſuffer your good hap now to paſſe ouer, you ſhall perhaps in vaine afterwards purſue the ſame when it is fled and gone.*

M

Solyman by nature an ambitious yong prince, prickt forward thus alſo by the perſuaſions of *Cortug Ogly* and others, ſeeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious humor : but moſt of all by the inſtigation of the Baſſa *Muſtapha*, reſolued to go in perſon him-

ſelfe

A ſelfe againſt the Rhodes. And firſt to make ſome proofe of what ſpirit and courage *Villerius* the new choſen Great Maſter was of, in whoſe ſufficiency the greateſt part of the defence of the city was ſuppoſed to conſiſt: to him by way of a little cold friendſhip, he ſent a meſſenger with this ſhort letter thus directed:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greateſt Emperour of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, moſt mighty King of Perſia, Arabia, Syria, and Ægypt; Lord of Aſia and Europe; Prince of Mecha and Aleppo; Ruler of Ieruſalem; and Maſter of the Vniuerſall Sea: to the Reuerend Father, *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, and Legat of Aſia,
B greeting.

I am glad of thy kingdome and new promotion, which I wiſh thou maieſt long and happily enjoy, for that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelity exceed all them which before thee ruled in the Rhodes: from whom as my anceſtors haue withdrawne their hand, ſo I after their example joyne with thee in amity and friendſhip. Ioy thou therefore, my friend, and in my behalfe rejoyce of my victory and triumph alſo: for this laſt Summer paſſing ouer Danubius with enſignes diſplaied, I there expected the Hungarian King, who I thought would haue giuen me battell; I tooke from him by ſtrong hand Belgrade, the ſtrongeſt city of his kingdome, with other ſtrong holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and ſword deſtroied much people, and carried away many moe into captiuity, as a triumphant conqueror, breaking vp mine army, am retur-
C *ned to my imperiall city of Conſtantinople, from whence farewell.*

Solymans Leter to Villerius, Great Maſter of the Rhodes.

The Great Maſter hauing read theſe Letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, perceiued forthwith *Solymans* meaning; and that peace was offered him in words and ſhew, but warre in deed and meaning. Which becauſe he was ready by force to repulſe, he rewarded the Turks meſſenger, and ſent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat perſon. For the Rhodians did ſeldome vouchſafe to ſend any honourable Embaſſadours to the Turkiſh Emperours (with whom they for moſt part liued in hoſtility) either the Turks to them. By this meſſenger he anſwered *Solymans* Letters with other of like vaine, as followeth:

D *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to the Turke.

I right well underſtand your letters which your meſſenger brought vnto me. The friendſhip you write of, is as pleaſing to me as diſpleaſing to Cortug-Ogli *your ſeruant, who went about to haue intercepted me vpon the ſudden, as I came out of France: but failing of his purpoſe, ſtealing by night into the Rhodian Sea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine Merchants ſhips bound from Ioppe to Venice: but ſending my fleet out of my hauen, I ſtaied his fury, conſtrained the pyrat to fly, and for haſt to leaue behind him the priſes he had before taken from the Merchants of Crete. Farewell, from the Rhodes.*

The anſwer of Villerius to Solymans Letters.

By this anſwer *Solyman* perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne fineneſſe, and
E that he ſhould not ſo eaſily carry the Rhodes, as he had before done Belgrade. Yet being fully in himſelfe reſolued to try his fortune therein, he called vnto him certaine of the chiefe commanders of his wars, to whom he opened the whole determination in this ſort:

Although I doubt not, worthy chiefetaines, but that you are of the ſame mind now that you haue beene alwaies of, in the inuading of other Nations; yet I haue thought it good in matters tending to the common glory, and good of vs all, to vſe your generall aduice and counſell. Since the time that my father left this World, we haue made warre with diuers Nations and people. The Syrians by nature vnconſtant, and prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience. The Sophi, that mighty King, nephew vnto the great King Vſun-Caſſanes, *by his daughter the ſiſter of King* Iacup, *in heart and deed*
F *our mortall enemy, not contented with the Kingdomes of Aſſyria, Media, Armenia the greater, Perſia, and Meſopotamia, we haue with our forces ſhut vp within the compaſſe of his owne dominions. The laſt yeare running through Hungary, both on this ſide and beyond Danubius, we tooke Belgrade the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe in that Kingdome: And whatſoeuer elſe we attempted, we ſubdued. Yet for all that (to ſpeake plainly*

Solymans Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpoſe of beſieging the Rhodes.

plainly of my ſelfe) my minde greater in conceit than my Empire, and the bloud of Othoman, *findeth no contentment in theſe victories. For whatſoeuer you haue yet done, although it be great, yet I deeme it all but little in regard of your worth: my deſire carryeth me further. This haue I alwaies aboue all things moſt earneſtly deſired, to ſet vpon the Rhodes, and vtterly to root out all the ſtrength and forces, yea, the very name of thoſe Rhodian ſouldiers. And haue not you alſo no leſſe than my ſelfe deſired the ſame? How often haue I heard you crying out, The Rhodes, The Rhodes? I haue expected the time that being diſcharged of other warres, I might here employ my whole ſtrength and power. That we ſo long deſired is now come: there was neuer greater opportunity of good ſucceſſe offered, a great part of the wals of the city of the Rhodes now lying euen with the ground; which cannot in ſhort time be repaired, eſpecially in their want of coyne. Beſide this, the garriſon in the caſtle is but ſmall, and their aid from France far off, which will either come too late when the city is loſt, or that which I rather beleeue, neuer. For neither will the French King (being at mortall warres with the Germane Emperour, and Lord of Italy) ſuffer his ſtorehouſes to be diſfurniſhed, or his Ports bared of the neceſſary defence of his ſhipping. Neither do you beleeue that the Spaniards (diſtreſſed at home with famine, war, and ciuill diſſention) will eaſily come hither out of Sicilia and Campania with ſupplies of men and victuall. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Iſle of Crete, which I aſſure you is not ſo: for I know (although I will not now manifeſt the ſame) how I haue preuented that miſchiefe. Wherefore couragious ſouldiers (borne to the ſubduing of all Chriſtendome, much more of the Rhodes) with cheerefull hearts follow me your Soueraigne againſt theſe your moſt perfidious and cruell enemies. How long I pray you will you ſuffer that ſtaine and diſgrace to ſticke vpon the* Othoman *Family, and generally vpon all the name of the Turks, which theſe Rhodians caſt vpon vs the laſt time they were beſieged? Which was not ſo much done by their valour, as by the vnfortunat counſell of my great grandfather* Mahomet, *calling home* Meſithes Palæologus *his Generall in that war, for one vnlucky aſſault. But admit that their valour gained them victory, will you alwaies ſuffer theſe pyraticall excurſions vpon our Maine and Iſlands? The ranſacking of cities and countries? The carrying away of your cattell and richeſt ſubſtance? The captiuity and ſlaughter of your wiues and children? The ſlauery of your neereſt friends and kinſmen. So helpe me great* Mahomet *it ſhall not ſo be: I vow in deſpight of Chriſt and* Iohn, *in ſhort time to ſet vp mine enſignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of Rhodes. Neither do I ſeeke any thing vnto my ſelfe, more than the honour of the enterpriſe; the profit I giue vnto you my fellow ſouldiers, their coine, plate, jewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours, to carry home with you vnto your wiues and children. Wherefore let vs now with all our forces and courage ſet forward to the beſieging of the Rhodes.*

Solymans purpoſe thus made knowne, and the ſame with one accord of all his captains well liked of: *Pyrrhus* the eldeſt Baſſa and of greateſt authority, who at the firſt diſſuaded the war, ſtanding vp in the middeſt of the reſt, ſaid:

I cannot but much admire the great wiſedome and rare vertues of our young Emperour, who ſo wiſely and aduiſedly hath declared all the deep counſels of a worthy chiefetaine in taking the war in hand. Bleſſed be Mahomet, *thrice and foure times bleſſed is this Empire, bleſſed is our eſtate, and bleſſed are we with ſuch a Prince, which carrieth with him in his wars not only men and habiliments of war, but moſt deepe wiſedome and policy. Which wholeſome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eies, and would follow, we ſhould in ſhort time bring vnder our ſubjection not the Rhodes only, but all the kingdoms of the Chriſtians. Yet beſide that which our Emperour hath moſt carefully and conſideratly deuiſed, mine age and experience would exhort you, by gifts, promiſes, rewards, and all other means whatſoeuer, to corrupt if it were poſſible the chiefe and principall citizens of the Rhodes, thereby to enter into their moſt ſecret deuiſes and counſels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to vnderſtand. I as a man indifferent, deſirous of peace and quietneſſe, will by meſſengers, and letters induce the great Maſter to ſend ſome honourable Embaſſage to our dread Soueraigne, which if I can once bring him vnto, then let me alone with the reſt.*

Solyman maketh preparation againſt the Rhodes.

This counſell of the old Fox pleaſed all the hearers wel, but aboue others the emperor himſelfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and ſpeed, to proue what he could do: the other captains he commanded to prepare the greateſt forces they could, both for land and ſea ſeruice.

A ſeruice. Which preparation was ſo great both at Conſtantinople and other places, that it could not long be kept ſo ſecret, but that news thereof was brought to the Rhodes the fourth day of February: which newes dayly increaſing, and ſtill confirmed by more certaine reports, *Villerius* the Great Maſter for more certaine intelligence, ſent a Chriſtian of Epidaurus, who could perfectly ſpeake the Turkiſh languege, as a ſpy to Conſtantinople; who by ſecret letters from thence gaue him knowledge that the Turks were preparing a great fleet, and raiſing a mighty army, aduertiſing him alſo of a wonderfull proportion of artillery prepared for battery: but againſt whom was not commonly known, ſome deeming it to be for the inuaſion of Italy, ſome for the Rhodes, others ſuppoſing it to be for Cyprus or Corcyra: which diuerſity of conjectures, made many (whoſe conceits auerted from themſelues the fortune of that war) B to be more careleſſe & ſecure. But whileſt euery man was of opinion, that it was made againſt any man rather than himſelfe, certaine aduertiſement was giuen to the Rhodians, from diuers places by Letters from their friends and confederates, That the Turks did with extraordinary diligence keepe ſtreit watch and ward in all their ports thereabouts along the ſea coaſt, otherwiſe than they were before accuſtomed: which ſeemed to prognoſticate ſome farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. *Villerius* carefull of his charge, as the marke whereat the enemy aimed, prouided with all poſſible diligence great ſtore of victuall, armor, weapons, ſhot, powder, and whatſoeuer elſe neceſſary for the defence of the city.

Villerius prepareth to make reſiſtance againſt the Turks.

The new wals of the City, and Auergne fortreſſe, by *Baſilius* engineer to the Emperour *Charles* the fift (a worke begun in the time of *Fabritius Caretus* the late Grand Maſter, but not C yet finiſhed) was now with all diligent labour ſet vpon, euery man putting his helping hand vnto ſo neceſſary a worke. Whileſt theſe things were with ſo great endeauor and labor a doing, a meſſenger came from Conſtantinople, (ſent from the old Baſſa *Pyrrhus*) a ſharpe witted and cunning fellow; who with much filed ſpeech in moſt ſimple manner doing his meſſage, by the way, painted forth the great towardlineſſe and courteous nature of the Turkiſh Emperour *Solyman*, with the great commendation of *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his Maſter: deliuering from both of them Letters vnto the Great Maſter of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. To the reuerend father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, and Legat of Aſia, greeting.

D

I am certainely informed that my Letters are deliuered vnto thee; which for that thou vnderſtoodeſt them aright, I cannot expreſſe how much it pleaſed me. Truſt to it, that I am not contented with the victory I got at Belgrade; I hope for another, may I aſſure my ſelfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from Conſtantinople.

Solymans letters to Villerius.

Pyrrhus, great Counſellour to the mighty Emperour *Solyman*, to *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes and Legat of Aſia, greeting.

E

Your Letters, greater in meaning than character, I haue deliuered vnto our moſt mighty Emperour: but the bearer thereof I would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, leſt he ſhould be too much offended with ſo baſe a meſſenger. Vnto whom from henceforth ſend men of worth commendable for their yeares and diſcretion, with whom his Majeſty may (if he ſo pleaſe) conferre and conclude of matters concerning the common good: which thing if you ſhall do, it ſhall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counſell. The meſſenger I ſend, bringeth Letters vnto you alſo from our great Emperour; to whoſe diuine excellency how you are to anſwer, you are already admoniſhed. Farewell from Conſtantinople.

Pyrrhus Baſſa his letters to Villerius.

These letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuerſly. Such as altoge-F ther wiſhed for peace, meaſuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integrity, commended the counſell of *Pyrrhus*, ſaying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not ſo deſirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince and country: and therefore wiſhed by wiſedome to order that which the yong prince ſought for by war, fearing the uncertainty of mans fragility, the common chance of war, the violence of fortune, which haue oftentimes in a moment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne moſt mighty Kings with their ſtrong armies. The perſuaſion of theſe men took ſuch effect, that one of the Knights of the Order called *Raimond March*, a Spaniard, a noble gentleman of great courage, and very eloquent, skilfull alſo in the Turkiſh tongue, and then Muſter-maſter, was appointed to haue beene ſent Embaſſadour vnto the Turkiſh Emperour. Many there were of a contrary opinion, which ſuſpecting fraud and deceit, ſaid it were good to beware of the enemies counſell: asking, to what end this Embaſſage were? For ſhould we proclaime war (ſay they) againſt the moſt mighty tyrant, not yet our profeſſed enemy, who writeth all peace; Or ſhould we intreat for peace, no war as yet proclaimed; that he which as yet is afraid himſelfe, may now vnderſtand that he is of vs feared? Beſides that, with what ſecurity, with what face can our Embaſſadors go, vnrequeſted of the Turkiſh Emperor, without his ſafe conduct through thoſe countries which we daily burne and ſpoile? But they ſhall ſhew *Pyrrhus* the great Baſſaes letters forſooth, his protection, his credit and authority ſhall defend them from all injury and wrong; as though the ſeruant ſhould preſcribe lawes to his maſter, and ſuch a ſeruant as is moſt like vnto his maſter (that is) cruell, falſe of faith, a hater of all Chriſtians, but eſpecially of vs Rhodians: whom the mercileſſe tyrant hauing in his power, with his nauy and army in readines, ſhall with cruell torture inforce to diſcouer vnto him our prouiſion, the ſecrets of our city and Order. This opinion of the wiſer ſort, was greatly confirmed by the two much curioſity of the meſſenger which was ſent, who with all diligence enquired of the ſtate and ſcituation of the city, of the number and ſtrength of the Order. Wherefore in concluſion he was ſent backe againe accompanied but with one priuat ſoldier to carry the Great maſters letters vnto the Turkiſh tyrant: the tenour whereof was thus;

Philippus Villerius Great Maſter of the Rhodes, vnto the Turke, greeting.

Villerius his anſwer to Solymans letters.

That you are mindfull of me grieueth me nothing; and I am alſo mindfull of you. You repeate your victory in Hungary, wherewith not being contented you hope for another: nay, you promiſe and aſſure your ſelfe thereof, before you haue attempted the war. Beware you deceiue not your ſelfe; mens expectations neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

The other lettes written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect.

Philippus Villerius Liiladamus Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa.

Villerius his anſwer to Pyrrhus the Baſſa his letters.

I haue aduiſedly conſidered thy letters, with the behauiour and diſpoſition of thy meſſenger. As I contemne not thy counſell, ſo I will not follow the ſame, whileſt my men of war do ſpoile the countries and ports of thy lord and maſter, which I beare withall, by reaſon of the injuries they haue ſuſtained of the Turkiſh pirats. But I will call them home, and will ſend Embaſſadors vnto thy great lord: ſo that thou before ſend me ſafe conduct vnder thy maſters great ſeale, for their ſafe comming and returne. Farewell, from the Rhodes.

Villerius aduertiſed of the comming of the Turks.

But theſe letters were neuer deliuered to the great Turke, or the Baſſa: for as ſoone as the Turkiſh meſſenger was come ouer into the maine, he preſently tooke horſe, which was there in readineſſe for him, and poſted towards Conſtantinople with as much ſpeed as he could, leauing the Chriſtian meſſenger his companion behind him; who returning backe againe to the Rhodes, and telling what he had heard and ſeene, gaue them all great occaſion to diſpaire of peace: whereupon *Villerius* ſent into Crete to hire certaine companies of Cretenſian archers. In the meane time aduertiſement was giuen vnto the Great maſter by letters from the Iſland of Naxos, That the Turks were ready to put their fleet to ſea with the firſt appearance of the new Moone: which thing they moſt ſuperſtitiouſly obſerue in the beginning of all their great actions. The ſame newes was brought alſo by certaine merchants of the Iſland of Pathmos, who came to the Rhodes with a great ſhip laded with corne from Eubœa; vnder the colour of the ſale thereof, they (by the commandement of the Turks, to whom they were tributaries)

A ries) diligently noted all that was done in the city, ſhortly to be beſieged. The great maſter with no leſſe diligence, ſent diuers of his ſmall gallies amongſt the Iſlands and alongſt the maine, to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the order, and captaine of one of theſe gallies, meeting with a great ſhip of the Turks laded with corne, tooke her and brought her home to Rhodes. But *Alphonſus* captaine of another of the gallies, lying in harbor in one of the Iſlands, and ſuffering his men to ſtraggle too far into the land, was ſet vpon by a Turkiſh pirat and taken.

About the ſame time the Turks by often fires made vpon the maine in the night ſeaſon, gaue ſigne vnto the Rhodians, that they were deſirous to haue ſome parly with them, as their manner was. Whereupon one *Menetou* a French-man, one of the Knights, by commandement B of the reſt of the Order, was ſent with a gally well appointed to the maine to ſee what the matter might be; and with him was ioyned *Iacobus Xaycus* a pay-maſter for the gallies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended war: for this *Xaycus*, beſides that he was a skilfull ſeaman and one that knew the coaſt well, had alſo good experience in ciuill affaires, and was wonderfully beloued and made of by the Turkiſh Merchants whoſe language he had perfectly learned. Drawing neere the ſhoare, he found the Turkiſh Merchants making merry vpon the maine, with their carpets, cotten-wooll, and ſuch like merchandiſe about them as they vſed to exchange with the Rhodian Merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto theſe Merchants he gaue due ſalutations, gaging their faith for their ſafety, and they likewiſe to him. But being requeſted C to come aſhore to make merry vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be ſent for, who as they ſaid was not far off; he anſwered, he could not ſo doe, except they would firſt deliuer a pledge for him a ſhipboord. The perfidious Turks laughing as it were at his needleſſe feare, willingly ſent their merchandiſe, and a pledge aboord the gallies. *Xaycus* then going aſhore, and embracing the Turkiſh Merchants which met him: vpon a ſigne giuen, was forthwith beſet on euery ſide and taken priſoner, and by poſt horſes conueied with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople; where he was with the moſt exquiſit torments that could be deuiſed for any man to endure, enforced to confeſſe whatſoeuer his cruell enemies could deſire. After *Xaycus* was by treachery thus loſt, then began their prouident wiſedome to be highly commended, which were the occaſion, that the decree made for ſending Embaſſadors vnto the Turks, was D againe reuoked. The hoſtage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the Rhodes and examined, was found to be a ſimple country fellow whom the Turks had of purpoſe well apparelled to deceiue the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his ſimple knowledge, anſwered to all things that were of him demanded; as that the Turks were making great preparation for ſea, vpon the coaſts of Caria and Lycia, and had taken vp many ſoldiers in the countries thereabouts to ſend into the frontiers of his dominions towards Syria, for defence of the ſame againſt the Perſians. All which was true: for *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all ſuſpition of inuaſion (whom he knew carefully to obſerue his doings) ſent the ſouldiers whom he had leuied in the countries neereſt to the Rhodes, far away againſt the Perſian, as if he had meant nothing againſt the Rhodes, and ſo vpon the ſudden to ſet vpon them with his army brought E out of Europe, before they were aware. But this his deuice ſerued to ſmall purpoſe; for the great Maſter perceiuing by many circumſtances, but eſpecially by that late calamity of *Xaycus*, that the Rhodes was the place the Turkiſh Tyrant longed for; and fearing that delay might bring further danger, cauſed a ceſſation from all other buſineſſe to be proclaimed, vntill all things neceſſary for defence of the city were accompliſhed: watch and ward was kept in euery ſtreet, the great artillery planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed for the defence of euery place, the publike armory of all warlike prouiſion was open, all the ſtreets were full of men carrying weapons, ſome to one place, ſome to another. At which time a generall muſter was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where where found about fiue thouſand men able to beare armes, among whom were ſix hundred Knights of the Order, and F fiue hundred ſouldiers of Creet; the reſt were for the moſt part mariners, able bodies, who in the time of the ſiege did great ſeruice, encouraged by their ſea captaines: the Iſland people which repaired into the city, ſerued to little other purpoſe but to dig and carry earth vnto the rampiers: and the citizens (except it were ſome few of the better ſort) were for the moſt part weake and of ſmall courage, not able to indure any labor or paines, and yet hardly to be kept in

The carefulnes of the Grand maſter.

order and gouernment; great ſpeakers, but ſmall doers, greater in ſhew than in deed. The G Great Maſter hauing carefully prouided and ordered all things needfull for defence of the city, and fearing nothing more than the faint heart of the citizens, cauſed them all to be called together; for incouragement of whom, he ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Villerius his Oration vnto the Rhodians.

Valiant Gentlemen and worthy Citizens, wee heare that the Turke our mortall enemy is comming againſt vs, with a huge army raiſed of diuers Nations: from whoſe naturall cruelty and wonted periury except we defend our ſelues by force, one and the ſelfeſame danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For we haue with common conſent and hand grieuouſly ſpoiled him both by ſea and land, and you are by booties taken by ſtrong hand out of his dominions, inriched: and at this day we keepe his people in grieuous H ſeruitude, and he ours; but he injuriouſly, and we moſt juſtly: For his anceſtours (weary of the darke dennes and caues of the mountaine Caucaſus, their naturall dwelling) without right, title, or cauſe, incited only with couetouſneſſe, ambition, and the hatred of our moſt ſacred religion, haue driuen the Chriſtians out of Syria: and afterwards oppreſſed the Grecians in Grecia; where not contented to haue deſtroied the people, with one ſimple kinde of death (as barbariſme is euer cruell and mercileſſe) they haue with moſt exquiſit and horrible torments, butchered many thouſands of that Nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whoſe miſchiefe exceedeth his yeares) an euill neighbour to all men, not contented with the dominions of Arabia, Syria, Ægypt, the greateſt part of Aſia, and of many other places moe, ſeeketh in tyranny, murther, ſpoile, perjury, and hatred againſt Chriſt and Chriſtians, far to excell: and forceth himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power, to take from vs our Iſlands, and to ſubdue the Chriſtian Countries, I that ſo at length being Lord of all, and commander of the World, he may at his pleaſure ouerthrow the Chriſtian Cities, kill the Chriſtians, and vtterly root out the Chriſtian name, which he ſo much hateth. For the repulſing of which intollerable injury, we haue eſpecially choſen this Iſland of the Rhodes for our dwelling place, becauſe the ſame ſeemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous Nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by proofe your great valour and fidelity, which we now haue not in any diſtruſt. Wherefore I will not vſe many words to perſuade you to continue in your fidelity and loyalty, neither long circumſtance to encourage you to play the men: ſithence worthy minds are not with words either encouraged or diſmaied. But concerning my ſelfe and my Knights of the Order, I will ſpeake a few words. I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Chriſtian Princes and other my Knights of the Weſt will in good time joyne their forces, are moſt ready and K preſt to defend your ſelues, your children, your wiues, your goods, the monuments of your anceſtours and ſacred Temples, dedicated to the ſeruice of our God. Which opinion that it may remaine firme and fixt in your minds, if nothing elſe, my faithfulneſſe in your warres, my body not yet altogether ſpent, but able enough to endure paines and trauell, the Nobility of theſe worthy Knights of the Order, their loue towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies were ſufficient to confirme: but beſide this, the ſtrength of this city, which this noble Order hath with infinite charges ſo notably fortified with ditches, wals, towers and bulwarkes, againſt all the force and fury of Artillery, is ſuch, as that no city may worthily be compared, much leſſe preferred before the ſame. It is wonderfully ſtored with all kinde of weapons and warrelike prouiſion: we haue laied vp plenty of wine, fleſh, and corne, in vaults, ſo that neither wet weather nor wormes can attaint the ſame: of wood and wholeſome water not to be taken from vs, things neceſſary L for men beſieged, we haue plenty, and able men ynow for the defence of the City. All which things promiſe vnto vs aſſured victory, and ſuch end of the warre as wee wiſh for. Beſides this, Neceſſity, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet ſtandeth on our ſide true Religion, Faith, Conſcience, Deuotion, Conſtancy, the loue of our Country, the loue of our Liberty, the loue of our Parents, Wiues, Children, and whatſoeuer elſe we hold deare: Whereas they bring with them the proud command of their captaines, Infidelity, Impiety, Vnconſtancy, a wicked deſire of your bondage, of your bloud, and the bloud of your parents, wiues, and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not ſuffer ſo many good vertues to be ouercome by their foule vices. Wherefore be you in minds quiet and ſecure, and trouble not your ſelues with forboding feare of your enemies; onely continue in the fidelity and loyalty which you haue alwaies kept inuiolate and vnſpotted toward this ſacred and honourable M fellowſhip, in moſt dangerous warres, and hardeſt chances of fortune: and if need ſhall ſo require, with couragious hand ſhew your valour againſt your enemies, and make it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and Engliſh, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkiſh pride, and to auert their fleets and armies from Italy, which they haue ſo many yeares threatened with fire

and ſword: and will no doubt thither with all ſpeed haſten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth
A *to ſpeak) they ſhould here preuail. Neither will his ambitious youth, in courage, falſhood and cruelty exceeding*
Hannibal, *imitate him in that, that hauing ouerthrown the Romans in the great battel at Cannas,*
knew not to vſe his victory; but he will preſently with more than Cæſars *celerity, bring forth the*
treaſures his father got in Egypt, and with great fleets and huge armies inuade Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia:
from whence he will forthwith break into France; and afterwards into Spain and other Chriſtian
countries, raging through them with all cruelty. But I am carried away further than I purpoſed, & than
need is: for your fidelitie and valor (moſt worthy Citiſens) to endure the ſiege, and repulſe the Enemy, is
ſuch as needeth not my perſuaſion; and of greater reſolution than that it can be ſhaken with the dangers
incident to men beſieged: yet the greateſt and moſt forcible miſeries of all, which is hunger and thirſt, I
aſſure you, you ſhall neuer feele. Which pinching calamities for all that, ſome people (in faithfulnes, courage,
B *and valor nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheles moſt conſtantly indured. For they of Petelinum,*
beſieged by the Carthaginenſes, for want of victual thruſt their parents and children out of the city,
the longer to hold out the ſiege, and liued themſelues with hides and leather ſod or broiled, and leaues
of trees, and many other homely things, by the ſpace of eleuen moneths; and could not be ouercome, vntill
they wanted ſtrength longer to ſtand vpon the walls, and to hold their weapons in their hands. They of
Caſilinum, beſieged by Hannibal, *held out vntill a poor Mouſe was ſold for much mony. You muſt of neceſſity*
keep watch and ward in your ſtations; if your houſes chance to be beaten down with the enemies artillery,
you muſt haue patience; for why, they ſhall be repaired again, and it is not a matter of ſuch importance,
that we ſhould therfore yeeld vnto our enemies, in whoſe curteſie and fidelitie no aſſurance is to bee
repoſed. For beſides that he is by nature cruell and vnfaithfull, he can by no means be gentle and faithful
C *towards vs, which haue don him ſo much harm, who only (as himſelf ſaith) haue oftentimes to his griefe,*
interrupted the courſe of the victories of him the conqueror both of ſea and land: whom hee hath ſo many
times aſſailed by open force, with all his ſtrength, wit, craft, deceit and policy: yet alwaies hitherto in vain,
almighty God ſtill protecting vs, whom aboue all things (moſt dear Citiſens) I wiſh you to ſerue and call
vpon; for except he keep and defend the city, the watchmen do but watch in vain.

This cheerful ſpeech wonderfully incouraged the hearers, eſpecially the vulgar ſort, eaſily
caried away with pleaſing words. But whilſt they in their jolity dream of nothing but of triumph
and victory; the wiſer ſort poſſeſſed with care, ceaſed not to do what in them lay, to
D procure, that the good commonly forewiſhed, might in fine come to effect. Amongſt others,
Clement Biſhop of the Greeks, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing, had in
great reputation amongſt them, laboured earneſtly by dayly exhortations, to perſuade the
Greeks his countrymen, in that great and common danger with heart and hand to joyne with
the Latines in defence of the city: for although the gouernment was altogether in the great
Maſter and his Knights, which were Latines, yet the people both of the Iſland and City were
for moſt part Greekes, who liked not altogether ſo well of the Latine gouernment, but that
they did many times repine therat; howbeit the matter was at that time ſo ordered by the
good perſuaſion of the Biſhop, and good gouernment of the great Maſter, that they all agreed
as one man to ſpend their liues in defence of the City; and were ſo far from fear of the comming
E of the barbarous Enemy, that many of the Vulgar people (in whom appeareth commonly
more heat than wit) wiſhed rather for his comming than otherwiſe. But looke what
they had fondly wiſhed, proued afterward to their coſts ouer-true: for within a few nights after,
the Turks by fire made in the night time vpon the main, gaue ſign of parly vnto the Rhodians.
Wherupon a Gally well appointed with a long boat, was preſently ſent forth to ſee
what the matter was: which drawing neer vnto the ſhore, was haled by a Turke, accompanied
with a troup of horſmen, deſiring the captain of the Gally to ſend ſome on ſhore, with whom
they might more conueniently parley. Which thing the Captain refuſing; What, ſaid the
Turk, art thou afraid of *Xaycus* fortune. To whom the Captain in threatning maner anſwered
again, *Xaycus*, whom you haue contrary to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; neither
F am I afraid of you, whom I truſt not, but if you haue any thing to ſay, let me heare it, or
els get you farther off, otherwiſe I wil ſpeak to you by the mouth of a canon. Then one of the
Turks comming to the waters ſide, laid down letters vpon a ſtone, ſaying, That in them was
contained that they had in charge. Which ſaid, he preſently ſet ſpurs to his horſe and depar-

ted

ted with the reſt of his company. The Captain ſending out his long boat for theſe Letters, found them directed in this ſort:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, most mighty Emperor of Conſtantinople and Trapezond, &c. Vnto the reuerend Father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the Rhodes: To his Knights, and all his people in general.

Solyman his threatning letters vnto the Rhodians.

THe compaſſion I haue of my diſtreſſed ſubjects, and the great injury you do me, hath mooued me to wrath: wherfore I command you without delay to yeeld vnto me the Iſland and city of the Rhodes, willingly and charitably granting you leaue ſafely to depart with all your riches, or to tary, if you ſo pleaſe, vnder my obeiſance, your liberty and religion in no part infringed with any tribute or impoſition. If you be wiſe, prefer friendſhip and peace before bloudy war: for vnto them which are by force ſubdued, are reſerued all extremities which the miſerable vanquiſhed vſe to ſuffer of the angry Conqueror: from which neither your own force, nor forrein aid, nor huge walls, which I will vtterly ouerthrow, ſhall be able to defend you: Fare you well. All which ſhall aſſuredly be performed, if you ſhall make choice rather of my friendſhip, than of my force. Wherin you ſhall neither be deceiued nor circumuented; I take to witneſſe God the Creator of heauen and earth, the four Writers of the Euangelicall hiſtory, the fourſcore thouſand Prophets deſcended from heauen, and amongſt them our higheſt Prophet Mahomet; *the reuerend ghoſts of my Father and Grandfather, and this my ſacred and Imperial head. From our palace at Conſtantinople.*

When theſe letters were openly read in the counſel chamber at Rhodes, ſome were of opinion, that it was good to anſwer the Turkiſh tyrant roundly, therby to let him know that they feared not his threats. Others thought it no wiſdom, with hard words to prouoke ſo great an enemy to further diſpleaſure. Thus whilſt euery man would haue framed an anſwer according to their own diſpoſition, in concluſion it was agreed vpon to giue him no anſwer at all.

The ſame day theſe letters came to the Rhodes, which was the 14 of Iune, one of the Turks great commanders at ſea with 30 gallies, the fore-runners of the Turkiſh fleet, arriued at the Iſland of Chos, famous in antient time for the birth of *Hippocrates* the great Phyſition, & the wonderful picture of *Venus* left there vnperfect by *Apelles*, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durſt afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitful and pleaſant Iſland was then at the arriual of the Turks, part of the dominion of the Rhodes. The Admirall of this Fleet here landing his Turks, began to burn the corn which was then almoſt ripe, with the country villages round about. With which injury *Prejanes* Gouernor of the Iſle (a man of great courage and valor) mooued; with a choſen company of footmen, and certain troups of horſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon the Turks, in diuers places diſperſed abroad far into the countrey, with ſuch a terrible cry of the country people, and inſtruments of war, that the Turks being therewith amaſed, ran away as if they had bin mad, and were many of them ſlain without reſiſtance. And had not the gallies lien neer the ſhore, to receiue them that were able to fly thither, there had not one of them which landed eſcaped the hands of the Iſland people. The Turks hauing receiued this loſſe, left the Iſland and put to ſea again.

The Rhodians for fear of the Turks, deſtroy their ſuburbs and places of pleaſure without the city.

The Rhodians for the moſt part now aſſured and out of doubt of the Turks comming, by the perſuaſion of *Gabriel Pomerolus* Vice-Maſter, and other men of great experience, plucked down the ſuburbs of the City, and layd them euen with the ground: their pleaſant orchards alſo and gardens neer to the city they vtterly deſtroyed; the great Maſter for examples ſake beginning firſt with his own, being a place of great delicacie lying vnder the wals neer to the French bulwark: and taking into the city all ſuch things as they thought needful for the induring of the ſiege, they vtterly deſtroied all the reſt, were it neuer ſo pleaſant or commodious, within a mile of the towne, leauing all that place as euen and as bare as they could poſſibly make it; to the intent that the enemy at his comming ſhould find nothing neer the city, wherof to make vſe. But whilſt the pleaſure and delights of the ſuburbs are thus defacing, another

more

The feare of the country people.

A more heauy and woful ſight preſented vnto the eies of the citiſens, filled the city with greater mourning and penſiuenes than did the comming of the enemy. The miſerable multitude of the poor country people, ſome bringing wood, others corn, cattel, fouls, and other neceſſaries that they had out of the country, into the city (for ſo the great Maſter had commanded) after whom followed great numbers of women & children weeping, with diſhiueled haire, ſcratching their faces & tearing themſelues after the maner of the country, wringing their hands, and caſting vp their eies to heauen, beſeeching God with heauy countenance and flouds of tears, to defend the noble city of the Rhodes, and themſelues from the fury of their enemies. Which multitude of country people, with their prouiſion, being packt vp into narrow rooms in the houſes of the citiſens, and their cattel ſtaruing for want of fodder, afterwards corrupted B the air, wherof inſued rotten agues and the flix, during the time of the ſiege: but after the city was giuen vp, ſuch a plague and mortalitie followed, as deſtroied great numbers of the Turks and poor Chriſtians, who knowing not whether to go, choſe rather there to dy, than to forſake their natiue country.

The General of the Turkiſh fleet which landed in the Iſland of Chos, and was of purpoſe ſent by *Solyman*, to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at ſea, before hee with his whole power came to beſiege the Iſland; came daily with twenty gallies halfe thoſe narrow ſeas ouer, between Lycia and the Rhodes, leauing the reſt of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontory called Gnidium (not far from the City of Rhodes) ready to aid him as need ſhould require. This maner of brauery he vſed many daies together, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians C out of their hauen to giue him battel: knowing, that if he ſhould therin obtain the victory, it were at that time little leſſe than the taking of the city; or if he could by cruel fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, he ſhould therein do his maſter good ſeruice, and greatly further his victory, by diminiſhing the number of the Defendants. When hee had many dayes without intermiſſion in this proud maner come half ſeas ouer, and ſometimes paſſing farther, came and lay at the mouth of the hauen, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be ſo braued at their own doors, mooued with the intolerable inſolency of this proud Turk, by their continual importunitie cauſed the great Maſter to call a councell, to conſider whether they ſhould fight winh this fleet of the Turks or not. The Counſellors by appointment of the great Maſter aſſembled; the Chancellor, a man of great authoritie and ſpirit, D famous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turks was to be fought with, ſaid;

The Chancellors ſpeech, perſuading the Rhodians to fight with the Turks gallies.

So great diſgrace was not longer to be ſuffered, but preſently reuenged. For (ſaid he) *the hugy Fleet of the Turks, I do not ſay at whoſe force and ſight, but at whoſe very name many men do tremble & quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great nouelty, for euery year we hear of the like) is as a head to be joined vnto theſe pyraticall gallies, as members; and then will it be moſt expedient (which will be an eaſie thing for vs to do, hauing the better both for ſtrength of ſhipping, and number and valor of men) to giue that great head ſuch a blow and wound, by cutting off theſe limbs, that it ſhall euer after ſtagger and faint for want of ſtrength: or elſe there is no other fleet at all prepared againſt vs to follow this, and then this diſ-* E *comfited we ſhall be in quiet. Which thing in my opinion (though others which fear their own ſhadowes and the falling of heauen ſay otherwiſe) is moſt like to be true: for the great Turk is not ſo ſottiſh to come hither, the fitteſt time of the year being ſo far ſpent, in the later end of Iune, to beſiege this city, and ſuch a city as he knoweth to be moſt ſtrong, wanting nothing that is needfull, and thorowly manned with valiant ſoldiers, from whence his anceſtors haue bin with loſſe and ſhame repulſed: when as the remainder of the Summer will be ſpent before he can incamp himſelf, and place his batteries. And Winter time you know is vnfit for euery ſiege, eſpecially in this Iſland, wherin they can find no hauen or harbor to reſt in. Wherfore on Gods name let vs ſet vpon our proud enemies, and let vs not for a few threatning words ſent vnto vs from a fearfull youth, vpon a finenes and policie leſt we ſhould follow the tail of his fleet bound for ſome other place, ſit ſtil like cowards within our walls, with our hands in our boſomes, as men which for feare* F *and dread durſt not ſhew their heads. Which our cowardiſe and want of courage we (forſooth) call* Fabius *his policy. But I would to God we were like* Fabius: *but I fear we ſhall proue more like* Antiochus, *the Ætolians, the Vitellians; all whoſe courage conſiſted in words, vainly hoping to gain the victory by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing well. But Gods help is not to be gotten with womens prayers and ſupplications, or theſe* *faint-hearted policies, which cowards call adniſed counſell. But victory is gained by adventuring and expoſing our ſelues to danger and perill.*

With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he ſo mooued the multitude, who commonly conceiue moſt courage vpon the greateſt vncertainties, that they deſired to fight; ſaying, That they would waſh away that foul diſgrace with the bloud and ſlaughter of their enemies: for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they ſaid) to do it withall.

For all this, the grauer ſort of the Counſell (without whoſe conſent the Maſter might in ſuch caſes do nothing) thought it not good in ſo dangerous a time to adventure any great part of their forces, which they ſhould afterwards want for defence of the city. The Turkiſh General deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not bee drawn forth to battel at ſea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called Villanova, where caſting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the Corn all thereabout, which was now almoſt ripe, but forſaken of the people as a thing deſperat: as for the people themſelues, they were all fled into the city of Rhodes, or els into ſtrong caſtles in other places of the Iſland.

At the ſame time certain troups of horſmen ſent out to skirmiſh with the Turks that were burning the corn, were by a meſſenger ſent from the great Maſter commanded to retyre. For the prouident General ſought by all means to reſerue his ſoldiers for greater dangers, which he iuſtly feared in the expected ſiege; during which time he ſhewed himſelf a moſt politique captain & braue ſoldier: he many times by day eat his meat with his ſoldiers, as one of them; and moſt part of the night kept watch himſelf, walking vp and down, & reſting himſelf when he was weary, vpon ſome ſtone or piece of timber, or other homely ſeat as it chanced. In time of aſſault he was alwaies more forward and aduenturous than the graue Counſellors wiſhed, fearing neither ſhot nor enemy, yet did hee more commend diſcreet counſell, grounded vpon reaſon, than proſperous actions commended but by their euents. And which was moſt wonderful, amongſt ſo many cares, in midſt of ſuch diuers and dangerous chances, hee carried alwaies ſuch a grace and maieſty in his cheerful countenance, as made him to be of the ſoldiers both reuerenced & loued. Al the time he could ſpare from the neceſſary affairs of his weighty charge, from aſſaults, and the natural refreſhing of his body, he beſtowed in prayer & ſeruing of God; he oftentimes ſpent the greateſt part of the night in the church alone praying, his head-piece, gorget, and gantlets lying by him: ſo that it was often ſaid, That his deuout praiers and carefulnes would make the city inuincible.

The worthy commendation of the Great Maſter.

The 26 of Iune early in the morning, news was brought into the city from the watchtower ſtanding vpon S. *Stephens* hil almoſt a mile from the city, That a moſt huge fleet was deſcried at ſea, making thitherwards all alongſt the coaſt of Lycia. This bad news much troubled the city, although it was not of moſt men vnexpected: all places were filled with tumult & hurly-burly; euery man meaſured the greatnes of the danger by his own fear, and ſuch a pittiful cry was in euery place as is vſual in cities preſently to be beſieged. Herupon publick praiers were made throughout the city, and euery man with great deuotion beſought the God of heauen, That as it was his pleaſure, that the Rhodians ſhould at that time be the Champions of the Chriſtian religion, ſo he would giue them ſtrength and victory againſt their enemies, and to turn the calamities of War vpon the enemies of his Name. Their deuotion ended, the gates of the city were ſhut vp, and people from all places ran vnto the walls, great flocks of women, children, and aged men, not able to ſtand without a ſtaffe, going forth of their houſes to gaze vpon the dreadful fleet (wherein was aboue two hundred ſailes, as is reported) filled the ſtreets and tops of the high towers and houſes. The formoſt of the fleet was the Admiral of Callipolis, to whom *Solyman* had committed the charge of all his Navy, and to aſſaile the City by ſea. The Rear-Admirall was *Cara-Mahometes* an arch pyrat, who was afterwards ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the city. The Vice-Admirall in the middle of the fleet with a great ſquadron of Gallies, hauing a faire Weſternly winde, ſtrook ſail directly before the mouth of the hauen (which was on both ſides defended with two ſtrong towers well furniſhed with ſtore of great artillery) and began to row toward the city: wherupon an alarm was raiſed, the trumpets ſounded, and many haſted into the bulwark which defended the left ſide of the hauen, which the enemy ſeemed to direct his courſe vnto, and was indeed more ſubiect vnto danger

The Turks fleet deſcried at ſea troubleth the Rhodians.

The order of the Turks fleet.

than

A than the other. But the Turk ſeeing himſelf in danger to be ſunk with ſhot from the bulwark,
was glad to get himſelf farther off vnto the reſt of the fleet: the Rhodians from the wals with
loud outcries ſcornfully deriding him for his fooliſh attempt. This great fleet in exceeding
brauery & triumph paſſing by the city in ſight of the Rhodians (ſtanding vpon the wals with
enſignes diſplaied) did not more terrifie them, than they were themſelues terrified to behold
the ſtrength of the city, and cheerfulnes of the defendants. But paſſing on, they came vnto the
promontory which the inhabitants cal Bo, about three miles diſtant from the city Eaſtward:
which ſmal hauen being not able to receiue ſo great a fleet, many of the gallies were inforced
to ride it out at ſea, where they were by ſhot out of the city oftentimes indangered, and infor-
ced to get them further off. Whilſt the enemy was there landing his great ordnance, & other
B inſtruments of war prepared for the ſiege, chuſing a place for his camp, tranſporting his land-
ſoldiers from the main into the Iſland, viewing the ſtrength and ſcituation of the city, and in
what place he might with moſt eaſe aſſault the ſame: the Rhodians in the mean time were not
idle, but ſunk diuers deep ſounds in many places of the city neer to the walls, to diſcouer the
enemies mines, and fortified their bulwarks with greater rampiers; in which work euery man
put to his helping hand without reſpect of age or calling. The grand Maſter about that time
ſent *Lodovicus Andugus* one of the Knights of the Order, into Spain to *Charles* the Emperour;
& *Claudius Ducenuillus* another of the Order alſo, to Rome to the Cardinals, & Italian knights
of the Order; and from thence into France vnto the French King with letters, crauing the aid
of theſe Chriſtian princes for relief of the city, by ſea and land beſieged. But all in vaine; for
C they caried away with the endles grudge of one againſt another, or reſpecting only their own
eſtates, returned the Embaſſadors with good words, but no relief.

The great Maſter by embaſſadors craues aid of the Chriſtian Princes.

At this time *Preianes* gouernor of Chios (of whom we haue before ſpoken) a man compara-
ble with any of the captains of that age, an excellent ſoldier both by ſea and land, valiant, and
therto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhood; when he
had by the ſpace of two or three daies hid himſelfe in the rocks at ſea, for fear of the Turkes
great fleet, came by night in a ſmal pinnace to the Rhodes, hauing deceiued the Turks watch:
at whoſe comming the Rhodians wonderfully reioyced; for the ſoldiers repoſed greater con-
fidence in no man than in him; and if any great exploit were to be don, him the Maſter truſted
aboue any other: he alwaies in arms during the ſiege incouraged the ſouldiers, ſearched the
D watch, ſurueyed the bulwarks, repaired the breaches, and ſuch labors as others accounted ex-
tream miſeries, he cheerfully indured, as if they had bin but his pleaſures and recreations. At
the ſame time alſo *Gabriel Martiningus* of Brixia, a moſt skilful enginier, came to the Rhodes
out of Creta; by whoſe induſtry, 55 mines which the Turks did with infinit labor and charge
make (by reaſon of the ſpringing of the water, and hardnes of the rocks) during the ſiege, were
all by countermines diſappointed and defeated.

The commendation of Prejanes.

The city of Rhodes is ſcituated on a plaine ground, on euery ſide to be beſieged; onely
Northward it is defended with a goodly hauen, from whence it lieth all Weſtward. Betwixt
it and the hils round about it, lieth a ſtony plain ground, not very broad, but of greater length;
theſe hils are full of ſprings, and orchards planted with oliues, fig trees, Vines, and ſuch other
E fruits as ſuch dry & ſandy grounds wil bear. But what by nature wanted, was by the hand and
induſtry of man ſupplied; for it was compaſſed about with a moſt ſtrong double wal & deep
trenches, threatning the enemy with thirteen ſtately towers, and ſure againſt all aſſaults, with
5 mighty bulwarks, with diuers goodly fair gates: & that which was the greateſt defence of
of all, within the city was alwaies kept a moſt exact and ſtreit form of War-like Diſcipline.
The defence of the whole city was thus proportioned: From the French Tower (which with
the greatneſſe and height thereof ſeemed to mate the sky) ſtood the Frenchmen, with the
French Lillies in their Enſignes, vnder their Commander *Ioannes Abbinus*, a noble Knight
of the Order. From thence to Saint *Georges* Gate lay the ſtout Germanes with the Eagle
in their Enſignes. In the third ſtation were placed the French Avernois, with the Spaniards,
F for that the ditches in that place were neither ſo deep nor broad as elſwhere. In the fift place
lay the Engliſh garriſon, ouer whom the grand Maſter himſelf commanded. After them ſuc-
ceeded they of Narbona: and laſt of all the Italians, in valor not inferior to any of the reſt, vn-
der the leading of *Petrus Balinus* and *Gregorius Morgutus*. In euery of theſe ſtations were di-
uers valiant Knights of the Order, whoſe names (worthy of eternall memory) for breuity we

The deſcription of the Rhodes.

paſſe ouer, all men of themſelues ſufficient to haue taken vpon them the whole charge. G

A Turkiſh woman ſlaue conſpireth to fire the City.

The enemie was not as buſie without the city in placing his battery, but traiterous minds
were as buſie within, to haue betraied the ſame. A Turkiſh woman, ſlaue to one of the rich
citiſens, had conſpired with certain other her complices, at ſuch time as the Turks ſhould aſſault
the town, at one inſtant to ſet on fire the houſes wherin they dwelt, in diuers parts of the
city, that the defendants drawn from the wals to quench the fire, the Turks in the mean time
might the more eaſily enter. But this treaſon was in good time reuealed, and the offenders
worthily executed.

The painfulnes of the Turkes pioners.

The Turks had not as yet placed their battery, when as they took a certaine hill whereon
ſtood a church dedicated to *Coſmus* and *Damianus*, directly ouer againſt the Engliſh ſtation.
From thence (as it ſeemed, rather for exerciſing of their ſoldiers, than for any great harm they
could do ſo far off) they began with ſmal battering pieces to ſhoot into the city; & afterward H
they began to dig mines, and to caſt vp trenches: for the performing of which kinde of worke,
and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them twenty thouſand pioners,
men better acquainted with country labor and keeping of cattel, than with wars; which
being inforced vnto their labor day and night, ſomtime with ſtripes, and ſomtime with death,
did with incredible celerity bring that to paſſe, which was before thought impoſſible. They
cut waies through tthe hard ſtony rocks, raiſing the plains as high as mountaines, with earth
brought two miles off, and laying the mountains euen with the plains, and yet they did neuer
work in ſafety, but were miſerably rent in ſunder by the great ordnance out of the town: and
that which moſt of all troubled them, the Rhodians ſallying out vpon thoſe ouer-laboured I
people, hauing neither courage nor skil to defend themſelues, but truſting only to their heels
ſlew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others alſo appointed for their defence,
whom the Rhodians, taking courage of their fear, fiercely purſued and ſlew downright.
And when many others iſſuing out of the camp in great companies, thought to haue relieued
their fellows, the great ordnance before of purpoſe placed to moſt aduantage, ſo thundered
from the wals among the thickeſt of them, that the ground lay couered with the bodies and
weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or
thrice troubled the enemy, the Turkes for more ſafety wrought moſt vpon their mounts by
night, keeping moſt ſtrong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more aſſurance they
doubled in the day time, and bent their Artillery againſt the places which the Rhodians vſed
to ſally out at: which did not ſo much keep them in, as the feare of weakening themſelues by K
often ſallies; knowing that one man was vnto them more loſſe, than vnto the enemy an hundred.

The Turkes deceiued by certain Chriſtian Mariners.

Among others which in the beginning of this great ſiege forced the vttermoſt of their
deuices to the deſtruction of the Turks, were certain mariners, who hauing the Turkiſh Language
perfectly, with leaue of the grand Maſter (diſguiſing themſelues in the habit of Turks)
departed by night out of the hauen in a ſmal boat, loded with apples, plums, peares, mellons,
grapes, and ſuch other fruits as the time of the year afforded; and in the darknes came alongſt
the coaſt, vnto that part of the Iſland wherunto the paſſage was out of the maine. There, as if
they had bin Turks come from the main, they landed their commodities, which the Turkiſh
ſoldiers bought greedily. When they had thus ſould their fruits, and in ſelling thereof diligently L
noted the ſpeech and talk of the ſoldiers and were now ready to depart, certain Turks
which greatly diſliked the hard beginning of this ſiege, ſeeing themſelues if they did but ſtir
in danger to be ſet off with ſhot out of the Towne, earneſtly requeſted the mariners to take
them into the main: which to do, at the firſt the mariners diſſembling, refuſed as a thing dangerous;
and beſides that, their boat was too little to receiue ſo many as would willingly haue
gon with them. Yet with much ado they ſuffered themſelues to be intreated to take in ſeuen
or eight, ſuch a number as they could wel maſter: who in hope of paſſing ouer into the main,
were (contrary to their expectation) brought priſoners to the Rhodes, where they were by *Preianes*
brought vp to the top of the higheſt tower of S. *Iohns* church, from whence they might
ſee all about the country, and wel deſcry all the maner of the Turks camp, which they ſimply M
diſcouered vnto the captain, and whatſoeuer els they were demanded, and among other things
confeſſed, that the ſoldiers were greatly diſcontented with the ſiege, hauing in the beginning
therof loſt ſo many men, and that they were ready to riſe in mutinie againſt their Captaines,
and would hardly by them be commanded out of their trenches and cabbins, ſaying, That all
they

A they did was but loſt loſt labor;and that they ſhould find it another piece of work to win the
Rhodes,than they had at Belgrade:wherfore if they were wiſe they ſhould in time depart,before
they had receiued further harm both from the enemy,and for want of neceſſaries,wherewith
the ſoldiers began already to be pinched. All which was then ſuppoſed to haue bin ſpoken
by the captiues to pleaſe him in whoſe power they now were:yet it appeared afterward to
be all true;for *Pyrrhus* Baſſa conſidering the troubled ſtate of the Camp,and the generall diſcontentment
of the ſoldiers,whom he was gladder at that time to pleaſe than to puniſh,writ
vnto *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, That if hee would the ſiege ſhould goe forward,hee ſhould
without delay come in perſon himſelf to the Camp;for that the ſouldiers without regard of
ſhame,were ready to riſe in mutiny,and to abandon the ſiege,refuſing to be commaunded by
B their captains.

In the mean time whilſt *Solyman* prepareth himſelf to ſet forward, the Turkiſh Captaines
vnderſtood by certain Fugitiues (wherof in all wars ſome are to be found) that the high ſteeple
of S. *Iohns* church ſerued them of the town for a watch-tower:for which cauſe,and for deſpight
of the croſſe ſtanding vpon the top therof,they labored nothing more,than with continual
ſhot to beat down that Tower; which whilſt they were doing with great diligence,*Solyman*
himſelf came into the camp the 28 of Auguſt in the afternoon,where finding in his Army
all the ſignes of cowardiſe and fear that could be ſpoken of or deuiſed, and nothing done
according to the command of ſuch as he had appointed for that charge,but all things out of
order,he took more griefe to ſee that great diſorder,than he did pleaſure & good hope of two
C hundred thouſand ſoldiers that were then in his army. Yet,for all that he was inwardly chafed
with the heat of youth and indignation,both againſt his owne people and the Rhodians,
he moderated himſelf betwixt his own rage and the offence of his ſoldiers;and calling them
together,cauſed them to be diſarmed,not leauing among them ſo much as a ſword; and compaſſing
them in with fifteen thouſand harquebuſiers whom he had brought with him wel appointed,
he ſtept into his royal ſeat,there ſet on high for that purpoſe,where ſitting down, he
pauſed a good while without any word ſpeaking, as if he had conſidered with himſelfe,whether
he ſhould only puniſh the authors of the mutiny, or elſe with the puniſhment of many
to reuenge ſo foul a ſedition, little differing from an open rebellion. But following of himſelf
the milder reſolution,he thought it ſufficient to correct the multitude and common ſort
D of ſoldiers with ſharp and bitter words: and after generall ſilence made; brake out into this
cholerick ſpeech;

Solyman comes into the Camp.

Slaues (quoth he) *for I cannot find in my heart to call you ſoldiers,What kind of men are you now become?*
are ye Turks? men wont to fight and ouercome. Verily I ſee the bodies,countenances, attyre, and
habit of my ſoldiers; but the deeds, ſpeeches,countenances and deuices of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas
how hath my opinion deceiued me? that Turkiſh force and courage is gon;the valor and ſtrength both of
bodies and minds,wherwith the Arabians,Perſians,Syrians,Egyptians, Seruians,Hungarians, Bulgarians,
Epirots,Macedonians,and Thracians were ſubdued,is loſt: forgetting your countrey, your Oath, the
command of your captains, your obedience, and all other warlike diſcipline, you haue againſt the Majeſtie
E *of myne Empire refuſed to fight,like cowards betaken your ſelues to flight, for vain fear of death & danger,*
not beſeeming men of war. If any man ſhould at home but haue named the Rhodes,in your Feaſts, amongſt
your pots,in your aſſemblies and great meetings, you could then with your tongues brag to pul it
down, you had much ado to hold your hands: here,when I would make proof of your force and courage, it
is nothing. But you thought perhaps,that the Rhodians ſo ſoon as they ſaw your enſigns before their gates,
would ſtraitway yeeld themſelues and their city into your power. Let all men ceaſe ſo to ſay or thinke, and
beleeue me that know the truth, This baſe and infamous den which you ſee, is ful of moſt cruel beaſts, whoſe
madnes we ſhall neuer tame without much labor and bloudſhed. Yet ſhall we tame them; for why,nothing
is ſo wild but at length it may be tamed: which vnles I bring to paſſe, I haue fully reſolued and vowed to
my ſelf,either here to die,or ſpend my daies. And if euer I do or ſay otherwiſe, let this my head, my Fleet,
F *myne army, and empire, be for euer accurſed and vnfortunat.*

Solymans cholericke Oration to his ſoldiers.

And ſo without further ſpeech,deſiring rather to be accounted of his ſoldiers gentle than
ſeuere,he pardoned them all their former offences,and ſwore them al again to his obedience.

This mutiny ſo appeaſed, all things afterward were don with better ſucceſſe, and greater care both of the ſoldiers and commanders. Firſt they planted in diuers places twelue great Bombards, wherwith they threw vp ſtones of hugy weight into the air, which falling down into the city, might break down the houſes and whatſoeuer els they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of theſe the great Maſter was like to haue bin ſlain. Howbeit this prooued a deuice of more terrour than danger: for with 200 ſuch ſhot were but ten men ſlaine. Which thing amongſt others *Apella* a traiterous fugitiue declared vnto the Enemy, with whom he had intelligence, as he himſelf confeſſed, being taken vpon ſuſpition and examined: for which his treaſon he was iuſtly executed.

Apella a Traitor.

The Turks battery.

The force of the battery was more feared, wherin the Turks had planted forty great pieces of battery, and amongſt them twelue Baſilisks; ſo aptly named of the Serpent *Baſiliſcus*, who as *Pliny* writeth, killeth man or beaſt with his ſight. With theſe pieces the Turks battered the wals continually, but lying ſomwhat far off, did no great harm.

At the ſame time alſo *Solyman* cauſed battery to be laid againſt the tower of S. *Nicolas*, ſtanding vpon a narrow piece of ground pointing far into the ſea, defending the hauen vpon the right hand, where ſometime ſtood the great Coloſſus of the Sunne, accounted the greateſt among the ſeuen wonders of the world. Which Caſtle was both ſtrongly and ſumptuouſly built at the charges of the dukes of Bourgondy, as appeared by their Arms there ingauen in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a Frenchman, who had the charge therof with 200 ſoldiers, among whom were 30 Knights of the Order.

The Turks artillery planted againſt the tower was by the ſkilfulnes of the Chriſtian Canoniers in ſhort time diſmounted with ſhot from the tower, and many of the Gunners ſlain; ſo that they were glad to ſurceaſe any more to batter the tower by day, but lying ſtill all the day, they began to batter the ſame by night, wherin they preuailed no more than they had before don in the day time: for the defendants warily obſeruing ſuch places as were likeſt for the enemy to place his battery in, did ſo aptly place their ordnance againſt the ſame, and to ſo good purpoſe, that the Turks ſwore their doings were by ſome means diſcouered vnto the Enemies. So when they had in vain beſtowed 500 ſhot, and made a ſmall breach which they durſt not once attempt to enter, they ſhamefully abandoned that place alſo.

All this while *Pyrrhus* was buſie in working of mines to vndermine the City; 32 of which mines the defendants fruſtrated with countermines; in which kind of work many were loſt on both ſides. Yet for all the carefulnes of the Chriſtians, the Engliſh bulwark was vndermined by the enemy, & vpon the fourth of September part therof blown vp, with ſuch violence, that vnto them in the city it ſeemed at the firſt to be a generall earthquake; and diuers Engliſh men were therwith ouerwhelmed. The Turks attempting preſently to enter, were by the Grand Maſter and his followers with great ſlaughter repulſed.

The Engliſh Bulwarke blowne vp.

But *Muſtapha* the Baſſa comming on with freſh ſupplies, and crying out of the cowardiſe of them that retyred, renued the aſſault; where for a while was fought a moſt ſharp and cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully incouraging their ſoldiers, & they likewiſe doing what was poſſible for men to do: all mens ears were filled with the thundring of the ſhot, noiſe of trumpets and drums, and cries of men. And vnto the Turkes it ſeemed that it rained ouer their heads deadly ſhot and ſtones of fire: for the townſmen and women mingled with the ſouldiers, caſt down vpon the Turks fire, ſtones, timber, and whatſoeuer els came to hand; ſo that they vnable longer to endure the courage and force of the Chriſtians, turned their backs and ran away by heaps, not expecting any ſign of retreit, euery man ſeeking to ſaue one: among whom as they fled, the great ordnance ſhot off from the wals made wonderful ſlaughter. At this aſſault of the Turks were ſlain, as ſome write, almoſt 2000, and amongſt them the maſter of the Turkes ordnance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victory the Chriſtians gained not without ſome loſſe; for beſides ſome few others that were ſlain, fifty Knights of the Order (men worthy of eternal memory) ended their daies alſo.

The Turkes aſſault the Engliſh Bulwarke the ſecond time and are againe repulſed.

The fift day after (which was the ninth of September) *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, commanded a freſh aſſault to be giuen to the Engliſh bulwarke; which was attempted by the Turks with greater reſolution than the firſt. Seuen enſigns of the Turks were broken in by the ruines of the Bulwarke, and had inforced the Defendants, oppreſſed

with

A with number to giue ground, when the grand Maſter comming in with the enſigne of the Order, garded with a company of moſt valiant Knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his men retyre, couragiouſly reſtored the battell, by bringing on of new ſupply, and other captains with threats, ſtrokes, and terror of death inforced the ſoldiers (who had before turned their backs) now again to fight. So that there began a more cruel fight than had before bin from the beginning of the ſiege: which was vnto the Chriſtians more dangerous, for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh ſhot. But in this extremity no man regarded either danger or life, only this they remembred, that thoſe were their barbarous enemies, whom they muſt either victoriouſly vanquiſh, or die therfore. With which fury the aſſault was continued by the ſpace of three hours, vntil B at length *Muſtapha* with his Turks diſcouraged, with the loſſe of 2000 of their fellows, & of three great noblemen whom *Solyman* eſpecially fauored, and ſore beaten by the Spaniards out of their flankers, were inforced to retyre. Few of the Chriſtians, in reſpect of ſo many Enemies, were ſlain: yet had the enſigne of the Order been then loſt (*Ioachimus Cluys* the Enſigne-bearer hauing both his eies ſhot out) had not *Emericus Ruiaulx* an Avernois, and one of the Knights of the Order, with incredible courage reſcued the ſame.

After this ſecond aſſault, falling out ſo vnluckily vnto the Turks, *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*: and *Pyrrhus* to keep his credit by doing ſomething, with continual battery of 17 great pieces, did batter the mount neer vnto the Italian bulwark. At which time alſo *Caſsius* gouernor of Bythinia, another of the Turks great commanders, labored by C undermining to haue ouerthrown the French bulwark: ſo glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great lord and maſter. But the indeauors of *Caſsius* was by countermines, through the carefull diligence of *Gabriel Chierus* hauing charge of thoſe works, fruſtrated: and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after he had by hot aſſault ſlain them which were appointed for the defence therof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the city, was again with great loſſe ſhamefully repulſed, and by *Solymans* commandment cauſed to retyre. At this aſſault the gouernor of Eubœa, *Solymans* Lieutenant Generall, a man of great honor (if any of the Turks ſlaues are ſo to be accounted) was ſlain, for whoſe death *Solyman* was exceeding penſiue and heauy.

Muſtapha Baſſa fals into diſgrace with Solyman.

Muſtapha the Baſſa finding himſelf in diſgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat aſſaults D by him giuen at the Engliſh ſtation, determined if it were poſsible, by a third to recouer his loſt credit: and for his better ſucces therin, agreed with *Achimetes* another great commander, at the ſame time to aſſault the Spaniſh bulwark. According to this reſolution, *Achimetes* hauing with a mine ſuddenly blowne vp a great part of the Wall of the Spaniſh ſtation, in the thick of the duſt and ſmoke preſently entred his men, who by the ruins of the wal recouered the top of the rampiers. *Muſtapha* alſo at the ſame time hardly charged the Engliſh; ſo that in both places was made a hard and doubtful fight. *Muſtapha* deſiring nothing more, than with better ſucces now to redeem his former diſhonor, did what he might to incourage the ſoldiers, calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodians on the other ſide mindfull of their former honor, with the greatnes of the E preſent danger, valiantly repulſed the enemy, and forced him with ſhame to retyre. In this aſſault many Engliſhmen were ſlain, and *Preianes* alſo ſore hurt, hauing before ſlain many of the Turks. *Muſtapha* beſide the loſſe of his men, had alſo two of his enſignes taken by *Chriſtophorus Vaulderick* Commendator of the German Knights. *Achimetes* hauing won the top of the walls, had there ſet vp the Turkiſh enſignes; but by the valor of the defendants, and by means of certain pieces of ordnance, by *Martiningus* aptly placed in the houſes before the new made breach, and by force of ſhot out of the flankers on both ſides the breach, whereof none fell in vain, he was again inforced to forſake the wals, and to retyre.

The Engliſh bulwarke the third time aſſaulted by Muſtapha.

The Turks Enſigns aduanced to the top of the wals, are again caſt down.

The 23 of September, the Turkiſh captains hoping by meanes of a mine which they had made againſt the Avergn bulwark, to enter and win the City, approching the wals with multitudes F of ſoldiers, ready to haue entred vpon the blowing vp of the mine: it being met with a countermine out of the city, wrought not ſuch effect as was by them expected: ſo that hauing receiued ſome harm, ſtanding in a place of great diſaduantage, and don nothing, they returned again to the camp. Yet all the expert captains probably coniecturing that the Wall

might

Another breach made in the walls.

might bee inwardly ſhaken by the mine, though it were not by them outwardly perceiued, cauſed that part of the wal to be moſt violently battered al the reſt of that day and night following, and by the fury of their artillery made a fair & large breach. Al that night was heard in the Turks camp an vnwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running to and fro, as had there bin ſome great matter a doing: which the Rhodians coniectured (as the truth was) to be a ſign of ſome great aſſault to be ſhortly giuen.

Solyman reſoluing the next day with all his force to aſſault the new made breach, after hee had by himſelf in a melancholy mood walked vp & down in his tent a great part of the night, ſent for the chief commanders of his army, to whom he declared his mind as followeth.

Your valor and wiſdom (worthy Captains) needeth not any exhortation; yet the deſperat madneſſe of our enemies maketh me to ſpeak vnto you theſe few words: who whilſt they yet do, as from the beginning, as men without reaſon deſperately defend their City rent with our artillery, ſhaken with our mines, their Churches and houſes beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worne out with ſlaughter, labour, and wounds, which muſt needs befall men ſo often aſſaulted; they worthily ſeem vnto our ſoldiers men of inuincible force and courage: which opinion to haue remoued, much concerneth the happy and wiſhed ſucces of our aſſault. Wherfore I would haue you with effectual perſwaſions and bountiful promiſes to hearten on our men to the winning of this city. Beſides this, you ſhall open vnto them my purpoſe and intent, and that they ſhould not think that they are brought hither to beſiege one city, but that in taking this one, they ſhall vpon the matter make a way into all the dominions of the Chriſtians. Here be the kinſmen, allyance, and friends of all the Kings, Princes, and Potentats of Chriſtendom: here is all our enemies treaſure, the ſpoil wherof promiſed vnto our ſoldiers, may ſerue to great purpoſe to incourage them forward: here is the ſtore of ordnance, armor, and other warlike prouiſion, which ſhall both furniſh vs, and in time to come miſerably confound the reſt of the Chriſtians. We ſhall beſide this enioy a moſt goodly and rich city, with a hauen of all others moſt commodious, from whence all things neceſſary for war may at all times as occaſion ſhall require, by land and ſea be ſupplied: which as they ſhall be to vs things of great importance, ſo ſhall we deſpoil our enemies of far greater. This is their caſtle, ſtorehouſe, treaſury, and armory: this is the very receptacle and place of refuge for all ſuch as trouble the Turks by ſea: from hence ſhal wee haue free ſcope and paſſage into Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and many other Chriſtian countries. But as for your ſelues, valiant Captains, when as I conſider how that you haue within theſe few months by your valor and wiſdom ſubdued vnto my empire the ſtrong city of Belgrade, which my great graundfather Mahomet *that mighty Emperor could not with all his power get; I reſt in great hope, that theſe fierce and obſtinat Chriſtians ſhall not long be able to defend themſelues in theſe their dens and lurking places.*

Hauing ended this ſpeech, the captains euery one vnto his company made known what the great Emperors wil and pleaſure was; and open proclamation made thorow all the campe, by which the ſpoil of that rich city was all granted vnto the ſoldiers, as a prey and reward for the pains they were to take.

Solyman heauy with ſleep and care, lay down vpon a palat to take his reſt: but the great Maſter (to whom the vnaccuſtomed ſtir of the enemy portended ſome great matter) al that night in arms painfully viewed euery part of the city, cherfully incouraging his ſoldiers to remember, That they did watch for the ſafety of their Country, their liues and liberty. It fortuned the ſame night, that a poor Chriſtian ſeruing a Turk in the camp, calling ſecretly to the watch vpon the wals, gaue them warning that the Turks prepared the next day to giue a generall aſſault vnto the city. Which thing when the great Maſter certainely vnderſtood, becauſe hee would haue nothing don raſhly or fearfully (as it commonly hapneth in things don vpon the ſudden) called together his Knights, and ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The Great Maſters oration to his Knights.

I am glad (ſacred Companions and Fellowes in Armes) that the time is come when in one battell, getting vnto your ſelues great honour, and defending your Countrey, you may be iuſtly accounted the worthy Defenders and Reuengers of the Chriſtian Commonweal and Name. The people againſt whom we are to fight tomorrow, aſſaile vs onely as preſuming vpon their multitude: But if we meaſure Valour not by number, but by courage and prowesſe, vndoubtedly a few reſolute men will eaſily ouercome a great multitude of cowards. You know your enemy, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight *(moſt worthy Knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquiſhed at ſea, and in iuſt battel ſomtimes ouercome by land, at ſuch time as with their whole power they aſſaulted your walls: omitting in the mean time many hot ſkirmiſhes, wherin you euer put them to the worſt. Wherfore you and they in the aſſault tomorrow ſhall haue ſuch courage, as conquerors and men conquered vſe to haue. Neither wil they fight becauſe they dare fight; but becauſe the great Tyrant and violent commaund of their Captaines inforceth them therunto. Wherfore remembring what you are by birth, what opinion the Chriſtian commonwealth hath conceiued of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you; take up your arms with iuſt fury and indignation, and fight againſt them, following one frantick youth, as if you ſaw your ſlaues bearing arms againſt you. Wherunto you are inforced not only by the indignity of the wrong by them offered, but alſo by neceſſity, which of it ſelf is of power to make cowards valiant and hardy. For here wee are in an Iſland from whence we cannot eſcape, and in a city whoſe rent and battered walls do not ſo much protect and defend vs, as our weapons: wherfore tomorrow we muſt here either vanquiſh them, or die therfore: tomorrow ſhall giue vnto vs either ioyfull victory, or a moſt honorable death.*

As he was yet thus ſpeaking, news of the enemies approch cauſed him to make an end, and euery man haſted with ſpeed to the place of his charge. The enemy comming faſt on, with a moſt horrible cry, as their maner is, fiercely aſſailed the city in fiue places, where the Engliſh, Spaniards, Italians, Narbonenſes, and Avergnois had their ſtations. To the aſſault of euery of which places *Solyman* had appointed ten thouſand Turks. *Muſtapha* the Baſſa calling vpon the name of his great Prophet *Mahomet*, and promiſing vnto the ſouldiers the rich ſpoil of the City, fiercely aſſailed the Engliſh ſtation, from whence he had bin three times before ſhamefully repulſed. *Pyrrhus* the other great Baſſa with like fury aſſaulted the Italian ſtation. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight; the Turks fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and liberty. Neither was there any, of what degree or order ſoeuer, which did not that day fight for defence of the City. The prieſts and religious men were not then exempted, but fought among other ſoldiers: women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the ſtrength of their bodies, & courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, ſome ſtones which they had digged out of the ſtreets, ſome burning pitch barrels, ſome hoops with wild-fire, ſome ſcalding oil, ſome boyling pitch; which being caſt down vpon the enemies, troubled them ſo, as nothing was more feared: for vpon whomſoeuer it fel, it ſtuck faſt, and ſo ſcalded their bodies, that they were glad to caſt downe their weapons, to tear off their cloaths, wherwith many of them rent off the skin and fleſh alſo. All which things fel ſo thick vpon the Turks as if it had rained fire and ſtones: beſides the deadly ſhot, which among ſuch a multitude of enemies neuer fell in vain. The great Maſter hauing a careful eye ouer euery part of the city, after he had well relieued the Italian ſtation, which was the firſt hardly diſtreſſed by *Pyrrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus* a Knight of the Order, with ſuch company as hee thought conuenient for the ſafety of that place; and went himſelf with the reſt vnto the Engliſh ſtation, which was then hardly laid to by the Baſſa *Muſtapha*. But whilſt he was there buſied in repulſing the enemy, and had now well relieued the place, a ſudden cry ran along the wals, that the Spaniſh bulwark was already poſſeſſed by the enemy: with which heauy news he was not a little troubled; but leauing there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the Knights of the Order, with a choſen company of ſoldiers for defence of that place; he with his gard haſted to the Spaniſh ſtation, which he found by a wonderfull chance already taken by the enemy. In the beginning of the aſſault, certain Turks to ſhun the danger of the ſhot, had for fear hidden themſelues at the foot of this bulwarke, among the ſtones which had before bin beaten downe with the battery: in the mean time other Turkes of the ſame regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant Captain *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwark, not medling with the bulwark it ſelf, as a thing of greateſt ſtrength: and the valiant ſouldiers appointed for the defence of the bulwark, ſeeing their fellowes and Countreymen diſtreſſed faſt by them on the right hand, could not endure to ſtand ſtil as lookers on, but left the Bulwark, and went to the place ſo hardly aſſaulted; where whilſt they were valiantly incountring the enemy, the cowardly Turkes who had before for fear hid themſelues, hearing all ſtil ouer their heads, and therby gheſſing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawn thence to another place more diſtreſſed, to color their fear, &

The Turks aſſault the City in fiue places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the city.

The Spaniſh bulwark taken by the Turks.

proue their good fortune,like tall fellows crept out of the holes wherein they had before for fear hid themſelues,and ſecretly crauling vp the battered wals of the Bulwark, got into it before they were diſcouered:where finding none but a few ſoldiers (who buſied in remouing of a great piece to a place more conuenient for annoying the enemy, had laid downe their weapons) they ſuddenly ſet vpon them,ſlew them,ouerthrew the Chriſtian enſign,and ſo became maſters of that ſtrong fort. The Turks without,ſeeing that,wonderfully commended the valor of theſe men,and blaming themſelues of cowardiſe,made great haſt through the midſt of the town ditch,to get vp into the bulwark to help their fellowes. But in going through the ditch,they were ſo cut off with ſhot on both ſides out of the flankiers,that few of them could get vp into the deſired bulwark:and the Great Maſter with a crew of valiant ſoldiers, nothing fearing the armed enemy,now in poſſeſſion of the bulwarke ouer their heads,with great reſolution ſcaled the ſame. In the mean time *Hugo Caponus* a Spaniard,and *Menotius* a Frenchman, both Knights of the Order,with a company of Cretenſian ſoldiers brake into the bulwark by a gate which the Turks had not as yet bolted,and being once got in,they quickly diſpatched the Turks; for whom they ſlew not with the ſword, they inforced to miſchief themſelues for haſt back again ouer the wals. The bulwark thus again recouered (which had bin two houres in poſſeſſion of the enemy) & the city deliuered of a wonderful fear,the worthy great Maſter leauing a ſufficient number of ſoldiers for the keeping of that fort, went with the reſt of his company vnto the place where the Spaniards with the reſt of the defendants ſore charged by *Achimetes*,and now wearied and almoſt ſpent,had much ado to hold out:who incouraged with the ſight of the grand Maſter,as if victory had attended vpon him,with great cries and ſignes of joy,valiantly & with great ſlaughter repulſed their enemies as if they had bin freſh men. Long it were to recount the deadly fight & hard aduentures which befel at the aſſault of the other two ſtations of the Avergnois and Narbonenſes: but the Turks were in euery place put to the worſt,and lay by heaps ſlain in the ditches and breaches of the town. *Solyman* from his ſtanding(for that purpoſe made of high maſts)beholding the miſerable ſlaughter of his men, and no hope of gaining the City,cauſed a retreit to be ſounded,a thing welcome both to the Rhodians and Turks. In this terrible aſſault,which indured by the ſpace of ſix hours,diuers of the Knights of the Order were ſlain, eſpecially of the French and Spaniſh nations, with 150 common ſoldiers,all men worthy of eternal fame;and of the Turks (as they which write moſt modeſtly report) 20000. The yong tyrant was ſo much offended with the ſhamefull repulſe he had receiued at this laſt aſſault,that he fel into a rage againſt al them which had perſuaded him to enter into that action; but eſpecially againſt the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*, whom he accuſed as an vnfaithful counſellor and chief perſuader of that vnlucky war:who flattering him in his vain humor,by extolling his forces aboue meaſure;and falſly extenuating the enemies power,aſſuring him that vpon the firſt approch of his army they would yeeld themſelues without reſiſtance, had drawn him into that dangerous expedition, like to ſort to the great diſhonor of himſelf and all the *Othoman* family:for which doing he adiudged him worthy of death, and in great fury commaunded the executioner without further delay to put him to death in his preſence. Which dreadful doom, ſo ſuddenly and vpon ſo light an occaſion giuen vpon a man of ſo great mark and quality,ſtrucke ſuch a terror into the minds of all there preſent that none of them durſt ſpeak a word againſt the rigor of that ſentence,or ſo much as fet a ſigh in pittying his caſe. The executioner now ready to giue the fatal ſtroke,*Pyrrhus* the moſt antient of all the Baſſa's,moued with compaſſion,and preſuming of his great fauor with the tyrant,whom he had from his childhood had the charge and gouernment of, ſtept forth, and appealing vnto his mercy, earneſtly requeſted him to ſpare his life. Wherwith *Solyman* was ſo filled with wrath and indignation, that for his preſumption, and for ſending for him to Conſtantinople to come to that dangerous ſiege,he commanded him to be executed alſo. All the reſt of the counſellors ſeeing the danger of theſe two great men,fell down at the feet of the fuming tyrant,crauing pardon;ſaying, That the enemies ground had already drunk too much of the Turkiſh bloud, and was not to be further moiſtned with the bloud of two ſuch noble perſonages and worthy Counſellours. *Solyman* mooued with this general interceſſion of his great men, pauſing a little vpon the matter, the heat of his fury being ſomthing ouer, ſuffered himſelf to be intreated, and granted vnto them their liues: To *Pyrrhus* for his great

age

The Spaniſh bulwark again recouered.

The Turkes giue ouer the aſſault.

Solyman in his fury commands the two great Baſſa's, Muſtapha & Pyrrhus to bee put to death.

The Baſſas ſpared at the interceſſion of the other Counſellors.

A age and wiſedome, and to *Muſtapha* for his wiues ſake, who was the tyrants naturall ſiſter ſometime the wife of *Boſtanges*.

All the time of this ſiege, the Turks great fleet, furniſhed with men and all manner of warlike prouiſion, lay before the enterance of the hauen without doing any thing at all: for the Admirall being no man of war, ſeeing the mouth of the hauen chained, and the caſtles vpon the entrance full of ordnance, and ſtrongly manned, durſt not attempt either to enter the hauen, or beſiege the caſtle: for which his cowardiſe, and for that he had negligently ſuffered prouiſion both of victuall and munition, to be conueied into the city during the time of the ſiege, to the great reliefe of the beſieged, he was by *Solyman* adjudged to die a moſt cruell death: but by the mediation of *Achimetes*, one of his beſt men of war, the ſeuerity of that ſentence B was changed into a puniſhment, vnto any noble mind more grieuous than death it ſelfe: for he was by *Solymans* commandement, openly ſet vpon the poupe of the admirall gally, and there as a ſlaue receiued at the hands of the executioner a hundred ſtripes with a cudgell, and ſo with ſhame was thruſt out of his office.

Solyman diſplaceth his Admirall and puniſheth him as a ſlaue.

After that *Solyman* had in ſo many places with all his power ſo long time in vaine beſieged the Rhodes, his haughty courage began to quaile, ſo that he was vpon point to haue raiſed his ſiege and left the Iſland, yea, the griefe he had conceiued, went ſo neere him, that he many times fainted and lay ſpeechleſſe, as if he had been a dead man. The remembrance of ſo many vnfortunat aſſaults, the death of ſo many worthy captains, the loſſe of ſo many valiant ſouldiers (ſufficient to haue ſubdued a whole kingdome) ſo much grieued him, that a great while C after he ſhunned the company of men, and would not ſuffer himſelfe to be ſpoken withall: vntill at length he was againe by *Abraham* his minion, a man in whom he tooke ſingular pleaſure, recomforted, and perſuaded to continue the ſiege; for that Time (as he ſaid) which worketh all things would at length tame the fierceneſſe of his enemies, whom the ſword could not vpon the ſudden ſubdue. In the meane time *Solyman* for his pleaſure, and to ſhew vnto the Rhodians, that he purpoſed not to depart, began to build a ſumptuous caſtle vpon the top of the mount Philermus in the eie of the city. During which time diuers letters were ſhot into the city with Turkiſh arrowes out of the campe, wherein many of *Solymans* moſt ſecret counſels were reuealed, and the reuolt of a great man promiſed, which the Rhodians by many circumſtances gathered to haue beene *Muſtapha*, who could not eaſily forget the injury ſo lately D offered vnto him by *Solyman*: needs it muſt be ſome of *Solymans* ſecret counſell, otherwiſe he could not haue reuealed ſo great ſecrets as it were out of the boſome of *Solyman*. But ſee the chance, at the very ſame time tidings came vnto *Solyman*, that *Cayerbeius* the Gouernour of Ægypt was dead, in whoſe place *Solyman* ſent *Muſtapha* to Caire as Gouernour of Ægypt, by that honourable preferment againe to pleaſe his diſcontented mind, after which time no more letters came into the city.

Solyman exceedingly grieued with the repuls and loſſe receiued at the ſiege of the Rhodes, was vpon point to haue left the ſame.

Now the Turks began to make faire wars, their terrible battery began to grow calme, and for certaine daies it ſeemed by the manner of their proceedings, that they purpoſed rather by long ſiege than by aſſault to take the town. Neuertheleſſe the enemies watching day and night in their trenches, vſed all the policy they could, ſometimes offering vnto the ſouldiers vpon E the wals great rewards, if they would yeeld vp the city, and ſometimes threatning them as faſt: and to breed a diſlike among the defendants, they would oftentimes ſay, that *Solyman* deſired only to be reuenged vpon the Latines, without meaning any harme vnto the Greekes.

It was now the beginning of October, and Winter began to grow faſt on, great rain, with terrible thunder and lightening, and mighty tempeſts, heauens threats, then fell ſo abundantly, that the Turks before wearied in body with labor and wounds, were now alſo in mind diſcouraged. And that more increaſed their feare, the ſea was growne ſo rough, That the Admirall was not able in that open and dangerous ſea longer to ride it out with his gallies: but was inforced to ſlip his ankers, and as he might to run his gallies on ground. In theſe troubles wherwith both *Solyman* himſelfe and all his army were at furtheſt of their wits, and almoſt quite F diſcouraged, *Achimetes* one of his moſt valiant and expert captains, came to comfort him and promiſed if he would continue the ſiege, in ſhort time to make him an open way into the city: vpon confidence whereof, *Solyman* to encourage his fainting ſouldiers, now ſcarce able for cold and lacke of courage to hold their weapons in their hands, cauſed them to be aſſembled before his pauillion, where from a high place, he comforted them in this ſort:

Achimetes promiſeth to make a way for Solyman into the city.

Solyman comforteth his ſouldiers and perſuadeth them with patience to endure the ſiege.

I am not ignorant (moſt valiant ſouldiers) what great things you indure for mine honour, and the glory of mine Empire. This continuall threatning of the heauens, this immoderate raine, this terrible thunder and lightening, the coldneſſe of the weather, the want of neceſſaries, with the manifold miſeries of this long ſiege, doe much perſuade me, to giue you leaue to lay downe armes and to take your reſt. But firſt let vs conſider if vnto men of courage it be not a diſhonour, for the tediouſneſſe of raine and tempeſt, to leaue vnto our enemies the victory already in our hands, and ſhamefully to forſake our trenches, forts, mounts, ouertopping not only the wals of the city, but mating the heauens, with ſuch other like workes made with my infinite charge, and your great trauell, all for the taking of this city. Truely this warre either ſhould not haue beene taken in hand at all, or being once begun, is to be ended for the honour of the Othoman *Empire. Which forſomuch as it could not be accompliſhed in Summer; the reputation of mine Empire in common, and the regard of the commodity of euery one of you in priuate, enforceth me to performe it in Winter. For if we ſhould from hence depart with our army, who doubts but the enemy, not only for deſire of reuenge, but alſo ſtrained by neceſſity, hauing loſt all he had of his owne, will prey vpon your countries, houſes, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children, into a farre more miſerable ſlauery and bondage, than that wherin he himſelfe now is? Wherefore I aduiſe you to continue the ſiege, and neuer to depart before you haue attained vnto the end of your deſires. And admit there were no neceſſity in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to impoſe vpon you a reſolution both of body and mind to indure the ſiege: For the eies and countenances of all nations, eſpecially the Chriſtians, are fixed vpon you; whom when they ſhall vnderſtand not to be able to indure the field one Winter, they will of right call you Summer-birds, which ſo ſoone as any ſtorme ariſeth, looke after your houſes, and places of repoſe. It is reported, that the Grecians for a ſtrumpet beſieged Troy ten yeares; and ſhall not the Turks, vexed and oppreſſed with ſlaughters, robberies, inuaſions both by ſea and land, and that more is, with the ſeruitude of two hundred and foureteen yeres, endure one Winters ſiege? They will ſay that the terrour if your name is but vaine, and that fame hath increaſed the ſame (as many other things moe) which not ſeen, are more feared in far countries amongſt men of ſmall experience: And that now euery man may ſafely enough abide your force, which make your inuaſions rather vpon a fury and brauery than vpon any good reſolution, which in all kinde of war (but eſpecially in beſieging of cities) is moſt neceſſary: whereof many being by naturall ſcituation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her handmaids, Famine and Thirſt, ouercome and vanquiſhed, as it ſhall do this city of the Rhodes: againſt which (beloued in armes) there is a ſecret miſchiefe prepared, which may not in this open audience be publiſhed; for it is as neceſſary that the vulgar ſort ſhould be ignorant of ſome things, as to know the ſame.*

Many thought, that this was ſpoken rather of policy than vpon any good ground: and although his hot perſuaſion had little moued the cold courage of his deſpairing ſouldiers, yet the regard of duty in that moſt loyall nation, with the greedy expectation of ſo great a ſecret, ouercame all other difficulties; ſo that they departed (at leſtwiſe in ſhew) contented to indure whatſoeuer ſhould befall.

Achimetes winneth the Vaumures of the Auergne bulwark, raiſeth a ſtrong penthouſe againſt the wall, and ſo vndermineth the ſame.

Achimetes author of this great expectation, and the only hope of *Solymans* ſucceſſe, came oftentimes and aſſailed the Vaumures of the Auergn ſtation, which although they were not very high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike captaine dayly attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the ſame, and ſo poſſeſſed of the place he ſo much deſired, deſperatly kept it vntill greater helpe came running in, who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpoſe before prepared) clapt vp a ſtrong and defenſible couering in manner of a penthouſe againſt the towne wall, betwixt the wall and the Vaumure, vnder which they ſhrouded themſelues from the defendants; which was an eaſie matter for ſuch a multitude to do, the ditches of the towne in that place being now filled vp ſo high, that the defendants could not out of the flankers ſcoure the ditch, nor yet without manifeſt danger come to caſt any thing downe vpon them from the top of the wals: for the Turks harquebuſiers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than the battered wals of the city, ſuffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erſt thought themſelues at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a ſudden and an vnexpected miſchiefe: which at the firſt filled the city with feare and heauy ſilence, which ſtraitwaies after brake out into pitifull outcries and lamentations. The Turks lurking vnder their penthouſe, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of the wall; and *Prejanes* forward and couragious to do what might be done, threw downe vpon

the

A the Turks, fire, ſcalding oyle, burning pitch, wild-fire and ſuch things. But when the miſerable
men which ſhrunke from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their
imperious commanders, and preſently ſlaine if they made any delay, and freſh men ſtill thruſt
on in ſtead of ſuch as were hurt or ſlaine: the fatall worke began the ſeuenth day of October,
went apace forward, with the great and continuall labour of theſe wretched ſlaues. A great
number of the common ſouldiers whom the Turks call Aſapi were imploied in this worke:
of whom *Solyman* in this ſiege of the Rhodes, and other his expeditions, made not much more
account but as of pioners to worke in mines and to caſt vp trenches, and oftentimes with their
bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Ianizaries to paſſe ouer vpon: they by the
conſtraint of *Achimetes* vndermined the wall, and as they wrought, ſhoared vp the ſame againe
B with timber, whereunto they afterwards ſet fire, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wall;
which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not far enough vnder-
mined it, they aſſaied with great hooks and ſtrong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the
Rhodians with their great ordnance from the Auergn bulwarke, quickly put them from that
mad worke with great ſlaughter, and fruſtrated all their long labor. *Achimetes* thus diſappoin-
ted of his purpoſe, ſtood in great doubt whether he ſhould giue ouer the enterpriſe, for that
he ſaw he laboured in vaine, or elſe in that dangerous place to expect ſome better hap, the on-
ly means to ſaue him from the tyrants heauy diſpleaſure; who as he knew meaſured all things
by the euent. *Solyman* vnderſtanding by *Achimetes*, that the wall (although it was not ouer-
thrown as was expected) was yet ſore ſhaken and weakned with vndermining, cauſed his bat-
C tery to be planted againſt that part of the wall ſo vndermined; which ſo many waies weakned,
and now ſore battered, fell downe dayly more and more. For remedy whereof, the Rhodians
laboured day and night to raiſe a new wall, in ſtead of that which was beaten downe.

The miſerable ſtate of the common ſoldiers of the Turks, and the ſmall account is made of them.

At the ſame time, *Solyman* perſuaded by the generall opinion of all his great captains, that
the city was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall aſſault, cau-
ſed proclamation to be made thorow his campe: wherein he gaue the ſpoile of the city vnto
his ſoldiers, and the more to encourage them, ſpake vnto them in few words, as followeth:

Fortune at length, valiant ſoldiers, hauing notably proued your courage and patience; now offereth vn-
to you the worthy rewards of your labour and paines. The victory and wealth of your enemies which you
D *haue ſo much deſired is now in your hands. Now is the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of*
whom more are ſlain than left aliue; and they not men, but the ſhadows and ghoſts of men, feeble and ſpent
with hunger, wounds, wants, and labour; who will I know reſiſt you, not becauſe they ſo dare, but becauſe
of neceſſity they ſo muſt, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherefore now reuenge your ſelues of
the falſhood, cruelty, and villanies of theſe Chriſtians, and make them a wofull example to all poſterity,
that neuer man hereafter preſume to offer injury to a Turke, in whatſoeuer ſtate he be. The way is already
open into the city, there is a faire breach made whereby thirty horſemen may at once enter: nothing wan-
teth but courage in you to aſſaile the ſame.

Solyman encourageth his ſouldiers to a freſh aſſault.

The ſouldiers encouraged with this ſpeech of their Emperour, made great ſhew of cheere-
E fulneſſe, and promiſed to do their vttermoſt deuoire, threatning vnto the Chriſtians moſt hor-
rible death and miſerable captiuity.

In the meane time the great ſhot flying continually through the breach, did beat downe
many houſes in the city; but the countermure new built againſt the breach ſtanding vpon a
lower ground, it ſeldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling
houſes, the horrible noiſe of the enemy, with the thundering of the great artillery, wonder-
fully terrified the miſerable citiſens: in euery place was heard the lamentation of women and
children, euery thing ſhewed the heauineſſe of the time, and ſeemed as altogether loſt and
forlorne. The day thus troubleſomely ſpent, the night followed much more troubleſome; and
after the night, the day of aſſault of all others moſt dreadfull: for with the dawning thereof,
F the gliſtering enſignes of the enemy were ſeene flying in the wind, and the Turks cheerefull
with the hope of ſpoile and victory, haſted towards the breach with great outcries and ſongs,
after their country manner: and there before one of the gates of the city called S. *Ambroſe*
gate, ſet downe a great number of their enſignes deckt with garlands, in token of victory. The
Turks great fleet alſo at the ſame time ſayling too and fro before the hauen, made ſhew as if

The diſtreſſed eſtate of the Rhodians and their couragious reſolution therein.

it would haue aſſailed the city on that ſide: who had ſeene the city ſo beſet, would haue ſaid that it would at one inſtant haue bin beſieged both by ſea and land; and to moſt mens judgements, it ſeemed that the Rhodian ſtate ſhould that day haue taken end and bin deſtroied. Yet for all theſe extremities, the Rhodians were nothing diſcouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the only remainders of their hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarme giuen came running out of their houſes by heaps vnto the wals, like deſperat men oppoſing their bodies in ſtead of their battered wals againſt their enemies in defence of their country. There needed neither exhortation nor command of captaine, euery man was vnto himſelfe a perſuader to fight valiantly in defence of the city; and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miſerable ſeruitude, the mocks and taunts they ſhould indure, if they ſhould chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all which was to be auoided either by honorable victory or death. The Turks conducted by *Achimetes*, fiercely aſſailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (ſtanding vpon the ruins of their wals) valiantly defended. In the meane time the diſmaied matrons and maidens, ſome in their houſes, with heauy hearts expected the woſull deſtruction of the city and themſelues, otherſom in their churches with floods of tears and lamentable cries, poured forth their praiers vnto the Almighty, crauing his helpe in that their hard diſtreſſe, and to protect them againſt their barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both ſides with great courage and force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the city, if they did but a little more ſtraine themſelues: and therfore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in their fighting gaue out moſt terrible outcries, and the Rhodians accounted the Turks as good as vanquiſhed, for they being ſo many in number, and in place of ſuch indifferency, had not yet preuailed: beſide that, they were greatly incouraged with the greatneſſe of the common danger, and the ſight one of anothers valor; ſo that by their inuincible courage the Turks were inforced ſhamefully to retire. The Rhodians ſeeing their enemies turne their backes, gaue a great ſhout in deriſion of them: the Turks diſdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if they ſhould with a little reſolution maintain the aſſault they had begun) ſhould be ſo derided of a handfull of men as good as already vanquiſhed; with great indignation returned again to the breach, and more furiouſly aſſailed the Rhodians than at the firſt. At which time the city had vndoubtedly bin taken, had not they which defended the end of the wall, yet ſtanding on both ſides of the breach, out of their baricadoes with their ſhot ouerwhelmed the Turks thronging in at the breach; & others with murthring ſhot out of the flankers of the new built wall ſo cut them aſunder, that a greater ſlaughter for the time was hardly in any place ſeen. *Achimetes* beholding the wonderfull ſlaughter of his ſoldiers, and that he fought with great diſaduantage and loſſe, againſt deſperat men, who reſoluing to die, feared no danger, gaue ouer the aſſault and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and towne ditch, the carkaſſes of fiue thouſand of his dead Turks, beſides many more which afterwards died vpon the hurts there receiued

The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continuall alarmes, and by caſting vp of trenches get into the city

This aſſault was giuen vnto the towne the laſt day of Nouember, a day dedicated to S. *Andrew*: after which time the captains of the Turkiſh army, although they deſpaired not of the victory, yet terrified with ſo great ſlaughter of their men, reſolued with one accord no more to attempt the city with any notable aſſault; but by ſundry great trenches to be made thorow the midſt of the ruins of the wals, to get into the city; and with matoks and pickaxes to ouertrow the new made wall and another barricado which the the defendants had made within the ſame: and in the meane time whileſt this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians ſtill buſied with continuall skirmiſhes and alarmes. This deuiſe put in execution by the wonderfull labour of ſuch a multitude of people, ſerued the enemy to greater purpoſe than all that he had done before: who daily ouerthrowing or deſtroying the new fortifications which the Rhodians made in ſtead of them which were before ouerthrowne, and by little and little creeping on further, draue the defendants to that extremity, that they were glad to pull downe many of their houſes, therewith to make new fortifications, and to make their city leſſe, by caſting vp of new trenches: ſo that in ſhort time they were brought to that point, that they could not well tell which place to fortifie firſt, the enemy was now ſo far crept within them: for the ground which the enemy had thus gained within the city, was almoſt 200 paces in breadth, and 150 paces in length.

Solyman, although he did now aſſure himſelfe of the victory, and was by nature cruell and deſirous

Parley offered by the Turks to the Rhodians.

deſirous of reuenge; yet perſuaded by *Achimetes* and *Caßius* (two of his moſt valiant captains) that for the inlarging of his empire nothing was better than the fame and clemency: commanded *Pyrrhus* the old Baſſa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their city vpon reaſonable conditions. Whereupon the Baſſa ſent one *Hieronimus Monelia*, a Genoway, vnto the wals, who crauing of the defendants ſafe conduct, ſaid he had ſomething to ſay tending to the common good of the diſtreſſed city. Al mens minds were preſently filled with expectation of ſome great matter, and he commanded to ſpeake. Who anſwered, that he might not deliuer his meſſage openly, but would either by ſpeech in ſecret, or by letters deliuer the ſame vnto one *Mathias de Via* his countryman, one of the citiſens of the Rhodes. When *Fra. Farnouius*, one of the Knights of the Order, a Frenchman of a chollericke diſpoſition, whoſe great courage was well ſeene in all that ſiege (hauing as it is reported, with ſhot out of Saint *Georges* tower himſelfe ſlain 500 Turks during the time of that ſiege) being now preſent, and moued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conferance with the enemy: bent his piece vpon the meſſenger, and cauſed him ſorthwith to depart without doing his meſſage. Many who in time of the aſſault feared not any danger, but were altogether become deſperat and careles of themſelues, after that they had vnderſtood that the enemy had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue ſome hope of life: reſorted vnto the Great Maſter requeſting him, that he would prouide for the ſafety of his louing people, whoſe warlike forces was with many aſſaults ſore weakned, the city beaten down about their eares, and moſt of them which were left, either wounded or ſicke. They had (as they ſaid) now ſufficiently proued both their force and fortune: wherefore he ſhould do well, to beware, leſt while he were too long in conſulting, the enemy ſhould conceiue a further indignition in ſeeing his offers refuſed. With theſe and ſuch ſpeeches they inforced the Great Maſter to ſend Embaſſadors to *Solyman*. The men that were ſent, were *Anthonius Groleus* a Frenchman, enſigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wiſedome and experience, and with him *Robertus Baruſius*, a man of great grauity, and skilfull in the Greeke tongue: for whom was receiued as pledges, a kinſeman of the great captaine *Achimetes*, and a certaine Epirot which fled out of the city vnto the Turks, becauſe one of the Grecian captaines had ſtrucke him with his open hand; a man of a ſharpe wit, and one that could perfectly ſpeake the greeke, Turkiſh, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongſt the enemies, being had of them in great regard although he was not knowne whileſt he dwelt in the city, that he was any ſuch man. After that came alſo *Solymans* interpreter, for he himſelfe could ſpeake no other longuage more than his own, accounting it a diſgrace, and againſt the *Othoman* Empire to vſe any other language. The Embaſſadors admitted into *Solymans* preſence, told him, that they were ſent to know, for what cauſe he had ſent to require parly? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had knowne nothing thereof, ſaid there was no ſuch matter: and commanded them preſently to auoid his campe, ſent them away with letters to the Great Maſter and the citiſens, to this effect:

Secret parley rejected.

The great Maſter at the inſtance of his people ſendeth embaſſadours to Solyman.

Solymans letter ſent to the great Maſter and the Rhodians, by their embaſſadors:

If I had not compaßion of humane infirmity, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong mens ambitious and hauty minds, into moſt dangerous & vnneceſſary miſchiefs, truly I would not haue directed vnto you theſe letters at this time; but as you haue well deſerued, perſecute you with death and moſt miſerable ſeruitude: which how eaſie a thing were it for me to do, you your ſelues know. But hauing now ſufficiently tried my force, if you be wiſe make proofe of my clemency. You haue already ſatisfied your owne fury, your owne mad humour: and now aduiſe your ſelues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your ſelues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth; and more than that, your choice to tarry there ſtill, or to depart: Refuſe not the grace frankely offered, which was of you to haue been moſt heartily deſired. It ſhall not alwaies be lawfull for you (as at this preſent) to make choice of both. From our campe.

Vpon the returne of the embaſſadors, the poore of all ſorts flockt together to the Great Maſter his houſe not far from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was diſmiſſed, and the chiefe of the burgers ſent for, the imperious letter of the Turkiſh tyrant was openly read before the Knights of the Order, and the better ſort of the citiſens. Whereunto the Great Maſter accounting it both honour enough, and ſufficient tearme of life honorably to die, anſwered in this ſort.

The Great Maſter his opinion concerning that Solyman demanded by his letters.

You heard (ſacred fellowes in armes, and valiant citizens of the Rhodes) theſe imperious and ſorrowfull letters: whereunto how we are to anſwer, requireth no great deliberation: we muſt as reſolute men either yeeld or die; all hope of the victory is gone, except forraine aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my counſell, let vs with weapons in our hands, vntill the laſt gaſpe and the ſpending of the laſt drop of our bloud, like valiant men defend our faith and nobility receiued from our anceſtors, and the honour which we haue ſo long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be ſaid, that our honour died but with our ſelues. G

This ſpeech of the Great Maſter ſeemed vnto many, heauier than the imperious commandement of the Turkiſh tyrant: and a great while men ſtood ſilent, heauily looking one vpon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward geſture, more than by words expreſſing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke Prieſt, with great compaſſion of mind (as it ſeemed) and teares trickling downe his cheekes, brake forth into theſe words: H

A notable ſpeech of a Greeke Prieſt, perſuading the Great Maſter to yeeld.

And I would alſo hold my peace, if I were a priuat man, and not firſt of all in ſo great and troubled aſſembly broch mine owne opinion. But foraſmuch as the regard of our common preſeruation, can wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to ſpeake and ſay what euery man thinketh beſt, which ſhall neither alwaies nor long be granted vnto vs; I will not let it now ouerpaſſe and ſlip away: Wherefore let vs ſuppoſe, that no command of a moſt mighty Prince beſieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I was reaſoning as a priuat man with his neighbour, or one friend with another by the fire ſide, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either party, as men indifferent, not liking or hating (as men do oftentimes of Princes affaires which concerne them nothing) and then (as I hope) my ſpeech ſhall be vnto you neither vnpleaſing nor vnprofitable. We Greekes and Latines, with ioyned armes, haue now theſe ſix moneths withſtood our deadly enemies, not only abroad before our wals, but alſo in the very bowels of our city, without any forreine helpe: which as we haue of long time all vainely looked for, ſo are we now euery one of vs out of hope thereof. And yet our enemy, either moued with the ſecret goodneſſe of God, or elſe ignorant of our ſtrength and forces, ſpent with wounds, ſlaughter, ſickeneſſe, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarily offer that vnto vs, which was of vs moſt of all deſired and earneſtly ſued for. Your publike and priuate treaſures, the bodies of your ſelues, your wiues and children, he keepeth inuiolated; he taketh from vs only the city, which he hath for moſt part already beaten downe and taken. K *Worthy Great Maſter, and you moſt valiant Knights, I haue knowne proweſſe and valour in many battels at ſea, but eſpecially in this ſiege; whereof ſeeing there is no more vſe in this our deſperate eſtate, I doe appeale vnto your wiſedome and diſcretion. Since all is now the conquerors, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues and goods, that is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the city and Iſland no loſſe, which the victorious enemy already commandeth: which although it be a heauy matter and grieuous vnto the nobility, yet your fortune perſuadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be moued with any compaſſion, I account it better to yeeld, than to be ſlaine your ſelues, or to ſee your wiues and children by law of armes to be led away before your faces into miſerable captiuity and ſeruitude. If any Chriſtian compaſſion remaine in your warlike minds, I beſeech you ſeeke not the vtter deſtruction of this innocent people, who (I may with modeſty ſay) hath not euill deſerued of you, whom Chriſt Ieſus, whom the enemy himſelfe, would haue preſerued.* L *That I ſay this which I ſpeake vnto you for Chriſtian charity, & for no other cauſe, let this be a ſufficient teſtimony, That ſo long as you were able to reſiſt by your own power, or hoped for aid of forrein Princes, I neuer ſpake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now ſeeing the fatall ruin of all things about vs, our common eſtate brought vnto the vttermoſt extremity, our deadly enemy in the heart of our city, no hope, and that the war cannot longer be protracted; I wiſh you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choice of peace than war, and to proue the enemies fauour, than his fury.*

Moſt of them there preſent, were of the ſame mind with the Prieſt. But as nothing can be ſo reaſonably ſpoken as to content all men, ſo this ſpeech was not of them all liked: ſome there were (though not many) which conſidering the harmes they had done vnto the Turks, and M doubting with what ſafety they might yeeld themſelues, into the power of that faithleſſe people, had rather to haue fought it out to the laſt man, and ſo to haue left vnto them a bloudy victory. Amongſt theſe, one bold ſpoken fellow ſtept forth, and in preſence of them all diſſuaded the yeelding vp of the city, in this ſort:

A moſt reſolute ſpeech of a common ſouldier, diſſuading the yeelding vp of the Rhodes.

A *I haue not beene with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before Princes, or in ſuch great and publike aſſemblies, being alwaies more deſirous modeſtly to heare other mens opinions, than impudently to thruſt forth mine owne. But now, ſeeing extreame neceſsity will not longer ſuffer me to keepe my wonted courſe of ſilence, I will frankly ſpeake my mind, and tell you what in my opinion is to be anſwered vnto the heauy meſſage and imperious command of the moſt perfidious tyrant. This cruell enemy hath ouerthrown our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our city, and as a moſt troubleſome gueſt liueth and conuerſeth with vs as it were vnder the ſame roofe. Such as liſt not longer to indure ſuch an vnwelcome gueſt and troubleſome neighbour, perſuade you becauſe he is troubleſome, to giue him all: but (worthy and ſacred Knights) I am of far different opinion; neither do I thinke a poſſeſsion of two hundred and foureteene yeares is ſo lightly to be deliuered vp, and the ground forſaken: but* B *rather that this troubleſom intrudor is in like manner to be himſelf troubled, and with deadly skirmiſhes continually vexed: whom after we had by force of armes and vndaunted courage, maugre his head, held out fiue moneths, at length he brake into our city, not by any valour in himſelfe, but holpen by time, which tameth all things: and ſince his firſt entrance it is now almoſt forty daies, in which time for all his haſte, he hath ſcarcely got forward a hundred and thirty paces, hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not ceaſe continually to lay, if we be wiſe men and mindfull of our former valour. Deſtroy me you heauenly powers, before I ſee with theſe eies theſe ſacred knights to yeeld vp this famous city of the Rhodes; the antient Bulwarke of Chriſtian religion, vnto our mercileſſe enemies, polluted with the infamous ſuperſtition of* Mahomet*: who beſides the vnſatiable thirſt they haue of our bloud, how faithleſſe and miſchieuous they are by nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our ſelues, but we may take example* C *by the calamity of Conſtantinople, the late miſery of Eubœa, and that which later was, of Methone, as alſo by the Mamalukes at Caire, miſerably ſlaine contrary to the league, contrary to the faith and promiſe by the Turkiſh Emperour himſelfe before giuen. What, do you not remember how the death of the moſt noble captaine at Belgrade was of late procured by the falſhood, craft, and deceit of the ſame faithleſſe miſcreants? Let vs then, being men of wit and vnderſtanding, truſt theſe mad beaſts, let vs giue our ſelues into their power, which haue no regard of right or reaſon, of religion, or any thing elſe: whoſe couetouſneſſe and cruelty it is hard to ſay which is greater, which for theſe many yeres haue plotted & laboured nothing more, than how by policy or force they may vtterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they ſo deadly hate. They keepe vs ſhut vp and beſieged now the ſixt moneth, feeling together with vs extreame dangers and endleſſe labour, ſlaine by heapes before our wals and fortreſſes, and cannot be remoued hence* D *with thunder, lightenings, ſtormes, tempeſts, and all the calamities of Winter, a time which giueth intermiſsion of all warre, both by ſea and land; ſo deſirous they are of reuenge, and greedy of our bloud: and that not altogether without cauſe, for we haue alſo ſhed theirs, and gladly would ſtill ſo do if it lay in our power. But ſeeing it ſeemeth good vnto God otherwiſe, and that we are ſurpriſed with ineuitable neceſsity, yet let vs whileſt we are at liberty, and haue power our ſelues, by honourable death amongſt the Chriſtian enſignes, eſchew the torments and reproches which our cruell enemies hope to inflict vpon vs: ſo ſhall we enjoy eternall fame and glory, prepared both in heauen and earth for ſuch as honourably die in defence of their Prince and country: which honour it becommeth not them to enuy vnto thy moſt noble name and vertue, worthy Grand Maſter, which hauing for many yeares enjoyed the commodity and profit of peace, and greatly inriched by bounty of this ſacred military Order, refuſe now to beare this laſt* E *burden of war.*

At theſe words an antient Greeke, for his wiſedome and diſcretion of great reputation both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiuing his countrymen wrongfully touched, and the deſperat holding out of the city vainely perſuaded, tooke hold and interrupting this young gallant; in anſwer of that he had ſaid, ſpake as followeth:

The former ſpeech notably anſwered by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the City vrged.

That griefe of minde and deſperation can make men rather eloquent than wiſe, as you haue many times heard before this, ſo you might this day perceiue alſo, moſt valiant gentlemen: for aduiſed modeſty neuer falleth into obloquy, neither confoudeth falſehood with truth; it deſireth not the ſlaughter of the citiſens, F *it perſuadeth not fury, nor exhorteth men to madneſſe: but it is by nature ſo engraffed in many, that when they cannot by their owne wiſedome and policy deliuer themſelues from their troubles, they yet ſeeke to draw others into the fellowſhip of the ſame danger: ſo greedy haue malice and miſery alwaies beene of company. But if you (worthy Commander) will giue me leaue to ſpeake, a man amongſt his countrymen*

not of meaneſt place and authority, whith thing both the preſent calamity and vrgent neceßity might of G
you eaſily obtaine. I would alledge ſuch reaſons, and lay downe ſuch matter, as ſhould not only refell the copi-
ous and glorious words ſo this ſharpe witted Orator, ſcrapt together of purpoſe to flouriſh out the matter,
but alſo ſuch as might ſtir your minde to that which is honeſt, profitable, and neceſſary; expulſing hatred,
feare, trouble, or deſpaire. This Gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but ſome-
time a man moſt terrible, whereas for all his great words he is by nature mild, and ſo mild, that he neuer
had the heart to kill, nay, not ſo much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad,
cruell, whoſe perfidious dealing he deteſteth, whoſe cruelty he accurſeth, whoſe manner of liuing he exclai-
meth againſt, as altogether without law, without reaſon, without order, without regard: and now in
time of truce, and whileſt the ſhowres of arrowes, yron bullets, fire and ſtones doth ceaſe, creeping out of
his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great ſtir: and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now H
with glorious words call vpon death, whereof he hath hitherto ſhewed himſelfe too much affraid, and all
forſooth (as he ſaid) leſt he ſhould be inſorced to endure the mocking and ſcorning of the enemy. But this
is meere pride, not Chriſtian fortitude or humility. But our enemy neither threateneth nor purpoſeth
any ſuch matter, nothing ſo perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing vp the ſlaughter at Caire,
Eubœa, Methone, and Conſtantinople, cities taken either by force or warlike policy, and not yeelded by
compoſition, vpon faith giuen betwixt the beſieger and the beſieged: who becauſe he would ſpare vs, will
not ſuffer vs to do that whereby we ſhould vndoubtedly periſh. But whereof proceedeth this new found
clemency? this vnwonted fauour toward the people of the Rhodes? I am not of the tyrants priuy counſell,
neither euer curiouſly ſought after the reaſon of another mans bounty, but am glad to receiue it when I
need it. Yet for all that, I will not diſſemble what I thinke in a matter ſo doubtfull: he is willing (as I I
ſuppoſe) in this ſiege and conqueſt of the Rhodes, to ſhew vnto other nations whom he purpoſeth to inuade,
both his power and his patience: leſt alwaies ſatisfying his cruell nature, he ſhould make deſolation in pla-
ces he would raigne ouer, and ſo for euer alienating the minds of men, be inforced to fight with all men
with fire and ſword: by which rigour he hath not ſo much hurt his enemy as himſelfe. For this cauſe (as
I ſuppoſe) he leaueth vnto vs life and goods, leſt whileſt he in going about to take them from vs by force,
and we ſeeking to keepe them by deſperatneſſe, we ſhould both fall into great deſtruction, no leſſe lamenta-
ble vnto the conqueror than to the vanquiſhed. Beſides that, if he ſhould kill all here, truly he might then
enter the breaches of the city on the bodies of the dead, no men now left aliue to reſiſt him. But Lerus is
ſhut vp, Arangia is ſtrongly fortified, Lyndus is by ſcituation impregnable: here he knoweth are wea-
pons, armour, and men; here he muſt begin a new war, except he will haue the remainder of your warre, K
the fatall plague of his Empire, to prey ſtill vpon his ſubjects: all which ſtrong places he ſhall haue
without ſlaughter, without bloudſhed (as reaſon is) if he ſhould let you and vs poore wretches depart
in ſafety with a little traſh. Except theſe worldly conſiderations haue moued him to mercy and compaßi-
on: then out of doubt it is wrought by diuine power and the ſecret fauour of God towards vs, and of our
Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus crucified. Whereunto if you be men well aduiſed, if religious, if mindfull of the duty
of Chriſtians, it becommeth not you to impoſe any obſtacle, and with the ruine of your ſelues to deſtroy this
miſerable people, which for this halfe yeares ſiege, hath ſcarcely had ſo much reſt as might ſuffice the ne-
ceßity of nature, ſtanding for you in battell, induring both wounds and death for your honour and victory:
by whoſe faithfull labour and diligence you haue beene alwaies holpen both at home and abroad; whether
you inuaded the Turke by land in Mytilene, Naupactus, Methone, Patras, or other parts of Peloponeſus; L
or els by ſea thruſt him out of the poſſeßion of the Ionian or Ægeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto
a blind man, how iniurious it is, and far from truth, to object vnto vs, That injoying the fruits of peace, we
refuſe the charges of wars; nay, we neuer refuſed wars. But now it is come to that point, that if we would
neuer ſo faine make wars, we are not able ſo to do, the floure of our youth being ſlain: and the ſmall remain-
der that is left, not only weakened in body with wounds, ſickneſſe, watching, and reſtleſſe labour; but alſo in
mind diſcouraged, whileſt all things fall out proſperouſly to our enemies, and to vs aduerſe: the greateſt
and beſt part of our great artillery being broken with continuall vſe, which if it were whole, we could haue
thereof ſmall vſe or profit, for want of pouder, which not only this city now wanteth, but alſo your ſtrong
holds, Lerus, Lyndus, Halicarnaſſus, Arangia. I was neuer deſirous or curious to looke into other mens
doings, much leſſe into your manner of war: but yet (Great Maſter) you cannot deny but it is ſo; who haue M
cauſed ſoldiers to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpoudder ſecretly: by which policy you haue
withſtood your forreine enemy theſe ſix moneths, and deceiued the trechery of one or two domeſticall trai-
tors. But I gladly admit we haue all theſe things, I ſtand vpon the truth, I ſay not what moſt men ſay, but
I ſpeake

A *I ſpeake to pleaſe a few : and ſuppoſe we want neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether*
they would aduiſe you to vſe them to your defence, or to your deſtruction? For vnto both it cannot be,
no more than at once to be a freeman and a ſlaue. To vſe them to your deſtruction, that were madneſſe and
ſenceleſſe pride, hatefull to God and man; you ſhould therefore vſe them to defence : but how ſhall we defend
a city (I do not ſay as the truth is) already loſt and poſſeſſed by the enemy, wherein he reigneth, raungeth,
and turneth all vpſide downe? but hauing the wals battered downe, a great breach in the Spaniſh
ſtation, & another not like, but euen now as good as made in the Italion ſtation, how ſhall we be able to keep
this vnfortunate towne, battered and rent at the French, Engliſh, and Auergn ſtations, and the tower of
S.Nicolas? *Which if it were not ſo battered and bared of all warlike prouiſion, but ſound and thorowly*
furniſhed with munition and victuall, yet neceſſity enforcing, and reaſon perſuading, you ought to forſake
B *it, forſomuch as all power of further reſiſtance is taken from you. Doe you ſee how eaſily and almoſt without*
any trouble the enemy (by meanes of the caſtle he hath new built vpon the mount Philermo, not paſt
two miles diſtant) can take from you all manner of prouiſion both by ſea and land, and reſtraine you from
going out or in? Truly notable Gentlemen, honourable for your martiall proweſſe, you ſee and haue long
agoe foreſeene theſe things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether buſied in the
trade of merchandiſe, and caring for my family : yet ſuffer me to ſay the truth. All the powers whereby
this kingdome ſtood, are departed and gone; againſt the force of our enemies no policy of force remaineth;
and to expect armies of angels or ſouldiers from heauen, and other ſuch like miracles, is in my judgment
more and more to prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he be vnto vs mercifull. Wherefore
being deſtitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our ſafety. I beſeech thee (worthy
C *Great Maſter) by theſe my aged teares, by the naturall piety ingrafted in thy noble nature, expoſe not*
this miſerable city to the ſpoile of the enemy, or old and middle aged men to the ſword, our wiues and
daughters to be rauiſhed, our boyes and youths to the vnnaturall filthineſſe of our barbarous enemies,
and to be corrupted with the mad and groſſe opinion of the vngodly Mahometane ſuperſtition. I would
(noble Knights) you had ſeene with what teares, with what mourning our heauy families and children
crying about their mothers, ſent vs hither, and what praiers they made for vs at our departing : I would
you knew with what minde and how great hope they expect their ſafety from your clemency and aduiſed
reſolution.

This ſpeech of the aged Greeke might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great Maſter,
D who in his countenance ſhewed a greater courage than his preſent ſtate required, commanding
euery man to his charge: after the matter had bin thus moſt part of the night diſcourſed,
gaue then no other anſwer, but, That he would be careful of all their well doing. The next morning
he ſent for *Preianes*, *Martiningus*, and a few other of the greateſt judgement and experience;
by whom he was fully reſolued, that the city in ſo many places by the enemy laid open
and ſhaken, was not poſſibly to be long defended: whereupon he cauſed a common counſell to
be called of all the Knights of the Order together with the burgeſſes of the city : where after
long debating, whether they ſhould fight it out to the laſt man, or yeeld vpon ſuch conditions
as was to be obtained; it was by generall conſent concluded, that the city ſhould be yeelded,
and thereupon a decree made which was by the Great Maſter pronounced. Whileſt theſe
E things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemy for foure daies, but full of feare
and danger. During which time, diuers of the Turks preſuming vpon the truce, came by great
companies to behold the wals and rampiers of the city : wherewith *Fornouius* the Frenchman
(of whom mention is made before) being ſore moued, in his choler without further command
diſcharged a tyre of great ordnance among the thickſt of them, contrary to the truce taken. At
which time alſo the Rhodians receiued into the city ſecretly by night a ſhip loded with
wines out of Crete, and in her *Alphonſus* a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian gallies, and
with him 100 voluntary ſoldiers all Latines, all which went out of Crete without the knowledge
of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with *Solyman*. The
Turks juſtly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new ſupplies, which
F they ſuppoſed to haue bin far greater than in truth they were; without command of any captaine
or enſigne diſplaid, in great numbers thruſt in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the
city as farre as the rampiers and baricadoes new made, and furiouſly aſſailed the defendants:
In which conflict many were ſlaine and wounded on both ſides. But after the Turkes had to
their coſt againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement
they

The Great Maſter reſolued that the city was not to be defended, calleth a common counſell of all his knights, and the Burgeſſes of the city.

A truce taken with the Turks for foure daies.

A barbarous fact.

they began that ſkirmiſh,ſo of themſelues they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turks ſencers, a bloudy cruell fellow, hauing taken three Chriſtians priſoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noſes, and ſent them ſo diſmembred into the city with letters to the Great Maſter, charging him with the vnjuſt breach of the truce, barbarouſly threatning within three or foure daies to make like example of him to all poſterity. Amongſt others none was more troubled with this ſudden and vnexpected breach of the truce, than *Robertus Peruſinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three Knights of the Order, men of ſingular wiſedome and grauity, Embaſſadours at that time in the Turkes campe: whom the barbarous people in their fury had vndoubtedly ſlaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like meaſure to haue been ſhewed to their hoſtages in the city. But after that *Nicholas Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandriticus*, two of the Burgeſſes of the city, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the city, all their fury and rage was quickly appeaſed. *Solyman* for his greater majeſty and the more terror of theſe meſſengers, beſet round about with his great army, and guarded about with his Ianizaries in their richeſt attire and gliſtering armour, gaue them audience: who admitted to his preſence, with great humility offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the city. The chiefe points whereof were, That the Churches ſhould remaine vnto the Chriſtians inuiolated: That no children ſhould be taken from their parents: That no Chriſtian ſhould be inforced to forſake his religion and turne Turke: That ſuch Chriſtians as would tarry ſtill in the city, might ſo doe at liberty, without paying any tribute for the ſpace of fiue yeares: That all they which would depart might go with bag and baggage, furniſhed with conuenient ſhipping and prouiſion as farre as Crete, and to carry with them ſo much great ordnance as they pleaſed; and that the Chriſtians ſhould appoint a reaſonable day for the time of their departure. All which articles *Solyman* condeſcended vnto, and ſolemnly ſwore faithfully to performe the ſame. But how they were indeed performed the writers of that age do much vary: it ſhould ſeem they were neither altogether kept, nor broken; but ſo performed as pleaſed the conqueror: certaine it is, that many great outrages were through military inſolency committed by the proud Turks vpon the poore Chriſtians, contrary to the mind of *Solyman*. *Iacobus Fontanus* a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the judges of the city (out of whoſe writings this hiſtory is for moſt part collected) reporteth, that the Turks not expecting the departure of the Chriſtians, brake into the city vpon Chriſtenmas day, by the gate called Coſquinium, polluted the Temples, ſhamefully abuſed the Chriſtians, and made hauocke of all things; and that he himſelfe falling into their hands, after he had with ſuch mony as he had, redeemed himſelfe, hauing not ſufficient to content all their greedy deſires, was by them hardly intreated and grieuouſly beaten. The Great Maſter by the counſell of *Achimetes*, putting on ſuch ſimple attire as beſt beſeemed a vanquiſhed man that was to humble himſelfe before the conqueror, went out of the city into the campe, attended vpon with a few Knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine moſt part of the day, before *Solymans* tent, at laſt he had a rich gowne caſt vpon him, and ſo brought into the proud tyrants preſence. Where after they had a while at the firſt, with piercing eies one earneſtly beheld the other; the Great Maſter humbling himſelfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kiſſe his hand, and welcommed by *Solyman* in this ſort.

Solyman his ſpeech vnto the Great Maſter.

Although (ſaid he) *I might worthily and juſtly infringe the articles I haue preſcribed concerning the yeelding of the City, with thy moſt wicked croſſed compiers, the people of the Rhodes, and thee eſpecially ſuch a capitall enemy, from whoſe deſerued puniſhment, neither faith nor oath ought to ſtay a moſt juſt conquerour: yet I haue determined to be not onely gratious and mercifull vnto thee ſo great an offender, deſeruing exemplary puniſhment, but alſo liberall and bountifull: who if thou wilt by weldoing amend the grieuous tranſgreſſions of thy former life, I promiſe vnto thee moſt honourable entertainement, great preferment, and the higheſt places in my Empire, in my army in time of warre, and in counſell in time of peace. Not to refuſe this mine offer, both thy preſent eſtate perſuadeth thee, and the Chriſtians (whoſe quarrell thou tookeſt vpon thee to defend aggainſt me, with better beginning than ſucceſſe) deſerue at thy hands no better: for what ſhould let thee, forſaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betraied and vanquiſhed, to caſt thy ſelfe into the perpetuall faith and protection*

of

A *of a moſt mighty and mercifull conquerour, of himſelfe offering thee this vndeſerued grace and fauour.*

Whereunto the Great Maſter anſwered:

The reſolute anſwere of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

Moſt Mighty and gratious Emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthy captaines, I deſerue not; neither is my preſent eſtate and deſert towards you ſuch, as that I dare or ought to refell the ſame: yet I will ſpeake freely in the middeſt of your victorious army, a man vanquiſhed in preſence of the conquerour, whoſe great mercy I neuer deſpaired of, and whoſe faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue loſt my ſoueraignty, forthwith to loſe my priuat and vnfortunate life; or elſe for euer hereafter to B *liue in obſcurity, than of my people to be accounted a fugitiue rather than a vanquiſhed man: For, to be vanquiſhed is but chance of warre, and of ſo great a conqueror, no ſhame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forſake his owne people and to turne to the enemy, I account it ſhamefull cowardiſe and treachery.*

Solyman maruelling at the courage and majeſty of the hoary old Prince, in his ſo great extremity, diſmiſſed him, and ſent him againe into the city, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his palace: and vnto euery one of the Knights attending vpon the Great Maſter, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauor. Within a few daies after, *Solyman* comming into the city, went to viſit the Great Maſter alſo: whom he found buſie in packing vp his things againſt his departure. C Here when the Great Maſter falling downe vpon his knees would haue worſhipped him, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to do: but with his hand putting aſide his vaile of majeſty (which manner of reuerence the Turkiſh Emperors giue only to God and their Great Prophet *Mahomet*) tooke him vp and ſaluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great Maſter for his wiſedome and diſcretion now to him no leſſe admirable, than he was before in time of war for his valour and courage, ſpake in this ſort:

Solyman commeth into the city vnto the Great Maſter.

The ſpeech of the Great Maſter to Solyman.

If my fortune and ſucceſſe had beene anſwerable to my heart and courage, I ſhould here be in this city, rather as a victorious conquerour than a man conquered. But ſithence the fatall Deſtinies would needs ouerthrow the Rhodian eſtate, I am glad that you are the man before all other, by fortune aſſigned, of whom D *I ſhall receiue both force and grace. And vnto you, amongſt many other your rare and worthy praiſes, this ſhall not be the leaſt, That you vanquiſhed the Rhodes and ſhewed mercy. By this means you haue joyned vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemency and courteſie: an honour not of the higheſt to be deſpiſed, by which alone we come neereſt vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not you will keepe the conuentions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemency perſuaded you to grant, and neceſſity inforced vs to take. I ſhall now be an eternall example of the Turkiſh Emperors clemency and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the firſt yeelded my ſelfe: Obſtinate wilfulneſſe hath made thy glory and mercy now famous through the whole World, and vnto the Worlds end.*

E Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter anſwered:

The notable anſwere of Solyman to the Great Maſter.

It is to me a great pleaſure, that God at length hath put into thy minde to make choice of peace before warre, which I would thou couldeſt haue liked of from the begining: then truly thou ſhouldeſt at this time haue receiued of my great and mighty Majeſty, more good than thou haſt indured harme. Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but only for deſire of Soueraignty thou mayſt gather by this, That I ſuffer thee and thine to depart hence at liberty, with all your wealth and ſubſtance: for I make not warre, thereby to heape vp wealth and riches; but for honour, fame, immortality, and enlarging of mine Empire. For it is the property of a King royally deſcended, by ſtrong hand to take from others, and to inuade others; not vpon a greedy and couetous minde, but for the honourable deſire of rule and ſoueraignty; F *which whileſt my neighbour withſtandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remoue him.*

But the tyrant (as many ſuppoſed) ſpake all this by way of diſſimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ſhip, and certaine gallies, for the ſudden tranſporting of the Great Maſter and the Knights of the Order to Conſtantinople,

which report ſeemeth to haue beene but feigned either of malice, or elſe by ſuch as leaſt knew
Solymans minde: for if he had ſo purpoſed, who ſhould haue let him, hauing them all in his G
power. *Iouius* in his little treatiſe *Rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the fifth, reporteth
that he himſelfe heard *Lilladamus* the Great Maſter ſay, That when *Solyman* entered into the
Rhodes attended vpon with thirty thouſand men, there was not any man heard to ſpeake a
word, but that the ſoldiers went as if they had bin obſeruant Friers: and that when he came to
aske leaue of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was ſo courteouſly vſed of him, that turning
himſelfe to *Abraham* the Baſſa, whom hee aboue all men loued, ſaid, Truely I cannot but
grieue to ſee this vnfortunate old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence ſo
heauily.

The Great Maſter embarking himſelfe with his Knights and ſuch other as was willing to
depart, in veſſels and gallies prepared for that purpoſe, departed out of the Iſland on New- H
yeares day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by ſea in that Winter weather, landed
at laſt at Meſſana in Silicia, from whence he afterwards ſailed into Italy, and ſo trauelled
to Rome where he was honorable receiued by *Adrian* the ſixt of that name then Biſhop there,
a Hollander borne, ſometime ſchoolemaſter to *Charles* the fifth, and his Vicegerent in Spaine;
who if he had been as forward in the ſhort time of the Papacy to haue relieued the Rhodes, as
he was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell againſt the French King, it is not vnlike but that famous
city had been relieued, and the Iſland in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians at this day. Thus
Solyman, whileſt the Chriſtian Princes were at diſcord amongſt themſelues, to his great glory
and no leſſe griefe of all good Chriſtians, entered the Rhodes the 52 day of December, a day I
dedicated vnto the Natiuity of our Sauiour Chriſt, in the yeare 1522, after it had bin by the
Knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended againſt the Infidels by the ſpace of 214
yeares, ſince the time they by force tooke it from the Infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being
ſo long holden as was poſſible, againſt all the power of the Turks, was yeelded vp when it
had bin ſix moneths beſieged. At this ſiege *Solyman* loſt a great part of his army; for beſides
them that were ſlaine at the aſſaults, which were many, thirty thouſand died of the flix.

Solyman entreth into the Rhodes on Chriſtenmas day, in the yere 1522.

Solyman ſends Ferhates Baſſa againſt Alis-beg the mountaine Prince.

Whileſt *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of the Rhodes, *Ferhates Baſſa* Gouernor of the Marches
of the Turkiſh Empire, alongſt the riuer of Euphrates, by the commandement of *Solyman*
went with a great army againſt *Alis-Beg*, whom the Turks call *Schach, Suar-Ogli*, that is to ſay,
King *Suar* his ſon: which *P. Iouius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxouar-Oglis*. This K
Alis after he had betraied his vncle *Aladeules* the mountaine King, vnto *Sinan Baſſa*, was by *Selymus*
left chiefe Gouernor of that large and wild country alongſt the borders of Armenia and
Capadocia, wanting nothing of the honor of a king but the name only, as is before declared in
the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his honour, and fearing leſt he ſhould take vpon him the
abſolute gouernment of that country (which indeed of right belonged vnto him, the children
of *Aladeules* the late King, being now all dead) and ſo to make himſelfe King; eſpecially if he
ſhould joyne in friendſhip with the Perſian King: after the manner of ambitious men, purpoſed
by any means to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore ſent *Ferhates* to eaſe
him of that care. The Baſſa without making any ſhew of hoſtility, marching with his army
along the confines of his country, as if it had been but to looke to his charge, when he was L
come as neere as he could to *Alis*, without miſtruſt, thought good to aſſay if he could by policy
bring that to paſſe which he was otherwiſe with great danger to attempt by force.
Wherefore faining himſelfe to be extream ſicke, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Alis*, requeſting him
as a friend to vouchſafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto whom he had many
things of importance from the great Emperour to impart, and would if he ſhould die, leaue
with him all his charge vntill *Solyman* ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe thereof.

Alis and his foure ſonnes treacherouſly ſlaine.

Alis, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkiſh Emperours and faithfully ſerued
them, miſtruſting no harme came to the Baſſa, accompanied with his foure ſons; whom
the faithleſſe Baſſa without regard of infamy, cauſed preſently to be put to death with their
father: and ſo reducing all that country into the manner of a Prouince, vnder *Solymans* obeiſance, M
came to him with twenty thouſand men, about the time that the city of the Rhodes
was yeelded vp. This is the faithleſſe dealing of the Turks, not with the Chriſtians only, but
with them of their owne ſuperſtition alſo: vſing it as no ſmall policy, vtterly to extinguiſh the
nobility of all countries ſubject to their ſeruile tyranny.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes & diſordered ſtate of Hungary, taketh occaſion to inuade that kingdome.

1526

Solyman commeth againſt Lewis king of Hungary.

The vanity of Tomoreus.

A *Solyman* after he had thus ſubdued the Rhodes, and diſpoſed of the Iſland as he liked beſt,
returning to Conſtantinople, brake vp his army, and for the ſpace of three yeares after followed
his pleaſure,not doing any thing worthy of remembrance. During which time and many
yeres after,the rich and flouriſhing countrey of Italy, ſomtime miſtreſſe of the world,was
miſerably afflicted & rent in pieces by *Charles* the fiſt(then Emperor)and *Francis* the French
king,the one enuying vnto the other the glory of the Empire : and he not content therewith,
ſeeking with immoderat ambition to make himſelfe lord of all Italy:moſt of the other Chriſtian
princes and ſtates being at the ſame time either by the one or by the other, drawne into
the fellowſhip of that war, to the great trouble and ſore weakning of the Chriſtian commonweale.
Wherupon *Solyman* waiting all occaſions that might ſerue for the inlarging of his empire,
B & annoying of the Chriſtians,thought it now a fit time for him to ſet his foot into Hungary,
whereinto he had already laid open a way by the taking of Belgrade. He knew right well
that *wis* then King of Hungary was but yong,altogether vnacquainted with the wars,commanding
ouer his headſtrong ſubiects(eſpecially his rich prelates and nobility)no otherwiſe
than pleaſed themſelues,being himſelfe rather by them altogether ouerruled:beſides that,he
was in good hope,that the other Chriſtian Princes neer vnto him,either carried away with regard
of their own eſtate,would not,or els before vnto himſelfe by league faſt bound,could not
affourd vnto him any great aid or ſuccor:the Germanes he knew would make ſmall haſt vnto
ſuch wars as ſhould yeeld them much danger, and but ſmall pay. As for the Princes of the
houſe of Auſtria,*Charles* the Emperor,and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were ioyned
C vnto the yong king with the neereſt bonds of allyance(*Lewis* hauing married *Mary* their yongeſt
ſiſter,and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewis* his ſiſter)yet was there as he thought ſmall help to
be expected from them;*Charles* hauing his hands full in Italy, and *Ferdinand* altogether carefull
of himſelfe:and that *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia would for the yong kings ſake breake the
antient league he had with the Turkiſh Emperors, he could hardly be perſuaded:as for other
Chriſtian Princes farther off,he ſtood not in any great doubt. Thus hauing with himſelfe ſingled
out this young Prince the Hungarian King,whom he had in his greedy mind already deuoured,
he ſet forward from Conſtantinople,and was come on his way as far as Sophia in Seruia
with a mighty army of two hundred thouſand men, before that the Hungarians had any
knowledge of his comming (ſo blind and ſenceleſſe was that ſtate, which now ſleeping in ſecurity,
D had long before loſt thoſe eies which euer watcht, and neuer ſpared coſt or paines to
keep the ſame in ſafety) in ſtead of whom were others come in place, ſharp of ſight, and too
too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement;but blind as beetles in foreſeeing
this great and common danger(wherwith they were ſhortly after all quite ouerwhelmed(vntill
it was now brought home vnto their owne dores. The yong king of himſelfe but weak,by
reaſon of his youthfull yeares,and nothing ſtrengthned by them for whom he had moſt done,
and ſhould haue bin his greateſt ſtay;was wonderfully diſmayd with the fame of the approch
of ſo mighty an enemy:yet the better to withſtand him, he ſent Embaſſadours with all ſpeed
to the Chriſtian Princes his neighbors, requeſting their aid againſt the common enemy:but
all in vain. In the mean time,after the antient maner of his countrey he gaue out general ſummons
E for the aſſembly of his counſell for the wars : whither his great ſtipendarie Prelates (of
duty bound to appeare)came with their troups of euill appointed horſmen,and not halfe full;
who alſo deliuered in leſſe ſums of money by far,than of right they ſhould haue don,towards
the maintenance of the charge of that common war. And the temporall nobilitie,forgetting
the warlike diſcipline of their famous aunceſtors,as freſh water ſouldiers which had ſeen the
Turkiſh Emperour in his ſtrength, and but little acquainted with ſome light skirmiſhes or
ſmal inuaſions,in their vain brauery made light account of the Turks;proudly vaunting, That
although they were in number but few,yet they would eaſily ouerthrow the great numbers of
them,if euer they came to handy ſtrokes. But aboue all the reſt,one *Paulus Tomoreus*, Archbiſhop
of Coloſſa,ſometimes a Minorit, who had before bin in diuers light skirmiſhes againſt
F the Turks,with great inſolency did ſo confidently brag & boaſt of the victory he vainly dreamed
of,that in his ſermons vnto the ſouldiers,and in open talke with the nobility (if he could
haue done ſo much as he vaunted of) it ſhould ſeem that he himſelfe had bin enough to haue
ouerthrowne the Turks whole army.

But when all the Kings army was aſſembled, and a generall muſter taken, there was hardly

found fiue and twenty thouſand men in all, horſe and foot. So that the fooliſh hardineſſe of G
Tomoreus, and others ſo forward to giue the Turks battell, was of moſt wiſe men diſliked. The
old ſouldiers and men of great experience ſaid plainly, That it was meere folly and madneſſe
with ſuch a handfull of men to giue battell vnto the enemy, who would bring eight times ſo
many moe into the field as they were. Wherefore ſome wiſhed, that the yong king ſhould be
withdrawn from the eminent danger: among whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captain, of all
the reſt beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh wars, gaue counſel, that the perſon of the yong king
ſhould for the ſafety of the common ſtate, whatſoeuer ſhould happen, be kept out of danger
wholſom counſel not followed
in the ſtrong caſtle of Buda. But the vnruly ſoldiers with open mouth impugned his wholſom
counſell, and ſaid plainly, That except the king himſelfe did lead them, they would not at all
fight. Of which opinion was alſo the raſh prelat *Tomoreus*, perſuading them with all ſpeed to H
giue the enemy battell, and that the noble yong king vnder the protection of Almighty God
ſhould in perſon himſelfe go & giue the ſignal of battell againſt his enemies. The king ouerruld
by this vnlucky counſell, vpon a brauery without reaſon ſet forward with his army, and
came to a place called Mohatchz or Mugace, which is a little countrey village not farre from
Danubius, almoſt in the middle between Buda and Belgrade. And now *Balybeus* with 20000
horſemen (the forerunners of the Turkiſh army) was at hand, at which time the commanders
and captains of the kings army, entred into counſell, Whether it were better to incamp their
army within their waggons alongſt the riuer of Danubius, and ſo to expect the comming of
Ioannes Sepuſius, County of Cilia, and Vayuod of Tranſiluania (who was then ſaid to be comming
towards the king with his Tranſyluanian horſemen) of all other fitteſt to haue incountred I
the Turks, or elſe to march on forward, and preſently to giue them battell: But *Tomoreus*,
who now commanded all, knowing that vpon the comming of the Vayuod, he was to giue
place, and himſelfe to be commanded (which vnto ſo proud a man was no ſmall griefe) for
the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carry away the glory of the victory he ſo
vainly hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but haſting headlong to his own deſtruction,
did with ſuch vehemencie impugn the wholſom counſel of others, who would haue
expected the comming of the Vayuod, that he by his franticke perſuaſions, drew on the vnaduiſed
The battell of Mohatchz.
young King into moſt apparent and manifeſt danger. For *Balybeus* diuided his horſemen
into foure battels, which by turns ſkirmiſhed with the Kings army without intermiſſion, and
gaue the Hungarians no leiſure to reſt either day or night, but continually wheeling about, K
kept them in ſo ſtrait, that no man could without great danger goe to water his horſe at the
ſide of Danubius, which was faſt by, or once to ſtir out of the camp, but were inforced to dig
pits for water in places where they lay: with which neceſſity *Tomoreus* was inforced to put the
army in order of battell, and there was now no remedy, but he muſt of neceſſity fight for the
honour of his Prince and countrey. His battell was ranged all in length, and his horſmen not
altogether (as it was thought) vnfitly placed here and there among his footmen, leſt the Turks
(being in number eight to one) ſhould with their multitude compaſſe them round, and ſo inforce
them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come alſo with his huge army.
The Hungarian tents defended with a ſmall garriſon, were left a little from the army on the
right hand, incloſed round about with wagons, one chained to another: neere vnto the which, L
Tomoreus, Generall of this vnluckie battell, had not altogether vndiſcreetly placed a troup of
choſen horſmen for the defence of the Kings perſon againſt all vncertaine euents of the battell.
But this day (vnlucky to the Hungarian name, but vnto the King himſelfe moſt fatall
and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpoſe, deuiſed too late for the ſafety of the kings perſon:
for at the firſt encounter, the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkiſh
Artillery (being mounted too high, of purpoſe as it was thought, the gunners being for
moſt part Chriſtians) were eaſily beaten downe and ouerthrowne, oppreſſed by the multitude
Tomoreus ſlain.
of their enemies, eſpecially *Tomoreus* with the reſt of the prelats and nobility, being almoſt all
ſlaine together, and the Hungarian horſmen alſo either ſlain or put to flight. All things going
thus to wrack, a company of Turks aſſailed the camp, which was hardly defended by the weak M
garriſon. Which thing the troup of the choſen horſemen appointed for defence of the kings
perſon, beholding, could not be ſtaid, but that they would needs help them which defended
the campe. The young King ſeeing all his army diſcomfited, and himſelfe forſaken of
the horſemen which he was in hope ſhould haue guarded him, betooke himſelfe to flight.

But

King Lewis drowned in a ditch.

A But as he was making ſhift for himſelf, thinking to haue paſſed ouer a fenny ditch, his horſe
in plunging out, fel backward vpon him into the ditch; where being heauy loden with armor,
not able to help himſelf, he was in the middeſt of the filthy ditch in the mud moſt miſerably
drowned. Some few horſmen eſcaped out of the battel, the reſt were either ſlain or taken priſoners.
This woſul battel, not ſufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miſeries of that
worthy kingdom, was fought the 29 day of October, in the year 1526.

Solyman hauing obtained this victory, marched on directly to Buda the regall ſeat of the
Hungarian Kings, which was deliuered to him with the caſtle, vpon condition that he ſhould
not violate any man either in perſon or goods, and at his departure to leaue the ſame again to
the Hungarians: all which things he according to their requeſt faithfully performed. Being
B entred into the caſtle, he wonderfully commended the ſame, but lodged not therin, becauſe it
is by their antient Law forbidden the Turkiſh Emperour to lodge within any walled place
which is not his own. Wherfore he returned and lodged in his camp alongſt the riuer of Danubius.

The heads of the ſlain Chriſtian Biſhops and Captains preſented to Solyman.

Whilſt *Solyman* thus lay at Buda, ſeuen bloudy heads of the Biſhops and greateſt of the
Nobility (ſlain in the late battel at Mohatchz) were preſented to him, all ſet in order vpon a
wooden ſtep: wherat he ſmiled, to ſee his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their breſts,
and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeiſance, to ſalute them by name,
and in deriſion to welcom them by the names of valiant Popes. But afterwards, when he had
more particularly inquired what euery one of them was, it is reported, that he moſt of al deteſted
C *Ladiſlaus Salcanius* the great Biſhop of Strigonium, for his miſerable couetouſneſſe, that
being a man of infinit wealth, refuſed to ſpare part therof vnto his ſoueraigne, requeſting the
ſame at his great need. *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconſiderat raſhnes, for that he being a Clergy
man, would buſie himſelf ſo far in matters not belonging to his vocation. On the contrary
part, he commended *Franciſcus Perenus* Biſhop of Veradium, a man honorably deſcended, for
his wiſe counſel (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported that hee as a
true prophet, fortelling the common ſlaughter inſuing, had ſharpely ſaid in the Councell, at
ſuch time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, and was not by any means to bee remoued
from that his fatal opinion, That hee did foreſee what that their Frier-like Generall
would the next day do; and that he would with ſo great an enterpriſe effect no more, but to
D make one holyday the more in the Chriſtian Calenders, in remembrance of 30000 Hungarian
Martyrs, moſt miſerably ſlain of the Turks in an vnequal battell, for defence of the Chriſtian
faith and religion: for at that time, they which willingly expoſed themſelues to death in
defence of the Chriſtian faith, were all accounted for Martyrs. *Georgius Sepuſius* and others,
he called raſh fools, that would aduenture with ſo ſmall ſtrength to incounter ſo ſtrong an Enemy.
At ſuch time as the counterfeits of King *Lewis* and *Mary* his wife were ſhewed to him,
he honourably ſaid, that he was ſorry for the young King, that it was his hard hap to haue ſo
vnaduiſed counſellors in a matter of ſo great importance, as to perſuade him againſt all reaſon
to fight at ſo great diſaduantage: And that hee came not into Hungary to take his kingdom
from him, but only to reuenge the wrongs don vnto him by the Hungarians: and that if
E he had eſcaped the danger of the battel, he would aſſuredly haue again reſtored vnto him the
Kingdom of Hungary, contenting himſelf with ſome ſmall tribute: and that it ſhould haue
bin vnto him honor enough to haue ſaued the nephew of *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, his confederat,
ſo ſtrongly allyed with the honorable houſe of Auſtria. All which he commanded to
be told to *Mary* the Queen, who was for fear fled from Buda to Poſſonium. Which might
perhaps all ſeem to haue bin either diſſemblingly ſpoken, or falſly reported of the equity and
courteſie of the barbarous King, if he had not ſhortly afterwards to the ample declaration of
his bounty and liberality, without any deſert, giuen the ſame kingdom of Hungary to *Ioannes
Sepuſius*, not born of any Royall bloud, and then retaining the minde of a very enemy. After
that, he took away three goodly images of braſſe of antient workmanſhip, which were placed
F in the entrance into the Kings Palace, by that renowned King *Matthias Corvinus* the great
fauourer of rare qualities and vertues. These images repreſented the forms of *Hercules* with
his club, of *Apollo* with his harp, and *Diana* with her bow and quiuer. All which hee placed
in the Tilt-yard at Conſtantinople, as a trophey of the Hungarian victorie. Neuertheleſſe
theſe images were ſince taken down by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, and molten (as contrary

The Biſhop of Veradium too true a prophet.

The honorable ſpeech of Solyman cõcerning his comming into Hungary.

to their ſuperſtition) and great ordnance made of them. He caried alſo away with him three G pieces of Artillery of moſt excellent and curious work, and certain braſen pillars of chamſered work, which ſupported the chapiters of the gates. He taried at Buda about twenty dayes, in which time to ſatisfie the cruel nature and greedy deſires of his ſoldiers, he ſent out diuers troups of horſmen into the countries therabouts; by whom all the country betwixt Rab and the riuer of Tibyſcus was by that ſudden and vnexpected incurſion ſo deſtroyed, that as it is reported, aboue an hundred and fifty thouſand people of al ſorts were either ſlain or led away into moſt miſerable captiuitie. All which don, he returned again by the ſame way hee came, to Conſtantinople.

Ioannes Sepuſius, Vayuod of Tranſiluania, aſpireth to the kingdome of Hungary.

About the ſame time, *Ioannes Sepuſius* Vayuod of Tranſylvania, with a great power came now too late into Hungary to haue aided the King: but glad (as was thought) of his death, as H tending to his own aduancement, foraſmuch as he was now (the King being dead without iſſue) a man of greateſt account among the Nobility of Hungary. Wherſore as one of a deep and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtain the kingdom, he began cunningly to labour diuers Noblemen one by one, and inſtantly to requeſt them, that at the next parliament they would not betray the honor of their Countrey, in ſuffering the royall dignity of that antient kingdom to be transferred vnto a ſtranger, of ſuch a nation as haply loued them not. For why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in former times, in chuſing forrein kings and ſtrangers to rule ouer them, and in following their vnfortunat enſignes againſt the Turks; which thing the woful miſery of times paſt might notably proue, which either *Sigiſmundus* of Bohemia, or *Ladiſlaus* the firſt of Polonia, by their vnfortu- I nat battels, once at Nicopolis, again at Columbarium, and laſt of all at Varna, had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to ſpeak, nay once to remember the harmes receiued by the long cowardiſe of *Vladiſlaus*, or this late raſhnes of his ſon King *Lewis*, would make any noble mind to bluſh and be aſhamed: vnder whoſe gouernment all military diſcipline, and the glory of Hungary, might wel be thought to be vtterly loſt. And he ſaid there remained of the nobility of Hungary men honourably deſcended of moſt antient Houſes, worthy of the kingdome, who bare noble minds, and were of ſufficient courage, diſcretion and power, in this time of common heauines, to reſtore the honor of the Eſtate, and worthily to defend the Kingdome. Amongſt whom (ſaid he) I would not be accounted ſo baſe minded, or ſo heauy headed, (although there be many which for the honor of their houſes and wealth may ſeem to go be- K fore me) that I will therfore confeſſe, that there is any of them for valour, proweſſe, or fortune, better than my ſelf, either for conducting an army, or gouernment of a Kingdom. For I ſhall be a King of courage and valour ſufficient, if by your fauourable good will I ſhall bee thought worthy of your conſent and ſuffrages. The Vayuod taking this courſe, by his erneſt ſuit and labor had won the good wils of many; and ſo much the eaſier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greateſt nobility among the Hungarians) was a little before gon into Bohemia vnto King *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly buſied, by reaſon of a parliament there ſummoned, in procuring the fauour of the Nobility and commons of that Realme, againſt the time of the Parliament; wherein hee was in good hope to be choſen King, as hee was in ſhort time after. L

King Lewis buried.

At the ſame time the Hungarians were with great ſolemnity celebrating the funerall of their late King: whoſe dead body after the departure of *Solyman* from Buda, was found whole, by the demonſtration of one *Cotriſcus* a ſquire of his body, who was preſent when he was drowned; and ſo was brought out of the fens of Mohatez, to Alba Regalis, where it was with great pomp buried among the Sepulchres of the other kings of Hungary his predeceſſors. Which ſolemne funerall once ended, the generall military Parliament (by the authority and voyce wherof the Kings of Hungary were by their antient Lawes and Cuſtomes to be choſen) was called: in the ſhutting vp whereof, *John* the Vayuod hauing in that common heauines no competitor, nor any of the greateſt nobility which durſt ſtand againſt him, was with the great ap- M plauſe, and a generall conſent of all there preſent, choſen King. Vnto whom forthwith *Petrus Perennus* came and preſented the antient Crown of the Kingdome of Hungary, which was in his keeping, made after an homely faſhion of pure gold; with which the lawfull Kings of Hungary vſed alwaies to be ſolemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the Crowne of *Stephanus* the firſt King of Hungary, and was by an antient Cuſtom alwaies kept in the caſtle

of

Iohn Sepuſius the Vayuod choſen and crowned King of Hungary.

A of Vicegrade. And ſo *Iohn* the Vayuod was orderly crowned, and conſecrated by the hands of
Paulus Biſhop of Strigonium, lately choſe in ſtead of *Ladiſlaus Salcanius*, ſlaine in the battell
at Mugace, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* Biſhop of Vacia, whom he choſe for his
Secretary. And vnto *Americus Cibacus* he gaue the honour of the Vayuod of Tranſyluania,
being but a little before choſen Biſhop of Veradium. In his preferment, he was greatly hol-
pen vnto the kingdome by the nobility which followed him out of Tranſyluania, men of great
account both in peace and warre: among whom deſcended of the Hungarian bloud, were
chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Autandrus*, *Gregorius Peſchenius*, *Nicholaus Gleſſa*, and *Ianus*
Docia. But whileſt this new King is in this ſort buſied in rewarding his friends, and ſtrengthe-
ning himſelfe in his kingdome, he was aduertiſed that *Ferdinand* his competitor of the Hun-
B garian kingdome was choſen King of Bohemia: who out of the old courteſie betwixt *Mat-*
thias Coruinus and *Fredericus* the Emperours great grandfather, alledged great claime vnto

Ferdinand king of Bohemia layeth claime to the kingdome of Hungary.

that kingdome, deriued from the time of *Ladiſlaus*, who was reported to haue beene poiſoned
at the time of the ſolemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius*
Pogibracius; who, affecting the kingdome of Bohemia, ſhortly after obtained the ſame. And
now it ſeemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdome
of Bohemia, and ſtrengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the Emperour, not for-
getting his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdome of Hungary, vnto
him (as he pretended) of right belonging euer ſince the time of *Albertus* the Emperour.
Neither did *Ferdinand* beſide the ſtrength of Auſtria and Bohemia, want the furtherance of di-
C uers of the Princes of Hungary: hauing in his court many of vnquiet ſpirits, halfe fugitiues,
deſirous of change, which enuied at the Vayuods royall preferment (as if it had beene taken
from themſelues, more worthy thereof than he) by the raſh and tumultuous fauour of the vul-
gar people. For beſides *Bator*, who in moſt mens iudgement might moſt worthily haue requi-
ted and obtained the kingdome, there were others alſo almoſt of like nobility and valour, as
Valentinus Turaccus, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gaſper Stredius*, *Baltaſor Pamphilus*, and *Feren-*
tius Gnarius; to whom alſo was ioyned *Paulus Bachitius* borne in Seruia, a valiant Gentleman,
who being entered into the Mahometan religion to auoid the Turkiſh ſlauery, got away vn-
to the Chriſtians, and hardly eſcaped from the battell of Mohatchz. By the perſuaſion of
theſe noblemen, *Ferdinand* of his own diſpoſition ready enough to claime his right, eſpecial-
D ly a kingdome, and truſting vnto his ſtrength in Auſtria, Bohemia, Rhetia, Stiria, and Caryn-
thia, marched directly towards Buda. With whoſe comming, *Iohn* the new King being won-
derfully troubled, as a man beſet with want of all things, hauing neither ſufficient ſtrength
whereupon to reſt in his new got kingdome, neither any great aſſurance of the fidelity of his
ſubiects, like enough either for feare, or of their naturall inconſtancy, to fall from him, deter-
mined not to abide the comming of his enemy to Buda: but exhorting his captaines to fol-
low him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with
ſuch power as he had brought with him out of Tranſyluania, and ſuch other as he could other-
wiſe leuy, he paſſed ouer the riuer to Peſtum: and not daring any where thereabouts to reſt,
by long marches paſſed ouer the riuer Tibiſcus, and there incamped at Tocai, which was a
E ſtrong caſtle vpon the further ſide of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* mar-

King Ferdinand taketh Buda.

ching on, obtained Buda without reſiſtance: where he ſtaied a while, and conſulted with his
captaines, Whether he ſhould purſue his flying enemy, or not. But it was quickly reſolued,
That the diſcouraged enemy was to be ſpeedily purſued, before he ſhould gather greater
ſtrength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his army vnto the
nobility of Hungary, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all ſpeed
poſſible, came to the riuer Tibiſcus: where paſſing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats which
they brought with them in waggons for that purpoſe, they came with enſignes diſplaied vnto
the caſtle of Tocai, where the King lay with his army in order of battell. But terrified with
the ſudden comming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the greatneſſe of the
F danger, tooke a courſe vnto himſelfe rather ſafe than honourable: for his captaines deſiring
nothing more than to ioyne battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, perſuaded him
to withdraw himſelfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if things
fell out otherwiſe than well, to reſerue himſelfe vnto his better fortunes: as for themſelues
they would moſt reſolutely fight againſt thoſe traiterous fugitiues, foraſmuch as it were great

diſhonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuſe battell being offered by the enemy. Amongſt the chieftains of the Kings army, ***Ferentius Budo*** an old captaine of great experience and courage was chiefe, to whom the King deliuered his enſigne with his own hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his ſouldiers: he himſelfe ſtood in the main battell with the Hungarians, placing the Tranſyluanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* army, *Valentinus Turaccus* led the maine battell with the Hungarians, vnder *Ferdinands* Enſigne; ſtrengthened on the one ſide with troups of horſemen out of Styria, and on the other with the horſemen of Auſtria. But ***Paulus Bachitius*** (according to the manner of the Turkiſh wars, wherewith he was well acquainted) with a company of light horſemen lay cloſe in ambuſh in a conuenient place for that purpoſe, a good diſtance off, againſt the left wing of the enemies army, ready as occaſion ſhould ſerue, to take his moſt aduantage. It was not greatly needful for the captaines to vſe any perſuaſions to encourage their ſouldiers, ready enough of themſelues to fight. The great ordnance once diſcharged, the armies came faſt on and joyned battell, where the wings of both battels fought with diuers fortune. The Styrian horſemen were not able to endure the force of the Tranſyluanians, but were put to the worſe. And on the other ſide, the left wing of ***Bodo*** his army, conſiſting for moſt part of raw and vnexpert ſouldiers, was by the horſemen of Auſtria ouerthrown. At the ſame time both the main battels (being almoſt all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that ſo eagerly, as ſeldome had bin ſeene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a freſh charge giuen by *Ferdinands* horſemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of ***Bodo*** his battell, all ***Bodo*** his army fighting moſt valiantly, was diſordred and put to flight: ***Bodo*** the Generall laboring to reſtore the battell, and to ſaue the enſigne to him before by the King deliuered, was by the comming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his light horſemen, taken. The other captaines ſeeing all loſt, and paſt hope of recouery, betooke themſelues to flight: all the Kings Artillery and Enſignes were taken by the enemy. The King ſeeing the ouerthrow of his army, for ſafegard of his life fled into Polonia. *Ferdinands* captaines following the courſe of the victory, entred into Tranſyluania; where the people yeelding themſelues at the firſt, all the whole prouince ſubmitted it ſelfe vnto the authority of *Ferdinand*. ***Bodo*** and the reſt of the noblemen that were taken priſoners, with the enſignes taken from the enemies, were ſent to *Ferdinand*. But when ***Bodo*** hauing his liberty promiſed, could not be perſuaded to renounce his oath giuen to King *Iohn*, and to beare armes againſt him, he was by *Ferdinands* commandement caſt into a darke dungeon, where ſhortly after conſumed with ſorrow and griefe, he miſerably ended his life.

The battell of Tocai between the Armies of King Iohn and K. Ferdinand.

K. John flies into Polonia.

Shortly after, *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally ſubmitting themſelues vnto him) was by their common conſent ſaluted King, and crowned with the ſame old Crowne wherewith King *Iohn* had bin crowned, which the ſame *Perenus* (a man of little conſtancy) brought vnto him; and with him was alſo crowned *Anne* his wife, the only ſiſter of the late King *Lewis*. All which ſolemne ceremonies were celebrated at Alba-Regalis, the vſuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian Kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicity thus poſſeſſed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into Bohemia, and left his deputies for the gouernement of the kingdome of Hungary: theſe were *Stephanus Bator*, whom he appointed Viceroy, with whom he joined *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium, who had alſo reuolted from K. *Iohn*; and made *Berethſaxtus* Secretary, and *Alexius Turſonus* a Moravian, Treaſurer.

Ferdinand crowned K. of Hungary at Alba Regalis.

King *Iohn* thus miſerably diſtreſſed, and thruſt out of his kingdome by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronymus Laſcus*, a man for his honorable deſcent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongſt the Polonians: who glad of ſo honourable a gheſt, was more carefull of nothing, than with all poſſible kindneſſe and curteſie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in ſo many calamities for the loſſe of his kingdom: he frankely promiſed vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not ſmall) for the recouery of his former eſtate; and that which more was, for the renuing of his former felicitie, the vttermoſt of his wit and deuice, which in the compaſſing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. This bountiful entertainment of this poore King by *Laſcus*, was not altogether vpleaſant to *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, although (becauſe he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joined in friendſhip and allyance) hee ſeemed to moſt men plainly to forget himſelf, in ſhewing ſo ſmall kindneſſe to K. *Iohn*, whoſe ſiſter *Barbara* he had ſomtime maried: which was the cauſe that *Laſcus* forgat no point of curteſie in entertaining his gheſt, and yet *Sigiſmunds* credit with King *Ferdinand* not toucht. But

when

A when they had ſpent almoſt a month in conſultation and debating of matters too & fro, *Laſcus*
accuſtomed with his deep wit ſharply to reaſon, & aduiſedly to determine of moſt weighty
cauſes, at laſt reſted vpon this one point, That ready help in ſo hard and deſperat a caſe was
only to be hoped for of the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*: being of opinion, that he being a moſt
mighty Prince, and of an honorable diſpoſition anſwerable to his greatnes, would not reiect
the humble prayers of an oppreſſed and exiled king: eſpecially, if that being by his mercy and
power reſtored, he could be content for ſo great a benefit to hold his kingdom, as of the bounty
of the *Othoman* kings. For *Laſcus* ſaw that *Solyman* (ſo great and proud an Emperor) was not
ſo deſirous of kingdomes (whereof he had ſo many as could not eaſily be reckoned, then commanding
ouer a great part of the world) as of glory and renown, wherewith he vnderſtood him
B to be wonderfully delighted aboue all other Kings of the Eaſt, naturally carried away with
that windy vanity. This counſell (as in effect it prooued) was to king *Iohn* wholeſome and reaſonable,
if a man do but reſpect the poore eſtate of a king, ſo greatly wronged, liuing in exile;
but reſpecting the Chriſtian common weale, it was vndoubtedly moſt dangerous and lamentable,
for one mans particular profit to bring the whole ſtate into moſt horrible and dreadfull
danger: but the ſick minds of worldly men, liuing in ſmal hope of doing well, and at the point
of deſperation, refuſe no worldly remedies, be they neuer ſo doubtfull or dangerous. And not
long after, vpon this reſolution with the king, *Laſcus* deſirous by noble actions to increaſe the
honour of his name, took the matter vpon him, and went as Embaſſador from the exiled King
to *Solyman* to Conſtantinople. The report was, that *Sigiſmund* did not only not ſtay him, but
C ſecretly gaue him his ſafe conduct with letters of credence, wherin he commended him vnto
the Baſſa's & other great men in *Solymans* court, deſcended of the Polonian bloud, as his faithfull
and louing ſubiect, ſent thither vpon an extraordinary and ſpeciall embaſſage. *Laſcus* as
ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople, with wonderfull dexterity had in ſhort time won the
fauor, not of the Baſſaes only, but of the other courtiers alſo; preſenting them with ſuch gifts
as might for the fineneſſe and rarenes thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be moſt
acceptable and pleaſing to their wiues: for amongſt that barbarous and corrupted people nothing
is better welcome than gifts, whither they proceed of ſimple good wil, or other reſpect,
is no great difference. Amongſt the great Baſſa's at that time of greateſt power and authority,
was *Luſtebeius*, or rather *Lutz*[illegible], who had married *Solymans* ſiſter; and *Abraham* borne at Parga,
D a baſe village in Acarnania, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was
then viſier or chiefe of the Baſſaes, and keeper of the Emperors ſeale, and was by his office to
ſubſcribe all ſuch grants or letters as paſſed from the Emperor: by which his great place and
the ſpeciall fauor he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence, power, and authority, far exceeded
all the reſt of the Baſſaes, doing whatſoeuer pleaſed himſelfe; and that with ſuch ſoueraigntie
and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly ſaid, he was the commander of his
thoughts. *Laſcus* thus inſinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Baſſa's without
an interpreter, for that he could well ſpeake the Sclauonian tongue (the familiar ſpeech
of the Turkiſh courtiers) earneſtly ſolicited the Kings cauſe, wonderfully commending him:
for at his firſt comming, after he had ſaluted *Solyman*, and was about to haue declared the cauſe
E of his comming, he was after the manner of the Turkiſh Court referred to the Baſſaes: for *Solyman*
vſed not to admit any Chriſtian to talke with him in his Court. *Laſcus* requeſted of *Solyman*,
by the Baſſa's, That king *Iohn* wrongfully thruſt out of his kingdom by *Ferdinand* Duke
of Auſtria, and the treaſon of certaine of the Hungarians, might by the Turkiſh power be againe
reſtored vnto the Kingdome of Hungary, which he would hold by homage of the Turkiſh
Emperor, as of right belonging to him, ſince the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand
reuenging his wrongs and ſubduing his enemies, had by law of arms (fortune ſo iudging) gained
the ſame. Promiſing that King *Iohn*, who for his worthineſſe, was by the generall good liking
of the Hungarians lawfully choſen to be their King, and ſo after the antient manner of
that Kingdome crowned; if he were now receiued into *Solymans* protection, and by him reſtored,
F ſhould neuer forget ſo great a benefit, but alwaies moſt faithfully and thankfully to honor
the maieſty of *Solyman*, paying him ſuch yerely tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe, and
to make it knowne to all men, that he was his vaſſall. Which thing if it would pleaſe him to
grant, it ſhould be no leſſe honour and glory to *Solyman* himſelfe, than profitable and comfortable
vnto the diſtreſſed King. For beſide, that heroicall Kings are compared vnto gods,

rather

Laſcus counſels King Iohn to craue ayd of Solyman.

Laſcus goeth Embaſſador for K. Iohn to Solyman.

Abraham Baſſa.

Laſcus his requeſt of Solyman in the behalf of K. Iohn.

rather for giuing than receiuing: it was eaſie to be ſeen, how greatly it did concern the profit of the *Othoman* Kings to be neighboured with a weak and tributary King, rather than with *Ferdinand* a Prince of great power, lately choſen King of Bohemia, ſupported by the ſtrength of his brother *Charles* the Emperor, commanding ouer the warlike Nation of the Germanes: which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continual heauy war vpon his borders, and the ſafe injoying of a moſt aſſured peace. Beſides, it concerned the Turkes to beware, that ſuch things as they had gotten by the ſword, they ſhould alſo by the ſword defend, and not to ſuffer any one to grow greater than the reſt in riches and power. For it might ſo fal out that *Charls*, grown to be a Prince of mighty power, might draw the reſt of the Chriſtian princes to join with him in the common cauſe of the Chriſtian religion, & in that quarrel, as the Chriſtian Kings of Europ had formerly done, with vnited forces to ſeek to recouer again what they had before loſt; whoſe force it would be hard to withſtand. Theſe things being ſharply deliuered, and by the Baſſa's again reported to *Solyman*, who ſtanding at a ſecret window had before heard them, as they were by *Laſcus* to the Baſſa's declared; it was no great labor to perſuade the Turkiſh Emperor, of himſelf deſirous of glory and ſoueraignty, againe to vndertake the Hungarian war, and to grant King *Iohn* his requeſt; promiſing according to the ſucces of the victory, to giue him that he deſired, ſo that hee would faithfully performe what he had promiſed, and not ſhew himſelf therfore vnthankful.

Solyman granteth Laſcus his requeſt.

Ferdinand ſendeth an embaſſador to Solyman.

Solymans anſwer to Ferdinands Embaſſador.

In the mean time, *Ferdinand* vpon great reaſon thinking it neceſſarie by all means poſſible to confirm his poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of Hungary, and fearing no force but the Turks, determined to proue *Solymans* diſpoſition, and to ſeek for his friendſhip; hoping by reaſonable means to compaſſe it, by ſhewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of juſtice) his antient title and claim, and that he was by the antient laws of the country right heir thereof: thinking that *Solyman*, hauing obtained ſo many victories, and ruling ouer ſo many kingdoms, would now at length giue himſelf to peace, as a man contented with his glory already gotten. His deſire was to be receiued into his friendſhip, and to join with him in league vpon the ſame conditions which *Ladiſlaus* and his ſon *Lewis* had for certain years before obtained of the *Othoman* Kings, and *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia then alſo with like quietnes enjoied. Wherfore hauing found out a fit man whom he might ſend vpon this embaſſage to Conſtantinople (one *Ioannes Oberdanſcus* an Hungarian) he furniſhed him accordingly, and gaue him gifts, ſuch as he thought good to beſtow vpon the great Baſſa's. But when *Oberdanſcus* was come vnto Conſtantinople, he found *Solyman* harder to be intreated than he had before hoped, and the Baſſa's altogether vnwilling to hear of any league: for although he was courteouſly receiued of *Solyman*, and moſt patiently heard, whileſt hee both eloquently and diſcreetly before the great Baſſa's deliuered his embaſſage; yet in the ſhutting vp of all, he receiued nothing but a proud and inſolent anſwer. For *Solyman* ſaid, it was far from the manner of his Aunceſtors, to receiue them into grace and fauour, which had don injury vnto the *Othoman* name: wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to inuade another mans kingdom, and to thinke to hold it vnto himſelfe; forſomuch as his old title and claim which he ſtood ſo much vpon, was altogether extinguiſhed and loſt by the Law of Armes, by his late victory againſt King *Lewis*. For which cauſes he adiudged him vnworthy of his friendſhip and fauor; purpoſing ſharply to reuenge the wrong he had receiued, & proclaiming War, to come again into Hungary with ſuch a power as ſhould be ſufficient to inuade King *Ferdinand* either in Auſtria or Germany. Wherefore in ſtead of friendſhip and League, he denounced vnto him all the calamities of War: and ſo commaunded the Embaſſador with ſpeed to depart from Conſtantinople. But *Oberdanſcus* when he was come backe again as far as Vienna, and had there told the Kings Lieutenants of the threatening words of *Solyman*, and that he would ſhortly come thither with his army; he was not of any of them beleeued, but reputed for a vaine man. Wherſore to ſhun the hatred of them which miſtooke truth for falſhood, he made haſt to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at Spires laboring for voices to further his ſuit; for that at the next aſſembly of the States of the Empire, which was then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himſelf as he wel hoped, was to be choſen King of the Romanes. The newes brought by *Oberdanſcus* did not a little trouble King *Ferdinand*, foreſeeing as it were what would happen; for that the Turkiſh Tyrant vſed not lightly to break ſuch promiſes, but to performe them to the vttermoſt. And that more

1529

Solyman commeth into Hungary with a great army.

King Iohn commeth to Solyman at Belgrade.

A increaſed his care, he knew he ſhould come in euill time to craue help of the Germans, for the defence of his Kingdome in Hungary, againſt ſo mighty an enemy, eſpecially his brother *Charles* the Emperor being buſied in his warres in Italy, and he himſelfe wanting money, the only meanes to raiſe an army to withſtand the Turke. The Spring now come, and all things freſh and green, *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an army of an hundred and fifteen thouſand men, ſet forward from Hadrianople, his Europeian horſemen going before him, conducted by *Abraham* the great Baſſa, and *Achomates Michael Ogli*, Generall of the Acanzij or voluntary horſemen: and his Aſian ſouldiers led by *Becrambeius Baſſa* following after him: he himſelfe with his Ianizaries and ſouldiers of the court keeping in the middle. And marching on in this ſort, came in fifteene dayes to Belgrade, where King B *Iohn* accompanied with *Laſcus* and ſuch of the Hungarian nobility as tooke his part, came vnto him, of purpoſe to make himſelfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him; and doing him all the honour he poſſibly could, to requeſt him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with graue and yet friendly countenance, raiſing himſelfe a little from the cuſhion wheron he ſat, gaue him his right hand, proteſting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more deſired of God, than to be able to relieue diſtreſſed Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were wrongfully oppreſſed by his enemies: wherefore he willed him to be of good comfort, promiſing of his bounty frankly to beſtow vpon him whatſoeuer he ſhould in that warre win with the ſword from the enemy. King *Iohn* obtained this rare fauor of *Solyman* by the earneſt mediation of *Abraham* the commanding Baſſa; whom he had before at Conſtantinople by C his Embaſſador *Laſcus* ſo woon with gifts and requeſts, that he throughly tooke vpon him the defence of the kings cauſe: wherein *Laſcus* was eſpecially holpen by *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of Venice his ſonne, who then followed the Turks campe, and was for his fathers ſake and the great ſufficiencie he held himſelfe, had in great reputation amongſt the Turks; and in ſuch fauor with *Abraham*, who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could perſuade him to any thing he would. For this *Aloyſius Grittus*, borne and brought vp in Conſtantinople, and wonderfull eloquent in the Turkiſh tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himſelfe, and the great port he kept in his houſe, ſo throughly poſſeſſed *Abraham* (that al commanded) that he would many times bring *Solyman* himſelfe ouer the hauen to Pera, to ſolace himſelfe in *Grittus* his pleaſant gardens and banquetting houſes, which he had there moſt ſumptuouſly made after D the Italian manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the Turks cuſtomes.

Solyman enters Buda without reſiſtance, and beſiegeth the Caſtle.

The fame of *Solymans* comming directly from Belgrade to Buda, ſo terrified the Citiſens of Buda, that they almoſt all forſooke the city and fled vnto other places further off, ſome to Strigonium, ſome to Alba Regalis, ſome to Poſſonium: ſo that at his firſt comming he entred the city (almoſt deſolate) without any reſiſtance: the caſtle holden by a garriſon of Germans, he commanded to be beſieged. The captaine of the caſtle was one *Thomas Nadaſtus*, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honour of his houſe, and his qualities anſwerable to the ſame, graced with ſingular learning: he perceiuing his ſoldiers diſmayed with the ſight of ſo great an army, and willing to ſurrender vp the caſtle; as beſeemed a valiant cap- E tain, forbad his ſouldiers to haue any talke with the enemy, commanding the great artillery to be bent and diſcharged vpon the Turks: and ſeeing his ſoldiers ſlack and timorous reprooued them of cowardiſe & treaſon, threatning them with ſhamefull death if they did not hold out the ſiege to the vttermoſt, and ſhew themſelues valiant men both for the honor of their country, and of king *Ferdinand*, whoſe pay they receiued, and of whoſe bounty they were to expect rewards & preferments anſwerable to their deſerts. But they miſdoubting by the running too and fro of the Turks, that the caſtle was vndermined; and ſmelling, or at leaſtwiſe imagining themſelues to ſmell the ſent of the gunpowder, which they ſuppoſed to be in the mine, and doubting to be preſently blown vp, were ſtruck with ſuch a ſudden feare, that neither the feare of future puniſhment, neither the ſhame of ſo foule a fact, nor the reuerence of ſo worthy a F captaine could ſtay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the caſtle: which when they could by no meanes perſuade the reſolute captain to conſent to, but that he ſtil with ſtern countenance exclaimed againſt their cowardiſe and treaſon, they leyd hands on him, and bound him hand and foot, and ſo preſently concluded with the enemy to yeeld to him the caſtle, ſo that they might in ſafety depart thence with bag and baggage: which their

requeſt

Solyman contrary vnto his promiſe, cauſes the gariſon ſoldiers after they had deliuered the caſtle, to be ſlain.

requeſt *Solyman* granted. But when the gariſon ſoldiers (in number about 700) were about to depart with their baggage toward Poſſonium, as was before agreed; and the Ianizaries comming into the caſtle, hauing looſed the captain, were about to let him go alſo; *Solyman* aduertiſed of the trechery of the garriſon ſoldiers, and of the fidelity of the captain; changing his mind, iudged ſuch villanous minded men vnworthy of his mercy, and in deteſtation of their perfidious dealing with their captain, gaue them all to his Ianizaries to be ſlain: but vnto the captain himſelf he offered honorable entertainment; which when he refuſed, *Solyman* curteouſly ſent him away: holpen therin by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his ſiſter was maried to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemy. Which bloudy execution don by the commandement of the bloudy tyrant, the Turkes ſaid was not only lawfully done, but alſo to the immortal glory of his name in the execution of juſtice. Which might peraduenture ſeeme reaſonable, if the perpetual hatred of that barbarous nation againſt the Chriſtians, gaue not iuſt occaſion to ſuſpect, that it proceeded rather of their antient malice, than of any regard of juſtice. For why ſhould the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his ſafe conduct, be thought worthy of ſo cruel death? when as *Solyman* himſelf in puniſhing the perjury of another, ran into wilful perjury himſelf, peruerting the commendation of juſtice which he ſo much deſired, by his moſt bloudy and vniuſt ſentence.

Auſtria ſpoiled by the Turks.

Altenburg taken.

Solyman comes to Vienna.

Buda the chief city of Hungary thus taken by *Solyman*, he reſolued forthwith to beſiege Vienna the chief city of Auſtria; in good hope, that by the cariage away of that, the other Cities of leſſe ſtrength both of Hungary and Auſtria would without any reſiſtance yeeld vnto him. Wherfore he ſent before, *Achomates* with the voluntary horſmen, who according to the manner of the Turkiſh wars, running thorow the heart of Hungary, and entring into Auſtria, with fire and ſword, paſſed by Vienna, miſerably burning and deſtroying the Country before him, euen as far as Lyntz. The poor people not knowing where to hide themſelues from the fury of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women diſmaied, carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what els they could, as things ſaued out of the midſt of the fire. For whatſoeuer fel into the enemies hand, was loſt without recure: the old men were ſlain, the young men led away into captiuity, women rauiſhed before their husbands faces, and afterwards ſlain with their children, young infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and others taken from their breſts were cut in pieces, or els thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes, yeelding vp againe that breath which they had but a little before receiued; with many other incredible cruelties which were then by the mercileſſe Enemie committed. *Solyman* himſelfe ſhortly after followed theſe fore-runners, and ſetting forward with all his army from Buda towards Vienna, by the way took the Caſtle of Altenburg, whether by force or compoſition is diuerſly reported. Of the garriſon ſouldiers there placed by King *Ferdinand*, he reſerued 300 Bohemians, whom he commanded to follow his camp. Hee alſo aſſaulted the little city of Neapolis ſeuen times in one day, & was as often repulſed: but being loth to ſpend any longer time about a town of ſo ſmall importance, hee forſooke that, and held on his way to Vienna, whither he came about the ſix and twentieth day of September, and incamped in fiue places round about the City; with ſuch a world of people, that vnto them which viewed his Camp from the higheſt tower in Vienna, it ſeemed that all the ground for the ſpace of eight miles was couered with the multitude of his Tents and people. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his Embaſſadour *Oberdanſcus* receiued the hard anſwer from *Solyman*, alwaies ſtood in doubt of his comming; and beſide his own forces (which were no way great enough to oppoſe againſt ſo mighty an enemie) craued aid of the other Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, eſpecially of the Princes of the Empire. Who granting him aid againſt the Common Enemy, appointed *Fredericke* County Palatine of the Rhyne and Duke of Bavaria, Generall of their Forces. But whileſt the Germans after their manner, ſlowly ſet forward, and made leſſe haſt than the greatneſſe of the preſent danger required; *Solyman* comming in the mean time, had ſo belayd the City, that it was not poſſible for the Duke *Frederick* by any means to get into it, but was glad to ſtay with his Army at Chremſe, about twelue miles from Vienna. A few dayes before, by good hap, vpon the report of the loſſe of Buda, twenty thouſand ſouldiers, horſmen and footmen out of diuers countries, were in good time come to Vienna. Amongſt theſe, the chiefe Commanders were *Philip* the Paltzgraue Duke *Fredericks* Nephew (a yong Gentleman of great courage & hope,

ſent

Vienna badly fortified.

A ſent thither but a little before with a few companies of horſemen and footmen by *Fredericke*
his vncle, who was comming after with a greater power himſelfe, but was now ſhut out of the
city by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* County of Salma, the L. *William Rogendorff*, ſteward of the Kings
houſhold, *Ioannes Cazzianer*, a noble man of Croatia, and afterwards Gouernor of Vienna: and
next vnto them, *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardecus*, *Leonardus Velſius*, *Hector Ramſacke*, men
both for their birth and valour of great account amongſt the Germans. The city of Vienna as
it was of ſome good ſtrength toward the North, by reaſon of Danubius, ſo in other places it
was at that time neither by art nor nature ſtrong. The ditches, ſuch as they were, were altogether
drie, and eaſie to be paſſed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers, and
neither high nor thicke, but after the antient ſimple manner of fortification of cities: for before
B that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemy, neither they of Vienna, who had
not of many yeares ſeen an enemy, had any care to fortifie the city: but as men altogether buried
in ſecurity, and nothing fearing the comming of ſo mighty an enemy (although they
were therof before admoniſhed by *Oberdanſcus*) had not ſo much as caſt vp any rampire or bulwark,
more than at the gate of Carinthia, whereon they might conueniently place their great
ordnance: ſo that of a 200 great peeces, and 300 others of leſſe charge, which might haue
wonderfully annoyed the enemy, a great part ſerued to no vſe, for want of conuenient place to
mount them vpon. Yet as the ſudden comming of the enemy, and the ſhortneſſe of the time
gaue leaue, ſuch bulwarkes as they could vpon the ſudden, they caſt vp, and planted their ordnance
thereon. The city was diuided into diuers quarters, and to euery part a ſtrong garriſon
C appointed for the defence thereof, all the gates of the city were mured vp, except ſuch as were
of purpoſe reſerued to ſallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Baſſa incamped himſelfe
vpon a high hill, where ſtood a ruinous caſtle, from whence he might ouerlooke all the City;
yet ſo, as that he lay out of the danger of gun ſhot. *Becrambeius*, *Solymans* great commander in
Aſia, lay at the gate called Purgatoria, neer the Church of S. *Vlderich*. In the third campe towards
the riſing of the hils, lay *Michael Ogli*, towards the Church of S. *Vitus*. At the Scottiſh
gate towards Danubius, lay the Aſapi, with diuers companies of the Ianizaries: which with
ſhot out of their trenches, ſuffered no man to appeare vpon the wals in that quarter without
moſt manifeſt danger, and poured ſuch ſhowrs of arrows ouer the wals into the city, as if they
had fallen out of the clouds; that hardly could any man ſtir in the city vnarmed, but hee was
D forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himſelfe lay neer vnto S. *Markes* Church, compaſſed about with
the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the Court, defended alſo with the bricke wals of the gardens
thereabouts. Whileſt the Turks were thus incamping themſelues, the Chriſtian defendants
oftentimes fortunatly ſallyed out vpon them, and ſlew many of them. In one of which
ſallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant captain, with certain old ſoldiers of the Spaniards was ſlain
fighting moſt valiantly at the gates of the caſtle: and in another skirmiſh *Chriſtophorus Setlitz*
a man of great courage, ſallying out of the city with fiue hundred horſemen, euen vnto the enemies
trenches, was intercepted and taken with ſix others of his company; who were al compelled
by the Turks to carry ſo many heads of their ſlain fellows vpon poles, and ſo preſented
vnto *Solyman*: of whom he inquired many things as well concerning *Ferdinand* himſelfe, and
E where he was, as concerning the Princes which had the charge of the city, whether they were
in hope to defend the ſame againſt his mighty power or not. Whereunto *Chriſtophorus* aptly
and wiſely anſwered, although not altogether ſo truly, That King *Ferdinand* lay not farre off
at the city of Lintz, expecting the aſſembling of a great army: and that the Princes of Germany,
Bohemia, Morauia, and of diuers other places were comming to him, with great aid;
ſo that if he would but ſtay a little vntill his forces were come together, hee ſhould then ſee
whether of them were of greater ſtrength and power: foraſmuch as it would not be long before
the King would come and giue him battell: as for the Princes in the City, he ſaid hee
knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the ſoldiers from the higheſt to the
loweſt, had ſolemnly ſworne to defend the city, and not to giue it ouer, vnto the laſt man, repoſing
F their hope not in the wals and fortreſſes thereof, but in their weapons and valor, being
men of great reſolution, and not eaſily to be vanquiſhed or diſcouraged. With which anſwer
although *Solyman* was a little mooued, yet diſſembling his preſent heat, ſaid, he had hitherto
made war againſt diuers nations, and alwaies had the victory, whereof he doubted not
now alſo: but as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to

Solyman releaſeth the Chriſtian Princes without ranſome.

ſaue or kill at his pleaſure:yet to make them know that he could ſhew mercy vnto his vanquiſhed enemies,he frankly granted them their liues and liberty : charging them,that after they were again returned into the city,they ſhould in his name wiſh the defendants of themſelues to yeeld vp the city, which it was impoſſible for them long to defend againſt his mighty power, which neither the ſtrong city of Belgrade, nor the famous city of the Rhodes were able to withſtand;and to accept of ſuch reaſonable conditions as he ſhould grant vnto them;promiſing,that amongſt other things proceeding of his infinit bounty,he would take order, that they ſhould in ſafety depart thence with bag and baggage : in which doing, they ſhould well prouide for the ſafety of themſelues and of their goods,by flying to his mercy in time, before the fury of the war was grown to further extremitie : all which it would be too late to expect after the victory, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murther, and miſerable deſtruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to conſider of the matter,and not fooliſhly to refuſe that was now frankly offred them of mercy,which they ſhould not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or teares : for why,he was reſolutely ſet down (as he ſaid)not to depart thence before he had taken the city. When he had thus ſchooled them, he gaue to euery one of them three Hungarian duckats,and ſo ſent them away. They being receiued into the city with great ioy,made relation vnto the Princes and great Captaines, of all the threatning and proud ſpeeches of the Turkiſh tyrant:which they took in ſuch diſdaine, that they would not vouchſafe to returne him any anſwer.*Solyman* not a little diſpleaſed,that his great words were ſo lightly regarded, by way of deriſion ſent word to the City, That if they wanted helpe, he would ſend them the 300 Bohemians, whom he took in the caſtle of Altenburg:to whom anſwer was returned by them of the city,that they needed no help from him, wherfore he might diſpoſe of his priſoners as he thought good.By this, *Solyman* perceiued, that Vienna was not to be woon with words, nor the defendants to be diſcouraged with great looks ; wherefore he began to vſe his force,and with ſuch ordnance as he had brought with him,to batter the wals: which becauſe it was not great, but fitter for ſeruice in field than for battery, did not much more harme than to beat downe the battlements and ſuch like ſtandings, made of timber and boords in manner of galleries, hanging here and there ouer the wall, for the ſmall ſhot to play out of,a ſimple deuiſe in ſtead of flankers. His great artillery prouided for battery was comming vp the riuer of Danubius,which he daily looked for;but by good hap *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward Captain, hearing of the Turks comming vp the riuer, went out of Poſſonium with certain ſmal veſſels well appointed,and meeting with the Turks,ſet vpon them with ſuch courage and reſolution that he ſlew many of them, and ſunke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongſt whom were they which were bringing vp *Solymans* great pieces for battery to Vienna:which was there all ſunke in the riuer,with the boats that brought it. By this good ſeruice, *Solyman* was diſappointed of his great artillery, and the city deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great ſpoile amongſt the Turks, and loſt ſome few men, returned with victory to Poſſonium. Yet another part of the Turks fleet comming vp to Vienna,at the firſt comming brake downe all the bridges : for a little aboue the city,the riuer of Danubius diuiding his channell, maketh diuers Iſlands, which by ſundry bridges are ioyned together, ouer which lieth the way from Auſtria vnto the city. This fleet ſo kept the paſſage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land go in or out of the city.*Solyman* hauing loſt all his pieces for battery, and ſeeing how little he preuailed with his field pieces, fell to vndermining of the city, hoping by that means to ouerthrow the wals, and to make a way for his men to enter. This worke,as the Turks chiefe hope, was with wonderfull labour and diligence attempted in fifteene ſundry places : which was not ſo ſecretly done, but that it was by drums laid vpon the ground,by baſons filled with water, and ſounds made into the earth perceiued by the defendants;and ſo with countermines met withal,that moſt part of thoſe works were vtterly fruſtrated,and in them 8000 of his Turks either ſlaine or buried quicke.

Eight thouſand Turks loſt in the Mines.

Solyman to buſie the defendants,that they ſhould not ſo perfectly diſcouer his mines,diuided his army into foure parts,appointing them orderly to ſucceed one after another in giuing alarums in the town,that filling their ears with continuall noiſe, he might keep them alwaies occupied. In the midſt of which hurly burly his mine-workes went forward with all ſpeed poſſible,neither was he in that his expectation deceiued:for one of the mines brought to perfection vnperceiued by the defendants,and ſuddenly blown vp, ſhooke and ouerthrew a great

The wals of Vienna blown vp.

part

G H I K L M

part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards Carinthia, whereat the Turkes gaue a great ſhout, as if the city had now bin taken, and withal couragiouſly ſtepping forward, preſſed in on all ſides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entered the breach, charging the defendants with their ſmall ſhot and Turky arrowes as thicke as haile. Who on the contrary part like reſolute men ſtood in the face of the breach, with more aſſurance than the wall it ſelfe, receiuing them with deadly ſhot and puſh of pike, in ſuch furious manner, that the Turks for all their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the aſſault, began to retyre. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, ſent in new ſupplies, and ſo renewed the aſſault before giuen ouer, but with no better ſucceſſe than before; for hauing receiued a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both duty and martiall diſcipline, they retired, not expecting any ſigne of retreat. At this aſſault ſo many of the Turks were ſlaine, that the ground neere vnto the towne lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Nothing after the wall was blowne vp in two places more, one againſt *S. Clares* Church, by which breach being not very great, the Turks ſeeking to haue entred, made a bloudy fight with the Germans which defended that place; which they ſought ſo deſperatly to haue entred, that without regard they thruſt one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons; who gliſtering in good armour, readily receiued them being for moſt part naked men, and ſlew them without number, and ſo inforced them againe diſorderly to retyre, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carkaſes. Three daies after enſued a moſt cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of Carinthia, and not far from the firſt breach) was ſo ſuddenly ouerthrowne, that the Turkes thorow the new made breach ſeeing the Christians as they ſtood ready to come to the defence thereof; and likewiſe the Chriſtians them, now approching; for eagerneſſe and haſt on both ſides threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handy blowes in the middle of the breach, the Turks with their ſcimiters, and the Germans with their long ſwords. At which time, as the Chriſtian captaines encouraged their ſoldiers with cheerefull perſuaſions; ſo the Turkiſh commanders enforced forward their Turks both with words and wounds. The aſſault began ſo terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and cruell fight was neuer ſeene from the beginning of the World; which was with great reſolution maintained by the Turks, for that many of their moſt valiant horſemen forſaking their horſes, thruſt in with their targuets and ſcimiters, or elſe with the launces amongſt the Ianizaries and other footmen, and there fought moſt deſperatly. At laſt, after this furious fight had endured by the ſpace of three houres, and many of the Turks beſt captains and ſouldiers lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the Turks ſeeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the aſſault, and retyred to their campe.

The Turkes repulſed from the breach.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

The Turks the third time repulſed.

Long and tedious it were to recount euery aſſault giuen during the time of that dreadfull ſiege, with euery particular accident not vnworthy the remembrance, which for breuity wittingly I paſſe ouer. Yet amongſt the reſt, the moſt valiant leader (though afterward vnfortunat) the Lord *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiuing many of the Turks ſtragling diſorderly abroad in the country, one day vpon the ſudden ſallied out vpon them with certain troups of horſemen, with ſuch violence, that at the firſt onſet he ouerthrew them, and hauing them in chaſe, did ſuch ſpeedy execution, that of 5300 ſcarce 140 eſcaped his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the Turks. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieued with the often and bloudy aſſaults by him in vaine giuen to the city; but purpoſing now to proue the laſt and vtmoſt of all his forces, he called to him the chiefe Commanders of his army, whom at the firſt he ſharpely reproued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as poſſeſſed of the victory, had moſt cowardly, contrary to the manner of that victorious nation, turned their backes vpon their enemies, in the breaches already halfe woon: wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts, and to make all things ready for a new aſſault, wherein he expected that they ſhould with couragious forwardneſſe and reſolution, recompence their late cowardiſe: for why, he accounted it a great diſhonor to forſake the ſiege begun; wherefore they ſhould reſolue the next day as victorious conquerors to take the city, or elſe there as faint hearted cowards to end their daies. The next day after this heauy charge giuen, which was the fifteenth of October, the great commanders of the Turks army with all their forces aſſailed the city, thruſting their men into the breaches by heaps, as if they would, if no way elſe, yet with very multitude (if it had been poſſible) haue diſcouraged or ouerborne the Chriſtians: they were come to handy blowes, and the fight was in euery place moſt terrible,

The Lo. William Rogendorffe.

Vienna againe aſſaulted.

The Turks repulſed.

ble, the Chriſtian defendants ſtill repulſing them with greater courage than they were able to G aſſaile them. Beſides that, to the great aduantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordnance skilfully mounted in places moſt conuenient, and continually diſcharged among the thickeſt of their enemies as they preſſed on, made of them ſuch ſlaughter, and ſo cut them off, that being thorowly diſcouraged they ſhrunk backe, and could not by any threats or command of their captaines be thruſt forward; chuſing rather to be ſlaine of their owne captaines (as ſome of them were) than to be rent in ſunder with the murthering ſhot of the Chriſtians. So that the captaines ſeeing now no other remedy, gaue ouer the aſſault and retired, leauing behind them many thouſands of their dead Turks in the towne ditches.

The next day after this aſſault, *Solyman* deſpairing to win the city, and fearing the comming of King *Ferdinand* and the County Palatine with a ſtrong army, as it had been to him reported, H conſidering alſo that Winter was now comming faſt on, determined to raiſe his ſiege and to colour the diſhonour thereof, he ſent certaine of the chiefe priſoners which he had taken, richly apparelled, with their purſes full of money, into the city, to tell the captaines, that he came not with purpoſe either to beſiege or take the city, but to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by his enemy King *Ferdinand*, and to haue fought a battell with him for the kingdome of Hungary: whom foraſmuch as he could not draw vnto Vienna, he would remoue thence to ſeeke for him, as his capitall enemy; wherefore they ſhould doe well to yeeld themſelues; which if they would, he promiſed not to enter their city, but to receiue both the citiſens and ſoldiers into his protection, reſeruing vnto them their liues and goods, with perpetuall freedome. Which his offer the defendants ſcornfully refuſed, as proceeding of meere deſparation. I The next night following, *Solyman* with more than barbarous cruelty cauſed all the priſoners in his army to be ſlaine; which pittifull outcries was of the ſouldiers heard into the city, not knowing what the matter ſhould be, vntill that the next day after the departure of the enemy, they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their owne bloud, a moſt lamentable ſpectacle to behold. *Solyman* purpoſing to forſake the ſiege, cauſed *Abraham* the great Baſſa to ſhew himſelfe in order of battell, as if he would haue giuen a freſh aſſault: in the meane time he himſelfe roſe vpon the ſudden with the reſt of his army, and returned towards Buda in ſuch haſt, that he neither put any garriſon into ſuch places as he had taken, neither demanded of them any tribute. After whom the Baſſa followed, keeping himſelfe a daies journy behind him: and ſo in fiue daies he arriued with all his army K at Buda, 32 Germane miles from Vienna.

Solyman raiſeth his ſiege.

80000 Turkes loſt at the ſiege of Vienna.

Solyman reſtoreth the kingdome of Hungary to K. Iohn.

This ſiege was giuen ouer by *Solyman* about the ſixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to haue loſt eighty thouſand men, amongſt whom was his great Lieutenant of *Aſia*, with many other of his forward Captains and beſt ſoldiers. Of the defendants few or none of name were loſt; but of the country people it is ſuppoſed that there was aboue ſixty thouſand ſlaine and carried away into captiuity: all the country about Vienna was miſerably ſpoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turks cut downe to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promiſe reſtored Buda to King *Iohn*; who by ſolemne writing acknowledged himſelfe his vaſſal, and to hold the kingdome of Hungary of him as his Lord and Soueraigne. Vnto him *Solyman* joyned *Aloyſius Grittus* as his Legat, to help him to prouide for ſuch things as ſhould be needfull L for the defence of that kingdome.

The honourable ſaying of Solyman to K. Iohn.

It hapned one day whileſt *Solyman* lay at Buda, and had giuen King *Iohn* with diuers of the nobility of Hungary acceſſe into his pauilion, that he fell earneſtly in hand with King *Iohn*, to pardon *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium, and *Petrus Perenus* (who had taken part with king *Ferdinand*) and to receiue them into his fauor again: which men king *Iohn* in no caſe liked of, becauſe that they as traitors vnto their Prince and country, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like duty to *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherein he ſhewed himſelfe vnwilling to be intreated, ſaid, That their mutable minds fraught with infidelity, would neuer containe themſelues within the bounds of loyalty, but find occaſion to commit ſome fouler treaſon than they had before. Whereunto M *Solyman* ſtraining his voice a little, as one ſomewhat moued, moſt honourably replied, *Can any thing* (ſaid he) *happen vnto thee in this life better or more honourable, than if by thy kindeneſſe thine enemies ſhall be of all men accounted ingratefull, that is to ſay, men noted with eternall infamy: when as in thy ſelfe the commendation of a good and courteous Prince ſhall for euer remaine?* And ſo not

long

A long after, fearing the cold of Winter then approching, dangerous for his beaſts for carriage, eſpecially his camels, bred and brought vp in the hot countries of Aſia; he ſet forward to Belgrade, and ſo trauelling through Thracia, returned to Conſtantinople.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in Hungary and Auſtria, *Charles* the Emperor lately reconciled to *Clement* the ſeuenth of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, with a ſtrong army beſieged Florence, by his lieutenant *Daualus*, (who might haue done much againſt the Turkes, if he had been ſo well imploied) labouring by all means to repreſſe the liberty of the citiſens, whereunto they had but a little before aſpired, and to bring them againe vnder the ſubjection of the family of *Medices*, whereof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoe he brought to paſſe, inueſting *Alexander* the Biſhops nephew in the Dukedome of Florence, B and afterward giuing him his baſe daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thruſt out of the Kingdome of Hungary by *Solyman*, and the Dukedome of Auſtria waſted by the Turks, with the city of Vienna in danger to haue beene loſt. Which common calamities might well haue moued both the Emperour and the Biſhop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppreſſing the liberty of one free city, to ſeeke how to ſerue their own priuat reſpects.

The yeare following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great ſolemnity and triumph, after the Turkiſh manner, circumciſed three of his ſonnes, *Muſtapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at Conſtantinople.

1530

Solyman circumciſeth his three ſonnes.

Solyman hardly diſgeſting the diſhonour he had before receiued at Vienna, and oftentimes C ſolicited by King *Iohn*, for aid againſt *Ferdinand*, who with greater ſtomacke than power ceaſed not continually to moleſt him: but moſt of all prickt forward with the inſatiable deſire of inlarging his Empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings, accounting his neighbor princes alwaies his enemies, and their dominions the objects of his victories, and ſpoile for his ſouldiers; raiſed ſuch an army, as for the greatneſſe thereof might worthily haue bin a terror vnto the World: not ſo much purpoſing the protection of king *Iohn*, which he in ſhew moſt pretended; neither the ſiege of Vienna, as was commonly bruted, as the conquering of Auſtria, Carinthia, Croatia, Styria, and the reſt of King *Ferdinands* dominions, and ſo afterwards of all Germany. For the accompliſhment whereof, he had in his immoderate deſire prefined vnto himſelfe the ſpace of three yeares, which the great Monarchs of Rome could not performe in D more than ſo many hundreds. It was commonly reported, That the proud tyrant would many times ſay, That whatſoeuer belonged vnto the Empire of Rome, was of right his, foraſmuch as he was rightfully poſſeſſed both of the Imperiall ſeat and ſcepter of *Conſtantine* the Great, commander of the World, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of Armes won from *Conſtantine* the late Chriſtian Emperour, whom he ſlew at Conſtantinople. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as he had occaſion to make any mention of *Charles* the Emperour, he would proudly, and as it were in diſdaine terme him by the name of the King of Spaine, but neuer by the name of Emperour.

The diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and the great troubles euen then ariſing in Germany about matters of Religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this E great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertiſed, that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelfe ſetting forward with his huge army, ſent vnto him three Embaſſadors; whereof *Leonardus Negarola*, a noble Gentleman well learned, and ſkilfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich Preſents, and reaſonable offers to intreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of Seruia, were by him courteouſly receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other anſwer, but that they ſhould follow his campe, and attend his further pleaſure. The report whereof brought a generall feare vpon all Germany, but eſpecially them of Auſtria, in whoſe freſh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their country, their brethren and friends ſlain, their wiues and children led away into captiuity, their goods and cattell loſt, their houſes and fields burnt, and thouſands of other grieuous calamities which they had F endured in the late inuaſion of the Turks. *Charles* the Emperor had in very good time a little before, for a while well appeaſed the diſſention then ariſing in Germany about matters of religion; putting them in hope of a free and generall Counſell to be holden for the deciding of all ſuch matters: and in a great aſſembly of the States of the empire to be holden at Ratisbon, ſhewing the greatneſſe of the imminent danger, ſo puiſſant an enemy threatning vnto them all

King Ferdinand ſends Embaſſadors to Solyman

The preparation of Charles the emperor againſt Solyman.

the calamities of war,with the manifold miſchiefs like to enſue,if they ſhould in ſo vnfit time G
fall at variance amongſt themſelues: offering with great reſolution, to go in perſon himſelfe
with all his old expert ſoldiers,in defence of the common Chriſtian cauſe; ſo much preuailed
with the Princes of the Empire, and the Embaſſadors of the free States, that they highly
commended his forwardneſſe,and all other matters for that time ſet apart,agreed all with one
conſent,at a prefixed day to ſend vnto Vienna ſuch warlike forces as they had in any time before
ſet forth for the defence of the Chriſtian religion,and the majeſty of the Empire. Wherupon
he wrote vnto *Alphonſus Vaſtius* (his lieutenant Generall in Italy, and one of the greateſt
captains of that age) that he ſhould without delay call together the old captains, and to leuy
ſo many companies of harquebuſiers as they poſſibly could; and with them and the Spaniſh
ſoldiers to repaire forthwith vnto him into Auſtria. He alſo enjoyned *Andreas Auria* his Admirall, H
that he ſhould with like diligence rig vp a ſtrong fleet of gallies and merchants ſhips,
and to go againſt the Turks Nauy into Grecia. At the ſame time he ſent for his choiſe horſemen
out of Burgondy and the Low-Countries, and many noble Gentlemen and old ſouldiers
out of Spaine: for the guard of his owne perſon he entertained twelue thouſand Germanes,
ſuch as had longeſt ſerued in his wars in Italy, ouer whom commanded *Maximilian Herberſtene*
and *Tamiſius*, both famous captaines. At the ſame time *Clement* the ſeuenth then Biſhop
of Rome, although his coffers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine wars, which had
coſt him ten hundred thouſand ducats; yet to make ſome ſhew of his deuotion in ſo dangerous
a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the Emperour; after he had with grieuous
exaction extorted from the clergy a great maſſe of mony (whereunto his rich Cardinals contributed I
nothing,as if it had bin a thing vtterly vnlawfull for them,in ſo good a cauſe to haue
abated any jot of their pontificall ſhew in the court of Rome) ſent the young Cardinall *Hippolitus*
Medices his nephew, being then about twenty yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the
wars than for the Church,as his Legat vnto the Emperour;accompanied with moe good captaines
than clergy men, and his coffers well ſtuffed with treaſure: whoſe comming to Ratiſbone
was vnto the Emperour and the Germanes very welcome; for beſides that he was a yong
Gentleman of very comely perſonage, and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for thoſe
wars (beſides the company he brought with him) eight thouſand Hungarian horſemen, of all
others beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh wars.

Strigonium beſieged by King John.

King *Iohn* vnderſtanding, that the formoſt of *Solymans* great army were come as far as Samandria K
in Seruia, thought it now a fit time to wring from King *Ferdinand* ſuch townes as he
yet held in Hungary; wherefore he ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper
for his eſtate) to beſiege Strigonium,which is a city of Hungary ſcituat vpon the ſide of Danubius,
about thirty miles from Buda,the caſtle thereof was at that time holden with a ſtrong
garriſon of King *Ferdinands*: wherunto for all that *Grittus* laied ſuch hard ſiege both by the
riuer and by land,that the defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to hold out, eſpecially
if *Solyman* ſhould take that in his way,as it was moſt like he would; ſent for relife to *Cazzianer*,
a warlike captaine then Gouernor of Vienna,and General of all King *Ferdinands* forces:
by whoſe appointment certaine ſmall frigots were ſent downe the riuer of Danubius, from
Poſſonium,well manned;who ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turks fleet (which ſo kept the riuer, L
that nothing could that way poſſibly be conueied either in or out of the caſtle) ſhould by their
vnexpected comming open that way. But *Grittus* hauing intelligence thereof by certain Hungarians,
which though they ſerued King *Ferdinand*, made no great account to fly ſometime to
the one part,ſometime to the other,as beſt fitted their purpoſe; preſently reſolued to ſend his
fleet vp the riuer and by his ſudden comming to oppreſſe his enemies,in like ſort as they had
thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his ſoldiers,he promiſed great rewards
to all ſuch as ſhould performe any extraordinary piece of ſeruice in that action:and ſo hauing
thorowly furniſhed all his fleet with good ſoldiers, but eſpecially with Turkiſh archers, ſent
them vp the riuer to ſeeke their enemies: who fearing no ſuch matter, as men ſurpriſed with
the ſame miſchiefe they had prepared for others, were at the firſt exceedingly diſmaied; yet M
conſidering that they were reaſonably well prouided for their cumming (although they yet
wanted ſuch helpe as *Cazzianer* had appointed to ſend them) they thought it a great ſhame to
fly,and therfore putting themſelues in order of battell, came downe the riuer, and with great
courage encountred their enemy. There began a ſharpe and cruell fight, many being ſlaine

and

A and wounded on both ſides: but at laſt they of Poſſonium not able longer to endure the deadly ſhot of their enemies, and eſpecially of the Turkiſh archers, (who with their arrowes ſore gauled both the ſoldiers and the mariners) they turned their backs and fled: in which fight of ſixty frigots which came from Poſſonium, only thirteene eſcaped, with *Corporanus* the Generall, all the reſt being either ſunke in the fight, or els taken by the enemy, being run aſhore and forſaken by the Poſſonians, truſting more vnto their legs by land, than their oares by water. Beſides this loſſe of the Frigots, there was ſlaine of the Poſſonians almoſt fiue hundred. After this victory, *Grittus* hoping that they in the caſtle of Strigonium, diſpairing now of reliefe, and fearing the comming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out, left off to batter or vndermine the caſtle (wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed) purpoſing by lying ſtill, and keeping them of the caſtle from all reliefe, to inforce them in time to forſake the place. B Thus whileſt the diuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconſideratly ſought one anothers deſtruction, with the ruine of their country; *Solyman* the great enemy of all Christians was ready at their backs to deuoure both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spaniſh ſoldiers in Italy, drawne together by *Vaſtius*, as the Emperor had before commanded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one ſort of men and other, was aboue 20000, whereof almoſt the third part was not ſeruiceable: for the old ſoldiers enriched with the long wars in Italy, and the ſpoile of the rich country of Lumbardy, wherein they had of late bin billited, brought with them all their old gotten ſpoiles and ſubſtance, not forgetting ſo much as their women, and whatſoeuer elſe ſerued their pleaſure: C for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vnneceſſary people, all which ſerued for no other vſe but for the ſoldiers pleaſure, and to conſume victuals. Which their licentious wantonneſſe *Vaſtius* deſiring to reforme, gaue ſtreit commandement through all the campe, That they ſhould leaue behind them all ſuch vnneceſſary baggage, and appointed what carriages ſhould ſuffiae for euery company. Whereat the ſouldiers began at the firſt to murmure, and preſently after to riſe vp in mutiny: for many of the captains being rich, and diſliking of that long and dangerous expedition, couertly incited the common ſouldiers to cry out vpon *Vaſtius* the Generall, for their pay already due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter ſet on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice ſaid flatly, That they would go no foot further before they had receiued their pay. D *Vaſtius*, although he well perceiued that tumult to be raiſed by ſome of his enemies, which ſought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the preſent to diſſemble the matter, & yeelding to the neceſſity of the time, to content the mutinous ſoldiers with one months pay, promiſing them their full contentment, at ſuch time as they ſhould come vnto the Emperor: and ſo when he had with much ado appeaſed that tumult, he ſet forward into Germany.

Mutiny among the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

Immediatly after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with ſuch cheerfulneſſe offered themſelues to that ſeruice, that euery captain brought with him twice ſo many in his company as was expected: ſo that *Vaſtius*, (who before doubtfull of their forwardneſſe in ſo dangerous a war, eſpecially in the aid of the Germans, of whom they had in the late wars receiued great harmes, had by great and earneſt perſuaſions induced diuers of the nobility, and others E of the better ſort, to enter into that honourable action, in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their friends and tenants, as indeed they did) was now glad to ſend backe againe many of the common ſoldiers, by reaſon of the multitude; and alſo to his great diſcredit, and the offence of many, full ſore againſt his will to diſplace moſt part of thoſe forward gentlemen, whom he had but a little before made captains, who to their no ſmall charge had gallantly furniſhed themſelues according to their degrees and places: for the Emperor had then appointed what number of Italians he ſhould bring; and alſo giuen commandement, That rejecting the reſt, he ſhould commit the leading of them only to thoſe old expert captains, of whoſe valour and diſcretion he had before had good experience. There were *Martius Columna, Petrus Maria Rubeus, Philippus Torniellus, Ioannes Baptiſta Caſtaldus, Fabritius* F *Maramaldus, Pyrrhus Stipicianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all men of great worth, and approued faith towards the Emperor.

In theſe Italian companies were fourteen thouſand ſelect footmen, beſide many other braue men who voluntarily reſorted from diuers places to Vienna. After theſe footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thouſand horſemen, and certaine troups of Grecians and Spaniſh ards, and with them came many noble gentlemen out of all parts of Italy, who had before bin great commanders, but now ſerued as priuat gentlemen voluntarily without charge or pay; accounting it a great ſhame to tarry at home as cowards, and not to be preſent in that religious war.

The Emperour alſo about the ſame time hauing taken view of his horſemen come out of the Low-countries moſt excellently appointed, and ſhipping his great ordnance, whereof he had bought great ſtore at Nurembergh, departed downe the riuer from Ratisbone to Lyntz. The riuer of Danubius neuer carried ſo many veſſels and ſouldiers ſince the time of the great Roman Emperors, as it did at that preſent: and yet beſides them which went downe the riuer by ſhipping, the pleaſant banks on both ſides were filled with great companies of horſemen and footmen paſſing all alongſt the riuer vnder their colours, with their drums and trumpets ſounding, which altogether made the moſt glorious ſhew that a man could well behold vpon earth.

1532

Solyman commeth into Hungary.

In the meane while, *Solyman* in ſix and fifty daies march come to Belgrade, thruſt ouer the great riuer Savus by bridges made in diuers places, an infinit number of his horſmen into Hungary; and leauing Danubius on the right hand, turning a little vpon the left, marched directly towards the rich country of Stiria, called in antient time Valeria, and now Stiermarke. By the way as he went he came to the little towne of Gunza, which one *Nicholas Iuriſchitz* (a man of an inuincible courage) kept with a ſmall garriſon of his owne. This town ſtandeth in a Plaine not far from the city of Sabaria, built ſquare, and but of a ſmall compaſſe, not very ſtrongly walled, a poore obſcure thing, neuer famous till now by the great diſhonour that the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman* there receiued. *Abraham* the chiefe Baſſa (who ſo abſolutely commanded among the Turks, as if *Solyman* had receiued him into the fellowſhip of his Empire with himſelfe) was very deſirous to ſaue this captain *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a man of great courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at ſuch time as he lay Embaſſador at Conſtantinople: wherefore he attempted firſt by gentle perſuaſions and large offers, and afterwards by moſt terrible threats, to induce him to yeeld the town to *Solyman*. But finding him ſo reſolutely ſet downe, that he was neither by faire nor foule means, but only by force to be remoued out of the towne: he incloſed the ſame round about with the huge army of the Turks, and by mines ouerthrew the wals in three places. Which ſudden breach whileſt the garriſon ſouldiers moſt valiantly defended againſt the furious aſſault of the Ianizaries on the South ſide of the towne, the Baſſa planting his field pieces vpon the hils on the North ſide, did from thence grieuouſly annoy the defendants: who fiercely aſſailed by their enemies before, and beaten with the great ordnance behind, were grieuouſly diſtreſſed. Wherwith the worthy gouernor ſomwhat troubled, though not much diſcouraged, ſuddenly of timber and boords raiſed vp a curtain twelue foot high, at the backs of his ſoldiers, wherewith they were ſo couered from the ſight of their enemies, that they could not make any certain ſhot at them, but only at that curtain at all aduentures, not doing any thing ſo great harme as before: and with deſperat and reſtleſſe labour, in deſpight of all the Turks great power repaired the breaches, in as ſtrong manner as at the firſt. In the meane time 200 of the Turks horſmen ſtragling from the campe, and ſeeking after booty in the country as farre as Neoſtat, were by the Hungarian horſemen intercepted, and all ſlaine or taken; whoſe heads the Hungarians brought to Vienna, and the more to encourage the ſouldiers which dayly repaired thither, in token of good lucke ſet them vp vpon ſtakes vpon the wals of the city. Then was it certainly knowne of the priſoners, that *Solyman* had in his campe fiue hundred thouſand men, and three hundred field pieces, which were not of greater bigneſſe but that a camell might well carry one of them, being taken from the carriage: for why, *Solyman* purpoſing by deſtroying the country before him, to draw the Emperour vnto battell; had (as they ſaid) brought no greater pieces of battery with him. Which report of the priſoners was alſo confirmed by the Embaſſadours of King *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gaue leaue to depart at Gunza, giuing to euery one of them a gowne of veluet and a piece of plate, with letters vnto the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his brother; wherein proudly vſurping the title of many kingdomes, he moſt inſolently wrote himſelfe Lord and Soueraigne of almoſt all countries and nations. But the effect thereof was, That he was come into Hungary, to reuenge the wrongs which they had done vnto King *Iohn* his friend and vaſſall; and would with fire and ſword enter their countries, and by the power of

Gunza beſieged by the Turks.

The huge army of Solyman.

Solymans proud letters vnto the Emperor Charles and king Ferdinand.

God

A God and his great Prophet *Mahomet*, the fauourers of juſt quarrels, giue them battell, if they
durſt meet him: wherfore if they would as valiant and couragious princes meet him in the field,
he would in one battell end that quarrell with them, and in reward of the victory either win or
loſe the Empire of the World. When *Solyman* had thus a great while lien at the ſiege of Gunza,
and thereto giuen diuers ſharpe aſſaults, being ſtill with great loſſe and diſhonor repulſed,
he in the ſpace of foure daies caſt vp neere vnto the towne ditch two great mounts of faggots
and earth, as if they had bin two great mountains, of ſuch height, that they ouertopped not the
wals only, but euen the higheſt towers in the towne (by which wonderfull worke the greatneſſe
of the Turks army might eaſily be conjectured:) on of theſe great mounts he caſt vp directly
againſt the face of the towne; and the other at a corner of the ſame, to flankier along the
wall; from whence he did with his ſhot not only beat them which appeared vpon the wals for
B the defence thereof, but them alſo which vpon occaſion went too and fro in the ſtreets. Theſe
mounts being with incredible celerity brought to perfection, the town ditch filled vp, & many
of the defendants either ſlain or wounded vpon the wals, the Turks gaue a moſt furious aſſault
at the place which was before ſhaken with the mine: againſt whom the valiant captaine
as need was in that extreme danger, oppoſed all the ſtrength he had left. But the Turks ſtill
preſſing on with their infinit multitude, were got vp to the top of the wals with eight enſignes,
from whence they had repulſed the defendants: which being all either wounded or
wearied, ſhrouded themſelues vnder the defence of their penthouſes, being neither able nor of
courage to make further reſiſtance, ſo that the wals were now abandoned, and the towne there
left without defendants: when ſuddenly ſuch a great clamor was made by the loud outcries
C and lamentation of the women and children and other fearefull people, that the Turks which
had recouered the top of the wals, ſtrucken with a ſudden feare, thinking the towne to haue
bin full of ſoldiers, ſtood as men aſtonied and diſmaid, wherupon the defendants began againe
to take courage, and to ſhew themſelues: at whoſe ſight the Turks poſſeſſed of a needleſſe
feare, forſooke the wal, and could not by any perſuaſions or threats of their captains be brought
on againe to the aſſault. The towne was that day in all mens judgement defended by the
mighty power of God, and not by the ſtrength of man. It grieued the proud tyrant aboue mea-
that ſo baſe a towne ſhould ſo long hold out againſt all his power, ſo that oftentimes in his
rage he would threaten to raſe it downe to the ground, and not to leaue any ſigne thereof remaining:
D which he would vndoubtedly haue in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great
Baſſa (by whoſe counſell he was altogether directed) otherwiſe perſuaded him: who waiting
a fit time, when his choler was paſt, told him, that it was not worth his name and greatneſſe, to
ſpend his time and forces vpon ſo ſmall a towne of no importance, by raſing wherof he ſhould
neither get honor nor profit: for why, no man would maruell, if he with ſo puiſſant an army
ſhould take ſo ſmall a thing, eſpecially by long ſiege, wherby the ſtrongeſt places are inforced
to yeeld: and when he had ſo taken it, it would be accounted a greater honor for ſo little a town
to haue holden out ſo long, than for him to haue with ſo great forces in long time conſtrained
it: but if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as the chances of war are vncertaine, that he ſhould by
any occaſion be conſtrained to leaue it, he ſhould thereby get no ſmall diſhonor: wherfore it
E were more wiſedome to ſpare his ſoldiers labor in ſo ſmall a matter, wherof he was not to expect
either honour or profit, and for to reſerue him for his greater deſignes, and not vainely to
ſpend his forces and time in beſieging of ſo baſe a village, from whence he might now depart
with leſſe diſhonor than he could afterwards, when he had proued the vttermoſt of his forces,
and yet in the end glad peraduenture to forſake it: wherefore it were more for his honour to
raiſe his ſiege, and calling the Gouernor of the town vnto him, to giue him the town as it were
of bounty, than to ſpend ſo many good men as he muſt needs caſt away in the winning of it by
force: with theſe and like reaſons the Baſſa preuailed ſo much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the
worthy Gouernor of the town was by a herauld at arms ſent for to come to the great Baſſa, *Solyman*
diſdaining (as it ſhould ſeem) to ſpeak with him himſelf. The Gouernor being ſent for,
F though he was grieuouſly wounded, & in ſmall hope of life, yet ſtoutly refuſed to come to any
parly, except he were firſt well aſſured both by ſafe conduct & good hoſtages for the ſafety of
his perſon, and that nothing ſhould be exacted of him, not befitting his religion & honor: which
ſtout anſwer cauſed *Solyman* & the Baſſa to think, that his ſtrength was not yet ſo weakned, but
that he was ſtill able to hold out the ſiege: and thereupon, that he required for his ſafety was
forth-

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to leaue the ſiege of Gunza.

The Gouernour commeth to the Baſſa.

His anſwer to the Baſſa.

Solyman departeth from the ſiege of Gunza.

forthwith granted, and two men of great acount ſent for hoſtages for him into the city with G
Solymans ſafe conduct. Which being receiued, the Gouernor went forth, and was by *Abraham*
the great Baſſa honourably receiued into the campe, and commanded to ſit downe by him in
his tent: where he was of him firſt by the way of courteſie demanded, whether he had recoue-
red his old infirmity wherewith he was troubled at ſuch time as he was ſent Embaſſador vnto
Solyman at Conſtantinople? After that, whether the wounds he had receiued in the laſt aſſault,
were dangerous or not? But laſt of all, and that which moſt concerned the matter, vpon what
hope he alone had ſo long and ſo obſtinatly withſtood the mighty Sultan *Solyman*, when as all
his neighbours round about him had ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelues? ſaying further, that
he maruelled much why he repoſed any confidence in the lingring King *Ferdinand*. Where-
unto the Gouernor modeſtly anſwered, That he was (thanks be to God) well deliuered of his
old diſeaſe, and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his holding out, he H
ſaid, that he for his great wiſedome knew, that it was the duty of a good ſouldier valiantly to
withſtand his enemies, and not to be troubled for any euill hap, or diſcouraged with any
chance of war: as for himſelfe, he ſaid, when mans helpe failed, he had repoſed his full truſt in
God, by whoſe power he had beene hitherto preſerued, which as he well hoped ſhould neuer
faile him at his need: and that King *Ferdinand* was not ſo far off, but that he would before it
were long be there preſent with a great army: wherefore he did not greatly maruell, that he
was not relieued before that time, foraſmuch as many lets and occaſion might chance which
might hinder the Kings purpoſe, conſidering that fortune alwaies by nature vnconſtant, was in
nothing more like vnto her ſelfe in her inconſtancy, than in martiall affaires. The Baſſa won- I
dering at the inuincible courage of the Gouernor, ſaid, That although the great Emperor *So-
lyman* might now at his pleaſure vtterly deſtroy the towne, with all that therein was, yet being
by nature of a moſt honourable and milde diſpoſition, and a great louer of valiant and coura-
gious men, had commanded him in his name to giue him that towne, and the liues of all them
that were in it, as a reward of his valour ſhewed in the defence thereof: yet ſo, that he ſhould
ſweare obedience vnto him, and receiue ſome few Turks into the towne, in token that he had
yeelded the ſame. The politicke Gouernour knowing that of 800 valiant ſouldiers, he had
ſcarcely a third part left, and them alſo ſore weakned with wounds and want of reſt, thought it
neceſſary to make his peace in beſt ſort he could: for what could haue hapned vnto him more
wiſhedly, than with his great honour to keepe the towne ſtill, and with the loſſe of a few plea- K
ſing words to diliuer himſelfe, with ſo many of his friends, from extream feare and perill? and
ſo in all his talke ſhewing no ſigne of feare, and with great words ſetting forth the ſtrength of
his garriſon (which was indeed brought to an extream weakneſſe) ſaid he was ready at the firſt
to haue yeelded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at Conſtantinople,
but was alwaies letted by the Germans and Spaniards, which were there in garriſon, fierce and
cruell ſoldiers, whoſe hard hearts were (as he ſaid) hardly entreated to ſuffer him at that time
to come out of the city into the campe: wherefore he could promiſe to be a friend to all ſuch
Turks as ſhould paſſe that way, and to relieue him with ſuch things as his waſted country
could affoord; and further in token of his ſubmiſſion, to ſet vp one of *Solymans* enſignes in the
chiefe tower of the city: but as for receiuing any Turks into gariſon, in token that he had yeel- L
ded vp the towne, he was willing ſo to do, but that he was greatly affraid they ſhould be euill
intreated by the Germans and Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks: whereof it was to be
thought, that new wars would eftſoone ariſe. In concluſion he ſo cunningly vſed the matter,
that the great Baſſa was contented with this ſmall token of ſubmiſſion, that he ſhould receiue
in at one of gates of the city, one of *Solymans* captains with ten Ianizaries: which being done
accordingly, and they courteouſly for a while entertained and again diſmiſſed, the great Baſſa
held himſelfe with that ſimple ſubmiſſion well contented: when as the Gouernor had neither
German nor Spaniard as then in garriſon. So when *Solyman* had with his great army lien at the
ſiege of Gunza by the ſpace of 28 daies, and in that time to his great loſſe aſſaulted the ſame
thirteene times, he roſe with his army, glad of a little fained ſubmiſſion for the ſafegard of his M
honor: and leauing Vienna on the right hand, whither moſt part of the Chriſtian army was
aſſembled, tooke the way on the left hand into Carinthia, and ſo came to the riuer Mure, and
from thence to the city Gratia. This turning of *Solymans* out of the way from Vienna, where
he knew his enemies lay, put all feare out of the minds of the Chriſtians, which they had

A before not without cauſe conceiued, inſomuch that he but a little before feared as a Prince of
great pride and power, ſhamefully repulſed at the little town of Gunza, and now ſhunning his
enemies at Vienna, began to grow into contempt as if he had beene running away for feare.
Which diſgrace the Turks ſought by diuers excuſes to couer, as that the ſtrong city of Neo-
ſtat lay betwixt him and Vienna, which could neither without much difficulty be taken, nor
danger left enemy behind him: beſides that, Winter began to approch, which cauſed him (as
the Turks gaue it out) to content himſelfe with the ſpoile of the rich countries betwixt the
riuers of Sauus and Dranus, and ſo in good time to returne againe to Belgrade. But they which
ſeemed to ſee further into the matter, were of opinion, That *Solyman* vnderſtanding by his eſ-
pials, and ſecret aduertiſement from his friends, That the Princes of Germany had with one
B conſent joined their forces with the emperors, brought out of Italy, Spain, and the Low coun-
tries, which at his ſetting forth he leaſt feared; and that the Chriſtian army in number great,
conſiſted not of raw ſouldiers, but for the moſt part ſuch as had been trained vp in wars, men
both for courage and skill nothing inferiour to his Ianizaries and beſt men of war; choſe rather
to take the ſpoile of the country, as he might with ſafety, than to aduenture his perſon and
ſtate to the hazard of a moſt doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Caſon ſent with 15000 horſmen to ſpoile Auſtria

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Michael-Ogli* by the commandement of *Solyman*, ſent
Caſon with 15000 of his voluntary horſemen (who in *Solymans* expedition againſt Vienna, had
run through the country of Auſtria as farre as Lyntz) charging him without ſtay to ſpoile all
the country far and neere which lyeth betweene Danubius and the Alpes, thereby to learne
C what he could of the ſtate and ſtrength of the Emperors campe; and by doing all the harmes
he could poſſibly, to leaue a moſt lamentable remembrance of the Turks being in Auſtria. *Ca-
ſon* was of himſelfe forward enough, and deſirous of the ſpoile: but ſo much the more, for that
he was by the former road into that country become both famous and rich: wherefore diui-
ding his horſemen into three companies not far diſtant one from another, he ſuddenly oppreſ-
ſed an infinit multitude of all ſorts of people in the fields and country villages as he went; all
which he either ſlew without mercy, or carried away as miſerable priſoners. Thouſands of
men and women tied together in chaines and ropes, were by the cruell Turks enforced to run
as faſt as their horſes; the country villages were all burnt downe to the ground, and in them
the poore children of the Chriſtians, whoſe parents were either ſlaine or carried away cap-
D tiues: ſo that all the country euery way almoſt for the ſpace of a 150 miles, was couered with
ſmoke and fire, within three miles of Lyntz, where King *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get
himſelfe further off to Strabinga, where his brother *Charles* the Emperour lay. This cruell
Turke according to his charge, hauing with fire and ſword without compaſſion wrought all
the woe he could poſſible vpon the poore Chriſtians, and now loded with the ſpoile of the
country and multitude of priſoners, began to returne the ſame way he came, thinking to finde
Solyman either at the ſiege of Gunza, where he left him, or neerer hand at Neoſtat comming
towards Vienna. But he as is aforeſaid, riſing with ſmall honour from Gunza, and fearing the
power of the Chriſtians, was quite gone another way as far as Gratia, the Metropoliticall city
of Stiria, ſtanding vpon the riuer of Mura; which turned to the vtter deſtruction of *Caſon* and
E all his followers: for as ſoone as it was perceiued by the burning of the countrey all about,
that the Turks were come neere to Lyntz, the Chriſtian captaines with their companies went
out of the campe, ſome one way ſome another, as was thought moſt conuenient for the mee-
ting with of theſe miſchieuous Turks, which neuer reſted in one place: wherin they vſed ſuch
diligence in taking the paſſages, that it was not poſſible they ſhould eſcape vnfought withall.
Foure companies of Spaniſh and Italian horſemen vnder the leading of *Lewis Cone* a valiant
captaine, firſt lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto Neoſtat, and deſperatly charging
them, were by the Turks for moſt part ſlaine: But *Caſon* perceiuing how he was one euery ſide
laied by the Chriſtians in the vallies betwixt Neoſtat, Sabaria, and Veſprinium, the night fol-
lowing with more than barbarous cruelty ſlew foure thouſand of the Chriſtians he had be-
F fore taken priſoners, becauſe he ſhould not be hindered by them in his flight; and diuiding
his army into two parts, about midnight began to ſet forward, vſing the benefit of the night
to haue eſcaped from his enemies out of theſe vallies wherein he was incloſed. One part of
this army led by *Feriſes* taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut a way tho-
row the thicke and ouergrown woods (a thing thought altogether impoſſible), and ſo with lit-

4000 Chriſtian captiues murdered by Caſon.

tle or no loſſe came to *Solyman* into Styria. *Caſon* with the other part of the army breaking G
out of the valley of Storamberg, chanced vpon the Palatine (Generall of the forces ſent from
the German Princes) who with ten thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſemen, and certaine
field pieces brake the battell of the Turks, and ſlew of them a great number: in which
conflict *Caſon* his chiefe enſigne was taken. He fighting moſt valiantly in the rereward, to giue
others time to eſcape, was himſelfe there ſlaine: whoſe gallant head-piece preſented afterwards
to the Emperour, confirmed the report of his death. They which eſcaped from the *Palatine*,
in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewis*, and the Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, by whom
they were ſlaine like beaſts. The Hungarian horſemen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, fighting vpon
them which fled from *Lewis* and the Marqueſſe, had the killing of them for the ſpace of
ſeuen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruelleſt execution, following them hard H
at the heels with their freſh horſes, and fiercely inſulting vpon them in their owne language.
Thoſe few diſperſed Turks which eſcaped the fury of the Hungarians, fell into the hands of
the country people about Veſprinium and the lake of Balaton, which came out on euery ſide
in hope of ſpoile, who ſhewed them ſmall fauour: ſo that of 8000 which were with *Caſon*, it
was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

Caſon diſcomfited by the Palatine, and ſlaine.

The ſlaughter of the Turks.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as Gracia in Stiria, called his
chiefe captains together into the caſtle of Lyntz, to know their opinions, whether it were beſt
to follow the enemy into Stiria or not. The cities of Lyntz, Gracia, and Vienna, are ſcituat almoſt
in forme of a triangle: but from Lyntz to Gratia is three good daies journey of bad
rough way by horſe. Some ſaid it was beſt to fight with the Turks in that vneuen mountaine I
country, where the Turks chiefe ſtrength conſiſting in the multitude of his horſemen, ſhould
ſtand him in ſmall ſtead, but ſhould be inforced to try his battell with his footmen, wherein
he was inferiour to the Chriſtians. This counſell although it had in it many difficulties, yet
for that it proceeded from the moſt approued captains, ſo moued the Emperour, that he preſently
ſent *Apomius* a Spaniard (the moſt famous captaine *Antonius Leua* his lieutenant) to
take view of that paſſage: who ſhortly after returned againe to Lyntz, bringing word that all
the country as he went was deſolate and for feare forſaken of the inhabitants: but concerning
the place of the enemies abode, he could learne no certainty. Whereupon it was by generall
conſent concluded, that they ſhould all goe to Vienna, whither all the ſtrength of the Germans
was already aſſembled, there to take a generall view of the army, and to giue the enemy K
battell if he ſhould againe returne. Some there were of great courage which openly diſliked
of that going to Vienna; ſaying, that the Emperour ſhould rather in that diſtreſſe of the prouinces
of Stiria and Carinthia purſue his enemy, than turne out of the way to Vienna. But
others of greater judgement, whoſe opinion preuailed, ſaid, it was one thing to inuade and
another thing to defend: ſo that the Emperour might with honor enough encampe himſelfe
in the fields of Vienna, and from thence to expect and deride the baſe expedition and vaine
brags of his proud enemie, who a far off challenged him into the field, and then like a coward
durſt not come neere him.

Charles the emperour his power at Vienna.

The Emperor comming to Vienna, and taking a generall view of the army, found therein
two hundred and ſixty thouſand men, whereof 90000 footmen, and 30000 horſemen were L
accounted old expert ſoldiers, and of them many whole companies and bands, of ſuch as had
before bin Generals, Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, or other officers and men of marke in other
armies, and now were content to ſerue as priuat men. It was thought that ſo many worthy
captains and valiant ſouldiers, were neuer before in the memory of man aſſembled together
into one camp: for the Princes and free cities had not ſent thither common ſoldiers, but
their choſen and approued men; ſtriuing as it were amongſt themſelues, who ſhould ſend the
beſt. All the flowre and ſtrength of Germany from the riuer of Viſtula to the Rhene, and from
the Ocean to the Alpes, was by the Princes of the Empire and free cities either ſent thither,
or of themſelues voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all Germany
ſhould as it were with one conſent, be glad to take vp arms for their common ſafety, in defence M
of their honor and liberty; eſpecially againſt people brought out of the furtheſt parts of Aſia,
Syria, and Ægypt. Beſide the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the Bohemian
campe lay not farre off, ſtrengthened with them of Silicia and Morauia. There were
alſo ſome troupes of Polonian horſemen, not ſent thither by publike authority, but ſeruing

as

A as voluntary men: King *Sigiſmund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not raſhly to breake the league he had made with *Solyman*; ſo leſt he ſhould ſeeme careleſſe of the Chriſtian common cauſe, by notable diſſimulation left place for ſuch of his ſubjects as would (as if it had been without his knowledge) to ſhew their valour in the moſt honourable war.

The order of the Chriſt.an army.

The Chriſtian army ready to receiue the enemy, lay in a great field neere vnto Vienna, in this order: three great ſquadrons of pikemen, ſtanding one ſquadron a great way diſtant from another, were ſo placed againſt the enemy with like and equall front, that all the horſemen diuided into two parts, might well be receiued into the great ſpaces betwixt the three ſquadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppoſe ſo ſmall a number of horſemen in open field without the footmen, againſt almoſt 300000 of the Turks horſemen. The right wing of B the horſemen was led by the Emperour himſelfe, and the left by King *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euery ſide of the three ſquadrons of pikes, ſauing in thoſe places which were left open for the horſemen, about thirty paces off, were placed twenty thouſand nimble harquebuſiers ranged in length, and but fiue in a ranke; ſo that whileſt the firſt diſcharged, the ſecond, and after them the third, and ſo the reſt readily and orderly comming on, might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any diſaduantage to place them ſo thin, for that if they found themſelues by the enemies oppreſſed, they might eaſily retire amongſt the pikes, ſtanding faſt at hand. Before the harquebuſiers was planted the great ordnance, whereof the Emperour had ſuch ſtore, and ſo well placed, that he could therewith (as with a moſt ſure trench) haue compaſſed in his whole army. Only the Hungarians, men C well acquainted with the manner of the Turkiſh fight, choſe to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captaines *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly army, wept for joy, conceiuing a moſt aſſured hope of victory, if the proud enemy durſt with all his forces joyne in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all means ſought with his great number of horſemen to keepe the wide and open fields, certainly aduertiſed both of the Emperors ſtrength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the riuer of Mura, and at Marpurge by bridges which he made on the ſudden, paſſed ouer the great riuer Dranus. And ſo he which that Summer held almoſt all the World in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of the ſucceſſe of that war; hauing with all that his huge power wherewith he threatned the World, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euery D place either ouercome, or els ſhamefully repulſed; left Stiria, and returned the ſame way he came, directly betwixt the riuers of Sauus and Dranus, to Belgrade and ſo to Conſtantinople; leauing here and there ſome remembrance of his barbarous cruelty, and ſtill looking behind him if the Emperour were not at his heeles: at ſuch time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian horſemen did ſtill purſue the taile of his army. It is reported, that he carried away with him 30000 Chriſtians into Captiuity, beſides many thouſands of poore country people ſlaine by the mercileſſe Turks; but eſpecially by *Caſon* and his followers: and ſo to his eternall infamy was twice in the ſpace of a few yeares driuen out of Germany. The Emperor vnderſtanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all ſpeed to returne into Italy; although King *Ferdinand* his brother moſt earneſtly intreated him before his departure, in ſo fit a time to imploy thoſe E great forces againſt King *Iohn*, who now as it were forſaken of *Solyman*, might eaſily with ſo puiſſant an army haue bin thruſt not only out of Buda, but alſo quite out of the Kingdome of Hungary, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vaſſall placed. But the Emperour, for that Winter began now to approch, and the plague was got into the camp, yea, euen into his court, continued in his former purpoſe of departing into Italy: yet yeelding ſo far vnto his brothers requeſt, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who joyned with King *Ferdinands* owne forces, were thought ſufficient for the accompliſhment of the Hungarian war.

Solyman returneth.

Ouer theſe Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the meanes of *Alphonſus Victius* appointed Generall: but no order taken for the paiment of their wages, whereby the ſouldiers might be the more incouraged to take in hand that war, and alſo kept in obedience. Which F thing at the firſt much offended the minds of the other captains, thinking themſelues diſgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account than themſelues: but as ſoon as it was known abroad, the vnder captains & officers of the bands, led with the credit and fauor of their old captains, ſaid plainly, That they would not go into Hungary, except either King Ferdinand would in perſon goe himſelfe, or elſe one of the great Commanders, *Vaſtius*

The Italians left for the aid of King Ferdinand, ariſe in mutiny.

or *Leua* were appointed for their Generall: and the common ſouldiers ſaid flatly, that they would aske leaue to depart, except they had three moneths pay, which they knew well they ſhould neuer get of that poore King, already brought vnto great wants. *Vaſtius* to appeaſe this mutiny, trauelled greatly with his ſoldiers, perſuading them to remember the faith of ſouldiers, and by their conſtant perſeuerance to maintaine the honour they had got by their cheerfull cumming: telling them, That valiant ſouldiers neuer wanted pay, furniſhing themſelues by their victories with all things neceſſary from the enemy. And as for *Maramaldus* their Generall, they had no juſt cauſe to miſlike him, being an old captain of great experience, for courage and policy not inferior to any the greateſt Commanders, and placed by the Emperours owne appointment as a man moſt ſufficient, whoſe judgement they ought not in any caſe to diſlike. When *Vaſtius* had with theſe and ſuch like reaſons well appeaſed the tumultuous ſouldiers, and was gone out of the camp into Vienna, to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties, night the nurſe of ſedition came on, whoſe darkneſſe excluding all modeſty and feare, gaue further ſcope and place vnto the mutinous ſoldiers inſolency. By chance there was at that time brought out of the city into the campe, very courſe, hoary, mouldy bread; which ſome of the ſoldiers hauing brought, and thruſting it vpon the points of their ſpeares, ſhewed it vnto their fellowes in great choler, railing againſt King *Ferdinand*, which in his own kingdome in the beginning of the war had made no better prouiſion, but with ſuch corrupt and peſtilent bread to feed them being ſtrangers, which were only for his defence and quarell to aduenture their liues. And but a little before, a certaine Spaniard, being but a common ſouldier, comming into the Generals tent, and caſting the like bread downe at the feet of *Vaſtius*, bitterly curſing the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, had raiſed a wonderfull tumult: wherefore the Italian ſoldiers flocking together out of their tents, gaue many hard ſpeeches concerning their pay, their victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian war. There one *Titus Marconius* of Volaterra, a man of a troubleſome ſpirit, but reaſonably well ſpoken, was by the other ſouldiers ſet vp vpon a great heap of ſaddles, that he might be the better heard, and by diuers ſeditious captains requeſted frankly ro ſpeake his mind, ſo far as he thought concerned the ſafety and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he ſpake vnto them in this ſeditious manner as followeth:

The ſeditious oration of Titus Marconius, to the mutinous Italians:

And ſhall the Spaniards (ſaid he) *beloued companions and fellowes in armes, as you haue heard, go into Italy? and to our great hurt againe returne into their old Wintering places? and that which I am aſhamed to ſay, as notable gueſts lie with our wiues? and we Italians as baniſhed men fight this Winter with yce and ſnow in Hungary? and that forſooth for a moſt beggerly King, and him alſo to the Hungarians a forrener and meere ſtranger, againſt a naturall borne Prince, of his ſubjects well beloued and ſtrongly backt with the power and wealth of the Turkiſh Emperor? And that which might juſtly grieue any couragious mind, vnder the conduct of* Maramaldus, *who oftentimes blinded with anger and haſty cruelty, hath ſo furiouſly thruſt vs thorow with his ſword, that he ſeemeth not more to deſire the name of a captaine for any thing, than for the killing and murthering of vs now his ſouldiers. Neither can I beleeue that you, who haue oftentimes beene captaines and antients your ſelues, will be ſo mad, as to ſerue vnder a common captaine, without hope of any pay, of any prouiſion, of victory, or returne. Truely it delighteth me not ſo much to haue come hither for the honour of the Italian name (no more reckoned of than a ruſh) although I haue eleuen times ſerued; as it doth this day aſhame me to ſee this ſhamefull end of the warre, ended before it was well begun. But in Regall dignity is no ſhame, nor equity in rewarding the ſouldier: for Kings now adaies make account of ſouldiers onely according to their neceſſity; this is it alone that giueth vs pay, this is that getteth vs loue, this is it that maintaineth our reputatation: all which, peace once by victory obtained, leeſe their grace. So fareth it with vs at this preſent (fellow ſouldiers) the Emperour and his brother King* Ferdinand, *deliuered from the feare of a moſt dangerous warre, to eaſe themſelues of this multitude of vs, ſeeke to thruſt vs into Hungary as beaſts to the ſlaughter, by the ſpending of our bloud hoping to purchaſe vnto themſelues victory; and by the loſſe of vs to take no harme themſelues, though the Turks and Hungarians ſhould with ſword and famine vtterly deſtroy vs, ſhut vp with the yce of Danubius, and the ſnow of the Alpes. But peraduenture you vnderſtand not theſe deuiſes, no more than you vnderſtand what this terrible and bloudy * comet, ſhooting his beames towards Italy, portendeth. Verily it is not fatall either to* Solyman *or* Cæſar, *but rather threatneth vnto vs death and deſtru-*

** At this very time a great blazing ſtar was ſeene in the firmament at Vienna.*

deſtruction: for they with like counſell full of ſafety and diſcretion, would not open any way vnto their own deſtinies, but warily withdrew themſelues one from another, & ſhunned all the dangers of the field. Wherfore if it were lawfull for them, without any blemiſh of their Maieſties, ſo notably to prouide to keep themſelues out of danger, when as on each ſide half the world lay as a reward of the victory; ſhall not wee look to our ſelues, that we be not thruſt thither, from whence appeareth no hope of return, but with vtter deſtruction; when as we may do it without offence, and by good right, eſpecially ſeeing no pay is offered vs. Thus you ſee what a goodly end is made of this notable war, wherin only we the Italians, in ſtead of commendation and reward, reap iniury and diſgrace; and are peraduenture of purpoſe exiled into Hungary, that this flour of Chilualry being drawn out of Italy, and placed far out of the way, Colonies of Spaniards and Germans may be placed in our ſteads. Truly it ſeemeth hard dealing, to be ſent out of the way into a barbarous country, where we ſhall find all hoſtility, and no place of reſuge to receiue vs beeing diſtreſſed. Beſides this, we ſhall alſo whether we will or no, feel how heauy and intolerable it will be both to our bodies and minds, to endure the miſeries of this Winter and dangerous war: and in the mean time, with no ſmall hearts grief, imagin what things our children, our brethren, our kinſmen, yea our wiues, ſuffer at home of the Spaniards and Germans. Wherfore, worthy companions, it concerneth vs more at this time to haue a good foreſight, than valiantly to fight. The occaſion preſented vnto vs for our ſafety and welfare, ſtands vpon a tickle point, it muſt be don without delay, and we muſt hye vs hence before the Spaniards truſſe vp their baggage; and ſo preuenting the Emperors formoſt companies, come firſt our ſelues into Italy: for if we ſhall ſtay but a little to conſult vpon the matter, Vaſtius *and our other proud Commaunders will preſently be here, the very betraiers of the Italian bloud, who for their own gain & our miſchief haue brought vs into theſe ſtreits; who I know will moſt erneſtly intreat vs, and with many ſubtilties ſeek to ſeduce vs, by offering vs great pay, with whatſoeuer els we ſhall require; which will all proue but words. But you, if you be men, refuſe to talk with them, as with your common enemies, or rather in reuenge of their old iniuries kill them. Here wanteth not in this aſſembly valiant men, for courage and integrity of life their betters far; who can lead you forth, order your battell, and fortunatly vſe this your courage and forwardnes. Wherfore if you be wiſe, ſet forward reſolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your haſt: for the full accompliſhment of your deſire conſiſteth in your haſt only.*

Marconius had no ſooner made an end of this mutinous ſpeech, but the tumultuous ſoldiers in euery band began highly to commend and approoue the ſame, and by and by ſuch a confuſed noiſe was heard thorow all the aſſembly, as vſeth to riſe amongſt the diſcontented vulgar people, ready to riſe in arms. But the drums preſently ſtriking vp a march, they made no longer ſtay, but without delay pluckt vp their enſignes, and forward they go directly toward Neoſtat. In this tumult, in ſtead of their old captains, which either were not preſent, or refuſed to go with them, they choſe others to be their leaders; who once named by the ſeditious multitude, might in no caſe without danger refuſe to take the charge vpon them, were they neuer ſo vnwilling. Theſe were *Montebellius*, *Nerius*, *Melcarius*, *Sanctius*, and the two twins of Millan, called *Glußani*; who drew after them eight thouſand ſoldiers: the reſt partly for ſhame, & partly for fear, ſtayd ſtill with *Maramaldus* the new appointed Generall. When they were thus gon, *Vaſtius* and diuers other great Captaines hearing thereof in the City, poſted after them ſix miles, and at length ouertaking them, requeſted them to ſtay, and not to diſhonour themſelues with ſo foul a fact; telling them that their pay was ready for them: and omitting nothing wherewith they might haue bin mooued to ſtay, mingled their prayers with grieuous threats. But they reſolutely ſet down, would neither hear nor ſtay; but as men inraged with fury and their own guilty conſcience, with ſtern looks diſcharged ſome ſmal ſhot vpon them. Whileſt *Vaſtius* would there haue ſtayd the company, and did what hee poſſibly could by threatning and otherwiſe, to haue terrified their leaders, and to haue brought them backe, hee was oftentimes in danger to haue bin ſlain. In the end he was glad to forſake them, and to return as he came. King *Ferdinand* by this ſudden departure of the Italians, for that time diſappointed of all his hope of recouering the kingdom of Hungary from King *Iohn*; in great choler wrot to his ſubiects of Styria and Carinthia, wherby the Italians were to paſſe, That they ſhould ſhew them no maner of curteſie in their paſſage: wherupon inſued great hurt on both ſides. Yet for all that, theſe Italians in deſpight of what could be don, at length recouered Tiliaventum in the borders of Italy, where they disbanded themſelues, and returned euery man

8000 Italians in mutiny, forſake their Captaines and return into Italy to his own dwelling,leauing King *Ferdinand* vnto his own forces. The Emperor alſo breaking G vp his army at Vienna,and purpoſing now as before to return into Italy, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to go formoſt with the light horſmen,with whom alſo he went himſelſe. After him followed *Vaſtius* with the Spaniards: two daies after came the Cardinall,whoſe traine was of all the greateſt: laſt of all followed the mercinary Germanes: in which order he returned in ſafety into Italy.

Charles the emperor returnes into Italy.

This was the end of thoſe wonderful preparations made by the two great Monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the fifth, in the yeare 1532: which held the world in great ſuſpence with the fearfull expectation of ſome maruellous alteration; and ſo much the more, for that at the ſame time appeared a great blazing ſtar by the ſpace of 15 daies. All which for all that, God ſo appointing,ſorted to far leſſe harm than was of moſt men feared.

Auria goeth againſt the Turks.

H Now whilſt *Charles* the Emperor was thus in arms againſt *Solyman* in Auſtria, *Andreas Auria* by his appointment,with a fleet of 35 tall ſhips,and 48 gallies,wherein he had imbarked 25000 ſouldiers well appointed,did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turkes in Peloponeſus. With this fleet *Auria* departing from Meſſana in Sicilia,and paſſing alongſt the coaſt of Italy into the Ionian, neer to the Iſle of Zacynthus met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admiral,with a fleet of ſixty gallies ſet forth by the Venetians in defence of their territory: who offered vnto *Auria* all poſſible kindnes,but excuſed himſelf that he could not join with him in that war againſt the common enemy, by reaſon of an old league betwixt the Turks and the Venetians,which *Solyman* had but a little before renued. So that at that time the Venetians ſtood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the emperor and *Solyman*,offering like I kindnes to both,but taking part with neither, yet in readines to fall out with either, if they ſhould by ſea or land offer any injury to their State: wherin they bare themſelues ſo indifferent,that it was thought that they at one and the ſelfe ſame inſtant aduertiſed *Auria*, that *Hymerales* the Turks Admiral lay with his fleet of 60 gallies euill appointed in the Bay of Ambracia,where he might eaſily be ſurpriſed;and gaue likewiſe warning to him of the comming of *Auria* with a ſtrong fleet,wiſhing him in time to prouide for his better ſafety, by retyring his fleet into ſome other place of more aſſurance;which he preſently did: for knowing himſelf too weak,he departed from Ambracia to the ſtrong hauen of Calcide. Which thing with other like wel conſidered,might giue iuſt cauſe to any Chriſtian heart to bewail the ſtate of that time, wherin the Chriſtian Princes being either in mortal wars amongſt themſelues, or K intangled by *Solyman* with leagus of no aſſurance,omitted the faireſt opportunitie that could haue bin wiſhed for the abating of the Turks greatnes: for if the Venetians joining their forces with *Auria*, had in time purſued the Turkiſh Admiral, it was like that not only all *Solymans* power at ſea had bin vtterly diſcomfited, but alſo moſt part of Grecia,mindful of their antient empire and liberty,and then ready to haue rebelled, and joined hands with the Chriſtians,might haue bin recouered out of the Turkiſh thraldom; yea and the Imperial city of Conſtantinople greatly indangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beſide yong Ianizaries and effeminat Eunuchs,the heartleſſe keepers of the Turks concubines; *Solyman* himſelf being then far off in Hungary,and hauing drawne with him the greateſt ſtrength of his empire. L

Corone beſieged by Auria.

Auria taking his leaue of the Venetian Admirall,with much honour done at ſea on both ſides; was ſhortly after aduertiſed that the Turks Admiral was fled to Calcide. Wherfore now out of hope to do any good againſt him, hee directed his courſe to Corone, which is a ſtrong city vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus,about twelue miles diſtant from Modon,with purpoſe to beſiege it: which when he had wel viewed,and conſidered of the ſtrength therof, hee laid ſiege thereto both by ſea and land, battering it moſt terribly at one time with 14 great pieces of artillery by land,and 150 by ſea,ſo that a more terrible battery had not been lightly heard of. For all that, the Turks valiantly ſtood vpon their defence, and manfully repulſed the Italians, which vnder the leading of the County of Sarne aſſaulted the city by land. The Turks garriſons lying about in the country of Peloponeſus, did what they might to haue re- M lieued the city; who by the valor of the County were diſcomfited, and *Zadares* their chief leader ſlain: whoſe head with others of the ſlain Turks were ſet vpon ſtakes, to the terror of the defendants.

At length the Turks wearied with aſſaults,and terrified with the thundring ſhot which neuer ceaſed,and driuen alſo from their greateſt ſtrength towards ſea, by the deſperat aſſault of certain reſolute Chriſtians,whom they had now full ſore againſt their wils receiued as it were into their boſomes; fearing alſo to want victuall and pouder,if they ſhould longer hold out without any hope of reliefe,yeelded the City and Caſtle to *Auria*,vpon condition that they might in ſafety depart thence with bag and baggage. Corone thus taken, and a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards there placed, and the Chriſtian Greeks which dwelt in the city ſworn vnto them, *Auria* put to ſea with his fleet,and ſayling againe by Zacinthus,came to Patras another antient city of Peloponeſus, which he eaſily took and ranſacked: for the Turks diſtruſting the ſtrength of the City,had ſtrongly intrenched themſelues neere vnto the Caſtle; which place alſo,together with the Caſtle,they in ſhort time yeelded to *Auria*;couenanting,that they,and eſpecially their wiues, might with their garments onely depart in ſafety into Ætolia: which was by *Auria* ſo preciſely performed,that when three thouſand of them paſſed along through the army of the Chriſtians, ranged on both ſides, and ſome of the ſouldiers began rudely to handle ſome of the women, and to take from them ſome of their jewels, he cauſed them preſently,to the terror of others,to be hanged. *Auria* leauing his army at Patras,with commandment to follow him by land,ſailed along the coaſt of Peloponeſus,vntill he came to the ſtreit of Naupactum, now called Lepanto, which is the entrance into the gulfe of Corinthia, parting Peloponeſus from Ætolia, with a ſtreit ſomwhat narrower then the ſtreit of Helleſpont. Vpon this ſtreit ſtood two Caſtles,the one called Rhium, vpon the coaſt of Peloponeſus,and the other Molicreum in Ætolia,which *Bajazet* had wonderfully fortified,and ſtored with ordnance for the keeping of that ſtreit. *Auria* threatning all extremity to the Captaine of the Caſtle on Peloponeſus ſide,if he did inforce him to plant his battery,ſo terrified him,that he without delay yeelded vnto him the caſtle;couenanting only, That he and his ſoldiers might in ſafety depart thence: which granted,and the Turks departed, *Auria* gaue the ſpoyle of the Caſtle vnto his ſoldiers which came with him by ſea:wherby he ſo offended the minds of the other ſouldiers which came by land from Patras, that they were about to haue forſaken him. The other Caſtle vpon Ætolia ſide was not ſo eaſily taken,being valiantly defended by a garriſon of old Ianizaries,appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by fury of the Ordnance a breach was made,whereby the Chriſtians forcibly entring,ſlew three hundred of the old garriſon ſouldiers, not taking any one to mercy: the reſt fled into a ſtrong tower into the midſt of the Caſtle, where ſeeing no remedy but that they muſt needs fall into the hands of their enemies,they deſperatly blew vp themſelues, and the tower,with a great part of the Caſtle, with gunpouder, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed all the ſea coaſt to haue been ſhaken with an earthquake;and the gallies which lay a bow ſhoot off, were almoſt ouerwhelmed with ſtones blown out ſo far off. The great Ordnance taken in this Caſtle was valued at 70000 duckats; whereof certaine pieces of a wonderfull greatneſſe, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to Genoa; & in remembrance of the victory,mounted vpon the bulwark at the mouth of the hauen. All theſe things thus happily atchieued, *Auria* ſtrongly fortified the city of Corone,ſtoring it both with munition and plenty of victuall,committing the defence thereof to *Mendoza* a valiant Spaniard, with a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards; promiſing of his owne charge to relieue him whenſoeuer he ſhould need, if the Emperour ſhould defer to do it. The ſtreit of Naupactum laid open, *Saluiatus* with the gallies of Malta ſcoured all alongſt the gulfe of Corinth, doing great harm to the Turks which dwelt on both ſides of the gulfe,ſpoiling and terrifying them euen as far as Corinth. Not long after, Winter now approaching, *Auria* receiuing letters from the Emperour, of *Solymans* departure out of Hungary, returned with his fleet loaded with the ſpoyle of the Turks, to Naples,and ſo from thence home to Genoa.

Corone yeelded to Auria by the Turks.

Patras taken and ranſackt by Auria.

Auria returned into Italy.

In the beginning of the Spring following(which was the yere 1533)it was riſely reported that the Turks were comming with a great fleet toward Peloponeſus:and not long after, *Mendoza* Gouernour of Corone, by letters aduertiſed *Peter* of Toledo, Vizroy of Naples, That he was both by ſea and land hardly beſieged by the Turks; and that he would to the vttermoſt of his power valiantly defend the city,ſo long as he had any prouiſion of victuall: Wherefore he moſt earneſtly requeſted, That if the Emperour would haue the towne kept, he ſhould in time ſend him reliefe, whereupon the oppreſſed Græcians taking heart, were like enough

1533.

The Turkes beſiege Corone.

to rebel, and to help to expulſe the Turks quite out of Peloponeſus. But aboue all things he G forgot not to craue ſpeedy aid of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithfull promiſe he had made, to relieue him at his need. Vpon this news, *Charles* the Emperor commanded *Auria* his Admiral to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that ſeruice, promiſing forthwith to ſend vnto him twelue Gallies which he had new built in Spain. He alſo requeſted the Knights of Malta to aid him with their Gallies againſt that Common enemy. Wherfore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirty tall ſhips, and as many gallies, came to Naples to take in his ſouldiers. There the old Garriſons of the Spaniards, which for want of pay were riſen in mutiny againſt the great commander and General *Vaſtius* & the Viceroy, and had ranſackt the city of Averſa, and don no little harm all about in the country of Campania, were againe pacified by a pay giuen vnto them, and preſently imbarked for Corone, vnder the command H of *Rodericus Macicaus* their Generall: at which time alſo *Frederick* of Toledo the Viceroyes ſon with a company of braue Gentlemen went abord, vowing their ſeruice to the ſacred war. The Knights of Malta came thither alſo with their gallies. Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Auria* to incourage them of Corone, for fear leſt they diſpairing of help, ſhould fall to ſome hard Compoſition with the Turks, ſent *Chriſtopher Palavicine* (a reſolute young Gentleman of an inuincible courage) with a moſt ſwift Gally to Corone: who by day light paſſing thorow the middeſt of the Turkes fleet, ſafely recouered the hauen, to the great ioy of the beſieged Chriſtians: and ſhortly after, when he had well viewed all things, with the ſtrength and manner of the Enemies lying, and filled the minds of the Defendants with aſſured hope of ſpeedy reſcue, about noon time of the day he ſuddenly brake out again through the middeſt I of his enemies, and as it were miraculouſly eſcaped in ſafety, for all that they could doe, although they ceaſed not to giue him chaſe ſo long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from Naples, came to Meſſana, where beeing certainly informed of the Enemies force both by ſea and land, with the number of their Gallies, and ſeeing that the chief hope of relieuing of the City conſiſted in celerity, ſtayed not for the Gallies which he expected out of Spain, but held on his courſe towards Grecia. For it was told him, that the Enemies fleet dayly encreaſed, by the comming in of the Turkiſh Pyrats; and that *Aſſan-Beg* (otherwiſe called the Moor of Alexandria) an arch Pyrat was ſtill looked for, in whoſe good directions the Turkiſh Captains repoſed the greateſt hope of their victory. When he was come as far as Zacynthus, he was informed by the Venetians, that *Luſtibeius Baſſa* (or rather *Lutzis Baſſa*) the Turks great Admiral, and *Solymans* brother in law, with *Solyman* of Acarnania, and the Moore (men for their skil at ſea of great fame and reputation) lay before Corone, with eighty gallies manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries: ſo that it was thought a matter of exceeding peril for him to aduenture to relieue the town, except he took the aduantage of ſome proſperous gale of wind. Wherfore *Auria* to haue yet more certaine knowledge of the enemies fleet, ſent before him *Chriſtopher Palavicine* with one Gally, againe to view the manner of the enemies lying: Who paſſing the promontorie of Acrytes, ſaw al the Turks great fleet lying in very good order before the City; and ſo returned to *Auria*, confirming that which the Venetians had before reported; and that the Turks fleet was greatly encreaſed, and lay ready as it ſhould ſeem to giue him battel ſo ſoon as he ſhould approch the L City. For all that, *Auria* nothing diſmaid with the greatnes of the Turks fleet, made no ſtay, but ſtil kept on his courſ, & with a fair gale of wind paſſing the promontory Acrites, came directly towards Corone. Two great Gallions, of all the fleet the moſt warlike ſhips, came formoſt; wherof the one was *Auria's* own, which he had built with a wonderfull charge; and the other was of Sicilia. Theſe two great ſhips were appointed by *Auria* to turn a little vpon the left hand; and at ſuch time as the Enemie ſhould ſet forward from the ſhore, to caſt anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occaſion ſhould ſerue, they might as out of two ſtrong Caſtles beat the Turks gallies with their great Ordnance, wherewith they were for that purpoſe wonderfully ſtored. Next vnto theſe great Gallions followed the other warlike ſhips with ful ſails: after whom came the gallies in three ſquadrons, wherof *Salviatus* had the leading of M the right wing, which conſiſted of the Biſhop of Romes gallies, & them of Malta. In the left wing and neer to the enemy commanded *Antonius Auria*: and in the midſt was *Auria* himſelf. At the firſt ſight of the Chriſtian fleet the Turks moued not from the ſhore, but diſcharged their ordnance at them afar off, and then began to ſet forward and to draw neerer; eſpecially the

Auria ſent to relieue Corona.

The order of Auria's fleet before Corona.

A the Moor, who with greater courage than the reſt aſſailed the ſide and rereward of the fleet: for the Chriſtians keeping their courſe right forth to Corone, & turning nothing to the left hand, as was before appointed, ſeemed as if they fled; and ſo much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for fear of the Turks great ordnance, did ſet a great compaſſe farther off into the ſea, and many of the middle ſquadron and of the left wing alſo, had diſorderly thruſt themſelues in among the ſhips, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great ſhot.

The Chriſtians fleet diſordred.

In this confuſion of the Chriſtian Navy, the Moor requeſted *Lutzis* the Admiral not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion, wherein the Chriſtian fleet might eaſily haue bin ouerthrowne. But whilſt *Lutzis* doth ſlowly and conſideratly ſet forward, *Auria* in the mean time had put his B fleet again in order, and with a fair wind was come to Corone. Two of the ſhips by the way falling one foul on another, ſtaid behind, being not able to keep way with the reſt: about which all the Turks gallies preſently flockt, and took the leſſer of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therin. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloudy fight had woon the forecaſtle and waſt of the ſhip: when *Auria*, accounting it no ſmal diſhonour to haue his ſhips ſo ſurpriſed at his heels, cauſed all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enemy to reſcue thoſe ſhips. The Turks ſeeing that, & with the Weſterly wind by little and little fallen down ſo far with the ſhips, that they were come within the danger of the ſhot of the Towne, began with great ſtir to forſake the ſhips, and to betake them to their oars, and ſo in maner of flight withdrew themſelues: whom *Auria* purſued a great way to Modon, thundring in their poups C with his great ſhot, which he liberally beſtowed among them: whilſt in the mean time *Antonius Auria* came to reſcue the two diſtreſſed ſhips. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their cloſe fights, began now as men reuiued, to ſhew themſelues, & couragiouſly to make reſiſtance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their reſcue, entring with wonderfull celerity on euery ſide, ſlew and tooke 300 Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred thoſe ſhips, & were there left by the ſudden departure of their fellows. Amongſt whom was taken one *Ioſuphus* an old captain of 1000 Ianizaries; to whom *Auria* after he was come to Corone, gaue a fair ſuit of apparel and a chain of gold, and ſo ſet him at liberty without any ranſom: therby to prouoke the Turks to the like kind of curteous dealing toward the Chriſtians. *Aſſam-Beg* the pyrat, and the other captains of the Turks fleet, D wonderfully blamed *Lutzis* the Admirall, for that hee would not then fight with the Chriſtians, when he was therto earneſtly requeſted, both by the captains and ſoldiers in general, and had a fair opportunitie of victory offered, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians fleet was diſordred. But he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That it was giuen him in ſpeciall charge by *Solyman* the Emperor, That he ſhould in any caſe reſpect the ſafety of his navy, and not to come vnto the haſard of a battel. The Turks which beſieged the city by land, vpon the approch of the Chriſtian fleet forſook their trenches and fled. At which time *Mendoza* the gouernour ſallying out, took great ſtore of victuall and warlike prouiſion, which the Turkes had for haſt left behinde them. So *Auria* to his great honor hauing driuen the Turks from Corone both by ſea & land, furniſhed the city with ſtore of corn, wine, victual, pouder & ſhot; and commited the defence E therof to *Maricaus* & the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from Naples. Comforting the Greeks, and exhorting them, patiently for a while to endure thoſe calamities of war: ſaying, that the Emperor would the next year make war againſt the Turks both by ſea and land in Peloponeſus, and free them from their bondage. And ſo imbarking the old garriſon of the Spaniards, departed from Corone, and came before Modon, where he lay as it were brauing the Turks great Admiral, hoping therby to draw him out of that ſtrong harbor to battel. But when he ſaw that the enemie could by no meanes be allured out of his ſtrength, or aſſailed as he lay, he departed from thence to Corcyra, and ſo back again to Meſſana in Sicilia.

Auria arriueth at Corone.

The Turks fleet flies to Modon.

Corone relieued by Auria.

Auria returns, & before Modon braues the Turks fleet.

Within a few dayes after, *Aſſam-Beg* the Moore of Alexandria, and moſt famous Pyrat, F lying in wait for the merchants ſhips of Venice comming out of Syria with merchandiſe, by chance met with *Hieronymus-Canalis* vpon the coaſt of Creet: Where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell; wherein of the Moores thirteene Gallies, foure were ſunke, three taken, and the reſt hauing loſt moſt part of their Rowers, fled to Alexandria. In this fight was ſlaine three hundred Ianizaries which were going to Caire, and a thou-

The Moore of Alexandria wel beaten and taken by Canalis the Venetiā.

thouſand other Turks. Of all that were taken, there was ſcarſly one ſaued but the Moor himſelf,who grieuouſly wounded in the face,for ſafegard of his life was glad to diſcouer himſelf: for the Venetians maintaining their ſtate by trade and traffique,do of all others ſhew leaſt fauor to pyrats. When the Moor had made himſelf known vnto *Canalis*,there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds,and either of them began with notable diſſimulation to excuſe the matter to other;ſaying,That they were both deceiued by the likenes of their gallies, and miſtaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that, they knew one another right well. For the Moor ſaid,That he took thoſe Venetian Gallies to haue bin part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excuſed himſelf,by ſaying that he miſtook him for *Barbaruſſa*, who a few years before had ſurpriſed three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter,by their embaſſador ſought to excuſe what was don,as a thing hapning by error and miſchance. Of which excuſe *Solyman* accepted,and ſaid moreouer,That *Canalis* had don wel and ſoldier-like,to repulſ by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the Emperors gallies ſtaying behind the reſt of the fleet,were neer vnto the promontory of Palinurus,vpon the coaſt of Apulia,intercepted and caried away by *Sinan*,ſyrnamed the Iew, a notable pyrat of that time alſo.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Corone deſire of their Generall to be brought to ſome ſeruice.

Macicaus Gouernour of Corone goeth out to ſurpriſe Andruſſa.

The Winter following,the Spaniards and Greeks in Corone began to want victuals,eſpecially wine and fleſh,for the Turks had ſo blocked vp the city,that nothing was to be had out of the country: wherfore the ſoldiers requeſted *Macicaus* their gouernor and Generall,to lead them forth to ſome piece of ſeruice againſt the enemy,forſomuch as they were not to expect any reliefe elſwhere before Aprill; wiſhing rather valiantly to die like men in fight againſt the Turks,than to languiſh within thoſe dead walls for want of victuall. But *Macicaus* mindfull of his charge, ſought by reaſons to diſſuade them from that purpoſe;ſhewing them what an offence it were, raſhly to depart out of the city committed to their charge, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they ſhould ſpeed neuer ſo well; and that thoſe wants, which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be ouercome by ſparing and patience; and therfore told them plainly,that he was reſolutely ſet downe to keep the city for the Emperour,and to endure all hardnes,rather than to incurre the infamy,That he had forſaken the City,and betrayed his Garriſon. Yet for all this,the matter was ſo vrged by *Didacus Tovarres* and *Hermoſilla*,both great Captains,and by the general importunity of the ſouldiers, that *Macicus* was inforced to yeeld to their deſire, and to promiſe them to go:yet proteſting withall, That he did it altogether againſt his will,rather inforced that perſuaded vnto that,wherof he had no great hope of ſucces. Amongſt other that were ſo forward in that action, was one *Barbatius* a moſt valiant Greek,who could perfectly ſpeak the Turks language,and of all others beſt knew the by-waies and ſecret paſſages of the country: he vndertooke to bee their guid,and by priuat waies to bring them to the enemies vndiſcouered in the dead time of the night,when as they feared no ſuch matter. So *Macicaus* commending the cuſtody of the city to *Liſcanius* and *Mendeſius*,with charge that they ſhould ſuffer no man to go out of the City after his departure,for fear of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemy, ſet forward about ten a clock at night toward Andruſſa, *Barbatius* being his guid;who ſhunning the common beaten waies,brought them by ſecret and vncouth paths that night halfe the way to Andruſſa. But vpon the riſing of the Sunne, he brought them into a ſecret wooddy Vally, where they reſted and refreſhed themſelues all that day,and ſetting forward again that night, came to Andruſſa before day. In this town,which was of no great ſtrength, lay one *Caranus* a warlike Captain,with three thouſand footmen,wherof the one half was of the Ianizaries; and in the ſuburbs lay *Achomates* with a thouſand choſen horſmen, with which garriſon the Turks kept all that ſide of Peloponeſus in awe. *Macicaus* brought by his guid vnto the place where his enemies lay,went directly to the town to haue ſurpriſed it: *Hermoſilla* in the mean time ſtanding ſtil with certain troups of Spaniards ouer againſt the place where the horſmen lay. But this could not be done with ſo great ſilence,but that ſome of the horſe-boyes beeing awak, diſcouered them by the fire in their matches; who firſt awaked the negligent watchmen,& afterwards raiſed an alarm in the ſuburbs. Wherupon *Hermoſilla* couragiouſly ſet vpon the horſmen, being altogether vnready, and ſlew many of them before they could arme themſelues, and ſet fire alſo vpon the ſtables wherin the Turks horſes ſtood, with the extraordinarie rage wherof many of the Turks periſhed,with their horſes and armor. Great and terrible was the

A noiſe raiſed vpon the ſudden in the ſuburbs ; but eſpecially of the horſes,which burnt as they
ſtood faſt tied in the ſtables,or by chance breaking looſe, ranne vp and down with their tailes
and mains of a light fire:by occaſion whereof an alarm was raiſed in the town, and the Turkes
got to the wals before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicaus* himſelf laboring to breake in at a
poſtern, was ſhot in the head with a ſmall ſhot and ſlain:diuers others neer him were there al-
ſo ſlain. The Turks perceiuing the ſmall number of their enemies,ſallied out vpon them and
inforced them to retyre to *Hermoſilla*, who had already made great ſpoil among the horſmen;
by whoſe skilfull direction the Spaniards retired in ſo good order,making many ſtands,with
their harquebuſiers all drawn into the rereward,that ſuch of the Turkes as were moſt forward
to purſue them,did by their death cauſe the reſt to make leſſe haſt. *Achomates* with ſuch of
B his horſmen as had eſcaped the fire,haſted thither alſo,bringing with him 200 harquebuſiers
which he had cauſed his horſemen for haſt to take vp behinde them vpon their horſes : but
whilſt he ſought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies,and with too much heat preſſed on
with the formoſt,he was ſhot into the body with a bullet and ſlain. So the horſmen hauing
before receiued a great loſſe as they lay in their lodgings , accounting it in their good haps
that they were not there al ſlain,and hauing now loſt their captain,ceaſed any further to pur-
ſue their enemies,but returned. The Spaniards and Greeks although they were wearied both
with their long march and euill ſucces, retired ſtil as reſolute men ready to fight, and ſo re-
turned to Corone. Preſently after,the Turkiſh gariſon remoued from Andruſſa to Megalo-
polis,now called Londarium. After whoſe departure the Chriſtian ſoldiers of Corone came
C thither and buried the dead bodies of their ſlain fellows (which til then lay vnburied) and
brought back with them the head of *Macicaus* their late General,which the Turkes had there
ſet vp vpon a long pole,which they honorably buried at Corone. Not long after,the plague
began to grow hot in Corone , ſo much the more grieuous , for that it came accompanied
with many other hard difficulties. For which cauſes, the Spaniards as men at once inforced
with many extremities,imbarked themſelues with all the great Ordnance, and ſuch Greekes
as would go with them,in certain ſhips which came with corn out of Sicily,and ſo departed,
leauing the town empty for the Turks to come vnto.

Macicaus ſlain

Corone forſaken by the Spaniards.

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left Corone not without ſecret conſent of
the Emperor;which was the rather thought to be ſo, for that they which forſook the place re-
D ceiued therby no diſgrace;and the Emperor himſelf had offered to giue the Town to *Clement*
Biſhop of Rome, the Venetians, and the Knights of Malta, who all refuſed to receiue it, as
loth to be at ſo great a charge in keeping a place ſeruing to no greater purpoſe;the very cauſe
why the emperor was ſo willing to part with it. Now *Clement* the great Biſhop had by means
of *Aloyſius Grittus* made a motion of peace,to haue bin concluded for ten years betwixt *Soly-*
man and the Chriſtian Princes,and therupon the Town to haue again bin deliuered vnto the
Turks. Which peace *Solyman* was not altogether vnwilling to grant,being then wholly bent
to inuade the Perſian. *Ferdinand* was alſo in good hope, that his brother *Charles* the Emperor
would for the yeelding vp of that towne,haue couenanted with the Turke ſome great matter
for his benefit in Hungary;which was thought would alſo eaſily haue bin granted. But whilſt
E the Emperor drawn diuerſly with the conſideration of his honor in keeping it,and of his pro-
fit in giuing it vp,ſtood too long in reſoluing; the town in the meane time was by the Spani-
ards(their neceſſities daily increaſing)abandoned,and ſo left vnto the Turks for nothing.

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Solyman now purpoſing to turn his forces againſt the Perſians,of whom he had in the fron-
tiers of his dominion receiued great hurt, eſpecially in Comagene, renued the league he had
with the Venetians and ſome other Chriſtian princes : but of all other his affairs with the
Chriſtians, he was moſt carefull of the intereſt he had already gotten in Hungary:for it was
reported, That King *Iohn* his Vaſſall, induced by the continuall ſolicitations of his ſubjects,
was deſirous of peace with King *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that he might quietly enioy the
kingdom during his life : and after his deceaſe, it to remaine vnto King *Ferdinand* and his
F heirs. Wherfore *Solyman*,that nothing ſhould be there done in his abſence without his know-
ledge,ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* the duke of Venice his ſon(of whom we haue before ſpoken)a man
both for the honor of his houſe,the good cariage of himſelfe,and the ſpeciall commendation
of *Abraham* the chief Baſſa,in great credit with him;with commiſſion as his lieutenant to be
aſſiſtant

Aloyſius Grittus the duke of Venice his ſon, Solymans lieutenant in Hungary to ourſee King Iohn.

aſſiſtant vnto king *Iohn*, in ſuch magnifical ſort, as that without him the king might conclude nothing in matters of ſtate, concerning either peace or wars, with other the Chriſtian princes. With this proud Commiſſion of the grand Seigniour *Grittus* entred into Tranſylvania, then a part of the Hungarian kingdom (much about the ſame time that *Solyman* ſet forward from Conſtantinople againſt the Perſian) attended vpon with ſeuen thouſand perſons of one ſort and other, amongſt whom were *Vrbanus Batianus*, and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian captains with their companies, and many of the Turks Ianizaries alſo. At his firſt comming, to make his authority the more known, he ſent out his proud Commaund vnto the great men and gouernors of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to repair vnto him as great *Solymans* Deputy, authoriſed by him to hear and determine all the controuerſies and matters of ſtate concerning the Kingdom of Hungary. At that time *Americus Sihachus* Biſhop of Veradium, a man of great nobility and power, withall ſingularly wel qualified, was Vayuod or gouernor of Tranſylvania, an honor next vnto the King. Hee vnderſtanding that *Grittus* was come into his prouince, and making ſmall haſt to welcome him, as one not greatly mooued at his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Grittus*; who deſired nothing more than at his firſt entrance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authority in the minds of the vulgar people, by the preſt and ready attendance of the Vayuod. But it was reported, that the ſtout Biſhop vpon a Chriſtian zeal deteſted the friendſhip of the Turks, and could not wel brooke that they ſhould be too much acquainted in his prouince, for fear leſt that fruitful country abounding with men and horſes, ſhould by one means or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to Baxovia, when he vnderſtood that the Vayuod was comming with a great train, and lay about ten miles off, incamped with diuers gallant troups of horſemen, in warlike maner appointed: for the Biſhops of Hungary being wonderfull rich, were by old cuſtom bound to keep great numbers of horſmen, which as occaſion ſerued, they vſed to bring into the field againſt the Turks; accounting it great honor, with their religious hands to defend the cauſe of Religion. But then eſpecially the Nobility of the country wel appointed reſorted on euery ſide, in curteſie to honour and countenance their great Biſhop and gouernor, at whoſe commandement they were: inſomuch as the Biſhops retinue made ſhew of a good army. Which thing mooued *Grittus* exceedingly, that he ſhould be inforced contrary to his expectation, to parly with the Biſhop in the open fields as with an enemy in the ſight of all their followers. Herof roſe envy, a deadly miſchief always repining at another mans honour; when as the one ſwelling with Turkiſh pride could abide no equall; and the other jealous of his honor, could by no means indure any ſuperior in ſuch place as he had the ſoueraignty of. When theſe two great men had met together in the open field, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any ſhew of friendſhip or good will; *Grittus* inwardly chafing at his bare entertainment, couertly threatned to be reuenged vpon all ſuch as ſhould make ſo light account of his authority: and immediatly as he departed from the banquet, taking his Turkiſh cap from his head (which was after the Turkiſh maner made of a high faſhion, of rich ſables) and opening it with both his hands, ſaid, This Cap will not hold two heads, and therfore it muſt be fitted to one, and ſo put it on again. *Ianus Docia*, one of the Hungarian captains his followers (who deadly hated the Vayuod, for that hee long time before, for a malapert ſpeech in a great aſſembly, gaue him a blow with his fiſt) took hold of that ſpeech of *Grittus*, as a fit occaſion for him to worke his reuenge, and ſayd; *Your Honour maketh a fit compariſon; neither can this prouince contain two equall Gouernors or Commanders, nor you euer enjoy your power and authority, except you do this day with ſpeedy and manly reſolution defend both* Solymans *credit and your own. You know not this proud beaſt* Americus, *whoſe pride and inſolency if you but ſay the word, I will quickly pull down: for he hateth* Solyman, *he regardeth not the King, and of you he maketh no account at all; for why, he aſpireth vnto the majeſty of a king, and ſaith that the Vayuodſhip of Tranſyluania well beſeemeth a King; for that in this countrey* Decebaldus *the Dacian ſomtime reigned, whom the warlike Emperour* Trajan *with all the force of the Roman Empire hardly ſubdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly ſet himſelf forth than he, neither more craftily or cunningly diſſemble to ſerue his own turn. Indeed he hath for faſhion ſake preſented your Honor with a few ſimple preſents, and giuen you his hand alſo, better known for his falſhood than his faith; to the entent that when you are once paſt his country, he may ſcof and jeaſt at your Decrees. Verily he deadly enuies*

Americus the Vayuod contemneth Grittus.

Docia inſences Grittus againſt the Vayuod.

your

A *your honor and felicity, and grudgeth in his heart that you ſhould ſet down the laws of peace and warre in*
Hungary: and wheras he doth manifeſtly aſpire vnto a kingdom, he feareth you aboue all others, leſt you
ſhould trouble his deſignes, abate his credit, and chaſtiſe his inſolencie. Verily, he that thus malignes your
happines, and contemneth your authority, is not to be ſuffered, but by good reaſon to be taken away: thereby
at this your firſt entrance to defend the credit of your Commiſſion, and honor of your name. For nothing
is more dangerous than a faithleſſe Companion and a ſecret enemy, eſpecially when you ſhall leaue him at
your back behind you: for when he ſhall as occaſion ſerues ſhew forth his hidden malice, he ſhall ſo much
the more ſlily and deſperatly indanger your perſon. *Grittus* inraged with this ſpeech more than before,
thought it beſt to make haſt, and to vſe his authority to the full: hee commended *Docia*,
and promiſed in ſhort time to requite his good will towards him, eſpecially if he would by
B ſome notable attempt abate the Biſhops pride. It is reported, That *Grittus* gaue him no other
charge but to take the Biſhop, that ſo he might after the Turkiſh manner haue ſent him in
chains to Conſtantinople, and beſtowed the honor of the Vayuod vpon *Hieronymus Laſcus* the
Polonian, who in hope of that honorable preferment vnto him promiſed by King *Iohn*, had
don him great and faithful ſeruice, as his embaſſador both to *Solyman*, and to the French king.
But when King *Iohn* perceiued that hee could not conueniently without manifeſt danger
place him (being a Polonian, who could ſcarſe ſpeake the Hungarian language) Gouernour
ouer ſuch a warlike people; he as it were inforced by neceſſity, preferred this *Americus* the biſhop
of Veradium, a man of them both reuerenced and feared. Which ſo grieued *Laſcus*, (a
man of great ſtomack and experience, and therunto excellently learned) that he would neuer
C admit any excuſe of the Kings, but euer after complained that he was by the King deluded.
Neuertheles he kept himſelf within the bounds of loyaltie, and enioied certain lands & towns
which the King had giuen him in the borders of Polonia: but eſtranged from him in minde,
he was now becom one of *Grittus* his followers, hoping of his better preferment by his means
vnto *Solyman*; and for that cauſe was not ſo forward to do the King ſuch ſeruice as he had in
times paſt. Now by the commandement of *Grittus*, a ſtrong company of Turkiſh horſemen,
and certain troups of Hungarians, were deliuered to *Docia*; who ſecretly departing that night
from Baxovia, came ſuddenly to the Vayuods camp; hauing a little before by his Hungarian
ſpies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reaſon of the great heat, without any
Watch or gard, attended on only by his pages and houſhold ſeruants, as a man without fear;
D and that all the reſt of his retinue lay diſperſed in the Countrey Villages round about. All
which ſerued ſo well for *Docia* his purpoſe, that the Vayuod ignorant of his death ſo nigh at
hand (who rather contemned than feared his enemies) was ſuddenly oppreſſed by *Docia* his
ſouldiers: ſo that whilſt he was yet lying in his bed, and ſcarcely wel awaked by his Chamberlains
and the noiſe of the enemy; *Docia* ſuddenly breaking into his tent, cut off his head
as he lay. All they which lay neere, amaſed at the ſuddennes of the matter, fled away for fear,
and left their horſes and other things for a prey vnto the Turks and other of *Docia* his followers.
Docia hauing don ſo great an outrage, returned to *Grittus*, preſenting vnto him the Vayuods
head, which he brought in his hand by the ear. *Laſcus* was then preſent, but altogether
ignorant of the murther, who as a man mooued with natural compaſſion in ſo ſudden and horrible
E a fact, and forgetting all former grudges (as in like caſe it oftentimes chanceth) ſtood as
one diſmayed, nothing reioycing at the vnworthy death of his enemy. To whom *Grittus* turning
himſelfe, ſaid, *Laſcus*, Doeſt thou not know this ſhauen pate? truely it is a great mans
head, but of ſuch a one as was very ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Laſcus* replied,
Truly though I loued him not, yet I thought it not ſo whilſt it ſtood vpon his ſhoulders; diſallowing
therin the cruelty of the fact. Which thing *Grittus* perceiuing, began to repent him
of that was done, and ſaid openly, That although he was worthily ſlain, yet he could haue wiſhed
rather to haue had him taken priſoner. The report of this horrible murther once bruted
abroad, the Biſhops kinſmen and friends, yea almoſt all the people of that prouince, roſe vp
in arms againſt *Grittus* to reuenge the death of that reuerend Biſhop, whom liuing they had
F both loued & feared. Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong riſe in arms with
greater deſire, more heat, or quicker ſpeed: ſo that in few days there were aſſembled together
40000 horſe and foot, vnder the leading of *Stephanus Maylat* a valiant Gentleman, who of all
other moſt honored the Biſhop, and in that common grief took vpon him as Chiefe, the perſecuting
of the authours of ſuch inhumane cruelty. *Grittus* perceiung how grieuouſly the
matter

The cauſe why Laſcus fel from King Iohn.

The Vayuod murdered in his Tent by Docia, and his head preſented vnto Grittus.

The Tranſiluanians riſe vp in Armes againſt Grittus, to reuenge the Vayuods death.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himſelfe what courſe were G
beſt for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the ſame
was preſent death; and to return and leaue the honour of the deputation he had with ſo great
expectation of al men taken vpon him, was vnto his aſpiring mind no leſſe torment than death
it ſelf. Thus perplexed, he with all ſpeed got himſelf with his followers to the ſtrong towne
of Mege, in hope to ſhroud himſelf vntil the rage of the country people were either of it ſelf
appeaſed (as it oftentimes falleth out in ſudden tumults) or els til he ſhould be relieued by
King *Iohn*, or the Turkes Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the Turkiſh Empire.
The townſmen of Mege ſeeing *Grittus* accompanied with ſo many Turks, ſhut the gates
againſt him: yet at length by the perſuaſion of the two Hungarian Captains *Docia* and *Baiana*,
they gaue him leaue to enter into the baſe Towne, hauing before retyred themſelues and H
all their ſubſtance vnto the higher town, which in maner of a ſtrong Caſtle commaunded the
lower. Here whilſt *Grittus* with all carefulnes fortifieth the place, and diſpatcheth truſty
meſſengers vnto his friends abroad for aid; his enemies with hideous noiſe and outcries approching
the town, at their firſt comming attempted to haue ſcaled the Walls and rampiers
therof. Which thing whilſt they diſorderly did, with greater fury than diſcretion, they were
eaſily repulſed, and many of them ſlaine by the Turkes Ianizaries and harquebuſiers. After
which loſſe, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall they withdrew themſelues out of the
danger of the ſhot, and incamped on euery ſide of the town; hoping, as the truth was, that the
enemy vnprouided of victual, could not long hold the place, but muſt of neceſſity ſtarue with
famin, or yeeld it vp. In the mean time *Grittus* reſolutely induring all the calamities of a man I
beſieged, fel ſick, and ſo much the more, for that he could hear nothing of any aid he expected
from his friends. For King *Iohn* glad in his minde of the diſtreſſe of the Ouerſeer, or rather
competitor of his kingdome; and alſo knowing that he could not without great diſcontentment
of his ſubjects oppoſe himſelf againſt ſuch a multitude, riſen vpon ſo iuſt a cauſe; yet
for faſhion ſake ſent certain troups of horſmen to his relief: who not altogether ignorant of
the Kings minde, made ſuch haſt as men that purpoſed not to come in time to doe him good.
As for the Turks Sanzacks of Belgrade and Samandria, they enuying at his honor, flatly refuſed
to depart from their charge to relieue him, without expres command from *Solyman* himſelf:
and *Laſcus* (before one of *Grittus* his chief followers, but now a beholder of his diſtreſſe)
when he had a little before departed from him to procure him ſome reliefe, as hee promiſed, K
did now in his extremity forſake him alſo. The citiſens of the vpper town (who a great while
had ſtood looking on from aboue as men indifferent) perceiuing the full reſolution of their
countrymen to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherwith the Turkes were incloſed, aſſailed
them alſo from the high town. *Grittus* thus beſet on euery ſide, offered vnto the Tranſylvanians
a great maſſe of mony to ſuffer him to paſſe farther into Hungary: but their furious minds
more deſirous of reuenge than mony, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine, hee ſent
rich jewels to the gouernor of Moldavia his friend, to be ready at a certain hour when he purpoſed
to ſally out of the town, to receiue him with certaine troups of horſemen; ſo if it were
poſſible to ſaue himſelf and his children. *Grittus* (whether it were vpon a doubtful hope, or vrged
by inevitable deſtiny) ſallying out of the town at the appointed time, with *Solymans* commiſſion L
in his hand, and miſſing of the Moldavian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late Biſhops
nigh kinſman, and *Maylats* familiar friend; who furiouſly running in vpon him with tumultuous
ſpeech, violently caught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horſemen
took him, being weak with ſicknes, and making no reſiſtance. His followers, eſpecially the
Turks, incloſed on euery ſide, were either ſlain or taken. But *Grittus* himſelfe being brought
to the Generals Tent, beſet round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why he had
commanded the Vayuod to be ſlain; erneſtly proteſted that he neuer commaunded any ſuch
thing, and that it was don without his knowledge. Which his anſwer ſerued not his turne, all
the people crying out againſt him with one voice, that he ſhould as a ſacrifice be offered vnto
the Vayuods ghoſt. Wherupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered again to *Francis Schenden* to be executed, M
who without delay cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. The Nobilitie and the Vayuods
kinſmen (after the maner of that people) dipped ſome part of their garments in his bloud, the
longer to keep in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the ſhamefull end of *Aloyſius*
Grittus the Duke of Venice his ſon, *Solymans* Deputy in Hungary, with whom hee was
in

Grittus beſieged.

Grittus taken and brought to Maylat.

Grittus beheaded.

A in ſuch credit as neuer was any Chriſtian abounding in wealth and worldly felicity: but climing too faſt vp the euil ſtaued ladder of ambition, ſuddenly fel and neuer roſe more. The executioner ſtripping his dead body, found about him ſo many pretious ſtones and jewels as were valued at forty millions of ducats. And not long after, *Laſcus* ſent for by the King to Buda, was ſtreitly examined vpon torture, concerning *Grittus* his Commiſſion and purpoſes, and was in great danger of his life: but at laſt by the interceſſion of *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, he was ſet at liberty, and ſo fled out of Hungary vnto *Sigiſmunds* court in Polonia: after he had long time wearied himſelf, and aduentured his life in the Hungarian ſtate. *Docia* the author of this tragedy was by the furious people afterwards rent in pieces and ſo periſhed.

The riches ſoūd about Grittus.

The ſame time that *Grittus* went from Conſtantinople into Hungary, *Solyman* the Turkiſh B Emperor dreading no danger out of Europ, took in hand two great expeditions both at one time; the one by land into Aſia againſt the Perſians, and the other by ſea into Africke againſt the Moors: promiſing to himſelf in his inordinat deſires, the monarchy of the whole world in ſhort time, if he might ſubdue theſe two great Nations, whom he had already in hope deuoured. But foraſmuch as all canot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places ſo far diſtant don, omitting for a while the expedition made in perſon himſelf againſt the Perſians, we wil firſt declare what he did by his lieutenants againſt the Moors. *Hariadenus*, ſyrnamed of the Chriſtians *Barbaruſſa* (who ſucceeding his elder brother *Horruccius* in the kingdome of Algiers in Africk, had by many victories ſo inlarged the kingdom before gotten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Chriſtians & wild Moors, C and his fame grown great in the Turkiſh court) was the chief author and perſuader of *Solyman* to inuade Africk. But it ſhal not (as I think) be far from our purpoſe, briefly to relate by what means thoſe two Mytilene brethren, baſely born, crept out of a ſmal galliot vnto the majeſty of great Kings; that herin they which come afterward may alſo admire the wonderfull changes and chances of theſe worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certainty than a ſtage play.

Soliman purpoſeth to inuade Perſia and Affrick at once.

Theſe two brethren *Horruccius* and *Hariadenus*, born at Mytilene in the Iſland of Lesbos, weary of the poor and baſe eſtate they led at home with their father a renegat Grecian; ſtealing a little galliot, committed themſelues & all the hope of their good fortune to ſea, where by chance they conſorted themſelues with *Camales* a moſt famous pyrat of that time; vnder D whom *Horruccius* the elder brother for his forwardnes became a captain: and growing rich by many purchaſes, and alſo ſtrong with gallies and ſlaues which he had at ſundry times taken; and at laſt conſorting himſelf with *Haidin*, *Sinan* the Iew, *Salec*, and other leſſe pyrats (who afterward became men of great fame and account) ouer whom he commanded as an arch pirat, came ſeeking after purchaſe as far as Mauritania. At which time *Selymes* King of Iulia Cæſarea, now called Algiers, was in arms againſt his brother *Mechemetes* competitor of the kingdom; who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great doubt of his eſtate. *Selymes* glad of the comming of *Horruccius* and the other pyrats his followers, with a great maſſe of mony paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the reſt to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdom againſt his brother. Which thing E *Horruccius* ſo happily performed (eſpecially by the means of his harquebuſiers, as then no ſmal terror to the wild Moors and Numidians) that in ſhort time he repulſed that ſauage people, and ſet *Selymes* at peace in his kingdom. *Horruccius* being a man of a ſharp wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his ſeruice the Kings milde and ſimple diſpoſition void of all diſtruſt; and that the naked Moors were no ſoldiers, but a light and vnconſtant people, alwayes at variance among themſelues; and that the wandring Numidians liuing barely, diuided into many factions, were eaſily by reward to be won, or by force conſtrained; ſuddenly falſified his faith, and villanouſly ſlew *Selymes* the King, as hee was bathing himſelfe, miſtruſting nothing leſſe than the falſhood of the pyrat: & in the ſame hurle, murdring ſuch as he thought would withſtand his deſire, and with bounty and cruelty ouercomming the reſt, ſo wrought the matter, F that he was by general conſent choſen king of Algiers. Thus of a pyrat become a king, he ſhortly after by policie ſurpriſed Circello (a famous city about 60 miles diſtant from Algiers) by his ſoldiers ſent thither in the habit of Merchants. After that, he by his brother *Hariadenus*, no les valiant than himſelfe, troubled all the Mediteranian ſea from Algiers with his gallies, & al his neighbors: himſelf by land with daily incurſions leauing nothing vntoucht,

The poore beginning of Horruccius & Hariadenus, who of baſe Pyrats aſpired to the kingdom of Algiers.

Horruccius his ſucceſſe.

which might by force or policy be had; ſo that his power daily increaſed, men of ſeruice continually
reſorting vnto him, as the chiefe man in all thoſe parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge G
his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of Bugea, a city famous both for the great trade
thither, and for the Mahometan ſchoole ſometime their kept: at the taking whereof he loſt
his right hand with a ſhot, and in ſtead thereof euer after vſed a hand of yron, wherewith he
obtained many worthy victories againſt his enemies: for neere to Algiers he ouerthrew an army
of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vara* their Generall. And ſhortly after, at ſuch time as *Hugo*
Moncada returning out of Italy with the old Spaniſh ſouldiers, landed in his country, he enforced
him againe to ſea; where he with all his expert ſouldiers either periſhed by ſhipwrack,
or driuen on ſhore, were ſlain or taken priſoners by *Horruccius*, and thruſt into his gallies. At
laſt hauing in ſundry battels ouercome the King of Tremiſſa, *Charles* the Emperour his confederat, H
and thruſt him out of his kingdome, he ſtirred vp both the Chriſtians and Numidians
againſt him: ſo that comming to take Ora and Portus (two ſtrong holds kept by garriſons of
Spaniards ſent thither to aid the King of Tremiſſa) he was by them and the Moors at the firſt
repulſed, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where moſt part of his army being ſlaine or taken
priſoners, he with a few of his friends ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight ouer the deſart
ſands; and ſeeing himſelfe hardly purſued by his enemies, ſcattered many pieces of gold vpon
the ſands as he fled, thereby to haue ſtaied their haſty purſuit: but they more deſirous of him
than of his gold, followed ſo faſt, that at laſt they ouertooke him, and without further delay
ſtrucke off his head, which was afterwards ſent into Spaine, and carried vpon a lance through
all the townes and cities along the ſea coaſt; to the wonderfull rejoycing of the people, vnto I
whom he had in former time done great harme.

Horruccius ſlaine, and his head carried about in Spain.

Hariadenus ſyrnamed Barbaruſſa, ſucceedeth his brother Horruccius in the kingdome of Algiers.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Hariadenus* inferiour to his brother neither in courage nor
martiall proweſſe, by the generall conſent of the ſouldiers tooke vpon him the kingdome of
Algiers. He, made heire not only of his brothers kingdome, but of his vertues and haughty
thoughts, and of the ſyrname alſo of *Barbaruſſa*, began forthwith to aſpire vnto the Empire of
all that part of Affricke; accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too baſe to anſwer
his deſires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terrour both to the Moores
and Numidians; holding peace with ſome, and wars with others, as beſt ſerued his purpoſe:
and with his gallies robbed and ſpoiled the coaſts of Spaine, Sardinia, and the Iſlands Baleares;
fortune ſo fauoring him in all his enterpriſes, that he became both famous & fearful to all K
his enemies. He ſlew *Hamet*, a great commander among the Numidians, and chaſed *Benchades*
and *Amida*, two of their greateſt Princes, out of the country: and with like fortune at ſea, ouercame
Hugo Moncada, a famous Spaniard, who ſore wounded, had much ado to ſaue himſelfe by
flight, when he had loſt diuers of his gallies. He alſo in battell at ſea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*,
Admirall of Spaine: in which fight the Admirall and his ſon were both ſlaine, and ſeuen
of his gallies taken: in token of which victory, he ſent part of the rich ſpoile there taken,
with the Admirals enſigne, as a preſent vnto *Solyman*, whereby he became famous in the Turks
court; but much more, after he had repulſed *Auria* from Cercenna, and taken two great Genoway
ſhips which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition; the loſſe whereof
filled the city of Genoa with much ſorrow. All things ſorting thus according to his deſire, L
and his name become no leſſe terrible in Spaine, Italy, Sicily, and the Iſlands of the Mediterranian,
than it was in the greateſt part of Affricke; *Solyman* grieued with the loſſe of Corone,
Patras, and the caſtles vpon the ſtreits of Lepanto, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his
Admirall being ſhamefully put to flight: by the counſell of his Baſſaes, but eſpecially of *Abraham*
the chiefe Baſſa, ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to Algiers; offering him the greateſt honours
of his court, and to make him Admirall of all his fleet, if he would forthwith repaire
vnto Conſtantinople: for why, he was the only man in all mens judgements, who for his
yeres and great experience at ſea, as well as for his inuincible courage, and glory of his late atchieued
kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to be oppoſed againſt the Chriſtian
fleet. *Sinas* a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embaſſage ſent, and ſpeedily tranſported M
to Algiers by *Mangalis*, a famous pyrat, then Gouernour of the Rhodes; who at his landing,
was honourably receiued by *Barbaruſſa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbaruſſa* vnderſtanding
the cauſe of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, preſently conceiuing no ſmall
hope of obtaining the Monarchy of Affricke, if hee might once come to *Solymans* preſence,
and

His wonderfull ſucceſſe.

Solyman ſends for Barbaruſſa.

A and at large ſhew vnto him the ſtate of Affricke, and power of the Chriſtians, with their continuall
diſcord amongſt themſelues. Wherefore without further delay committing the protection
of his ſon *Aſanes* (then about eighteene yeares old) and the gouernment of the new
gotten kingdome to *Ramada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh kinſemen and aſſured friends, of whoſe
fidelity he doubted not: he with forty of his owne gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed,
ſet forward with *Solymans* Embaſſadour towards Conſtantinople: where by the way he met
with a fleet of Gonoway ſhips bound for Sicily for corne, which after a ſharpe a cruell fight
he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Countrey of Elba, not farre from Naples,
hee ſuddenly ſurpriſed Rhium a rich city; where loading his gallies with the wealth
thereof, and carrying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuity, he arriued at Conſtantinople
B in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he
was joyfully receiued, if it were but for the preſents which he gaue him: which were faire
boyes and young maidens ſumptuouſly apparelled, eunuchs, and wild beaſts of Lybia, as Lyons,
Leopards and ſuch like. But after he had certaine daies diſcourſed at large with his great
Baſſa's, of the ſtate of Affricke, the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and how the wars were to be
managed, he was afterwards by them ſeldomer ſent for, and offering himſelfe into their company,
was hardly admitted: for enuy (the inſeparable companion of growing honour) had
quickely ouertaken him in the Court, ſo that many men letted not openly to ſay, It had not
bin the faſhion of the *Othoman* Kings, to prefer pyrats (the worſt kind of theeues) to the honor
of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both vertuous
C and valiant in the Turks court, which could with great honour maintaine and augment
the glory of the Turkiſh Empire both by ſea and land; whereas he had againſt all right and
conſcience, by ſhameful treachery intruded himſelfe into another mans kingdom in Affricke,
and there perſecuted the Mahometan Princes and people, being of no religion himſelfe, as
one that was borne of a renegate Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercileſſe pyrat,
and common enemy of mankinde. By which ſpeeches *Barbaruſſa* perceiued in how euill time
Abraham Baſſa his beſt friend, and by whoſe meanes he was ſent for, was abſent from Court;
who at that time was gone into Comagena, and Wintred at Aleppo, with purpoſe (as *Solymans*
forerunner) with the firſt of the next Spring, to paſſe ouer Euphrates againſt the Perſian. After
long ſuit and much expectation, *Solyman* anſwered *Barbaruſſa* by *Ajax* and *Caſimes* two of the
D great Baſſa's, That all the matter concerning him ſhould be referred to the diſcretion of *Abraham*
the chiefe Baſſa, for that he was by his counſell eſpecially ſent for out of Affricke: wherefore
if he did expect any thing, he ſhould repaire vnto him in Syria, that according to his
graue judgement all things might be ordered. *Barbaruſſa* thus reiected into Syria, although he
well perceiued that it tended to his no ſmall diſgrace; yet in hope by ſufferance to obtaine
another kingdome, ſeemed contented with the anſwer, and reſolued forthwith to take vpon
him that long and painefull journy: which the old king luſtily performed, and ſo poſting by
land thorow Aſia the leſſe, and trauelling ouer the mountain Amanus, then couered with deep
ſnow, came in the dead time of Winter to Aleppo in Syria, where he was honourably receiued
by the great Baſſa, and heard at large, to his ſo good contentation and liking, that he deemed
E him of all others the fitteſt to command the Turks power at ſea; and to that purpoſe writ
commendatory letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*: wiſhing him for his ſufficience to place him
as the fourth with the other three Baſſa's of his counſell. After *Barbaruſſa* was againe arriued
at Conſtantinople with theſe letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the chiefe
Baſſa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to ſee how on the ſudden the face of the
court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendſhip or flattery began now to ſpeake
of his praiſes, and to extoll his worthineſſe: who was now in all mens mouthes but *Barbaruſſa*!
ſo great was the power and authority of the chiefe Baſſa, that being abſent, yet was his approbation
of all men accounted ſufficient to prefer whom he pleaſed; and his letters lawes to the
reſt of the court. *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him from Algiers, one *Roſcetes* the elder brother
F of *Mulcaſſes* king of Tunes, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his yonger brother, had liued
certain yeres at Algiers, but now by the perſuaſion of *Barbaruſſa* was come with him to Conſtantinople,
to craue aid of *Solyman* againſt the oppreſſion of his brother. Him *Barbaruſſa* oftentimes
ſhewed vnto the great Baſſa's, and in his diſcourſes with them concerning the conqueſt
of Affricke, ſet him out as a moſt fit inſtrument for ſubduing of the kingdom of Tunes,

Barbaruſſa commeth to Conſtantinople.

Barbaruſſa enuied in the Turks court.

Barbaruſſa reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa.

He trauelleth into Siria to the Baſſa, and is by him comended to Solyman

His returne to Conſtantinople.

Roſcetes.

as a man whom the people more affected than they did *Muleaſſes* the vſurper. After long deliberation G and conſultation had with the Baſſaes concerning the inuaſion of Affricke, *Barbaruſſa* now admitted vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, in theſe or like words perſuaded him to that war, for the entrance whereunto we haue thus far digreſſed.

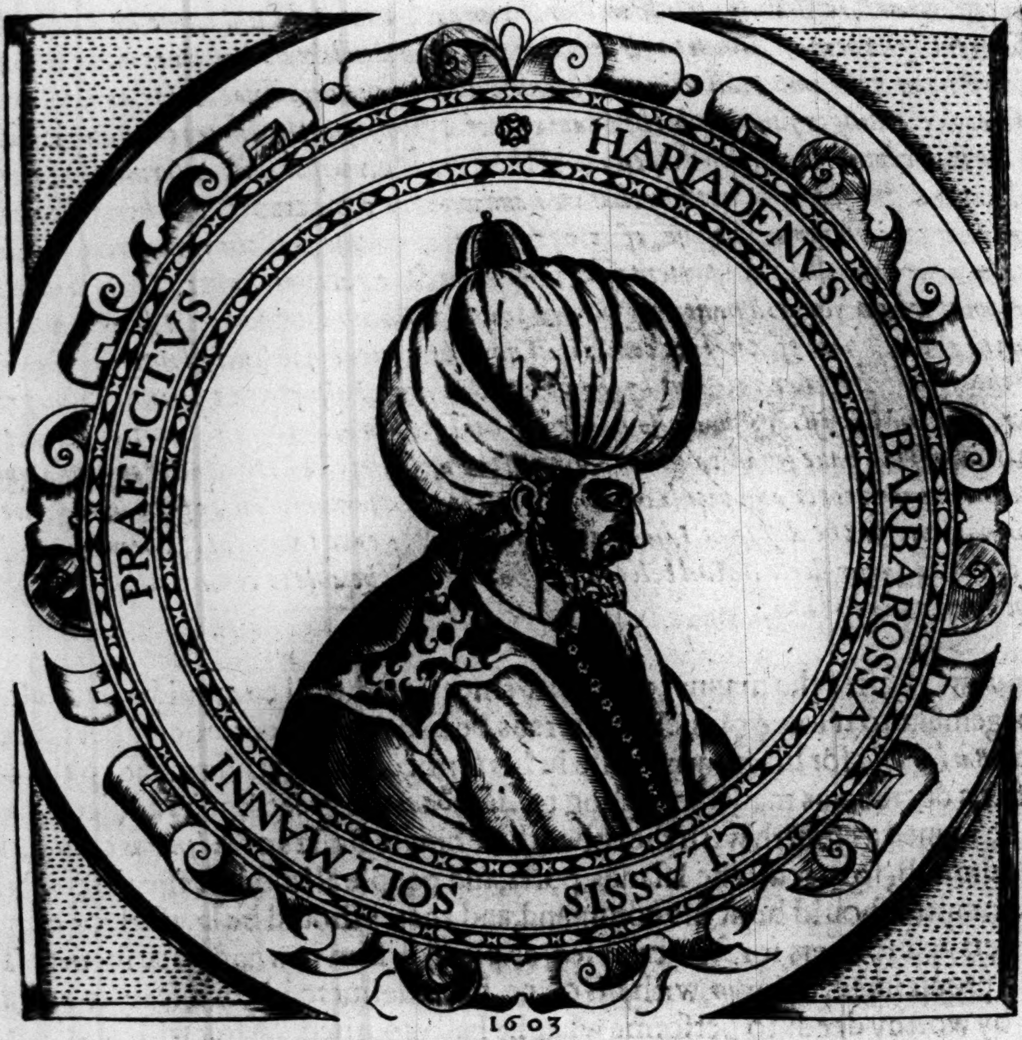
Barbaruſſa his ſpeech to Solyman to perſuade him to inuade Tunes.

What thing the Prieſts with loud voice vſe to pray for, at ſuch time as the Othoman *Emperors enter into the Temple to pray, the ſame thing do I alſo wiſh vnto thee moſt mighty* Solyman; *which is, That thou ſhouldeſt remember, thy progenitors by Iuſtice and Religion to haue got for thee this Empire, than which, more magnificent and richer the gods haue not giuen to any: Fortune hath neuer deceiued them that troad that way, and thou hitherto haſt ſo traced their ſteps, that thou haſt eaſily ſurmounted their fame and glory, adminiſtring Iuſtice to thy ſubjects; and inflamed with the hope of eternall praiſe, making* H *continuall war againſt the enemies of our religion, the true office of a zealous Prince. By this meanes is Belgrade taken, Rhodes won, the King of Hungary ſlaine in battell, Germany twice harried and burnt: ſo that* Charles, *whom the Chriſtians would make equall to thy ſelfe in power and valour, with the great aid almoſt of all the Chriſtian Nations, terrified with the noiſe of thy army, ſhunned battell. But foraſmuch as Empires, be they neuer ſo large, or victories be they neuer ſo glorious, can neither ſatisfie the greatneſſe of an heroicall mind, or glut the ſame with glory; thou haſt therefore ſent before thee thy victorious enſignes againſt the Perſians and Parthians, that thoſe Nations who haue wickedly fallen from our Rites, purified as it were by thy ſacred armes, may be again reclaimed to the antient rites of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatneſſe, moſt honourable to attept, and glorious to performe: let it only be lawfull for me now grown an old man in the middeſt of arms & dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefely to open* I *ſuch things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the augmenting of thy fame and Empire elſewhere. Neither would I haue you to take this as preſumptuouſly ſpoken of me: for Fortune hath enough, yea, and more than enough fauoured my deſignes, whom from a poore cottage and bare hope, ſhee hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches, yea, vnto the title and majeſty of a King. But vnto theſe things the gods could giue me nothing better, than to be called for of thee, and ſent for, in Counſell to diſcourſe of matters of greateſt importance: wherefore my aduice ſhall be vnto thee faithfull, and with experience confirmed; which although it be all that it ſeemeth old men can do, yet in my ſound body remaineth ſuch ſtrength, that I dare both promiſe and performe vnto thee my good ſeruice at all aſſaies both by ſea and land. For vnto this only courſe haue I bent my ſelfe day and night from my youth, following the purpoſe and counſell of my valiant brother* Hortuccins, *(who to extend the bounds of our religion, perſecuted* K *the Chriſtians both by ſea and land) deſiring nothing more, than that thy fleet and power might once be joyned with my forces and direction, and ſo vnder thy good hap, to be either a commander, or elſe commanded: foraſmuch as it grieueth me not to be commanded by my betters. Of which my deſires if the gods ſhall make me partaker, the Spaniards ſhall ſhortly be driuen quite out of Affricke, thou ſhalt heare that the Moores are gone ouer into Spaine, to repoſſeſſe the kingdome of Granado; That Tunes and Numidia are at thy command; and not to ſpeake of Sardinia, and Corcyra, that Sicilia is ours: which once taken, we ſhall ſterue vp Italy, and on euery ſide diſtreſſe it with our fleet, being now weake and brought low by the diſcord of the Princes, and that part thereof both toward Sicilia and Macedonia ready to ſubmit it ſelfe vpon any condition, ſo it might caſt off the Spaniſh yoke. Thinke not, that either that ſtrength or vnity is now in Italy, which was when thy great grandfather* Mahomet *hauing taken Hydruntum,* L *brought a great feare, not vpon Italy on, but vpon other the Chriſtian nations alſo: for by the good ſucceſſe of that war, which all the Chriſtian Princes could hardly withſtand, he had vndoubtedly taken the city of Rome, and ſo according to right and reaſon, againe vnited the Empire of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, as they were before in their antient glory. But he ſuddenly left the World, rapt to Heauen, that hee might leaue to thee (according to the appointment of the fatall Deſtinies, & reuolutions of the heauens) this work of abſolute perfection. And yet my purpoſe is not, by putting thee in hope of ſo great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the Eaſt, againſt thy old and irreligious enemies, deſeruing all extremities: for thy nauy ſhall be ſufficient for me, whereof thou ſhalt haue no need in thy wars ſo far within land; that whileſt thou art conquering Aſia, Affrica the third part of the World may in the meane time be brought vnder thy ſubjection alſo. Where before all other things,* Muleaſſes *is to be* M *driuen out of Tunes; a man of inſatiable couetouſneſſe, vnſtaied luſt, horrible cruelty, hated both of God and man; who hauing by trechery ſlaine eighteene of his brethen, or that which worſe is, cruelly burnt out their eies, doth ſo raigne alone, that he left him neither kinſeman nor friend. For being as vnthankefull as perfideous, he hath murthered all his fathers friends, who with great trauell had preferred him to the* *kingdome, ſo to make ſhort payment for ſo great deſert. With this beaſt we muſt haue to do, whom whileſt no man loueth, all men wiſh to periſh. The Numidians trouble him with dayly inuaſions, whoſe injuries the infamous coward endureth with ſuch ſhame and reproach, that it ſhould ſeeme he had rather to ſuffer them, than reuenge them. And yet this effœminate daſtard holdeth in chaines many valiant Turks, and acknowledgeth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euery ſide ſue for grace: and which is not to be ſuffered, exceedingly fauoureth the Spaniards of Tripolis, to the intent that* Agis *and* Moſes, *two valiant Turkiſh captaines, may be driuen out of the city. This wilde beaſt diſarmed of his clawes and teeth, we ſhall eaſily deſtroy, if it be but for that we haue with vs* Roſcetes *his brother, whom the Numidians wiſh and long for: him muſt we vſe, if it be but for a ſhew, ſo ſhall the thing we deſire, be without bloud effected, as ſoone as we ſhall but preſent our ſelues before the gates of Tunes. Then ſhall it be at your pleaſure, to appoint whom you will haue to gouerne the Numidian kingdome: it ſhall be vnto me glory enough, when the greateſt part of Affricke conquered, ſhall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your returne with the triumphs of Perſia. But by the way as I returne, I aſſure you vpon mine own priuat, ſo to vſe the matter, that the Chriſtians ſhall alſo haue good cauſe to bewaile their calamities: and if I hap to meet with* Auria, *he ſhall haue ſmall cauſe to rejoyce of the miſchiefe he hath done: for him alone I challenge to perſecute, as my proper and peculiar enemy, both for the remembrance of the harmes we haue receiued at his hands, and for the deſpight I haue at his fame; who once taken out of the way, thē ſeas ſhall be open onely to you and your fleets. And beleeue me, he that ſhall be able to command the ſeas, ſhall eaſily alſo ſubdue the kingdomes by land.*

But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wiſe Princes, vſed well to conſider, and afterwards with ripe judgement to reſolue of ſuch matters as he had with attentiue eare hearkened vnto; commending *Barbaruſſa* for his forwardneſſe in his ſeruice, for that time brake vp the counſell. Not long after, a decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great Baſſa's aduice, That *Barbaruſſa* ſhould be joyned as fourth with the other three chiefe Baſſa's of *Solymans* counſell, and be made great Admirall; ſo that all the Iſlands, ports, and people all alongſt the ſea coaſt thorowout *Solymans* Empire ſhould be at his command, and that it ſhould be lawfull for him to take vp ſuch mariners and ſoldiers for ſeruice at ſea, as pleaſed him in what place ſoeuer. This being ſolemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his owne hand deliuered him a ſcepter and a ſword, willing him by worthy deeds to performe what he had promiſed. After which, *Ajax* and *Caſſimes* the two great Baſſa's, with the Captaine of the Ianizaries, brought him with exceeding pompe, from the Court to the Nauy: at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that warre at ſea, he had deliuered vnto him out of *Solymans* treaſures, eight hundred thouſand duckets, and eight hundred Ianizaries.

Barbaruſſa is made Solymans great Admirall.

But foraſmuch as much it was that he did in the ſeruice of *Solyman*, and more is of him hereafter to be ſpoken; it ſhall not be amiſſe here to preſent vnto the view of the World the ſterne, but liuely countenance of this ſo famous a man (who liuing kept all the Mediterranian in feare) as it is by *Boiſardus* expreſſed, together with the Elogium following.


HARIADENVS BARBAROSSA CLASSIS SOLYMANNI PRAEFECTVS
1603

Litterate Heſperiæ timuere vtrinſque,Lybeſque
Oppreſsi dextra ſubcubuere tua.
Nunquam te Lypare,Corcyraue diligit,harum
Cum ſis immeritos depopulatus agros.

The coaſts of Italy and Spaine,of thee were ſore afraid,
And ſo the Moores did ſtoupe to thee,by thy right hand diſmaid.
Lyparos will thee neuer loue,ne yet Corcyra ſtrong;
For that thou cauſeleſſe did'ſt to them ſo great and open wrong.

He ſpoileth the coaſt of Italy.

Barbaruſſa ſped of that he deſired, ſtaied not long after at Conſtantinople, but departing out of Helleſpontus with eighty gallies and certain galliots, ſhaped his courſe towards Italy, leauing *Amurathes* (a ſea captaine) with twelue gallies to tranſport *Solyman* and his army, ready to ſet forward againſt the Perſian, ouer that narrow ſea into Aſia. Who after he had ſo done,ouertooke *Barbaruſſa* at Methone, who holding on his courſe to Affricke, and ſuddenly paſſing the ſtreit betwixt Italy and Sicily, brought a great feare vpon both the Countries; M but paſſing by the Bay of Hippona alongſt the coaſt of the lower Calabria, he ſet vpon the towne of Saint *Lucidius*,called in antient time Tempſa: which although it ſtood vpon a rocke and was reaſonable well walled; yet ſuch was the violence of the Turkes aſſault, that it could not be defended but was taken,with ſo much more hurt to the inhabitants, for that the

Major

A Major of the towne, to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other
ſide of the city, from the enemy. From thence he with rich ſpoile and many priſoners went
to Citrarium, where he had learned of his priſoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This
town forſaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without reſiſtance, ranſacked it, and burnt
it, where he alſo fired ſeuen gallies not yet altogether finiſhed. But after he was come with his
fleet as far as the Iſland Capri, within the ſight of Naples, ſuch a terror was ſtrucke into the
minds of all that dwelt alongſt that coaſt, That it was thought, if he had landed and gone directly
to Naples, the Neapolitans would for feare haue abandoned the city. But holding on
his courſe, he came to Prochita, which he tooke and rifled: ſo paſſing by the port of Caieta,
(which he might eaſily haue taken) he came to Spelunca, a town in the hithermoſt part of the
B Kingdome of Naples. They of the Towne diſmaied with the ſudden arriuall of ſo great a
fleet, yeelded the ſame without reſiſtance. The enemy entring the towne, tooke twelue hundred
priſoners. *Pelegrinus* a chiefe man amongſt them of Spelunca, was fled into the Caſtle:
him *Barbaruſſa* commanded to yeeld, which if he would preſently do, he promiſed to let him
go free; but if he ſhould ſtand vpon his defence, he threatned in ſhort time to make him repent
his fooliſh hardineſſe, with the vtter deſtruction both of himſelfe and the towne. The fearefull
gentleman without delay came out of the caſtle, and fell downe at his feet; who according
to his promiſe gaue him his liberty, and with rare curteſie reſtored to him his wife, his
ſonne, and niece, whom he had taken priſoners; who receiued them with many teares falling
from their eies for joy.

C The ſame night alſo 2000 Turks came from the fleet, through the rough and buſhy mountaines,
to the city Fundi, ten miles diſtant from Spelunca, in the vttermoſt borders of the
kingdome of Naples, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that country; who a
few yeares before taken at ſea, and ouerwearied with the heauy burthen of the Turkiſh ſlauery,
had reuolted to the Mahometan religion. But ſuch was the ſuddenneſſe of their comming,
and their celerity in entring the city, that *Iulia Gonzaga* the Paragon of Italy, and the chiefe
priſe which they ſought after, had ſcarce time to get to horſe halfe naked, and ſo with much
difficulty to eſcape into the mountaines. It is reported that *Barbaruſſa* (which thing he himſelfe
afterwards ſeemed not to deny) moued with the fame of her incomparable beauty, and
wonderfull perfection, deſired exceedingly to haue taken her as a Preſent for *Solyman*. The
D citiſens were for moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners by the Turks, who loaded with the
ſpoile of the city, returned againe to the fleet. Another part of *Barbaruſſaes* fleet came to Tarracina,
which the Turks tooke forſaken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the
mountains, except ſome which for age or ſickeneſſe could not ſhift for themſelues, whom the
Turks ſlew, and ſpoyled the churches. *Barbaruſſa* thus ſcouring along the coaſt of Italy, and
newes thereof daily brought to the city of Rome, ſtrucke ſuch an exceeding terrour into the
minds of the citiſens, that it was verily thought if he had come a little further to Oſtia, they
would generally haue forſaken the city. But he hauing well performed his promiſe made to
Solyman for vexing the Chriſtians, and before reſolued of a greater matter he had to do; when
he had watred at Pontia, paſſed ouer into Affrick with ſuch celerity, that he was arriued there
E before it was thought that he was departed from the coaſt of Italy. For *Barbaruſſa* to deceiue
Muleaſſes king of Tunes, and to take him vnprouided, had giuen it out, that he would burn and
ſpoyle the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries, eſpecially of Italy, Liguria, and Spain, in reuenge
of the harme done by *Auria* at Corone and Patras. Which thing *Muleaſſes* the rather belieued,
vnderſtanding his proceedings vpon the coaſt of Italy. The Venetians hauing alſo at the ſame
time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in ſome part leſſen *Muleaſſes* feare, That *Barbaruſſa*
would imploy his forces for Affricke: for then what ſhould the Venetians haue needed
to haue had ſo great and chargeable a preparation. But that which aboue all other things
brought him into ſecurity, was for that he had by his ſecret eſpials certainly learned, that his
brother *Roſcetes* was kept at Conſtantinople, as a priſoner at large, vnder ſafe keeping: which
F made him to thinke, that *Barbaruſſa's* forces were not prepared againſt him; for he knew that he
could not be impugned, or his ſtate more indangered by any other means, than by producing
the competitor of his kingdome, to whom his guilty conſcience doubted, that both the citiſens
of Tunes and the Numidians were for moſt part well affected.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Lady hardly diſtreſſed by Barbaruſſa.

The Romans afraid of Barbaruſſa.

This *Muleaſſes* of whom we now ſpeake, and whom afterward we ſhall by occaſion often remember, *Muleaſſes King of Tunes.*

member,was lineally deſcended of the antient Kings of Tunes; who without interruption of diſcent,or mixture of forreine bloud,had by the ſpace of 954 yeares mightily ruled the great kingdome of Tunes,from Tripolis to Bugia,almoſt 800 miles alongſt the Mediterranean,and into the Main as far as the mount Atlas:and for the long continuance of their ſtate,and largeneſſe of their kingdome, were worthily accounted the moſt reuerend and mighty amongſt the Mahometan Kings of Affricke. His father *Mahomethes*, when he had with much glory, and more pleaſure,reigned 32 yeares, perceiuing the end of his life to approch, had purpoſed to haue appointed *Maimo* his eldeſt ſonne (whom for his haſty aſpiring he then held in durance) to ſucceed him in his kingdome: but ouercome with the importunity of *Lentigeſia* his wife,a woman of a haughty ſpirit, who had by reward made a ſtrong faction in the Court for her ſonne *Muleaſſes*,he altered his former purpoſe, and appointed him his ſucceſſor:by whom (as it was thought) the ſmall remainder of his owne old yeares was ſhortened; *Maimo* the right heire of the kingdome in priſon,preſently murthered; ſeuenteene of his other brethren vnmercifully executed; and three other, *Barcha, Beleth,* and *Saeth,* with more than barbarous cruelty with a hot yron of their ſight depriued; only *Roſcetes* the ſecond brother, and *Abdemelech*,eſcaping the hands of their vnnatural brother,fled to *Morhabitus* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians: whither alſo their brothers malice perſecuted them, ſeeking by many practiſes to haue taken them away,and at laſt for a great ſumme of mony to haue had them deliuered into his hands. Which mony the Numidian receiued, but ſuffered the diſtreſſed Princes, as if they had eſcaped againſt his will, to fly further to another Numidian Prince a friend of his,called *Benticſes*: where *Muleaſſes* by like practiſes as before, ſought to haue deſtroyed them, or to haue got them into his owne power. Thus chaſed by their brothers endleſſe malice, from Prince to Prince, and from place to place, they for their more ſafety fled at laſt to the city of Biſcaris,farre into the maine land: where *Abdemelech* as one weary of the World gaue ouer all, and betooke himſelfe to a ſolitary life, and became a melancholy Mahometan Monke. But *Roſcetes* curteouſly entertained by *Abdalla* Prince of that city, found ſuch fauour in his ſight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and long time honourably maintained him as his ſonne in law, with ſuch carefulneſſe, that for feare of *Muleaſſes* practiſes, he was ſeldome permitted to eat any other meat but ſuch as the Prince or his wife had before taſted of. *Muleaſſes* thus reigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of ſo many of his brethren, proceeded further, and murthered diuers of their children alſo.

The ingratitude of Muleaſſes.

He cauſed alſo the Manifet and Meſuar,men of greateſt authority in all the kingdom, his fathers graue counſellors,and his chiefe friends, by whoſe meanes eſpecially he had aſpired vnto the kingdome, to be cruelly tortured to death, fearing their greatneſſe; or rather as ſome thought grieuing to ſee them liue, to whom he was ſo much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with ſuch ſharpe payment. And by the inſtigation of *Lentigeſia* his mother, cauſed diuers of his fathers other wiues and concubines to be ſhamefully murthered, enueighing oftentimes againſt his father,that as an effœminat Prince,had for his pleaſure maintained 200 wiues and concubins in his houſes of delight, by whom he had begot ſo many ſons competitors of the kingdome, that he had left him (as he ſaid) a laborious and endleſſe piece of worke, to deſtroy ſo great a brood.

Roſcetes viſeth againſt his brother Muleaſſes.

Roſcetes aided by his father in law and the other Numidian Princes, to whom the name of *Muleaſſes*, both for his cruelty againſt his owne bloud, and injurious dealing againſt his neighbors was become odious; paſſing ouer the riuer Bragada, with a great army, neere vnto Tunes met with *Muleaſſes* his army, conducted by *Dorax* a valiant captaine, brother to *Lentigeſia*: where in a ſharpe conflict he ouerthrew his brothers Army, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were eſcaped out of the battell, for ſafegard of their liues to fly into Tunes. *Roſcetes* purſuing the victory,came and preſented his army before the gates of the city,in hope that the citiſens (whom he knew for the moſt part to hate the vſurping tyrant) would vpon the ſight of him, in right their King, with ſo great an army, raiſe ſome tumult in the city, and let him in. There he lay by the ſpace of twenty daies, ſtill expecting ſome innouation; in which time the more to alienate the minds of the people from *Muleaſſes*, and to ſhew how vnable he was to protect them, he burnt and deſtroied all the Oliue and fruit trees, which grew moſt plentifully and pleaſantly all alongſt the country, from the ruines of old Carthage, to the walls of Tunes: which was vnto the citiſens, whoſe greateſt poſſeſſions lay there, a moſt heauy and lamentable ſpectacle. But *Muleaſſes* had ſo attempered their minds with faire ſpeeches,

and

A and large promiſes of recompenſing euery man to the full ; for all ſuch harme as they ſhould
ſuſtaine for his brothers fury in the country : and beſide that, had the city in ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion
by reaſon of his ſoldiers, that the citiſens either would not or could not reuolt to *Roſcetes*.
The Numidian Princes weary of that long and vaine expectation, according to the leuity
of that nation, accounting it no ſhame after victory once gotten to depart, began one after
another to ſhrinke away to their owne dwellings, perſuading *Roſcetes* alſo to prouide for himſelfe
whilſt he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore he fearing to be betraied
by the Numidians, or circumuented by his cruell brother, fled to *Barbaruſſa*, then reigning at
Algiers in great glory, where he was honourably entertained ; and there remained vntill ſuch
time as by his perſuaſion he went with him as is aforeſaid to Conſtantinople, to craue helpe
B of *Solyman*, by whom he was detained in ſafe cuſtody : although it was in policy giuen out
by *Barbaruſſa*, that he was in the fleet, and that he ſhould by *Solymans* power be reſtored to his
fathers kingdome at Tunes.

Roſcetes forſaken of the Numidian Princes, he flyeth to Barbaruſſa.

This was the ſtate of the kingdom of Tunes, at ſuch time as *Barbaruſſa* with *Solymans* great
fleet, contrary to all mens expectation, ſuddenly departing from the coaſt of Italy, landed in
Affricke at Biſerta, a famous port of the kingdome of Tunes. They of Biſerta weary of the
gouernment of *Muleaſſes*, and of themſelues deſirous of change, as ſoone as they heard the
name of *Roſcetes*, forthwith draue out their Gouernor, and receiued the Turks into the towne.
For *Barbaruſſa* had before ſent certaine of *Roſcetes* his familiar friends aſhore, which bare the
people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able to come yet on ſhore, for that he was (as
C they ſaid) ſea-ſick, and troubled with an ague. Biſerta thus poſſeſſed by *Barbaruſſa*, he preſently
departed thence, and ſailing by Vtica, thirty miles diſtant from Biſerta, and ſo keeping alongſt
the coaſt, and paſſing the promontory of Carthage, came before Guletta, a ſtrong caſtle
within the Bay of Tunes, ſo placed vpon a ſtreit, that it commandeth all the paſſage by ſea
vnto the city Tunes. Before this caſtle, *Barbaruſſa* in token of friendſhip, diſcharged all his
great ordnance, which they of the caſtle anſwered with like : but being required to deliuer it
vp to *Roſcetes*, they ſaid it ſhould be alwaies at his command that ruled in the city of Tunes.
The newes of *Roſcetes* his ſuppoſed comming, flying ſwiftly by land from Biſerta to Tunes,
and the great fleet once diſcouered, ſet all the city on an vprore : for the citiſens were in great
expectation of their new King, both for the loue of *Roſcetes*, who had alwaies ſhewed himſelfe
D to be of a mild and bountifull nature ; and alſo for the hatred of *Muleaſſes*, whoſe tyrannous
and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long indured. Neither was he ignorant
what report ran of himſelfe, and how he had loſt the hearts of his ſubjects ; which was euidently
to be ſeene in the eies and countenances of the chiefe men of the city. And that which
more increaſed their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promiſe to them in time
of his diſtreſſe, made them any recompence for their goodly houſes and Oliue gardens, deſtroied
in the country by *Roſcetes* in the former wars : wherefore at ſuch time as he came now
out of the caſtle, and in the greateſt aſſembly of his people, began to perſuade them to play
the men, and to continue conſtant in their obedience, promiſing vnto them ſuch reward as
they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed and left him alone : yea, ſome of
E them vnder the colour of friendſhip, and amongſt them *Abdahar*, then Meſuar (which was
chiefe officer next vnto the King) perſuaded him to giue place to his hard fortune, and forthwith
to fly, for by chance it was at the ſame inſtance in euery mans mouth, that the Turks were
euen at hand : which thing cauſed *Muleaſſes*, forſaken of his ſubjects, of himſelfe fearefull, and
worthily doubting to be betraied, to fly in ſuch haſt out of the city, that he left behind him
both his treaſure and jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The firſt
that reuolted was *Abezes*, a man of great authority ; and *Fetuches*, captain of the caſtle ; both renegate
Spaniards. *Fetuches* preſently after the flight of *Muleaſſes*, brought out *Roſcetes* wife and
children, whom *Muleaſſes* had long time kept in priſon, & to welcom their father, placed them
in the Kings royall ſeat. *Abezes* alſo forthwith aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa* of *Muleaſſes* departure,
F and with what longing the people expected their deſired King, wiſhing him without delay to
repaire vnto the city : and for a preſent ſent him a goodly Barbarian horſe, richly furniſhed,
and diuers others for his other chiefe captains. Hereupon *Barbaruſſa* without longer ſtay ſet
forward with fiue thouſand Turks, which he had already landed, and comming to the city, was
of the citiſens joifully receiued. But after long looking, when they could no where deſcry *Roſ-*

Barbaruſſa landeth at Biſerta.

Biſerta yeelded.

Barbaruſſa cōmeth to Guletta

Muleaſſes flieth out of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa enters into Tunes.

cetes their ſuppoſed king, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turks in their military acclamations, as they marched thorow the city towards the caſtle; they began to diſtruſt as the truth was, that in ſtead of their new King whom they ſo much deſired, they had receiued the Turkiſh gouernment, which they vtterly deteſted. Which ſuſpition once confirmed by certaine of *Roſcetes* friends (whom *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him of purpoſe to delude the people) who grieued to ſee the ruine of their natiue country, ſpared not for feare of the preſent danger to tel their friends and acquaintance as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Roſcetes*, whom they had left in bonds at Conſtantinople: it was a wonder to ſee, how ſuddenly the minds of the people were changed, how ſpeedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiouſly they aſſailed the Turks, now fearing no ſuch matter, and were not as yet all got into the caſtle. The chiefe leader of the citiſens in this tumult, was *Abdahar* the Meſuar, who but a little before vpon the comming of the Turks, by augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulneſſe of his ſubjects, had perſuaded *Muleaſſes* to fly; but now perceiuing himſelfe deceiued of his expectation for the comming of *Roſcetes*, and repenting of that he had done, ſought by all meanes to driue out the Turks, and to recall *Muleaſſes*. And the more to animate the people, as he ſtood on high, from whence he might beſt be heard, he cried vnto them with a loud voice:

The citiſens deceiued of their expectation, riſe againſt the Turks.

We are moſt villanouſly betraied (worthy Citiſens) for Roſcetes, *whom we expected for our lawfull King lamenteth his miſery in chains, in priſon at Conſtantinople: and we except we preſently play the men, and valiantly fight for our liberty, ſhall for euer ſerue as ſlaues to theſe forreine and mercileſſe pyrats. The preſent danger of our eſtate telleth vs, that we muſt preſently and without delay take the occaſion offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to ſerue as ſlaues, and to be bought and ſold as beaſts, take vp armes againſt the faithleſſe Turks. I my ſelfe will be your leader: let vs therefore all with one conſent, with heart and hand reuenge this ſhamefull trechery, defend our country and liberty with the antient honour and liberty of the Numidians.*

There was now no time to ſtay, euery man had betaken himſelfe to his weapons; *Muleaſſes* was againe ſent for, who yet ſtaied in the ſuburbs, expecting what ſhould happen; many of the Turks were ſlain before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the city was filled with outcries and clattering of weapons; the number of the citiſens was ſuch, as might eaſily haue expulſed the Turks, had they been but reaſonably armed, or well conducted, which in a matter ſo ſudden, and with men altogether ignorant of ſeruice, was not poſſible. Yet they, armed with fury, and encouraged with the multitude of themſelues, ſwarmed vp as thicke as was poſſible, one of the bulwarks of the caſtle, which they knew was eaſieſt to be gained, where the Turks had ſet vp one of their enſignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes ſo ouerwhelmed the Turks, that they were glad to forſake the place, and to retire further into the caſtle to a place of more ſtrength: from whence and all alongſt the curtaine of the wall, they without intermiſſion diſcharged their great artillery and ſmall ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. *Barbaruſſa* although he was a man of an inuincible courage and great experience, all his life time well acquainted with deſperat dangers (the dreadfull ſteps of aſpiring minds) yet ſurpriſed with the ſuddenneſſe of the aſſault, ſhut vp in a place whereof he yet knew not the ſtrength, and not prouided of victuall for three daies, was with the due conſideration of theſe difficulties, not a little troubled: which his care was by the diſordered fury of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne ſouldiers greatly diminiſhed; eſpecially when he ſaw his owne men ſtill fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moores as men halfe diſmaied with the wounds and ſlaughter of their friends, ready to retire. Howbeit by the comming in of *Muleaſſes* and *Dorax*, the aſſault twice before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no leſſe deſperat fury than at the firſt, and the Turks hardly charged. In this dangerous aſſault *Halis* of Maliga, a renegat Spaniard, but a moſt expert ſouldier, turning himſelfe to *Barbaruſſa*, ſaid,

Muleaſſes returned into the city.

If thou wilt ſaue thine honour, and hold this fort, we muſt ſally out vpon this enemy; which hauing neuer ſeene a ſet battell, but only acquainted with light skirmiſhes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand but ſhall in a moment know the price of their fooliſh hardineſſe; who as braine-ſicke men could neither indure the gouernment of their cruell King, ne yet thankefully receiue the authors of their deliuerance and liberty.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the chiefeſt captaines, A taines, *Barbaruſſa* commanded *Halis* the author of that counſell, with certaine other captaines and their companions, at one inſtant to ſally out at two ports of the caſtle: which they ſo reſolutely performed, that in ſhort time a wonderfull number of the naked Moores lay dead vpon the ground.

Abdahar the Meſuar himſelfe, was there ſhot thorow with a bullet and ſlaine: whereupon the aſſault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retiring by companies backe into the city, and the Turks ſtill purſuing them: where in the ſtreets for certaine houres, was fought a moſt cruell and bloudy battell. At laſt the citizens ouercome, forſooke the open ſtreets, and betooke them to the refuge of their houſes; not ſo carefull of their king, as of themſelues, their wiues, and children. And *Halis* with the reſt, wearied with the ſlaughter of his enemies, and ouercome B with labour, heat, and thirſt, returned with victory vnto the caſtle. It is reported that there was aboue three thouſand of the citizens ſlaine that day, and thrice as many hurt. *Muleaſſes* thus diſcouraged, & vtterly deſpairing to recouer the city, hardly eſcaped his enemies hands, by the good helpe of his vncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuer Bagrada, and came in ſafety to Conſtantina (called of old time Cyrtha) the antient ſeat of the Numidian Kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was honourably maintained and protected vntill the comming of *Charles* the Emperour into Affricke. The night enſuing this battell, and the flight of their King, was reſtleſſe both to the citiſens and the Turks, each of them for feare of other ſtanding vpon their ſtrongeſt guard.

The citiſens of Tunes diſcomfited by the Turks.

Muleaſſes flieth

The next day, the citizens diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo many of their kinſemen and C friends, and hauing no King now for whom they ſhould fight, craued pardon of *Barbaruſſa* for their raſh attempt, excuſing it by the name of loyalty to their antient Kings; offering to ſubmit themſelues vnto him with all faithfulneſſe. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his ſouldiers three daies, for lacke of victuall: ſo that all his hope and victory gotten, might eaſily be ouerthrowne and brought to nought, if the citiſens moued either with deſperation or deſire of reuenge, ſhould ioyne with the other Numidian Princes, and beſiege him in the caſtle. Whereupon a generall peace was granted, and by ſolemne oath on both ſides confirmed, whereby the citiſens expreſly bound themſelues to the obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbaruſſa* as his lieutenant. All things thus ſet in order in the city of Tunes, and new magiſtrates and officers by him made, he laboured by D all means to win vnto him the Numidian Princes: which when he had eaſily brought to paſſe by gifts and rewards with thoſe needy Princes, of themſelues prone enough vpon light occaſions to make or break the bonds of friendſhip, he ſent *Aſan-aga* an eunuch, and *Halis* the Spaniard, with the Ianizaries, and certaine pieces of great ordnance, to take in the other cities of the kingdome of Tunes: which they in ſhort time performed, being in all places peaceably receiued, only the city of Caruenna held out a while, yet afterwards for feare of further harme receiued the Turks garriſon. But to leaue *Barbaruſſa* King of Algiers and *Solymans* great Admirall, thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Tunes; and *Muleaſſes* in exile at Conſtantina, vntill he be again reſtored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the Emperor, as ſhall be hereafter declared: let vs againe returne to the wars at the ſelfe ſame time vndertaken by *Solyman* in perſon E himſelfe in Perſia, perſuaded thereunto (as we haue before ſaid) by *Abraham* the great Baſſa. Of whom a few words, that they which ſhall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, ſee in what ſlippery place they ſtand, and what ſmall aſſurance they haue, which forſaking God, run headlong after theſe worldly vanities; and ſwelling with the fauours of great Princes, are in a moment when they leaſt feare any ſuch fall, ſuddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miſerable ſpectacles of of mans fragility, in the height of their ſuppoſed bliſſe.

The citiſens of Tunes yeeld themſelues to Barbaruſſa.

This great Baſſa called of the Turks *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore country village neere vnto Perga, a towne in that part of Epirus which was called Buthrotia: who in his childhood was taken from his Chriſtian parents, by ſuch as by authority did take vp the tribute children of the Chriſtians for the Turkiſh Emperour. A tribute of all tributes moſt F grieuous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, actiue of body, wel ſpoken, pleaſantly conceited, and ſharpe of wit; ſo that he in ſhorter time than was thought poſſible, to the admiration of many, learned both to ſpeake and write the Arabian tongue, and other languages vſed in the Turks court, and could ſkilfully play vpon ſundry kindes of inſtruments. And being yet a boy, ſerued *Scanderbaſſa*, a man of great authority and power, in the time of

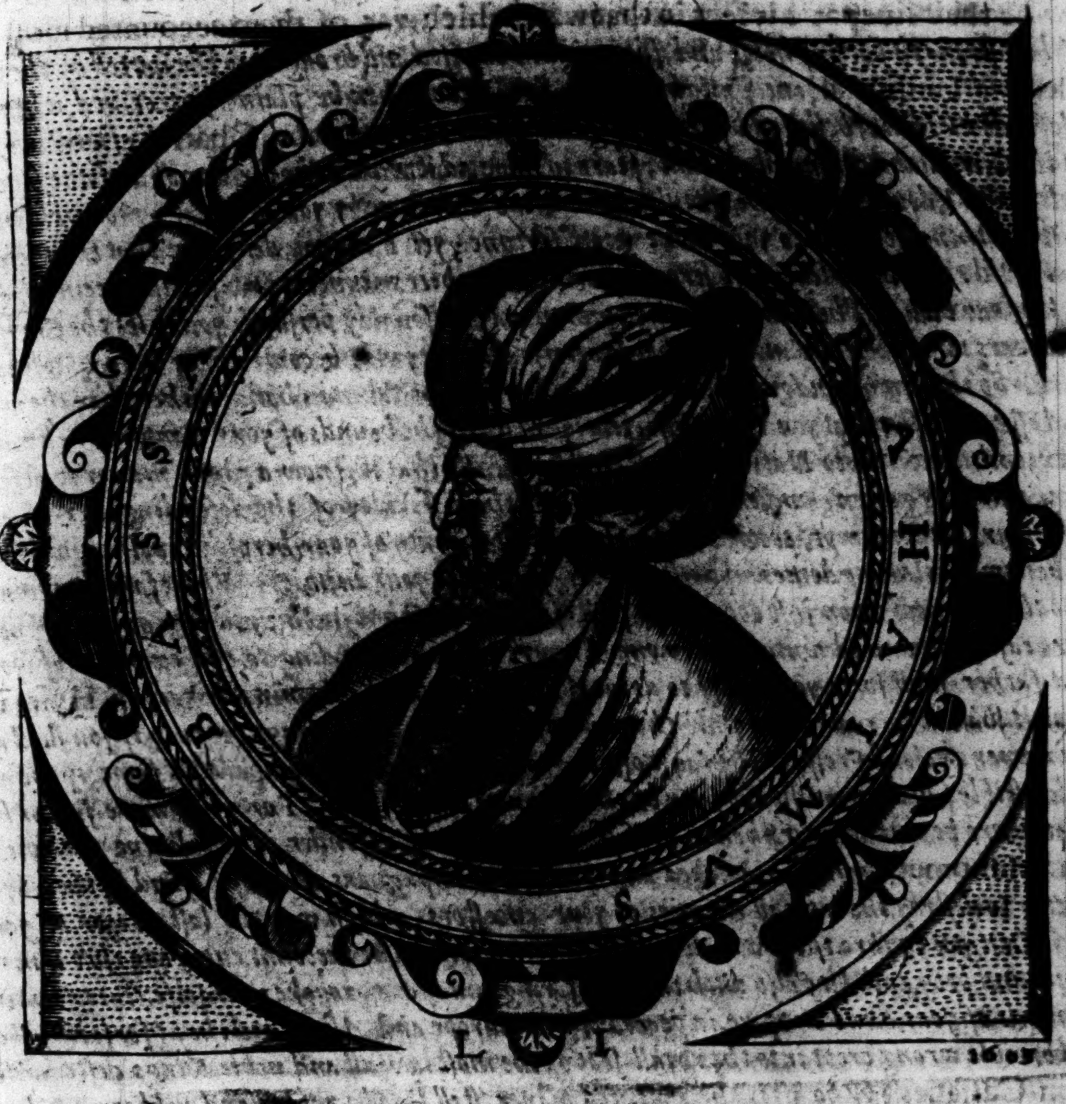
The deſcription of Abraham the Baſſa.

Selymus

His bringing vp in the Court.

His great credit with Solyman.

Selymus the Emperor, in whoſe ſeruice he was inſtructed in the Mahometan religion: but gi- G uing himſelfe to all manner of curioſity and neatneſſe, he was wonderfully fauoured by the great Lady his miſtreſſe, and by her commended to her husband *Scanderbaſſa*, as a fit page to temper his melancholy and wayward diſpoſition, with his pleaſant conceits and deuices: wherein the Tetricall Baſſa finding him to excell, gaue him as a rare gift to *Solyman* the ſon of *Selymus*, his grandfather *Bajazet* yet liuing: who tooke in him ſuch pleaſure, that the old Emperour cauſed him to be brought vp in the Court, in all Princely qualities with *Solyman* (who was of like yeares vnto him) as his companion and playfellow. Where he ſo framed himſelfe vnto the young Princes diſpoſition in all points, that he was of him alwaies exceedingly beloued, and afterwards promoted to all the honours of the court, and made one of the Baſſaes, giuing vnto him in marriage the only daughter and heire of *Scanderbaſſa* his maſter, then dead, H with an exceeding great dowry. And after that made him Gouernor of Caire: where he had not long remained, but he was againe ſent for to the Court, as the man which gaue thereunto life, without whoſe company *Solyman* was as one halfe dead. At length he made him Viſier, which is the chiefe of all the Baſſaes, and Preſident of his Councell, the greateſt honour in the Turkiſh Empire next vnto the Emperor himſelfe. And to honour him yet more, he deliuered him his priuat ſignet, wherewith the Turkiſh Emperours neuer vſed to truſt any but themſelues: he might at his pleaſure grace and diſgrace whom he would, in Court or elſewhere. What he commanded was done, and whatſoeuer he did was taken for well done. He might without the Emperours knowledge giue any office, yea, the gouernment of whole Countries and Prouinces vnto his fauorits: his credit with the Emperor was ſo great, that he did what he I liſt, and no man durſt preſume to aske any reaſon why. And to ſay all at once, he wanted nothing of the majeſty of an Emperor, but the name only; in ſtead whereof, he was commonly called, The Great Commander of all the Emperors forces. His houſe in Conſtantinople was of all other moſt ſtately, wherein was daily to be ſeene ſuch a multitude of his gallant followers, and ſuch a World of wealth and royall furniture, as that it might worthily be compared with the palace of a great Prince. Neither was he partakers of *Solymans* counſels in his weighty matters of ſtate onely, but of his ſecret delights and pleaſures alſo: if he were preſent, all was well; if he were away, nothing pleaſed: to be ſhort, he ſo poſſeſſed this great Emperor, that men commonly ſaid, The ſoule of *Solyman* liued in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great men of the court ſecretly repined; but eſpecially *Solymans* mother, and *Roxolana* his faire Con- K cubine whom of all women hee held deereſt. His liuely and majeſticall countenance thou maiſt here behold.



Magnus es & Getici gratia prona tyranni
Seruit at ex alto magna ruina venit:
Te proceres odere, parenſque & regia conjux
Horum ne pereas proditione caue.

Right great thou art, and do'ſt command the fauour of thy King:
But ſuch great fauours oftentimes a greater fall doth bring.
The great Kings mother, wiſe, and all the Nobles hate thee ſore:
Beware that by their wyly drifts thou periſh not thereſore.

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to make warre vpon the Perſians,

This great commander, which might at all times be bold to ſpeake what he thought, vnto *Solyman*, ſought many times in his priuat diſcourſes betwixt them two, to perſuade him to forbeare to vſe his forces any further againſt the Chriſtians, ouer whom he had ſufficiently already triumphed; and to turne them vpon the Perſians, by whom he was daily injured. Alledging to him, that the Germans were a ſtrong and warlike people; who as they both in language and manners differed from the Hungarians, ſo were they alwaies at variance with them, and F thereſore much cared not though they were by him ſubdued: but if he ſhould begin to inuade any part of their country, he ſhould then ſoon ſee that inuincible nation with their vnited forces vp in armes, ready to make ſtrong reſiſtance. And to prouoke *Charles* the Emperor (of all the Chriſtian Princes the mightieſt) were not good, who of himſelf was able to bring into the field moſt puiſſant armies of valiant ſouldiers out of his owne dominions: beſides the wonderfull concourſe of moſt reſolute men out of all parts of Chriſtendome, which would not ſpare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that war; which was of them accounted moſt religious. *Yea what ſtrength both of horſe and foot might be raiſed and brought to the battell by the two brethren* Charles *and* Ferdinand, *onely might* (as he ſaid) *euen then be plainely perceiued, when as they valiantly defended Vienna, beſieged by vs with great power. Neither did* Charles *afterward, as it ſeemed, and as the Chriſtians commonly vaunt, feare to haue aduentured the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not but he ſhould haue beene ouercome by you ſo great a monarch with ſo puiſſant an army, a thing peculiar to your owne good fortune; yet I cannot deny, but that the victory againſt ſuch expert and reſolute ſouldiers, ſo ſtrongly armed as their manner is, muſt haue beene bought with a great deale of our bloud. Theſe things in my opinion may reaſonably perſuade you to let the Chriſtians alone, by ciuile wars to weaken one another, that ſo afterwards they may become a prey vnto vs without any danger of ours. So that in my judgement the Perſian war is to be taken in hand, rather than the wars in Germany, and eſpecially for that you haue ſufficiently enlarged the bounds of your Empire Weſtward, which you haue extended euen vnto Nations very far diſtant. So that it is now a great matter to defend ſo much as you haue already gotten; and therefore partly for the difficulty of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinite bounty of your heroicall inclination, haue thought good to beſtow whole kingdomes vpon ſtrangers, yea, halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious ſhould it be now vpon juſt occaſion to ſeeke for that which joyneth vnto your owne confines; and may therefore eaſily be vnited vnto your owne Empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father ſhall force your ſelfe to driue that accurſed and abhominable race of* Hyſmael *out of Aſia. For it ſhall be a great glory vnto the name of the* Othoman *Kings for euer, if you ſhall after your wonted manner zealouſly reſpect the cauſe of religion: a worke of incomparable fame, if the authors of a moſt deteſtible ſuperſtition ſhall by you be chaſed quite out of Aſia. For what more juſt or honourable cauſe can there be to make war, than to profeſſe your ſelfe the defender of the diuine precepts of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *againſt the wicked and irreligious impugners thereof? And by the way to reuenge and vtterly to deſtroy the capitall enemies of your anceſtors; which was the laſt prayer of your father* Selymus. *Can you endure them which rule ſo inſolently, that they account euery one that is neere them their enemies and prey, and dare alſo with their pilfering inuaſions prouoke your ſelfe, liuing contented within the bounds of your owne Empire, in peace both in Europe and Aſia? and they (forſooth) ſuch as haue by moſt horrible wrong crept into the royall ſeat of the moſt lawfull and noble Kings deſcended of the bloud of* Vſun-Caſſanes? *Who after their wonted maner ſtill liue by rapine and robbery? Beleeue me, Noble Emperour, if you ſhall vpon a zeale to your religion, with your victorious hand take away this ſtaine and plague of Aſia, there ſhall vndoubtedly be erected vnto you ſo glorious and magnificent a trophy in the middeſt of Perſia, as may be compared, yea, preferred before the Triumphs of your victorious father* Selymus. *For it is not ſo much to haue deſtroied the Mamalukes (by condition ſlaues) and the proud Sultans of Ægypt and Syria, as to haue ſubdued the Perſians, famous in antient time for their martiall proweſſe, who ſo oftentimes vanquiſhed by* Alexander *of Macedon, gaue vnto him the name of Great. Solyman* prickt forward with many ſuch diſcourſes, daily ſounded in his eares by the Baſſa, began to yeeld to his perſuaſion. Whereof *Abraham* himſelfe greatly rejoyced: for it was thought by many, that hee did neuer in heart renounce the Chriſtian religion, but was onely in outward ſhew a Turke, and in heart a Chriſtian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he maruellouſly fauoured and protected the Chriſtian Merchants, furthered by all meanes the leagues of the Chriſtian Princes with *Solyman*, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Perſians. And the more to whet him forward, the Baſſa had cunningly inſinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulearbe* of Damaſco, a man in that time famous in Conſtantinople, for the opinion the people had generally conceiued of his holineſſe and profound knowledge in the ſecret cauſes of things, and the art of Magicke; vſing him as a Prophet to fill the ambitious minde of *Solyman*, with aſſured hope of proſperous ſucceſſe: which thing the hypocriticall wiſard, after the manner of ſuch deceiuers, ſlily performed, propheſying vnto him all happineſſe in ſo religious a war, and ſo much (as he ſaid) pleaſing God. This the Baſſaes purpoſe was much furthered alſo by *Vlemus* a noble and valiant Perſian, who hauing married the great Perſian King *Tamas* his ſiſter, was reuolted from him to *Solyman*, fearing to be called to account for the extortion wherewith he had grieuouſly

A oppreſſed the countries whereof he had the gouernment; and being wonderfully countenanced
in *Solymans* court by the great Baſſa, did after the maner of diſloyall fugitiues perſuade
Solyman by all means he could to take that war in hand, diſcouering vnto him the power, ſtate,
and ſtrength of the Perſian kingdom (which he could wel do) and plotting vnto him the eaſieſt
way for the conquering therof; offering alſo vnto him the vttermoſt of his deuoir. So *Solyman*
filled with the vain hope of the conqueſt of Perſia, yeelded fully vnto the perſuaſions
of the great Baſſa, and gaue out his commiſſions into all parts of his empire, for the raiſing of
a mighty army for the performance of ſo great an enterpriſe; commanding all his captaines
and men of War to be ready at the City of Nice in Bithynia, at a certaine day appointed.
Which his purpoſe, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and the fair *Roxolana*
B his beſt beloued, as that which altogether proceeded from the Baſſa (the one alledging, with
what euil ſucces his grandfather and father before him had attempted that ſame Warre; the
other aſſailing him with her paſſionat affections: but both of them indeed repining at the honor
of the Baſſa, and in their hearts diſdaining, that ſo great a monarch ſhould at the pleaſure
of his ſeruant be led vp and down the world ſo far from their company. For which cauſe they
did what in them lay to haue ouerthrown the purpoſe of *Abraham*, and to haue altered *Solymans*
former determination) yet ſo ſtrong was the Baſſa's credit with his great Lord & Maſter,
that all theſe great ladies deuices and prayers were as womens affectionate paſſions rejected,
and the Baſſa's counſell (to their no ſmall griefe) in all things regarded.

Solyman reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians.

Abrahams credit maligned by Solymans mother and Roxolana.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readines, *Solyman* ſent *Abraham* the Baſſa,
C and *Vlemas* the Perſian before him into Syria with a ſtrong army, to be ready with the firſt
of the Spring to inuade the Perſian King. Which thing the Baſſa gladly took vpon him, and
comming into Syria, wintred with his army at Aleppo: whither *Barbaruſſa* came vnto him for
his letters of credence to *Solyman*, as is before declared. The Spring now approching, *Abraham*
ſent *Vlemas* the fugitiue Perſian Prince before him with the light horſmen, the fore-runners
of his army, into Meſopotamia as his guid, becauſe the country was to him beſt known;
following not far after himſelf with his Army. And marching ſtill forward in that manner,
came at length without reſiſtance vnto the famous city of Tauris in Armenia the greater, called
in antient time Ecbathana, as is probably by ſome conjectured; a great and rich City, but
vnwalled, and of no ſtrength: where the Perſian Kings for the pleaſantneſſe of the place and
D freſhnes of the air vſed commonly to be reſiant in the heat of the year. From whence *Tamas*
the Perſian King was as then abſent, buſied in wars againſt *Kezien-Baſſa* a Prince of the Coraſine
Hyrcanians. So that the Citiſens of Tauris deſtitute of all helpe, yeelded themſelues
and the City vnto the Baſſa at his firſt comming. *Tamas* the Perſian King vnderſtanding what
had hapned at Tauris, drew neer with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turks at
ſome aduantage, and ſo by policy to haue defeated his enemies, whom he was too weake to
meet with in plain battel. Which thing the wary Baſſa well perceiuing, for more aſſurance,
by ſpeedy Currours aduertiſed *Solyman* of the taking of Tauris, and of the enemies purpoſe;
requeſting him with all ſpeed to repair with his army to Tauris. *Solyman* was then come far
on his way with a very great Army, not by the way of Ancyra, Sebaſtia, Amaſia, the borders
E of Trapezond, and ſo ouer Euphrates at Arſenga, into Armenia, as his father *Selymus* had
done before him, becauſe that way was thought longer and more troubleſome: but quite another
way, on the right hand from Nyce in Bithynia, to Iconium, and by Cæſaria to Malathia,
where is the notable paſſage ouer the riuer Euphrates, burſting out by the vallies of the
mountaine Antitaurus, from whence the plaines of Meſopotamia (then part of the Perſian
Kingdome, begin to open themſelues: through which countrey *Solyman* marched peaceably
with his army, paying the poore countrey people for whatſoeuer he tooke; and ſo in foure
and fiftie dayes march, came from Nice in Bithynia, to the city of Coim in Armenia the
greater, which is ſuppoſed to be built in the ruines of the famous and antient city Artaxata.
But hearing ſuch newes as is aforeſaid from the Baſſa, he doubled his march, and ſo in ſhort
F time after came and ioyned his forces with the Baſſa at Tauris. *Tamas* (who yet dayly expected
the comming of the Georgian light horſmen) vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was comming
againſt him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of ſo puiſſant
an enemy, but with delay to weary him out, that drew ſuch a multitude of people after him;
and by taking him at all aduantages, to cut off his people, ſpent with long trauell, wanting

Abraham Baſſa ſent before with an army into Syria.

The city of Tauris yeelded vnto the Baſſa.

Solyman commeth to Tauris.

Solyman followeth Tamas the Perſian King into Sultania.

victuall, and falling into diuers diſeaſes; as it commonly chanceth to populous armies in G
ſtrange countries, where the change of the aire, with the ineuitable neceſſity alwaies attending
vpon a great army, moſt times cauſeth grieuous and contagious diſeaſes. Wherefore
Tamas to ſhun the comming of *Solyman*, retyred further off into Sultania, about ſix daies journy
from Tauris. Whereof *Solyman* hauing knowledge, departed from that rich City without
doing any harme therein; following after *Tamas* into Sultania, to joyne battell with him if he
could poſſible: leauing behind him for haſt, a great part of his carriages and baggage, with
fiue hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzacks with their companies. The city of Sultania
was in antient time one of the royall ſeats of the Perſian Kings, but ruinated by the Scythian
Tamerlane, retained no ſhew of the antient majeſty, but only in the churches by him ſpared.
Neere vnto this city *Solyman* lay incamped many daies, expecting that the Perſian King (in H
reuenge of the injuries to him done, and for the ſafegard of his honour) ſhould at length come
out of the mountaines, and ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, and giue him battell. Which was a
thing ſo far from *Tamas* his reſolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne ſtrength with his
enemies, that he retired in ſuch ſort, that *Solyman* could by no means learne what was become
of him, or which way to follow him.

Solymans army diſtreſſed with tempeſt.

The country neere vnto the city of Sultania, wherein *Solyman* lay incamped at large, is on
euery ſide inuironed with hugy mountains, whoſe tops are to be ſeene a far off, alwaies couered
with deepe ſnow: theſe mountaines were in antient time called Nyphates, Caſpius, Coathras,
and Zagrus, taking their beginning no doubt from Caucaſus the father of mountaines;
and joyning one to another, ſome one way, ſome another, do diuide moſt large and wide countries. I
Whileſt *Solyman* in thoſe vaſt and plaine fields moſt fit to fight a battell in, expected
the comming of *Tamas*, ſuch a horrible and cruell tempeſt (as the like whereof the Perſians
had neuer before ſeene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from thoſe mountains (which was
ſo much the more ſtrange, for that it fell in the begining of September) with ſuch abundance
of raine, which froſe ſo eagerly as it fell, that it ſeemed the depth of Winter had euen then of
a ſudden been come in: for ſuch was the rage of the bluſtring winds, ſtriuing with themſelues
as if it had bin for victory, that they ſwept the ſnow from off the tops of thoſe high mountains,
and caſt io into the plaines in ſuch abundance, that the Turks lay as men buried aliue in
the deep ſnow, moſt part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe to the ground
with the violence of the tempeſt, and weight of the ſnow; wherein a wonderfull number of K
ſicke ſouldiers and others of the baſer ſort which followed the campe, periſhed; and many
others were ſore benummed, ſome their hands, ſome their feet, that they loſt the vſe of them
for euer: moſt part of their beaſts which they vſed for carriage, but eſpecially their camels,
were frozen to death. Yea, *Solyman* himſelfe was in great danger to haue beene ouerwhelmed
in his Tent, all the Tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of the tempeſt.
Neither was there any remedy to be found for ſo great miſchiefes, by reaſon of the helliſh
darkeneſſe of that tempeſtuous night, moſt of their fires being put out by the extremity
of the ſtorme: which did not a little terrifie the ſuperſtitious Turks, as a thing accounted of
them ominous. And that which troubled them no leſſe than the miſeries of the tempeſt, was
the feare of the enemy, whoſe ſudden comming they deadly feared: vntill that after ſo tedious L
a night the ſun breaking out the next morning, with his cheerefull beams reuiued many,
before ready to giue vp the ghoſt for cold, and gaue comfort vnto them all in generall, by diſcouering
the open fields cleere of their feared enemies. It was a dreadfull thing to haue ſeene
what miſery that one night had brought into the Turks camp: the ground lay almoſt couered
with bodies of the dead; and many liued but ſo, as that they accounted the dead more happy
than themſelues. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible tempeſt was brought vpon
them by the charmes and inchantments of the Perſian Magicians: whereas it was vndoubtedly
by the hand of him who bringeth the proud deuices of Princes to nought.

Solyman troubled as well with the ſtrangeneſſe of the accident, as the loſſe he had receiued, M
after he had a little refreſhed his diſcouraged ſouldiers, roſe with his army, and tooke
his way on the left hand into Aſſyria: *Vlemas* the Perſian perſuading him thereunto for many
cauſes, but eſpecially by putting him in hope of the taking of Babylon; for that *Mahometes*
a friend of his was Gouernour thereof. But he when the matter came to prooſe, was not to be
woon either by promiſe or reward, to betray the City. Wherefore *Solyman* reſolued to take

A it by force: neither did his fortune fail him therin: for as ſoone as *Mahometes* vnderſtood that *Vlemas* was at hand with the fore-runners of the Turkes army, and that *Solyman* with all his power was comming after, (who as he thought would neuer haue come ſo far) hee not prouided to withſtand ſo mighty an enemy, and not beloued of the Citiſens, fled out of the City. *Solyman* comming, in ſhort time after was receiued without reſiſtance. The City of Babylon, commonly called Bagdat, riſe out of the ruins of the old city of Babylon, ſo much ſpoken of in holy Writ: from whence it is not far diſtant, ſtanding vpon the riuer of Tygris, which not far beneath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous city is the ſeat of the great Calyph, the chief Mahometan Prieſt, whom all the Mahometan Princes haue in great reuerence, and hath an old prerogatiue in the choice and confirmation of the Kings of Aſſyria B and the Sultans of Egypt: of which Calyph *Solyman* according to the old ſuperſtitious maner, receiued at his hands the Enſignes and Ornaments of the Aſſyrian Kings, and with great bounty won the hearts of the people, and therupon reſolued to ſpend that Winter there, billiting his army in diuers places of that fertil country. The other cities of Aſſyria and Meſopotamia alſo, namely Caraemida, Meredinum, Orſa, and Aſanceſa, hearing that *Solyman* had without reſiſtance taken Babylon, yeelded themſelues and receiued his Garriſons. Yea the fame therof was ſo great, that Embaſſadors came to him as far as Ormus (a city in the mouth of Euphrates where it falleth into the Perſian gulf, famous for the great traffique out of India thither) ſuing vnto him for peace. Thus the antient city of Babylon, with the great countries of Aſſyria and Meſopotamia, ſomtimes famous kingdoms of themſelues, and lately part of C the Perſian kingdom, fel into the hands of the Turks, and became prouinces vnto the Turkiſh Empire in the yeare 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had ſpent that Winter in great joy and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkiſh gouernment, placed a great Commaunder (which they by a proud name call the Beglerbeg, which is as much as to ſay, Lord of Lords) and vnder him diuers others for the gouernment of theſe Countries by parts, which they call Sanzacks, who are euer at the command of the Beglerbeg. Whilſt he thus wintred at Babylon, he cauſed *Aſhender Zelibi* (which is to ſay, *Alexander* the Noble) his great Treaſurer for the Wars, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his office; and confiſcated all his goods.

Babylon, with the Countries of Aſſyria and Meſopotamia yeelded to Solyman.

Tamas hearing that *Solyman* was come to Babylon, returned to Tauris: Of whoſe ſpeedy D comming the Ianizaries and other captains there left by *Solyman* vnderſtanding, fled in haſte out of the City, leauing all ſuch things as were committed to their cuſtody, for a prey to the Perſian ſoldiers.

Tamas comes to Tauris.

1535.

Solymans army being mightily increaſed by the comming of the great Baſſa of Caire vnto him, with the Sanzacks of Alexandria, Iudæa, Syria, and Comagena; by the perſuaſion of *Abraham* and *Vlemas*, the Spring now wel come on, departed from Babylon again toward Tauris, with purpoſe either to draw *Tamas* to battel, or els to his eternal infamy, to ſacke that his Regal city before his face. But *Tamas* aduertiſed of his comming, and knowing himſelfe too weake to giue him battel, forſook the City, and fled into the mountains of Hyrcania, deſtroying all the Country before him as he went, and carrying away the inhabitants, leauing no-E thing to relieue the Turks ſouldiers, if they ſhould purſue him. *Solyman* vnderſtanding that *Tamas* was again fled, ſent *Vlemas* with all the choice horſmen of his Army to ouertake him if it were poſſible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three dayes journy, and ſtill found the Country deſolate as he went, yeelding neither forrage for his horſes, nor relief for his men, and ſaw no hope to ouertake the King; he began as a prouident Generall to forecaſt the extremities like to befall in his return thorow thoſe deſolat Countries with the Enemy at his heels; and therupon in time retyred backe again to *Solyman*, declaring vnto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the Perſian King was not to be drawn to battell, marched forthwith to Tauris, entering it without reſiſtance, the Citiſens ſubmitting themſelues vnto him: whoſe liues ſpared, he gaue that rich city as a prey vnto his F ſoldiers, who left neither houſe nor corner therof vnranſacked, abuſing the poor citiſens with all maner of inſolencie; euery common ſouldier without controlment fitting himſelfe with whatſoeuer beſt pleaſed his greedy deſire or filthy luſt. *Tamas* had in this city a moſt ſtately and royal palace; ſo had alſo moſt part of the nobility their ſumptuous & rich houſes, which by the commandment of *Solyman* were all raſed down to the ground, and the greateſt part of

Tamas hearing of Solyman his comming vnto Tauris, flieth into Hyrcania.

Solyman ranſacks Tauris.

the beſt citiſens and beautiful perſonages of all ſorts and conditions, at his departure thence carried away captiues. *Solyman* contenting himſelf to haue don the the Perſian King this diſgrace, in ſpoiling this his rich and royal City, returned againe toward Meſopotamia, deſtroying all the countries as he went, killing the very beaſts and cattell, therby the more to impoueriſh the Perſians, wiſhing to leaue nothing to them but penury and miſerie. He was ſcarce paſt Coim and the Calderan fields (famous for his fathers victory againſt *Hyſmael*) but that certain troups of Perſian horſemen were in the tail of his Army, and had taken away ſome of his baggage, and ſlain diuers of the ſick and ſtragling ſouldiers, and with their often skirmiſhes did not a little trouble his whole army. Beſides that, it was noiſed thorow all his camp, That *Tamas* himſelf was comming after him with a greater power of horſemen, taken vp in Iberia, Albania, Parthia, Media, and Armenia, and would be at their backes before they could get out of Armenia. For which cauſe he appointed the two great Baſſa's of Cair and Syria (for ſo they were called) and *Vlemas* the Perſian, with 18000 good ſouldiers to follow him in the rereward of his Army, to receiue and repreſſe the ſudden aſſaults of the Perſians, if need ſhould require: and ſo ſtil kept on his march vntil he was come to Amida, now called Caraemida, an antient city of Meſopotamia. In the mean time *Tamas* the Perſian King was returned to Tauris with a mighty Army, in hope there ſuddenly to haue ſurpriſed his enemy, ſurcharged with the pleaſures of ſo rich a city: but finding him gon, and beholding the miſerable deſolation and ſpoil he had made in the city; mooued with indignation, hee reſolued to purſue him whitherſoeuer he was gon, and was now on his way as far as Coim. Where vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gon ſo far before that he was hardly to bee ouertaken, and finding the noble gentlemen in his army vnwilling in their heauy armor to vndertake ſuch a purſuit, as could not be performed without the wonderful toil of themſelues, and moſt aſſured loſſe of their goodly horſes; alledging, that they were prouided to fight a battel, and not to trauel ſo long a journy (all which *Tamas* now that his choler was ouer, knew to ſtand with good reaſon) he changed his former determination, thinking it beſt there to ſtay, and not to follow the purſuit of his enemies any further: vntil that *Delimenthes* one of his noblemen (alwaies more forward than the reſt) offered with fiue thouſand choſen horſemen to ouertake ſome part of the Turks army, and to do on them ſome good ſeruice. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commending him greatly for the ſame, promiſing him moſt honorable reward, and ſo in haſt ſent him away.

Delimenthes with 5000 Perſians purſues the Turks.

He forthwith taking the wel known and neereſt way, vſed ſuch expedition, that hee was in hope to ouertake the rereward of the Turks Army (marching not far now before him) about the foot of the mountain Taurus, as indeed it fel out at a place called Bethlis. This Bethlis is a famous town in the confines of the Perſian kingdome where it bordereth vpon Meſopotamia, ſtanding in a pleaſant vally, by which runneth a little riuer falling out of the mountaine Antitaurus; and had a caſtle kept with a garriſon of Perſians. In this vally the two Baſſa's of Cair and Syria (conducted by *Vlemas*) thinking they had now bin paſt all danger of the enemies purſuit, ſtaid with the rereward of the army to refreſh their wearied ſouldiers; vpon certain knowledge that *Solyman* with the reſt of his Army was already come in ſafety to Amida in Meſopotamia. And therfore lay as men ſecure, without any ſuſpition of the comming of the Perſians, whom they had not ſo much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenthes* vſing moſt faithfull and diligent eſpials of that country people, by that time hee was come within one daies journy of Bethlis, vnderſtood certainly where the Turks lay, weary of their long trauell, as men without fear, keeping little or no watch in their camp. Wherupon he determined in the dead time of the night following to aſſail them in their Campe; and by ſecret meſſengers gaue knowledge both of his comming, and of this his purpoſe, to the Captain of the caſtle of Bethlis; requeſting him at an appointed houre vpon ſigne giuen, readily to ſally out with his garriſon vpon that ſide of the Turks Camp which was towards the Caſtle. Which his venturous deſignement was ſo furthered both by the darkenes of the night, and the aboundance of rain which fell at the ſame time, as if it had been wiſhed for, that hee was got with all his reſolute followers within the Turks Campe, before they were aware of his comming. Where the inraged Perſian ſouldiers, as Wolues amongſt Sheepe, did ſuch ſpeedy execution amongſt the ſleepy Turkes, that the two great Baſſa's, with *Vlemas*, had much ado to get to horſe and ſaue themſelues by flight. And ſuch was the fury of the Perſians

Delimenthes aſſaileth the Turks camp by night, and maketh a great ſlaughter.

A ſians,and the greatnes of the ſudden fear increaſed by the darknes of the night,that the Turks
not knowing which way to turn themſelues,or what to do,were ſlain by thouſands,ſome ſleeping,
ſome half waking, ſome making themſelues ready to fight,and ſome to fly : few of all
that great army eſcaped the ſword of the Perſians. Of the fiue great Sanzacks that were in the
army,three were ſlain,and one taken. Eight hundred Ianizaries ſeeing themſelues forſaken of
their chieftains,laid down their harquebuſes and other weapons,and yeelded themſelues vpon
Delimenthes his word. The fierce mountain people alſo, who formerly had ſuffered great
iniuries of the Turks,after the death of *Aladeules* their King, had now ioyned themſelues to
the Perſians,and notably reuenged their wrongs:to whoſe ſhare all the baggage of the Turks
camp fel for a prey. It might then wel haue bin ſaid of the Turks,which the Poet ſpeaketh of
B the night wherin Troy was ſackt :

Quis cladem illius noctis qui funera fando
explicet? ——

That nights ſlaughter was ſo great, that it is of the Turks vntill this day accounted amongſt
their greateſt loſſes:and the victory ſo welcome to the Perſians,that in memorial therof they
kept that day(being the thirteenth of October)as one of their ſolemne holy-daies for many
years after. *Delimenthes* returning all bloudy with the ſlaughter of the Turks, and loded with
their ſpoils,was of *Tamas* ioyfully receiued,and honorably rewarded.

Solyman diſcouraged.

This ouerthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Baſſa's and *Vlemas*, as men that had
hardly eſcaped the ſhipwracke,ſo daunted his proud conceits, that he reſolued in himſelfe to
C return home,and no further to proſecute that vnfortunat war; the euill euent wherof his mother
(as he ſaid)had more truly preſaged than had the cold Prophet *Malearbe*: but ſecretly in
mind diſpleaſed with *Abraham* the great Baſſa; by whoſe perſuaſion hee had taken in hand
that dangerous expedition. By the way as he went he was met at Iconium by *Barbaruſſa* & *Sinan
Baſſa*, ſyrnamed the Iew, a man for his ſkil at ſea in reputation next to *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe
two great perſonages,lately come from Algiers to Conſtantinople with the remainder of his
fleet, met him ſo far by land, to ſhow their ioyfulnes for the conqueſt he had made of Meſopotamia
and Aſſyria: & to excuſe them for the loſſe of the kingdom of Tunes,which won by
Barbaruſſa in the beginning of the Perſian war, was before the end therof again wrung out of
his hands by *Charles* the emperor,and reſtored to *Muleaſſes*,as ſhal be herafter declared. They
D with great humility declared vnto him the whole proces of that War,and with what ſucceſſe
they had indured the force of *Charles* the Emperor himſelf in perſon; ſhewing him plainely,
that there wanted neither valor in the ſoldiers, nor direction in them the Commanders, but
only fortune, which as it mightily reigneth in all mens actions, ſo eſpecially in matters of
war. *Solyman* gratiouſly accepted of their excuſe,and curteouſly took them vp proſtrat at his
feet,commending them for their valor in their euil haps, in a plot ſo well by them laid, more
than he did the victory of others,got by good fortune, not grounded vpon any good reaſon:
willing them to be of good cheer,ſaying that he would in ſhort time find occaſion for them
to recompence that diſgrace,and again to ſhew their approued valor. After long trauell hee
came to the ſtreit of Boſphorus,where *Abraham* the Baſſa going before him, had in token of
E triumph cauſed the ſhore all along the place where he ſhould go aboord the gally prouided
for his tranſportation,to be couered with Perſian ſilk for him to tread vpon:from whence hee
paſſed with much triumph ouer to his palace at Conſtantinople.

Abraham the great Baſſa in diſgrace with Solyman.

Enuy,the fatal and cruel companion of Princes immoderat fauours, had with her prying
eies ſuddenly diſcouered in court *Solymans* changed countenance vpon the great Baſſa, & began
to ſhew her ghaſtly face. They which before were moſt ready to do him all honour poſſible,
yea and to haue laid their hands vnder his feet,ſought now by all ſecret means to work his
diſgrace and confuſion. But of all others,the two great ladies, *Solymans* mother and the faire
Roxolana,ceaſed not by daily complaints to inſence *Solyman* againſt him: the mother,for that
he had by his perſuaſions,contrary to her mind and her ſuperſtitious obſeruations, drawn her
F ſon into the dangers of the Perſian war. And *Roxolana*,for that he moſt honoured and ſought
the preferment of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſon by another woman:wheras ſhe aboue al things
laboured by all ſubtill means to prefer *BajaZet* her own ſon vnto the empire after the death of
Solyman his father. Which her deſignement ſhe perceiued to be much croſſed by the great
credit which the Baſſa had with her *Solyman*; and therfore did what ſhe might both to bring

him out of ſauor, and to work his deſtruction. But that which moſt impaired his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raiſed of him by his enemies, that he being in heart a Chriſtian, did in all things fauor the Chriſtians (a thing moſt odious among the Turks, and had for that cauſe craftily perſuaded *Solyman* to take in hand the vnfortunat Perſian war. And that which moſt increaſed the ſuſpition, was, that he about that time had cauſed one *Mark Nicolas* a Venetian merchant (who had not without the ſuſpition of ſome, oftentimes come vnto him with letters and ſecret meſſages whilſt he lay at Babylon) to be taken in the night and murdered in Conſtantinople, and caſt into the ſea, becauſe he ſhould not diſcouer any thing that might be hurtful vnto him. *Abraham* thus brought in diſgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the maner of the Turkiſh tyrannie) bid to a ſolemn ſupper in the Court about the 14 of March, after which time he was neuer more ſeen. It is reported, That after ſupper *Solyman* fel inio a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had miſgouerned the ſtate, inuerted his Treaſures to his own priuat, and as a traitor had ſecret intelligence with the Chriſtian princes his enemies: for proofe whereof *Solyman* with ſterne countenance ſhewed him his owne letters, which had by chance bin intercepted; oftentimes asking him in furious maner, if hee knew not that hand, if he knew not that ſeal. All which the Baſſa, lying proſtrat at his feet, humbly confeſſed, & with many tears craued of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any tears to be mooued: for the ſame night as he was ſlumbring vpon a palat in the Court, ouercome with heauines, an eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which *Solyman* for that purpoſe had deliuered vnto him with his own hand. He was murthered ſleeping, becauſe *Solyman* had in former time of his fauor ſworn vnto him, that he would neuer kil him whilſt he liued. By which oath the great Mahometan prieſt ſaid he was not ſo bound, but that he might kill him ſleeping, foraſmuch as men by ſleep depriued of ſence, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing, but as dead; mans life (as he ſaid) conſiſting altogether in liuely actions. It is reported, That after *Solyman* had looked vpon the dead body, and bitterly curſed the ſame, hee cauſed a great weight to bee tied vnto it, and ſo caſt it into the ſea. His treaſure and goods (which were almoſt infinite) were the next day all ſeiſed vpon for the Emperour, and a ſmall portion therof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no ſooner knowne, but that the vulgar people deuiſed of him infamous ſongs, and ſlanderous reports, as a Traitor moſt iuſtly condemned: and in further deſpight, with mire and ſtones defaced the Trophies of the Hungarian victory, which hee had in a ſtately maner erected before his houſe in Conſtantinople. This was the woſull end of *Abraham* the great Baſſa, who whilſt he ſtood in fauor with his prince, was of all others accounted moſt fortunate, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but afterwards falling into diſgrace, became the ſcorn of fortune, and the lamentable ſpectacle of mans fragility. He was murthered the fifteenth of March, in the year 1536.

Abraham Baſſa murdred in the Court by Solymans commandement.

The cauſes that moued Charles the Emperor to inuade Tunes.

How the kingdom of Tunes was by *Barbaruſſa* the Turks great Admiral taken from *Mulaſſes*, we haue already told: but how the ſame was again taken from him by *Charles* the emperor a little before the returne of *Solyman* out of Perſia, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without iuſt cauſe feared, that *Barbaruſſa* poſſeſſed of the Kingdome of Tunes, and ſupported by the power of *Solyman*, would the next ſummer not content himſelfe with the ſpoil of the coaſts of Spain, Sardinia, and Italy, as hee had in former times, but with all his forces inuade Sicilia, the garnary and ſtore-houſe of Italy, and from thence attempt to conquer the kingdome of Naples, which it was thought hee in his immoderat deſires had longed much after. To repreſſe this his barbarous inſolencie, and to worke the ſafety of the frontiers of the Chriſtian kingdomes (much ſubiect to the rapines of Turkiſh pyrats) *Charles* the Emperour reſolued in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant army to paſſe ouer into Africk, whilſt *Solyman* was yet buſied in the Perſian wars, and by force of armes to diſpoſſeſſe the tyrant of his new gotten kingdom in Tunes. For accompliſhment wherof, he cauſed ſoldiers to be leuied in all parts of Spaine, and came down to Barcelona with eight thouſand footmen and ſeuen hundred horſemen, far ſooner than was by any man expected: amongſt whom were many of the nobility of Spaine, with their followers moſt gallantly appointed: but eſpecially *Ferdinand* of Toledo Duke of Alva; whoſe forwardneſſe in that honourable action, with the deſire he had to reuenge the death of his father *Garzias*, ſlaine before by the Moores at Girapolis, gaue great hope euen then vnto his Countrymen, That hee

The Emperours great preparations for inuading of Tunes.

would

A would in time proue a worthy Chieftaine, as indeed he afterward did.

Andrew Auria the Emperours Admirall,

Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius Generall of the land forces.

In the meane time *Andrew Auria* the great Admirall, vnto whom only for his approued fidelitie
and long experience the Emperour had fully communicated what he had with himſelfe
before purpoſed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of
ſhips and gallies ſo furniſhed with all manner of warlike prouiſion, as might well haue ſufficed
a great army: whereunto he ioyned alſo his owne fleet of 17 gallies and three galeaſſes,
wherein he had imbarked the floure of Genoa and Liguria, who with exceeding cheerfulnes
had voluntarily offred themſelues to follow him their old General in that great expedition.
With this great preparation *Auria* came to the Emperor at Barcelona. Thither came alſo
Lewis the King of Portingals brother (whoſe ſiſter *Iſabel*, *Charles* the Emperour had married)
B with twenty fiue Carauels, ſhips which the Portingals vſed in their Indian voyages, amongſt
whom was alſo one huge Galeon, all ſhips well appointed and fit for ſeruice, wherin were imbarked
2000 Portingals, beſide mariners: there alſo arriued ſixty ſaile of tall ſhips, ſent out
of Flanders and the low-countries, wherin were a great number of condemned perſons, whoſe
liues were ſpared that they might ſerue in the gallies. Vnto this war *Paulus* the third of that
name, then Biſhop of Rome, ſent ten gallies vnder the conduct of *Virginius Vrſinus*: the great
Maſter of Malta ſent thither his fleet alſo. At the ſame time that all this preparation was in
making in other places, that worthy Chieftaine *Alphonſus D'aualus Vaſtius*, whom the Emperor
had appointed Generall of all his forces at land, had by the Emperours commandement
taken vp fiue thouſand new ſouldiers in Italy, which were led by *Hieronimus Tutauilla*, Countie
C of Sarne, *Fredericke*, *Caracke*, and *Auguſtine Spinola*, all famous Captaines. The old Spaniſh
garriſons which lay in Lombardie, the Emperour commanded to be ſtreitly looked vnto, that
none of them ſhould leaue their places to go into this new expedition, but to remaine there
ſtill vnder their Generall *Antonius Leua*: which worthy Captaine although hee would faine
haue had him with him, as of all his great Commanders the beſt; yet he thought it good to
ſpare him, both for that he was much troubled with the gout, and alſo for that it was neceſſarie
(as he thought) to leaue ſuch a valiant captaine with his garriſons in the countrey, ſo neer
vnto the French and Swiſſers, whom he durſt not ſo well truſt as to diſ-furniſh that countrey
either of ſo great a Commander, or of the wonted garriſons. At the ſame time *Maximilian
Eberſtein*, an old Commander, came to *Vaſtius* with eight thouſand Germans, ouer the Tridentine
D Alpes to Millaine, and ſo to Genoa; amongſt whom were diuers noble Gentlemen, who
then as voluntary men ſerued of their owne charges. With theſe Germans and the fiue thouſand
Italians, *Vaſtius* imbarked himſelfe at the port called Portus Veneris, in Liguria: hauing
before perſuaded them, with patience to endure the tediouſneſſe of the ſea, and to comfort
themſelues with the hope of the victory in Africke; where they ſhould fight in the quarrell
of God, and for the Emperor, who did neuer forget his religious and valiant ſouldiers. So
ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Italy, he came to Naples, where the Viceroy and diuers others of
the Nobilitie had of their owne charges, euery man acccording to his deuotion or abilitie,
built or furniſhed ſome one gallie, ſome moe, for that ſeruice. It was a wonder to ſee with
what cheerfulneſſe the Gallants and luſty youths of Naples and all that part of Italy, came
E and offred themſelues to *Vaſtius*; ſo that it ſeemed there was none left behind in Naples: for
he had with ſingular courteſie ſo won the hearts of the old ſouldiers and luſty youths of that
Kingdome, that both the one and the other thought it a moſt honourable thing to adorn, the
one their before deſerued penſions, and the other their firſt entrance into martial affairs, with
the participation of ſo notable a victorie. But whileſt euery man was thus buſied in ſetting
forward, certaine mutinous ſouldiers (weary of the ſea, and fearing the dangers of ſo long a
voyage) began to caſt many perils, to find fault with their ſmall wages, and to diſcourage the
multitude, perſuading them with ſeditious ſpeeches to forſake their colours, and to run away:
for redreſſe whereof, *Vaſtius* cauſed the authours of that mutinie to be taken and thruſt
into ſacks, and in the ſight of the whole fleet to be caſt into the ſea. So *Vaſtius* departing with
F his fleet from Naples, came in few dayes to Palermo in Sicilie. The Emperour alſo looſing
from Barcelona, came to the port of Mago in the Iſland of Minorca, and from thence to
Caralis in Sardinia, whither *Alphonſus Vaſtius* was a little before come with all his fleet out
of Sicilie. Not long after, the Emperour, now that all his forces were come together, paſſed
ouer from Sardinia into Africke, and with a faire Weſterly winde put into the Port

of

The Emperour paſſeth ouer into Africk.

Barbaruſſa hearing of the emperors cōming, is much diſcouraged.

In his rage hee executes Aloyſius Praſenda.

of Vtica,which is of the ſeafaring men called Farina. In the entring whereof,the Admirall Galley,wherin the Emperour himſelf was,by great miſchance ſtrook vpon a ſand, and there ſtuck faſt: which ſo much the more troubled the Emperour, for that his father *Philip* by like miſhap had like to haue bin caſt away vpon the coaſt of England, as he was ſailing out of the Low countries into Spain. Howbeit by the good direction of *Auria* ſhe was quickly got off the ſand again,and entred with the reſt,to the great rejoicing of the whole fleet. So preſently departing again from Vtica,and ſailing alongſt the coaſt,he doubled the promontory of Carthage,yet famous for the ruins of that proud city,and came to anchor before a Caſtle, which of a Wel beneath it,is called by the name of Aquaria,or the Water Caſtle. The Moors,who from the hils of Vtica and their Watch-towers had taken view of the Chriſtian fleet, and of the courſe it held; aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa*, That the Chriſtians were comming againſt him with an innumerable fleet: for there was of one ſort and other almoſt 700 ſail,whereof 82 were great gallies,which gallantly garniſhed with flags and ſtreamers,made ſhew of moe than indeed they were,and wonderfully terrified the enemy. But that troubled *Barbaruſſa* moſt, that he was by meſſenger vpon meſſenger certainly informed, That the moſt mighty Chriſtian Emperor *Charles* was in perſon himſelf in the fleet,with ſuch a world of people, that it ſhould ſeem he had left none in Spain,and Italy that were able to bear Armes. Which newes was brought by certain Mahometan ſlaues,who getting looſe in the Gallies, had by night ſwam aſhore, and reported the certainty of the Emperors comming. For the proud Turk, a great contemner of the Chriſtian forces, neuer thought that the Emperor would haue aduentured his perſon to the dangers of the ſea,and chances of war,eſpecially in an vnknown, barren and ſcorching country,but would rather haue attempted to do ſomething by his Lieutenants, or by *Auria* his Admiral ſeek to ſurpriſe ſome baſe places alongſt the ſea coaſt,but not to come directly for the regal city of Tunes. In which opinion hee was chiefly confirmed by *Aloyſius Praſenda* a Gentleman of Genoa,who being taken at ſea, was kept as a priſoner at large in Tunes. Of whom *Barbaruſſa* had learned many things concerning the ſtate of Italy,the manners of the Chriſtians, and ſtrength of the Emperour: craftily feeding him with the hope of liberty,if he would truly declare vnto him ſuch things as he deſired to know. Wherfore now in his rage he cauſed him to be brought before him,charging him bitterly,that he had craftily and perfideouſly told him lies for truth, concerning the Emperour; and therefore commanded him to be forthwith executed. When hee had thus with the vnworthy death of a guiltleſſe Chriſtian, ſomewhat mitigated the griefe of his light beleefe, he forthwith began to caſt with himſelfe, how he might beſt withſtand his puiſſant Enemy. And firſt of all calling to Counſell his ſea Captaines (in whom for their approued valour he repoſed the moſt confidence) he ſhewed vnto them, That they as valiant men,acquainted with the dangers attending vpon honourable actions,were not to doubt of the victory,foraſmuch as hee ſaw it as good as already gained; for the ſame reaſons for which he had before perſuaded himſelf,that the Emperor(if he had not bin half mad)would not haue vndertaken ſo doubtfull and deſperat a war.

Barbaruſſa encourageth his ſoldiers.

For who is there (ſaid he) *that knows the country (not to ſpeak of our own forces) which would not reaſonably think our enemies ſhould in ſhort time know the price of their ambitious deſire and raſh attempt? which in a moſt vnſeaſonable time of the year,the days being now at the longeſt,and the ſun in his greateſt ſtrength,are come to fight in a country ſcorched with heat,and altogether without water; where the very ſand riſing with euery blaſt of wind, flying into their eies and faces, ſhall no leſſe trouble them than their enemies? Shall we think that they,which as I hear for the moſt part are freſh water ſoldiers,and ſurcharged with heauy armor,can eaſily march forward,or retyre,or yet keep their ground,as the diuers occaſions of battell ſhall require: when as the deep and hollow burning ſands vp to the mid leg,will not ſuffer them to keep any order of array? How ſhall they be able by any meanes to abide the force of our Turkiſh footmen,or the often charging of the nimble Numidian horſemen? And if there be ſo many of them as they ſay there is, where can they get victuall to feed ſuch a multitude, if we do but protract the war. Aſſuredly (moſt valiant and couragious Chieftaines) wee ſhall erect a moſt rare and incomparable trophy in this country of Africk: when as* Charles *the rich and great Emperor of the Chriſtians, ſhall either be here ſlain in battell, or elſe fall into our hands as a rich prey. For myne owne part I will notably prouide, that you ſhall want neither weapons, victuall, nor ayd, during the time of this Warre. I will open the*

A *the old armories, broch my ſtore, and bring forth my treaſures. The Numidian princes now our friends, I will without delay entertain with great pay, and ſuch preſents as ſhall be to them moſt welcome. As for the citiſens of Tunes, you know how eaſily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought on againſt the enemy for ſmall pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I moſt earneſtly require of your approued valor, That you moſt valiantly defend the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta, as the ſureſt defence not of this city only, but of the whole kingdom; and eſpecially our navy, which there lieth in ſafe harbor: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces firſt aſſail. Wherfore as worthy men neuer to be vanquiſhed, keepe that for* Solyman *and me: ſo that it being vainly attempted by our enemies, and reſolutely defended by you, the Chriſtian Emperor there failing of his purpoſe, and ſhamefully foiled, ſhall now begin to diſpaire, not of the taking of the city of Tunes, but of his own return and ſafety.*

B

When he had thus ſaid, the ſea captains anſwered with one conſent, that they would moſt willingly and cheerfully perform whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him to command: And in confirmation therof, promiſed him not to do any thing which beſeemed not moſt valiant & reſolute men. Among theſe ſea captains, *Sinan* of Smyrna a Iew, who had loſt his right eye, was both for his age and long experience in military affaires, of greateſt account: next vnto him was *Haidinus* of Cilicia, for his furiouſnes in fight ſyrnamed of the Italians *Cacciadiabolo*; and *Salec* of Ionia; which two had before in a great battel at ſea ſlain *Rodericus Portendus* great admirall of Spain, and taken his ſon *Iohn* priſoner, and ſeuen great Gallies: after theſe was *Tabacches* of Laodicea, and *Giaffer* a valiant Captaine of the Ianizaries; all which were notable

Barbaruſſa his chief Captains.

C pyrats, and then men of great fame. The ſtrong caſtle of Guletta ſtandeth in the bottome of the Bay of Carthage, vpon a point of the land, where the ſea by a narrow ſtreit runneth on the Eaſt ſide of the caſtle into the lake of Tunes: which being in a maner round, is about twelue Italian miles ouer; but now that Caſtle is parted from the Maine on the Weſt ſide alſo, by the ſea that way let in. Which chargeable work was by *Barbaruſſa* begun, but giuen ouer again by him; perſuaded by ſome, that the ſea comming in that way, would in ſhort time fill vp the lake with ſand. But was afterwards for all that perfected by others: ſo that now it ſtandeth in maner of an Iſland, in the mouth of the lake, diuided from the firm land by two narrow ſtreit paſſages; the one on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt; yet ſo that it commandeth both. This caſtle *Barbaruſſa* had before ſtrongly fortified both with men and munition, as the

The ſcituation of Guletta.

D key of that kingdom: but now vpon the comming of the emperor he put into it his moſt expert and reſolute captains before named; wel foreſeeing, that in defence therof lay the ſafety of his Navy, which then lay within the lake, as in a moſt ſure harbor; and alſo the greateſt hope he had for the holding of the city of Tunes, whereon depended the whole ſtate of that kingdom. The Emperor lying at anchor with all his fleet vnder the ſhore, gaue generall commandement, that his ſoldiers ſhould with as much ſpeed as was poſſible be landed with the long boats: which was ſo orderly done, that the Moors terrified with the hideous cry of the ſoldiers making toward land, and not able to abide the ſhoures of ſmall ſhot, were eaſily beaten from the ſhore, whither they were come downe in great multitudes; and ſo ſuffered the Chriſtian ſoldiers to land quietly. The firſt that landed were the Spaniſh companies, after

E them the Italians, and laſt of all the Germans; whom *Vaſtius* Generall of the army cauſed preſently to incamp themſelues, ſtreitly commaunding, That no man ſhould ſtraggle from the camp further into the land, vntil the horſmen and great artillery were all landed. The Emperor himſelf bearing victory in the cheerfulnes of his countenance, landed alſo. In the meane time certain Companies were ſent out by the Generall to view the places nigh hand, and to ſeek out the ciſterns and fountains of freſh water thereabout, which ſometime ſerued the famous city of Carthage: with whom the Moores, but eſpecially the Numidian horſemen, a ſwift, ſubtle, and painfull kind of ſouldiers, oftentimes and in many places ſuddenly skirmiſhed: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the aduantages they could of the places to them wel known, with their arrows and darts furiouſly aſſailed them vnawares, and

The Chriſtian army landeth at Guletta.

F ouerloded with Armour; ſparing no mans life which fell into their hands. Amongſt whom was *Hieronymus Spinnula* a Ligurian Captain, who ouerthrown by a Numidian horſman, had his head cut off and carried away by the ſame nimble horſman, before hee could bee reſcued. The like miſhap befell *Fredericus Carettus* a noble Gentleman, who going with *Vaſtius*

to view the places therabouts,was faſt by his ſide ſuddenly ſlain with a ſmall ſhot.All which G
nimblenes and fiercenes of the enemy could not for all that ſtay the Emperour, but that hee
would needs with a ſmall troup of horſmen, in perſon himſelf take view of the places therabouts,
euen in the ſight of the Numidian horſmen,which were in euery place to be ſeen pricking
vp and down the country in troups; although he was many times requeſted by his graue
counſellors, to leaue that ſeruice for his inferior captains,and not to expoſe himſelfe vnto ſo
great danger both of his perſon and of the common ſafety. *Vaſtius* had now brought vp the
army neer to the caſtle of Guletta,ſtil caſting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer therunto;
therby to keep his men out of the danger of the enemies ſhot:which work was not don only
by the pioners and gally ſlaues,but by ſoldiers of all ſorts;yea many of the captains alſo layd
their hands to the ſpade and mattock : for why,the Emperor was there a continual beholder,
and a cheerful commender of euery mans labour and forwardneſſe : and the buſie enemy was H
euer ready to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted, oftentimes ſallying
out euen vnto the very tents of the Chriſtians,there giuing vnto them proud words of defiance.
When the army was to be marſhalled,and euery commander to be appointed to the
place of his charge in this ſiege of Guletta; the County of Sarne (a man famous both for the
honor of his houſe,and for the good ſeruice he had lately done againſt the Turks at Corone)
requeſted of *Vaſtius* the General,to haue the charge of the mount neereſt to the caſtle,which
as it was a place of moſt danger,ſo was it alſo of greateſt honor. Whereat the old Spaniards
(after the maner of their proud nature) much repined. Vpon the top of this mount the County
ſet vp his rich tent in the enemies eie,and there lay with the Italian companies ouer whom I
he commanded. He had not there lien long, but *Salec* one of the Turks famous captains,with
a companie of the gariſon ſoldiers ſallied out of the caſtle directly vpon the mount whereon
the Count lay,and by making ſhew as if he would deſperatly haue aſſailed the ſame,raiſed a
great alarme againſt the Italians; yet ſo, as after certaine vollies of ſhot diſcharged on both
ſides, he began to retyre as if he had bin therto conſtrained. Which thing the County perceiuing,
being a man of greater courage than direction,in great rage with bitter words reproued
certain captains who were not ſo forward in the purſuit of the Enemy as hee would haue had
them;and in his fury ran down from the mount,the reſt for ſhame following him,and ouertaking
the enemies,ſlew diuers of them.The crafty pyrat now ſeeing the County drawn out of
his ſtrength into the plain ground, and perceiuing himſelfe ſtrong enough to incounter him, K
ſuddenly turning himſelf about, ſaid to his ſoldiers,*The aduantage you wiſhed to haue of your Enemies
is now offered, they are now in your danger*; *wherfore ſhew your ſelues valiant men,and ſuffer not
one of theſe proud freſh-water ſoldiers to eſcape aliue or vnwounded.* Which he had no ſooner ſayd,
but they preſently made a ſtand,and ſo hardly charged them from whom they but euen now
ſeemd to fly,that the Italians not able longer to indure the fight,betook themſelues to flight.
The County himſelfe (with *Belingerus* his kinſman) fighting valiantly in the formoſt of his
companies was ſlain:many others indured the like fortune : others flying backe again to the
mount,were there ſlain by the Turkes; who reſolutely entred into the trenches with them ſo
far,that they caried away with them the plate and riches of the Counties tent. Neither was
there any of the Spaniards which lay neereſt vnto them,and might eaſily haue reſcued them, L
that would once ſtir out of their places to help them. For it is reported, that they were nothing
ſorry for the ouerthrow of the Italians,foraſmuch as the county had ſo arrogantly craued
of the General the moſt honorable place,which he ſo euil held. His head and right hand
were cut off,and ſent by *Salec* to *Barbaruſſa*.This ouerthrow much grieued the Italians,whom
Vaſtius comforted with cheerful ſpeeches; imputing all that loſſe neither to the valour of the
enemy,or cowardiſe of the Italians,but only to the raſhnes of the County,whom he ſaid worthily
to haue paid the price of his inconſiderat forwardnes. But the Spaniards he ſharply reproued
as mercileſſe men, who vpon ſo light an occaſion had giuen cauſe for the Italians to
haue them in diſtruſt. The Turks in the mean time by the often ſhooting off of their great
ordnance,ſhewed the ioy they conceiued of this victory. M

Salec ſallieth out vpon the County & the Italians.

The Countie ſlain, and his head & right hand ſent to Barbaruſſa.

The Spaniards reioicing at the Italians ouer-throw, are thẽſelues foiled by Tabacches.

It oftentimes ſo falleth out,that whilſt men laugh at their neighbors harms,their owne is
not far off : and ſo it fel out with the Spaniards. For *Tabacches* another of the pyratical captains,
ſhortly after ſallying ſuddenly out of the caſtle in the dawning of the day,was got vp to
the

A the top of the trenches wherin the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming, and there ſlew ſome as they were aſleep, ſome idlely ſitting fearing no harme, others as they were arming themſelues, and with their ſudden cry cauſed the reſt which lay neer vnto that place, ſhamefully for fear to fly out of their trenches: where the Turkes taking ſuch traſh as they there found, and hauing ſlain and wounded many, amongſt whom was one *Mendoza* a captain; and carying away with them the enſigne of *Sarmentus* which ſtood vpon the top of the trench, returned with victory. The alarm raiſed in the army was ſuch, as that the Emperor himſelfe came running to the place in his Armor, ſeuerely reproouing them of cowardiſe which had forſaken the place, and grieuouſly offended with them which had kept ſuch negligent watch againſt ſuch an enemy, as was not for wylines, agility, and courage, to be ſlightly regarded of B the beſt and moſt expert ſoldiers. This diſgrace of the Spaniards wel comforted the Italians, to ſee the old ſoldiers no leſſe ouertaken in their negligence, than they had bin in their vnaduiſed forwardnes.

This tumult appeaſed, *Vaſtius* called into his tent the Colonels and chief Captains of the Spaniards, to whom he ſpake in this maner:

Vaſtius ſpeech to the Spaniſh Captains.

Friends (ſaid he) *elſwhere alwaies valiant, who together with mee, haue by your inuincible proweſſe gained vnto our Emperor many moſt glorious victories; you ſeem vnto me at this time to haue need to be called vpon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approoued valour; for as far as I can ſee, the remembrance of your antient fame is in you growne altogether cold, your hands are become faint for* C *fear, and that which I am ſory and aſhamed to ſay, you are grown I know not how, altogether out of order, and heartleſſe, ſhewing no courage for the ſubduing of theſe naked Pyrats. Yeſterday (as many ſay) you ſmiled at the vnskilfull and vnfortunat forwardneſſe of your friends, which they bought dear; but to day they worthily laugh at your degenerat careleſſe negligence: ſo that it concerneth you in honor, to blot out this ſo foul and publique a diſgrace, by ſome notable and worthy exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and I ſtreitly charge and command you, that with all ſpeed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the atchieuement of ſome new honor; that if the proud enemy ſhall again preſume to come forth and aſſail your trenches, you ſhall forthwith break out vpon him and beat him backe againe euen to the gates of Guletta. Perhaps good fortune will ſo attend your valiant and reſolute purſuit, that you may together with their diſordred men enter ſome of their rampiers, wherin we ſee their whole hope conſiſteth. Which if it ſhall* D *otherwiſe fall out than is hoped for, you ſhall by this your notable deuoir wonderfully content the Emperor your Soueraign, and me your General, and withall couer your late diſhonor.*

The Turks ſally againe out of Guletta.

Wherunto they all anſwered, That they would ſo bear themſelues againſt the Enemy, as that he ſhould not deſire greater courage or contempt of danger, in men deſirous of honour and commendation.

It was not long, but that the Turks incouraged with their former ſucces, after their woonted maner ſallyed out again, conducted by *Giaffer* Captaine of the Ianizaries, a man of great courage and ſtrength of body: who with the Ianizaries and certain companies of Mooriſh E archers, about noon time of the day iſſuing out of the caſtle, aſſailed the vttermoſt trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Chriſtians in their ſtations negligent and vnprepared: wherin he was nothing deceiued: for the Spaniards that burning hot time of the day kept ſuch negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers was got vp to the top of the rampiers, and diſcharged their ſhot and arrows vpon the Chriſtians in their trenches, before they were wel aware of his comming. But vpon the ſtriking vp of the drum, certain Companies of harquebuſiers brake out vpon them in two places at once, as *Vaſtius* had before commanded; whom he ſeconded with a company of halberdiers, keeping in readineſſe his ſquadrons to reſcue his harquebuſiers, if they ſhould be inforced by the enemy to retyre; and in that order expected the euent of the skirmiſh, which was moſt valiantly maintained on both F ſides. For the Ianizaries, although they were inforced to giue ground, yet as men not vſed to fly, and ſtanding vpon the honor of their order, withſtood the Chriſtians with no leſſe reſolution than they were by them charged; vntill that *Giaffer* their leader, deſperately fighting amongſt the formoſt of the Ianizaries, was at once ſhot in with two bullets and ſlaine. Whoſe dead body the Ianizaries laboring to carry away, endured a moſt cruell fight, many being on

Giaffer Captain of the Ianizaries ſlain.

both ſides ſlaine vpon his dead carkaſſe: yet at length they were inforced to flie, and ſo fiercely
followed by the Spaniards, that they of Guletta, when they had receiued in the foremoſt G
ſhut out almoſt a fourth part of their own men, for feare the Chriſtians ſhould together with
them haue entred the caſtle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spaniſh enſigne-bearers, aduanced his
enſigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers, and was there ſlaine, but his enſigne ſaued
by one of the ſouldiers of the ſame band. The Chriſtians receiued more loſſe in their retreat,
then they had in all the fight; for the Turks from their rampiers then diſcharged their
ſhot as faſt as they could vpon them, which they could not before doe without the like danger
to their own mingled amongſt them. This days work well abated the pride of the Turks, and
gaue good hope to the Chriſtians, that the Caſtle would without any great loſſe be gained:
for being neer vnto it, they perceiued it not to be ſo ſtrong as they had ſuppoſed. H

The Emperor hauing ſpent a a few dayes in conſultation about his farther proceeding, and
preparing of things for the ſiege, reſolued without further delay with all his forces to aſſault
the caſtle, perſuaded thereunto by many reaſons: firſt, by the cheerfulnes of his owne ſoldiers,
& the courage of his enemies ſore danted in the laſt skirmiſh, which he was loth they ſhould
againe recouer by the comming of new ſupplies; beſides that, hee was informed that diuers
companies of the Numidians were comming to Tunes, entertained by *Barbaruſſa*, whoſe
ſtrength was like daily to increaſe: but that which moued him moſt to haſten the matter, was,
for that his men began to grow ſickly in his camp, being all the day time ſcortched as it were
with the feruent heat of the Sun, and well neere ſtarued in the night with cold and exceeding
dewes wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water, I
or freſh victuall by any meanes to be had in that ſandie and barren ſoile, for the reliefe of the
ſicke, other than that was brought out of the fleet; for all the water thereabout was moſt vnpleaſant
and exceeding brackiſh, ſo that both ſicke and whole were glad when they could get
a crab to quench their extreme thirſt: although the Emperour did what he might to remedy
theſe extremities, and much reliefe was in good time ſent both from Sicilia and Naples: the
bisket alſo in the ſhips, eſpecially in the Spaniſh gallies, was growne hoary and vnwholſome.
Wherefore he began to place his battery about the fifteenth of Iuly, which was defended all
alongſt with Gabions, and cask filled with ſand, for that the countrey ſoile in that place yeelded
neither earth nor turfe to do it. *Auria* appointed to batter the Caſtle by ſea, diuided his
gallies into three ſquadrons, which orderly ſucceeding one another, ſhould by turns beat the K
ſame: his great ſhips rid at anker, and out of their forecaſtles thundred with their great Ordnance.
And *Vaſtius* at land had diuided his army into three battels; Spaniards, Italians, and
Germans, euery ſtation by themſelues, in ſuch ſort, as that they might indifferently be partakers
both of the danger of the aſſault, and of the glory of the victory. There was neuer ſtrong
place in the memory of man (ſince guns, that fatall engine were firſt inuented for the deſtruction
of mankind) aſſailed with greater force, greater preparation, or induſtry. The great ordnance
in manner of a great earthquake, ſo terribly roared and thundred, that the earth ſeemed
not only to tremble and quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in ſunder and ſwallow
them vp, and the ſea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to riſe aloft, and to rage
& fome as if it had bin in a great ſtorm: at which time the air became thick & the skie darkned L
with the ſmoke of the great artillery: from the breake of the day vntil noon, roaring cannon
and culuering neuer ceaſed: ſo that the Vamures were beaten down, the caſtle made ſaultable,
& the wals ſo ſhaken, that in many places the Turks canoniers, together with their cannons
lay buried in the ruins thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed
to giue the firſt aſſault, vpon ſignall giuen by the Emperor, preſently vpon the ceaſing of
the great Artillery, aſſailed the breach, and others with their ſcaling ladders ſcaled the wals:
which was done with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the Turks when they had done what
they poſſibly could for the defence of the place, by caſting down darts, wild fire, and ſuch like
things vpon the Chriſtians as they were climbing vp; at length as men deſpairing longer to
hold the place, & ouercome with a greater fortune, turned their backs & fled. *Sinan* & the reſt M
of the captains by a wooden bridge, fled out at the further ſide of the caſtle, into the main, and
ſo alongſt the left ſide of the lake by land to Tunes, not looking behind them for haſt: which
way moſt part of his men followed him alſo. The reſt were either ſlain or driuen into the lake,
where ſeeking to haue their liues by ſwimming, they were either ſlain in comming to land, by
the

Galetta furiouſly battered.

Guletta aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

A the Spaniſh horſemen, or elſe in their ſwimming ſhot at pleaſure by the harquebuſiers, ſo that all the lake was as it were couered with the dead bodies of the Turks and Moores. The Emperor with ſmall ſhot thus gained the caſtle of Guletta, with all the warlike prouiſion therein, and with it all *Barbaruſſa* his great fleet and ſtrength at ſea, which he for the more ſafety had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the Emperor a thing moſt pleaſant, ſo was it vnto *Barbaruſſa* and his pyrats the greateſt griefe and loſſe poſſible, hauing at once loſt all their power at ſea, which but a little before was no ſmall terror to all the frontiers of the Christian countries and Iſlands in the Mediterranean.

Guletta woon, and Barbaruſſa his fleet taken.

Barbaruſſa troubled and terrified with ſo great a loſſe, with a ſterne and ſcornefull countenance receiued the Iew and the reſt of the captains fled from Guletta, reuiling them bitterly B in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in ſo ſhort a time giuen ouer ſo ſtrong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* anſwered for them all, in this ſort:

Barbaruſſa rageth.

Hairadin (ſaid he) *ſo long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knoweſt, and our enemies cannot deny, what well beſeemed vs and thy magnificent fortune. But when we were to withſtand the Diuell and his infernall furies, which came againſt vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreame terrour and danger; it ought not to ſeeme ſtrange vnto thee, if we ſought to eſcape the vncouth fury of the immortall enemies of mankinde, to do thee ſeruice in thy better fortune, in defence of this thy city and kingdome. Neither do we account it any diſgrace to haue eſcaped that danger, as men that minde againe to fight: out of which thou, a moſt antient and expert Commander (if I may frankely ſpeake vnto* C *thee the truth) if thou hadſt been there preſent, wouldſt haue accounted it no diſhonor, but very good diſcretion to haue eſcaped in ſafety.*

The ſhort anſwer of Sinan the Iew vnto Barbaruſſa.

Barbaruſſa repreſſing his fury, began in a more temperat manner to requeſt them euery one particularly, as valiant and couragious men to ſtand faſt vnto him in that war againſt their enemies the Chriſtians: telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great ſupplie of the Mooriſh footmen and Numidian horſemen were once come (which were now at hand) the enemy ſhould not long rejoyce of the taking of Guletta. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his ſtudy and endeauour, to prepare ſuch things as were needfull for the war, bringing forth his treaſures, and bountifully beſtowing the ſame amongſt the Moors and Numidians, thereby to D confirme the friendſhip of ſuch as well affected him, and with his new bounty to win the hearts of ſuch as yet ſtood doubtfull.

In the mean time *Muleaſſes* the exiled king, with a ſmal retinue of his friends and followers came from the furtheſt part of Numidia, into the Emperors campe; the Emperor ſitting in a royall ſeat in the midſt of his pauillion, whereinto *Muleaſſes* was admitted, with a myter vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable ſilke: he was of a tall and manly ſtature, of colour tawny, but ſo ſqint-eyed, that he ſeemed ſpitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: whom after he had kiſſed the Emperors right hand, and had ſet himſelfe downe with his legs gathered cloſe vnder him, vpon a carpet ſpred vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his country, he by an interpreter ſpake vnto the Emperor as followeth.

Muleaſſes commeth to the emperour.

E

Thou art come in armes into this country, and art now almoſt conquerour of the ſame, (thrice mighty Emperour) prouoked thereunto not by any deſert of mine, for that our different religion ſo required; yet as I verily thinke, not without the appointment of the moſt high God, whom both thou and I do with like deuotion worſhip, to take reuenge of the moſt perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortall enemy of mankinde; whom I foreſee as good as already vanquiſhed, now that Guletta is taken and his nauy ſurpriſed. So that I hope he ſhall in ſhort time by thy reuenging hand, at once receiue the juſt guardon of all his former villanies: which ſhall be ſo much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicity and glorious victory will redound in great part to me, being reſtored by thee into my fathers kingdome: which I as a poore exiled Prince moſt humbly requeſt of thy juſtice and bounty. For it ſhall be F *vnto thee a thing moſt honourable and profitable, if thou ſhalt receiue into thy protection me, a King royally diſcended of a moſt antient progeny, ſtrengthned with the great alliance of Numidians and Moores. Neither do I refuſe either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my ſelfe vaſſall vnto thee the Chriſtian Emperor. Of which my fidelity there can be no greater aſſurance, than the thankefull remembrance of ſo great a benefit receiued; which ſhall for euer remaine vnforgotten of me and my poſterity,*

The Oration of Muleaſſes vnto Charles the emperour.

euen for that eſpecially, that I deteſt and abhorre the name of an vnthankefull man; and do well by experience G
finde, how much my ſtate may be confirmed, and the minds of my people to me aſſured, by the garriſons
ſo neere at hand in Sicilia and Sardinia.

The Emperours anſwer to Muleaſſes.

Wherunto the Emperor anſwered, That he was come ouer into Affricke to be reuenged of
the injuries which *Barbaruſſa* had many times done vpon the frontiers of his dominions, and
to root out the pyrats, of all others moſt miſchieuous: which his good purpoſe had by the
goodneſſe of Chriſt his Sauior taken ſo good effect, that he doubted not in ſhort time by the
taking of Tunes to obtaine a perfect victory; which once gained, he would then kindly grant
him all things which ſhould ſtand with the conuenience of his affaires, and the vſe of his victory:
ſo that he would not falſifie his faith, which he might juſtly ſuſpect, if he repoſed not H
a ſpeciall truſt, that the remembrance of ſuch a benefit would for euer remaine in his heroicall
mind: and was further aſſured, that the ſame power which ſhould reſtore him his kingdome
of curteſie, could alſo take it from him againe, if his vnthankefulneſſe ſhould ſo deſerue.

The behauior of Muleaſſes.

Muleaſſes in the preſence of the Emperor vſed ſuch a grauity and grace in his ſpeech & geſture,
as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former eſtate: but towards the Generall
and the other great Captaines he vſed all manner of curteſie, ſo that he rid vp and down
with them gallantly mounted, mannaging his horſe, and charging and diſcharged his launce
with ſuch agility and skill, as ſhewed him to be a very good horſeman, and of great actiuity.
At other vacant times he would ſubtilly reaſon with learned men, after the manner of *Auerrois*,
of the nature of things, of the motion of heauen, and power of the ſtarres. By the Emperours I
commandement he had a Tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his
diet. *Vaſtius* and the reſt of the chiefe Commanders of the army vſed him with all honor, and
at ſuch time as he was deſirous to ſee the campe, curteouſly brought him into all places of it,
that he might himſelfe ſee what mounts they had in ſhort time caſt, what abundance there
was of great artillery, what ſtrong watch and ward was kept, what a number there was of braue
and warlike ſouldiers of diuers nations, differing much one from another in language, countenance,
and manner of furniture: and further demanded, Whether that puiſſant army which
the Emperour had brought ouer to his great good, were in his judgement ſufficient to ſubdue
the enemy? Where aboue all things *Muleaſſes* wondered at the number and order of the great
ordnance: and next vnto that, at the wonderfull plenty of things to be bought and ſould in K
the market place, and at the modeſt quietneſſe of the ſouldiers in buying the ſame. Not
long after, the expert Captaines by diligent enquiry learned of him many things well ſeruing
for their better proceeding in that war, eſpecially of the diſpoſition and ſtrength of them of

His opinion and counſell concerning the preſent warre.

Tunes, of the ſcituation of the city, of the nature of the walls, and fortification of the Caſtle,
of the Wels and Ciſternes in the ſuburbes, and what ſtrength the Moores and Numidians
were of, which *Barbaruſſa* had entertained. In concluſion, he aſſured them (as afterwards it fell
out) that *Barbaruſſa* would neuer truſt to the ſtrength of the wals, which would eaſily be ouerthrowne
with the great artillery; but would in a great brauery with enſignes diſplaied bring
all his forces into the field, of purpoſe to terrifie the Chriſtians with the ſight of the multitude
of his raſcall ſoldiers, and to breake their array with his Numidian horſemen, who with L
hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would not faile to aſſaile them: and
yet for all that would neuer bring into the battell his Turkiſh footmen (in whom he repoſed
his greateſt confidence, and whom he deſired moſt to ſpare) but would as a crafty and ſubtill
Turke, by oppoſing of the Moores, whom he held in ſmall regard, try by their bloud what
might be done without the danger of his owne men. But as he told them, nothing could be
more ſtrange vnto the Moores his countrymen, or that they were more affraid of, than in a ſet
battell to fight with that enemy whoſe ſquadrons comming orderly on in gliſtring armour,
with long pikes, might ſcorne and eaſily ouerthrow the naked archers of the Moores, and the
vnarmed Numidian horſmen: and that our men ſhould find nothing more grieuous or troubleſome,
than the ſcorching heat of the Sun, and the thirſt riſing thereof; which might eaſily be M
remedied by plenty of water, which by ſlaues and ſmal boats might eaſily be brought in casks
and bottles from the fleet alongſt the lake, and ſo diſtributed amongſt the army: although
not far from the walls of the city were certaine old conduit heads which would yeeld them
great plenty of water, if the malicious enemy did not to his owne hurt and others, poyſon
the

A the ſame. Theſe things orderly reported to the Emperour, confirmed the hope he had before
conceiued of the deſired victory: ſo that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecaſting
all things, he reſolued forthwith to depart from Guletta, and with all his power to beſiege
Tunes.

But whileſt he was preparing things neceſſary, ordering his ſouldiers, and diſcouering the
enemies purpoſes, his ſouldiers had dayly diuers skirmiſhes with the Numidians; ſo that
once the skirmiſh was like to haue come to a juſt battell: which began in this ſort; The Moors
had planted certain field-pieces amongſt the Oliue gardens, wherewith they ſhot continually
into the campe: for remouing whereof, the Emperor leauing the Italians, with certain companies
of the old Germans and Spaniſh ſoldiers, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went
B forth with his horſemen and the reſt of his army: ſending before him *Montegius*, Generall of
the Spaniſh horſemen, who for moſt part were but raw ſouldiers, ſuch as were of the Noblemens
ordinary ſeruants and followers, not before acquainted with the wars. Theſe light horſemen
with diuers fortune skirmiſhed a while with the enemy; but when they ſaw themſelues
to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their Generall grieuouſly wounded, they turned their
backs, and in the ſight of the Emperor ſhamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming
after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the firſt a fierce and deſperat
charge, and vpon the encounter giuen, of purpoſe to retyre, auoiding thereby the ſudden
force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a freſh charge. The Emperour
ſeeing the flight of his light horſemen, came on couragiouſly with his men at armes;
C by whoſe comming in and valiant encounter the Turks and Moores were put to flight, and the
field pieces wherewith they had before annoyed the campe, taken. In this skirmiſh the Emperour
in perſon, as he ſtood formoſt in his armed troups, gaue the ſignall of battell himſelfe,
by crying with a loud voice, Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iames*, whom the Spaniards take for their Patron;
and ſo charging the enemy, performed the part not only of a couragious Chiefetaine,
but of a reſolute and valiant ſouldier alſo; reſcuing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius* a
noble gentleman of Granado, whom vnhorſed and ſore wounded, the enemy was ready preſently
to haue ſlaine, had not the Emperor by his comming in ſaued him: deſeruing thereby
the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Ciuica Corona*, gaue as an honour to ſuch
as had in battell ſaued a citiſen.

The Spaniſh light horſmen put to flight.

The Emperour reſtoreth the battell, & with his owne hand reſcueth Andreas Pontius of Granado.

D About the ſame time it fortuned, that thirty thouſand Moores came vpon the ſudden to
haue ſurpriſed a little tower ſtanding vpon a hill neere vnto the ruines of old Carthage: wherin
the Emperor had placed certaine ſoldiers for the keeping thereof, becauſe it was neere vnto
his campe. Before theſe Moores went a Numidian Prieſt, who bellowing out certain ſuperſtitious
charmes, caſt diuers ſcroles of paper on each ſide the way, wherein he curſed and banned
the Chriſtians: and now they had with fire and ſmoake brought the Chriſtians in that tower
to great extremity, when the Emperour himſelfe comming to their reſcue with certaine companies
of horſemen and footmen, ſlew the conjuring Prieſt, with others, and put the reſt to
flight. The diſcomfiture of the Spaniſh horſemen cauſed many men to thinke, that if the Emperor
ſhould come to a ſet battell with the enemy, he ſhould finde his horſemen too weake,
E both for that they were but few in number, and not to be compared with the Numidians. For
which cauſe, and diuers others, certaine of the Emperours graue counſellors, but none of the
beſt ſoldiers, wiſhed him not to proceed further in that dangerous war, but with ſpeed to returne
out of Affricke, for as much as he had won honour enough by the taking of Guletta, and
ſurpriſing the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortall praiſe, and the common good
of Chriſtendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries in the Mediterranean,
from the danger and feare of thoſe moſt cruell pyrats; beſides that, the flix began to rage in
his campe, whereof many of his ſouldiers fell ſicke and died daily. Whereas on the contrary
part, the mighty Numidian Princes, ſuch as were *Muleaſſes* old enemies, were reported to
come in dayly to the aid of *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe vnſeaſonable ſpeeches the Emperour thought
F good to repreſſe betime; reaſoning againſt the authors thereof with great grauity, as againſt
men who with more feare doubted of the ſucceſſe of things, and the euent of the victory, than
beſeemed them, whom for their conſtant reſolution, and good opinion conceiued of their
diſcretion, he had choſen to be of his moſt ſecret counſell.

The Emperour aduiſed by his Counſellors to returne home.

Saying, *That he deſired not of them that their needleſſe and diſhonourable labour, wherein they ſhould*

The reſolute anſwere of the Emperour.

ſhew themſelues more carefull of his perſon than of his honour: for as much as thoſe things which they G *now alledged, ſhould haue bin ſaid before the war was taken in hand, now by good hap halfe ended: before he euer paſſed ouer into Affricke. For he might (as he ſaid) haue reſted quietly in Spaine, and haue eaſily neglected and rejected the injuries done vpon the ſea coaſts, and the complaints of his ſubjects; but he was (as they well knew) for moſt vrgent cauſes come thither: whereas he was reſolued to ſatisfie the expectation of the World with a notable victory; or if God ſhould otherwiſe appoint, there to end his daies with honour. Wherefore he willed them to ceaſe further to flatter him that was no way diſmaid, or to poſſeſſe the minds of his valiant ſouldiers with a vaine forboding feare, and with reſolute minds, together with him their chiefetaine, againſt the next day to expect what the fortune of the field ſhould appoint for the full accompliſhment of that war. For he was (as he ſaid) ſet downe to giue the enemy battell; or if he refuſed the ſame, to batter the walls of Tunes, not doubting but that God would ſtand on his ſide in ſo good* H *and ſo godly a quarrell.*

The Emperor marcheth toward Tunes.

The Emperour leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the caſtle of Guletta, commanded the breaches to be repaired, and the great ordnance there taken to be laid vpon carriages, which before after the old rude ſea faſhion lay bound in great vnweldy pieces of timber, with yron rings faſtned thereunto, and could not handſomely be handled or remoued to and fro. After that, when he had cauſed the country to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right ſide of the lake giueth a direct paſſage vnto the City of Tunes; he ſet forward with his army in ſo good order, that he ſtill marched as ready to fight, for feare of the policies and ſudden aſſaults of the enemy. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake; on the right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a I great wood ran all alongſt the country, from the ruines of Carthage, almoſt to the wals of Tunes: in the midſt betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordnance; and after it the carriages of all the army. In the vauntgard was *Vaſtius*, whom the Emperour had made Generall of the army, and eſpecially for that day: in the rereward was the Duke of Alba with certaine troups of choſen horſemen: in the middle of the main battell was the Emperor, and by his ſide *Lewis* his brother in law the King of Portugals brother. The Italians were conducted by the Prince of Salarne, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an antient captain, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberſtein*. But the Emperor in his armor ceaſed not to ride from ſquadron to ſquadron, with cheerefull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the former victories which they had gotten for him: and telling them, that he did that K day expect of them a moſt honourable daies ſeruice, foraſmuch as they were to fight againſt the naked enemies of the Chriſtian religion: wherefore they ſhould with reſolute minds ſet down themſelues to endure the weight of their armor, the painfulneſſe of their march, the heat of the Sun and ſand, and the tediouſneſſe of the thirſt ariſing thereof; vntill they might joyne battel with their enemies, where they ſhould vndoubtedly by the goodneſſe of God (in whoſe quarrell they fought) obtaine the victory: in the meane time they ſhould with patience ouercome all difficulties, comforting themſelues with the vndoubted hope of a moſt rich prey, which they were to expect of the ſpoile of a rich city. Whereunto euery ſquadron anſwered with a great ſhout, that he ſhould not trouble himſelfe with thoſe matters which he had before L rehearſed, but to aſſure himſelfe, that they his ſouldiers would moſt patiently endure all exrtemities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him Emperor, not of Affricke but of Aſia alſo.

Now *Vaſtius* had withdrawn two companies of harquebuſiers out of the Spaniſh ſquadron, to ſkirmiſh with the Moores who continually followed in the taile of the army: whom, by thoſe harquebuſiers and certaine troups of horſemen deputed to that purpoſe, the duke of Alba notably repulſed in the rereward.

The ſoldiers for greedineſſe of water diſordered their march

The army was now come vnto the Ciſternes of freſh water, which *Muleaſſes* and others which well knew the country, had before told them of; which as ſoon as the ſouldiers almoſt fainting vnder the weight of their armor, with the ſcorching heat of the Sun, and extremity of M thirſt, deſcried afar off; they for deſire they had to quench their thirſt, forthwith forſooke their colours, and diſorderly ran as faſt as they could to thoſe ciſternes: *Vaſtius* the Generall, to the vttermoſt of his power laboring in vaine both by faire meanes and foule to haue ſtaied them; who ſaw by that diſordernes of the ſouldiers, a great aduantage offred vnto the enemy, which then

A then was not far off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blowes preuaile any thing with them, the Emperour himſelfe was glad to haſt thither, with his preſence and authority to haue kept them in order: yet ſuch was the force of their intollerable thirſt, that neither the ſight of the Emperour, nor all that he could do, could remedy the diſorder; ſome fainting in the ſand for lacke of drinke, and ſome other for greedineſſe ready to burſt their bellies at the fountains; ſo that the Emperor was faine with his truncheon to beat them away. Amongſt the reſt, one *Sullius Cicero* of Arpinus, a famous captain, died at the ciſterne ſide with drinking too much. This extremity for want of water ſeemed juſtly to haue happened vnto them, foraſmuch as *Vaſtius* the day before had by generall proclamation thorow the campe, commanded that euery ſoldier ſhould carry with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle: B although he cauſed ſo much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great caskes for the common reliefe of the army, whereof the Germanes had the greateſt part; ſome almoſt ready to giue ouer for thirſt, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellowes which had it, for two duckets.

A draught of water ſold for two duckets.

This diſorder being with as much ſpeed as was poſſible reformed, and the Army againe brought into order, the Emperor held on his march towards the enemy: for *Barbaruſſa* with a wonderfull multitude of horſemen and footmen, and a number of enſignes (the inſtruments of vaine feare and fooliſh brauery) gallantly diſplaied after the manner of the Moores, was come about three miles from the city, and with certaine field-pieces (as *Muleaſſes* had foretold) went about to haue broken the battell of the Chriſtians: which Pieces although they were often- C times diſcharged, yet did they little or no harme by reaſon of the vnskilfulneſſe of the Canoniers. *Vaſtius* in like manner, and for like purpoſe had commanded the great ordnance to be brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what time and toile it required to haue it done (for that it was drawne but by ſtrength of men, and the wheels of the carriages ſunk deep in the deuouring ſand, and the ſhot and pouder which the Mariners and gally-ſlaues caried altogether vpon their ſhoulders, came but ſoftly on) he ſuddenly changed his purpoſe, and told the Emperor, That he thought it not beſt to ſtay for the great artillery in that cheerfulneſſe of his army when euery man deſired battell, but to commit all to the valour of his reſolute men, and his own good fortune, which euer fauored his noble attempts: leſt whilſt we ſtay (ſaid he) too long vpon our great ordnance (which doth not alwaies ſerue to great purpoſe in ſudden D battels) our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnneceſſary delay; and this exceeding cheerfulneſſe of our ſoldiers (the moſt ſure token of vndoubted victory) by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the Emperor, deſirous of battell, and filled with good hope, joyfully anſwered; *Vaſtius*, if thou ſo think it good (which I alſo like well of) in Gods name giue the ſignall. That ſhall I by and by do (ſaid he) but firſt it is reaſon that you which ſway & command a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and ſhame, you, laying aſide the imperiall majeſty of your ſelfe, haue for this day made Generall and commander of ſo mighty an army: wherefore (ſaid *Vaſtius*) I will now vſe my authority, and command you, ſith I may not ſo requeſt you, to depart from this place, and to get you into the midſt of the battell neere vnto the enſignes; leſt by ſome vnlucky ſhot, the whole eſtate of E the army be brought into extreame perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the Emperor ſmiling, willed him to feare no ſuch thing; ſaying moreouer, That neuer Emperour was yet ſlain with a gun. For all that, he departed out of the place as he was commanded, and went into the middle of the battell. Wherupon the ſignall of battell was by the ſound of the trumpet, and ſtriking vp of the drum, preſently giuen, and the enemy (with more haſte than the extream heat of the day required) furiouſly charged by the Emperors horſemen, who to auoid the danger of the great artillery, made all the haſte they could to come to handy blowes. In the formoſt of theſe horſemen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a moſt valiant noble man, who then ſerued the emperor without charge: he being ſomwhat before the reſt, at the firſt onſet ſlew with his lance a great captain of the Moors, & preſently with his ſword ſo troubled them that were F next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to break into the enemies battell. The harquebuſiers alſo diſcharged ſo faſt vpon the enemy, that 300 of them lay dead vpon the ground before the joyning of the battell: which the reſt of the footmen ſeeing, forſooke their great ordnance, and fled backe to *Barbaruſſa*. Who long endured not the force or ſight of the Chriſtians; but grinding his teeth for ſorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horſe, and with his

Barbaruſſa in field againſt the Emperour.

Vaſtius cōmandeth the Emperour.

his Turks retired into Tunes. For now that his deſignes had in the beginning taken ſo euill G ſucceſſe, he thought it not beſt to aduenture all in one battel; knowing right well, that the emperours army could not long endure the inconueniences of the intollerable heat, and want of many things, eſpecially of freſh water: which fed him with hope, that he ſhould out of theſe his enemies diſtreſſes picke ſome fit occaſion of aduantage, if he could but a while defend the city of Tunes. The Numidians and Moores, who in great troups and companies had alwaies houered about the Emperors army, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themſelues into the ſuburbes, gardens, and other places neere vnto the city.

Barbaruſſa flyeth to Tunes.

The Emperor glad of the flight of his enemies, which were thought to haue bin in number 100000, incamped with his army that night in the ſame place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the wals of Tunes. In the meane time *Barbaruſſa*, ſurpriſed H with an exceeding feare, and diſtracted with many cares, and now become more cruell than himſelfe, had in his mind purpoſed a fact full of exceeding and inhuman cruelty; which was, at once to haue killed all the Chriſtian captiues in the caſtle of Tunes: fully reſolued to put the ſame in execution, had not *Sinan* the Iew diſſuaded him from that moſt execrable fact; proteſting ſuch a practiſe to be vnſeemely for a man of valour, famous for his many victories, and carrying with him the majeſty of a King; whereas he would ſhortly after wonderfully repent him for doing ſo ſhamefull a fact: the acting whereof, What was it elſe (as the Iew ſaid) but a manifeſt demonſtration of his extreame feare and deſperation? which two things were moſt dangerous to him, that was to maintaine ſo doubtfull a war, and would much deface the glory of his former life: wherefore he ſhould doe well to beware, that by the fame of ſuch a I moſt horrible fact, he did not prouoke *Solymans* heauy diſpleaſure againſt him: who deuoid of all humane cruelty, had vſed both to deteſt and reuenge ſuch outrages. Wherfore he ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian captiues to liue bound in their fatall chaines, ſo long; as it were their fortunes; who being well kept, and vnarmed, might ſhortly after ſerue him to good purpoſe, and could no way without moſt certain danger moue themſelues, if they ſhould vnaduiſedly luſt after their vnlucky liberty: for by them, the expected victory could neither be giuen to the enemy, nor taken from him, or yet ſo much as hindered. At which ſpeech the tyrant was aſhamed, and ſo ſparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the Caſtle, into the greateſt church of Tunes, whither he had cauſed to be aſſembled all the chiefe men of the city, to tell them what he would haue done for the defence of the city, and now by perſuaſion to encourage K them to fight: from whom, as men by him holden in diſtruſt, he had but a little before the comming of the Chriſtians, taken all manner of armor and weapons.

Barbaruſſa in mind to kil all the Chriſtian captiues, is diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew.

Whileſt *Barbaruſſa* was thus buſied, the moſt joyfull and happy day appeared to thoſe miſerable captiues; by fortunes change, no leſſe blacke and diſmall to the Turks and Moores. For that hainous purpoſe of the cruell tyrant could not long be couered or kept ſecret: ſo that a conſtant report of a danger ſo imminent, was run thorow the whole caſtle, euen into deep dungeons; by the compaſſion of certaine manumiſed ſlaues, who deteſting the ſauage cruelty of *Barbaruſſa* their maſter, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true Chriſtian religion; incouraging by ſecret ſpeeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their liberty. L Amongſt theſe well minded men was one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruſſa* had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing him alwaies in great eſteeme by the name of *Memis*; and another called *Vincentius Caterinus* of Dalmatia, an eunuch. Theſe two venturing a moſt memorable and godly attempt, ſet open the priſon doores, and gaue inſtruments vnto the poore priſoners, ready to take the occaſion offered; who boldly ſtarting vp, brake off their chains and gyues, and ſo by the great goodneſſe and mercy of God, about 6000 poore naked Chriſtians, armed with that came firſt in hand, but eſpecially with ſtones, brake forth ſuddenly vpon the Turks that were in the caſtle. *Ramadus* a renegate Spaniard captain of the caſtle, ſtirred vp with the vnexpected and terrible noiſe of ſo many priſoners breaking their yrons, with a few ſoldiers whom he had ſuddenly called vnto him run to the caſtle gate, where one of the priſoners (a luſty young man of Sicilia) had M with one of the bars of the gate ſtrucke downe one or two of the Warders, and hauing bolted the gate, was become maſter thereof: him *Ramadus* ſlew, and opening the gate, made way for himſelfe and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruſſa*, to carry him the newes of that his hard miſchance. But the Chriſtians now looſed from their bands, and hauing ſuddenly

The Chriſtian captiues breake priſon, & driue the Turkes out of the caſtle of Tunes.

A denly ſlaine diuers of the Turks,poſſeſſed themſelues of all the caſtle,brake open the armory,
and ſo ſeizing vpon the kings treaſure,armor,and prouiſion, from a high turret gaue ſignes of
victory to the Chriſtian army by ſmoake and falſe fires made with gunpouder; and laſtly by
diſplaying of *Sarmentus* his enſigne,which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabacches* taken
from the top of the trenches at the ſiege of Guletta.Theſe ſignes although the Chriſtians
in the army could not well perceiue, as being too far off, yet by the fugitiues which came oftentimes
out of Tunes to the Emperor and *Muleaſſes*, they were both perſuaded, that ſome
great tumult wts riſen amongſt the enemies. Wherefore the Emperor ſent two of his captains
with their companies,who going as neere as they could to the city and the caſtle, ſhould diſcouer
what the matter was. In the meane time, *Barbaruſſa* almoſt mad for anger, in his fury
B blaſpheming his vain gods,and bitterly curſing and banning the Iew, for diſſuading him from
killing the captiues,came to the caſtle gate,with tears ſtanding in his eys pittifully requeſting
the late Chriſtian captiues(which then ſtood vpon the top of the wals and the gate,with weapons
in their hands)that they would forthwith let him in,faithfully promiſing them their liberty,
with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of
their former and preſent fortune,and moued with juſt hatred,caſt ſtones at him,and with many
opprobrious words rejected his requeſt: ſo that he inraged with ſorrow and madneſſe, ſhot
at them with his owne hand, and ſeeing all paſt remedy, and the city not poſſible now to be
kept,ſhamefully betooke himſelfe to flight. After him followed the Turks, in number ſeuen
thouſand, with purpoſe to fly to the city Hippona, now called Bona, famous with the Biſhopricke
C of that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Auguſtine*. For there(as in a moſt ſure harbor)
had *Barbaruſſa* left fourteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the city, to ſerue his turne whatſoeuer
miſchance ſhould happen: but the tacklings,ſailes,oares,and ordnance, he had laied vp
in the caſtle faſt by,which was kept with a garriſon of his owne.

Tunes yeelded to the Emperor.

The Emperour vnderſtanding that *Barbaruſſa* with his Turks was fled, came with all his army
vnto the gates of Tunes, where the magiſtrates of the city were ready to ſubmit themſelues
vnto him,and to deliuer him the kies of the city; only requeſting of him,that he would
keep his ſoldiers incamped without the city,and not to ſeeke the vtter ſpoile and ruine thereof:
promiſing,that the ſouldiers ſhould want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleaſſes* alſo
carefull of the ſafety thereof,earneſtly intreated the Emperor in the citiſens behalfe. But he,
D although he was of his own honourable diſpoſition ready enough to haue granted what they
requeſted; yet for that he did not without cauſe, doubt of the Moores fidelity, and that the
paiment of the mony which they of Tunes had by *Muleaſſes* promiſed for the paiment of the
ſoldiers wages, was by them craftily delaied, expecting ſtill the vttermoſt deuoire of *Barbaruſſa*,
he could not by any means be perſuaded to promiſe them any certainty of their ſafety:
moued alſo ſo to do by the diſcontented ſpeeches of his ſoldiers, who ſpared not to ſay, That
they ſhould be hardyl and vnkindly dealt withall, if after ſo long trauell and ſo much paines
taken both by ſea and land,they ſhould be defrauded of the reward of the victory, ſith nothing
but only the hope of the preſent ſpoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miſerable,
hauing ſcarce clothes to couer their nakedneſſe, and their bodies ſpent with long labour and
E thirſt: ſo that the Moores of Tunes,enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and the perpetuall receiuers
of moſt horrible pyrats,might worthily rejoyce of the Chriſtians victory;and the conquerors
themſelues for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miſeries. Whileſt the Emperor
ſtood thus in doubt what to reſolue vpon,*Vaſtius* with a ſmall company came to the caſtle
gate,and was with wonderfull joy receiued by the Chriſtian captiues. But as he was viewing
the wealth and prouiſion laid vp in the caſtle, a Ligurian captiue diſcouered vnto him where
certain treaſure lay hid: for *Barbaruſſa* had there caſt into a well 30000 duckats ſowed vp in
bags,which *Vaſtius* getting eaſily out,obtain'd them of the Emperor of gift,as he whoſe good
ſeruice had well deſerved them. The caſtle thus won by a ſtrange chance,and the captiues taking
the ſpoile thereof,the ſoldiers could no longer be ſtaied,but that they entred into the city
F by heaps,running after the ſpoile into euery part therof; the citiſens fearing no ſuch matter,
and calling in vain vpon the faith of *Muleaſſes*: the old ſoldiers at the firſt entrance ſlew many.
The Spaniards and Italians ſought moſt after the ſpoile; but the Germans deſiring more to
glut themſelues with the Mahometan bloud, fill'd all places with dead bodies, without regard
of ſex or age; ſo that the prophane temples of their vain prophet, ſwam with the bloud of them
that

Tunes ſpoiled by the Chriſtians.

that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued vntill ſuch time as the Emperor G moued with the pittifull requeſt of *Muleaſſes*, cauſed proclamation to be made, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death hurt any citiſen, or take any priſoners: yet for all that, it could not otherwiſe be, but that many young men and women were by the mariners (which were come to the ſpoile of the city) carried away to the fleet.

Muleaſſes for a little mony redeemed diuers which he knew, out of the hand of ſuch as had them priſoners: amongſt others, one of his wiues, whom he ſometime held deareſt, was ranſomed for two duckats. The Emperor entering into the caſtle, commended the captiues, who were the occaſion of that ſpeedy victory: and giuing to euery one of them mony, ſet them at liberty, promiſing vnto them ſhipping and prouiſion to bring them home euery man into his owne country. Vnto the two manumiſed ſeruants of *Barbaruſſa*, which were the authours H of breaking the priſon, he gaue mony and apparell, & afterwards learned of them many things concerning *Barbaruſſa* his purpoſes, and ſecret diſpoſition. In the ſpoile of the caſtle, *Muleaſſes* lamented the loſſe of three things eſpecially: firſt, the antient Arabian bookes containing the interpretation of the Mahometan law, and the acts of the Kings his predeceſſours; the loſſe whereof, *Muleaſſes* (in the hearing of *P. Iouius*, out of whom this hiſtory is taken) ſaid (as he reporteth) that he would moſt gladly if it had bin poſſible, haue redeemed with the price of a city: then the precious ointments and perfumes, with the wonderfull ſtore of ambergrize, muske, and ciuet, worth much gold: all which, *Barbaruſſa* as a rude and rough man had made no reckoning of. And laſt of all, the rare and rich colours for painting, which lying by heapes, were by the ignorant ſoldiers, ſeeking for that might yeeld them preſent mony, fooliſhly neg- I lected and troden vnder foot, ſeruing no man to good. In this caſtle were found diuers headpieces and other armor of the Chriſtians, namely, of the French, who with *Lewis* their King, had about three hundred yeares before beſieged that caſtle: which armour had beene vntill that time there kept by the Moores in remembrance of that victory againſt the Chriſtians.

Three things eſpecially lamented by Muleaſſes in the ſpoile of the caſtle of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa in the meane time was come to the riuer of Bagrada, which the Moores call Maiordech, which he eaſily paſſed ouer, though he was purſued by certaine Numidian horſemen, whom *Muleaſſes* had raiſed of his old friends, and of the followers of his vncle *Dorax*, and ſent them to purſue the Turks: but *Barbaruſſa* ſo marched with his harquebuſiers and archers placed in the rereward, that the Numidian horſemen durſt not come neere him, and ſo in ſafety came to Hippona, as he had before purpoſed. Yet in paſſing the riuer Bagrada, he loſt *Haydin* K of Smyrna, that famous pirat: who being a fat man, and wearied with the heat of the Sunne and painefulneſſe of the journy, dranke ſo much, that he died preſently vpon the banke of the riuer. When *Barbaruſſa* was come to Hippona, he reſted his men two daies: then calling them together againe, he comforted them with good words; perſuading them, that whatſoeuer miſchance had hapned, they ſhould impute it not to the valour of the enemy, but to the trechery of the ſlaues: exhorting them, as valiant men patiently to indure that frowne of Fortune, and by ſome notable exploit to win againe her fauour: for he was againe determined to put to ſea with the fleet he had, and to go preſently from thence to Algiers, where after he had with new ſupplies increaſed his power, and augmented his fleet, and better aduiſed himſelfe, he would take an attempt in hand anſwerable to their deſires, and not vnbeſeeming his own credit and L eſtimation. It is reported, that neuer vanquiſhed and beaten captaine was with more cheerefull acclamation anſwered by his ſouldiers, than he was at that preſent; they all with one conſent moſt willingly requeſted him to command whatſoeuer pleaſed him, which they would neuer refuſe to vndertake, were it neuer ſo heauy or dangerous, ſo that they might be brought to ſome notable exploit. *Barbaruſſa* vſing this exceeding cheerefulneſſe and forwardneſſe of his ſoldiers, did with with wonderfull celerity weigh vp the 14 gallies which he ſunke in the lake, and forthwith rigged them vp, and furniſhed them for all aſſaies: and vpon the very brinke of the lake caſt vp a mount of earth, whereon he placed certain pieces of artillery for defence of the harbour; not vainely conjecturing, that the Chriſtian fleet would in ſhort time come thither to impeach his going out: pointing therein as it were at the purpoſe of the Emperor and M *Auria* his admirall, who were of opinion, that by ſending part of the fleet thither, thoſe gallies might be drown'd in the harbor with the great ordnance, before they could be rigged and made ready. Vnto this piece of ſeruice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a captaine of Genoa, a man of no great skill in matters at ſea, but yet of great wealth & credit, and the Admirals nigh kinſman:

Barbaruſſa flieth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiers.

Auria ſendeth certaine gallies to intercept Barbaruſſa.

A he with certaine galliots and foureteene gallies, ſet forwards towards Hippona, promiſing vnto
himſelfe a moſt certain and eaſie victory, hoping to purchaſe vnto himſelfe great honor of
the vnprouided enemy: for that he thought to haue taken *Barbaruſſa* buſie in ſetting forth of
his fleet. But after he was paſt Biſerta, and come neere to Hippona, he was certainly aduertiſed,
that *Barbaruſſa* had with incredible celerity rigged vp his gallies and fortified the harbor, by
planting great ordnance vpon the mount he had there raiſed. With which newes he wonderfully
troubled, changed his purpoſe, perſuaded by the other captaines of the gallies, in no caſe
to aduenture to fight with him, becauſe the Spaniſh, Sicilian, and Neapolitan gallies were but
weakly manned, many of the ſouldiers being for greedineſſe of the ſpoile, gone aſhore without
leaue at Tunes: ſo that he ſhould at great diſaduantage fight with the Turks, being mo in
B number and deſperatly bent. Wherefore he vpon good aduice preſently changed his former
courſe, and returned to the fleet for more aid. *Barbaruſſa* (as it was afterwards knowne) ſtood
a good while in doubt, whether he ſhould in hope of victory purſue thoſe gallies, foraſmuch
as they were in number no more than his owne, or elſe to perſiſt in his former purpoſe of going
to Algiers. Vnto which opinion all the vnder captains inclined, being altogether ignorant
of the weakneſſe of the Chriſtians: and ſo letting ſlip a faire occaſion, leauing a ſmall garriſon
of Turks in the caſtle, he departed from Hippona & ſailed along the coaſts to Algiers. When
Adam was returned againe to the fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Chriſtian Princes
were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of ſome who were hardly to be commanded,
and by the vnrulineſſe of others who without leaue was gone aſhore, ſo faire an occaſion
C of the deſired victory, was neglected. For this thing only wanted vnto the Emperors rare felicity
in that war: for if thoſe few gallies had bin taken from the cruell enemy, or ſunke in the
ſea, there had been no meanes for him to haue eſcaped; being verily thought that the Numidians
in number infinit, and deadly enemies vnto the Turks, would with often skirmiſhes out
of their knowne places of aduantage, haue ſo cut him off in his long and painfull trauell by
land, that they would altogether haue made an end both of him and his followers before he
could haue come to Algiers. *Auria* angry both with himſelfe and thoſe whom he had put in
truſt, and yet not out of hope to ouertake his enemy; with his owne gallies and ſome other of
the beſt ſhips went to Hippona: but finding *Barbaruſſa* gone, he took the city and ouerthrew
the wals thereof: but in the caſtle which he by force tooke from the Turks, he placed *Aluarus*
D *Gometius* with a ſufficient garriſon, and ſo returned vnto the Emperor. This *Gometius*, although
he was a moſt valiant captain, yet became ſo infamous for his auaritious dealing both
with the enemy and his friends, that for feare how to anſwer ſuch things as he knew would
be laid to his charge, he became the infamous executioner of himſelfe. The caſtle was afterwards
by the cammandement of the Emperor, raſed downe to the ground, for that it was not
without a maruellous charge to be kept. After that, a counſell was holden concerning *Muleaſſes*,
whom the Emperour placed again in the kingdome of Tunes, there to reigne as his anceſtors
had don before him; paying him yearly by the name of a tribute, two Faulcons, and two
Numidian courſers: with condition, that he ſhould for euer honour the Emperour, and be a
friend vnto all Chriſtians, and an vtter enemy vnto the Turks. Beſides that, That he ſhould
E from time to time defray the charges of a thouſand Spaniards and more, to be left in garriſon
in the caſtle of Guletta; by holding whereof, the Emperour kept as it were the keies of that
kingdome at his girdle. The Emperor hauing thus honourably driuen *Barbaruſſa* & the Turks
pyrats out of Tunes, taken from them their gallies, deliuered the Chriſtian countries (al along
the ſea coaſt into the Mediterranean) of a great feare, and reſtored *Muleaſſes* again to his kingdome,
ſayled into Sicilia, where he was in great triumph receiued at Panormus and Meſſana,
from whence he paſſed ouer to Rhegium in Italy, and from thence by land to Naples. Thus
was the kingdome of Tunes taken by *Barbaruſſa* and the Turks; and by *Charles* the Emperour
recouered againe out of their hands the ſelfe-ſame time that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelfe
in wars againſt the Perſian: whom *Barbaruſſa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Iew, after this ouerthrow
F met at Iconium in his returne out of Perſia, well excepting of their excuſe, as is before
declared.

Barbaruſſa eſcapeth to Algiers.

The kingdom of Tunes is by the emperour reſtored to Muleaſſes.

The Emperour returneth with victory into Italy.

Solyman as well of his own ambitious diſpoſition, as following the manner of the *Othoman* 1537
kings, deſirous by all meanes to increaſe the glory of his name, and to inlarge his Empire, determined
with himſelfe to take away from the Portingals all their traffick into the Eaſt Indies.

It grieued him to heare, that the Chriſtian religion ſhould begin to take root amongſt thoſe Pagan kings, which had not long before receiued the Mahometan religion: Beſides that, he was credibly informed, that the Portingals in theſe late wars he had againſt the Perſians, had aided them with certain harquebuſiers, and alſo had ſent them workemen to ſhew them both the making and vſe of great artillery. But that which moued him moſt of all, was for that the Portingals by their trafficke into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandiſe into the gulfe of Arabia, whereby the riches of the Eaſt were wont to be tranſported vnto Caire, and ſo to Alexandria, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian Merchants and others diſperſed into all parts of Europe: but now were carried by the great Ocean into Portingall, and from thence conueied into all parts of Chriſtendome, to the great hindrance of his tributes and cuſtoms of Ægypt. For theſe cauſes and at the inſtance of *Solyman Baſſa* an eunuch, borne in Epirus, and then Gouernour of Ægypt; *Solyman* cauſed wonderfull preparation to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the red ſea, to go againſt the Portingals. All the timber whereof was cut downe in the mountaines of Cilicia, and ſhipped in the bay of Atralia in the bottome of the Mediterranean, from whence it was by ſea tranſported to Peluſium, and ſo vp the riuer of Nilus to Caire; where after it was framed and ready to be ſet together, it was with infinit labour, and no leſſe charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that hot and ſandy country, from Caire to Suetia, a port of the Red ſea, called in antient time Arſinoe. From which place eightie miles, diſtant from Caire, the ancient Kings of Ægypt, ſeeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eterniſe the memory of themſelues, had with incredible charge cut through all that maine land; ſo that veſſels of good burthen might come vp the ſame from Arſinoe to Caire: which great cut or ditch, *Seſoſtris* the rich king of Ægypt, and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purpoſed to haue made a great deale wider and deeper, and thereby to haue let the Red ſea into the Mediterranean, for the readier tranſportation of the Indian Merchandiſe to Caire and Alexandria. Which mad worke, *Seſoſtris* preuented by death could not performe: and *Ptolomeus* otherwiſe perſuaded by skilfull men, in time gaue ouer: for feare leſt by letting in the great South ſea into the Mediterranean, he ſhould thereby as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greateſt part of Grecia, and many other goodly countries in Aſia, and with exceeding charge, in ſtead of honor, haue purchaſed himſelfe eternall infamy. Yet by the ſingular induſtry of *Solyman* the Eunuch, who with ſeuere commandement inforced all the people of the countries therabouts to the furtherance of the building of that fleet; he had with wonderfull celerity in ſhort time new built eighty tall ſhips and gallies at Arſinoe, and furniſhed them with men, and all things elſe needfull for ſo long a voyage. At which time he vpon a quarrell pickt without cauſe, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, moſt iniuriouſly confiſcated the goods of the Venetian merchants at Alexandria and Caire, and thruſt the marriners into his gallies as ſlaues. With which fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Baſſa, accompanied with *Aſſan-Beg*, commonly called the Moore of Alexandria, a moſt famous pyrat and an excellent ſea-man, ſet forward againſt the Portingals: and ſailing thorow the Red ſea, and ſo Eaſtward by the gulfe of Perſia, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus; where with all his power he aſſaulted *Dium* a caſtle of the Portingals, ſcituate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in concluſion, after he had many daies beſieged the caſtle both by ſea and land, and tried the vttermoſt of his ſtrength, he was ſo repulſed by the Portingals, that he was glad to forſake the ſiege, & leauing his great ordnance behind him for haſt, returned backe againe to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Fœlix: where diſcouraged with the euill ſucceſſe he had againſt the Portingals, becauſe he would be thought to haue done ſomething, he allured the king of that rich city to come vnto him, vpon his falſe faith before giuen for his ſafe returne: but as ſoone as he had him aboord, he like a periured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall gally, and ſo ſurpriſing the city, enriched himſelſe with the ſpoile thereof. The like barbarous cruelty he vſed at Zibyth, another famous port of Arabia, where the pilgrims of the Eaſt do commonly land when they after the manner of their ſuperſtition come to viſit the temple of their falſe prophet at Mecha: the king of which place together with all his nobility he cruelly murthered, contrary to his faith giuen; and ſo trauelling himſelfe by land to Mecha, as if he had been ſome deuout pilgrim, ſent backe his fleet by the Moore to Suetia, hauing performed againſt the Portingals nothing at all.

The Ægyptian Kings about to let in the red ſea into the Mediterranean.

Dium a caſtle of the Portingals in the Eaſt-Indies in vaine aſſaulted by the Turks.

The treacherous dealing of Solyman the eunuch Baſſa with the kings of Arabia

At

A At the ſame time *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Lutzis* and *Ajax* (the Baſſaes of greateſt authority about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his forces from the Perſians, as men agreeing with him in the chiefe points of his Mahometan ſuperſtition, with purpoſe to conuert the ſame vpon Italy: whereunto he was earneſtly ſolicited by *Iohn Forreſt* the French Kings Embaſſador, then lying at Conſtantinople of purpoſe to incite *Solyman* againſt *Charles* the Emperour, aſſuring him that he was not of ſuch power, as at one time to defend Apulia againſt him, and the Dukedome of Millaine againſt the French King, who (as he ſaid) was determined that Summer to inuade that part of Italy. And to further the matter, about the ſame time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble gentleman, ſometime commander in *Charles* the Emperors army, but then exiled out of Naples, fled vnto *Solyman*; and foraſmuch as he was a man B of name, and like to do him great ſeruice in the inuaſion of Apulia, as one which knew the country well, and promiſed vnto him good ſucceſſe in that wars, was by *Solyman* honourably entertained amongſt his Mutfaracas: which is a certaine company of horſemen for their approued valor, choſen out of all nations; hauing the free exerciſe of their religion whatſoeuer without controllement, and are onely bound to attend vpon the perſon of the great Turke when he goeth to warre. The cauſe of his reuolt was, for that the Viceroy of Naples had executed *Andrew* his brother, one of the Knights of the Rhodes. But being now growne into great fauour with *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, and oftentimes called to counſell in the preparation of that war, caſting off all naturall loue of his country, ceaſed not by all meanes to perſuade *Solyman* to inuade the ſame; aſſuring him, that the people of Apulia and Salerne, oppreſſed with C grieuous tribute and exactions by the Emperors officers, would at the firſt reuolt, eſpecially if they ſaw any of the French nation to cleaue vnto. And that which moued him more than all the reſt, the antient Turks told him into what a feare al Italy was ſtrucken, at ſuch time as *Achmetes* the Baſſa hauing taken Hydruntum, had vndoutedly conquered not only the kingdome of Naples, but the city of Rome alſo, and all the reſt of Italy, had not the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his great grandfather interrupted the courſe of that victory. Which perſuaſions wrought ſuch effect in *Solyman*, that he, once fully reſolued for the inuaſion of Italy, made ſuch expedition both by ſea and land, that he himſelfe in perſon was come with two hundred thouſand men vnto Aulona, the moſt conuenient port of Macedon for the tranſporting of his army, before it was thought in Italy that he was ſet forward from Conſtantinople: where he D had not long ſtaid, but *Lutzis Baſſa* his Admiral, accompanied with *Barbaruſſa*, ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus and Epirus, and ſo paſſing by Corcyra, where *Hieronimus Piſaurius*, Admirall of the Venetian fleet lay with his gallies (after mutuall ſalutation done after the manner of ſea, by ſhooting off their great pieces in token of friendſhip) put into the hauen of Aulona alſo. *Solyman* not purpoſing to loſe any time, and hauing Italy now in his ſight, commanded *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa* to paſſe ouer with the fleet vnto Otranto, and to proue the minds of the people; that if the firſt enterpriſe fell out well, he might preſently follow after with all his army. With them went alſo *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the deſtruction of his country, as any of the reſt. He knowing that the great Cities of Hydruntum and Brunduſium were kept with ſtrong Garriſons of *Charles* the Emperour; leauing Hydruntum on E the right hand, directed the Turks to a Towne vpon the Sea-coaſt, eight miles off, called Caſtrum, neere vnto which ſtandeth a caſtle vpon a hill then belonging to *Mercurinus Catinarius*: who being a man vnacquainted with warres, and terrified with the ſudden comming of the Turks, and perſuaded by *Troilus*, yeelded vp his Caſtle, vpon condition, That the Turks ſhould offer no violence or injury vnto him or his, either in body or goods. Vpon which condition the Towne of Caſtrum was alſo deliuered vnto them. But the Turkes, eſpecially the greedy marriners, being got into the Caſtle and the Towne, moued neither with the intreaty of *Troilus*, nor the commandement of *Lutzis* and *Barbaruſſa*, rifled the Towne and Caſtle, and carried away with them *Mercurinus* himſelfe, with all the floure of the people, to their gallies as priſoners. But *Lutzis* aſhamed of ſuch faithleſſe dealing, preſently ſet *Mercurinus* at liberty againe. F At the ſame time alſo, *Solyman* had by night ſent ouer certaine troupes of light horſemen, in great Palendars: which running all alongſt the ſea coaſt from Tarentum to Brunduſium, carried away with them both the people and cattell, and whatſoeuer elſe came in their way by the ſpace of forty miles. So that all that Countrey of Salentinum, now called Otranto, was filled with feare and danger; and had not there ſtaied, but

Solyman incited by the French Embaſſador to inuade Italy.

Solyman with an army of two hundred thouſand men commeth to Aulona.

Solyman ſends Lutzis & Barbaruſſa with his fleet to inuade Italy.

Caſtrum in Apulia yeelded to the Turks, & by them contrary to their faith ſpoiled.

The Turkes ſpoile Apulia.

was like enough to haue ouerwhelmed all Italy, by the comming ouer of *Solyman* with his whole army, had not the raſhneſſe of one Venetian captaine by vnexpected chance turned that tempeſt from the Italians vpon the Venetians themſelues.

Alexander Contarenus, a valiant captain of the Venetians, meeting with certain of the Turks gallies, which would neither vaile their top ſailes, nor in token of reuerence and friendſhip, diſcharge any of their great ordnance, as of duty they ought to haue done in thoſe ſeas, where the Venetians commanded; offended with their proud inſolency, fiercely aſſailed them, and in fight ſunke two of them: wherein *Vſtamenes* Gouernour of Callipolis, a man of no ſmall reputation among the Turks, was reported to haue periſhed. Which outrage don by *Contarenus* in a moſt vnfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian eſtate, as it appeared afterward) was imputed to his owne priuat grudge which he bare againſt the Turks, for that they intercepted a ſhip of his as ſhe was comming out of the Eaſt countries laden with rich merchandiſe; ſo that it was thought, that he to pleaſe himſelfe in reuenging of his own priuat injury, regarded not what in that dangerous time might enſue thereof to the common ſtate.

A little before the comming ouer of the Turks into Italy, *Andreas Aurea* the Emperours Admirall lying at Meſſana in Sicilia, vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was come with his army to Aulona, and that his fleet was arriued there alſo, put to ſea, directing his courſe towards the Iſlands of Caphalenia and Zacynthus, hoping (as indeed it fell out) to meet with the taile of the Turks fleet: for there according to his expectation he chanced vpon diuers of the Turks victuallers, whom he eaſily tooke. The marriners he chained in his owne gallies for ſlaues, and furniſhing his fleet with the victual, which was not for him prouided, fired the ſhips. Whileſt *Aurea* was thus beating too and fro in the Ionian ſea, it fortuned that *Solyman* ſent *Iunusbeius* his chiefe interpreter, a man whom he made no ſmall account of, with two gallies on a meſſage to *Lutzis* his Admirall. This proud Turke comming neere vnto Corcyra, where the Venetian Admirall lay with his fleet, offered ſcornefully to paſſe, without vailing: which his pride tending to the diſgrace of the Venetians, certaine of the Venetian captains not enduring, ſet vpon him with ſuch fury, that the Turks were enforced to run both their gallies on ſhore vpon the coaſt of Epirus, neere vnto the mountaines called Acroceraunij, where hauing eſcaped the danger at ſea, they fell almoſt all into the hands of the cruell mountaine people, liuing for the moſt part by theft, and waiting for wracks, as hawks for their prey: by theſe ſhauers the Turks were ſtript of all they had, and *Iunusbeius* with much adoe redeeming himſelfe out of their hands returned to *Solyman*. *Aurea* ſailing alongſt the ſea coaſt, chanced vpon theſe gallies, and finding them ſore bruſed, ſet fire on them.

Iunusbeius with two gallies, driuen by the Venetians vpon the Acroſeraunian rocks.

For theſe vnkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, and grieuouſly complained of them to *Solyman*: although the Venetian Admirall laboured by all means he could to appeaſe *Iunus beius*, and to excuſe the matter as a thing done by great ouerſight on both ſides. Vpon theſe ſmall occaſions, the Turks ſought to breake off the league with the Venetians; which fell out ſo much the ſooner, for that about the ſame time *Auria* ſailing vp and down the Ionian ſea, and diligently looking into euery harbor to intercept ſuch as ſtragled from the Turks fleet, hapned by night to light vpon 12 of *Solymans* great gallies neere vnto Corcyra, all filled with his Ianizaries and choiſe horſemen of the court, the beſt ſoldiers of the Turks, who had by land ſent their horſes to the camp by their lackies, and were comming themſelues with the Ianizaries by ſea. *Auria* falling vpon theſe gallies, had with them a cruell and deadly fight: for they as reſolute men, wiſhing rather to die than to yeeld to their enemies, with inuincible courage maintained a moſt bloudy fight againſt *Auria* with his 30 gallies excellently appointed, vntill ſuch time as moſt part of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſore wounded; who ſeeing no remedy, but that they muſt needs come into the hands of their enemies, threw their ſcimiters ouerboord, becauſe thoſe choice weapons ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. In this conflict, *Auria* loſt alſo many of his beſt ſoldiers: yet hauing got the victory, and poſſeſſed of the gallies, he ankered neere vnto Corcyra, there to take view of his own harmes and the enemies: but whilſt he rid there at anker, he was aduertiſed, that *Barbaruſſa* was comming againſt him with 80 gallies. Wherefore knowing himſelfe too weake to encounter ſo ſtrong an enemy, he departed thence, and returned againe to Meſſana to repaire his fleet. *Solyman* thorowly chafed with the loſſe of his gallies and beſt ſouldiers, and with the double injury done vnto him by the Venetians, fell into ſuch a rage, that he

Auria taketh 12 of the Turks gallies full of Ianizeries and Solymans other beſt ſouldiers.

curſed

A cursed *Barbaruſſa*, as one who in theſe wars had done him no good ſeruice; and thundred out grieuous threats againſt the Venetians; ſaying he was vnder the colour of an ancient league, by them deceiued and greatly abuſed, and that they were ſecretly confederated with *Charles* his enemy, and had for that cauſe (as they had alwaies) holpen *Auria* with intelligence, and all things neceſſary, receiuing him into their harbors, and by their eſpials giuing him knowledge of the order of his fleet, that ſo he might at his own aduantage ſurpriſe his gallies, as he had already done. Vnto which fire, *Ianusbeius* his Interpreter, *Barbaruſſa*, and *Ajax*, laid new coles, more and more increaſing the tyrant, who was of himſelfe ſufficiently inflamed; perſuading him by all means they could, to breake the league with the Venetians. Wherein *Ianusbeius* ſought to reuenge his own priuat iniuries, and the other two after their greater profit and credit, gaping after the ſpoile of the Iſlands neer hand, eſpecially of Corcyra (now called Corfu) B Zacynthus and Cephalenia, all ſubiect to the Venetian ſeigniory; finding the wars in Italy more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French King came not then into Italy, as was by them expected: and it was commonly reported, That *Petrus Toletanus* Viceroy of Naples, hauing put ſtrong garriſons into the towns all alongſt the ſea coaſt, was comming himſelfe with a great army: beſide that, the horſemen ſent out from Aulona, ranging about in the countrey of Salentum for ſpoile, were many times cut off by *Scipio Tomucius* a noble gentleman there Gouernor for the Emperor. Wherefore *Solyman* changing his purpoſe for the inuaſion of Italy, in his mad mood proclaimed war againſt the Venetians: and riſing with his army from Aulona, & marching alongſt the ſea coaſt till he came ouer againſt Corcyra, he incamped neer vnto the mountains called Acroceraunij, where the fierce and wild C people inhabiting the high and rough mountaine of Chimera, a part of the Acroceraunian mountains, by the inſtigation of one *Damianus* a notable theefe, and very perfect in the blind and difficult paſſages amongſt the rocks and woods in thoſe deſolate mountains, conſpired to attempt a moſt ſtrange and deſperat exploit, which was, by night to ſpoile *Solyman* in his own pauilion. Theſe beggerly wild rogues liuing for moſt part by murther and robbery, altogether without law or any maner of religion, in hope of ſo great a prey, and to become famous in killing one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world in the midſt of his ſtrength, garded with ſo many thouſands of his ſoldiers; were not afraid of any danger, how great ſoeuer, hoping in the dead time of the night to ſteale into the camp vndiſcouered, and there ſo to oppreſſe *Solyman* ſleeping in his tent. Which (as was by many afterwards ſuppoſed) they were like D enough to haue performed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, had it not bin by chance diſcouered: for when they had put all things in readineſſe for that purpoſe, *Damianus* ringleader of theſe deſperat ſauage people, by ſecret waies ſtealing downe the broken rockes of thoſe huge mountains, and comming very neer the camp, to view the ſtanding of *Solymans* pauilion, with the order of the Turks watch, was by the crack of a bough eſpyed by the Ianizaries, where he ſtood in a tree prying all ouer the camp: and being there taken, and afterward put to torture, and confeſſing what he had intended, was by the commandement of *Solyman* torne in pieces. Wherupon he forthwith ſent a great part of his army vp into the mountaines, which hunting after theſe wild people as if they had bin wild beaſts, ſlew many of them, and by *Solymans* ap- E pointment did what they poſſibly could to haue quite deſtroied them, as an infamous people, enemy to all men.

Ianusbeius, Barbaruſſa, and Ajax, inſence Solymã againſt the Venetians.

Solymã conuerteth his forces from the Italians againſt the Venetians.

Solymã in danger to haue bin ſlain in his tent in the midſt of his army.

When *Solyman* had thus fully reuenged himſelfe vpon this barbarous nation, he purpoſed to inuade the Iſland of Corcyra, now called Corfu, part of the Venetian Seigniory: ſending before *Barbaruſſa* with his great Artillery, whom he had but a little before called out of Italy with his forces, *Piſaurus* the Venetian Admirall in good time perceiuing the tyrants purpoſe, ſtrengthned the garriſons in both the Caſtles of Corfu, with new ſupplies of good ſouldiers ſent out of the gallies: and knowing himſelfe vnable to incounter with the Turks great fleet at ſea, withdrew himſelfe farther off from the Iſland, into the gulf of the Adriatick, to the intent to ioine his power with *Ioannes Veturius*, who kept that ſea with another fleet of the Venetian F gallies, and ſo with ioyned forces to defend the Venetian coaſts againſt the Turks: whom he thought himſelfe ſtrong enough for, with the help of *Veturius* and of *Auria*, whoſe comming was dayly expected. *Solyman* ſending a great part of his army out of the Main, into the Iſland, burnt and deſtroyed the country villages, leading away a wonderfull number of poore country people into moſt miſerable captiuity. *Ajax* the Baſſa, and *Barbaruſſa*, in two ſmall pinnaces

Solymã inuadeth the Iſland of Corcyra.

came as neer vnto the city of Corfu as they poſſibly could, to ſee which way they might moſt conueniently lay ſiege vnto it: but perceiuing the great ſtrength thereof, being wonderfully fortified, and throughly manned, they aduertiſed *Solyman*, that it was a place impregnable. *Aloyſius Ripa* and *Simon Leonius*, two Senators of Venice, were then gouernors of Corfu, who not without cauſe ſtanding in doubt of the great ſtrength of the Turks both by ſea and land, cauſed the city ſuburbs (which were very great and ſumptuouſly built) to be pluckt down, for fear that the Turks ſhrowding themſelues in them, ſhould more eaſily beſiege the town. This was a woful and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the ſame time a man might haue ſeen the magnificent houſes of the Venetian Merchants, built in time of long peace both for profit and for pleaſure in euery place of the Iſland, and ſet on fire by the Turks. But the regard of the publique ſtate in ſo great a danger, made all thoſe goodly things which went ſo to wrack, to be lightly accounted of in compariſon of their liues and liberty; foraſmuch as thoſe loſt things might with new charge be again in ſhort time recouered.

The two Venetian Gouernours aforeſaid, fearing a long ſiege, and not prouided of victuall to ſuffice ſuch a multitude as were got into the City, for any long time; vſed a heauy and ſharp remedy, by turning a great number of weak people and children vnable for ſeruice, out of the city; of whom many, ſpecially children, died in the town ditches in their mothers arms, vnder the wals of the city, not daring to go any further for fear of the enemy, who had faſt by, in places conuenient caſt vp great mounts, and planted his Ordnance againſt the city. Onely the caſtle called S. *Angelo*, ſtanding in the middle of the Iſland, about fifteen miles from the city of Corfu, being valiantly defended by the Inhabitants againſt the aſſaults of the Turks, haply ſaued aboue three thouſand poor people which fled thither from the fury of the Turks, who in all other places of the Iſland had made all deſolate. The Turks the more to terrifie them of Corfu, taking a hill not far from the city, couered the ſame with their tents, and from the rock called Maripetrus, ſhot with their great ordnance into the town: ſome of them in the meane time ſtanding cloſe in the ruines of the ſuburbs, did with their harquebuſies kill or wound them which appeared vpon the wals: the gallies alſo did oftentimes out of their proweſſe diſcharge their great pieces againſt the city, to the greater terror than hurt of the defendants. *Solyman* perceiuing that he did but loſe his labour in beſieging the city (as he was told at the firſt by his great captains, *Lutzis*, *Ajax*, & *Barbaruſſa*) determined now to raiſe his ſiege, and to return to Conſtantinople, greatly aſhamed that he had no better ſped, neither in Italy, nor at the ſiege of Corfu. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how vnfaithfully ſome of his ſoldiers had dealt with them of Caſtrum in Italy, who yeelding themſelues vpon the Turks faith to them giuen for the ſafegard of their liberty and goods, were neuertheles moſt iniuriouſly ſpoiled of all that they had, and carried away into bondage: which fact, as tending to the diſhonor of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding, *Solyman* took in ſo euill part, that for amending therof, he cauſed the authors of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of Caſtrum to be diligently ſought out, and ſent home againe into their countrey; well deſeruing therin the commendation of a moſt iuſt Prince. The Turks left the ſiege of Corfu, and departed out of the Iſland about the twelfth of September, in the yere 1537; carrying away about ſixteen thouſand of the Iſland people into perpetuall captiuity. So *Solyman* riſing with his army, marching through Acarnania and Ætolia, returned through Macedonia to Conſtantinople: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in Italy and Corcyra, but yet nothing increaſed his empire or honour.

Good Juſtice don by Solyman

The Turks depart frō Corfu, and cary away with thē aboue 16000 Chriſtians into captiuitie.

Before his departure, calling vnto him *Lutzis* his Admirall, he commanded him alſo to returne with his fleet to Helleſpontus: who paſſing by Zacynthus, and landing ſome of his men in the night, took diuers of the countrey people priſoners. But vnderſtanding that the City it ſelfe was both ſtrong and well manned, he departed thence to Cythera, where vnfortunately attempting to haue taken the caſtle, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, he made what ſpoyle he could vpon that Iſland, and with 800 priſoners returned into Ægeum to Ægyna, a rich and famous Iſland, and well peopled both with mariners and other Inhabitants. Approaching the Iſland, he by his meſſengers ſent before vnto the Gouernour of the City, attempted firſt by faire means, and afterwards by threats, to haue had the City yeelded vnto him: and not ſo preuailing, but perceiuing them to ſtand vpon their defence, he landed his men, and gaue the ſignall

A nall of battell; which they of the Iſland refuſed not, but manfully met him, and at the firſt incounter ſlew many of his men. Wherwith the Admiral grieuouſly offended, and ſtil landing freſh men, euen with his multitude oppreſſed them of the Iſland, being but few in number, and weary of long fight, and ſo inforced them to retyre into the city.

To be reuenged of this injury, the Baſſa cauſed certain great pieces of ordnance to be landed, and a battery planted againſt the City: by force whereof he had in ſhort time in diuers places opened the walls, and then with all his power aſſaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke the city, which after he had rifled, he burnt it down to the ground, raſed the wals, and put euery man to the ſword. As for the women, he gaue them without reſpect vnto the luſt of his ſoldiers and mariners; whom afterwards together with the boies and young children he ſhipt into B the country neer Athens, to be from thence conueyed vnto Conſtantinople, into moſt miſerable ſeruitude.

Ægina with other Iſlands of the Egeum ſpoiled.

Ægina thus vtterly raſed, he with much like force and cruelty raged vpon them of Paros and the other Iſlands therabouts, killing the old men and ſuch as made reſiſtance, & thruſting the reſt into his gallies. Shortly after he came to the Iſle of Naxos, where all the Iſland people were for fear of his comming fled out of the country into the city, where landing his men he made hauock of whatſoeuer came to hand. And in the mean time ſent a meſſenger to the Duke, to wil him to yeeld himſelf and his city into the obedience of the Turkiſh Emperour *Solyman*. Which meſſenger admitted into the city, and brought before the duke, in blunt and plain terms, without further circumſtance, deliuered his meſſage thus:

C

If thou wilt without more ado yeeld thy ſelf, thy city and territory, to the Conſtantinopolitan Emperor, thou ſhalt deſerue his fauor, and ſo ſaue thy ſelfe with that thou haſt. But if thou, otherwiſe aduiſed, ſhalt now refuſe this grace, thou ſhalt neuer haue the like offer, but for euer vndo thy ſelfe, thy wife & children, thy citiſens, and ſubiects in generall. Here is preſent a moſt mighty fleet, with moſt valiant and victorious ſoldiers, furniſhed with all the habiliments of war requiſit for battell or ſiege. Be warned by them of Ægina, Paros, and other thy neighbor Princes of the Iſlands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not miſaduiſed, and (warned by other mens harms) wilfully refuſe to remedy thy owne; and when thou mighiſt be ſafe, wilfully caſt away thy ſelf.

A blunt ſpeech of a Turk ſent to the Duke of Naxos.

D This ſaid, he was commanded by the duke to ſtand aſide, and a while to expect his anſwer: who with the chief of his ſubjects there preſent, but much troubled, and all full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, conſulted what anſwer to make. But after they had according to the weightineſſe of the cauſe, and neceſſity of time fully debated the matter, it was generally agreed, That forasmuch as they were not themſelues of power to withſtand ſo furious an enemy, neither to expect for help from others, they ſhould therfore yeeld vnto the preſent neceſſity (which otherwiſe threatned vnto them vtter deſtruction) & reſerue themſelues vnto better times. Wherupon anſwer was giuen vnto the meſſenger by the Duke, That he was ready to yeeld himſelf vnto *Solyman* as his Vaſſal, and of him as of his Soueraign to hold his ſeigniory for the yearly tribute of 5000 duckets. Of which offer the Baſſa accepted, receiuing in hand one yeares E tribute. So was that notable Iſland yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance the 11 of November *Anno* 1537. From whence *Luteis* the proud Baſſa, laded with the rich ſpoil of the Countries and Iſlands he had paſſed by, returned to Conſtantinople with his fleet.

Naxos becomes tributary vnto the Turks.

Not long after, this great Baſſa (then next in credit and authority to *Solyman* himſelfe) fel at ods with his wife *Solymans* ſiſter; for that he, after the vnnaturall manner of that barbarous people, kept in his houſe a moſt delicat youth, in whom he took more delight than in his wife. Which ſhe being a woman of great ſpirit, not able to indure, and knowing her husband by marying of her, to haue bin from baſe degree aduanced vnto the higheſt honors the Emperor her brother could heap vpon him; in great rage reproued him with moſt bitter words; ſaying, That ſhe had maried him to be of him beloued, and vſed as his wife, and not contemp-F tuouſly abuſed by his minions. Wherwith the Baſſa moued, gaue her a blow on the eare, and cauſed her as a fooliſh and vnquiet woman to be ſhut vp in her chamber. But ſhe not brooking ſuch abuſe, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, & complaining of her husband, requeſted to be diuorced from him, who made no more reckoning of her. And with her complaint ſo inſenced *Solyman*, that he took from him his Seal, and thruſt him out of all his honourable

Lutzis exiled.

promotions, and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old loue G and friendſhip ſtaied his fury: yet hauing vtterly diſgraced him, he baniſhed him the Court, into Macedonia, where he ſpent the remainder of his life like a poor priuat man. Of whom *Boiſardus* thus writeth:

Quæ tibi cum molli res eſt pollute Cynedo:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humili fortuna loco te evexit in altum
Ex alto major ſæpe ruina venit.

On dainty Boyes, thou filthy man, why doſt thou fix thyne eye; H
Whilſt princely Dame of royal bloud doth in thy chamber lye?
From baſe eſtate, to honors hight blind fortune did thee call,
And ſet thee vp with princes great, to work thy greater fall.

The Turks and Venetians ſpoil one another.

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforeſaid; to intangle them with Wars in diuers places at once, commanded his Lieutenants in euery place bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniory, to vex and moleſt them with all hoſtility, which they did accordingly. In Peloponeſus *Caſſimes* beſieged Nauplium and Epidaurus, two ſtrong Cities of the Venetians. *Barbaruſſa* landing his men in Dalmatia, ſurpriſed the antient city of Botrotus, belonging to the Venetians, caried away the Citiſens, and raſed the City. Obroatium another city of the I Venetians in Dalmatia, called in antient time Argirutum, with the Caſtle of Nadin, were taken by *Vſtref*, *Solymans* Lieutenant in Illyria.

The Venetians thus inuaded on euery ſide, requited them again with the like. *Piſaurius* and *Veturius* the Venetian Admirals landing their men, beſieged Scardona a city of the Turkes in the borders of Dalmatia, which they took by force, put the Turks to the ſword, & ouerthrew the wals of the city, becauſe it ſhould be no more a refuge vnto the Turks. They ſent alſo another of their captains called *Gabriel Ribeus*, to beſiege Obroatium; who vpon the comming of *Amurathes* one of *Vſtrefs* Captaines, cowardly fled, and in flight loſt moſt of his men. For which his cowardiſe *Piſaurius* cauſed his head to be ſtrook off aboord the Admiral gally. And *Camillus Vrſinus*, appointed by the Venetian ſtate gouernor of Iadera, a ſtrong Town vpon the K frontiers of their territory in Dalmatia, took from the Turks the town of Oſtrovizza, which he burnt down to the ground. He recouered alſo Obroatium, which was a little before loſt; and by commandement from the Senat vtterly raſed it, as a place not well to be kept againſt the Enemy.

The ſame Autumn that *Solyman* hauing waſted Corcyra, returned to Conſtantinople, and the Venetians held wars with the Turks for the towns and caſtles in Dalmatia; King *Ferdinand* receiued ſuch an ouerthrow at Exek by the Turks, as a greater or more ſhamefull vnto the name of the Chriſtians was hardly ſeen in that age; if the loſſe of the choice ſouldiours and Captains of four great Nations, with the ſhameful flight of the General, be well conſidered. After the battell of Mohatcz, wherin King *Lewis* was loſt, the Turks hauing gotten the L victory, kept vnto themſelues that part of Hungary which is called Poſſega, becauſe thereby they had a fit paſſage from Belgrade farther into Hungary. The two great Riuers of Sauus and Dranus running almoſt with equall diſtance from the Weſt, taking with them diuers other ſmaller Riuers, before they fall into the great Riuer of Danubius Eaſtward, do on both ſides incloſe this countrey of Poſſega, being a rich and plentifull Countrey, and wonderfully well peopled. It bordereth vpon the Prouinces of Croatia and Corbania, which in times paſt were in continuall warres with the Turkiſh Garriſons there by in Illyria, and alſo in Boſna.

Mahometes Gouernor of Belgrade.

At that time one *Mahometes* a moſt valiant captain of the Turks was gouernor of Belgrade: to whom for his approoued valour and wiſedome *Solyman* had committed the keeping of M thoſe Frontiers, and the protection of the kingdom of Hungary in the behalfe of King *Iohn*. He the year before had ſo vſed the matter, that what by force, what by policy, hee had taken from the Chriſtians aboue thirty ſmall Caſtles in the Countrey (which was ſometime a part of the patrimony of the Deſpot of Raſcia) and had ioined them to the regiment of Boſna.

One

An euill aſſured League.

A One of theſe caſtles amongſt the reſt, called Exek, for the commodious ſcituation therof he
ſtrongly fortified, as that which might giue him paſſage ouer the riuer Dranus into Hungary;
from whence he ſet infinit preys out of King *Ferdinands* country neer vnto him. Yet was
there at that time a certain league betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithſtanding after
the old cuſtom of thoſe Countries, for the exerciſe of the garriſon ſoldiers, did bear with
the taking of booty, and light ſkirmiſhes, without any breach thereof: ſo that it were done
without any great power or field pieces. Which wrong-named peace *Mathias* & other kings
of Hungary had of long time vſed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light horſemen
no leſſe harm than they receiued. But the Germans now vſing no ſuch light horſemen,
but ſeruing vpon great horſes, and charged with heauy armour, receiued great hurt by thoſe
B light ſkirmiſhes; the Turks with their light horſes eaſily ſhunning their charge, and again at
their pleaſure charging them afreſh, when they ſaw the heauy German horſes almoſt wearie
and ſpent: by which means the German horſmen were oftentimes by the Turks light horſemen
ouerthrown, and ſo either ſlain or taken. King *Ferdinand* not wel brooking theſe continual
injuries, and grieued in mind at the league which *Solyman* had to his profit made with
him at his going into Perſia; finding the ſame both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himſelfe, determined
to take vp arms, with purpoſe that if he could driue the Turks out of the Countrey
of Poſſega, then forthwith to paſſe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to Buda againſt king *Iohn*.
It ſtil ſtucke in his minde, how that kingdome was taken from him by *Solyman*, and that more
was, as it were in diſgrace of him and the Houſe of Auſtria, beſtowed vpon a ſtranger, which
C had neither right therto, nor was any way royally deſcended. Yet there were ſome that wiſhed
him, not raſhly to enter into arms againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, as was not to be vanquiſhed
but by the vnited forces of all the Chriſtian Princes of Europ. For they foreſaw, that
Soliman ſo prouoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare againſt the Chriſtians, and
for his honour, ſeeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late don againſt the Venetians, with
whom vpon a light occaſion he had broke an antient League, for ſinking one or two of his
gallies; for which he would admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to bee
true: yet all the people of his dominions lay ſo earneſtly vpon him to take that war in hand,
that they ſaid plainly, they would neuer bear arms more againſt the Turks, if he omitted that
occaſion. For they of Carinthia, Stiria, Croatia and Noricum, ſubiect to the inuaſion of the
D Turks, & daily receiuing great harms, thought the Turks might eaſily be driuen out of Poſſega,
forſomuch as *Mahomet es* had no great power, nor like to haue any greater, Autumn now
almoſt ſpent.

K. Ferdinand breaks League with the Turks

1. So King *Ferdinand*, with the wonderful rejoicing of his ſubjects, cauſed ſoldiers to be taken
vp in all parts of his kingdom, ſending for moſt of his nobility and beſt captaines, as to a
Religious War: and in a very ſhort ſpace had raiſed a good Army, yet ſuppoſed of greater
ſtrength than number, as conſiſting moſt of ſelect men. The footmen were for moſt part Germanes;
to whom were joined as wings certaine Companies of Italians, harquebuſiers, whom
Lewis Lodronius, a valiant captain, and General of the footmen, had raiſed in Rhetia and thoſe
parts of Italy which lie neer vnto the Alps. The horſmen were of Bohemia, Sileſia, Morauia,
E Stiria, Carinthia, and ſome alſo out of Hungary, all conducted by their ſeueral captains. All
theſe horſmen were in number 8000, but the footmen were 24000 ſtrong, with great ſtore of
artillery of all ſorts. This army for the experience and valor of the ſoldiers, was thought ſufficient
to haue met the greateſt army of the Turks in field, if it had been conducted by a politique
General, and (as he had at other times bin) fortunat: which was one *Iohn Cazzianer* a nobleman
of Croatia, whom as one of great experience, and famous for the late defence of Vienna,
King *Ferdinand* had made General of his Army. For *Ferdinand* by the aduice of his beſt
friends neuer vſed to aduenture his perſon vnto the danger of any battell, eſpecially againſt
the Turks, by whom many Chriſtian Kings had in former time bin vanquiſhed and ſlain; but
performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought to do not ſo much for want
F of courage, as moued with the fatal miſhap of ſo many Chriſtian Kings. *Mahometes* gouernor
of Belgrade vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, ſent for diuers companies of
the garriſon ſoldiers which lay vpon the borders neer hand; hee required aid of the Gouernours
of the Turks prouince thereabouts, and was eſpecially holpen by *Vſtref* Gouernour of
Boſna, who of all *Solymans* Lieutenants in Europ, was able to bring into the field moſt good

Cazzianer General of King Ferdinands army.

Mahometes gouernor of Belgrade aided by the other Turkiſh captains.

horſemen;he ſent him *Amurathes* a famous Captaine with a great companie of gallant horſemen,vnto whom were joined certain companies of footmen of the wild and mountain people of Dalmatia,entertained for pay ; which rough and rude kinde of people were gouerned and kept in order by certain companies of Ianizaries drawn out of the garriſon towns as farre as Belgrade and Samandria. After whom followed many out of Servia and Raſcia, ſome for pay,ſome for prey : the Turks Receiuer liberally paying to ſuch as were willing to ſerue, two months pay before hand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hungarians from Buda. So that the Turkiſh gouernors on euery ſide putting to their helping hands,*Mahometes* had in ſhort time gathered ſuch an army,as for number and ſtrength was not much inferior to King *Ferdinands*, and reſolued to expect the comming of his enemies at Exek. *Cazzianer* was now come as far on his way as Caprunza,a town vpon the riuer Dranus ; hauing before well and conueniently prouided for the victualling of his army,if they whom he put in truſt,and had taken the matter vpon them,had with like ſpeed and diligence performed their charge : for they were the chief men of all the Countrey ; who all followed the direction of *Symon* Biſhop of Zagrabia ; who inflamed with zeal aboue meaſure, or elſe for want of judgement deceiued, had promiſed to ſerue the whole Campe with plenty of victuals at a very low rate. Which thing the Country people which were to bring in the victual,ſome by wagon,ſome by boats along the Riuers,many difficulties now ariſing,were not able to perform:which was not to be remedied by reaſon of the neerneſſe of the enemy;and alſo for that *Mahometes* with ſmal gallies in both Riuers,and his troups of horſmen pricking vp and down the country,did either ſtay the country people from bringing of victuall, or els allured them for a greater price to bring it to his own Camp,where they receiued ready money. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward from Caprunza, hardly came in ten dayes to the Caſtle of Veruza, which is about forty miles diſtant from Caprunza ; being inforced to make ſhort marches, by reaſon of the troubleſome carriage of ſome great pieces of Artillery for battery. The wiſer ſort began euen then to miſdoubt the want of victuals, both for the reaſons before alledged, and for that ſuch victuall as they looked for came not, although they marched very ſoftly : ſo that they were then inforced to ſpend ſuch victuall as they had prouided,not for the beginning, but for the difficulties of a long protracted War. Wherof *Cazzianer* wrot ſharply to the Biſhop,and to the others who had taken vpon them the charge of prouiding victuall for the Army ; commanding them to vſe all poſſible diligence and ſpeed,and not to let the hope of a moſt aſſured victory to be loſt through their negligence , for want of victuall, rather than the valour of the enemy. In the mean time *Cazzianer* thought good there to ſtay,and to expect the comming of victuall,ſending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thouſand Hungarian light horſmen,and certain companies of Italian harquebuſiers,as far as the Caſtle of Zopia, to the intent he might of ſuch priſoners as he could take,learn ſomthing of the enemies purpoſe. The Turks in the Caſtle of Zopia deſcrying the comming of *Bachitius*, and thinking the whole Army of the Chriſtians had bin at hand,ſet fire on the Caſtle, which they thought they could not keepe, and by boats fled down the riuer Dranus. Yet for all their haſt,*Bachitius* took ſome of them in their flight,of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which he before knew by his own eſpials, That *Mahometes* and the Turks lay incamped at Exek, with a full reſolution to giue him battell. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward again,ſtill keeping alongſt the riuer of Dranus,came in eight daies to the caſtle of Walpo:where by the way he was glad to ſtay ſeuen daies at the riuer Craſſus,which falleth into Dranus, vntill ſuch time as a bridge was made for the tranſporting of his Army, for that the riuer was not to be waded ouer : in which time *Cazzianer* entred oftentimes into counſell with the other Captains, what courſe to hold for the better proceeding in that war. Where diuers men were of diuers opinions : ſome ſaid it were beſt to leaue Exek , and to beſiege a caſtle of the enemies thereby, called Villach. Others more waty than the reſt,were of opinion, That it were better there to ſtay vntil the reſt of the aid and victuall,which they expected dayly,were come. But the greater number (which alſo preuailed) vrged the firſt determination, of going directly to the enemy at Exek, for that longer delay would but breed further danger ; and there was in the Camp (as they ſaid) both ſtrength and victual ſufficient for the obtaining of the victory,if they would make an end of their needleſſe Conſultations, and not protract the Warre vntill that Winter were come on : wherby they did nothing elſe but cauſe moſt of the ſoldiers to think that they were afraid to meet the Enemy , and ſecretly

A ſlow march.

Cazianer comes to walpo.

to

A to ſteal back again into their countries. Wheras if they would like reſolute men march on
forward againſt the enemy, who at other times truſting moſt vnto his multitudes, and now ha-
uing no great power, would neuer abide the ſight of the Chriſtian Army, bringing with it ſo
much Artillery, but forthwith forſake the place and neuer ſhew his face: foraſmuch as the
Chriſtian men at Armes would (as they ſaid) eaſily breake thorow and ouerthrow the naked
Turkiſh horſmen, if they durſt abide the field. The yong ſouldiers, who had neuer made proof
as yet of the Turks maner of fight, did with ſuch cheerfulnes like of this reſolution, that they
thought two daies ſtay a long delay of ſo ready and eaſie a victory. Wherfore it was reſol-
ued vpon preſently to ſet forward, and therupon the Army was muſtred: where vpon view ta-
ken there was found to be 10000 horſmen (for diuers troups of Germans were come vnto the
B Camp after the time of the firſt ſetting forward of the Army) a more gallant company of
horſmen, both for the ſtrength of the horſes, and goodly furniture of the men, had ſeldom bin
ſeen in an Army ſo ſuddedly raiſed. But the footmen, ſelected out of all the prouinces, were
greatly diminiſhed, being now in number ſcarce 8000 ſtrong: for many were ſick in the camp;
others weary of the long journy, lingring behind were ſtoln away: and generally al they that
were left, moyled with dirt and myre by reaſon of the deepnes of the rotten way, wet thorow
with rain, and almoſt ſtarued with cold, and therto pinched with hunger, were thought ſcarce
able to endure the hardneſſe of the preſent War. After that, commandement was giuen, that
euery ſoldier ſhould carry with him three dayes victuall; and proclamation made, That no
man ſhould vpon pain of death take any Turke priſoner, although he yeelded himſelfe, or
C charge himſelf with any ſpoil before the battel were fully ended; for that the Captains would
afterwards diuide the ſpoil of the enemy amongſt the ſouldiers. This proclamation made
thorow the camp, they ſet forward towards Exek, and the third day they came to a certain val-
ley about three miles from Exek, where the incamped. The next day a company of Turks
ſhewed themſelues, who were by the great ordnance repulſed. The day following, the ene-
my ſallied out of the Towne, and skirmiſhed oftentimes with the Chriſtians: in which skir-
miſhes many were ſlain on both ſides, but more wounded of the Chriſtians; for that the Turks
had politiquely mingled certain Ianizaries, harquebuſiers, and archers, with their horſemen;
who, vſed to that maner of fight, ſore gauled the Chriſtian horſemen. For which cauſe the
Generall forbad all ſuch light skirmiſhes, as purpoſing to keep his ſtrength whole againſt the
D generall day of battell: commaunding his Cannoniers ſo to place the great Ordnance as
might moſt annoy the enemy if he ſhould ſhew himſelfe by troups within the danger of the
ſhot: which was ſo wel performed, that the Turks ſallying forth receiued thereby great hurt,
the great ſhot flying through the midſt of their companies. The ſame day *Symon* Biſhop of
Zagrabia came into the Camp with his horſmen, and a certain prouiſion of victuall; whereby
the fear of the want before conceiued, was wel eaſed. *Mahometes* perceiuing that the Chriſti-
ans were not longer to be drawn to thoſe harmful skirmiſhes, but that he muſt bring himſelf
within the danger of the great ſhot, to annoy them by another means, ſent many ſmall Boats
manned with harquebuſiers and ſmall pieces of ordnance, into the lake neer vnto the Campe,
ſo to keep the Chriſtians from watring there, and with thoſe ſmall pieces ſhot oftentimes in-
E to the camp. Neer to the vally where the Chriſtians lay, was a hill, wherupon ſtood a village,
wherin were placed certain Companies of Turks, to skirmiſh as occaſion ſhould ſerue with
the Chriſtians: for diſplacing of whom, the whole Army was ſtraitway put in order of battel,
and the great Artillery bent vpon them, that they ſhould not with their light skirmiſhes, af-
ter the Turkiſh manner of fight, trouble the order of the Army. Which thing the Turks per-
ceiuing, and that they were not able to hold the place, ſet fire on the towne, and ſo retyred to
Exek. The Chriſtians keeping on their march, came to the top of the hill, for whence they
might ſee Exek ſtand about two miles off in a fair plain neer to the bank of Dranus: all which
low ground betwixt the hil and Exek was ſo ſubiect to the caſtle, that it was thought a mat-
ter too ful of danger, to attempt that way to batter the caſtle, and expoſe the army to the ine-
F vitable fury of the enemies ſhot. Wherfore deſcrying a riſing ground on the farther ſide of
the city, equal with the top of the wals, they thought it beſt to remoue their camp thither, &
on that ſide to plant their battery againſt the city. But to come to that place was thought ve-
ry troubleſome; for they muſt ſet a compaſſe three miles on the right hand thorow a forreſt
by a foul and troubleſom way, before they could come to the place they deſired: for the army

was

The Turkes skirmiſh with the Chriſtians

The Chriſtians come within ſight of Exek.

was not ſo great to beſiege the city round; wherin were not (as is reported) aboue 16000 men, neither was there ſuch ſtore of victuals in the camp, but that the Army was like ſoon to feel the want therof, without a continual ſupply, which would hardly be had, the enemy ſtil beſetting euery paſſage, and with his light horſmen ſcouring about all the country, of purpoſe to keep them from victual. For which cauſe ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to ſtay where they were, till ſuch time as both more aid and better ſtore of victuals were come to them: but others of the contrary mind, ſaid the enemy was but barely ſtored with victual himſelfe, and therefore could not long hold out. Which they ſaid they vnderſtood by certain Chriſtian fugitiues; and that *Mahometes* had put his chief ſubſtance into certain boats, to be conueyed down the riuer, as purpoſing to fly, and would not hold out the ſiege aboue three daies. As for the forreſt, they thought it might wel enough be paſt thorow, if they would couragiouſly ſet forward. Beſides that, the time of the year ſuffered no delay, winter comming faſt on, and except ſome notable thing were don quickly, they ſhould be inforced by the very time of the year to return with ſhame, without doing any thing. This opinion was beſt liked of, as more honorable, and better beſeeming men of valor, than to ly ſtil in one place: wherupon the next day the Army remoued, and in good order marched thorow the forreſt. Which thing *Mahometes* quickly perceiuing, preſently ſent out a thouſand light horſmen, and certain companies of Ianizaries, harquebuſiers, to trouble the Chriſtians in their paſſage: who by a neerer & wel known way ouertaking the Army, ſuddenly charged the rereward, wherin the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians had much ado to endure the charge: but being relieued by the Carinthian men at arms, they notably repulſed the Turks, and put them to flight. So the army with ſmall loſſe paſſed the forreſt, and came to the place they deſired: where after they had incamped themſelues, and in good order placed all things needful for the ſiege, they in ſeemly order offered the enemy battel; but he keeping himſelfe within the town, ſhot at the Chriſtians with his great ordnance: and they to requite him, with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the hil, ſhot thorow both the wals of the Town and the bulwark alſo, to the great terror of the defendants. The Chriſtians in the mean time hauing ſtood almoſt al the day in order of battel in ſight of the enemy, vainly expecting when he ſhould come forth to giue them battel, returned at night into their Camp. For *Mahometes* vpon great conſideration kept in his ſoldiers, although they were moſt deſirous to fight; vnderſtanding right wel of the want of victual in the Chriſtian camp; and beſides that (as the fugitiues reported) beeing ſtreitly commanded by letters from *Solyman*, That he ſhould not vpon pain of a moſt ſhamefull death forſake the place, but to defend it to the laſt. Now the Chriſtians deſirous of battel, being thus delayed and deceiued of their expectation, had in a few daies ſpent the ſmal ſtore of victuals they had, and began to feel a general want: nor was there any apparant means how they ſhould be relieued. So that euery man began to feare ſome general miſchief to enſue. When *Balthazar Pamphilus* a noble Hungarian, and a Captain of great experience, ſitting in counſel with the reſt, entred into this ſpeech:

The Turks skirmiſh with the Chriſtians paſſing the forreſt.

Mahometes wiſely refuſeth to fight with the Chriſtians, offering him battell.

Captains (ſaid he) *we do all that we do, vnaduiſedly: for whilſt we conſult at large how wee may ouercome our enemies, the ſtrength of our army is in the mean time ſo weakned for want of victuall, that the ſouldiers are neither well able to ſtand on their legs, nor to hold their weapons in their feeble hands: and generally euen they which are of greateſt courage begin now to quaile, and deſpairing of battell, ſee that they muſt miſerably and ſhamefully periſh for want. Wherefore in my opinion wee ought firſt and aboue all things moſt ſpeedily to prouide for this want, which ſo grieuouſly pincheth vs, and preſently to remoue hence vnto the caſtle of Hermande, that with the prouiſion therof, which is not like to be little, we may refreſh our whole army; and ſo relieued, to proceed further as occaſion ſhall require.*

Balthazar his counſel for relief of the army

This caſtle was about ten miles from Exek, whereinto many of the Turks had conueyed their wiues and children, and chiefeſt ſubſtance, being kept with a ſmal garriſon of 20 Turks. Faſt by the caſtle was a pretty little walled town without flankers, after the maner of the old fortifying: which town and caſtle *Balthazar* ſaid would eaſily be won. This his counſel was wel liked of all men, and he himſelf ſent with certain Companies of ſouldiers to take in the town. Wherin fortune ſo fauoured him, that it was at his firſt comming ſurrendred vnto him; but when he had it, he found not therein any ſuch ſtore of corne or victuall as hee had hoped for:

Balthazar taketh the town of Hermande.

A for; yet he took there certain veſſels of wine, to the great relief of the weak ſouldiers. Vpon
the news of the taking of this town, the camp remoued from Exek about ten a clock at night,
but ſo diſorderly, that the ſoldiers ſcarce knowing their own enſignes, ſeemed rather to haue
fled for fear, than marched for ſpoil. Yet the Turks for all that moued not out of Exek, miſdoubting
ſome deceit, and loth to attempt any thing raſhly in the night. When the Army
was come to the town, the captains took order that the victual there found was equally diuided
amongſt the ſoldiers: and the next morning battery laid againſt the Caſtle, which thoſe
few Turks valiantly defended half a day, and then by compoſition yeelded it. But when the
caſtle was taken, there was found in it but two barrels of meal, and other two of Millet. Then
might a man haue ſeen the captains themſelues hanging their heads, as men ſtrucken with a
B ſudden fear; who in ſtead of a great prey, & victual to haue ſerued many daies, ſound nothing
but a few women & children, and ſcarce ſo much victual both in the town and caſtle as would
ſerue the army two daies. Yet they diſſembled the matter, and fed the ſoldiers with hope of
better ſtore after the bridge was once repaired, that they might paſſe the riuer of Bodrog,
which ran by the town: which bridge the Turks had before, for their own defence, broken, by
plucking vp of certain piles, and taking away of the planks; wherfore the carpenters being ſet
on worke, and euery man putting to his helping hand, the bridge was with continual labor in
3 daies repaired. The fourth day the wagons and ſmaller pieces of Ordnance paſſed ouer the
bridge, and after them ſixe of the great pieces for battery; but the bridge ouercharged with
the ſeuenth, which was of a wonderful weight, and much greater than the reſt, began to break:
C ſo that the captains were inforced to break that fair piece of ordnance, & ſo by pieces to cary
it away, that the enemy ſhould not get ſo great a ſpoil. All things being thus wel paſt ouer,
the piles were again cut down, and the planks ſtruck off, to the intent the enemy ſhould not
that way purſue them; and other way there was none, but to fetch a compaſſe about the great
Lake, which was many miles about. Here the captains began to conſult, whether it were beſt
to break the great pieces of Ordnance, that ſo they might more ſpeedily march away, or not.
Of which opinion was *Cazzianer* himſelf, promiſing of his own charge to new caſt them. As
for the ſcaling ladders and other like things prouided for the ſiege, they burnt, becauſe they
ſhould not come into the enemies hand, or trouble themſelues in their march. But moſt of
the Captains were of opinion, that it was not beſt ſo diſhonourably to breake thoſe goodly
D pieces, the greateſt ornament and defence of their Country; but to hold on their march thorow
Poſſega, vntil they came to Iuvanea, where they ſhould find great ſtore both of Corne and
wine: which town with the caſtle of Gara faſt by it, ſtored with all manner of prouiſion, they
ſaid would eaſily be taken before the Turkes could poſſibly come ſo far about the Lake from
Exek: and that it were a great ſhame ſo to returne without doing any thing. *Cazzianer* thus
perſuaded, ſet forward, and with great toil (by reaſon of the deepnes of the way, and heauines
of the great ordnance) came by night to Iuvanca, which was but three miles off; where the
Turks hauing with incredible celeritie paſſed a long journey, arriued at the ſame time alſo.
Neer vnto this caſtle was a little town out of which all the Turks were fled: the towneſmen
being Chriſtians, opened the gates and receiued in the ſouldiers; who there filled themſelues
E abundantly with wine, and could hardly be driuen out thence by their captains to the Camp.
The ſame night the Turks burnt the ſame town, and whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had left therin;
and euery man betook him to his armor in the camp, for the enemy was then at hand, and
in the dawning of the day began hotly to skirmiſh in diuers places with the Chriſtians, but
eſpecially in that quarter of the camp where the Bohemians lay. Wherwith *Petrus Raſchinius*
general of the Bohemians being grieued, ſet vpon them with a troup of his beſt horſmen, and
inforced them to fly: but the Turks after the maner of their fight quickely returning againe,
and relieued by the comming in of their fellows, beſet the Bohemians on euery ſide, and ſlew
many of them. *Raſchinius* the Generall fighting moſt valiantly, was there ſlain with his followers.
The Chriſtian captains purpoſing to retyre home, placed on each ſide of the army four
F ranks of wagons for defence on both ſides. In the vauward were placed the weak & ſick men,
yet ſo, that in the front of the army were certain companies of luſty tall ſouldiers: but in the
rereward was placed the greateſt ſtrength both of horſe and foot. The army thus marching
as it were on both ſides intrenched, as it oft times met with wooddy hills hindring their way,
ſo did the ſame fitly ſerue the Chriſtians, that the Turks could not well aſſaile them in their

The Caſtle of Hermande yeelded to the Chriſtians.

Cazzianer to retire more haſtily, would haue brokē the great ordnāce

march,

The Turks ſore trouble the Chriſtians in their retreit.

A general fear in the Chriſtians camp.

march, both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiuing, ſent before certain companies G of Ianizaries and nimble footmen which knew the country and paſſages wel, with certain falcons and other ſmall pieces, to take the ſtreits wherby the army was to paſſe, and ſo to gaul them in their paſſage; and when they could keep the place no longer, to fly back to another, and ſo from place to place: and in the open places he had his troups of light horſemen, which were euer buſie in one place or another of the army. By which meanes the Chriſtians in their march receiued much harm; which grieued them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be ſeen together, but ſtragling companies; which as they were commanded, ſomtime would come on with a fierce charge, and by and by retyre again, & with their arrows and falcon ſhot from places of aduantage aſſail them. From one of theſe ſtreits ſomwhat bigger than the reſt, *Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian Captains, in whome the H ſoldiers generally repoſed their greateſt truſt, was ſlain with a falcon ſhot, with diuers others of the valiant Hungarians; who ſeeing there a greater number of the Turkes than they had ſeen in other places, thought to haue don ſome good ſeruice vpon them. His death brought a general fear vpon the whole army, foraſmuch as then and at other times without him they neuer had any good ſucces againſt the Turks. Yet in that skirmiſh, the Hungarians to reuenge the death of their Captain, did with ſuch force repulſe the enemy, that they cauſed him after he had loſt many of his men, to run away and leaue his ſmall pieces behind him. But ſuch was the weaknes or cowardiſe of the Chriſtian footmen, and the agility of the Turkes, eſpecially the Ianizaries, that they with their ſhot out of the woods ſtaid the Hungarian horſmen from the purſuit of their fellowes, and recouered their ſmall field-pieces before they could be caried I away by the Chriſtian footmen; wherwith they did again fore-run the Army, ſtill troubling it as before. The Chriſtians beſet with theſe dangers, and almoſt ſpent for want of victual; ſeeing no means to relieue their weak bodies, nor any hope to comfort their fainting ſpirits, did generally fear ſome extream calamitie to enſue: and ſo much the more, for that it was reported, that *Mahometes* ſtil expected freſh ſupplies from Belgrade, Samandria, and Nicopolis: and many of the Hungarian light horſmen ſtole away from them, as careful of their own ſafety. Neither did they ſee any comfort in the diſmaid captains, who at other times were wont with cheerful and couragious ſpeeches to relieue the ſouldiers, if they ſaw them any thing diſcouraged. But when they were come into a fair open field neer to a town called Gara, they were aduertiſed, That the Enemy had in the woods before them, wherby they were K to paſſe, cut downe great trees croſſe the waies, ſo that neither their great Ordnance nor wagons, nor yet their horſmen could poſſibly paſſe that way, but that they muſt needs breake their order.

The fearfull reſolution of the Chriſtians to eſcape the Turks

This once bruted thorow the army, filled them all with heauineſſe and deſperation; and ſo much the more, for that *Ladiſlaus Moreus*, and others which knew the country well, ſaid there was but two waies to eſcape; the one thorow the Woods about ten miles ſpace to Walpo, which by reaſon of the trees cut down croſſe the waies by the Turks, was not to be paſſed, but they muſt needs leaue behind them their great ordnance and carriages; the other towards the caſtle of Zenthuerzebeth, which was in *Ladiſlaus Moreus* his Countrey, certaine miles diſtant from Gara; by taking of which way, the enemy by reaſon of the ſtreitnes of the paſſage, muſt L of neceſſitie be inforced to giue ouer his purſuit. Yet for all that, it was in Councell reſolued vpon, to take the way thorow the Woods of Walpo, for that there was there victualls enough, and in the Caſtle of Walpo was kept money ſent from King *Ferdinand*, ſufficient to pay the ſoldiers for all that Winter. And ſo leauing the great Ordnance behind them, and burning the pouder and whatſoeuer els could not wel be caried on horſebacke, to ſet forward with all ſpeed: as for the trees, they ſaid they would bee wel enough remooued, and the way opened by the pioners and wagoners. Wherfore euery captain was commanded to haue his ſoldiers in readines to ſet forward vpon ſigne giuen, which was by the ſound of a ſhalm or hoboy, which when it ſhould be giuen, was referred to the diſcretion of the General. There were many which wonderfully diſliked of this reſolution, and ſaid openly, that the enemy was fewer M in number than their horſmen, and pinched almoſt with like want of victual: beſides, That the Turks durſt neuer in iuſt fight incounter with the Chriſtian men at arms, but like theeues aſſail them vpon a ſudden at ſome aduantage, and by and by be gon again; and that the towne of Gara where the enemy lay incamped, was not ſo ſtrong but that it might be won: wherfore

all

A all things were to be proued, and ſome great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched
with wants: for that to run away, would be not only a diſhonor vnto the Captains themſelues
who ought always to prefer their honor before their liues, but alſo dangerous to them, which
reſpected nothing but life. And if they ſhould ſet forward in the night, many would be loſt in
the woods, and valour in the darke could not be knowne from cowardiſe: beſides that, the
Turks (as they ſaid) lay ſo nigh, that it was not poſſible to depart without their knowledge, eſpecially
if they ſhould burn the powder, or break the great Ordnance. For which cauſe they
thought it better to fight a battell with them, and not to beleeue the falſe reports of new ſupplies
come with them, and that God would vndoubtedly giue them aid, which were ready to
lay down their liues for their Religion and glory of the Chriſtian name. After all this, they
B began to conſult what was now to be done with the ſick and wounded ſouldiers, which were
before carried in waggons or among the other baggage of the army: for it was like, that ſo
great a multitude of ſick and wounded men, vnderſtanding what was decreed concerning the
departure of the army, would as miſerable forſaken men, fill the camp with lamentation and
mourning, which it was thought would be alſo increaſed by the weeping and wailing of them
which ſhould neuer afterwards ſee their brethren, kinſmen, fellows, or friends, ſo miſerably
and ſhamefully left behind and forſaken: the noiſe whereof, muſt needs come to the ears of the
Turks, which lay within a ſmall gun ſhot. Wherefore it was determined, that theſe ſick and
wounded ſoldiers ſhould be carried vpon the waggons and cart horſes, and that ſuch as were
not able to ſtay themſelues, ſhould be holden vp by others of more ſtrength riding behinde
C them vpon the buttocks of the horſe. In fine, to color the matter, they which were ſo deſirous
to go, ſaid that this their manner of departure grounded vpon good reaſon, was not to be accounted
a ſhamefull flight (as ſome would tearm it) but a right honeſt and neceſſary manner
of retiring: foraſmuch as they were ſtronger than their enemies in horſmen, and equall alſo (if
not ſtronger) in footmen, although they were ſore weakned with ſicknes. Whilſt theſe things
were in counſell diuerſly diſcourſed, and the reſolution ſet down as is before ſaid, the matter
was brought to this paſſe, that euery captain with troubled iudgement conceiued in himſelf
ſecret cogitations, far from the common good; and without regard of ſhame & diſhonor, bethought
himſelfe how he might betake himſelfe to flight, the vncertain hope of deſired life.
On the contrary part, *Mahometes* vſing moſt certain ſpies, and aduertiſed euery houre of al the
D diſtreſſes of the Chriſtians, and therefore preſaging his future victory; did by moſt diligent
watch and troups of horſmen, beſetting the paſſages far and neer, moſt vigilantly attend euery
motion in the Chriſtian camp: of purpoſe, that when the army ſhould riſe and ſet forward,
he after his wonted manner might in the ſtraits (fit for his purpoſe) ſet vpon them being diuided
and diſperſed one from another, as they muſt needs in thoſe troubleſome paſſages: for he
had ſo placed his horſmen and footmen in the known tracts of thoſe woods, that he had ſhut
vp the Chriſtians as it were in a toile. It was now almoſt midnight, & the army taking no reſt,
ſo carefully expected the ſigne of ſetting forward, that euery little delay ſeemed to moſt men
both tedious and dangerous: ſo that many great captains vpon a cowardly conceit would ſtay
no longer, but haſted to depart, and to go before the reſt, without any leaue of the general: the
E beginning of this miſcheuous departure, is reported to haue bin begun by the common Hungarian
horſmen, which knowing the paſſages & waies through the woods, made haſt to Walpo.
Ladiſlaus Moreus diſhonorably following their example, went the other way to his Caſtle
Zenthuerzebeth. After them followed in great haſte the Stirian horſemen, without regard of
ſhame, led by *Iohn Hunganot* their Generall, who was appointed to haue guarded the rereward;
Simon Biſhop of Zagrabia fled in like manner, knowne by his great lanthorn wandring in the
wood: yet with leſſe ſhame than the reſt, becauſe he being a clergy man, thought it not to belong
to his vocation to put on armes, or to go into battell. In the mean time it was fearefully
told to *Cazzianer*, That the Hungarian horſmen were fled, and that *Ladiſlaus* & *Hunganot*, with
the Stirian troups were gon alſo, and that al the reſt of the army not expecting the appointed
F ſignall, were in like manner vpon flying: with which report, the cowardly and diſmaid Generall
was ſo terrified, that he preſently got to horſe, quite forgetting the ſignall he ſhould haue
giuen (for that he thought all the reſt, as he afterwards ſaid, to haue been gone before) and
as he was vnarmed, betooke himſelfe to flight, leauing behind him for haſte his Tent ſtored
with plate and other rich furniture. In this tumult of them which ſo diſorderly fled, *Lodronius*

The vigilancie of Mahometes.

The Chriſtian captains ſhamefully flie, ſome one way, ſome another, in the night.

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march,both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiuing,ſent before certain companies of Ianizaries and nimble ſootmen which knew the country and paſſages wel,with certain falcons and other ſmall pieces, to take the ſtreits wherby the army was to paſſe,and ſo to gaul them in their paſſage;and when they could keep the place no longer, to fly back to another,and ſo from place to place : and in the open places he had his troups of light horſemen, which were euer buſie in one place or another of the army. By which meanes the Chriſtians in their march receiued much harm ; which grieued them the more, for that no great power of the Turks was any where to be ſeen together, but ſtragling companies;which as they were commanded,ſomtime would come on with a fierce charge,and by and by retyre again,& with their arrows and falcon ſhot from places of aduantage aſſail them. From one of theſe ſtreits ſomwhat bigger than the reſt,*Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian Captains,in whome the ſoldiers generally repoſed their greateſt truſt,was ſlain with a falcon ſhot,with diuers others of the valiant Hungarians ; who ſeeing there a greater number of the Turkes than they had ſeen in other places,thought to haue don ſome good ſeruice vpon them. His death brought a general fear vpon the whole army,foraſmuch as then and at other times without him they neuer had any good ſucces againſt the Turks. Yet in that skirmiſh,the Hungarians to reuenge the death of their Captain,did with ſuch force repulſe the enemy,that they cauſed him after he had loſt many of his men,to run away and leaue his ſmall pieces behind him. But ſuch was the weaknes or cowardiſe of the Chriſtian footmen,and the agility of the Turkes,eſpecially the Ianizaries,that they with their ſhot out of the woods ſtaid the Hungarian horſmen from the purſuit of their fellowes,and recouered their ſmall field-pieces before they could be caried away by the Chriſtian footmen ; wherwith they did again fore-run the Army,ſtill troubling it as before. The Chriſtians beſet with theſe dangers, and almoſt ſpent for want of victual ; ſeeing no means to relieue their weak bodies , nor any hope to comfort their fainting ſpirits, did generally fear ſome extream calamitie to enſue : and ſo much the more,for that it was reported,that *Mahometes* ſtil expected freſh ſupplies from Belgrade, Samandria,and Nicopolis : and many of the Hungarian light horſmen ſtole away from them,as careful of their own ſafety. Neither did they ſee any comfort in the diſmaid captains, who at other times were wont with cheerful and couragious ſpeeches to relieue the ſouldiers , if they ſaw them any thing diſcouraged. But when they were come into a fair open field neer to a town called Gara,they were aduertiſed, That the Enemy had in the woods before them,wherby they were to paſſe , cut downe great trees croſſe the waies , ſo that neither their great Ordnance nor wagons,nor yet their horſmen could poſſibly paſſe that way,but that they muſt needs breake their order.

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This once bruted thorow the army,filled them all with heauineſſe and deſperation ; and ſo much the more,for that *Ladiſlaus Moreus*,and others which knew the country well , ſaid there was but two waies to eſcape ; the one thorow the Woods about ten miles ſpace to Walpo, which by reaſon of the trees cut down croſſe the waies by the Turks,was not to be paſſed,but they muſt needs leaue behind them their great ordnance and carriages:the other towards the caſtle of Zenthuerzebeth,which was in *Ladiſlaus Moreus* his Countrey, certaine miles diſtant from Gara ; by taking of which way,the enemy by reaſon of the ſtreitnes of the paſſage, muſt of neceſſitie be inforced to giue ouer his purſuit. Yet for all that , it was in Councell reſolued vpon, to take the way thorow the Woods of Walpo , for that there was there victualls enough, and in the Caſtle of Walpo was kept money ſent from King *Ferdinand*,ſufficient to pay the ſoldiers for all that Winter. And ſo leauing the great Ordnance behind them, and burning the pouder and whatſoeuer els could not wel be caried on horſebacke, to ſet forward with all ſpeed : as for the trees,they ſaid they would bee wel enough remoued , and the way opened by the pioners and wagoners. Wherfore euery captain was commanded to haue his ſoldiers in readines to ſet forward vpon ſigne giuen,which was by the ſound of a ſhalm or hoboy,which when it ſhould be giuen,was referred to the diſcretion of the General. There were many which wonderfully diſliked of this reſolution,and ſaid openly,that the enemy was fewer in number than their horſmen,and pinched almoſt with like want of victual : beſides,That the Turks durſt neuer in iuſt fight incounter with the Chriſtian men at arms,but like theeves aſſail them vpon a ſudden at ſome aduantage,and by and by be gon again:and that the towne of Gara where the enemy lay incamped,was not ſo ſtrong but that it might be won:wherfore

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After all this, they B began to conſult what was now to be done with the ſick and wounded ſouldiers, which were before carried in waggons or among the other baggage of the army: for it was like, that ſo great a multitude of ſick and wounded men, vnderſtanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the army, would as miſerable forſaken men, fill the camp with lamentation and mourning, which it was thought would be alſo increaſed by the weeping and wailing of them which ſhould neuer afterwards ſee their brethren, kinſmen, fellows, or friends, ſo miſerably and ſhamefully left behind and forſaken: the noiſe whereof, muſt needs come to the ears of the Turks, which lay within a ſmall gun ſhot. Wherefore it was determined, that theſe ſick and wounded ſoldiers ſhould be carried vpon the waggons and cart horſes, and that ſuch as were not able to ſtay themſelues, ſhould be holden vp by others of more ſtrength riding behinde C them vpon the buttocks of the horſe. In fine, to color the matter, they which were ſo deſirous to go, ſaid that this their manner of departure grounded vpon good reaſon, was not to be accounted a ſhamefull flight (as ſome would tearm it) but a right honeſt and neceſſary manner of retiring: foraſmuch as they were ſtronger than their enemies in horſmen, and equall alſo (if not ſtronger) in footmen, although they were ſore weakned with ſicknes. Whilſt theſe things were in counſell diuerſly diſcourſed, and the reſolution ſet down as is before ſaid, the matter was brought to this paſſe, that euery captain with troubled iudgement conceiued in himſelf ſecret cogitations, far from the common good, and without regard of ſhame & diſhonor, bethought himſelfe how he might betake himſelfe to flight, the vncertain hope of deſired life. On the contrary part, *Mahometes* vſing moſt certain ſpies, and aduertiſed euery houre of al the D diſtreſſes of the Chriſtians, and therefore preſaging his future victory; did by moſt diligent watch and troups of horſmen, beſetting the paſſages far and neer, moſt vigilantly attend euery motion in the Chriſtian camp: of purpoſe, that when the army ſhould riſe and ſet forward, he after his wonted manner might in the ſtraits (fit for his purpoſe) ſet vpon them being diuided and diſperſed one from another, as they muſt needs in thoſe troubleſome paſſages: for he had ſo placed his horſmen and footmen in the known tracts of thoſe woods, that he had ſhut vp the Chriſtians as it were in a toile. 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The diſhonourable flight of Cazzianer.

nius

night that famous captain was called vp, and told by his ſeruants, that the Generall was fled and gone: to whom he anſwered again, Without doubt it cannot be ſo, that I ſhould be ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly betraid of him: and ſo as a man megred with long watching and painfull labour, laid himſelfe down again to ſleep. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the ſtir that was in the camp, riſe with his Turks to aſſaile his enemies: yet to be better aſſured what the enemy did, he thought it good to ſtay for day light, cauſing his men to ſtand ſtill in order of battell, and with wonderfull ſilence to expect the ſigne of ſetting forward, which was giuen by the ſoft ſound of a horſmans drum paſſing through euery company. For the old captain acquainted with many battels againſt the Chriſtians, doubting of their feigned flight, would not vnaduiſedly be drawn into battell, but in a place commodious for his ſoldiers; as one before fully ſet down (after his wonted maner) to perform that ſeruice, not by the hazard of one ſet battell, but by dallying off the time with often skirmiſhes, when he could take the enemy at aduantage. The day appearing, *Lodronius* againe waking, heard a certain confuſed noiſe of the Turks, and withall ſaw himſelfe forſaken of the greateſt part of the horſmen: whereupon he complained in vaine, that he was betraid: yet for all that, he was nothing diſcouraged, but cheered vp the footmen, exhorting them to remember their former valor, and to reſolue with themſelues, onely with courage to ouercome the danger, which hard fortune had at that time brought them into; for that valiant men were rather to thinke of an honourable death, than ſhamefull flight, wherby whether they ſhould eſcape with life or not, was vncertaine. As for himſelf, who had bin their happy General in many battels, he ſaid he was reſolutely ſet down by repulſing the enemy to bring them into a place of ſafety, or els valiantly fighting together with them to end his daies. As *Lodronius* was yet thus incouraging the footmen, the horſmen of Carinthia, Saxony, Auſtria, and Bohemia, who mindful of their duty, had in vain expected the appointed ſignal from the Generall, came vnto *Lodronius*, as vnto the moſt valiant captain, beſeeching him in ſtead of their trecherous Generall, to take vpon him the place: promiſing to do whatſoeuer he commanded, and to fight as men againſt thoſe Infidels, for their Religion and King, ſo long as they were able to hold vp their weapons. *Lodronius* would in no caſe accept of that honor ſo franckly offred, modeſtly proteſting himſelfe vnworthy therof: yet as a man of courage, and moued with the hard eſtate of ſuch an army, he with a ſolemn proteſtation promiſed to execute the place in the beſt manner he could, and ſo did as long as his fortune gaue him leaue.

Lodronius encourageth the footmen.

It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was incouraging the footmen, and earneſtly inueighing againſt ſhamefull flight, an old German ſoldier was ſo bold, as bluntly, yet ſharply to ſay vnto him: *Worthy* Lodronius, *thou canſt neuer be thought to fly ſhamefully, with a horſe of ſuch a price vnder thee.* *Lodronius* perceiuing the old ſoldiers meaning, alighted, and with his ſword boxed his horſe, ſaying aloud, This day, valiant ſoldiers, ſhall you haue me both your Generall and fellow ſouldier, fighting on foot as one of your ſelues: ſee now that you deceiue not my expectation, but let vs either with glorious victory or honourable death end this war together, yet ſo, as that we die not vnreuenged. All his other horſes he gaue away vnto ſuch ſick and wounded ſouldiers as he beſt knew; amongſt whom was one *Picenard* of Cremona, a Captaine who was then in an extreme fit of an ague, & had hardly eſcaped the hands of the enemy. The firſt troups of horſmen and bands of footmen, were ſcarcely out of the camp with their enſigns, but the Turks comming on with a hideous cry, aſſailed them on euery ſide, and many ſharp skirmiſhes were giuen vnto the horſmen as they marched, with ſuch euent that the Chriſtians ſometime valiantly receiuing the enemies charge, and ſomtime charging them againe, repulſed the proud enemy ſtill buſie with them. In theſe continuall skirmiſhes, *Antius Maier Fuchſtat*, Generall of the Carinthian horſmen, fighting valiantly was ſlain, being for his braue armor ſuppoſed by the Turks to haue bin the Generall of the field. And by like miſhap foure and twenty horſmen of great name were alſo ſlain, and their guidon taken, amongſt theſe were three noblemen; *Andreas Reſchius, Chriſtophorus Hernaus*, and *Georgius Himelbergus*. In another place was made a moſt cruell skirmiſh with the Saxon horſmen, and them of Miſnia, Thuringia and Franconia, who followed the Saxons enſigne: of theſe, fighting moſt valiantly, was ſlain aboue 36 worthy Captains, Lieutenants, or Antients; and *Chieurius* a principall Captaine of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in bonds amongſt the Turks. Amongſt them which were ſlain, *Sebaſtianus Metheſius*, and *Iacobus Scallembergh* were of greateſt Nobility.

An old German ſouldier ieſteth at Lodronius.

The horſmen diſcomfited by the Turks.

G H I K L M

A lity. In like manner the horſemen of Auſtria couragiouſly reſiſting the enemy for a ſpace, were in the end ouerthrowne; where amongſt them was ſlaine two valiant noblemen, *Fettaius* and *Heſſilinchius*, with diuers other men of great place and reputation both in their own country and abroad. But the greateſt ſlaughter was made amongſt the Bohemian horſemen, vpon whom (being diſordered by the Ianizaries harquebuſiers) the Turkiſh troups of the old garriſon ſoldiers breaking in with their ſcimiters and heauy yron maces, made a moſt bloudy execution. The battell of footmen being ſore galled, and almoſt diſordered in their march by certain companies of Ianizaries and archers of the Aſapi (who from a woody banke of a mariſh diſcharged their ſhot & arrowes continually vpon them, yet neuer comming to handy blowes) was on the other ſide ſo hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his troups of horſemen of Boſne, that being not able longer to keep order, it was at laſt by him broken and cut in pieces: where B the Turks with their ſwords and hatchets ſlew the poore Chriſtians without mercy. *Lodronius* himſelfe, carried away with the breaking in and force of the horſemen, was driuen into a mariſh: where after that he being ſore wounded, and almoſt faſt in the deepe mud, had done the vttermoſt of that his laſt endeauour; he by the faire intreaty of the Turks, perſuading him rather to yeeld, than there to be ſlaine, ſo yeelded himſelfe, that he with three companies which were with him, after they had laid downe their weapons, were all ſaued as valiant ſouldiers; for now the mercileſſe Turks embrued with the Chriſtian bloud, were weary of ſlaughter, and began greedily to ſeeke after the ſpoile, hunting after them (who flying diſperſedly, thought themſelues to haue eſcaped the enemies hands) with ſuch ſucceſſe, that a great number of C them were taken and led away for ſlaues: few of the footmen eſcaped, and almoſt all the reſt which were not fled before the battell, were to be ſeen dead vpon the ground.

The Chriſtian footmen ouerthrowne.

This ſhamefull ouerthrow at Exek was reported to haue exceeded the moſt grieuous ouerthrowes that the Chriſtians had receiued in any former time: for the flower both of horſe and foot there loſt by the raſhneſſe and fault of an vnlucky Generall, rather than by the valor of the enemy, ruthfully periſhed: ſo that many prouinces were filled with heauineſſe and mourning. For it neuer chanced before (as was to be ſeen by the vnfortunat battels of *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and king *Ladiſlaus*) that the Turks got ſuch a victory without ſome loſſe: ſo that they which fell almoſt vnreuenged at Exek, may ſeeme to haue augmented that loſſe by the great infamy thereof. *Mahometes* hauing thus almoſt without the bloud of his ſoldiers, obtained ſo D great a victory, and taken the ſpoile of the Chriſtian camp, pitched his tents in a little medow being clenſed of the dead bodies, and after he had merrily feaſted with his captains, commanded the chiefe priſoners, the goodly ſpoiles, and faireſt enſignes to be brought vnto him: and openly commending the captaines who had that day done any good ſeruice, commanding diuers bags of mony to be brought vnto him by the receiuers, he with his owne hand rewarded the ſoldiers, ſome with gold, ſome with ſiluer, according to their deſerts: And cauſing all the priſoners which were not common ſouldiers to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and preſently cauſed euery one of their names, and the office they bare, to be inrolled by his clerks: and vnto ſuch as brought in the heads, eares, or hands of the Chriſtians with rings vpon them, he forthwith cauſed one reward or other to be giuen. *Lodronius*, when as by reaſon of E his deadly wounds he was thought vnable to indure trauell, or to be brought aliue with the other priſoners to Conſtantinople, was ſlaine by his keepers, and his head afterward ſent thither. For, as many noble gentlemen (and amongſt others, *Laurentius Streiperg* and *Dietmarus Loſeſtaine*) haue reported, (who ranſomed afterwards, returned againe home to their wiues and children) amongſt the priſoners which were together with the faire enſignes, and other gallant warlike furniture (eſpecially gilt armor and headpieces) preſented by *Mahometes* his meſſengers to *Solyman*, three of the greateſt captaines heads were in a ſiluer baſon there ſeene and known, which were the heads of *Paulus Bachitius* the valiant Hungarian captain, *Amſius Macer* Generall of the Carinthian horſemen, and *Lodronius* Generall of the footmen: which after the tyrant had looked aſquint vpon, as abhorring that loathſome ſight, he with ſtern countenance F commanded all the priſoners to be ſlaine. But vpon the interceſſion of the Ianizaries (who entreated for them, as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking paſt their faith, and might afterwards do him good ſeruice) he changed his countenance, and ſaued many of them. But *Cazzianer* flying to his owne caſtle, was of all men accuſed as a wicked forſaker of his owne campe and enſignes, and commonly railed vpon, as the eternall infamy of his coun-

Lodronius ſlain.

Three of the great captains heads preſented to Solyman at Conſtantinople.

Cazzianer generally hated.

try, and authour of that publike calamity: ſo that it was reported, that he durſt neither goe abroad, nor ſhew his face for ſhame. He was ſo generally hated, that infamous libels, made againſt him & the other captains which ſhamefully fled as he did, were commonly ſung in the ſtreets by boyes in all places of Germany. Wherewith he was ſo much grieued, that he requeſted of K. *Ferdinand*, that he might ſafely come to the court, to anſwer whatſoeuer could be laid againſt him: which his requeſt the king eaſily granted, and when he came to the court, receiued him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cauſe was by the king ſomewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the meane time kept vnder ſafe cuſtody; impatient of ſuch delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he ſhould be quitted or condemned, thought it better to fly, than to abide the triall. So feigning himſelfe ſicke, and ſcraping vp by little and little with his knife a bricke pauement vnder his bed, and ſo in the night getting out one bricke firſt, and then another, at length brake thorow the vault, and with his ſheets letting himſelfe downe, eſcaped, hauing poſt horſes ready for him without the Caſtle. Not long after, as he was a man of a haſty and vnconſtant nature, deſpairing of his eſtate, he fled to the Turks; *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beſide his great entertainment, promiſing him the gouernment of all Croatia in manner of a tributary king, if he would faithfully ſerue *Solyman*, and helpe him in the ſubduing of the cities of Auſtria. After he had agreed vpon all the conditions of his reuolt, that he might returne to *Mahometes* with ſome more credit, he began boldly to deale with *Nicholaus Sirenus* a Nobleman of Croatia, and his deere friend, as he ſuppoſed, to reuolt with him; aſſuring him, that *Solyman* would deale as kindly with them both, as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdome of Hungary. *Sirenus* promiſed him he would, or at leaſt made as if he promiſed to do what he deſired, and ſo agreed as it were vpon the matter, promiſing to go ouer with him to the Turke with a troupe of his beſt and moſt truſty horſemen. But *Sirenus* conſidering with himſelfe the hainouſneſſe and impiety of ſo great an offence, changing his purpoſe, choſe rather to deale treacherouſly with his old friend, fearing no ſuch thing in his houſe, than to offend both againſt God and his Prince. Wherefore after he had well feaſted *Cazzianer* in his houſe, he as a moſt cruell hoſt, cauſed him to be ſlaine, and ſent his head to King *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the Kings gift *Cazzianer* his caſtle, with all his ſubſtance.

G

H

Cazzianer impriſoned, breaketh priſon.

I

Cazzianer moſt ſhamefully murdred, and his head ſent vnto K. Ferdinand.

In the mean time the Venetians, prouoked by the Turks with diuers injuries both by ſea and land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly beſieged Corcyra, and with moſt barbarous cruelty waſting the Iſland, had broken the league, & euen then by his lieutenant *Caſſimus Baſſa* beſieged Epidaurus and Nauplium, two of their cities in Peloponeſus) reſolued without delay to make war likewiſe vpon him, who for a ſmall treſpas would admit no excuſe or recompence. Wherunto they were alſo animated both by *Charles* the Emperor, and *Paulus* the great Biſhop: who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, thought it more for the ſafety of their eſtates, by giuing aid to the Venetians, to keep the Turks buſied further off, than to ſuffer them to acquaint themſelues too much with the ports of Italy and Sicilia. Wherefore all the Winter following they labored by their Embaſſadors, to ſet down what number and what manner of ſhips, what ſouldiers, what mony was to be prouided, and how to be according to their eſtates apportioned, for the ſetting forth of a ſtrong fleet againſt the next Summer, to be ſent into Grecia againſt the Turks. At laſt it was agreed amongſt theſe confederat Princes, by their Embaſſadors at Rome, That the Emperor ſhould furniſh and ſet forth 82 gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the Biſhop 36, to make vp the number of two hundred gallies; that the Venetians ſhould lend vnto the Biſhop ſo many gallies ready rigged, as he ſhould deſire, to be furniſhed by him with marriners and ſoldiers; and that the Emperor and the State of Genoa ſhould find ſufficient ſhipping for the tranſportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals alſo of this great fleet to be ſet forth, were at the ſame time appointed: *Andreas Auria* for the Emperour, *Vincentius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimmanus* Patriarch of Aquilea for the Biſhop; to whom was joyned *Paulus Iuſtinianus* one of the chiefe Senatours, a man of great experience in ſea matters. It was alſo agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* Viceroy of Sicily, ſhould haue the commanding of the land forces; and that whatſoeuer was got from the Turks in that expedition in Grecia, the Iſlands, or Dalmatia, ſhould be all faithfully deliuered to the Venetians, who had receiued ſo many injuries from the Turks. The Emperour alſo of his liberality promiſed vnto the other Confederats,

K

L

The Emperour, the Venetians, and the Biſhop of Rome, enter into a confederation againſt the Turks.

M

A federats,that they ſhould for reaſonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of Sicilia,
without paying any cuſtome.
Solyman vnderſtanding of this confederation and preparation made againſt him by theſe
1538
Chriſtian Princes,commanded *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall to make ready his fleet to goe againſt
Solyman ſendeth Barbaruſſa againſt the Venetians.
theſe enemies,and to do all the harme he could vpon the Iſlands ſubiect to the Venetian ſtate.
Which thing *Barbaruſſa* with great care and diligence in ſhort time performed: and ſo with
130 gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed, with the firſt of the Spring, in the yeare 1538,
departed from Helleſpontus directly to Creet; where hauing paſſed the promontory of Gyamus,
Barbaruſſa landing in Creet,is repulſed with loſſe.
which at this day is called Sparta, he vnaduiſedly landed moſt part of his men, to haue
ſurpriſed the city of Canea,which was in antient time called Sydonia. But *Grittus* one of the
B Venetian Senatours then kept the City with a ſtrong garriſon; who from the walls and bulwarks
thereof ſo plagued the Turks with great and ſmall ſhot,and the ſallying out of two companies
of Italians,that *Barbaruſſa* hauing loſt many of his men,was faine to retire againe to his
fleet in ſuch haſt,that he left behind him 1000 of his Turks,which were gone further into the
Iſland after booty,who were afterwards all ſlaine by them of Creet. After that,he attempted
to haue taken diuers places in the Iſland, and was euery where notably repulſed. With the
city of Candia,wherof the Iſland now taketh name, and was in antient time called Cytheum,
he durſt not meddle: but ſailing almoſt round about the Iſland, tooke onely Cecilia, a little
towne before forſaken of the inhabitants,which he ſet on fire, and ſo departed from Creet:for
he was aduertiſed, That *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian Admirall, who was now come to
C Corcyra,would in ſhort time come to relieue them of Creet. *Auria*,Admiral of the Emperors
fleet,paſſing the ſtreit of Meſſana,came to Corcyra alſo,and there joined with the Venetians.
The confederat Princes Fleets meet at Corcyra.
The Chriſtian fleet was then ſo great that it was thought the Turks durſt not meet it at ſea,
but by all means ſhun to giue battell. For *Barbaruſſa* then lay with the Turks fleet in the bay
of Ambracia,expecting when the Chriſtians ſhould enter the ſtreit entrance therof,where he
had on both ſides placed diuers pieces of great ordnance,to haue ſunk them in their comming
in: for *Grimanus* the Patriarch,a little before departing from Corcyra,had with the great Biſhops
gallies begun to beſiege Preueſa,a towne vpon the promontory of Actium faſt by that
ſtreit, and landing ſome of his ſouldiers, with three great pieces of artillery ſo battered the
caſtle of Preueſa, that he was like enough to haue taken it, had not the Turks from Ætolia
D come to relieue it with a ſtrong power both of horſe and foot. Wherfore the Patriarch ſhipping
againe his men and ordnance, returned to the fleet at Corcyra, not repenting him of his
journy, for that he had well viewed the ſtreits of that Bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at
anchor within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch,and relation made,what he had both done
and ſeene,the great commanders of the Chriſtian fleet entred into counſell,what courſe were
beſt to take for the better proceeding in that great action. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy, Generall of
Gonzaga his opinion.
the land forces,was of opinion,That it were beſt to land the ſouldiers and great ordnance,and
with all their force to aſſault the caſtle of Preueſa: which once taken,and their ordnance there
planted, the enemies fleet might in the Bay be vtterly defeated, for that all paſſage to ſea
might eaſily be taken from them, by ſinking one of the great ſhips in the mouth of the
E Streit, and by moaring there of three great Gallions full of Artillery: ſo that if *Barbaruſſa*
would deſperatly aduenture to come out, hee muſt needs be ſunke in the mouth of the Bay.
Whereunto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counſell was in words and ſhew glorious, but to
Auria of another opinion.
put in execution moſt dangerous: for that firſt to land the ſouldiers and great artillery, he
ſaid was a thing too too full of hazard and perill: for it was to be thought, that the Turks in
Ætolia would as they had before done, come with ſpeed with their horſemen to relieue the
beſieged in the caſtle; whoſe force the Chriſtian footmen could hardly abide. Beſides that,
if the fleet ſhould by force of weather be conſtrained to leaue that coaſt, (as it wel might, Autumne
now comming faſt on) after the ſouldiers were landed, From whence ſhould they then
get victuall in the enemies country? Or what reliefe ſhould they hope for,if they ſhould hap
F to be diſtreſſed; being on euery ſide beſet with their enemies,and their friends by tempeſt driuen
from them? Wherefore he thought it beſt, if the enemy could not be drawne out of the
Bay to battell,to go directly to the Bay of Naupactum,and to take that towne which was not
greatly fortified, and to ranſacke and ſpoile all the Townes, euen to the bottome of the Bay
of Corinth. Which the Grecians in the Fleet ſaid might eaſily be done: by taking of which

courſe it might fall out, that *Barbaruſſa* mooued with the danger of his friends, would for ſhame come out and joyne with them in battell. This counſell of *Auria* was beſt liked both of *Capellius* and rhe Patriarch, being far more deſirous to fight with their enemies at ſea, than at land.

Auria braueth Barbaruſſa lying in the Bay of Ambracia.

Barbaruſſa reproued of cowardiſe by one of the Turkes Eunuchs.

Auria hauing put in order his fleet, came to Preueſa, and ſo to the ſtreit of the bay of Ambracia, where he ſo placed the whole fleet, which was in number 250 ſaile, that it might eaſily of the enemy be numbred. Which ſight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbaruſſa*; who although he was of a couragious diſpoſition, and ſuch a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martial diſcipline of the Chriſtians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the ſight of ſo great a fleet ſo well appointed; for a greater had not of long time bin ſeene in the Ionian ſea. So that an Eunuch of *Solymans* court, ſent by him as *Barbaruſſa* his companion, ſeeing him to delay the time as a man halfe diſcouraged, did with moſt vnciuil and proud words take him vp, becauſe he would not forthwith go out of the bay and fight with the Chriſtians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them: wherein he was not (as he ſaid) to regard his own ſafety (who as a coward would not endure the ſight of the enemy) but the honour of *Solyman* his Soueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glory of his name ſtained with ſo ſhamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he profeſſed himſelfe to be, he ought neuer to deſpaire of victory: and if it ſhould ſo fall out, that fortune ſhould frown vpon them, and not to anſwer their deſires, yet ſhould not *Solyman* therefore want captains and ſoldiers better than they, if they were ouercome; and the woods of Pontus would afford him timber enough to build twice ſo great and ſtrong a fleet. And for a concluſion, the inſolent Eunuch willed *Barbaruſſa* to beware, that whileſt he feared a moſt honourable death (which was vncertaine, though the battell were loſt) he drew not vpon himſelfe the certaine danger of a moſt ſhamefull death by the diſpleaſure of *Solyman*.

Barbaruſſa his anſwer to Salec concerning the Eunuchs ſpeech.

Barbaruſſa putteth out of the bay of Ambracia, and followeth Auria.

At which ſpeech *Barbaruſſa* turning himſelfe about to *Salec*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous ſea man, ſaid vnto him, *We muſt for ought that I can ſee, moſt valiant and faithfull captaine, aduenture this battell, although it be at too much diſaduantage; leſt haply we periſh by the complaints of this barking demy man*. And ſo preſently commanded all his fleet to weigh anchor, at the ſame time that *Auria* had hoiſed ſaile, and was on his way toward the bay of Naupactus, thinking that the enemy durſt not for feare haue come out of the bay of Ambracia. *Auria* keeping on his courſe was come to Leucade, when the enemies fleet was diſcried out of the top of *Bendelmerius* galleon, to be come out of the Bay, and to make towards them, keeping cloſe by the ſhore: which manner of courſe the crafty Turke, miſdoubting his own ſtrength, held of purpoſe, that if he ſhould chance to be ouermatched by the Chriſtians, he might turne the prow of his gallies vpon them, and running the poups aground, ſo to land his men and great ordnance, and from land as he might to defend his Fleet: accounting it a leſſe loſſe (if the worſt ſhould chance) to loſe the gallies, than the men.

The order of the Turks fleet.

Auria ſomewhat troubled with this ſudden comming out of the enemy, as with a thing which he then leaſt expected, yet notably ſtaid himſelfe, and commanded all the fleet to prepare themſelues to battel, and to follow his Admiral gally. Now all the Turks fleet was come into the open ſea into ſuch order, that *Barbaruſſa* himſelfe was in the middle battell; where his Admirall gally was to be ſeene with many purple flags and ſtreamers flying gallantly in the winde: on his right hand was *Tabacches*, and *Salec* on the left, both men of great fame, euery one of them hauing almoſt like number of gallies, which were in all 150. Vnto the middle battell were joyned two wings, in ſuch order, that which way ſoeuer the Admirall turned, they turning alſo, ſtill repreſented the forme of a flying Eagle: ſo that (as *Auria* himſelfe afterwards confeſſed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue bin brought out by any expert captain. Before the fleet came about 20 nimble gallies conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an arch pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Chriſtians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requeſting him, That he with his gallies might giue the firſt charge vpon the enemy: to whom *Auria* gaue great thanks, and praiſing his forwardnes, requeſted him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a ſigne what he would haue done. The formoſt of the Turks light gallies was now come to the great galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the formoſt of the Chriſtian fleet, whereunto were ſent alſo certaine gallies from *Salec*, to helpe to aſſaile that tall ſhip, which ſhooting a far off, did no harme, neither

Bondel-

A *Bondelmerius* them; who would not ſuffer one piece to be diſcharged; for he being an expert
ſea man, and loth to ſhoot in vain, expected that they ſhould come neerer vnto him, and then
vpon the ſudden to diſcharge all his great ordnance vpon them. Neither was he deceiued in
that his expectation, for the Turks comming neere vnto him, were ſo ouerwhelmed with the
great and ſmall ſhot out of the galleon, that they were glad to ſtay their courſe and retyre. In
the meane time *Auria* called backe again his ſhips which were gon before, and cauſed his galleon
to be towed out; and by boats of purpoſe ſent out, charged the captains of the gallies to
make themſelues ready to fight, vpon ſignall giuen by the ſound of the trumpet, & diſplaying
of the Admirals enſigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight, with his gallies without his ſhips.
Which thing the crafty enemy well perceiued, and therefore ſought by all meanes to ioyne
B battel with the gallies, before the comming in of the tal ſhips, which were as caſtles in reſpect
of the gallies: for it was then ſuch a calme, that the ſhips were not able to keepe way with the
gallies, and the ſmooth water ſeemed to offer a fit opportunity for battell; which ſo well pleaſed
the Patriarch, that many heard him cry aloud to *Auria* to giue the ſignall; and marueiled
much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compaſſe, and houering about
his ſhips, with his gallies kept ſuch a courſe, that many thought he would vpon a ſudden haue
don ſome ſtrange and vnexpected exploit vpon the enemy: but *Auria* held that ſtrange courſe *Auria his politique courſe.*
of purpoſe to haue drawne the enemies gallies within the danger of his great ſhips, who thundring
amongſt them with their great ordnance, might haue eaſily ſore beaten and diſordered
them, and opened a way to his gallies to haue gotten a moſt certaine victory. But the crafty
C old Turke doubting by the ſtrangeneſſe of *Auria's* courſe, to be circumuented with ſome fineneſſe,
changed his courſe, and lay ſtill with his owne ſquadron of gallies, warily expecting to
what purpoſe that ſtrange courſe of the enemy tended. In the meane time, both the wings of
his fleet had a little before Sun-ſet, begun in diuers places to encounter with the Chriſtians:
ſome were in vaine ſtill aſſailing *Bondelmerius* his great galleon; others with their great ordnance
had ſo ſore beaten two tall ſhips (wherin *Buccanigra* and *Mongaia*, two Spaniſh captains,
were embarked with their companies) that they were giuen for loſt, many of the ſoldiers and
mariners being ſlain. Two other ſhips loded with victuall, the one of Venice, the other of Dalmatia,
were burnt by the Turks, & ſome few of the men ſaued by their ſhipboats, and by ſwimming
to the ſhips neereſt vnto them. In the ſhutting in of the euening *Salec* tooke two gallies
D ſtragling behind the reſt of the fleet, whereof *Mozenicus* a Venetian, and *Bebiena* a Florentine,
were captains. After theſe gallies, was taken alſo the ſhip of *Aloyſius Figaroa* a Spaniard, although
his ſoldiers had for a time fought moſt valiantly. In this ſhip, with *Figaroa* the father,
was taken his ſon a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature; who afterwards
preſented to *Solyman*, turned Turke: and growing in credit in *Solymans* chamber, after
three yeres miſerable impriſonment, obtained his poore fathers liberty, and ſent him well rewarded
home again into Spaine. Whilſt both the fleets were thus expecting how they might
to their moſt aduantage ioyne battell, ſuddenly aroſe a great tempeſt of thunder, lightning,
and rain, with a freſh gale of Eaſterly wind: wherupon the Chriſtians ſeeing the Turks hoiſing *The Chriſtian fleet ſhamefully flyeth.*
vp their ſmall ſailes, without delay hoiſed vp both ſmall and great to cleere themſelues of the
E enemy, and with that faire wind returned againe to Corcyra; ſo diſordredly and in ſuch haſt,
ſparing neither ſaile nor oare, that it ſeemed rather a ſhamefull flight, than an orderly retreat.
So that *Auria*, a man of ſo great fame at ſea, as that he was called a ſecond *Neptune*, was that day
accounted no captain. It is reported that *Barbaruſſa* with the ſame wind purſued the Chriſtians
a while, and being not able longer to ſee what courſe they held, by reaſon of the darkneſſe
of the night, to haue ſtaied his courſe: for the Admirals had cauſed their lights which they
vſed to carry in the poups of their gallies, to be put out. Wherat *Barbaruſſa* heartily laughing,
ſaid oftentimes in the Spaniſh tongue: Auria *hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke* *Barbaruſſa ieaſteth at Auria.*
to hide his flight: noting in him ſuch a feare, as that he without regard of honour, ſought onely
how by flight to eſcape. When they were come to Corcyra, they were all generally of opinion,
F That by the benefit of that ſudden ſtorme they had auoided a great danger. The Imperials,
eſpecially the Genowaies, to excuſe *Auria*, imputed the cauſe of ſo ſhameful a flight vnto
the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spaniſh ſouldiers into their
gallies, the better to haue withſtood the enemy; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Venetians,
refrained from ioyning battell; and the rather, becauſe that vpon the comming forth

Barbaruſſa braueth the Chriſtians.

Caſtronovum taken by the Chriſtians.

of the Turks fleet,they had hoiſed vp their ſailes tied vp to the yards with ſmall lines, which they might at their pleaſure eaſily cut,and ſet ſaile to fly which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbaruſſa* with all his fleet to the Iſland of Paxus,about foure leagues from Corcyra Eaſtward,brauing the Chriſtians as if he would haue fought with them,if they durſt come out. Wherat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting,went to euery one of the three great commanders, requeſting them for the honor of the Chriſtians, to repreſſe that proud Turks inſolency. At laſt the matter was brought to that paſſe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certain companies of Spaniards,the fleet ſhould be diuided into foure ſquadrons,and ſo to giue battell. But this conſultation was ſo long protracting, that *Barbaruſſa* fearing the tempeſtuous Autumne weather,hoiſed ſaile,and about the ſeuenth of October returned again into the bay of Ambracia. After the departing of *Barbaruſſa*,the Generals of the Chriſtian fleet directed their courſe into the bay called Sinus Riſonicus, to beſiege Caſtronovum, or New-caſtle,a ſtrong towne of the Turks ſtanding in that bey, and bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniory. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Chriſtian religion, and ſome Turks,liuing moſt part by merchandiſe. Vnto this town the Chriſtians laid ſiege,and in ſhort time won it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all ſorts. Three daies after the taking of the towne, the caſtle was alſo yeelded by the Turks garriſon ; couenanting in vaine to depart with life and liberty.

This towne taken by common force,ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue been deliuered to the Venetians ; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reſerued for the Emperor,and *Franciſcus Sarmentus* with foure thouſand Spaniards all old ſoldiers, left there in garriſon : *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing ſo much grieued the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in ſuſpect, and now aſſured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of Catarum) that repenting themſelus of the league with the Emperor,they decreed to ſue to *Solyman* for peace : which they afterwards eaſily obtained, for a ſhort ſpace, by *Laurentius Grittus* their Dukes ſon, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rincus* the French Kings Embaſſador ; who then lying at Conſtantinople, in good time told the great Baſſa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the conſent of the greateſt part of the Senat, and that war taken in hand againſt moſt of their wils.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Barbaruſſa* put to ſea againe to haue relieued Caſtronovum : but being at ſea,many of his gallies were by the violence of a ſudden tempeſt driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks,and there caſt away. It is reported that he loſt there 20000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almoſt all alongſt the coaſt of Dalmatia. This ſhipwracke being certainly knowne, *Capellius* would haue perſuaded *Auria* to haue preſently purſued *Barbaruſſa* ſo diſtreſſed : which motion *Gonzaga* wel liked, as a man deſirous by ſome notable exploit to recompence the diſgrace before receiued at Leucade. But *Auria* for diuers cauſes not liking of the matter,was ſo ſet down vpon his return to Italy, that he preſently hoiſed ſaile,leauing the Venetian Admirall in ſuch a rage,that he deteſted himſelfe,for ſubmitting himſelfe to another mans power ; and wiſhed the captains there preſent, neuer to ſubject themſelues to the command of a ſtranger, foraſmuch as that Genoway, either vpon cowardiſe or malicious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian State,would not proſecute ſo manifeſt a victory,but put vp ſo ſhamefull a diſgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made ſmall reckoning,referring all that he both ſaid and did, ſo far vnto the Emperors commodity,that *Valerius Vrſinus* a noble gentleman then ſeruing in the Venetian pay,merrily ſaid,That *Auria* had done nothing but wiſely and politickly,in ſetting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks,and opening a gate for a long war,whether the Venetians would or not : ſo as the emperor himſelf could not haue better wiſhed,and that without the loſſe of one gally. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians would ſort to the great good of the emperor; when as the Venetians worne out and ſpent with thoſe long and chargeable wars againſt ſo mighty an enemy, ſhould be ſtripped of their lands and territories either by force,or ſome hard compoſition wrung from them by neceſſity.

Auria neglecting to purſue Barbaruſſa, returnes into Italy, to the griefe of the Venetian Admirall.

Caſtronovum thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a garriſon of foure thouſand Spaniards there placed, as is aforeſaid, and the Chriſtian fleet diſſolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that he determined to beſiege it againe both by ſea and land : and in his fury, cauſed

Naupli-

A Nauplium and Epidaurus, two of the Venetian cities in the country of Peloponeſus, to bee ſtraitly beſieged. Yet tooke he ſingular pleaſure, that *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall, in all reſpects worſe furniſhed, had driuen out of the ſea the great fleet of the Chriſtians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbaruſſa* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, and notably furniſhed it with all maner of warlike prouiſion; manning his gallies for the moſt part with Ianizaries and other ſuch ſelect ſoldiers. With this fleet *Barbaruſſa* (Summer now wel come on) departed out of the Helleſpontus, and came to the bay Riſonicus; at which time alſo *Vlames* the Perſian then Gouernor of Boſna, ſhewed himſelfe with his forces vpon the mountaines, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* before he entred the ſtreits of the bay, ſent before B him *Dragut* and *Corſetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto Caſtronovum (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being ſlaine and taken priſoners. After that came *Barbaruſſa* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ſhips which carried the artillery for battery and other neceſſary prouiſion for the campe; where he ſpent three daies landing his great ordnance and caſting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night by reaſon of the continuall ſhot out of the Towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three daies ſpace ſlaine aboue 1000 Turks: amongſt whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himſelfe as it were a king at Taiorea, a city neere Tripolis in Africa; whoſe death much grieued *Barbaruſſa*, as one of his moſt antient and beſt friends. At length *Barbaruſſa* hauing caſt vp his C trenches, landed foure and fifty great pieces of artillery for battery; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlemas* to batter the towne on the North ſide, whileſt he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the Eaſt ſide, and *Salec* from ſea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whileſt *Sarmentus* was thus in ſo many places aſſailed, and did what was poſſible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had diſplaied their enſignes, they from thence with their ſhot ſore troubled the Spaniards. At the ſame time alſo, *Vlemas* had made a breach, and was ready on the other ſide of the city to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* ſeeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt ſoldiers to get them into the caſtle below, and the reſt with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turks D ſtreightway breaking in on euery ſide vpon them, made a moſt cruell and bloudy fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with ſhot, and the multitude of their enemies, were ſlain almoſt euery man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, ſeeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to fly, ſharpely reproued him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, vntill they were both together ſlaine. Many valiant captaines were there loſt, whoſe names for breuity I omit. *Aloyſius Arius*, and certaine other captaines who together with the wounded ſouldiers were got into the caſtle, ſeeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themſelues: whom *Barbaruſſa* according to his promiſe, tooke to mercy in ſparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuity to Conſtantinople. The dead body of *Sarmentus* could not be knowne amongſt ſo many heaps ef the dead, although *Barbaruſſa* had E cauſed moſt diligent ſearch to be made for it, and offered great ſums of mony and liberty alſo, to whoſoeuer could recouer it; being deſirous to haue ſent his head for a Preſent to *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* proud of this victory, began forthwith to gape after Cattarus a City of the Venetians in the bottome of the ſame bay; and thereupon writ threatning letters to *Ioannes Bembus* one of the Venetian Senators then Gouernour of the city, preſently to deliuer the city; which he would (as he ſaid) otherwiſe aſſault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* anſwered againe by letters, that in ſo doing he ſhould violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he ſhould find him ready by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbaruſſa* diſpleaſed, ſent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay; who diſcharging certain great pieces at the city, made ſhew as if they had come to beſiege it. At whom *Bembus* as a man of good courage F cauſed as many moe like pieces to be diſcharged, and ſhewed his men vpon the wals: Which thing *Barbaruſſa* perceiuing ſtaid his courſe, and calling backe his gallies, returned to Caſtronovum, from whence (better appeaſed with Preſents afterwards ſent from *Bembus*) he departed out of that bay.

1539

Barbaruſſa ſent by Solyman to beſiege Caſtronouum.

Caſtronouum hardly beſieged by Barbaruſſa.

Caſtronouum taken.

Sarmentus ſlaine.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French King, were now well pacified;

Barbaruſſa braueth the Chriſtians.

of the Turks fleet, they had hoiſed vp their ſailes tied vp to the yards with ſmall lines, which they might at their pleaſure eaſily cut, and ſet ſaile to fly which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbaruſſa* with all his fleet to the Iſland of Paxus, about foure leagues from Corcyra Eaſtward, brauing the Chriſtians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durſt come out. Wherat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to euery one of the three great commanders, requeſting them for the honor of the Chriſtians, to repreſſe that proud Turks inſolency. At laſt the matter was brought to that paſſe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certain companies of Spaniards, the fleet ſhould be diuided into foure ſquadrons, and ſo to giue battell. But this conſultation was ſo long protracting, that *Barbaruſſa* fearing the tempeſtuous Autumne weather, hoiſed ſaile, and about the ſeuenth of October returned again into the bay of Ambracia. After the departing of *Barbaruſſa*, the Generals of the Chriſtian fleet directed their courſe into the bay called Sinus Riſonicus, to beſiege Caſtronovum, or New-caſtle, a ſtrong towne of the Turks ſtanding in that bey, and bordering vpon the Venetian Seigniory. The Inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Chriſtian religion, and ſome Turks, liuing moſt part by merchandiſe. Vnto this town the Chriſtians laid ſiege, and in ſhort time won it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all ſorts. Three daies after the taking of the towne, the caſtle was alſo yeelded by the Turks garriſon; couenanting in vaine to depart with life and liberty.

Caſtronovum taken by the Chriſtians.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue been deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reſerued for the Emperor, and *Franciſcus Sarmentus* with foure thouſand Spaniards all old ſoldiers, left there in garriſon: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing ſo much grieued the Senat, (who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in ſuſpect, and now aſſured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of Catarum) that repenting themſelus of the league with the Emperor, they decreed to ſue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards eaſily obtained, for a ſhort ſpace, by *Laurentius Grittus* their Dukes ſon, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rincus* the French Kings Embaſſador; who then lying at Conſtantinople, in good time told the great Baſſa's, that the league the Venetians had made with the Emperour, was made without the conſent of the greateſt part of the Senat, and that wat taken in hand againſt moſt of their wils.

Auria neglecting to purſue Barbaruſſa, returnes into Italy, to the griefe of the Venetian Admirall.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Barbaruſſa* put to ſea againe to haue relieued Caſtronovum: but being at ſea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a ſudden tempeſt driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks, and there caſt away. It is reported that he loſt there 20000 men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almoſt all alongſt the coaſt of Dalmatia. This ſhipwracke being certainly knowne, *Capellius* would haue perſuaded *Auria* to haue preſently purſued *Barbaruſſa* ſo diſtreſſed: which motion *Gonzaga* wel liked, as a man deſirous by ſome notable exploit to recompence the diſgrace before receiued at Leucade. But *Auria* for diuers cauſes not liking of the matter, was ſo ſet down vpon his return to Italy, that he preſently hoiſed ſaile, leauing the Venetian Admirall in ſuch a rage, that he deteſted himſelfe, for ſubmitting himſelfe to another mans power; and wiſhed the captains there preſent, neuer to ſubiect themſelues to the command of a ſtranger, foraſmuch as that Genoway, either vpon cowardiſe or malicious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian State, would not proſecute ſo manifeſt a victory, but put vp ſo ſhamefull a diſgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made ſmall reckoning, referring all that he both ſaid and did, ſo far vnto the Emperors commodity, that *Valerius Vrſinus* a noble gentleman then ſeruing in the Venetian pay, merrily ſaid, That *Auria* had done nothing but wiſely and politickly, in ſetting the Venetians together by the ears with the Turks, and opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not: ſo as the emperor himſelf could not haue better wiſhed, and that without the loſſe of one gally. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians would ſort to the great good of the emperor; when as the Venetians worne out and ſpent with thoſe long and chargeable wars againſt ſo mighty an enemy, ſhould be ſtripped of their lands and territories either by force, or ſome hard compoſition wrung from them by neceſſity.

Caſtronovum thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a garriſon of foure thouſand Spaniards there placed, as is aforeſaid, and the Chriſtian fleet diſſolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that he determined to beſiege it againe both by ſea and land: and in his fury, cauſed

A Nauplium and Epidaurus, two of the Venetian cities in the country of Peloponeſus, to bee ſtraitly beſieged. Yet tooke he ſingular pleaſure, that *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall, in all reſpects worſe furniſhed, had driuen out of the ſea the great fleet of the Chriſtians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Whereſore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeare 1539, *Barbaruſſa* by his commandement repaired againe his fleet, and notably furniſhed it with all maner of warlike prouiſion; manning his gallies for the moſt part with Ianizaries and other ſuch ſelect ſoldiers. With this fleet *Barbaruſſa* (Summer now wel come on) departed out of the Helleſpontus, and came to the bay Riſonicus; at which time alſo *Vlames* the Perſian then Gouernor of Boſna, ſhewed himſelfe with his forces vpon the mountaines, as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* before he entred the ſtreits of the bay, ſent before B him *Dragus* and *Corſetus*, two notable pirats, with thirty galliots, who landing their men neere vnto Caſtronovum (as they were commanded) were valiantly encountered by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being ſlaine and taken priſoners. After that came *Barbaruſſa* with 90 gallies, and 3 tal ſhips which carried the artillery for battery and other neceſſary prouiſion for the campe; where he ſpent three daies landing his great ordnance and caſting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night by reaſon of the continuall ſhot out of the Towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three daies ſpace ſlaine aboue 1000 Turks: amongſt whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himſelfe as it were a king at Taiorea, a city neere Tripolis in Africa; whoſe death much grieued *Barbaruſſa*, as one of his moſt antient and beſt friends. At length *Barbaruſſa* hauing caſt vp his trenches, C landed foure and fifty great pieces of artillery for battery; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlemas* to batter the towne on the North ſide, whileſt he in the meane time, in three diuers places battered the Eaſt ſide, and *Salec* from ſea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whileſt *Sarmentus* was thus in ſo many places aſſailed, and did what was poſſible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had diſplaied their enſignes, they from thence with their ſhot ſore troubled the Spaniards. At the ſame time alſo, *Vlemas* had made a breach, and was ready on the other ſide of the city to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* ſeeing no means longer to defend the city, commanded the hurt ſoldiers to get them into the caſtle below, and the reſt with him to take the market place, there to die together like men: where the Turks ſtreightway D breaking in on euery ſide vpon them, made a moſt cruell and bloudy fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with ſhot, and the multitude of their enemies, were ſlain almoſt euery man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, ſeeing *Sancius Fria* a captain ready to fly, ſharpely reproued him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarry by it, vntill they were both together ſlaine. Many valiant captaines were there loſt, whoſe names for breuity I omit. *Aloyſius Arius*, and certaine other captaines who together with the wounded ſouldiers were got into the caſtle, ſeeing no means to defend the place, yeelded themſelues: whom *Barbaruſſa* according to his promiſe, tooke to mercy in ſparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuity to Conſtantinople. The dead body of *Sarmentus* could not be knowne amongſt ſo many heaps ef the dead, although *Barbaruſſa* had E cauſed moſt diligent ſearch to be made for it, and offered great ſums of mony and liberty alſo, to whoſoeuer could recouer it; being deſirous to haue ſent his head for a Preſent to *Solyman*. *Barbaruſſa* proud of this victory, began forthwith to gape after Cattarus a City of the Venetians in the bottome of the ſame bay; and thereupon writ threatning letters to *Ioannes Bembus* one of the Venetian Senators then Gouernour of the city, preſently to deliuer the city; which he would (as he ſaid) otherwiſe aſſault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* anſwered againe by letters, that in ſo doing he ſhould violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he ſhould find him ready by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbaruſſa* diſpleaſed, ſent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay; who diſcharging certain great pieces at the city, made ſhew as if they had come to beſiege it. At whom *Bembus* as a man of good courage F cauſed as many moe like pieces to be diſcharged, and ſhewed his men vpon the wals: Which thing *Barbaruſſa* perceiuing ſtaid his courſe, and calling backe his gallies, returned to Caſtronovum, from whence (better appeaſed with Preſents afterwards ſent from *Bembus*) he departed out of that bay.

1539

Barbaruſſa ſent by Solyman to beſiege Caſtronovum.

Caſtronovum hardly beſieged by Barbaruſſa.

Caſtronovum taken.

Sarmentus ſlaine.

The long wars betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French King, were now well

Aphonſus, Vaſtius and Hanebaldus ſent embaſſadors from the Emperor & the French king to the State of Venice.

pacified, and ſuch friendſhip (at leaſtwiſe in ſhew) now growne betwixt theſe two great Princes, that moſt men thought that all other quarrels laid aſide, they would now at length with vnited forces goe againſt the great and dangerous enemy of Chriſtendome: which opinion not altogether of the wiſer ſort beleeued, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraordinary and rare courteſies then paſſing betweene them, which concerne not this Hiſtory; as alſo, in that two of their moſt famous captains, *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, and *Hanebald*, were as it were with one conſent by them both ſent embaſſadors to Venice: to haue drawn the Venetians into the confederation of that war againſt the Turke. Which two renowned captains comming to Venice, moſt gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the Duke, and the whole State, with great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in euery place to behold them ſo noble captaines ſent from ſuch mighty Princes; but eſpecially *Vaſtins*, whoſe fame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more deſirous to ſatisfie their eies alſo with the beholding of his tall and comely perſon. Which two famous captains admitted into the Senate, for that purpoſe fully aſſembled, and audience giuen: *Vaſtius* ariſing from the Dukes ſide, in theſe or like words deliuered their embaſſage.

Vaſtius his Oration to the Venetian Senat.

It is come to paſſe (as I ſuppoſe) by the great prouidence of Almighty God, and of all the Diuine powers (moſt noble Duke and honourable Senators) that two of the moſt mighty Kings of Europe, who of late had of long time made mortall wars one vpon another, touched with the zeale of religion, are become great friends: vndoubtedly to that purpoſe only, that hauing made a firme peace, they may bring ſuch a generall quietneſſe to the long troubled and afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, as beſt beſeemeth their greatneſſe; and taking in hand a ſacred war, to reuenge ſo many calamities receiued from the Infidell. That this might be made knowne vnto you (moſt noble Venetians) theſe mighty Monarchs haue ſent vs hither in good time to kindle in you the like zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwaies for the honour of your State bin inflamed: for you of all others, which are of ſuch power and valour at ſea, they wiſh for, as their fellowes and confederats in this ſacred war and hoped victory; and thinke you worthy, which ſhould enjoy the eſpeciall fruit of all that labour. Foraſmuch as the Chriſtian forces once renewed, and ſo great and ſtrong a fleet once aſſembled, euery man ſeeth that the Turks muſt needs be too weake: although they brag, That they carried away the victory of late at Acteum. when as they then eſcaped the victorious hands of our men, not by their owne valour, but by the vnexpected hap of a ſudden ſtorme. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of the ſea alſo, will be propitious vnto vs, vniting ſo great forces, in regard of our ſacred religion; and will ſo take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they ſhall learne to be ouercome. As for our land forces, we are to hope nothing but well, foraſmuch as vnto thoſe which the Emperour of late brought into the field at Vienna, and cauſed the Turkiſh Emperour to fly, ſhall be joyned not onely all the horſemen and infantery of France (a wonderfull ſtrength) but Sigiſmund *alſo King of Polonia will without delay bring forth his armies, wherewith he hath beene vſed in the quarrell of the Chriſtian Religion happily to fight againſt the Infidels: ſo that it is not to be doubted of a moſt certaine and aſſured victory. Wherefore the victorious Emperour and moſt Chriſtian King* Francis *moſt inſtantly requeſt you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceiued for the generall good of the Chriſtian name, and religiouſly to embrace the hope of a moſt true and glorious victory: and further exhort you, by a wholeſome decree to auert your religious and couragious hearts from the friendſhip of the Infidels: for it may worthily ſeeme vnto your moſt honourable minds, a moſt foule and ſhamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace, before a moſt religious and juſt war. Neither doth it beſeeme this moſt wealthy State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of war, be they neuer ſo great: for if we ſhall once ouercome, which is incident to this preſent and long wiſhed occaſion, we ſhall by the profit of one victory, either by ſea or land, to your incomparable praiſe, recompence all the loſſes by vs in former times receiued.*

The anſwere of the duke to Vaſtius.

Whereunto the Duke in the name of the whole State anſwered, That there neuer happened any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honorable, for the manner of the embaſſage, or for the publike ſecurity of their ſtate, more to be deſired than the hope of ſuch a peace: after that two moſt mighty kings by two ſuch famous captains their embaſſadors, did certifie them of their attonement & aſſured peace, moſt glorious to themſelues, to their eternal praiſe,

whole-

A wholeſome alſo to the Venetian State, beſet with ſo many dangers, and wonderfully to be wiſhed for of all other Princes of Chriſtendome, if they would ſincerely and religiouſly with their forces by common conſent vnited, reſolue vpon that ſacred war: for then would not the Venetians be wanting to themſelues or the Chriſtian common-weale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a diſhonourable peace, but with armes and victory. Wherefore it was to be requeſted of Almighty God by praier, That thoſe puiſſant Kings would with religious and happy euent ſpeedily and ſeriouſly fulfill all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall diſcourſes and embracings in ſhew promiſed vnto the World.

In few daies after, certain of the ſelect Senators ſitting in counſell, after the manner of that State, called the embaſſadors vnto them, and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the B articles and capitulations wherin that league and confederation was to be concluded? and by the way, Whether they thought the Emperour in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings ſon the Dukedom of Millan, as was reported? Whereunto *Hanebald* the French embaſſador anſwering nothing, *Vaſtius* ſaid, that he knew nothing more, but that the two great Princes had agreed of betwixt themſelues, and that the Emperour had deſired the peace, as one willing to help the afflicted and declining ſtate of the Chriſtian common-weale: which thing any man might ſee could not be effected or brought to paſſe, but the Emperour muſt in many things yeeld to the requeſts of the French King, and redeeme his good will: for the noble mind (ſaid he) worthy Senators, can eaſily make light of the greateſt loſſe of his owne things, when it foreſeeth a large way opened thereby to eternall fame and glory. Theſe words C were very glorious and gratious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it ſinke in their minds, that the Emperor whom they had often deeply ſounded, would euer part with the Dukedome of Millan, which only thing the French King required, and had for the recouering thereof vnfortunately ſtriuen almoſt 20 yeares, to the trouble and diſquiet of a great part of the World. The nobility and authority of this embaſſage more moued the Senat than did the other former Embaſſadors, *Didaco Mendoza* a Spaniard, and *Gulielmus Pellicerius* a Frenchman, then both preſent: yet was it much ſuſpected by the Venetians, becauſe it contained no certaine reſolution, but only the bare hope of a future peace; ſo that it was by many men ſuppoſed to be but a matter deuiſed to deceiue others, and to ſerue the Emperours turne to his great profit. Yet all the cunning ſeemed to reſt in this point, That the Venetians D led on with the hope of this league, ſhould neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almoſt expired. Vpon which vncertainty of other mens reſolutions, the graue Senators thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Vaſtius his anſwer to the demand of the Venetian Senators.

Vpon this queſtion of this new league and confederation to be made with theſe Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully diuided: ſome fauouring the Emperors requeſt, enueighed againſt the renewing of that ſhameful league with the Infidels, which they ſaid was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Chriſtendom, and eſpecially Italy, deſtitute of their help, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; and with many reaſons vrged the honorable confederation with theſe Chriſtian Princes: others of a deeper reach, conſidering what infinit harmes they had from time to time E receiued by falling out with the Turks, & ſuſpecting alſo the Emperors drift; and joining therunto the conſideration of the great dearth then reigning in the city, which was not to be relieued but out of Macedonia & Grecia, the Turks countries; the emperor hauing at that time as it were of purpoſe impoſed ſo great a cuſtome vpon all corne to be tranſported out of Sicily, that the very cuſtome came to as much as both the price of the corne and the fraight together: all which miſchiefs they ſaid were to be preuented by renewing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too & fro, either part hauing great fautours: ſo that the Senators ſpent almoſt whole Winter nights in the court in diſcourſing and conſulting what were beſt to be don: but whatſoeuer was there ſaid or decreed, was forthwith by one of the factions or other made known, not only to the Embaſſadors preſent in the city, F but by letters alſo diſcouered into prouinces far off: a thing neuer before in that ſtate known, which had euer vſed as it were with a religious ſilence to keep ſecret whatſoeuer was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Foſcarus*, an old Senator and a man of great wiſedom, perceiuing, ſaid openly, That the ſtate was betraied by the multitude and corruption of voices, and muſt needs ſhortly periſh, if it were not ſpeedily committed to the graue and faithfull judgment of

The Venetian Senators diuerſly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French King, againſt Solyman.

Foſcarus a graue Senatour.

ſome

Foſcarus diſgraced by the multitude.

ſome few : for there were almoſt two hundred of them which gaue voices, reducing the multitude to the number of fifty, who for their experience and loue toward their country, were holden for men of greateſt grauity and ſecrecy : ſo was the madneſſe of many ſtaied by the diſcretion of a few. But *Foſcarus* ſhortly after fell into ſuch hatred of the multitude, grieuing to be as light headed men without diſcretion, ſo excluded out of the counſell ; that he was by the voices of the multitude firſt thruſt out of the counſell himſelfe, and by them kept a great while after from all the preferments and honours of the city : being indeed one of the graueſt Senatours, and a man of deepeſt judgement. Which diſgrace turned afterward to his great honour and credit, as one that had foreſeene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had traiterouſly reuealed the ſecrets of the State.

The Venetians ſend Aloyſius Badoerius their Embaſſadour to Solyman, to conclude a peace.

But this long conſultation concerning the confederation, came to this end, That the Senators doubting the vnion of thoſe two great princes, and yet willing to expect the euent, decreed forthwith to ſend three Embaſſadors ; whereof two ſhould be ſent to the Emperour and the French king to diſcouer their deſignes ; and the third, which was *Aloyſius Badoerius*, a wiſe and well ſpoken man, was with all ſpeed diſpatched away to *Solyman*, to preuent the fame of the diſtruſt to be conceiued of the agreement of theſe great Chriſtian Princes, and if he could by any means, to ſpare for no coſt, to ſaue vnto the Venetians their cities of Nauplium and Epidaurus, which *Solyman* required of them before he would grant them peace. Which if it could not be obtained of the proud and crafty tyrant, then to yeeld vnto neceſſity, and to conclude a peace with him vpon any conditions : which courſe the Decem-viri thought to be moſt expedient for the State : yet concerning the yeelding vp of the cities, they gaue him ſecret inſtructions and warrant, fearing forſooth the force and tumult of the headſtrong multitude, who if they had knowne any ſuch thing, would vndoubtedly thereupon haue taken occaſion to haue croſſed and ouerthrowne that moſt wholeſome decree : for there was no doubt, that if they had delaied the matter, and ſought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would vpon another mans weakneſſe and neceſſity haue increaſed his vnſatiable deſire, and not granted them peace, being brought low and forſaken, except they would deliuer vnto him the Iſlands of Cephalenia, Zacinthus, and Corcyra, a matter no leſſe grieuous than the deſtruction of the very city of Venice it ſelfe. So that the great Embaſſadors *Vaſtius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpoſe to haue hindered the league with the Turke, by their great diligence wrought nothing more effectually, than that the Venetians the better foreſeeing the danger of their ſtate, ſhould as they did, make haſt to conclude the ſame: for it falleth out in mens purpoſes & actions, That a good and happy ſucceſſe otherwiſe well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was ſent by the French King but for faſhion ſake, and ſecretly vnderhand by *Pellicerius* the old Embaſſador, perſuaded the Venetians to haſten the concluſion of a peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their embaſſador was carefully ſoliciting the matter at Conſtantinople, & being loth to yeeld the ſtrong cities which *Solyman* required, offering vnto him in ſtead of them a great ſum of mony : *Solyman* took him vp with threatning words as a ſhamefull diſſembler, earneſtly proteſting, That he would neuer grant him peace, without the yeelding of thoſe cities, rehearſing vnto him the moſt ſecreteſt points of his embaſſage, and how that he was authoriſed from the Decem-viri to yeeld them vnto him : which thing the Embaſſador did little thinke *Solyman* had knowne. Wherfore *Badoerius* ſo ſhamefully reproued and ſtanding in doubt of his life, ſeeing the greateſt ſecrets of his embaſſage reuealed to *Solyman* and his Baſſaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding vnto him Nauplium and Epidaurus, two cities in Peloponeſus, and with them Nadium and Labrania, two caſtles of Dalmatia, to the great griefe of the whole Senat : for granting whereof the common people ignorant of the ſecret decree of the Decem-viri, and ſuppoſing that *Badoerius* had giuen away that which he had no authority to giue, were ſo inraged againſt him at his returne, that there was much ado to ſaue the guiltleſſe man from exile, and his goods from confiſcation, although the traitors were then knowne which had diſcouered the ſecrets of the ſtate vnto the Turks. Theſe were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senatour, and *Conſtantinus Cobatius*, Secretary to the colledge of the Decem-viri, and *Franciſcus Valerius*, one of the Senatours baſe ſonnes, the traiterous diſperſer of the Turks mony for the corruption of others : who with other his complices were for the ſame fact hanged in the market place, when as *Leonius* and *Cobatius* were a little before fled into France.

The moſt ſecret decree of the Venetian Senat made knowne to Solyman.

1540

A peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solyman.

The traitours which reuealed the ſecrets of the Venetian ſtate to Solyman, executed.

Abont

A About the ſame time, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepuſius* King of Hungary, *Solymans* tributary; after whoſe death enſued great wars in Hungary, and the lamentable ſubuerſion of that flouriſhing kingdome: for the better conceiuing whereof, it ſhal not be amiſſe with as much breuity as the plaineneſſe of the hiſtory will permit, to open the cauſes and grounds of the endleſſe calamities which afterwards enſued, and neuer tooke end, vntill that warlike kingdome was to the great weakning of Chriſtendome, vtterly ſubuerted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributary King *Iohn*, had with like deſire of peace and quietneſſe, made betweene them a league, profitable to them both as their eſtates then ſtood, rather than honorable, yet moſt welcome to the Hungarians, who diuided into factions, and hauing followed ſome the one king, and ſome the other, enjoyed neuertheleſſe their lands and goods by B the benefit of this peace; the townes and caſtles being ſtill kept by them in whoſe poſſeſſion they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was compriſed, That *Ferdinand* ſhould from thenceforth call *Iohn* by the name of a king; whereas before he had both in his common talke and letters called him by the name of a Vayuod only. It was alſo expreſly ſet downe in the ſame articles of peace, and ſubſcribed by the hands of diuers of the nobility of Hungary, That if king *Iohn* ſhould die, king *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the whole kingdome of Hungary: Which condition was ſuppreſſed and kept very ſecret for feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdome as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and beſtowed vpon king *Iohn* as vpon his vaſſaile: neither was it to haue been thought, that if he ſhould haue known thereof (being of a hauty mind by nature, and not able to indure C any injury) he would haue ſuffered that kingdome, got and defended with ſo great danger and coſt, to be by the Will of an vnthankfull man, transferred vnto his enemy.

This matter of ſo great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronymus Laſcus* embaſſador for king *Ferdinand* to Conſtantinople, reuealed vnto *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, to bring King *Iohn* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwiſe greatly to haue beene commended, yeeld vnto his griefe, and deſire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*, he fell from the friendſhip of king *Iohn*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to priſon, and hardly afterwards inlarged, at the requeſt of king *Sigiſmund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angry with king *Iohn*, called him vnthankfull churle, and turning himſelfe about to *Lutzis Baſſa* his brother in law, ſaid, How vnworthily doe theſe two D Chriſtian kings weare their crownes vpon their faithleſſe heads, who as ſhamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldly ſhame or feare of God, for their profit to falſifie their faith? But king *Iohn* vnderſtanding therof, & wonderfully fearing his owne eſtate, did by good friends and rich Preſents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame vpon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beare it. Not long after, king *Iohn* hauing ſet his kingdome in good order, and ſtrongly fortified the city of Buda; being now far ſtriken in yeares, at the earneſt requeſt of moſt of the nobility of Hungary, and other his beſt friends, married *Iſabella* the daughter of *Sigiſmund* king of Polonia, a gracious lady and of great ſpirit: which King *Sigiſmund*, had long before married *Barbara* king *Iohns* ſiſter, after whoſe death he maried the lady *Bona Sfortia*, the daughter of *Ioannes Galleacius* Duke of Millain, by whom he had this lady *Iſabella* whom king *Iohn* E now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the ſingle life of the king: but King *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreſeeing, that the Hungarians (if the king ſhould chance to haue a ſon) would forthwith looke vpon him as their naturall king, and reject himſelfe as but a ſtranger.

The ſecret confederation betwixt king Ferdinand & king Iohn reuealed.

King Iohn in his old yeares marieth Iſabella King Sigiſmunds daughter.

This yong queene in ſhort time (as he had feared) conceiued with child, and was now very big: when king *Iohn* was inforced to make an expedition in perſon himſelfe againſt *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*) and *Balas* both Gouernours of Tranſyluania: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayuod or Gouernor, ſought to make himſelfe King. But *Solyman* deteſting the impudent arrogancy of the faithleſſe man, and hating him for the death of *Grittus*, and the Turks ſlaine with him, aduertiſed king *Iohn* of all the matter, wiſhing F him to be more circumſpect, whom he truſted with the gouernment of ſo great and rich a country. So *Maylat* ſhamefully rejected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdome, fearing alſo to be thruſt quite out of his gouernment by King *Iohn*, thought it beſt for his owne ſafety to raiſe vp all the prouince into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents ſecretly furthered to the vttermoſt. For theſe two Kings, al-

The Queene with child.

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and ſhew made ſemblance of G
friendſhip, yet in heart they enuied and hated each other, as if they ſhould preſently haue waged
war. At that ſame time king *Iohn* exacted of his ſubjects, and eſpecially of them of Tranſiluania,
a great ſum of mony, to pay the Turks his tribute, then two yeares behind: Which
thing ſerued *Maylat* and his complices, as a fit occaſion to raiſe the people into rebellion; perſuading
them, that there was no reaſon to pay vnto the Turke ſuch a tribute, as would ſerue
wel to wage ten yeres honorable war againſt him: ſo that by that, and ſuch like perſuaſions, all
the prouince was in an vprore, little differing from manifeſt rebellion. To appeaſe theſe dangerous
troubles thus ariſing, king *Iohn* ſent certaine of his chiefe nobility and beſt captaines
with a great power into Tranſyluania, following after himſelfe in his chariot, not yet well recouered
of his late ſickeneſſe. Theſe noblemen entering in two places into Tranſyluania, and H
ſcouring vp and downe the country, had in ſhort time ſo vſed the matter, that what by force,
what by policy, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders worthily executed.
Maylat the ambitious author of this ſedition, not able to hold the field againſt the king,
and ſeeing himſelfe beſet on euery ſide with his enemies, retired himſelfe with all his wealth
into a towne called Fogaras, a place of great ſtrength, which the kings power ſhortly after
hardly beſieged: the king himſelfe then lying at Sibynium, the chiefe city of Tranſyluania,
about a mile diſtant from Fogaras, ſicke of an ague, wherinto he was againe fallen through too
much care and paines taken in trauelling in that hot time of the yeare, the daies being then at
the longeſt. Whileſt he thus lay ſicke at Sibynium, and his army faſt by at the ſiege of Fogaras,
newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the Queene his wife was deliuered of a I
faire young ſon: which was no ſooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerjoyed,
came flocking to the court where the king lay, diſcharging their pieces in triumph, with all
other ſignes of joy and mirth they could poſſibly deuiſe: the noblemen came from the camp
to rejoyce with the king, and all the army was filled with gladneſſe. And for the greater ſolemnity
of this ſo common a joy, a royall feaſt was prepared, which the noblemen would
needs haue the king to honour with his preſence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as
yet but a little recouered: howbeit yeelding to their importunity, he ſuffered himſelfe to be
ouerruled and brought to the feaſt by them, which was vnto him the merrieſt and the laſt that
euer he made: for willing to ſhew his inward joy, and to content his nobility there preſent,
he forgot himſelfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weake body: K
whereby the feauer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in ſuch
ſort, as that he well perceiued he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw
faſt on, he made his Will, appointing his yong ſon to be his heire, whom he committed to the
tuition of *George* Biſhop of Veradium, and *Peter Vicche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinſman,
vntill he came to age: requeſting the reſt of the noblemen to prefer his ſon in the ſucceſſion
of the kingdom, before a ſtranger; telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take
vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his ſonne, if they would in time ſend
Embaſſadors vnto him with preſents, and promiſe for his ſon, that he ſhould reigne as his tributary,
as he had done before: and ſo preſently after died.

Queene Iſabella deliuered of a ſonne.

The death of king Iohn.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings juſt, of no L
fierce and rough diſpoſition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a moſt ciuill behauiour,
garniſhed with good letters, and thorowly ſchooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes:
not meaſuring his actions by the ſtrength of his power, but by the exact rule of diſcretion;
for in time of buſineſſe no man was more circumſpect or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation
any man more courteous or pleaſant. He vſed oftentimes to ſay, That the fauor and
loue of valiant men gotten by bounty and courteſie, was the beſt treaſures of a Prince; for that
courteous and thankfull men, did oftentimes in ſome one worthy piece of ſeruice, plentifully
repay whatſoeuer had been beſtowed vpon them: as for ſuch as were vnthankefull, they did to
their ſhame beare the teſtimony of another mans vertue.

The honourable ſaying of king Iohn.

The kings death was kept ſecret vntill ſuch time as the noblemen had agreed with *Maylat*, M
that he ſhould take an oath of his faithfull allegiance to the king, and his ſon his lawful heire,
and ſo ſtill to injoy his former place & gouernment: which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted. Then
calling together the counſell, it was decreed to ſend the ſame Embaſſage to *Solyman*, which
was appointed the old king yet liuing. So were preſently diſpatched away two moſt honourable

A ble Embaſſador, *Ioannes Exechius* Biſhop of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the
Chancelor, a man of great years; carying with them ten boles of pure gold curiouſly wrought,
600 of ſiluer gilt and ingrauen, forty pieces of purple ſilk & cloth of gold for Turks gowns,
and 50 ℔ of coined gold to be paid in the name of two years tribute. Which Embaſſadours
paſſing directly from Sibynium ouer Danubius into Seruia, and ſo trauelling thorow Thracia,
came to Conſtantinople. In the meane time the dead body of the King was with much
heauines carried from Sibynium to Alba Regalis, moſt of the army following it, and there
with great ſolemnitie buried. After this the yong king was chriſtned and called *Stephen*, and
there preſently crowned with the antient Crown of king *Stephen*, who firſt erected that Kingdom,
and without which the Hungarians neuer accounted their Kings lawfully crowned. Yet
B the Royal dignity was by common conſent of the Nobility giuen vnto the Queen; with condition,
that in al publique writings the names of the ſon and the mother ſhould be joined, and
the Kings mony coined with the ſame inſcription. But the chief authority reſted in *George*
the Biſhop, for he was Treaſurer, and had at his command the caſtles & ſtrong holds: yet were
the ſoldiers with their enſignes and furniture at the deuotion of *Valentinus Thuracus*. In the
middle betwixt theſe two was placed *Peter Vicche* the Kings kinſman, and by the old king appointed
for one of the tutors of his yong ſon; ſuſpected of neither part, honored with the title
of the high Conſtable. But becauſe the name of this *George* the Biſhop was moſt famous
in this woful war which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labor to ſpeak ſomthing
of his nature and diſpoſition; that it may be known to all poſterity, by what policie this war
C was managed, & how this flouriſhing kingdom by the madnes of the Hungarians came into
the Turks hands.

Embaſſadours ſent to Solymã out of Hungary

A yong childe crowned king of Hungary.

This *George* was born in Croatia, and brought vp from his youth in the houſe of king *Iohn*,
where vertue and induſtry neuer wanted relief: when as he vnaduiſedly before had entred into
the orders of a monaſticall life, and weary too late of the ſtreitnes therof, had forſaken his profeſſion.
Wherfore being of a very pleaſing nature, and ſtil following King *Iohn* driuen out of
his kingdom, and long liuing in exile, he won ſuch credit and commendation for his fidelity,
integrity, and ready counſel in the kings moſt doubtful & dangerous affairs, that after *Sabacthus*
that worthy biſhop was by the trechery of *Aloyſius Grittus* ſlain at Baxovia, he obtained
the great Biſhoprick of Veradium. After that, when he had ſtrengthned his credit with great
D wealth, he always as a faithful counſellor ſwaied and happily ruled both the court and kingdom,
to the profit of the king. But he was of ſuch a diuers and pliant nature, that performing
in all actions all the parts of a moſt ready and excellent man, he ſeemed to be made of contrary
qualities, and born to do any thing: for in ſaying of his prieſtly ſeruice, and performing the
other ceremonies of the Chriſtian Religion, hee ſhewed, or at leaſt counterfeited ſuch a contrition
in his deuout countenance and ſpeech, that a man would haue thought it could not
poſſibly be the ſame man, who in the moſt weighty affairs both of war and peace, did moſt
ſtoutly ſhew the wonderful force of a pregnant and couragious wit: for he vſed to keep whole
companies of moſt excellent & ready horſmen, and would oft times come forth into the battel
armed: he would with often banquets and rewards win the hearts of the ſoldiers, and after
E the maner of great chieftains, maintain the honor and credit of his name, both with puniſhment
& reward, as occaſion required. Beſide that, no man looked into the wealth of the kingdom
more diligently than he: no man did to more profit let to farm the cuſtoms, old mines,
feedings, and ſalt pits: no man could deuiſe finer means to raiſe mony, of all others the readieſt
way to credit: inſomuch as King *Iohn* would confeſſe himſelf to reign by the ſpecial induſtry
of that one man. And King *Ferdinand* would many times ſay, that he envied at King *Iohn*
for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow which was better for the defence of a kingdom
than 1000 with helmets on their heads. Wherefore this Biſhop hauing taken vpon him the
tuition of the yong King, was ſtil buſied in all the weighty cauſes of the kingdom both ciuil
and martial. He labored with great care, that the Hungarians ſhould agree together in loue
F and vnity, and did what he might, prouidently to foreſee, that no tumult or rebellion ſhould
any where ariſe, wherby the beginning of the kingdom, yet but weak, might any way be troubled.
But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for him
to recouer again the kingdom of Hungary, which he had ſo long deſired. Wherto he was alſo

George Biſhop of Veradium a notable man.

The Hungariã fugitiues perſuade K. Ferdinand to inuade Hungary.

the more prickt forward by the perſuaſion of *Alexius Torſo*, *Ferentius Gnarus*, *Petrus Bachitius*, *Balthaſar Pamphilus*, *Francus Capolnates*, *Ianus Caſtellamphus*, and *Caſparus Seredus*; all Noblemen G or gentlemen of great account in Hungary, who in the former troubles following the part of King *Ferdinand* againſt King *Iohn*, liued now in exile. Theſe all with one conſent told King *Ferdinand*, That now or neuer was the time wherin they might againe be reſtored vnto their country with honor, and that the war might that Autumn be diſpatched, if hee would make haſt, foraſmuch as Winter comming faſt on, would ſtay the comming of the Turks, and ſuch Noblemen of Hungary as took part with the Queen did not very wel agree together, beeing vnwilling to be commanded by *George* the Apoſtata Monk, who (as they ſaid) with great cunning and diſſimulation ſeducing the Queen, and poſſeſſing the treaſure, enioyed all alone the power of a King: and that they, which for taking part with the right, had long liued as baniſhed men, might now ſafely return into their country, & be honorably preferd by the queen; H the Biſhop (which all commanded) aſſuring them therof, if they would return vnto the yong Kings court, vnto their friends and antient houſes. But they had (as they ſaid) before giuen their faith vnto him, as to a vertuous and faithfull prince, whom they had preferred before one that was a natural Hungarian born: wherfore he ſhould do both vnaduiſedly and vnkindly, if letting ſlip the occaſion preſented, he ſhould defer to make war. For, what could be more diſhonorable to him ſo great a King, and alſo Emperour elect, than by ſhameful delay to forſake them, being noble & valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then ready with ſtrong troups of horſmen to do him the beſt ſeruice they could.

The German captains in like maner perſuaded him to take the matter in hand; who as martial men, expecting ſome one preferment, ſome another, in the Army, were deſirous of honor, I pay and prey, the chief comforts of their trauell and peril.

Laſchus perſuades K. Ferdinand to requeſt the Kingdom of Hungary of Solyman, rather thã ſeek it by force.

But *Laſcus* the Polonian (who in matters concerning peace and war ſaw more than all they, as he that knew the diſpoſitions of many Princes, and had ſeen the manners and faſhions of diuers Nations, hauing trauelled thorow a great part of the World, and oftentimes been an Embaſſadour in the Courts of the greateſt Princes) was of a contrary opinion, and told King *Ferdinand* plainly, That the Kingdome of Hungary was to be obtained rather by policie than by force, by crauing it at *Solymans* hands, to hold it of him as his his Tributary, as King *Iohn* had don.

K

For (ſaid he) *that may by petition and fair entreatance be eaſily obtained of that heroical Prince (who in his vain humor oftentimes fondly ſeeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of arms. I know* (ſaid he) Solymans *haughty mind, and the proud diſpoſition of his Baſſa's: hee contemneth wealth, and is cloyed with ſo many kingdoms. But they vpon their vnſatiable couetouſneſſe and great pride, deſire nothing, nor perſuade him to nothing more than war. Wherefore it is good to beware, that that with the noiſe of this ſudden war you ſtir not vp the Turks, which lie ready as it were expecting ſuch an occaſion, which canot be withſtood but by the united forces of the Chriſtian Princes; which might by their general conſent be done, but that their eies blinded with fatall darknes, canot ſee it, and the vnitie of the Chriſtians now deſperat, ſeemeth by God reſerued for ſome better time: ſeeing that of late the Chriſtian Kings are fallen off, and canot agree vpon the long expected peace. Is not* (ſaid he) *the French King* L *deceiued of his hope, and as he would haue it thought, greatly diſhonored with this late vnkindnes? which renuing the old wound, wil reuiue in him an endleſſe hatred. Away with all diſſimulation, enemy to graue counſels, and let plain truth, although vnpleaſant unto princes ears, preuent flattery. Vndoubtedly, he being a Prince of no baſe courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thorowly grieued) will in his anger as an enemy pour forth his gold, whereof he hath great ſtore, to croſſe the Emperors deſignes, to trouble the aſſemblies of the States of Germany, to withdraw the minds of the Princes, and with bounty to gain them to himſelf: who enuying mightily at the Imperial dignity, wont to be indifferently giuen to them that beſt deſerued the ſame, to be as it were inueſted in the Houſe of Auſtria, which in this perpetual ſucceſſion of ſo many Emperors, hath as it were got a right by long cuſtom. Wherfore they will ſecretly conſpire together, and as notable lingerers by nature, wil either giue no help at all, or elſe too late, at ſuch time as the Turks* M *gariſons ſhal come flying to ſuccor the yong king. Neither is there any cauſe for any man to think that the gouernors of the Turks countries neer hand, wil for the approch of Winter be ſlack in this cauſe: for they vndoubtedly making an honeſt and honorable ſhew, will take vpon them to defend the fatherleſſe child and*

A *widow; of purpoſe to make an entrance to the ſecret deſire they haue to gain the kingdome to themſelues: for if you ſhall once ioyn with them in battell, if the beſt happen, and fortune fauor our firſt attempts, truly you ſhall haue war without end, with ſuch an enemy, who will bring with him wealth neuer to be ſpent, power not to be ouercome, and couragious ſoldiers ſworn to our deſtruction. So will it come to paſſe, and I pray God I be a falſe Prophet, that in ſeeking for the kingdome of Hungary by war, you ſhall at length bee driuen to fight for Auſtria it ſelf, and your own kingdom alſo.*

This ſpeech ſo mooued King *Ferdinand*, that although he purpoſed to go on with the war, yet he thought it good by an honorable embaſſage to proue *Solymans* mind, & purpoſe alſo: which to do, no man was thought fitter than *Laſcus* himſelf, author of that counſel, being vnto B him very wel known, and familiarly acquainted with al the great Baſſa's of the court. Which ſeruice *Laſcus* refuſed not, but being furniſhed with all things needful for ſuch an embaſſage, departed from Vienna toward Conſtantinople.

Laſcus ſent embaſſadour from K. Ferdnand to Solyman.

Yet for all that, King *Ferdinand* perſiſting in his former purpoſe, made withall preparation for wars, truſting vpon the aid of the emperor his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cauſe honeſt enough for them to reuolt, if it ſo ſtood with their preſent profit. But before he would enter into open wars, he ſent *Nicolas* County of Salma to the Queen, to ſhew her the inſtruments of the laſt league betwixt the king her late husband and him; & to exhort her to yeeld vp the kingdom, which by the late league was another mans right, and not by delaying the matter to hurt both her ſelf & her ſon. For King *Ferdinand* C offered to giue vnto the child the prouince of Sepuſia, as was before agreed betwixt the two Kings expreſly in the league: and to the queen a greater reuenue, and whatſoeuer els ſhe had in dowry. But if ſhe ſhould forget that lawful league, he threatned, that neither the Emperor *Charles* his brother, nor he, wanted force wherwith to recouer by ſtrong hand the kingdom, annexed to the houſe of Auſtria both by antient right, and the new conſent of moſt of the Hungarian nobility. The County of Salma being receiued at Buda, hardly obtained to be admitted to the preſence of the queen: for *George* the Biſhop, and *Vicche*, miſtruſting her womanly courage, ſaid ſhe was not to be ſpoken withall, for that ſhe was ſo ful of heauines and ſorrow; & that they were of authority as the kings tutors, & ready to giue him both audience & anſwer. Which opinion of her weaknes and want of iudgment, the queen, being a woman of an D heroical and royal ſpirit, took as tending ſo much to her diſgrace, that ſhe ſaid ſhe would kil her ſelf, if the Embaſſadors were not permitted to come into her chamber, which was a dark room hanged with black, as the maner is, and ſhe ſitting vpon a low palat, negligently attyred as one that had no care of her ſelf, wan and pale coloured, but as then ſhedding no teares, but with voice and countenance ſo heauy, as might ſhew her tears to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her ſorrow was any thing abated: for the deſire of rule had now ſo poſſeſſed her mind, that ſhe contemned all the dangers of imminent war, and for defence of her ſoueraignty reſolued with her ſelf to call in the Turks. After the County admitted to her preſence, had with due reuerence and great proteſtation deliuered his meſſage, ſhe demurely anſwered, That ſuch was the fortune of her ſex and years, that being bereft of the King her E husband, and perplexed with the daily griefs both of body and mind, ſhe could neither take nor giue counſel; but purpoſed in ſo weighty a cauſe to vſe the aduice of *Sigiſmund* her father, whoſe integritie and iuſtice was ſuch, that King *Ferdinand* needed no other iudge or arbitrator to decide that controuerſie. Wherfore ſhe requeſted a conuenient time and ſpace wherin ſhe might ask counſell of her father; to whoſe iuſt iudgment ſhe ſaid ſhe would ſtand, as ſhe thought the Nobility of Hungary would do alſo. Which ſmall time of delay if it ſhould be denied, and that they would needs make war vpon her; ſhe ſaid that the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* his brother ſhould ſurely win no great honour, if they ſhould come to oppugne her a widow, conſumed with tears, and a yong child yet crying in his cradle. The County being ſo ſent away, when he was returned to King *Ferdinand*, told him, That the Queen was F altogether in the power of the Biſhop, and could neither ſay nor do any thing but what ſhe had before receiued from him: for he only (as he ſaid) commanded al. As for the reſt of the Nobility, they ſhared amongſt them the honours and preferments of the realme, and as men deſirous of gain, had rather be the gouernors of the yong prince, than the ſeruants & waiters of a great and mighty forrein King. Al which, he ſaid, he had both heard and ſeen. Wherfore all

K. Ferdinand by his embaſſador demandeth the kingdom of Hungary of the Queen.

The queens anſwer to the embaſſador.

G the hope was in war,wherin ſuch ſpeed was to be vſed,as that the Queene with her ſon vnprouided,and expecting the euent of their embaſſage from Conſtantinople,might be driuen out of Buda before they could take vp arms,or wel aduiſe themſelues what to do. And that the Queene ſought delay but to make her ſelfe the ſtronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turk, and ſo to make a more dangerous war. Wherfore if euer he purpoſed to reign in Hungary, he ſhould forthwith caſt off all other cogitations, and make ready his forces with all ſpeed poſſible.

K.Ferdinand inuadeth Hungary.

Herupon King *Ferdinand*,furniſhed with mony from *Charles* the Emperour,without delay raiſed a great army,which he ſent down the riuer Danubius to Strigonium, which City had all the reign of king *Iohn* continued faithful to king *Ferdinand*.The General of his army was *Leonardus Velſius* a Nobleman of Rhetia, who for many cauſes thought it expedient, firſt to H open the way to Buda;for almoſt in the middle of the way ſtood Vicegrade,with a goodly caſtle vpon the top of a hil by the riuer; which town, but not the caſtle, *Velſius* after nine dayes ſiege took,with the loſſe of about 200 of his men,all the gariſon ſoldiers therin being either ſlain or taken priſoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their Captain.

Vicegrade taken.

Peſth & Vacia taken.

From Vicegrade he paſſed ouer the riuer Danubius to Peſth,which he took,being forſaken of the enemy.With like ſucces he took the city of Vacia without loſſe.

Buda beſieged.

And remouing thence, and croſſing again the Riuer with his fleet,came and incamped before Buda,ſo to terrifie the Citiſens, and to diſcouer as far as he could,the purpoſe of the queen. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Raſcaius*, and *Franciſcus Francopanes* Biſhop of Agria,all men of great nobility among the Hungarians,reuolted from the Queen to king *Ferdinand*.The Biſhop was reputed a man of great integrity,& vpon meer I conſcience went ouer to K.*Ferdinand*: yet was he by letters from *Gebrge* the kings tutor,challenged to haue reuolted,in hope by means of *Charles* the Emperor to be made a Cardinal.*Velſius* lay with his army at the hot baths,about a mile and a half from the city,as if he would rather beſiege it than aſſault it. The Germans lying there did fetch in booty round about the country: which was taken in euil part by the Hungarians on their ſide,who ſeeing their own cattel or their friends driuen away,the villages burnt,and the poore husbandmen bound and taken priſoners,fel together by the ears oftentimes with the Germans.On the other ſide they of Buda ſending out their troups of horſmen,skirmiſht with the Germans,if they did but ſtir out of the camp,and wel defended the villages from the injury of the enemy. For *Valentinus Thuraccus* General of the Queens power, had taken into the city a wonderful number of light K horſmen. Whilſt the army lay thus incamped, it fortuned that *Balthazar Pamphilus* a Noble Hungarian,ſtraying out of the camp euen vnto the gates of Buda,deſired the Warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talk with *Valentinus* their Generall,for that he deſired to ſee his old friend,and to confer with him of certain matters concerning the good of the common ſtate. Which thing being granted by the General,he was immediatly receiued into the City with his troup of horſmen. Shortly after returning again into the camp, he reported how hee had bin entertained by his old acquaintance in the city:where viewing the gariſon, the great Artillery,and fortification of the city, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power,and in a more ſeaſonable time of the year. Which thing ſo mooued *Velſius*,by nature ſuſpitious,and doubtful of the fidelity of a ſtranger,that he commanded him in anger to auoid L the Camp, becauſe he had without his leaue gon into the city, and vpon his owne inſolencie had conference with the Enemy, and by amplifying their ſtrength, to haue diſcouraged the Army, by putting them out of hope of victorie.

The kings army departeth from Buda.

Wherfore *Velſius* neuer attempting to aſſault the City, returned again to Vicegrade,to beſiege the higher Caſtle (wherin the antient Crown of King *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian Kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which Caſtle he alſo took with ſomthing leſſe loſſe than he had don the lower Towne.

Alba Regalis yeelded to king Ferdinand.

Not long after,he marched with his Army vnto Alba-Regalis, the City where the Hungarian Kings were vſually crowned and buried: which town by the means of *Perenus* was deliuered vnto him,and a Garriſon put into it for King *Ferdinand*. Theſe things thus done, *Velſius* M retyred againe to Strigonium: which he did the rather, becauſe the Germanes and Hungarians, two rough Nations, could by no meanes agree together; inſomuch as that *Velſius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the thigh, and *Perenus* was hurt with a ſtone. Beſides that, Winter was now come far on, and the Souldiours cried out for want of pay. For which cauſes *Velſius* (being alſo ſick of the Stone) billetted his Souldiors for that Winter

about

A about the country. Yet before that, he new fortified Peſth, and leſt therein a gariſon, becauſe it was reported, that the Turks vpon their frontiers were making preparation to aid them of Buda.

At ſuch time as King *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuaſion of Hungary, the Queen by the counſell of the Biſhop had in good time craued aid of the Turks lieutenants in the countries bordering vpon Hungary; eſpecially of *Vſtref* gouernor of Boſna (a very aged man, and of great honour, who had maried one of the daughters of *BajaZet* the old Emperour) as alſo of *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the frontiers of Dalmatia. From whom ſhe receiued one anſwer, That they might in no caſe without expres commandement from *Solyman* depart from the places committed to their charge. Beſides that,
B *Mahometes* was by rewards ouercome by *Laſcus*, as he paſſed by Belgrade to Conſtantinople, not to ſtir or aid the Queen. Wherfore ſhe, rejected by theſe great Captains, certified *Solyman* by her Embaſſadors, in what danger her ſelf, her ſon, and the kingdom was, crauing his ſpeedy aid. *Laſcus* was not yet come to Conſtantinople, being faln ſick by the way; but had ſent before *Ptolemeus* his phyſitian to the great Baſſa's, and eſpecially vnto *LutZis* his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had beſtowed great gifts, and was in hope by him to haue obtained what he deſired; but all in vain: for *Solyman*, who thought it much for his honour to defend his own right, and that he had before giuen vnto King *Iohn*; thought alſo that it would redound both to his great profit and glory, if he ſhould as it were vpon charity take vpon him the protection of the widow and fatherles child, in their ſo great diſtreſſe and danger. Wherfore
C calling to him the Embaſſadors, the three great Baſſa's ſtanding by, he ſaid, That he had of his meer bounty before giuen the kingdome of Hungary vnto King *Iohn* deceaſed, to deſcend to his poſterity, ſo long as they ſhould retain the kind remembrance of ſo great a benefit. Wherfore to declare his conſtancy, inſeparable from his bounty, hee ſaid he would take ſuch a courſe in the matter, as that the Germans his enemies ſhould not long reioyce of the wars they had begun. And in token of friendſhip, and that he had taken vpon him the protection of the yong King, he cauſed to be deliuered vnto the Embaſſadors a royal robe of purple and gold, a buckler with the boſſe moſt curiouſly wrought, a horſmans mace with a handle of gold, and a ſcimiter with the ſcabberd richly ſet with ſtones. And afterwards wrot effectually to *Vſtref* and *Mahometes* his lieutenants, That they ſhould without delay giue aid to
D the Queen, and not to make excuſe becauſe it was winter: threatning them, That if ſhe took any harm through their defaule and negligence, it ſhould coſt them their heads. The Queens Embaſſadors glad of their good diſpatch, were ſcarce departed from the Turks Court, when *Laſcus* came to Conſtantinople, and vnderſtanding by his phyſitian the ſucces of the Hungarian Embaſſadors, proceeded for all that in his buſineſſe, and deliuered his meſſage, and vpon reaſonable conditions requeſted the kingdom for king *Ferdinand*. But when hee in ſpeaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the Emperor, as if hee would with all the power of Germany aid his brother; *Solyman* was ſo mooued therwith, that he was preſently taken away and committed to priſon; the great Baſſa's, but eſpecially *Ruſtan*, *Solymans* ſon in law, a proud and furious young man, chiding him, and ſhaking him vp as worthy of death, for offending
E with his liberty of ſpeech the majeſty of ſo courteous a Prince, and as it were mocking the king of kings, requiring friendſhip, when in the mean time his maſter moſt impudently made wars in Hungary.

The queen craueth aid of Solyman.

Solyman promiſeth to protect the Queen and her ſon, againſt Ferdinand, & ſends preſents to the yong King.

Laſcus K. Ferdinands Embaſſador impriſoned by Solyman.

Vſtref and *Mahometes* the Baſſa's aforeſaid, hauing receiued ſuch ſtreit commandment from *Solyman*, aſſembled their diſperſed ſouldiers, and by ſhipping brought them down the riuers Savus and Dranus, into Danubius. For it is a hard matter to perform any great thing by wars in Hungary, without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great Ordnance, victuall, and other ſuch neceſſaries of the army, from one ſide of the great riuers to the other, as occaſion requireth. But as then being the midſt of winter, and the North wind blowing hard, Danubius was ſo froſen on both ſides, that the middle of the riuer was ſcarſe open; ſo that the Turks
F not able to paſſe for the extremity of the weather, nor daring to return for the ſtreit command of *Solyman*, were inforced in their Tents there to abide the hardnes of Winter, to ſhew their readines. It is almoſt incredible to be ſpoken, with what patience and reſolution the ſoldiers endured all the extremity of the time in ſo bare a place, their horſes, which of all other things they hold moſt dear, ſtaruing for cold and want of meat.

1541.

The queen joineth her forces with the Turks and burns Vacia.

Peſth in vaine beſieged by the Turks.

The Spring at length comming on (right welcome both to the Turks and the queen) *Mahometes* with his Turks and wild Illyrians, and *Vſtref* with his ſouldiers of Boſna, entred into Hungary; with whom *Valentinus* General of the Queenes forces joined alſo, with an Army of Hungarians brought from Buda. And the Queen to further the matter, ſent preſents to the Turks Generals, victualled the camp, and furniſhed them with great Ordnance for the beſieging of ſuch Cities as were holden by King *Ferdinand* her enemy. They paſſing ouer Danubius, took the city of Vacia (being but badly defended for King *Ferdinand*) and putting many to the ſword, after the manner of their barbarous cruelty, burnt the City. From thence they remoued to Peſth, which was ſo valiantly defended by *Barcocius* and *Fatiſcus*, the one of them an Hungarian captain, the other a German; that the Turks diſpairing of the winning of the city, and not wel relieued with victual from the Queen then, fearing future want, paſſed again ouer Danubius, & faithfully reſtoring the great ordnance without any more doing, returned again into their own countrie. But in their retyring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Ferentius Gnarus* ſlew many of them; among whom was one *Achomates*, one of their beſt and valianteſt captains.

K. Ferdinand ſends the Lord Wil. Rogendorff with an Army into Hungary.

Buda beſieged.

Rogendorff threatneth the Queen.

The Biſhop his ſcornfull anſwer to Rogendorff.

King *Ferdinand* aduertiſed of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recouering the kingdom: perſuading the Emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war ſo fortunatly begun, eſpecially now that the Turks hauing forſaken the Queen, were departed & gon. Wherfore the new forces lately before raiſed in Auſtria, Bohemia, Sileſia, and Morauia, for a new ſupply of *Velſius* his army, were preſently ſent into Hungary, vnder the leading of the lord *William Rogendorff* ſteward of the Kings houſe, who was then gon as far as Poſſonium, to haue relieued them of Peſth; vnto whom, as a more antient and honourable Generall, *Velſius* gaue place. He, furniſhed with theſe new ſupplies, three months victuals, and great Artillery from Vienna, joining with the old Army, marched directly to Buda and beſieged it. Ouer againſt the ſtately caſtle of Buda, wherin the Queen lay, was a great hil called S. *Gerrards* mount, ſo high, that the middle therof was equall with the higheſt place of the caſtle; and from the top therof they might look into the ſtreets of the City: betwixt which hil and the Caſtle was a great valley and deep ditch. Vpon this hil, *Rogendorff* to beat the Caſtle, and to terrifie the Queen, planted his battery, and ſo ſhook a new built tower therof, that it was thought that it would haue ſuddenly fallen: which if it had, yet was it ſuppoſed a dangerous matter to haue aſſaulted it, becauſe it was walled about with a treble wal. But the ſumptuous turrets and the princely galleries of the Kings palace in the Caſtle, which euery man ſaw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten down with his great ordnance, he ſpared: but whither of himſelf, or els commanded by the King (as loth to deſtroy ſuch goodly buildings as could not without great charge be in long time again repaired) was vncertain. Wherfore by diuers heralds ſent to the queen, he wiſhed her to breake in ſunder thoſe gyves and fetters wherin the Biſhop vnder colour of protection had faſt bound her ſon and her, and to accept of K. *Ferdinands* offer, who was readie to beſtow vpon her a goodly ſeigniory, wherin ſhe might moſt honourably liue in quiet, and bring vp her ſon in ſafety. Which thing if ſhe as a ſimple woman ignorant of her owne danger, ſhould refuſe, and obſtinatly contemn the peril wherein ſhe ſtood, he would forthwith in moſt terible maner beat down the palace about her ears. Wherunto the Biſhop in the queens behalf anſwered, That ſhe was not ſuch a fool to exchange the kingdom of Hungary for the principality of Sepuſia: and that ſhe thought *Rogendorff* a very doting and mad old man, who being once before wel beaten in thoſe ditches, came now again like a fool to receiue his vtter deſtruction in full guerdon of his raſh folly. Wherefore hee ſhould ceaſe to terrifie valiant men, fighting with diſcretion for their natural King and country, againſt his drunken company; for that they were nothing troubled with the noiſe of his great ſhot. But yet he ſaid, that he would aboue all the reſt, by way of priuat curteſie, gently requeſt *Rogendorff* to diſcharge his pieces with a little leſſe noiſe, becauſe he had a ſow at home great with pigs, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the grief of his gueſts. For the Biſhop was of a ſharpe and taunting ſpirit, and ſuch a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the Kings orchards, burning certain orchards, he in deriſion cauſed two hogs to be hanged vpon the ſame gallows with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* remoued his camp from S. *Gerrards* mount, to a more conuenient place for the battering of the City, called the Iewes Graues, neere vnto the Gate called the Iewes Gate.

Which

A Which thing the Biſhop ſeeing,after his quipping manner requeſted of *Rogendorff* to pardon
him,in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old man;for that in remoouing his
camp into a more commodious place,he ſeemed to be a proper wiſe man,and of good diſcretion,
now that he had pitched his tents in a moſt fit place amongſt the dead, both for himſelf
being an old man,and almoſt worn with vain labor; and for his army condemned to dy there
with him. *Rogendorff* thus incamped,began in two places to batter the wals: *Perenus* with the
Hungarians and the Bohemians neer vnto the gate called Sabatina in one place,and hee himſelf
with the Germans betwixt the Iews gate and the Caſtle in another:which was done with
ſuch violence,that a great part of the wal was beaten down;and another part therof ouercharged
with earth,which the defendants had caſt vp on the inner ſide for the ſtrengthning thereof,
B was at the ſame time born quite out and ſo fel downe, to the wonderfull diſmaying of all
that were in the city. Which fair opportunitie to haue taken the city *Rogendorff* let ſlip, either
not wel aware therof,by reaſon of the great ſmoke of the artillery on both ſides, and the
duſt ariſing with the fall of the wall,which couered all;or els according to his natural diſpoſition,
doing all things leiſurely and ſuſpitiouſly; ſo that a little delay bereft him of the preſent
apprehenſion of ſo ſudden a reſolution: and the Germans,vſed more to ſtanding battells
than to aſſaults,were not to be ſo eaſily brought on to aſſault the breach vpon the ſudden, as
were the Spaniards,Italians, or French. The wall was opened in that place almoſt two hundred
paces in length,yet ſtanding almoſt the hight of a man,which might eaſily haue bin ſcaled
with ſhort ladders: but night was comming now faſt on, wherin the Germans would not
C attempt any dangerous matter;ſo that the aſſault was deferred til the next morning. Wheras
they of Buda in the mean time taking aduantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence
and labor in that night raiſed vp a new rampier in ſtead of the wal that was fallen, euery
man without exception putting his hand to the work. In the morning the Germans comming
to the breach,gaue ſuch a fierce aſſault vnto the new made rampier, that *Otho Fatiſcus*
deſperatly entred into a ſhattered houſe which ioyned vnto the wall; and certain other companies,
one ſoldier helping vp another,had almoſt recouered the top of the rampier,and were
there ready to ſet vp their enſignes. When they of Buda with wonderful conſtancie and reſolution
withſtood the aſſailants, *George* the Biſhop incouraging them, and fighting amongſt
them: who hauing laid aſide his hood, was now to be ſeen with his helmet on his head, running
D to and fro as need required all alongſt the rampier. At length the Germans ſeeing themſelues
to ſtriue in vain againſt reſolute men,were inforced to retyre. In this aſſault *Rogendorff*
loſt aboue 800 men. *Perenus* was alſo in like maner,but with leſſe loſſe, repulſed at the other
breach he had made at the gate Sabatina. After that, *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining
to haue taken the city,but was by countermines diſappointed of his purpoſe. Yet for al this,
they in the city began to feel the want of many things,ſo that it ſeemed they were not able to
endure any longer ſiege: the common people pinched with hunger,crying openly out in mutinous
ſort,that it was time to yeeld and make an end of thoſe common miſeries. But ſuch
was the authority of the Biſhop, with his prouident foreſight of all vrgent euents, that once
ſhewing himſelf in the market place as if he would haue preached, he could turn the peeuiſh
E minded people which way he pleaſed.

A great breach in the walls of Buda.

The Germanes aſſaulting the breach are repulſed with loſſe.

After all this it miſſed but a little,but that this City which could not by enemies force be
won,had by ſhameful treaſon bin loſt. There was at that time in Buda one *Bornemiſſa* a lawyer,
who had in former time bin Maior of the city: this *Bornemiſſa* exceedingly hated the Biſhop,
for taking part with a bankerout Iew againſt him,and being full of malice,and deſirous
of reuenge,promiſed to *Reualius* (Marſhal in the enemies camp) to deliuer to him the blinde
poſtern in S. *Maries* churchyard,wherby he might enter the city:which gate ſerued the Citiſens
in time of peace to go thorow to the riuer. *Rogendorff* the General made acquainted with
the matter,ſo liked therof, that he himſelf thought it not good in a matter of ſo great importance
to vſe at all the ſeruice of the Hungarians. Quite contrary to that *Bornemiſſa* had requeſted
F of *Reualius*,who deſirous to haue the matter brought to paſſe without the ſlaughter of ſo
many guiltleſſe people as was by him to be betrayd,would haue had it altogether performed
by the Hungarians,who he was in good hope would ſhew mercy vnto their Countrymen and
kinſmen,and vſe their victory with more moderation than the Grmanes, who prouoked with
many deſpights,and comming in by night,were like enough to make great effuſion of bloud.

Bornemiſſa practiſeth to betray Buda.

But *Rogendorff* after the maner of his Nation, to be counted politique, vſed to keepe promiſe G
with no man; and hoping by excluding the Hungarians, to haue all the glory of the concei-
ued victory to himſelf, made as if he would haue vſed only the Hungarians, and glozed with
Revalius, whoſe ſon for the more aſſurance he took as pledge. For againſt the appointed hour,
which was about midnight, hauing before giuen ſtreit charge that no man ſhould ſtir in the
camp, he ſent four ſelect companies of Germans with great ſilence vnto the poſtern; at which
time his ſon *Condi* ſtood with a ſtrong troup of horſmen ready to haue entred, as ſuch time as
the Germans, receiued into the city, ſhould breake open the great gate, as was before agreed.
Neither did *Bornemiſſa* fail to perform what he had as a traitor promiſed; but opening the po-
ſtern we ſpake of, had with great ſilence receiued in moſt part of thoſe Germane Companies.
But when he ſtil asked ſoftly of them as they came in, for *Revalius*, and heard them anſwer no- H
thing but in the German language; although he was otherwiſe a man of a bold ſpirit, yet then
ſurpriſed with a ſudden fear (as it oftentimes chanceth in ſuch actions, to men deceiued of
their expectation) he ſtood as a man amaſed, that knew not what to do, and forgot to conduct
the Germans: who altogether vnacquainted in the city, knew not which way firſt to goe; and
ſtealing on ſoftly in the dark, went on with no great courage, for fear of treaſon; ſtil asking of
them that followed, for him that ſhould direct them. The Germans could not go ſo cloſely,
but that by the clattering of their Armor and the light of their matches they were deſcried
by the Watch: who asking for the word, and they not giuing it, preſently raiſed an Alarm;
but now all too late, the City being as good as half taken, had the Germanes well conducted,
reſolutely gon on with the matter ſo wel begun: but they ignorant of the way, and now de- I
ſcried and chaſed with their own fear, ran backe againe to the poſtern in ſuch haſt, that one of
them miſerably wrung another, in ſtriuing who ſhould get out firſt: and their paſſage was
much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which fled firſt had caſt croſſe the way,
to run the lighter into the camp. The firſt that ſet vpon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had
that night the charge of the Watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the Court of gard in the
market place, and hearing the alarme came thither with a ſtrong company both of horſemen
and footmen. Many of the moſt valiant Germans, who comming in firſt, were in flight becom
laſt, were ſlain or taken, and amongſt them many of *Bornemiſſa* his familiars and friends (as for
himſelf he was got out among the formoſt) from whom the Biſhop by exquiſit torture wrung
out the whole plot of the treaſon, and afterwards cauſed them to be ſeuerally executed to the K
terror of others. *Revalius* in the mean time complaining in the Camp, That he was deceiued
by the General: and *Bornemiſſa* wofully lamenting, That hauing worthily got the name of an
infamous Traitor, he had therby loſt all his ſubſtance, and vndon his friends & kindred. The
Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the common ſoldiers for his fooliſh arrogancie and
pride) was hardly ſpoken of thorow all the camp, as he that by too much inſolencie had ouer-
thrown the faireſt occaſion of a moſt goodly victory. Wherfore from that time hee attemp-
ted no great matter, but ſet himſelfe downe by long ſiege to tame his enemies, and ſo to win
the city.

Bornemiſſa receiueth in the Germans by a poſtern, ſuppoſing them to haue bin Hungarians.

The Germanes not conducted, are diſcouered & diſcomfited.

Solyman vnderſtanding of the Queens diſtreſſe in Hungary, and with what deſire *Ferdinand*
(ſupported by the Emperor his brother) thirſted after that kingdom; conſulted with his Baſ- L
ſa's, of the purpoſes and power of his enemies both there and elſwhere: and politickly reſol-
ued at one time, with his diuided forces, to withſtand their attempts in diuers places, & thoſe
far diſtant one from another; whereby the greatneſſe of his power is well to bee perceiued.
Firſt, he ſent *Solyman Baſſa* an Eunuch to Babylon, to defend the Countrey of Meſopotamia,
and the frontiers of his Empire alongſt the riuer Tygris, againſt *Tamas* the King of Perſia.
Mahometes another of his great Baſſa's he ſent into Hungary to relieue the beſieged Queen.
And after him *Vſtref Baſſa* (which was the fourth of his chiefe Baſſa's) with another Army
to ſtay at Belgrade, in readineſſe to aid the other great Baſſa ſent before him, as occaſion
ſhould require, if he ſhould find his enemies too ſtrong. Vnto *Barbaruſſa* hee committed his
Navy, for the defence of Grecia and Epirus againſt *Auria*; who but a little before (aided by M
the Gallies of Sicilia and Naples) had driuen the Turks and Moors (which took part with
the Turkes) out of Clupea, Neapolis, Adrumentum, Ruſpina, Tapſus, and all alongſt that
coaſt of Africke which the Moores call Mahomedia, except the City of Leptis; and cau-
ſed thoſe Cities to ſubmit themſelues vnto the gouernment of *Muleaſſes* King of Tunes.

Solyman maintains wars in diuers far diſtant places of the world at once.

Theſe cities are at this day called Calabia, Suſa, Mahometa, Monaſterim, Sfaxia, and Africa. And becauſe *Solyman* vnderſtood, that *Maylat* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania tooke part with King *Ferdinand*, he ſent againſt him *Achomates* gouernor of Nicopolis, and commanded *Peter* of Moldavia, Prince of Valachia, to aid him; who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with 30000 horſmen. He himſelf alſo doubting the purpoſes of the Chriſtian princes, and eſpecially of *Charles* the emperor, more than he had need, came to Hadrianople, and in the countries therabouts raiſed a third army, to aid the two Baſſa's ſent before him into Hungary; keeping with him his ſon in law *Ruſtan*, whom he had made one of the four great Baſſa's of his Counſel, hauing thruſt out *Luſttbeius*, whom the Turks cal *Lutzis*, his brother in law, and exiled him into Macedonia for euil intreating and ſtriking his wife, which was *Solymans* ſiſter, as is before ſaid, but was at this time don.

Mahometes the Baſſa deſirous to do his great maſter the beſt ſeruice he could, entred into Hungary with his Army about the middle of Iune, in the year 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* gouernor of Belgrade, who gaue the Chriſtians that ſhameful ouerthrow not farre from Exek; ioyning alſo with him the power of Boſna, now commanded by *Vlemus* the Perſian, for that *Vſtref* the old Baſſa was lately dead. The captains of the Chriſtian army hearing of the comming of the Turks, entered into counſell, whether they ſhould continue the ſiege, or els go and meet them by the way and giue them battel. But the period of the Hungarian kingdom drawing faſt on, and the inevitable deſtiny therof ſo requiring, the opinion of *Rogendorff* preuailed againſt the reſt for continuing of the ſiege; he ſeeming more willing to die, than to croſſe ouer the riuer to Peſth, or to retyre to Vicegrade or Strigonium, as diuers would haue perſuaded him. Wherfore he remoued from the place where he lay before, and incamped his army on the further ſide of the city, at the foot of S. *Gerrards* Mount; where the hil lying between Buda & the camp, & departing from the riuer, leaues a fair plain toward the Eaſt; of purpoſe that the Turks (whom he knew would not go far from the Riuer and their fleet) ſhould be inforced dangerouſly to paſſe by the mouth of his great Ordnance, which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for ſuch was the nature of the place that the camp lay defended on the right hand with the ſteep hil, on the left hand with the riuer, and behind toward the city with a ſtrong bulwark. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little riſing ground he placed the leſſer camp, wherin were the Hungarians which fauored king *Ferdinand*, and then followed his enſignes. He made alſo a bridge from his camp into a little Iſle which lay in the riuer, and with a fort wel planted with ordnance commanded both the Riuer and the plain, ſo to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuer, and themſelues alſo as they ſhould march alongſt the plain. Hee was about alſo to haue made a bridge of lighters and boats quite ouer the riuer from his Camp to Peſth; and in this order to expect the comming of new ſupplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repel the enemy who was comming, and with long ſiege to weary them in Buda: for there was ſuch ſtore both of victual and all other warlike prouiſion in Peſth, as would wel haue ſufficed his army vntil winter had bin ſpent. As ſoone as the Turks were come nigh the city, *Valentinus* as an Embaſſador from the Queen, met them with two thouſand horſe, and fully inſtructed both the *Mahomets*, what the Chriſtians did, what ſtrength they were of, and how they might moſt conueniently incamp their army: wherfore the Baſſa marching on boldly forward, came within half a mile of the Chriſtian Camp, where he quickly intrenched himſelfe round with a ſtrong trench, filling a great part of the plain with his Tents. But the other *Mahometes* Gouernor of Belgrade, a moſt politick captain, took the higher ground towards the riſing of the hill, neerer vnto the tents of the Hungarians than of the Germanes. Vnto theſe two Armies thus incamped, belonged alſo two fleets; the Chriſtian fleet conſiſted of four and twenty Galliots, about fourſcore ſmal pinnaces, and little leſſe than 100 ſhips of burthen, and other great boats. Wheras the Turks fleet was not thought to be paſt half ſo great. Neer vnto the little Iſland, joined as we haue before ſaid by a bridge to the Chriſtian Campe, beneath in the riuer had the Turkes taken another Iſland called Cepellia, ouer againſt their own Camp; where caſting vp a great bulwark in the vppermoſt end therof, and planting it with great ordnance, they from thence ſhot at the fort which the Chriſtians held in the little Iſland, and at their Veſſells paſſing to and fro in the Riuer, as the Chriſtians did at them likewiſe. This Iſland of Cepellia lieth ſomwhat more than forty miles in length in the riuer of Danubius, ful of country villages, ſo commodiouſly,

that

Mahometes Baſſa come's with an army to relieue Buda

The order of K. Ferdinands Army.

The Baſſa's Army intrencheth within halfe a mile of K. Ferdinands army.

that if *Rogendorff* had at the firſt taken it,and fortified it before the comming of the Turks, as G
the Hungarians perſuaded him to haue don,the Turks could by no means haue incamped in
the plain,but muſt needs haue forſaken their fleet,fetching a great compaſſe about more toward
the Weſt,farther off from the riuer,which would haue turned to the Turks great diſaduantage.
But no man is ſo wiſe as to foreſee all things, when as the euill ſucces, be the plot neuer ſo well
layd, ſhal of it ſelf,beſides the loſſe,leaue vnto the vnfortunate man the note of the want of prouident foreſight
and diſcretion. But *Rogendorff* was not willing to diuide his forces vntil he had ſome new
ſupply from King *Ferdinand*. Whilſt the armies lay thus neer one to another, there were ſome
light ſkirmiſhes made euery day,either by the horſmen or footmen, and ſomtime one braue
man challenging forth another hand to hand,whom he thought by his armour,or ſome other
ſigne of his worth, to be like to himſelf: which was ſo pleaſant a ſight to behold, that both H
the armies vpon a military curteſie,as if it had bin ſo agreed, would many times for certaine
hours forbear to ſhoot any ſhot,of purpoſe to ſee thoſe gallants,with true proweſſe to proue
their valor and manhood one vpon another with their ſpears and ſwords only. In which light
ſkirmiſhes the German horſmen were oftentimes put to the worſt;who mounted vpon heauy
horſes,fitter for a ſet battell,could neither ſo readily charge the enemy,nor purſue him in his
flight;as could the Turks with their nimble ready light horſmen,ſo wel acquainted with that
maner of flying fight,that they would with wheeling about eaſily fruſtrat the firſt charge of
the heauy horſmen,and by and by come vpon them again with a freſh charge, and ſo often retyre
and come on again,vntil they had either wearied or ouerthrown them. But the Hungarians
acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and alſo better armed, did eaſily encounter I
the Turks and foil them,although they were in number moe.

Rayſchachius for ſorow of his ſon ſlain by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth.

There was amongſt the German captains a nobleman called *Eckius Rayſchachius*, whoſe ſon
(a valiant yong gentleman) being got out of the Army without his fathers knowledge, bare
himſelf ſo gallantly in fight againſt the enemy,in the ſight of his father and of the army,that
he was highly commended of all men, but eſpecially of his father, who knew him not at all:
yet before he could cleer himſelfe he was compaſſed in of the enemy, and valiantly fighting
ſlain. *Rayſchachius* exceedingly mooued with the death of ſo braue a man, ignorant how neer
it touched himſelf,turning about to the other captains, ſaid, This worthy gentleman,whatſoeuer
he be,is worthy of eternal commendation,and to be moſt honorably buried by the whole
army. As the reſt of the captains were with like compaſſion approuing his ſpeech, the dead K
body of the vnfortunat ſon reſcued,was preſented to the moſt miſerable father;which cauſed
all that were there preſent to ſhed tears: but ſuch a ſudden and inward griefe ſurpriſed the
aged father,and ſtrook ſo to his heart, that after he had ſtood a while ſpeechles, with his eyes
ſet in his head,he ſuddenly fell down dead. From that time the General commanded, That no
man ſhould vpon pain of death go out of the army to ſkirmiſh with the enemy without leaue:
wherin he was ſo ſeuere,that he hanged vp one or two that preſumed to tranſgreſſe his commandment.
Which thing much diſcouraged his own men,and ſo incouraged the enemy,that
they would ſomtime braue the Chriſtians vpon the top of their own trenches.

Many daies had now paſſed ſince the comming of the Baſſa, the Turkes and they of Buda
daily increaſing both in ſtrength and courage;when as on the other ſide,faint courage, weake L
ſtrength,troubled counſel, vncertaine reſolution,the ominous ſignes of an vndoubted ouerthrow,
were eaſie to be ſeen:and hope it ſelf,the ſtay of all human actions,eſpecially of martial
affairs,almoſt loſt:the only things which vpheld their fainting hearts,were, the often Letters
of king *Ferdinand*;and the firm opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the Emperour
would not in ſo great a danger fail to aid his brother both with men and mony:and laſt of all,
the firm reſolution of a General,which far paſſed al reaſon,the ſooner to draw him to his end.
The armies lying in this order,the Turkes from the higher ground and out of Ceppellia,perceiuing
the Germans in the little Iſland as careleſſe men to keep but ſlight watch, agreed amongſt
themſelues,at one inſtant out of both their Camps to aſſail diuers of their forts: and

The Turks ſuddenly aſſail the Chriſtians in the Iſland.

ſo by break of the day landed with their fleet ſo cloſely and ſuddenly to the Iſland,that they M
had ſlain almoſt 600 of the Germans before they were throwly awake or could wel arm themſelues.
Wherwith the reſt were put in ſuch a fear,that they fled to the Campe in ſuch haſte,
that many of them fel beſide the bridge,and were drowned in the Riuer. All the Camp was
wonderfully troubled with the ſuddennes of the matter, the Turkes with their hideous cries

raiſing the alarm in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certain German Companies in one of the forts neereſt vnto the riuer, and the ſoldiers in the fleet, wel declared their preſent reſolution and valiant courage, in recouering again of the Iſland. For *Herbeſtulſus* the Camp maſter perſuading them not to ſuffer the Chriſtian enſignes and great ordnance to be ſo ſhamefully caried away by the Turks; & *Marius* the Admiral at the ſame time landing diuers companies in the Iſland with his pinnaces and great boats; they ſo courageouſly charged the Turks, then buſied in ſpoiling the dead bodies, and drawing away of the great ordnance, that they draue them again to their boats, leauing vnto them as victors both the Iſland and Ordnance; hauing before their departure receiued no leſſe loſſe themſelues, than had the Germans before.

It was reported, that the Turks fleet might that day haue bin quite ouerthrown, if the Chriſtians vſing the victory, and holpen with the courſe of that ſwift riuer, had courageouſly purſued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is don are eaſily ſeen, which in the very heat and hurle of the danger canot be foreſeen; foraſmuch as ſudden accidents attended with great peril, do oftentimes daſle the minds of right wiſe and valiant captains: yet four of the Turks pinnaces were ſunke, and three taken, and many of the Turks ſlain or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turks more and more incouraged with the multitude of themſelues, and the fearfulnes they perceiued in their enemies, did at ſundry times ſo inſolently trouble and aſſail the camp of the Chriſtians on euery ſide, that they left them almoſt no time of reſt, one company ſtil ſucceeding another; ſo that they were almoſt in diſpair to be able long to defend their camp, the enemy ſtil growing both in ſtrength and courage. For the Baſſa that lay at Belgrade ſtil taking vnto him the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, ſent continually freſh men in their ſtead: and *Valentinus* taking to him a company of the Turks harquebuſiers, had driuen *Perenus* with the Hungarian horſmen out of the vpper camp. So that they in the nether camp were now hardly beſet by their enemies on euery ſide: yet were they well holpen by the great Artillery from Peſth, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horſemen in aſſailing the camp on that ſide.

Valentinus the queens general certifieth Perenus of Solymans comming.

Some report, that *Valentinus*, not greatly angry with the Hungarian baniſhed men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat curteſie or friendſhip, by a faithful ſouldier wiſh *Perenus*, ſpeedily to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and of the Hungarians with him; for that there was a great beaſt comming which would at one morcel deuour them al. For *Solyman* aduertiſed of the doings of the Emperour and King *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come down to Buda with a puiſſant army, was reſolued to be preſent himſelf at ſo notable a battel, and was therfore comming thither with his Army in all haſt. Wherfore *Perenus* thus forewarned, ſaid plainly to *Rogendorff* and the other captains, that except they would preſently riſe with the army and depart, he would now whilſt he had yet time make ſhift for himſelf and his countrymen. Their opinions diuerſly deliuered, at laſt they all agreed, that it was beſt the next night to paſſe ouer the riuer to Peſth. Only the General by fatal obſtinacy ſaid, He would not without King *Ferdinands* commandement depart from Buda: and therefore ſent County *Salma* with a ſwift pinnace vp the riuer to Vienna, to know his pleaſure therin. In the mean time vrged with fear, *Perenus* fretting at their long ſtay, it was reſolued vpon, that they ſhould the next night, after the Moon was downe, paſſe ouer the riuer with four conuoyes to Peſth. In the firſt were to paſſe ouer the Hungarians with their great ordnance. In the ſecond the German and Bohemian horſmen; and in the other two, the footmen and baggage of the army: for it was not ſo eaſie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at firſt ſuppoſed: for after they had begun it & almoſt planked it, there riſe ſuch a wind and tempeſt, and the violent riuer became ſo rough, that the timber wherwith the bridge was faſtned together was broken, the joints vnloſed, and many of the boats wherof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken, were carried away by the force of the ſtream. The firſt and ſecond conuoy fortune ſo fauored that they wel paſſed ouer; for although they of Buda and the Turkes, ſeeing in the day time from their high places their fleet drawing together into one place, might haue ſome ſuſpition of the matter, ſome gheſſing one thing, and ſome another; yet could they foreſee nothing of that ſudden departure of the enemy. But that multitude of ſhips and boats now paſſing to and fro, could not long be hid from the attentiue and vigilant Enemy; and ſo much the leſſe, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then diſcouered to the Biſhop,

The Chriſtians depart by night from Buda.

The Turkes aſſaile the Chriſtians in their camp at their departure

A miſchieuous practiſe of the Biſhop.

Great ſlaughter of the Chriſtians.

the flight of the Germans ; who preſently certified the Baſſa,and the other *Mahometes* therof, G
which without further delay came almoſt with all their power to aſſault the Chriſtians in
their camp:the great ordnance was brought forth,and after the Ianizaries and other footmen,
followed the horſmen,diſmounted from their horſes to do the better ſeruice ; who all with a
horribly cry aſſailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quaile, their flight being now
diſcouered;yet did they with the the Bohemians for a while notably reſiſt the enemy. Al the
campe was filled with tumult and confuſion,and eſpecially at the riuer ſide,euery man in that
great feare ſtriuing to get aboord,without regard of order or ſhame : for the dead time of the
night then couered with darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible, euen vnto
them which were of beſt courage:the authority of *Rogendorff* the General(in the darkneſſe of
the night, and ſo great clamour both of his owne people and of the enemy,and the thundring H
of the ordnance)was as nothing:he(beſides that he was then ſick in mind)lay in his bed wounded,
by a wonderfull and fatall chance:for as he was writing letters to the king,a faulcon ſhot
out of the enemies camp falling in his tent, and ſtriking in ſunder a cheſt which ſtood there,
wounded him grieuouſly in the left ſhoulder with a ſplinter of the ſame. The other captaines
of the footmen enuying that the horſmen were ſo wel eſcaped, ſtood as men more carefull of
themſelues,than of the common danger,faintly reſiſting the enemy. The vpper tents wherin
Perenus lay,were firſt taken by *Mahometes* of Belgrade,and *Valentinus*, & the German footmen
chaſed all ouer S.*Gerrards* mount. They of Buda alſo ſallied out,and entred the camp on that
ſide which was next vnto the City,and with wild fire burnt the Tents,a little before forſaken
by the Germans. And the Biſhop at the ſame time cauſed a great ſtacke of ſtraw ſtanding by I
the kings ſtables,neer vnto the riuers ſide,to be ſet on fire,which gaue ſuch a light that a man
might haue ſeen all ouer Danubius vnto the wals of Peſth,as if it had bin light day:whereby
the great confuſion of the Chriſtian army by land,as well as the ſhameful flight by water,was
of the Turks plainly diſcouered. Then was the great artillery on euery ſide diſcharged vpon
the flying fleet,as wel from Buda,as the Turkes Campe. And to increaſe the feare, *Caſon* the
Turks Admiral rowing with his light boats againſt the ſtream,ſet vpon the ſhips croſſing the
riuer to Peſth,where he took certain boats loded with ſouldiers,and his great ordnance ſunke
diuers others : ſo the riuer was filled with dead bodies, and the miſerable company of mariners
and ſoldiers,laboring to ſaue their liues by ſwimming ; for at ſuch time as the Ianizaries
hauing ſlain the firſt companies,were broken into the lower Campe ; and the reſt of the Germans K
flying ouer the bridge into the Iſland,were there ſlain without mercy,by the Turks purſuing
them,many of them leapt into the riuer and there periſhed. Three hundred ſail of one
ſort of ſhips and other were ſo mingled together, that Danubius ſeemed that night to be couered
ouer as if it had bin with a great bridge. But the Chriſtian fleet ſeeing all loſt, cleered
themſelues ſo ſoon as they could of the Turkes ; and ſo beating them backe with their great
ordnance out of the poups of their ſhips,got vp the riuer to Comora. The reſt of the Forces
endured the ſame fortune by land in the Campe, of whom the Bohemians died moſt honourably,
ſlain by the enemy in fight. Many falling into the hands of them of Buda,were ſaued
or ſlain, as it was their fortune to fall into the power of a mercifull or mercileſſe man. But
the Sunne riſing, plainely diſcouered the ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and the victory of the L
Turks,not ſo well before known. There was about 3000 men of one ſort and other, who in
warlike maner had taken a little hil by S.*Gerrards* Church, and there ſtood vpon their gard ;
vntill ſuch time as more than two thouſand of them were ſlaine : the reſt caſting away their
weapons, yeelded, in hope of life,and were reſerued for a ſpectacle more grieuous than death
it ſelfe.

At the ſame time *Caſon* with his victorious fleet comming to the ſhore of Peſth, brought
ſuch a fear vpon them that were eſcaped thither, and might eaſily haue defended the Walls,
(only with the cry of his ſoldiers, and thundring of his artillery) that the horſmen for haſt to
get out,were like to ouer-run one another. The Germanes had at that time ſo much forgot
their wonted valor,and ſo trembled at the name of the Turkes, that as ſoone as they ſaw their M
white caps in their ſhips they ran away as men diſmaied,vnarmed, leauing behind them their
plate,their cariages,and whatſoeuer good thing they had els. Yet ſome Hungarian horſmen,
more deſirous of the ſpoile, than afraid of death, ſtaid behinde rifling the merchants ſhops ;
for Peſth was become a very rich mart town for all kind of merchandiſe, merchants reſorting
thither

A thither from all other places of the troubled country, as to a ſtrong and commodious city, and
of more ſafety than the reſt. But *Caſon* now entring without reſiſtance, ſlew ſome of thoſe
greedy Hungarians, and ran thorow the towne with ſuch barbarous cruelty and thirſt of the
Chriſtian bloud, that he ſpared neither man, woman, nor child, except ſome few, which either
for their beauty or ſtrength of body were reſerued for the Turks beaſtly luſt, or ſlauiſh labor:
ſo that in this war it is reported, more than 20000 Chriſtians were one way and other by di-
uers chances ſlaine. There were taken at Peſth, in the campe and in the Iſland, 36 great pieces
for battery, of wonderfull beauty; and of leſſer field pieces 150. As for ſhot, powder, armor,
weapons, and victuall prouided for Winter, ſuch ſtore was found, that the Turks accounted it
for the greateſt part of their victory. *Rogendorff* the vnfortunat Generall, at ſuch time as the
B Turks hauing won the trenches, were fighting in the midſt of his camp, deſiring rather to be
ſlaine in his tent, than to liue after ſo great an ouerthrow, was againſt his will by ſtrong hand
carried aboord a little pinnace by his phyſitian and chamberlaine, which would not leaue him
as he lay, and was ſo conueighed vp the riuer to the Iſland of Comora; where he ſhortly after,
partly for the painefulneſſe of his wound, but more for griefe of minde, died in a little coun-
try village called Samarium, leauing vnto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his accurſed
obſtinacy and pride. *Solyman* ſtill doubting the comming of *Charles* the Emperour and King
Ferdinand to Buda, was comming with his army from Hadrianople in ſuch haſt, that he cau-
ſed the Ianizaries, his beſt footmen, contrary to their manner, to march as faſt as his horſemen:
but vnderſtanding by the way, of the late victory obtained by his captaines, he tooke more
C leiſure, and came with a great power to Buda in Auguſt, and there incamped on the other ſide
of the city, to auoid the noiſome ſauour of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburied. Where
calling vnto him the other army, and making one huge campe of both, he highly commended
all his captaines, but eſpecially the two *Mahometes*. And vnderſtanding that the victory was
eſpecially gotten by the meanes of *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade, he made him Generall
of all his Europeian horſemen, one of the moſt honourable preferments of the Turkiſh Em-
pire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deſerued, and withall augmen-
ted their pay.

Peſth taken by Caſon, Admirall of the Turkes fleet.

Rogendorffe against his will caried away by his phyſitian & chamberlain, to Comara, there dieth.

Solyman commeth to Buda.

After that, he cauſed the priſoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out, who
bound in long ropes, were in deriſion led all alongſt the army, ranged in order of battell, and
D afterward by his commandement ſlain by his yong ſoldiers: ſaying with ſeuere countenance,
that they were worthy of ſuch death, which by Embaſſadours diſſemblingly entreating of
peace, had in the meane time craftily waged war. Amongſt theſe priſoners was one ſouldier of
Bauaria of an exceeding high ſtature; him in deſpight of the German nation, he deliuered to
a little dwarfe (whom his ſonnes made great account of) to be ſlaine, whoſe head was ſcarce ſo
high as the knees of the tall captiue; with that cruell ſpight to aggrauate the indignity of his
death, when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apiſh dwarfe
with his little ſcimeter, as if it had bin in diſport, fell downe, and was with many feeble blowes
hardly at laſt ſlaine by that wretch, ſtill heartened on by others, to ſatisfie the eies of the Prin-
ces, beholding it as their ſport.

Turkiſh cruelty.

E This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* ſent his Embaſſadors with preſents to
the yong king, which were three beautifull horſes, with their bridles of gold, and their trap-
pings richly ſet with pretious ſtones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold, & vnto the chiefe
of the nobility he ſent rich gownes and chains of gold. The embaſſadors which brought theſe
preſents, in curteous manner requeſted of the Queene, to ſend the yong king her ſon, attended
with his nobility, into the campe, and without all feare, to hope that all ſhould go well both
with her and her ſon: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortune
only, but in vertue and vpright dealing alſo, was of ſuch an heroicall diſpoſition, that he would
not onely defend the childe, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthy his
protection and fauor, victory confirming the ſame, but would alſo augment his eſtate, with the
F largeſt bounds of his antient kingdome. Wherefore he was deſirous to ſee the yong king, and
to behold him in the repreſentation of his father, and with his own hand to deliuer him to be
imbraced of his ſons; that of his protection renewed, ſo happily begun, might be grounded a
firme and perpetuall friendſhip with the *Othoman* kings: and that he would alwaies account of
her as of his daughter. But the cauſe why he came not to ſee her, which he did in curteſie de-

Solyman ſends for the young King into the campe.

ſire,was for that by antient cuſtome the *Othoman* Kings were forbidden that point of curteſie, to viſit other mens wiues in their houſes. Beſides that, *Solyman* (they ſaid) was not ſo forgetfull of his modeſty and honour,as to receiue into his pauillion the daughter of a King his friend and allie,and ſhe the late wife of a King his friend and tributary, and the faire young mother of a ſonne, growing in the hope of like regall dignity, for feare he ſhould draw into any ſuſpition the inuiolate name of her chaſtity, which in Queenes was to be guarded with an eſpeciall and wonderfull care. Whereunto the Queene (a manifeſt feare confounding the tender ſences in her motherly affection) anſwered very doubtfully; but the Biſhop perſuading her, and inſtantly requeſting her, not to giue the Turks occaſion to ſuſpect, that ſhe had them in diſtruſt,by her little and vnprofitable delay; ſent her young ſon in Princely ſwathing clothes, in a rich chariot,with his nurſe and certaine great ladies vnto the campe, attended vpon with almoſt all the nobility to whom *Solyman* had ſent Preſents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours ſake met vpon the way by certaine gallant troups of the Turks braue horſemen: and all the way as he paſſed in the camp,orderly ſtood the Ianizaries of *Solymans* guard. As ſoone as he was brought into the campe,*Solyman* courteouſly looked vpon him,and familiarly talked with the nurſe, and commanded his ſons there preſent to take him in their armes, and to kiſſe him,in certaine tokens of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributary, when he was growne to mans eſtate: theſe were *Selymus* and *BajaZet*,begotten of his faire concubine *Roxolana*, bearing the names, the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfather. As for *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſonne by his Circaſſian wife,he then liued in Magneſia a great way off; who though he was a Prince of ſo great hope, as neuer any of the Turkiſh kings had a ſonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of war; yet was he not ſo well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by *Roxolana*,as if he had traiterouſly gone about to take the Empire from him,yet liuing, as did *Selymus* his grandfather from *Bajazet*: for which cauſe *Solyman* ſecretly purpoſed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and to appoint *Selymus* for his ſucceſſour, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The Queen ſendeth the young King her ſon to Solyman in the camp, attended with the Nobility.

Solyman curteouſly receiueth the young king.

Solyman craftily taketh the city of Buda.

But *Solyman* at ſuch time as the Noblemen of Hungary were dining merrily with the Baſſa's, had commanded certain companies (to whom he had before giuen inſtructions what he would haue done) vnder the colour of ſeeing the city, to take one of the gates called Sabatina, and the chiefe ſtreets: which was done ſo quietly and cunningly, that a wary watchman ſtanding there, and beholding the manner of the Turks comming and going too and fro, could hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes walking faire and ſoftly by great companies into the city, as if it had bin but for pleaſure, to haue ſeen it; and otherſome to colour the matter, walking likewiſe backe againe, as if they had ſufficiently viewed the city; by that meanes they without any tumult or ſtirre quickely tooke the appointed gate,with the market place and chiefe ſtreets of the city. Which ſo finely done,the captaine of the Ianizaries cauſed proclamation to be made in all parts of the city, That the citiſens ſhould without feare keepe themſelues within their houſes, and forthwith, as they would haue their liues, liberty, and goods ſaued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they ſeeing no remedy, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turks faith for their ſecurity,they receiued them into their houſes as their vnwelcome gheſts. But ſuch was the quietnes and modeſty of the Turks, by reaſon of the ſeuerity of their martiall diſcipline, that no citiſen which tooke them into their houſes, was by them wronged by word or deed. *Solyman* vnderſtanding that the city was thus quietly and without reſiſtance taken, ſent the childe backe againe vnto the Queene,although it was now almoſt night; but the chiefe noblemen he retained ſtill with him: theſe were *George* the Biſhop and Treaſurer, *Petrus Vicche* the young Kings nigh kinſman and one of his Tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* Generall of the Queens forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* Chancellor, and *Bacianus Vrbanus* Gouernour of the city of Buda. This ſudden and vnexpected change exceedingly troubled all their mindes, and ſo much the more; for that the great Baſſa's with changed countenance began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were ſtreightly and impudently to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The Queene ſeeing the city ſo craftily ſurpriſed, and the nobility iniuriouſly detained in the campe, troubled with feare and griefe, by humble letters requeſted *Solyman* not to forget the faith he had long before giuen vnto her, and euen of late confirmed

Solyman deteineth the Noblemen of Hungary in his campe.

A by his Embaſſadors; but mindfull both thereof, and of his wonted clemency, to ſend backe vnto her the Noblemen, who for their fidelity and valiant ſeruice had well deſerued both of him and her: this ſhe did by *Ruſtemes Baſſa*, whom ſhe had loded with gifts, and amongſt other things of great price, had ſent him a faire coronet of her owne, and a goodly jewell ſet with rich ſtone, to ſend vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a Preſent.

After that, *Solyman* conſulted with his Baſſaes foure daies, what order to take concerning the kingdome of Hungary: in diſcourſe whereof his great Baſſaes were of diuers opinions. *Mahometes* aduiſed him to carry away with him to Conſtantinople, both the young childe and all the Nobility, and to leaue ſuch a gouernour in Buda, as by his wiſe and moderate gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of ſeruitude and bondage; B by defending them from wrong, and yet by little and little lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkiſh gouernement. But *Ruſtemes Baſſa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the reſt, becauſe he was *Solymans* Son in law, and therefore further from all ſuſpition of flattery;) ſtood altogether vpon tearmes of honour: ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable vnto ſo great and mighty a Monarch, who neuer had at any time with any ſpot or ſtaine blemiſhed the glory of his name, than after victory, againſt all right and reaſon to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and ſilly infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other ſide, *Mahometes* Gouernour of Belgrade (an old mortall enemy of the Chriſtians, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the ſtate of Hungary, and for his great experience and approued valour, then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* C into counſell among the great Baſſaes) diſliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenity: and beeing asked his owne, deliuered it in this miſchieuous manner as followeth:

The great Baſſaes of diuers opinions for the diſpoſing of the Kingdome of Hungary.

I know (ſaid he) *moſt mighty* Solyman, *that he which in conſultation of matters of ſo great conſequence is to deliuer his opinion laſt, ſhall if he diſſent from the reſt, be ſubiect to enuy and reprehenſion. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrary opinion to them that haue before ſpoken, my ſpeech muſt alſo be vnto your eares both vnpleaſant and tedious. But I refuſe not be counted by my ſelfe, yea, and preſumptuous, if you will ſo haue it, rather than a ſmoother vp of other mens ſayings, as one of no iudgement, whileſt I recount thoſe things, which as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, may wonderfully profit* D *your deſignes and the Imperiall ſtate: for of right I may deſire you to yeeld a little to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour ſo ſay) to that I haue already done: when as I, now growne an old man in wars againſt theſe Hungarians, haue by experience learned thoſe things of the ſtate and ſtrength of this kingdome, and the diſpoſition of the people, which being here laid downe, may much auaile for your better determination of this ſo weighty a cauſe as admitteth no repentance if you ſhall now be ouerſeene therein. You haue now within the ſpace of theſe twenty yeares come in wars your ſelfe in perſon fiue times into this country, when as I no obſcure captaine or ſouldier, was in all thoſe warres and battels euer preſent, of purpoſe, as I ſuppoſe, to reuenge your iniuries, to inlarge your empire, and in briefe to aſſure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victory. And therefore you valiantly won Belgrade, the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of moſt outragious theeues and robbers, and in former time famous* E *for the vnfortunat attempts of your anceſtors: when as from thence the Hungarians in time of peace had at their pleaſure, whileſt your father was then occupied in the Perſian war, ſpoiled the borders of Seruia, and Illyria. The ſame Hungarians about fiue yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner ſlaine your Embaſſadors, you ouerthrew in battell, and ſlew their King: and poſſeſſed of Buda, to manifeſt and make knowne by a notable demonſtration, the magnificence of your heroicall minde, euen vnto the remoteſt enemies of our name, did chuſe out of the reliques of that vanquiſhed Nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall Crowne, although not borne of Royall bloud, or vnto you knowne for any other deſert, than that he was a little before both your publike and priuat enemy; and comming againſt you with a ſtrong power out of Tranſyluania, he had in the meane time loſt his brother, a better man than himſelfe, ſlaine with our ſword. After that, roſe vp the Auſtrian King, a new enemy, to expulſe this Hungarian,* F *reigning by your courteſie, and ſo you tooke in hand the third warre againſt the Germanes, which you ſo effectually proſecuted, that hauing forthwith reſtored the King, you carried the terrour of your ſelfe not onely to the wals of Vienna, but into the very heart of Germany. But two yeares ſcarcely paſt, the ſame King (neuer long contented with peace or warres) ſupported by the power of his brother* Charles, *and*

The oration of Mahometes of Belgrade, to Solyman, concerning the diſpoſing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

in vaine beſieging Buda, defended by your garriſons, ſtirred you vp againe to reuenge the injury, ſlaughter, and ſpoile by his ſouldiers done: for that you thought it to ſtand with your honour, to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare bountty made a King; and then deſired aboue all things, to fight a noble battell with the two brethren for the Empire of the Weſt. But they at ſuch time as you with fire and ſword ran thorow their antient kingdomes, endured not the noiſe of your comming. After that, enſued a peace betweene the Hungarians and the Germans, your Majeſty permitting and approuing it, at ſuch time as you made haſte to goe againſt the Perſians: but the Germane King ſo broke that peace, that had not I in good time reuenged his treachery, by the ouerthrow of a great army of his at Exek, you muſt of neceſſity haue beene ſent for from Babylon your ſelfe, as but now you were glad to come in haſt, by long and painefull journies from Conſtantinople, to aid vs in time, and as I verily hope to make an end for all; that all things ſet in firme order in Hungary, the inconueniences of ſo many labours and ſo great charge, fiue times vndertaken for another mans profit, might now at length take end: except (as I ſee ſome wiſh) you be in minde neuer to giue ouer the protection of the childe and widow, a matter full of infinite labour and perill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious ſhew of honour, which by theſe (in my opinion) too too wiſe men is pretended to your haughty minde, euer deſirous of honour and fame. But I as a blunt man vnderſtand not this high point of wiſedome, abounding with glory, which in the very courſe thereof cutteth in ſunder the ſinewes of victory, and is neuer by politique Generals admitted into their camps. In which doing, as I wiſh you more fortunate than your anceſtors, who haue vnited eighteene kingdomes to this your Empire, ſo would I not haue you more wiſe than they: for what can be a more vnwiſe part, than alwaies to play the vnwiſe man? that is to ſay, alwaies to be carefull of other mens affaires, and in the meane time oftentimes to indanger his owne eſtate, his health, his wealth, his honour. You haue ſatiſfied, and that (in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of charity, fidelity, and if it muſt needs be ſo, of honor and glory alſo; if it be to be gotten rather by courteſie, clemency, and lenity, than by the inuincible ſtrength of wiſe policy, and the conſtant reſolution of a martiall mind: for by thoſe inſtruments, and none other, hath worthy vertues alwaies promoted and ſupported the Othoman *kings. Wherefore let thoſe vaine ſhews (as ſeemeth vnto me) of counterfeit honour delight the minds of idle and ſlothfull kings: aſſuredly they neuer pleaſed your armed anceſtors; but after the enemy was quite ouerthrowne, the triumph made, and the trophies of victory erected. But let this be as beſt pleaſeth your high wiſdome and judgement, whereunto the greateſt wits giue place. Truly I (if I well foreſee the chances of war, and the aſſured euents of things) will not follow that manner of counſell which the pleaſure of my mind perſuadeth me vnto; when as neceſſity, which ruleth all things, preſently forceth me & ſheweth me a far better courſe. The Hungarians aboue all other things notably warne vs not to truſt them, who infamous for their inconſtancy, after reuolt and trechery, are ſtill at variance amongſt themſelues; and their baniſhed men are continually ſetting on the Germans to inuade the country, and the weake power of the Queene and the child is not ſuch as may withſtand ſo neere and ſo mighty an enemy: ſo that another mans kingdome muſt of neceſſity be defended by our helpe, which may not be leſſe than a ſtrong army, without our great perill. To be briefe, euery yeare to take in hand ſo long an expedition of ſo great labour and trauell, with an army furniſhed with horſemen, footmen, artillery, and a fleet of ſhips for the defence of another man, as commonly we do, ſeemeth vnto me meere madneſſe: neither do I thinke it to ſtand with the Majeſty of the* Othoman *Emperors, thus to be moued euery yeare at the requeſt of a puling woman, crying for helpe: except you thinke it more profitable and honourable to maintaine a defenſiue than an inuaſiue war: Wherefore (in my opinion) it is beſt to turn this kingdome (ſo often conquered and defended by law of Armes) after the manner of your anceſtors, into the forme of a prouince: the Queene I would haue ſent to her father, and the boy her ſonne brought vp in your court at Conſtantinople, and there inſtructed in our religion: the nobility of the country I wiſh to be ſlaine, and their caſtles raſed, and the notable families which bare the braueſt minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the country into Aſia: as for the baſe multitude, I would haue kept vnder with good garriſons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this only means (mighty* Solyman) *ſhall both the Hungarians perceiue themſelues conquered, and the Germans glad to forbeare comming into Hungary, vnleſſe they will raſhly and vnfortunatly hazard both Styria and Auſtria.*

Miſchieuous counſell.

Solyman entreth Buda the 30 of Auguſt 1541, & there firſt ſacrificeth after the Mahometan manner.

But *Solyman* thinking it good to doe ſacrifice before he would reſolutely determine of ſo great a matter, entred into Buda with his two ſonnes, *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the thirtieth of Auguſt in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* (being before by his prieſts purified after the manner of their ſuperſtition) ſacrificed the firſt Maho-

A Mahometan ſacrifice in Buda. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his
great counſellors,prouided out of them all both for his owne ſecurity and honour, and publiſhed
a decree,the fatall doome of that flouriſhing kingdome, where vnder it yet groaneth at
this day;That Buda ſhould from that day be kept with a garriſon of Turks,and the kingdome
conuerted into a Prouince of the Turkiſh Empire ; and the queene with her yong ſon ſhould
preſently depart the City, and liue in Lippa, in a fertile and quiet Country beyond the riuer
of Tibiſcus,which ſomething to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father *Sigiſmund*
his kingdome,to be ſafely conducted thither with all her wealth and jewels by his Ianidaries.
Wherefore the Queene and her Son,according to this Decree,with teares and mourning,
deteſting in her heart the Tyrants perfidious dealing (which neceſſity inforced her then
to diſſemble) departed from Buda, conſtrained by the Turks to leaue behind her all the ordnance
B in the caſtle and city,with all other the warlike prouiſion and ſtore of victuall.The Nobleman
went with her alſo,who although they went ſorrowfull for this wofull and vnexpected
change of things, yet were they very glad of their liberty and ſafety,whereof they had for the
ſpace of three daies diſpaired. Only *Valentinus* was kept in ſafe cuſtody in the campe,becauſe
he was a martiall man of greateſt power amongſt the Hungarians ; and beſides that, much hated
of the Turks for the hard purſuit of *Caſon* and his horſemen, ſlaine at Storamberg in Auſtria.
Thus the royall city of Buda fell into the hands of the Turks, whereupon not long after
enſued the finall ruine of that kingdome,ſometime the ſtrong Bulwarke of Chriſtendome,
but loſt to the great weakning of the Chriſtian Common-weale ; which may juſtly be imputed
to the pride,ambition,and diſſention of the Hungarians amongſt themſelues,and the calling
C in of the common enemy : the due conſideration of whoſe onely comming, might well
haue ſufficed to haue ſet them agreed.

The doome of Hungary.

The Queene departeth out of Buda with her Sonne.

Whileſt theſe things were doing at Buda, King *Ferdinand* expecting the euent of this war
at Vienna,& hearing of the ſhamefull loſſe of his army,and that the Generall deadly wounded
was fled to Comara,and that *Solyman*(fame increaſing the euill newes)was comming towards
Vienna ; ſent *Leonardus Velſius* (who neuer liked of the ſiege of Buda) to Comara, to ſtay the
further flight of the ſoldiers, and to gather together ſo well as he could the diſperſed reliques
of the ſcattered army, and to comfort againe the diſcouraged men with the hope of new ſupplies
and of pay. And ſomewhat to ſtay *Solyman*, who as it was thought would ſuddenly come
D to Vienna, he ſent County *Salma*, and *Sigiſmund Letheſtaine*, a noble and graue counſellor, his
Embaſſadors,with Preſents and new conditions of peace to *Solyman*. The preſents were a high
ſtanding cup of gold after the German faſhion, curiouſly ſet with ſtones : and a wonderfull
globe of ſiluer of a moſt rare & curious deuice,daily expreſſing the hourely paſſing of the time,
the motion of the planets, the change and full of the Moone, the motion of the ſuperiour
orbes,euer mouing by certaine wheeles or weights curiouſly conueied within the ſame, and
exactly keeping due time and motion ; liuely expreſſing the wonderfull motions and conuerſions
of the celeſtiall frame. A moſt curious and ſtrange piece of worke, deuiſed and perfected
by the moſt cunning Aſtronomers for *Maximilian* the Emperour,whoſe noble minde neuer
ſpared for any coſt to obtaine things of rare and ſtrange deuiſe. The Embaſſadors paſſing
E downe the riuer of Danubius,were at their landing firſt receiued by *Caſon* the Admirall of *Solymans*
fleet,and by him brought into a rich tent,the ground vnder their feet being all couered
with rich carpets : to whom *Ruſtan Baſſa* ſent ſuch good cheere as the campe afforded, but
eſpecially moſt excellent wine, no leſſe forbidden the Turks by their law,than deſired of the
Germans. The next day after,the great Baſſaes feaſted the Embaſſadors, *Solyman* himſelfe dyning
not far off in his pauillion : at which feaſt the Baſſaes for the more courteſie dined with
the embaſſadors,not ſitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their
maner was,but ſitting in chaires at a high table,after the manner of the Chriſtians:only *Mahometes*
Gouernour of Belgrade, for his age and valour an extraordinary gheſt, ſat downe vpon a
cuſhion beneath the Baſſaes. Their cheere was only Rice and Mutton,and that ſo plainly and
F ſparingly dreſſed, as if they had thereby noted our gourmandiſe and exceſſe ; who meaſure
not our cheere by that which nature requireth, but that which greedy appetite deſireth, as if
therein conſiſted the greateſt nobility : and the drinke for the great Baſſaes themſelues,right
eaſie to be had,was faire water out of the riuer Danubius. After dinner the embaſſadors were
brought in vnto *Solyman*, each of them led betwixt two Baſſaes holding them faſt by the

K. Ferdinand ſendeth Embaſſadors and preſents to Solymā.

The frugall cheere of the Turks.

armes as it had been for honours ſake,and ſo brought to kiſſe his hand. For the Turks ſuffer G
no ſtranger otherwiſe to come vnto the preſence of their ſuſpitious Emperour, but firſt they
ſearch him that he haue no weapon about him, and ſo claſping him by the armes vnder the
colour of doing him honour,diſſemblingly bereaue him of the vſe of his hands, leſt he ſhould
offer him any violence : yet hath he alwaies as he ſitteth in his Throne, lying at hand ready by
him,a targuet, a ſcimiter, an yron maſe, with bow and arrowes. The great Globe was alſo
brought in by twelue of the Embaſſadors ſeruants,which with the ſtrangeneſſe thereof filled
the minde of *Solyman*, and the eies of his Baſſaes with admiration : for *Solyman* was of ſo
ſharpe a wit, that he was not learned onely in ſuch bookes as contained the lawes and rites of
the Mahometane ſuperſtition, but had alſo curiouſly ſtudied Aſtronomy, and eſpecially Coſ-
mography, in which profitable and pleaſant ſtudy he much recreated himſelfe as his leiſure H
ſerued. The Embaſſadors deſired that he would giue the kingdome of Hungary to King *Fer-
dinand*, almoſt vpon the ſame conditions that *Laſcus* had before required it for him at Con-
ſtantinople,paying him ſuch yearely tribute as King *Iohn* had vſually paid,and promiſing far-
ther to draw *Charles* the Emperor his brother into the ſame league : ſo that *Solyman* deliuered
of all feare that way, might at his pleaſure turne his forces vpon the Perſian, which it was
thought he moſt deſired. Beſides that, they ſaid he ſhould deale neither honourably nor in-
differently, if he ſhould prefer the young child before King *Ferdinand*,who beſide his antient
right vnto that kingdome,(which they were not now to vrge, as oppreſſed by his happy victo-
ries,but might in time be reuiued) had alſo a late intereſt by a league betwixt him and King
Iohn, wherein he had expreſly couenanted by the ſolemne conſent of the greateſt part of his I
Nobility,that King *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdome. Whereby they excuſed
him of the late war, as iuſtly taken in hand againſt the Queene and her Son vſurping vpon his
right; which King *Iohn* knowing to be good, and moued with conſcience, had by his ſolemne
act acknowledged, though to the great offence and preiudice of *Solyman* his ſetter vp and de-
fender, as alſo to the touching of himſelfe in honour, to haue ſo vnthankefully and fraudulent-
ly dealt with his Patron, to whom he was by the oath of obedience bound. Wherefore they
requeſted, that ſith he being a Prince of all others moſt mighty and magnificent, ſtanding vp-
on his vpright dealing both in peace and war, had ſo lightly regarded the ſly dealing of ſo
vngratefull a man: he would rather accept of King *Ferdinand* ſo many waies iniured, as his
friend and tributary, than to haue him his perpetuall enemy. Concluding, That nothing K
could be vnto him, for the good report of his iuſtice more commendable, or for the aſſurance
of a perpetuall peace more profitable, or to the immortall praiſe of his bounty more honou-
rable, than to call a King of a moſt antient diſcent, famous for his vertue and fidelity, choſen
for a king by the Bohemians, deſired for a King by the Hungarians, Emperor elect of the Ro-
mane Empire by the Germans, and the naturall brother of the great Emperour, his tributary
King of Hungary. *Solyman* with cheerefull countenance accepting and commending of the
Preſents,anſwered them two daies after by *Ruſtan* the Baſſa his ſon in law, that this was his re-
ſolute condition of peace and friendſhip ; If King *Ferdinand* would forthwith reſtore all the
cities, townes, and caſtles, which were before belonging to King *Lewis*, and for euer after ab-
ſtaine from Hungary : and whereas he had beene ſo often prouoked by him to warre, and had L
therein beſtowed ſo great charges,and taken ſo much trauell,he could for that be content with
an eaſie paine(which ſhould be for his great honour) to impoſe an eaſie tribute vpon Auſtria :
vpon which conditions he was content to enter into league with them ; but if ſo be that thoſe
conditions ſeemed vnto them too heauy,and that they would rather make choice of war than
peace,he would bring to paſſe by continuall war, that ſuch things as they had taken from the
kingdome of Hungary,ſhould be requited with the deſtruction of Auſtria. But the Embaſſa-
dours, although they were much moued at the proud demand of tribute for Auſtria, as that
wherein the two brethren of mighty power, *Charles* the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* were diſ-
dainefully abuſed ; to keepe the beſt courſe of their negotiation, and to win ſome time in ſo
hard eſtate of things ; required a truce vntill ſuch time as King *Ferdinand* and the Emperour M
his brother might be made acquainted with the matter,. Which their repueſt, the Turke
(perceiuing their drift & purpoſe)would in no caſe grant,for Winter was now faſt comming
on. It was lawfull for the Embaſſadours all the time they were in the Turks campe, to view
euery part thereof, *Ruſtan Baſſa* conducting them from place to place : where aboue all things,

The requeſts of the embaſſadors in the behalf of king Ferdinand

Solymans proud anſwer to king Ferdinand his Embaſſadours.

The Turkes campe well ordered.

they moſt wondred at the perpetuall and dumbe ſilence of ſo great a multitude, the ſouldiers being ſo ready and attentiue, that they were no otherwiſe commanded but by the becking of the hand, or a nod of their commanders: they marueiled alſo at the exquiſit order and ſweetneſſe of the Turks campe, finding therein nothing diſordered or noyſome; ſo that it ſeemed not the campe of ſuch a rude and barbarous nation, but rather of them which were the authors of martiall diſcipline. The Embaſſadors being rewarded and ſo ſent away, *Solyman* commanded the old Gouernor of Belgrade to ſpoile the borders of Auſtria all alongſt Danubius: *Caſon* alſo Generall of the voluntary horſemen, he ſent into Morauia for like purpoſe; who neither of them did any great harme, by reaſon of the ſudden riſing of the great riuers, with the abundance of raine then falling in Autumne. After that, *Solyman* appointed one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken priſoner in his youth by the Turks, had from that time followed the Mahometan ſuperſtition) Gouernor of Buda: who by the vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice, and the courteous vſing of the people, with *Verbetius* the old Chancellor, ſhould do what was poſſible to put the people in hope of long peace and tranquility. Which things done, after he had ſtaid about 20 daies at Buda, he determined to returne againe into Thracia, becauſe the rain of Autumna & the cold of Winter was now come in: and was alſo in doubt to be ſhut in with the riſing of the great riuers, wherewith the country of Hungary is in euery place ſo watered, and on euery ſide ſo compaſſed, that it is a hard mutter to paſſe. By the way he ſet *Laſcus*, King *Ferdinands* embaſſador, again at liberty, whom he had left in priſon at Belgrade: but he long injoyed not that benefit: for ſhortly after returning into Polonia, he died of the flix; which cauſed many to ſuppoſe, that he was poiſoned by the Turks. A man for his vertue and learning, famous, worthy of a longer life, whoſe death the King himſelfe much lamented.

Solyman returneth towards Conſtantinople.

Laſcus ſet at liberty by Solyman, ſhortly after dieth.

As *Solyman* was returning into Thracia, and was come to the riuer Drauus, it was told him, That *Stephen Maylat*, Vayuod of Tranſyluania, who tooke King *Ferdinand* his part, a profeſſed enemy of the Turks, was taken, by the cunning of *Peter* of Moldauia, and Prince of Valachia; and that all the country of Tranſyluania was well pacified, and yeelded to his obedience. Of which newes *Solyman* was paſſing glad; for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*, a martiall man of a froward nature, deſirous of rule, and ready vpon any occaſion to reuolt; foraſmuch as he remembred *Grittus* his Legat, and the Turks by him ſlaine, and knew alſo, that the Tranſyluanians, an inuincible people, borne to trouble, and more delighting in vncertain war than aſſured peace, was by him ſtirred vp, whom he wiſhed rather by gentleneſſe to appeaſe, than by force of armes and ſtrong hand to ſubdue. But becauſe we haue oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whoſe taking *Solyman* ſo much reioyced, it ſhall not be amiſſe in few words to declare in what fineneſſe he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloudy man, *Peter* of Moldauia.

This Moldauian by the commandement of *Solyman* (as is aforeſaid) had ioyned his forces with *Achomates*, Gouernor of Nicopolis, againſt *Maylat*; which being vnited, were in number 50000 horſemen beſide footmen; which after the manner of thoſe countries, were not many, euery man almoſt in the country, be he neuer ſo poore, keeping a horſe to ſerue vpon. *Maylat* beſet with the multitude of his enemies, and finding himſelfe too weake to encounter them, deſpairing alſo of aid from King *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be buſied in a greater war, forſooke the field, and fled again into the ſtrong town of Fogaras, as he had done the yere before, when he was ouercharged by king *Iohns* power: for there as in a moſt ſtrong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid vp his greateſt ſubſtance & prouiſion for the wars, but eſpecially the rich ſpoile he had long before taken from *Grittus*. *Achomates* comming thither with his power, and perceiuing the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time, thought it beſt, to aſſey if he could ouercome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he ſent a meſſenger vnto *Maylat*, to perſuade him to yeeld himſelfe vnto *Solyman*, and to make choice rather to be called of him his friend, than to be iudged his enemy; of whom he might well hope of all goodneſſe, which had giuen whole kingdomes vnto his enemies: promiſing that he would vſe the vttermoſt of his credit, which was not ſmall, and labour for him as his friend, that he might feele the fruit of his clemency and bounty, and ſtill enjoy the gouernment of Tranſyluania, paying him ſome ſmall yearely tribute, as hee had before requeſted: foraſmuch as hee could take no courſe better, being beſet with ſo many

Maylat the Vayuod vnable to keep the field againſt Achomates and the Prince of Moldauia, flieth to Fogaras.

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reaſonable conditions, and that with as much ſpeed as G
were poſſible: in which doing, beſides that he ſhould well prouide for his owne ſafety, he
ſhould alſo ſaue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he ſaid) with his
victorious army; who would with aſſured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the
ſiege, if he ſhould vpon a ſtubborne and obſtinate mind then refuſe to obey his command.
Whereunto *Maylat*, who foreſaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to
endure an vncertaine warre, anſwered, That he could be content to conclude a peace, ſo that it
were not vpon any bad conditions; and would not greatly refuſe *Solymans* command, which
was wont to be both reaſonable and iuſt: wherefore vpon ſufficient pledges he would come
into the campe, in preſence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demanded to haue
Achomates his ſon, a valiant yong gentleman, deliuered in hoſtage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, H
for that he had (as he ſaid) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was; and therefore
had ouer him no more power: but he promiſed for him, that was but one, to giue foure of his
beſt captains. Which offer *Maylat* (miſdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and galland
retinue attended vpon, came into the enemies campe, where he was courteouſly and honourably
receiued. But the parly, as it could not be conueniently begun immediatly after the
firſt ſalutation, ſo could it by no meanes be then ended, but was deferred vntill the next day;
to the intent, that the trecherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and well knowne
gueſt, whom he had againſt that time inuited to a ſolemn banquet. By that means, the next day
about the midſt of dinner, fortune ſo fauoured the intended trechery, *Maylat* (who was of ſo
proud and cholericke a nature, that he could not well brooke the leaſt indignity) was by occaſion I
of ſome inſolent ſpeech, of purpoſe miniſtred by the Moldauian gheſts, put into ſuch a
fret, that laying his hand vpon his ſword, he in a rage flung from the table: at which time al the
other gheſts ſtarting vp alſo, laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, and in vaine crying
out, that he was ſhamefully betraid. His followers were all fothwith ſtript of all their brauery
by the needy Moldauians, and their horſes and armor taken from them. Whileſt *Maylat* was
yet furiouſly exclaiming of this treaſon, in came *Achomates*, who to ſeeme guiltleſſe of the
matter, with deep diſſimulation ſharpely reproued the falſe Moldauian, that he had in doing
ſo foule a fact ſhamefully violated the lawes of hoſpitality, reuerenced of all nations, falſified
the faith which he had giuen him for his ſafety, and betraid the liues of ſuch notable captains
as lay in hoſtage for him. Wherunto the Moldauian (as if it had bin in contempt) ſcornfully anſwered, K
that he had vpon good cauſe taken *Maylat* priſoner, and ſo would in ſafety keep him for
Solyman, vnto whom it only belonged to judge, whether he had juſtly or vnjuſtly kept him.

Maylat commeth into the Turke campe.

Maylat trecherouſly taken priſoner by the Moldauian.

Not long after, the ſtrong towne of Fogaras was deliuered, with the hoſtages; but whether
by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turaccus*, and *Maylat*,
two of the greateſt noblemen of Hungary, ſufficient of themſelues to haue reſtored the
Hungarian kingdome (firſt rent in ſunder with ciuill diſcord, and afterward with the inuaſion
of the Turks) fell into the hands of the enemy, not vanquiſhed in battel, but deceiued by treaſon.
The towne being thus ſurrendred, almoſt all the country of Tranſyluania, was by *Solymans*
conſent deliuered to the yong king, vnto whom al the people moſt willingly ſubmitted themſelues, L
and tooke the oath of obedience, remembring that his father had almoſt for thirty
yeares ſpace with great iuſtice and quietneſſe gouerned that prouince; and with many preſents
honoured the young King lying in Lippa, with the Queene his mother, and his two tutors,
the Biſhop, and *Vicche*.

Tranſyluania giuen by Solyman to the young King.

At the ſame time, *Charles* the Emperor at the importunat ſuit of his ſubiects of Spaine, had
prepared a great force both by ſea and land for the conquering of Algiers: from whence the
Turkiſh pyrats did ſo infeſt all that coaſt of the country, from Gades to the mountains Pyrenei,
that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandiſe being ſet apart) were glad to keep a continual
watch and ward all alongſt that coaſt for defence of the country. Wherefore although hee
well knew of the comming of the Turks to Buda, and how hardly he was by the Langraue
and others ſpoken of, for leauing his brother ſo hardly beſtead, to go againſt a ſort of pirats in M
Affricke, yet perſiſting in his former determination, he departed out of Germany into Italy,
where by the way he met *Octauius Farneſius* his ſon in law, *Alphonſus Vaſtius* his lieutenant, by
the Venetian Embaſſadors, neere to Verona, and ſo brought to Millaine, where he was with

Charles the emperor returneth out of Germany to inuade Affricke.

great

A Millain, where he was with great ſolemnity joyfully receiued of the citiſens, and vnder a canopy of gold brought vnto the palace: he himſelfe going in a plain blacke cloke, and a homely cap in mourning wiſe, when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious ſimplicity, expected to haue ſeene ſo great an Emperor in his royall robes, gliſtering with gold and precious ſtone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauy countenance anſwerable alſo to his attire, was much noted, as preſaging the wofull ouerthrow which was the day before receiued at Buda, but not yet knowne in Italy. From Millaine he departed to Genoa, where he was aduertiſed by letters from his brother king *Ferdinand*, of the ouerthrow of the Germans, of the victory of the Turks, and the comming of *Solyman*. Vpon which newes, *Vaſtius* and *Auria*, his two chiefe commanders, the one at land, the other at ſea, would haue perſuaded him B to haue deferred his intended expedition for Africa vntill the next Spring: and with ſuch power as he had already raiſed in Italy, and brought with him out of Germany, to ſtay ſtill in Italy, ſo to make ſhew vnto the Turks as if he would haue returned and holpen his brother: and in the meane time to aſſure himſelfe of his ſtate in Italy againſt the French, who (as it was thought) would be ready to take all occaſion of aduantage, if any miſhap ſhould befall him, either by the force of the enemy, or violence of tempeſt. But he conſtant in his former reſolution, anſwered them as they ſat in counſell, that they had perſuaded him for great reaſons to ſtay in Italy; but that he was for far greater to paſſe into Africke: for if he ſhould then ſtay in Italy, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turks fled out of Germany: which diſgrace could no otherwiſe be preuented, but by the preſent proſecution of the former determination C for Algiers, and ſatisfying the expectation of his ſubjects of Spaine; and ſo by ſea valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not ſo well fauoured them at land; in hope that Algiers might be woon before the ſeas ſhould grow rough and dangerous with Winter tempeſts: which if it ſhould fall out according to his mind, he would not, as he ſaid, greatly care what the French could do. Yet was it thought, That the diſſembling friendſhip betwixt the French king and him, would not long indure: and the rather, for that there was a new grudge riſen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rinco*, who for certaine yeares had lien embaſſador for the French king at Conſtantinople, to *Solyman*, and was a few months before ſent backe again by him into France to the king: but returning backe againe with new inſtructions from his Maſter, for the confirmation of a further league betwixt the Turkiſh D Sultan and him, he was by certaine Spaniards of the Emperors old ſouldiers, who had knowledge of his comming, belaied vpon the riuer Padus as he was going downe to Venice, ſo to haue paſſed into Epirus, and ſlaine, together with *Cæſar Fregoſius*: or as the common report went, firſt taken and tortured, to get from him the ſecrets of his negotiation, and afterwards ſlaine. Which report ſo much troubled *Vaſtius* in credit, that in purgation of himſelfe, he offered the combat to any man of like quality to himſelfe, that durſt charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion that he was well and worthily taken away, for vndertaking ſo odious a charge, as to ſtir vp the Turks againſt the Chriſtians, and to ſhew vnto them ſuch opportunities as might beſt ſerue their purpoſe, by diſcouering vnto them the Emperors deſignes, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian common-weale. But were it well, or were it euill, E as *Paulus* the third of that name then Biſhop of Rome, meeting the Emperour at Luca as he came from Genoa, could not, or would determine, ſure it ſerued as no ſmall occaſion to ſet thoſe two great Princes againe at ods, whereby the wiſhed vnity of the Chriſtian ſtate was ſore ſhaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The Emperor at his comming to Luca, was honorably receiued by the Cardinals and Biſhops, and lodged in the court; the great Biſhop was before placed in the Biſhops palace, whither the Emperor came thrice to talke with him, and the Biſhop to him once. But the Biſhop hauing nothing at all preuailed with the Emperor and the French embaſſador, for the appeaſing of the troubles euen then like to ariſe betwixt him and the French King; did what he might to perſuade him to employ ſuch forces as he was about to paſſe ouer with into Africke, againſt the Turks in defence of his brother *Ferdinand*, F and of the country of Auſtria, if *Solyman* ſhould happily purſue his late obtained victory at Buda. But he ſtill reſolute in that fatall determination of inuading of Africke, rejected that the Biſhops requeſt alſo. So the great Biſhop hauing moued much, and preuailed little, in the greateſt matters which moſt concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the Emperour, returned by eaſie journies to Rome.

The French kings embaſſadour ſlaine by the Emperors.

The Emperor and the Biſhop of Rome meete at Luca.

The Emperour driuen by tempeſt into Sicilia.

The Emperour commeth to Algiers.

The Emperours fleet out of Spaine and the Low-countries.

The Duke of Alba.

Delay in great actions hurtful

The Emperor in the mean time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Auguſtinus Spinula*, and ſix thouſand Germans, came from Luca to the port Lune, and there imbarking his ſoldiers in certain merchants ſhips prouided for the purpoſe, and fiue & thirty gallies, departed thence, commanding the maſters of the ſhips to direct their courſe to the Iſlands of Baleares: but after they had put to ſea, they were by force of tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, brought within ſight of Corſica: where after they had beene toſſed to and fro two daies in the rough ſeas, and put out of their courſe, the wind ſomething failing, they put into the hauen of Syracuſa, now called Bonifacium. The diſperced fleet once come together into the port of Syracuſa, and the rage of the ſea well appeaſed, he put to ſea againe for the Iſlands Beleares, now called Majorca, and Minorca: where in his courſe he met with a tempeſt from the Weſt, more terrible and dreadfull than the firſt: wherin diuers of the gallies hauing loſt their maſts and ſailes, were glad with extreame labour and perill in ſtriuing againſt the wrought ſea to get into a harbor of the leſſer Iſland, taking name of *Barchinus Mago* the famous Carthagenenſian, whoſe name it retaineth vntil this day. From hence the Emperor with all his fleet paſſed ouer to the greater Iſland, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his Viceroy in Sicilia was in good time come with the Sicilian gallies and ſhips of Italy, in number a hundred and fifty ſaile, wherein he had brought ſuch ſtore of bisket and victual, as might haue ſufficed for a long war. *Mendoza* was alſo expected to haue come thither with his fleet from Spaine; but he by reaſon of contrary winds being not able to hold that courſe, altered his purpoſe according to the tempeſt, and ſo happily cut ouer directly to Algiers. So the Emperour nothing miſdoubting the carefull diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed already chanced, and the wind now ſeruing faire, by the perſuaſion of *Auria* his Admirall hoiſed ſaile, aud in two daies came before Algiers, and there in a goodly order came to anker before the city in the ſight of the enemy. Whileſt the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had beene abroad at ſea ſeeking for prize, returning to Algiers, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongſt them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viſcontus Cicada* ſtemmed with his gally and ſunke him, the other with wonderfull celerity got into the hauen. In the meane time *Mendoza* with his gallies had paſſed the promontory of *Apollo* now called the cape of Gaſſineus, and in token of honour ſaluting the Emperour after the manner at ſea, with all his great ordnance, gaue him knowledge that the Spaniſh fleet was not far behind. In this fleet was aboue a hundred tall ſhips of Biſcay & the low countries, and of other ſmaller veſſels a far greater number. In theſe ſhips beſides the footmen, was embarked a great number of braue horſemen out of all parts of Spaine: for many noble Gentlemen had voluntarily of their owne charge gallantly furniſhed themſelues with braue armour and couragious horſes, to ſerue their Prince and country againſt the Infidels. Ouer theſe choice men commanded *Ferdinand* of Toledo, Duke of Alba, for his approued valour then accounted a famous captain. Theſe ſhips going altogether with ſails, were not yet able to double the cape as did *Mendoza* with his gallies, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the ſea went yet high, by reaſon of the rage of the late tempeſt, and did ſo beat againſt the plain ſhoare, that it was not poſſible to land the ſouldiers, but that they muſt needs be waſhed vp to the middle: which thing the Emperour thought it not good to put them vnto, and ſo to oppoſe them ſea-ſicke and thorow wet againſt the ſudden and deſperat aſſaults of their fierce enemies. He alſo ſtaied for the comming of the Spaniſh ſhips, for two cauſes: firſt, That he might with his vnited power more ſtrongly aſſault the city, and terrifie the enemy; then, To communicat the whole glory of the action with the Spaniards, at whoſe requeſt and forwardneſſe & greateſt charge he had vndertaken that war. Which fatal delay of two daies, although it was grounded vpon good reaſon, did not only diſturbe an aſſured victory, but to the notable hurt of the whole army, opened a way to all the calamities which afterward inſued.

The Emperour ſendeth a meſſenger to Aſſan-Aga Gouernor of Algiers for Barbaruſſa.

In the meane while the Emperor ſent a conuenient meſſenger to *Aſanagus*, otherwiſe and more truly called *Aſſan-Aga*, or *Aſſan* the eunuch; who with a little flag of truce in his hand making ſigne of a parley, and anſwered by the Moores with like, as their manner is, went on ſhore, and was of them courteouſly receiued and brought to *Aſſan*. This *Aſſan* was an eunuch, borne in Sardinia, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometan ſuperſtition by *Barbaruſſa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his kingdome of Algiers in his abſence with *Solyman*. This meſſenger brought into his preſence, required him

A forthwith to deliuer vp the city (firſt ſurpriſed by force and trechery by ***Horruccius***, and after-
wards to the deſtruction of mankind, fortified by ***Hariadenus Barbaruſſa*** his brother) to ***Charles***
the mighty Emperor, come in perſon himſelfe to be reuenged on thoſe horrible pyrats: which
if he would do, it ſhould be lawfull for the Turks to depart whither they would, and for the
naturall Moores to abide ſtill, with their goods and religion wholly reſerued vnto them vn-
touched, as in former time: and for himſelfe, he ſhould receiue of the Emperor great rewards
both in time of peace and warres, ſo that he would remember himſelfe, that he was borne in
Sardinia, and was once a Chriſtian, and accept of the faireſt occaſion which could poſſibly be
offered for him to returne againe to the worſhipping of the true God, and to injoy the fauour
and bounty of the moſt mighty Emperour, and withall to reuenge himſelfe of the cruell ty-
B rant ***Barbaruſſa***, for the vnnaturall villany done vnto his perſon. But if he would needs dally on
the time, and make proofe of the ſtrength of ſo great preparation, he ſhould vndoubtedly, with
the reſt of his followers, receiue the ſame reward of his obſtinacy, which they had to the ex-
ample of others, receiued at Tunes. Whereunto the vngracious eunuch anſwered, That hee
thought him altogether mad, that would follow his enemies counſell, and with a grinning
countenance askt him, Vpon what hope the Emperor truſted to be able to win the city? The
meſſenger pointing with his finger directly toward the fleet, told him, That which you ſee,
with his great artillery, and valour of his ſouldiers, both horſe and foot: whereat the eunuch
ſcornefully laughing, replied, And we with like force and valor will defend this city, and make
this place, already famous for your ouerthrowes here twice, now the third time, of all others
C moſt famous by the Emperors diſcomfiture. It is reported, That there was in Algiers an old
witch, famous for her predictions, who had (as it was ſaid) foretold the ſhipwracks and miſery
of ***Didacus Vera***, and ***Hugo Montada*** to them of Algiers, and alſo prefixed a time when as the
Chriſtian Emperor aduenturing to beſiege that city, ſhould there receiue great loſſe both by
ſea and land. The fame of which blind propheſie ſeruing fitly to confirme the hope of good
ſucces in the minds of the vulgar multitude, ***Aſſan*** ſo fed and augmented (although he himſelf
being a crafty wiſe fellow, beleeued no ſuch vanity) that he did therwith not onely encourage
his own ſoldiers, but alſo ſtrucke a terror into the minds of the weaker ſort of his enemies, ſee-
ing themſelues caſt vpon ſo dangerous a coaſt vpon the approch of Winter. There was in gar-
riſon in the city about 800 Turks, and moſt of them horſemen, but ſuch, as whoſe valour and
D reſolution far exceeded their number. For ***Aſſan*** had loſt many of his beſt men, ſome in fight
againſt ***Mendoſa***, and otherſome at ſea, ſlaine or taken by ***Auria*** in Corſica; and in other places
by the Rhodian, Neapolitan, and Sicilian gallies; but many moe were by his leaue gone to aid
the Moores againſt the Portingals: the other multitude did ſcarce make vp the number of
5000; which were partly naturall Moores borne in that country, and partly ſuch as were born
in Granado; to whom were joined many fugitiues out of the Iſlands of Majorca and Minor-
ca, who in former time hauing entred into rebellion, and fearing condigne puniſhment, were
fled to Algiers, and there reuolted to the Mahometan ſuperſtition. But the captaines of the
wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horſe and foot, which lying ſtragling with-
out the city in the open fields, ſhould night and day vex and moleſt the Chriſtians. This bru-
E tiſh people, naturally enemies vnto the Chriſtians, had ***Aſſan*** with rewards and hope of a rich
ſpoile, allured out of the countries thereabout to aid him: neither was it lawfull for any man
to carry his wife or children out of the city, into places of more ſafety farther off, or to ſhew
any ſmall token of feare, pain of death being by the imperious eunuch propoſed to whoſoeuer
ſhould but looke heauily for feare of danger, or ſpeake a word ſauouring of cowardiſe. The
Emperour by ***Auria*** making choice of a moſt conuenient place for landing his men, laid his
gallies ſo cloſe to his tall ſhips, that his armed ſoldiers might with eaſe come out of the high
built ſhips into them, and ſo out of them into the long boats, to be forthwith ſet on ſhore. And
ſuch was the ſpeedy diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plenty of
boats ſtill ready to receiue the ſouldiers as faſt as they could come out of the gallies, that the
F footmen were in a very ſhort time all landed. The Emperour hauing a little reſted and refre-
ſhed his ſoldiers, diuided his army into three equal battels, which was in number about twen-
ty thouſand footmen, beſides horſemen, and others, who of their owne voluntary will then fol-
lowed the Emperors fortune. Vnto euery battaile he appointed three field pieces, to terrifie
the Numidian horſemen, which were ſtill pricking vp and downe about them, ready to charge

The ſcornefull anſwer of Aſſan the Eunuch to the Emperours meſſenger.

The Emperour landeth his army at Algiers.

if they could take them at any aduantage. And ſo ſetting forward a few furlongs, encamped G
in a ſtrong and conuenient place, neere vnto the city, betweene two deepe ditches, which the
water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne ſo deepe, that neither horſeman nor
footman could well paſſe ouer, but by bridge: and faſt by vpon the left hand was a hill, from
the top whereof it ſeemed the city might with great ordnance well be battered.

The deſcription of Algiers.

The Numidians skirmiſh with the Spaniards.

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and gaine the hils.

The deſcription of the Numidian footmen and horſemen.

A maruellous tempeſt.

The city of Algiers, ſometime the royall ſeat of the great King *Iuba*, called of the Romans
Iulia Cæſarea, is in forme of a triangle, ſcituat faſt by the ſea towards the North, hauing a ha-
uen, but neither great, neither ſafe for the North wind. The houſes farther off from the ſea,
ſtand in ſeemly order vpon the riſing of a ſteep hill, as it were vpon degrees; in ſuch ſort, that
the windows of one row ſtill ouerlooks the tops of the next beneath it, into the ſea, moſt beau-
tifull to behold. The Emperor hauing diuided his campe into three parts, euery nation by H
themſelues, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, was in great hope to win it; and the rather, for
that whilſt he aſſaulted it on that ſide, his ſhips & gallies from the North ſide, might in time
of the aſſault with their great ordnance beat the enemy all alongſt the wall: which ſtill riſing
higher and higher according to the riſing of the ſteep hill, could not conueniently be defen-
ded with one bulwarke, as we ſee it may in plaine ground. Neereſt vnto the riſing of the hils,
lay the Spaniards: in the midſt, the Germans with the Emperor; and in the plaine neereſt to
the ſea, the Italians. In the mean time whilſt the great ordnance was landing, & the horſes vn-
ſhipping, the Numidians with a hidious outcry ſhew'd themſelues vpon the tops of the moun-
tains aboue the Spaniards, and from thence eaſily gauled them with their darts and ſhot: for
they nimbly running to and fro in the known paths of the rough mountains, would ſuddenly I
and fiercely aſſaile them, but after the manner of their nation skirmiſhing a far off, rather than
neere at hand. In which maner of light skirmiſhes, all the day was ſpent vntill night, with ſmal
danger, but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, theſe wild people, one
company ſtill ſucceeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left ſhooting, for
whereſoeuer they ſaw any fire in the Spaniſh camp, thither came arrows, darts, and ſtones fly-
ing as thicke as haile: for remedy whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and
with ſilence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them. Wherefore as ſoone
as the ſun was vp, the Spaniards by the perſuaſion of *Aluares Sandes*, maſter of the camp, vali-
antly climing vp the high mountaines, repulſed and put to flight the Numidians, and tooke
the top of the hils, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore ſheepheards cottages. But K
the ſame day ſuch a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were com-
paſſed in round, and glad to fight on euery ſide in a ring. Yet this fiercenes of this barbarous
people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly repreſſed, whoſe pikemen gliſte-
ring in their bright armour, made ſmall account of the Numidians arrowes and darts, but or-
derly ſtepping forwards with their pikes, & the harquebuſiers cloſe by their ſides, eaſily repul-
ſed their naked enemies. The Numidian footmen are for moſt part youths halfe naked, with
long haire not vnlike the Iriſh, vſing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with
their horſemen, truſting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe and agility of
body. Their horſemen vſe long ſpeares, armed at both ends, which they with a maruellous dex-
terity vſe, to the endangering of their enemy purſuing them: they vſe alſo long and light tar- L
guets made of leather, wherwith they ſo cunningly defend themſelues & their horſes, both in
their charge & retreat, that for a ſmal trifle, in reſpect of the danger, they will giue a man leaue
to caſt ſeuen darts at one of them, which they will all moſt ſurely auoid, either with the ſpeare,
or receiue them without harme in their targuet. In the meane time, whilſt this wild people
thus skirmiſhed all the day, at night a ſudden miſchance ouerthrew all the emperors hope: for
as he ſtood beholding the vnſhipping of his great ordnance, his horſes, victual, & other neceſ-
ſaries of the army, a ſtorm of wind & rain began about ſix a clock in the afternoon, holding on
all the night without intermiſſion, with ſuch rage, as if heauen & earth ſhould haue gon toge-
ther: wherewith the whole army at land was wonderfully troubled, and a great part of the fleet
at ſea by force of tempeſt driuen aground periſhed. That night 3 companies of the Italians, by M
the appintment of their generall, lay without the trenches againſt the ſudden aſſault of ſo vn-
certain an enemy, who when they had all the night endured the vehement raine and extreme
cold, were ſo ouercome with the extremity of the weather, that neither was their minds able
to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their daunted minds: for they could

neither

A neither conueniently ſtand nor lie down, al the ground being ſo myrie, that at euery ſtep they ſunk vp to the calf of the leg. Vpon theſe ſtarued companies, the Turkiſh horſmen & Moors footmen, who diligently obſerued the watch of the Chriſtians, perceiuing their diſtres, ſuddenly ſallied out in the dawning of the day, and ſo fiercely charged them, their match and powder being now ſo wet that they could not vſe their pieces, that they all fled except a few pikemen, who made a ſtand, & were all quickly ſlain by the Turks who ſo deſperatly purſued the reſt in chaſe, that they followed them ouer the trench into the camp. This alarm beeing heard, *Camillus Columna* the Italian General came preſently thither, being ſent by the Emperor, who with certaine Companies iſſued out ouer the bridge: who now in ſhew diſcouraged with the comming out of this new ſupply, did indeed, or at leaſtwiſe made as if they did, B diſorderly retyre for fear. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Viceroy of Sicilia, being a man of greateſt account in the army next to the Emperor, comming in alſo, and angry with them which had before fled; perſuaded them as valiant men to recompence their ſhameful flight with a freſh charge, by driuing the enemy home to his own doors. Which thing *Columna* ſaid could not be don without great peril: but *Gonzaga* being a man of a notable courage, deſired to haue the diſgrace which the Italians had receiued, ſalued ſome way, although it were with neuer ſo great danger; thinking alſo that it might haply fall out, that the enemy being put to flight and haſtily purſued, they might together with them enter the city, without any danger of the artillery. So without further delay, the reſt of the Italian companies were led forth of their trenches with great cheerfulnes by *Auguſtine Spinula*, who ſo valiantly charged C the enemies that they put them to flight, & purſued them ſo hard, that they came with them to the very gates of the City; where many ſhut out for feare of letting in the Italians with them, ſcaped by known waies, ſome to another gate, and ſome into the mountains: but then thoſe barbarous people with darts and ſhot from the wals, began to ouerwhelme the Italians which were vnaduiſedly come within their danger, and with terible outcries to terrifie them; and they which before were fled without the wals, returned again to fight. They alſo which had ſhut the gate ſallied out again, and hardly charged the Italians, who already galled with ſhot from the wals, and rent in ſunder with the great ordnance, fled moſt diſorderly; for why, they were but raw ſouldiers taken vp in haſt, little or nothing acquainted with the wars. At which time *Aſſan* alſo ſallying out (who was eaſily known by his countenance & rich attire) D purſued the chaſe with his troups of Turks and Moors footmen. Only certain Knights of the Rhodes fought valiantly, and retired orderly: and *Spinula* with ſome other gentlemen making a ſtand at a little wooden bridge, ſomwhat ſtaid the enemy, and ſaued the liues of many. So the Italians which firſt charged moſt valiantly, being in the flight become hindermoſt, the Enemy ſtriking them down as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the ſpace of half a mile, eſpecially they which fled toward the ſea, for they were circumuented & ſlain by the merciles Numidians, who beholding the ſhipwrack, were come downe to the ſea ſide for prey. But the foremoſt companies of the Italians which fled into the camp, fled in ſuch haſt, and ſo great fear, that none of the leaders in ſo great and ſudden a perplexity remembred either the Common ſafety, or performed the duty of an aduiſed Captaine: ſo that all ſeemed E at once loſt both by ſea and land. Only the Emperour, armed with an inuincible courage againſt all the chances of Fortune, and not to be diſmayed with any miſhap, was both to himſelf and others that day the beſt Captaine. For when all was almoſt loſt, hee in good time ſtayed the matter, by comming on with the ſquadron of Germans, wherof he ſent before him three enſignes to ſtay the flight, and with them as a ſure and freſh ſupply to gard his Campe beyond the bridge, which was ouer the ditch, ſeruing his Army for a trench, as we haue before ſaid. But ſuch a fear had poſſeſſed the minds of the flying Italians, and ſuch was the fierce purſuit of the enemy, that thoſe Germans (not before wont to turn their backs) as if they had bin afraid of the Turks white caps, or not able to abide their ſight, or to hold vp weapon againſt them, by and by turned their backs, and ſhamefully fled for company with the Italians. Then F the Emperor galloping forth with his horſe, and his ſword in his hand drawn, reprouing them of cowardiſe that fled, ſet forward with the German ſquadron, and with a ſtout and manlike courage ſpake to them theſe few words in their owne language: *When will you (fellow ſouldiers) ſhew your faces to your proud enemies, if now when you ſhould fight for the honor of the Chriſtian name, for the glory of the German nation, for the ſafety of your own liues, in the preſence of your Emperor, you*

The Italians diſcomfited by the Moors, fly and indanger the whol camp.

The Emperor couragiouſly ſtaieth the flight of his army.

An horrible tempeſt.

The Chriſtian fleet periſheth by ſhipwrack.

Many gallies loſt by ſauing one man.

fear a few diſordred and naked Barbarians? Immediatly when hee had thus ſaid, the Germanes touched with ſhame, and diſdaining that it ſhould be thought they needed any exhortation to perform the parts of valiant ſoldiers, iſſued out againſt the enemy, who mooued with their comming, and ſeeing the Italian battel again reſtored by the valor and trauel of certaine valiant and expert captains, ſtood ſtill a while and began to retyre; whether it were becauſe they feared the great artillery and aſſault of the Germanes, or that they thought they had done enough for that ſally; when as for the ful accompliſhment of that victory they ſaw the Chriſtian fleet ouercome with a moſt horrible tempeſt, miſerably to periſh before their faces, and many of their men, eſpecially the Moors, haſted to the ſea ſide in hope of a more certain prey whereas no enemy was to be feared. For the bluſtring winds blowing from diuers quarters, as if they had conſpired to raiſe a moſt horrible tempeſt, had made ſuch a wrought ſea, & the huge billows went ſo high, that the ſhips by the violence of the weather, and rage of the ſea, put from their anchors, fel foul one of another, and were ſo loſt, or els driuen vpon the main, were there beaten in pieces in ſight of the army. So that all the ſea coaſt Weſtward, from Algiers to Cercello, lay ful of dead men and horſes, and the ribs of broken ſhips. The Numidians beholding this miſerable wrecke, came down in great companies from the mountains, & without mercy ſlew all that came aliue to land. In the ſpace of a few houres were loſt aboue 140 ſhips, and all the ſmall boats and caruels, which were in number many. Some of the Gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noon, by the painful labor of the mariners, and skilfulnes of the maſters, rid it out, beeing no longer able to endure the rage of the tempeſt, & fearing to be eaten vp of the ſea, with ſails and oars ran aground: but the ſouldiers and mariners ſwimming to land in hope to ſaue their liues, and thinking that the greateſt danger was then paſt, were by the Numidian horſmen which ran vp & down the ſea ſide ſlain. There might a man haue ſeen free-men of all ſorts, with tears commending their liues and liberty to their own gally-ſlaues, that by the ſpeech & intreaty of them (which by the ſudden chance of fortune had but euen now ſhaken off their irons, and with merry hearts ſwam out to their liberty) they might be ſaued from the cruelty of the fierce Numidians. It was a moſt grieuous and woful ſight for diuers hard extremities, when as euery man according to the diſpoſition of his mind, and skil in ſwimming, ſtanding doubtful in moſt aſſured death, which to receiue or to refuſe, was by fatal deſtiny drawn to his end; and either drowned in the ſea, or thruſt thorow with the enemies lance; yet moſt made choice to abide the danger of the ſea, and to expect the end of the tempeſt, rather than to haſten their end by the enemies merciles hand. By that means it came to paſſe, that that barbarous cruelty of the enemy (as a thing feared moſt of the mariners and ſoldiers) ſaued many gallies, which by the appointment of the fearful mariners & paſſengers ſhould otherwiſe haue bin run on ground. But after that, a notable gally, wherein *Iannettin Auria* went, was ſeen to come neer the ſhore, and to be driuen vpon the ſands by force of weather, and the beating of other gallies. The Emperor not enduring to ſee ſo valiant a yong gentleman, captain of many gallies, ſlain without help by the Moors, in the ſight of *Auria* his vncle, ſent by and by one of his captains called *Antonius* of Aragon, with three bands of Italians to the ſea ſide: by whoſe comming the Moors were put to flight, and he with the reſt in the galley ſaued; but ſo, that the ſauing of him was the loſſe of diuers other gallies. For many deliuered of the fear of the Numidians, and truſting to the reſcue of the ſouldiers come down to the ſea ſide, deſiring to ſaue themſelues from the rage of the ſea, ran their gallies on ground; and had not ſome bold Captains, grieued to ſee ſo great a loſſe, ran vp and down the banks with their drawne ſwords in their hands, and by threatening death to the gally-ſlaues and their mariners, ſtaid their rowing, moſt part of the Gallies had by the example of others periſhed. *Auria*, not ſo angry at himſelf as at the Emperor (who contrary to the obſeruation of skilfull ſea-men, could not be perſuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in ſo vnſeaſonable a time of the yeare) with an inuincible courage ſtroue againſt the violence of the tempeſt, & rage of the ſea: inſomuch, that being requeſted by ſome of his friends, to ſaue himſelf, whatſoeuer became of the gally; he was ſo angry therat, that he commanded them to be beſtowed vnder hatches. Four Gallies alſo of *Virginius Vrſinus* earle of Anguillaria, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honor exceeding the fear of death. Certain gallies alſo of Sicilia, Naples, & Spain, happily endured all the rage of the tempeſt. Yet was there fifteen great Gallies caſt away, with

the

A the loſſe wherof, beſides the loſſe of ſo many ſhips, the tempeſt ſtill enduring, ſo great ſorrow
and deſperation in the woſull expectation of the wreck of all, poſſeſſed the whole army, that
not only the yong ſoldiers, regarding only their own liues, but euen the moſt valiant captains,
careful of the common eſtate, were vtterly diſcouraged. For neuer was army in any memory
ouerwhelmed with a greater concourſe of calamities, when as all their victuals being loſt in
three daies, nothing was left to relieue them withall; and they wanted tents wherin to ſhroud
and reſt the ſoldiers, ſpent with hunger, labor, cold, and wounds, in ſuch perpetual raine and ſo
dirty a country. In which ſo great miſeries, a wonderfull care, heauier than the former feare,
exceedingly troubled the minds of all men, to think vpon that horrid wreck, when as hauing
loſt ſo many ſhips, and they poor men landed in Africk, were in doubt how euer to returne again
B into their natiue countries. Yet the notable courage of the emperor ſtil kept the diſtreſſed
men in hope, which neuer altogether forſaketh wretched men in the midſt of their calamities:
for he with a couragious heart and cheerful countenance performed all the parts of a
prouident and curteous General. For when he had again made ſure his camp againſt the aſſaults
of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied captains (eſpecially the Duke of Alva,
wonderfully wearied in the late skirmiſh, and dung wet) to ſpare themſelues and take their
reſt: hee comforted the wounded men, cauſing them to be cheriſhed in the Tents which by
chance yet ſtood (for the tempeſtuous wind had almoſt ouerthrown them all) and not ſparing
himſelf for any pains, being in his armor and thorow wet, won the hearts of all his ſouldiers
the more. In this conflict he loſt about 3000 men, among whom was fiue of his forward captains,
C and three Knights of the Rhodes: but many more were hurt. The greateſt loſſe was
thought to be in the ſhips and mariners, which was alſo increaſed by the loſſe of a wonderfull
deal of great ordnance, reckoned ſo much the greater, for that it would come into the Moors
hands, to the common harm of the Chriſtians, ſo ſoon as the ſea would giue them leaue to
diue for it. Shortly after, *Auria* (as he was to foreſee a tempeſt, a wonderfull obſeruer of the
heauens and of the clouds) miſtruſting that place, departed with the remainder of the fleet to
the cape called Metafuſium, becauſe it was a place of ſafer riding for his Gallies, and better
for the taking in of the ſoldiers, aduiſing the Emperor to march thither with his army: which
his counſel the Emperor liking wel of, to relieue the hunger of his ſoldiers, commanded firſt
all the draught horſes which were firſt vnſhipped for the drawing of the great Ordnance, and
D after them the horſes for ſeruice, to be killed and diuided for meat among the ſouldiers. As
for fire-wood, they had plenty of planks and ribs of the broken ſhips; fortune as it were with
one poor benefit recompenſing ſo many calamities. The next day the Emperour departed
from Algiers, with his army diuided into three battels, the ſick and wounded men beeing received
into the middle: and when he had marched ſeuen miles (the enemies horſmen ſtil houering
about him) he came to a heady brook, which the Moors cal Alcaraz: which was grown
ſo high with the abundant rain and the check of the wind and the ſea, that being but a ſhallow
thing before, it was not now to be paſſed ouer by a good horſman. Wherefore the Emperour
of neceſſity there incamped, in ſuch ſort, than lying with his Army in forme of a triangle, two
ſides therof were defended with the ſea and the brook, and the other with a ſtrong gard of armed
E men; for he thought it not good to depart from the ſea, a ſure defence for his Army on
the left hand, to ſeeke a foord farther off. Many aduenturing to ſwim ouer, were by the violence
of the ſtream caried away and drowned. Wherfore the Emperor cauſed a bridge to be
made ouer it, of the maſts & ſail-yards of the broken ſhips which were by chance there taken
vp, and ſo paſſed ouer the Italians & Germans. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brook,
found a foord wherby they paſſed ouer. At which time the Turks purſued them no farther,
being called back again by *Aſſan* their gouernor. As for the Moores and Numidians which
ſtill followed at hand alwaies ready to skirmiſh, they were eaſily repulſed by the harquebuſiers
and field-pieces appointed for euery Nation: but vpon ſuch ſicke and wounded men as
were not able to keep way with the Army, they exerciſed all manner of cruelty. For there was
F none which in that ſmall hope, poſſeſſed with the fear of their owne ſafety, was greatly mooued
with the compaſſion of their fellows miſery. The next day paſſing ouer another little riuer,
which the ſouldiers waded ouer vp to the breſts, they came in three daies march vnto the
rode where the fleet lay, and incamped in the ruins of the old city Tipaſa, neere vnto the ſea
ſide, which ſerued them in ſtead of a fortreſſe againſt the Barbarians. The ſea was now calm,

The Emperours cheerfulnes cō-forteth the diſtreſſed army.

Horſes good meat in the Emperours Army.

The Emperour departeth from Algiers.

the wind laid,and the weather ſo fair,that all men thought the ſoldiers might now be imbarked G and tranſported into Europ. Wherſore the Emperor,to the great ioy of the whole army, commanded euery man to make himſelf ready to go abord:in ſuch ſort,that firſt the Italians, then the Germans,and laſt of all the Spaniards ſhould be imbarked: but ſo many ſhips and gallies as is beforeſaid beeing loſt by ſhipwracke, it was thought that thoſe which were left were not able to receiue the whole army,although it were crowded together as cloſe as was poſſible.

Horſes of great price drowned, to make roome for the common ſoldiers.

Wherſore the Emperor commanded the maſters and owners of the ſhips to caſt all the horſes ouer-boord into the ſea; reputing it an vnmercifull part, to prefer the ſafegard of thoſe horſes (although they were of great worth) before the life of the baſeſt common ſoldier or horſ-boy in his camp. Which thing much grieued the minds of the noblemen and owners of thoſe goodly beaſts,not only for that they were,not without extream neceſſity,for the preſent H depriued of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure,but ſhould for euer (as they ſaid) loſe the moſt noble race of horſes in Spain. There with griefe and vain compaſſion was to be ſeen goodly horſes of ſeruice bearing vp their proud heads, ſwimming all about the ſea, to the ſhips neereſt vnto them for ſafegard,as if it had bin to the ſhore; & in the end wearied with long ſwimming,to be there drowned. But ſcarſe half the ſoldiers were yet imbarked,when the Eaſt and North-eaſt wind,and ſoon after diuers contrary winds almoſt as great as the firſt,roſe:whereupon the ſhips which had already taken in the ſoldiers,not expecting any command,for fear of being driuen vpon the rocks,directed their courſe according as the wind caried them, with ful ſails alongſt the coaſt. They were quickely out of ſight and diſperſed with the tempeſt, ſome into one country,ſome into another,carying the fame of that ſhipwrack, and the report I that all was loſt, into the Iſlands of the Mediterranian and ports of Italy.

Two Spaniſh ſhips ful of ſoldiers driuen by tempeſt to Algiers,are taken to mercy by Aſſan.

The force of this tempeſt was ſo great,and the billow went ſo high, that ſome of the ſhips were in the ſight of their fellows ſwallowed vp of the ſea. But amongſt the reſt,two Spaniſh ſhips ful of ſoldiers were by wonderful miſhap by contrary winds driuen againe to Algiers,and there ſet faſt vpon that fatal ſhore;where the Numidian horſmen with a multitude of Moors following them, came running down to the ſea ſide to kill them as they ſhould come to ſhore: for the barbarous people thirſting after Chriſtian bloud,would not receiue them to mercy, although they were ready to yeeld themſelues,and couenanted nothing but the ſafegard of their liues. At which their cruelty the Spaniards diſdaining,with their weapons in their hands got to ſhore, and ſtanding cloſe together as deſperat men, withſtood them, who had with their multitude K quickly compaſſed them in round: yet in deſpight of what that barbarous multitude(without regard of humanity or law of arms) could do, they made way thorow the midſt of them, from the place where they were caſt on ſhore,vnto the very gates of the city. But ſeeing the Turks ſally out,they called vnto them,offring to yeeld themſelues priſoners to *Aſſan* without further reſiſtance,if they would aſſure them their liues;which they were in good hope of, for that he was born of Chriſtian parents in Sardinia, and was attended vpon by many renegat Spaniards. So *Aſſan* comming forth of the city,gaue them his faith for their ſafety, and beating away the Moors & Numidians, curteouſly ſaued them all:wiſely making great account of ſo great a gain as would redound vnto him by ſo many priſoners,joined with no ſmal commendation of his clemencie in ſauing them. Of the Germanes the third part neuer returned L home,but were either loſt by ſhipwrack,or els dead of the ſickneſſe inſuing ſo great miſeries.

The Emperour comes to Buzia

The emperor perſuaded,or rather ouerruled by *Auria*, to auoid the violence of the tempeſt, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Africk Eaſtward to Buzia, the caſtle wherof was kept with a ſmall gariſon of Spaniards:where the Emperor landed,found ſome freſh victual,though not much, yet ſuch as did both him and his noblemen no ſmal pleaſure. Whilſt the Emperor lay at Buzia expecting fairer weather,a great Genoa ſhip laded with victual chanced to come into the bay,to the great rejoicing of the hungry ſouldiers: but ſuch was the violence of the tempeſt, that her anchors came home,and ſhe driuen vpon the flats was caſt away;yet ſo,as that part of the victual driuen to ſhore,and half ſpoiled with the ſalt water,well relieued the increaſing want. In the mean time the Emperor,when he had long looked for the aſſuaging of the tempeſt, M and was now out of hope of any new ſupply of victual, ſent away *Gonzaga* with the Sicilian and Rhodian gallies:for the wind before at North, was now come to Northweſt, and put them in hope to aduenture again to ſea,rather than to ſtay there longer. So although with a troubleſome, yet proſperous courſe, they came in ſhort time to the port of Vtica, now called

A led Farinas: where *Muleaſſes* King of Tunes bountifully relieued *Gonzaga* and his fleet with all kind of victuall and other neceſſaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in ſafety in Drepanum at Sicilia. The bluſtring winds were now at length weary of blowing, and the raging ſea became calme, ſo that the skilful ſea-men for feare of new dangers, and weary of thoſe that were paſt, thought it beſt to aduenture againe to ſea. Almoſt euery houre they were reaſoning in councell, What courſe they were for moſt ſafetie beſt to take: when ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to beare for Sardinia or Corſica: and otherſome would haue had them to haue kept alongſt the coaſt of Africa, and ſo directly for Sicilia. But the wind comming faire at Eaſt, the Emperor directed his courſe to the Iſlands Baleares, & from thence at length arriued at the port of new Carthage in Spaine, greatly commended euen of B his enemies, for his wonderfull courage and conſtancy in paſſing through ſo many extremities, in ſuch ſort as if he had triumphed ouer the malice of fortune.

The Emperor arriueth in Spaine.

1542.

The French King the more to trouble the Emperor, ſolliciteth Solyman to inuade his countries.

About this time the diſſembled friendſhip betwixt *Charles* the Emperour and *Francis* the French king brake out into open hatred, The king firſt thinking himſelfe deluded by the emperor, who had long time fed him with the vain hope of the reſtitution of the Duchy of Millan, when as he meant nothing leſſe; and of late abuſed by the death of *Rinco* his Embaſſador, ſlain by the Spaniards in paſſing down the riuer Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge whereof he raiſed a great power in France, and at ſuch time as moſt men thought he would haue inuaded Italy, ſent *Charles* his ſon with the one part of his forces into the Low-countries, which were then gouerned by *Mary* Queen of Hungary the Emperors ſiſter; and *Henry* his other ſon C with the other part of his forces to inuade Spaine, both young Princes of great hope. And not ſo contented, but deſirous by all means to trouble and moleſt the Emperour, as he did in the Low-countries by ſetting on the duke of Cleue: ſo by *Antonius Polinus* his Embaſſador, a man of great diſcretion, he earneſtly ſolicited *Solyman* the Great Turke, with whom he was then in league, to ſpoile the borders of Spain with his gallies, at the ſame time that *Henry* his ſon was beſieging Perpenna in Spain. For which practiſe he was of moſt men diſcommended, as too much fauouring his owne griefe; and eſpecially by ſuch as affected the Emperor. But how this matter (which drew vpon the French King no ſmall enuy) was carried in the Turks court, ſhall not (as I hope) be vnto this Hiſtory impertinent to declare.

Pralinus the French Embaſſadour meeteth Solyman comming from Beda, and offreth vnto him Preſents from the French King.

After the death of *Rinco* ſlain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king ſent *Antonius Polinus* D a man of great dexterity, his Embaſſadour to *Solyman*: who paſſing by many by-waies to Venice, and ſo ouer the gulf to Sibinicum, croſſing ouer Illyria, met with *Solyman* in Myſia, as he was comming from Buda; and there firſt offered vnto him the preſent ſent from the King his maſter (for with empty hands no man might preſume to come to thoſe barbarous kings of the Eaſt) which Preſent was a cupboord of plate curiouſly wrought, in weight 600 pounds; and 5000 rich garments of al ſorts of ſilk & skarlet to be beſtowed vpon the Baſſa's & other great courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French Kings letters, and heard what he had further to ſay, ſeemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, & promiſed *Polinus* not to be wanting to the French king, by ſea or land to giue him aid in his iuſt wars againſt *Charles* his enemie, for breaking of the league: but foraſmuch as nothing could be well determined of ſuch E matters in his journy of ſo great haſt, he told him, that as ſoon as he was come to Conſtantinople, he ſhould then haue anſwer by his Baſſa's of all his demands. The embaſſador aboue all things deſired that he would ſend *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* with his fleet againſt the next ſummer into Prouince, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be imploied againſt the emperor as occaſion ſhould require: & further, That he would requeſt the Venetians, with whom he was able to do much, to join in league with the king his maſter againſt *Charls* the emperor, whoſe power began now to be dreadful to their eſtate. *Polinus* was not ſlack in his buſines, but all the way as he went ſought to win the fauor of the Baſſa's, ſtill giuing them one Preſent or other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to Conſtantinople, in the later end of December, *Solyman* promiſing what he had before ſaid, aduiſed F *Polinus* to returne to France with his letters, and to bring him certain word back againe from the king, of the determinat time & full reſolution of taking thoſe wars in hand: & that he would in the mean time ſend *Ianusbeius* his embaſſador to Venice, who had bin there diuers times before, & would prouide to haue ſuch a fleet in readines as he deſired. *Polinus* exceeding glad of that anſwer, with great ſpeed returned back againe to the king, bringing with him as preſents

The requeſt of the French embaſſador to Solyman.

Polinus returns into France.

from *Solyman* two goodly Turkiſh horſes and a ſword richly ſet with ſtones of great price. G The French King hauing by his Embaſſador receiued *Solymans* letters and preſents, and three days together diſcourſed with him at large of the maner of his proceeding in the Turks court, in ſhort time after ſent him backe again to *Solyman* with full inſtructions both of the time and places, & other circumſtances of the intended war.

Polinus ſent backe againe to Solyman, commeth to Venice and notably ſoliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes with the French king againſt the Emperor.

Polinus comming to Venice, found not *Iunusbeius* there, as he had well hoped: yet to loſe no time in expecting his comming, he with *Pellicerius* Embaſſador lieger for the French king, and other of the French faction, labored the Senators in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought like enough, that the Venetians ſtill meaſuring all their conſuls by their profit, would eaſily conſent to that league, eſpecially being requeſted thereunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to haue the port towne Maranus deliuered vnto them in reward thereof, which otherwiſe the French, in whoſe poſſeſſion it was, threatened H to deliuer to the Turks, and to make them their euill neighbours, rather than to haue it taken from them by the Germans. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing audience giuen him in the Senat, notably pleaded the French kings cauſe, grieuouſly lamented the death of the embaſſador ſlain by the Spaniards, and bitterly enuied againſt the ambition of the Emperor, who as he ſaid aſpired to the whole monarchy of Italy, not by true vertue and valour, but by meere craft and deceit, incroching ſtill vpon the liberties of the free States, and by little & little impoſing vpon them the yoke of bondage. In confirmation whereof he produced many examples, to them well known, requeſting them as antient friends and confederats of the French, to ioine their Forces with the King; in which doing they ſhould aſſure themſelues of ſuch reward of the vndoubted victory, as they could not deſire greater. Whereas if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, and would I rather ſit ſtil & look on as neuters, they ſhould vndoubtedly, fortune hauing decided the quarrell, grieuouſly offend both, and might worthily expect of the vanquiſhed, hatred; and of the conqueror, iniury. Beſides that, in taking vp of armes they ſhould highly gratifie *Solyman*, who prouoked with late iniuries, had determined with a puiſſant army to inuade Hungary, and at the ſame time to ſend *Barbaruſſa* with a great fleet againſt the Spaniards their common enemies: for the imparting of which his deſignes he would ſhortly ſend vnto them *Iunusbeius* his Embaſſadour. As for the euent of the war they needed not to doubt, when as they of themſelues were ſtrong enough quickly to thruſt the Emperor out of the dutchy of Millan, being generally hated of the people, feeding his ſoldiers with the ſpoile of the country, and on euery ſide beſet both by ſea and land by two of the greateſt Monarchs of the world. K

The craftie anſwer of the Venetians to the French Kings Embaſſador.

Whereunto the Senat delaying the time for certain daies, that *Iunusbeius* might in the mean time come thither, grauely anſwered, That the amity they held with king *Francis*, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like alſo they held with the Emperor, whom they would in no caſe ſeeme to caſt off, although they had bin by him ouertaught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citiſens in generall were of opinion, to preſerue their peace, as they which in the hard times of warres had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recouered with long peace: but if they did once ſee the enſignes diſplaied, and the wars begun, they would then take further aduice, Whether it were good for them to thruſt themſelues into thoſe warres or not, when as they were in league and friendſhip with three of the greateſt princes in the world.

Solymans Embaſſadour commeth to Venice.

In the meane time *Iunusbeius* arriued at Venice, and was there honorably receiued. He reque- L ſted, That the league before made at Conſtantinople by *Badoerius* their Embaſſador, might by the authority of the Senat be confirmed: and ſo commended the French kings cauſe to the Senat, that he requeſted no more, but that vnto that amity which they had already held with the French, they would ioine further curteſies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his brother, and had vndertaken to aid him againſt *Charles* king of Spain: but as to join in league with him, or in his quarrell to take vp armes, he requeſted nothing. Which was quite beſide the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of al, had thought eaſily to haue perſuaded the Senat to haue granted what they requeſted, and therfore thought the Turk (who had ſo coldly ſpoken in the cauſe) to be ſome way corrupted. But as it afterward appeared, there was ſuch equity and modeſty in *Solymans* letters (who was otherwiſe M of a proud and inſolent nature) that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which ſhould not ſtand with the good of their eſtate. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing in vaine ſtaied certaine daies at Venice, was in one of their publique gallies tranſported to Raguſium, and from thence trauelled by land to Conſtantinople, where he found all things more difficult than

Polinus commeth to Conſtantinople, findeth not the Turk ſo readie to ſend his fleet to aid the French king, as he had hoped.

A thaneuer he dreamed of. For the great Baſſaes ſaid, There could no fleet be ſet out that yeare, by reaſon that he was come too late to ſue for ſuch a matter, the ſpring of the yere being now paſt, of all other times moſt fit for to take in hand ſo long a voyage. So that *Polinus* was aboue meaſure vexed with care and griefe, that he had ſo euilly ſped, and was come ſo out of ſeaſon both to Venice & Conſtantinople. *Dixim* alſo, one of the maſters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to Conſtantinople, to carrie newes into France of the comming of the Turks fleet: who told *Polinus*, That the Kings ſons were with ſtrong power far entred into the Low-countries, and had already inuaded Spaine, expecting nothing more than the comming of the Turks gallies. Wherfore *Polinus* (as it eaſily chanceth to men deceiued by truſt repoſed in any other mens promiſes, and bewailing the euill ſucceſſe of their vain trauell) wonderfully tormented B himſelfe, curſed the froward and vnconſtant manners of the Baſſaes, called vpon the faith of *Solyman*; and beſought the great Baſſaes one by one, that they would not contrary to their promiſe forſake the King, who vpon the hope of the comming of the Turks fleet, had now inuaded both the Low-countries & the kingdome of Spaine: foraſmuch as by that delay, which was vnto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he ſaid) betraid the maieſtie of his King, and a moſt aſſured victory, now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obteſtations, he was ſo importunat and tedious, that he became vnto thoſe proud Baſſaes rather loathſome than gracious; inſomuch that to end his ſuit, they thought it beſt ſharply to take him vp, & for that time to ſhake him off. And therefore ſending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him, to the court, the great Baſſaes then ſitting in counſell, and C *Barbaruſſa* with them for the honour of his place; as ſoon as they were come into the councel chamber, *Solyman Baſſa* the Eunuch, turning himſelfe about, ſpake vnto them in this ſort.

Frenchmen (ſaid he) *this place for diſpatch of moſt weighty affaires, appointed by the graue iudgement of our moſt mighty Emperor to vs his faithfull ſeruants, doth (as it beſt beſeemeth, receiue vs, daily comming vnto it, void of loue and hatred: and withall doth notably put vs in remembrance to ſpeake our minds freely. Neither would I, that this franknes of ſpeech (the meſſenger of truth, and therfore the faithfull keeper of friendſhip, ſhould be vnto your eares vnpleaſing or troubleſome: for ſithence your King hath been called the friend and fellow of the* Othoman *name, we may not now either forget the duties of loue, or loth your friendſhip: ſeeing that our Emperor doth maruellouſly affect you, and is not a little deſirous to* D *ſtrengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your enemies to increaſe your power and honour. But in your demands is no equitie, no modeſtie, ſo that we tearme you vnmodeſt and importunat: and others which fauour you not ſo well, call you plainly by your right names, vnreaſonable and ſhameleſſe men; who as too too forgetfull of your duties, do moſt fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendſhip. For leagues are confirmed by like profit, by making euen the charge and mutuall dangers: but if neglecting your friends kindneſſe and courteſie, you will make no requitall, they will quickly grow wearie of you. So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who euer forgetful and negligent in our dangers, but in your own alwaies mindfull and diligent, haue ſhewed your ſelues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare letters, and embaſſages. Tell me I pray you where euer you ſhewed me any ſigne or token of your good will or ayd? whereby the minds of our enemies might at the leaſt wiſe haue but been* E *kept in ſuſpence of ſome doubtfull feare, when as* Charles *with all the power of the Weſt came into Hungarie: And Corone and Patras were in the meane time ſhaken in Grace with the enemies fleet; and laſt of all Tunes taken with ſo great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be endured, that you did not ſo much as once grieue at our ſo great iniuries as you ought to haue done; but ſent your gratulotorie Embaſſadours vnto the bloudie common enemie; who had but euen then ſlaine ſo many of our people. At length our Emperor came to Aulona to your great profit, about to paſſe ouer into Italie: but neither then in the arriuall of our fleet appeared the good wills of the Apulians towards you, which were of you ſo vainely promiſed, neither did you ſo much as once moue to inuade the vpper part of Italie; ſo neither ſeruing our turne, nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies loſt the occaſion of the good ſucceſſe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards, needed we your counſell* F *or vnited forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces and our faith: as for the reſt, war, the notable reuenger of our wrongs, moſt happily brought to paſſe, at ſuch time as you of your owne voluntary made peace with the common enemy to inuade vs; and did as vnkindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his ſailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably repreſſed ſo great aſſaults of our ene-*

The ſharp oration of Solyman the eunuch Baſſa to Polinus the French Embaſſadour.

mies: when as this ſame Hariaden Barbaruſſa *put to flight their fleet at Ambracia, and happily ſlew the Spaniſh pyrats of Caſtrum, and hauing again recouered our owne cities, tooke alſo from them ſome of theirs. wherefore we are bound vnto you for no deſert, but we had rather forget theſe vnkindneſſes, than to faile you whom we haue once receiued into our friendſhip. For we performe our fidelitie in deeds: but it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait occaſion; which will not raſhly commit his actions to the hazard of Fortune. You are come later than you ſhould haue done for the ſetting forth of our fleet: for Summer now wel ſpent, followeth the peſtilent time of Autumne, ſo that mariners cannot in conuenient time be taken vp, or ſafely thruſt into the gallies: for in long ſayling, who would not thinke, but that ſuch a company of ſaylers vſually ſick at the change of an vnacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their liues? Who would not feare ſhipwracke in their returne, when as this ſame* Hariaden *ſo great a maſter at ſea, driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rocks in the month of Auguſt loſt ſo many gallies? A fleet would be rigged in Winter, furniſhed and ſet forward in the Spring; in Summer is ſafe ſailing and making war. Which that it may be ſo done, we will for the common wealths ſake perſuade the Emperor: for the nauy once loſt, cannot vpon the ſudden be againe reſtored for much gold, whereof the* Othoman *Emperour wanteth no ſtore, heaped vp by many ages. If thou be wiſe, take theſe things in good part as friendly ſpoken: but whether the Emperor will pardon thy boldneſſe or not, let himſelfe conſider; truly we haue ſatisfied both him and our ſelues in ſpeaking to thee ſo plainely.*

Polinus by the meanes of the Capiaga, is brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe.

Theſe things ſeuerely ſpoken by the Eunuch Baſſa, did ſo much the more trouble *Polinus*, for that they ſeemed to haue bin ſent from the mouth of *Solyman* himſelfe, who was thought to haue heard all that was ſaid. For behind the Baſſaes as they ſate in Councel, was a window with a braſen gate, and a curtain drawne before it, that the Emperour when he pleaſed, might vnperceiued heare the complaints and ſuits of all nations, and note the manners of his great councellors; whoſe care for the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſo much the greater, for feare of his preſence. Yet did not *Polinus* for his repulſe, deteſting the double dealing of the Baſſaes, ſo giue ouer his ſute; but winning by gifts the fauour of the *Copiaga* or chiefe Porter, a man euer of great authority in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the ſpeech of *Solyman* himſelfe: who faithfully performed what he had vndertaken. So the French Embaſſadour brought by him into the ſecreteſt place of the court, which few Chriſtians had euer bin, and ſo vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, recounted vnto him how all matters had before paſſed, and moſt earneſtly beſought him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet he had before promiſed, who at that preſent was inuading his enemies in three places.

Solymans anſwer to Polinus

Whereunto *Solyman* courteouſly and expreſſely anſwered, That the opportunitie of ſending out his fleet was paſt; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late comming, & the time of the yeare halfe ſpent: but promiſed the next Spring without doubt to ſend vnto the king his friend & brother, twice ſo great a fleet as he had deſired againſt *Charles* their enemy. With which anſwer, the embaſſador diſpatched away *Dixius* into France, vpon whoſe arriual, king *Francis* called back again *Henry* his eldeſt ſon with his army, from the ſiege of Perpenna in Spaine.

The Princes of Germany ioyne their forces with king Ferdinand againſt the Turke in Hungary.

The Princes and States of Germany, at the requeſt of King *Ferdinand* and the nobilitie of Hungary, about this time decreed with one conſent, to take vp arms againſt the Turks, for the recouering againe of Buda, and other the loſt parts of Hungary. For beſides the diſhonor don to their nation at Exek, vnder the leading of *Cazzianer*, and again at Buda vnder the leading of the Lord *Rogendorff*; they wel ſaw, that if they did not ſpeedily relieue the Hungarians ouerwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks forces, they ſhould in ſhort time be inforced to fight for their religion, children, wiues, and liues, againſt the ſame mighty enemy, at their own doores. For preuenting whereof, the Princes and free cities of Germany, ſet out 30000 footmen, and 7000 horſemen: amongſt whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards Duke of Saxonie, then a young gentleman about twenty yeares old. But the Generall of theſe German forces was *Ioachimus* Marqueſſe of Brandenburg, a man more for the honour of his houſe than the valour of himſelfe preferred to that place: yet ſo, that vnto him was ioyned eight others, men of great yeares and experience, by whoſe counſell he was to be directed. When they were come to Vienna, king *Ferdinands* power met them: where, beſide ſuch as were taken vp in Auſtria, *Huganot* Gouernour of Stiria came in with ten thouſand horſemen. Vnto theſe the noble men of Hun-

A Hungary, *Iaſper Seredius*, *Andreas Bathor*, and *Petrus Perenus* a man of greateſt authority, power,
and experience among the Hungarians, joined themſelues, with fifteen thouſand horſemen;
whither alſo *Paulus* the third of that name, then Biſhop of Rome, ſent three thouſand choſen
footmen out of Italy, conducted to Vienna by *Alexander Vitellius* a moſt famous Captaine.
The Marquiſſe with his great Army marched from Vienna alongſt the River of Danubius;
but ſo ſoftly, that the Hungarian and Italian Captaines ſaid plainely, That the beſt part of
the Summer, being the fitteſt time for Wars, was paſſed ouer in loytering and dallying out
the time to no purpoſe. Eſpecially *Iacobus Medices*, who had long before perſuaded the king
to be ready to ſet forward with his forces with the firſt of the Spring, before the Turkes could
either augment their Garriſons, or put in any new forces; for that by ſuch reſolute and ſpeedy
B inuaſion it was like enough hee might recouer both Peſth and Buda. Which politique and
wholſome counſell ſo well giuen, King *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great men of his
Court (liking nothing but what proceeded from themſelues) rejected, expecting the full aſſembly
of all his forces, before the ſetting forth of his Army. At length the Marquis was by
ſoft marches come to Strigonium (King *Ferdinand* himſelf ſtaying behind at Vienna) where
it was commonly reported, That *Solyman* fearing to loſe Buda, was either in perſon himſelfe
comming into Hungary, or els ſending down the Generall of his Europeian horſemen, who
might neuer ſet foot forward to war without ſixty thouſand horſmen. Which news ſo troubled
the Germans, that they made no great haſt forward, doubting how they ſhould returne
again, if they chanced not to get the victory. Beſides that, it was thought that the Marquiſſe
C neuer purpoſed to fight a battell, or to indanger himſelfe and his Army for the kingdome of
Hungary, but only to defend the bounds of Auſtria, and by ſhewing the ſtrength of Germany,
to terrifie if he could the Turks, if they not contented with Hungary, ſhould alſo prouoke
the Germans. But after it was by certain eſpials from Samandria, known that all that report
of the comming of the Turks great Army was but vaine, and that there was ſcarſe a thouſand
Ianizaries and twice ſo many horſmen come to Buda, and that the Turkes fleet was both in
number and ſtrength far inferior to the Kings, they ſet forward again with more cheerfulnes,
much incouraged by the forwardnes of the Hungarians, eſpecially of *Perenus*, who aſſured
them, that if they would without delay march on, and ſpend no more time in vain, they ſhould
not find at Buda any ſuch number of Turks as was worthy the name of an Army; for that *Solyman*
D vſing but euery ſecond year to make war, did that year take his reſt, and was not like to
vndertake any great expedition. For theſe reaſons all men being ready cheerfully to ſet forward,
the Marquis appointed to paſſe ouer Danubius: which this *Perenus*, *Hugonot*, and *Medices*,
all expert Captains, liked not of, wiſhing him rather to hold on his way directly ſtill on
that ſide the riuer to Buda, the chief City of the kingdom. But it was the mind of the Generall
and all his Counſellors, firſt to beſiege Peſth, which might be done with leſſe labour and
danger, and there hauing made proofe of the enemies ſtrength and purpoſe, to come to beſiege
Buda: for then would the ſouldiers with much more courage and cheerfulneſſe endure
the ſiege of Buda, if they had by good fortune firſt beaten them out of Peſth. Which counſel
was both beſt liked and followed, and the Army by two bridges with great and painful labor
E made ouer Danubius, (which was in that place diuided into two parts) tranſported. At
the ſame time *Medices* an Italian, Admirall of the Kings fleet, came down the riuer, and in
deſpight of the Turks fleet took the Iſland of S. *Margaret*, lying in the Riuer a little aboue
Buda, and by force repulſed the Turks fleet vnto the ſuburbs of the City. The Marquiſſe to
auoid the danger of the great ſhot from Buda, after he was paſt the riuer, fetcht a great compas
about, and ſo came to the North ſide of Peſth; for on the South it was defended with the
riuer Danubius, running betwixt it and Buda; and on the Eaſt and Weſt, the great ordnance
on the one ſide from the caſtle of Buda, and on the other from Mount S. *Gerrard*, did ſo ſcoure
all alongſt the wals, that no man could without moſt manifeſt danger there abide. For Buda
ſtanding vpon the hil, and diuided from Peſth only by the riuer, ſo ouerlooketh and commandeth
F all the plain country about Peſth, that without perill no man can ſtir on any ſide of the
City, but Northward towards Agria, couered by the City from the ſhot out of Buda. As
the Marquis was comming thither, he was told by certain Fugitiues, That *Balis* Gouernor of
Buda (who in that place ſucceeded *Solyman* the Hungarian Renegat, lately before dead of the
plague) had in garriſon in Buda two thouſand horſemen: and that *Vlemas* the Perſian, Gouernor

The Marquiſſe of Brandenburg comes to Peſth with his Army.

uernor of Boſna was come vnto him with 2000 more: wherunto *Amurathes* had alſo joyned G another thouſand which hee brought out of Dalmatia; and that *Segemenes* was come thither alſo with 1000 Ianizaries brought from Conſtantinople. As for the reſt of the footmen, that they were but wild country people, fitter for labor than ſeruice in wars. They told him alſo, that the enemies fleet conſiſted of 60 ſmall pinnaces, ten gallies, and a few other great boats: and that *Solyman* had commanded his Captains, in any caſe to defend Buda and Peſth, to the laſt man, without regard of any other place; and had propoſed vnto the valiant great rewards, & to the cowardly extream puniſhment: charging them further, that if need were, they ſhould ſend in time to *Achomates* the Generall of his Europeian horſemen, to Sophia, to aid them. The Turks vpon the approch of the Chriſtians iſſued out at one of the gates of the City, and skirmiſhed with the Hungarians: but after they had ſufficiently prooued one anothers ſtrength, and ſome few were on both ſides ſlain, they retyred into the city, and the Hungarians H to the camp.

The Turks ſally out of Peſth, & put the Chriſtians to the orſe..

The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the camp neer the City with fiue companies, to chuſe a place for planting the battery; the Turkes at one inſtant ſallying out at two gates of the city, gaue him an hot skirmiſh: where at the firſt, the fight was begun with like courage and force; but the Turks ſtil ſending out new ſupplies both of horſe and foot, firſt the Chriſtian footmen, and after that the horſmen, not able longer to endure the force of the Turks Ianizaries, were conſtrained diſorderly to retyre, hauing loſt in that retreit four of their captains and two enſignes: and had not *Vitellius* with one company of horſmen ſerred together, valiantly repulſed the inſolent Ianizaries, the loſſe had bin much greater. *Vitellius* exceedingly grieued with this loſſe, and perceiuing the maner of the enemies fight, incouraged his I ſoldiers, purpoſing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requeſted *Perenus* to be ready to join with him, as occaſion ſhould require. *Vitellius* lay incamped in the Kings orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally diſtant both from the great Camp, and from the city: out of theſe orchards he went with twelue companies vnder their enſignes, commanding the reſt to ſtand ſtil within the walls, in readineſſe at all aſſaies; and ſo fetching a great compaſſe about, marched alongſt the riuers ſide toward the city. Neither did the proud enemy (brag of the former daies victory) make any delay, but brauely ſallied out at the Eaſt ſide of the city, and couragiouſly charged them. But *Vitellius* warned by his former harm, and ſeeing his enemies come on as he deſired, couered his ſhot with his pikes, and ſtanding cloſe, receiued the enemies charge; his ſhot ſtil playing vnder the pikes oftentimes vpon their knees. K

The Turks ſallying out again are defeated.

Many of the Turks were there laid on ground, whilſt they deſperatly ſought to haue broken the order of the Chriſtians. In the mean time, when many of the Turks horſmen and Ianizaries comming out of the gates, and diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the Riuer from Buda, to be partakers of the victory, had filled the hithermoſt bank; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpoſe by little and little retyred, as if he had bin ouercharged. Then began the enemy to giue a great ſhout, and more fiercely to aſſail the Chriſtians; their horſmen alſo clapt behind them, to haue there charged them. Which thing *Perenus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following *Vitellius* were drawn a great way from the gates; he ſuddenly with his light horſmen clapt in betwixt the city and the Turks, at their backs: after whom followed alſo *Mauritius* (afterwards duke of Saxony) with a ſtrong troup of German horſmen, of purpoſe L to ſhut them in from retyring back again into the city. But then the Turkes perceiuing the danger, & finding themſelues ſhut in, ſtood as men more than half amaſed, bethinking themſelues which way to take, and ſo began to retyre. When *Vitellius* comming on couragiouſly with his pikemen and harquebuſiers diuided into two wings, charged them fiercely: and the Hungarian & German horſemen breaking in among them on the other ſide, made great ſlauter of them, & ſtruck ſuch a fear among the flying Turks, that many of them in running to the gate, thruſt one another thorow with their pikes: diuers others were alſo by the horſmen driuen into the ſea and drowned. That day *Segemenes* loſt aboue an hundred of his Ianizaries, and four hundred other ſouldiours. The chiefe commendation of this piece of ſeruice was giuen to *Vitellins*, who had ſo wel and ſo quickly reuenged himſelf of the Turks: and next vnto M him, to *Perenus*, who as a skilfull Captaine had ſo wel awaited the time to intrap the enemy.

Mauritius in danger to bee ſlain.

Neither is *Mauritius* the yong Saxon prince vnworthy his due praiſe, who valiantly charging the Turks, and hauing his horſe ſlain vnder him, was in danger to haue beene there loſt himſelfe, had not *Nicolas Ribiſche* one of his followers couered him with his owne bodie, vntill

ſuch

A ſuch time as that he was reſcued by others, *Ribiſcht* himſelfe preſently dying of his wounds:
This little victory ſo incouraged the Germans, that the Marquis commanded the great ordnance
to be preſently brought forth, and the battery planted; which was at the firſt placed ſo
far off, that it did little harm, although the wall were both old and thinne, not aboue fiue foot
thick: and the ordnance laid either a little too low, or mounted too high, either ſhot ſhort, or
quite ouer the city into Buda: which fault once perceiued, the battery was remoued neerer,
and a fair breach ſoon made in the wall, with the continual beating of 40 great pieces of artillery.
Vitellius was the firſt that offered to aſſault the breach, ſo that the Germans would preſently
ſecond him, which thing they al by holding vp of their hands promiſed couragiouſly,
but ſoon after cowardly brake their promiſe. For oftentimes it chanceth, that they which before
B the danger are readieſt to promiſe their helpe, are in the very danger it ſelfe of all others
moſt ſlack. The Hungarians alſo for their parts promiſed not to be behind. The ſilence of the
enemy at the breach and in the city was wonderful, ſo that many thought he had beene fled
back ouer the riuer to Buda: for *Segimenes* captain of the Ianizaries, an old beaten ſoldier, ordered
all things with as little ſtir as was poſſible: he had receiued new ſupplies from *Vlemas*,
and had caſt vp a deep countermure within the wal againſt the breach, and on the inner ſide of
the ſame had made a ſtrong barricado, with gabions and wine veſſels filled with ſand & earth;
behind which ſtood the Ianizaries, and next vnto them the Turkiſh archers, and laſt of al the
horſmen, who had left their horſes to ſerue on foot. The ſignal for the aſſault once giuen, four
Italian captains ran deſperatly with their Companies by the ruins of the wal to the breach:
C but whilſt they there ſet vp their enſignes, and wondring at the enemies fortification, were
ready betwixt hope and fear to leap down, they were ſuddenly ouerwhelmed with a ſhoure of
arrows and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* ſtil incouraging them, brought them ſtil on, who did what
they might to haue entred. But the German footmen with their General ſtood ſtil vnder the
wals, looking on, as men nothing mooued either with the hope of victory, or danger of their
friends: and the Hungarians not ſo much as once looking vpon the enemy, retyred. Two of
the Italian captains, *Rufus* and *Fiolla*, were there ſlain, and *Carolus*, *Vitellius* his nephew, ſhot in
the ſholder. The Turks with ſhot and ſtones ſtil repulſed and beat down the Italians, wherof
the Germans alſo ſtanding ſtil felt part, & were more galled than a man would haue thought
men could haue bin that did nothing: for there they ſtil ſtood for ſhame, leſt if they ſhould
D haue alſo firſt retyred, they ſhould haue incurred a ſecond infamy as bad as the firſt. Which
thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no caſe depart from the breach, but wiſhed rather to loſe
his men by whole companies, than to leaue the leaſt colour of excuſe to the Germans, or that
they ſhould ſay they ſtaied longeſt, of whom hee with greater anger than griefe complained,
that he was forſaken and cowardly betraid. In time of this aſſault one of the Turks was heard
to ſpeak aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why do not you, valiant Italians, ſpare your ſelues, & giue place
to thoſe lazy Germans. We all wiſh to ſpare you, and to beat the drunkenneſſe out of their moſt cowardly
heads, that they ſhould no more herafter prouoke vs.* At length the Germanes, weary of their hot
ſtanding, and nought doing, got them further off; after whom the Italians forthwith retyred:
but ſo diſorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies ſhot, that if the Turkes had
E at the ſame time ſallied out at al the gates, it was thought that the whole camp had bin much
indangered. In this attempt, rather than aſſault, 700 Chriſtians were ſlain outright, and many
more hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

A breach made in the walls of Peſth.

The breach aſſaulted by the Italians.

The Germanes cowardly looke on whileſt the Italians giue the aſſault.

The contemptuous ſpeech of a Turk againſt the Germans.

The Germanes & Italians retire with loſſe.

All this while the Marquis and *Hugonot*, the great Commanders of the army, kept themſelues
ſo far from gun-ſhot, that they were no where to be ſeen; vntil that *Torniellus* & *Fotiſcu*
two valiant Captaines finding them out, wiſhed them for ſhame to ſhew themſelues for the
comforting of the army. A little before night they conſulted with the other captains, whither
they ſhould forſake the ſiege, or continue it ſtil. Wherof moſt of the Germanes beſt liked to
be gon, as the ſafeſt way: though *Vitellius* and ſome others ſpake erneſtly to the contrary. At
which time a ſpy comming in, brought news, that *Achomates*, *Solymans* lieutenant of the Europeian
F horſmen, had paſt ouer the riuer Savus at Belgrade, and was comming to Peſth: whoſe
comming either cunningly feined, or vainly beleeued, cauſed the Germanes to make a ſhort
concluſion, & to reſolue flatly to return to Vienna; fearing that if they ſhould longer continu
the ſiege, they ſhould be ſtayd againſt their wils by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of
the old German ſoldiers to hang their heads for ſhame, & the Hungarians to curſe both the

A notable ſkirmiſh betweene the Turkes and Hungarians.

Germans and the hard fortune of their nation; vainly wiſhing for a General in courage anſwerable to the ſtrength of that great Army. *Segemenes* perceiuing how much the Chriſtian Army was diſcouraged by the laſt days euil ſucces, early in the morning ſent out al the horſmen, and after them certaine Companies of footmen, to relieue them in their retyre, who in many places ſkirmiſhed with them, being nothing inferiour vnto them either in courage or ſkil: and the matter was brought to that paſſe as if it had bin ſo agreed vpon, that many of the moſt notable and expert ſouldiers on either ſide incountred hand to hand in the ſight of the Italians and Germans, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turks with the Hungarians, with ſuch fidelity, that they regarded no other enemy but him whom euery man had ſingled out for himſelf, as if it had bin in a triumph, for exerciſe hand to hand. It happed that a notable captain of the Turks deſired to ſee *Vitellius*; who being ſhewed vnto him (for hee was eaſie to be known by his armor) the Turk ran vnto him to embrace him for his honor, and ſo departed. About 500 horſemen ſo incountered with one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were ſlain or hurt. The night following, the battery was remoued, and the Army marched toward the riuer to the fleet. The Turks perceiuing the Chriſtians to be departed, ſallied out of the City on all hands, and with a great cry vpbraiding them of cowardiſe, hardly purſued the rereward of the army. *Vlemas* was come ouer himſelf from Buda, and ſo eagerly followed the Army, that it could hardly haue eſcaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a ſtand, and requeſted the Hungarian and German horſemen to turn back vpon the enemy: which they at his requeſt did, and not only repulſed the Enemy, but alſo put him to flight, and in the chaſe ſlew many. After which time the army paſſed on quietly; yet 700 Germanes which were ſick and ſtragled behind the Army, were by the Turks horſmen miſerably ſlain in the ſight of their fellows. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, firſt at Exek, then at Buda, and now at Peſth, returned full of heauines and grief, as they which were now to forget the ſubduing of Hungary, and to become careful of Germany it ſelf. The army comming to Vienna, was there broken vp, and the Italians ſent home into their country; who for moſt part died by the way, of infection taken in the camp in ſtrange air, and a moſt queſie time of the year.

The Chriſtian army broken vp at Vienna.

Perenus vncurteouſly apprehended vpon ſuſpition of treſon.

But to couer the ſhame of this vnfortunat expedition, and to turn mens talke another way by ſome notable accident; *Petrus Perenus* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the purpoſe to fil mens mouths. He, belayd with the enuy of the Court, was for ſuſpition of aſpiring to the kingdom of Hungary, by the commandment of King *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liſcanus* a Spaniſh captain, in the caſtle of Strigonium, as a traitor, and preſently deliuered to *Medices* the Admiral, to be conueyed vp the riuer to Vienna. *Liſcanus* at the time of his apprehenſion, couetouſly and vncurteouſly took from him his Chaine, and a rich cloake lined with ſables. Which indignity don to ſo noble a gentleman, ſo much offended the mindes of the reſt of the Hungarians, that aboue 12000 of them thereupon preſently returned home to their own dwellings, curſing the Germans to the diuel. This *Perenus* was one of the greateſt Peers of Hungary, but of a moſt hauty and magnificent mind, ſo that he would ſomtime haue almoſt 100 goodly ſpare horſes fit for ſeruice led before him without their riders; and would ſomtimes ſpeak too liberally againſt the barenes of king *Ferdinands* court, who polled by the courtiers, hardly maintained his ſtate. Which his ſurpaſſing magnificence and princely port was cauſe enough for the other great courtiers to enuy at his eſtate, & to ſeek his ouerthrow: who as men ouercharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they neuer bore the leaſt part, and alwaies gaining by the deprauing of other mens perfection, conſpired together his ouerthrow; and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would ſay, That he ſauored of a crown. This notable man as he had many worthy vertues, ſo was hee not without cauſe noted of ambition and inconſtancy. For after that King *Lewis* was loſt, he diſdaining the preferment of *Iohn* the Vayuod to the kingdom of Hungary, took part with King *Ferdinand* againſt him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himſelf. But after hee ſaw King *Iohn* again reſtored, and his ſtate ſtrongly ſupported by *Solyman*, and that all things ſtood doubtful and tickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like leuity ſought means by *Abraham* the great Baſſa, to be reconciled vnto King *Iohn*: which was hardly obtained of him by the interceſſion of *Solyman* himſelf (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his ſon as a pledge of his fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and royalty all the reign of King *Iohn*:

but

Matters ſurmiſed againſt Perenus.

A but after he was dead,and ſaw *George* the Biſhop the Kings tutor doing what he liſt, to reigne like a King,he diſdained his gouernment,and ſolicited by King *Ferdinand*,reuolted again vnto him,and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdome. But now falling into the enuy of the court, malice found out matter enough to worke his confuſion. Firſt it was giuen out, That his ſon who had many yeres been detained in *Solymans* Court,as a pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a feigned eſcape come into Tranſyluania; when as he had ſecretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauoured of the people, ſhould by promiſing them all poſſible freedome, allure them to the Turkiſh ſubjection:in reward of which good ſeruice he ſhould be made Gouernour of the Kingdome of Hungary, and put in hope alſo to be made the tributary King thereof, if it ſhould fortune B the young King to die. Beſides that,it was accounted a thing very ſuſpitious, that he had the Winter before vſed great kindeneſſe and friendſhip toward the Turkiſh Captains,by ſending them great Preſents,and receiuing the like againe. And laſt of all,his letters directed to certaine Hungarian Captains were produced, wherein he ſeemed to promiſe them as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his preſent eſtate. All which things King *Ferdinand* (of his owne diſpoſition not eaſily to be perſuaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countrey men, were it neuer ſo apparant or true, but of ſtrangers any thing) quickely beeleued,and therefore cauſed him (as is before ſaid) to be apprehended. But *Perenus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to Vienna, when he was come neere vnto the gate of the city,and heard that *Philippus Torniellus* with certaine other braue Captaines of his C acquaintance,were come to meet the Admirall; he requeſted that the cloſe Coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to ſpeake to thoſe noble and valiant Gentlemen. Which thing was eaſily granted, for that the nobility and approued valour of the man ſeemed vnto them which had the charge of him,vnworthy of ſuch reſtraint of liberty or impriſonment,yea,or of the leaſt ſuſpition thereof. So he turning himſelfe towards them, ſpake vnto them in this ſort:

The lamentable ſpeech of Perenus, to Torniellus and the other Captaines, concerning his apprehenſion.

Wretched I,noble Gentlemen (ſaid he) *whom deſpightfull enuy hath circumuented guiltleſſe:but much more miſerable King* Ferdinand, *whom domeſticall theeues bereaues of ſubſtance,of friends, and honour all at once. For ſo it commeth to paſſe, that by this inconſiderat wrong done vnto me, he ſhall vtterly loſe* D *the loue and fidelity of the Hungarian Nation, and may therefore for euer not without cauſe diſpaire for the obtaining of the Kingdome of Hungary,ſithence that it is not lawfull for me (inferiour to none of my Nation in birth,and hauing for my good and faithful ſeruice well deſerued reward of a iuſt King) ſo much as to rejoyce for the deliuerance of my ſon from the captiuity of the Turks,but that by my ſiniſter fortune, dreadfull death in ſtead of incomparable joy muſt be preſented to mine eies. For will theſe malicious Pickethanks, guilty of their owne cowardiſe, the wicked contriuers and witneſſes of my wrongfull accuſation, ſpare me being laid faſt and in durance,which neuer ſpared the Kings honour? For euery man of what nobility ſoeuer, be he neuer ſo guiltleſſe, when he is once in hold, muſt be content to endure, not what he hath deſerued,but what his hard fortune aſſigneth. Yet my vpright mind and cleare conſcience,which thing only God the moſt iuſt Iudge leaueth as a comfort to men in miſery wrongfully accuſed, deliuereth me of this* E *care:and ſo will the Marquiſſe our Generall,to whom I before vpon a miſtruſt foretold,that ſuch a danger would ſhortly befall me, and that I had rather be ſlaine guiltleſſe, than to withdraw my ſelfe from triall; which thing I told him at ſuch time as I was ſo guarded with mine owne ſtrength, that I feared no mans force. I beſeech you do me this honourable fauour, as to requeſt King* Ferdinand *in my behalfe,quickely and honourably to proceed to the triall of my cauſe, and according to his owne Princely diſpoſition, and the will of others, to diſcerne betwixt his faithfull friends and feigned flatterers. Truly we are too too vnfortunate Captains,if for a little euill ſucceſſe we ſhall be ſo adjudged as men that had ouerthrowne their fortune.* Cazzianer *peraduenture receiued the iuſt puniſhment he had deſerued, for the ſhamefull forſaking and loſing the army at Exek, when as he poſſeſſed with an vncouth feare, forgot the duty of a Generall,more affraid of death than diſhonour: for when he had voluntarily committed himſelfe to ſafe cuſtody,* F *he was ſo generally condemned of cowardiſe, that diſpairing to defend his cauſe, he brake priſon, and as wickedly as vnfortunatly reuolted to the Turks: But neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquiſhed,although we preuailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly repreſſed the inſolency of the purſuing enemy. As for the kingdome of Hungary, I might then well haue affected the ſame, and eaſily haue deſerued it at* Solymans *hands, when as King* Ferdinand *after the death of King* Iohn, *was ma-*

Perenus his requeſt of the Admirall and the reſt of the Captaines.

king his preparation for that war: at which time my friends and followers at my deuotion, with the loue of the Hungarians towards me, ſeeming of no ſmall importance for the obtaining of the victory, might haue miniſtred no vnreaſonable or vſeaſonable hope to haue drawne a man into courſes not altogether beſeeming a Chriſtian. Wherefore I haue, and will ſo long as I liue, fight againſt the Turks, if King Ferdinand *ſhall ſhew himſelfe an indifferent Iudge in this accuſation, falſly ſurmiſed againſt me by the malice of mine enemies.*

Perenus, Valentinus, & Maylat, three of the greateſt nobility in Hungary, kept in perpetuall priſon.

When he had made an end of ſpeaking, the Admirall courteouſly perſuaded him to haue good hope in the clemency of the moſt juſt King; and ſhortly after performed his requeſt: for he and *Torniellus* taking the King as he was hunting, entreated him to deale fauorably with *Perenus*. For all that, *Perenus* could not obtaine that his cauſe might be openly heard, but was committed to ſafe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall priſon: but whether it was for the miſpriſion of new treaſon, or for reuenge of his old vnconſtancy, is vucertaine. Thus three the only great Princes left of the Hungarian bloud, equally worthy of the Kingdome, *Valentine, Maylat*, and *Perenus*, ſnarled almoſt in like ſnares of enuy, cut off all hope of raiſing a King to their ſeditious and therefore miſerable countrymen: when as *Perenus* lay too late bewailing his vnconſtancy in perpetuall priſon; and the other two faſt in chaines neere vnto the Euxine ſea, expected death the end of their miſeries. This end had the wars taken in hand againſt the Turks by the generall conſent of the Germans in the yeare 1542; which many thought might worthily be compared with the greateſt loſſes of thoſe times: when as King *Ferdinand* hauing in vaine ſpent a great maſſe of treaſure (the fitteſt ſtay for the imminent war) and loſt the opinion before conceiued of the ſtrength of Germany; had now as a weake Prince, and ſubject to injury, prouoked the Turks him againſt, bold enough otherwiſe, but as then inſolent for their late victories.

1543 *Polinus* the French Kings Embaſſadour ſtill following the Turks Court, ceaſed not by all meanes to ſolicite *Solyman*, with his gallies to aid the King his Maſter in the inuaſion of the Dominions of *Charles* the Emperour, in Italy, Sicily, and Spaine. In which ſute he was ſo croſſed by *Solyman* the eunuch Baſſa, then Viſier, that he was almoſt in diſpaire of ſpeed: for the malicious Eunuch being himſelfe a great ſea-man, and enuying the honour of *Barbaruſſa* (who was to be imploied in that ſeruice) ſought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to diminiſh his former glory; and concerning the preſent, proteſted openly as he ſate in Councell, That he ſaw no other cauſe why the Turkiſh Emperour ſhould to his great charge and the common danger, ſend out ſuch a fleet, but to ſerue *Barbaruſſa* his owne turne. But *Solyman* hauing diligently heard, and deepely conſidered of that the Baſſa's had ſaid, rejected their opinions who would not he ſhould haue giuen the French King any aid; and honourably decreed according to his promiſe, whatſoeuer ſhould enſue thereof, to ſend his fleet vnto the King by *Barbaruſſa*. Two daies after, the French Embaſſadour, before in diſpaire, but now reuiued with that Decree, was ſolemnly feaſted by *Ruſtan Baſſa* (*Solymans* ſonne in law) and by *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa: for ſo it was their great Maſters pleaſure, both of them joying of him for the friendſhip confirmed betwixt the two Princes by ſending this fleet. After which, diuers gifts were beſtowed vpon the Embaſſadour and his chiefe followers; and at ſuch time as he was to take his leaue, *Solyman* gaue him great charge of his Nauy, that it might be ſafely kept, and ſo after the ſeruice done, againe returned: and withall deliuered him letters vnto King *Francis*, wherein after the glorious rehearſall of his proud titles, he writ vnto him as followeth.

Solyman granteth to ſend his fleet by Barbaruſſa to aid the French king againſt the Emperour.

Solymans letters to the French king.

We haue vpon a brotherly bounty granted vnto Polinus *your Embaſſadour, ſuch and ſo great a fleet as you haue deſired, throughly furniſhed for all aſſaies: whoſe direction we haue commanded* Hairaden *our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment proceed againſt the Enemy. But you ſhall doe well and friendly, the wars once happily ended, to ſend backe againe my fleet to Conſtantinople. All things ſhall vndoubtedly fall out according to your owne deſire and mine, if you ſhall carefully take heed that* Charles *the Spaniſh King your perpetuall enemy, doe not againe deceiue you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then ſhall you bring him to a moſt indifferent peace, when you haue brought vpon his countries all the calamities of War.*

A *Polinus* taking his leaue of *Solyman* then lying at Hadrianople, returned to Conſtantinople, where he found *Barbaruſſa* with an hundred and ten gallies and forty gallions, ready to put to ſea, which he had with incredible celerity rigged vp and furniſhed. And ſo ſetting forward the eight and twentieth of Aprill in the yeare 1543, and paſſing the ſtreight of Helleſpontus, he arriued firſt at Cariſtius in Euboea; and from thence to Malea, where he was by contrary winds caſt into the bay of Lacedemon, and there ſtaied nine daies before he could double the cape of Metapanium, called in antient time Tenarus. After that he came to Methon, and from thence croſſing the Ionian ſea came to the ſtrait of Meſſina: where the Turkiſh pyrats being come with their gallies within the ſight of Rhegium, began to land their men. They of Rhegium ſeeing ſo great a fleet, and the Turks already landed, fled out of the city for feare; but the ca- B ſtle was ſtill kept by *Didacus Caietanus* a Spaniard, who refuſed to haue any parly with *Polinus* the French Embaſſador, and with ſhot out of the caſtle ſlew certaine of the Turks; wherewith the reſt being inraged, brake into the city, and finding it deſolate ſet it on fire, ſore againſt the will of *Polinus* and *Barbaruſſa*, who ſought to haue found out the authors thereof, and to haue puniſhed them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great Ordnance were landed and planted againſt the Caſtle, which with a few ſhot ſo terrified the Captaine, already troubled with the crying out of his wife, that he without any more ado yeelded himſelfe and the Caſtle withall therein, into the hands of the Enemy: vnto whom with his wife and children, *Barbaruſſa* at the requeſt of the French Embaſſador granted both life and liberty: the reſt he ſhut vp in a church, and gaue the C ſpoile of the Caſtle to his ſouldiers. There was in the garriſon of the Caſtle about ſeuenty Spaniards, but many mo citiſens, which were all carried away priſoners. One of the Captains daughters, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beauty, had with her good grace ſo warmed the withered affection of the old Pyrat *Barbaruſſa*, that he (now fitter for the graue than for marriage) became amorous of her perſon: ſo that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometan Superſtition, he made of her as of his wife: inſomuch that certaine moneths after he welcommed and bountifully entertained the Captaine as his father in law, comming to ſee his daughter at the Port called Portus Herculis in Tuſcany, where the Turks fleet then lay. *Barbaruſſa* ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Italy, came to Oſtia, in the mouth of the riuer Tiber, and brought ſuch a feare vpon the city of Rome, that the Citiſens were ready ge- D nerally to haue forſaken the city; had not *Polinus* by his letters to *Rodolphus* the Cardinall, then the great Biſhop *Paulus* his Legat in the City, in part ſtaied the ſudden tumult. The Biſhop himſelfe was then at Buxetum, a towne betwixt Cremona and Placentia, trauelling (in ſhew) with the Emperor, to haue made a peace betwixt him and the French King; but labouring in ſecret to haue bought of him the Dukedome of Millan, for *Octauius* his kinſeman the Emperors ſonne in law. *Polinus* his letters written to the Cardinall at Rome, and ſent by the Gouernor to Tarracina, were to this effect:

Barbaruſſa amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter.

This fleet which is by Solyman *ſent for the defence of France by* Barbaruſſa *his Admirall, is by his appointment at my command: ſo that it is not to hurt any but our enemies. Wherefore make it knowne to* E *the Romans and others dwelling alongſt the coaſt of the Popes territory, That they feare of vs no hoſtility; for the Turks will neuer violate the faith of their Emperor, ſolemnly giuen vnto me: and you know moſt aſſuredly, that the French King deſireth nothing more, than that the eſtate of Rome might not only be kept in ſafety, but alſo flouriſh moſt glorioufly, and be therefore preſerued from all injury. Farewell.*

The French embaſſadours letters to comfort Rodolph the Cardinall the Popes Legat in Rome.

In like manner he alſo comforted vp them of Neptunianum and Oſtia, ſo that they brought vnto the Turks all manner of victuall; and ſometime for foure ſheepe or a couple of oxen redeemed a good priſoner taken in ſome place of the kingdome of Naples. Yet for all this, the Romans did not ſo much credit the Embaſſadors promiſe in the behalfe of the Turks good dealing, but that many of the weaker ſort fled out of the city into the country by night, al- F though the chiefe Magiſtrats did what they might to haue ſtaied them. When *Barbaruſſa* had thus lien three daies in the mouth of the riuer Tibur, and there watered, he paſſed alongſt the coaſt of Etruria and Liguria, without doing any harme; and ſo failed directly to Marſeilles. Where leauing him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French kings further pleaſure, we will againe returne vnto *Solyman*, who at the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſpoiling the fron-

Solyman commeth with a great army into Hungary.

The Caſtle of Walpo trecherouſly yeelded, and the Traitors juſtly rewarded.

tiers of the Emperors Dominions in Italy, came with a great army into Hungary, for the more aſſured poſſeſſion of that Kingdome, where after he ſaw King *Ferdinand* ſo much longed. And G becauſe he would make all ſure before him, he ſent *Amurathes* Gouernour of Dalmatia, and *Vlemas* the Perſian Gouernour of Boſna, to beſiege Walpo, a ſtrong towne ſcituate vpon the riuer Drauus, not far from Eſſek, famous for the ouerthrow of the Chriſtian army vnder *Cazzianer*: after whom followed alſo *Achomates* the great commander of his Europeian horſemen. This towne (part of *Perenus* his poſſeſſions) was againſt all theſe forces kept and worthily defended by *Perenus* his wife (her husband then lying in priſon at Vienna) and her friends by the ſpace of three moneths, but was at laſt by the trecherous ſoldiers deliuered to the enemy, together with their Generall, whom when they could by no meanes perſwade to conſent to the yeelding vp thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the laſt, they tooke him perforce, H and ſo deliuered him with the towne to the Turks: who receiued him with all courteſie, and vſed him honourably: but thoſe traiterous ſouldiers, whether it were in deteſtation of their treachery, or for the ſpoile of them, were all put to the ſword, the juſt reward of their treaſon. The reſt of the Citiſens were taken by the Turks to mercy, and well vſed. The Biſhop and chiefe men of Quinque Eccleſiæ (a famous city not far off on the other ſide of Drauus) hearing of the loſſe of Walpo, and terrified with the greatneſſe of the Turks army, fled for feare, leauing none but the meaner ſort of the people in the City, who willingly yeelded the ſame vnto the Turks. The next towne of any ſtrength was Socloſia, belonging alſo to *Perenus*; which for a while held out againſt the Turks, for that diuers Gentlemen of the country which were fled into the City, encouraged the Citiſens to ſtand vpon their defence. But after much I harme done on both ſides, when they were no longer able to hold out, they retired into the Caſtle, in hope to haue ſo ſaued their liues and liberty by their yeelding: but *Amurathes* was ſo offended with them, that he would come to no reaſonable compoſition, or promiſe them any thing more, than that they ſhould at their pleaſure come forth: and ſo as they came out of the gate ſlew them euery mothers ſonne, thereby to terrifie others from making like reſiſtance.

Solyman commeth with his army to Strigonium.

Solyman vnderſtanding of all theſe things, gaue thoſe towns which were taken, to *Amurathes* the Generall: and hauing put all things in readineſſe, departed from Buda with all his army to beſiege Strigonium, which was then kept by *Liſcanus* and *Salamanca*, two proud couetous Spaniards, with a garriſon of 1300 ſoldiers, whereof ſome few were Spaniards and Italians, and the K reſt Germanes. *Paulus* Biſhop of Strigonium got himſelfe out of the city betimes, diſpairing of all mercy if he ſhould haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whoſe intermiſſion he had bin once before reconciled to King *Iohn*, and had again reuolted from him to King *Ferdinand*. The caſtle of Strigonium was ſcituat vpon a high hill ouerlooking Danubius running vnderneath it, the walls were built euen without any flankers, after the old manner of building before the inuention of guns: for which cauſe *Vitellius* and *Torniellus* two expert captaines (the yeare before ſent from the King to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were of opinion, that the city could hardly be defended, if it were beſieged by any ſtrong Enemy, being ſubject alſo vnto a hill not far from the gates of the city. Againſt which inconueniences the old garriſon ſoldiers which wintred in Strigonium, caſt vp new bulwarks and fortifications, L and after the manner of windy headed men, making great boaſt before the danger, what they would do, ſeemed to wiſh for the comming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous enemy had with his tents couered the fields and mountaines round about the City, and withall brought a gallant fleet vp the riuer, all thoſe brags were laid in the duſt, & euery man began to grow doubtfull of his own ſafety: for that they being but few (although men of good worth) were to withſtand the infinite number of ſuch enemies, as oftentimes vſed moſt deſperatly to expoſe their liues to all maner of dangers. This their feare was alſo increaſed by the comming of certain meſſengers from *Solyman*, who vnderſtanding of what nation the garriſon conſiſted, ſent vnto the city three of his owne gard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all renegat Chriſtians; that euery one of them might without an interpreter ſpeake M vnto their countrymen in their own language: Theſe men admitted into the city, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to ſuch as would in time yeeld: denouncing all torture and extremities vnto them which ſhould endure the ſummons of the cannon. Whereunto it was anſwered by the Captaines, That thoſe faithfull and valiant ſouldiers

A diers,who had repoſed their laſt hopes in their armes,were neither to be won by giſts,nor ter-
rified with threats. With which anſwer the meſſenger returned, and the ſame day the Turks
great ordnance was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the city, and the weakeſt part of
the walls round about the city, ſo well pickt out by the Turks to be aſſaulted, as that they
could not more ſkilfully or commodiouſly haue been choſen out of them which had within
moſt diligently viewed euery thing:ſo that it is to be thought that the Chriſtians wanted not
only fortune againſt the Turks, but alſo faith amongſt themſelues. *Salamanca* diſtruſting the
fortification of the ſuburbs, retired into the city, contrary to that he had before vainely boa-
ſted. *Achomates* Generall of the Europeian horſemen, laied ſiege to that part of the wall which
was next to the Biſhops gardens: *Vlemas* the Perſian beſieged the tower neere vnto the gate
B towards Buda: the Aſapi or common ſoldiers were by their captains brought on to dig tren-
ches and caſt vp mounts,as was thought moſt conuenient. It is incredible to be ſpoken, with
what fury the great ordnance was diſcharged without ceaſing; inſomuch that the tower with
a great part of the wall neere vnto it,ſhaken with continuall battery, fell downe with ſuch vio-
lence, as if all had been ſhaken with a moſt terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to
ſtand vpon the wals,but that the Ianizaries with their harquebuſiers out of their trenches,and
from their mounts,would moſt certainly fetch him off: and many which ſtood within farther
off,were with the Turks arrowes falling from high as if it had been out of the aire, grieuouſly
wounded. But that which moſt troubled the defendants,and did them greateſt harme,was the
ſtones,which beaten in ſunder with the great ſhot,and not to be auoided,did with their pieces
C kill or maime the ſouldiers neere hand. With which dangers they were enforced to forſake
the vttermoſt wall,and to caſt vp new fortifications within, that they might with leſſe danger
defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to aſſaile the breach: thrice they
deſperately attempted to haue entred,and were alwaies with loſſe repulſed. In which aſſaults,
amongſt others,*Bultaces* Sanzacke of Selymbria,a man of great account among the Turks,was
loſt. Whileſt the defendants were thus buſied, many of the ſouldiers and marriners which
came vp the riuer with all things neceſſary for the army, from Buda,went on ſhore,and lay in
the ſuburbs of the city in ſuch ſecurity,as if there had been no enemy nigh: which thing they
in the city perceiuing, ſuddenly ſallied out vpon them fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew many
of them before they could arme themſelues, and draue the reſt to their fleet: ſo that betwixt
D fighting and flying there was about two hundred of them ſlaine. *Zimar* a Perſian, Admirall of
the Fleet, in reſcuing of them which to ſaue their liues fled vnto the riuer, was ſhot through
with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, and the Turks hauing in
many places ſore ſhaken the wall,did with greater force daily aſſaile the City,and the defen-
dants with their continuall loſſe, and out of all hope of reliefe, were more and more diſcoura-
ged,an old Calabrian enginer which had long time ſerued king *Ferdinand*,fled out of the city
to the Turks,who being courteouſly entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Baſſaes of
many things concerning the ſtrength and ſtate of the city, ſatisfied them in all that they deſi-
red; and further, directed them in planting their batteries in places moſt conuenient for the
ſpeedy taking of the towne. In the meane time whileſt the Turks were with reſtleſſe labour
E battering the walls, and working in their mines, it fortuned that a gilt braſen Croſſe which
ſtood vpon the top of the ſteeple of the Cathedrall Church,was by the continuall ſhooting of
the Turks thereat,at length beaten downe: at the ſight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* af-
ter the ſuperſtitious manner of that nation taking the chance as a token of good lucke, cried
out preſently,*Strigonium is won*.

The ſtout anſwere of the Captains.

The terrible battery of the Turks at Strigonium.

The Turkes repulſed thrice at the aſſault of the breach.

A Chriſtian fugitiue diſcouereth the ſtrẽgth and ſtate of the City vnto the Turks.

Liſcanus and *Salamanca* fearfully conſulting of the euent of the ſiege,and ſecretly conferring
together,reſolued to ſaue themſelues,and to giue vp the towne. *Liſcanus* was no great ſoldier,
and yet by continuall ſpoile growne exceeding rich,and therefore thought it but folly to buy
the name of a reſolute captain at too deare a price, with the loſſe of his life and wealth. The
like feeling was alſo in *Salamanca*,who preferred the ſafety of himſelfe & of that which he had
F got in long ſeruice,before all credit & honor were it neuer ſo great. This their purpoſe was not
kept ſo ſecret, but that it was noiſed abroad among the common ſouldiers, of whom almoſt
the third part were now either ſlain,or with wounds or ſicknes grown weake: yet were they all
of opinion generally, that they were ſtill ſtrong enough to defend the towne. But the vnder
Captains and Antients vſing to flatter their Generals,liked well of the motion, to yeeld vnto

Salamanca goeth out of Strigonium, to parly with the Turks about the yeelding vp of the ſame.

Strigonium yeelded to the Turks by Liſcanus the Spaniard.

Liſcanus the couetous Spaniard merrily ſtript of all his wealth by Halu Captaine of the Ianizaries.

Solyman vpon reaſonable conditions; rather than to expoſe themſelues to moſt certaine death, which ſhould nothing better King *Ferdinands* cauſe. G Not long after, an Antient was by night let downe ouer the wall; and hauing by an interpreter receiued the Turks faith, called forth *Salamanca*, that he might vpon better conditions go thorow with them for the yeelding vp of the towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achomates*; before he went, commanding them which defended the water tower next to the riuer ſide, a place of great danger, for ſafegard of their liues to get them into the city: who terrified with that news, and haſtily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the ſiege therof, perceiued; who ſuddenly breaking in, ſlew ſuch as were not yet gone, and poſſeſſed the caſtle. But *Salamanca* being brought before the great Baſſa's, when he had ſtood vpon many nice termes, & required many things to haue bin granted him, obtained no more, but that they ſhould without delay yeeld H vp the city, and put themſelues wholly to the mercy of *Solyman*. So the Spaniards being there ſtaid, himſelfe writ to *Liſcanus*, how he had ſped; willing him forthwith, if he loued his owne ſafety, to yeeld the city, without ſtanding vpon further termes. *Liſcanus* vpon receit of theſe letters comming forth to the ſoldiers, declared vnto them the neceſſity of yeelding vp of the town, and what hope there was to eſcape with life and liberty. But whileſt the ſouldiers filled with indignation, ſtood as men in doubt what to do, *Halis* commander of the Ianizaries came vnto the gate, and with cheerfull rather than ſterne countenance required to haue it opened vnto him, according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe: which was forthwith opened by *Liſcanus*, and the keies deliuered vnto him. The Ianizaries entring in peaceably into the city, poſſeſſed themſelues of the wals and fortreſſes round about, commanding the Chriſti- I an ſoldiers to giue place, out of whom they choſe all the beardles youths, and commanded the reſt to caſt down their harquebuſies & other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for feare did, expecting nothing but ſome cruel execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous enemy. Which their feare was the more increaſep by a ſtrange accident then vnluckily chancing: for whileſt the ſoldiers did as they were commanded, with their harquebuſies caſt their flaskes full of pouder alſo, one of them ſuddenly tooke fire of a match which was by chance caſt in amongſt them with fire in it, which firing the reſt, blew about all the heape of weapons among the Turks, which ſo filled them with anger and feare of ſome ſudden trechery, that they fell vpon the Chriſtians and ſlew diuers of them: vntill ſuch time as *Halis* (perſuaded that it was a thing hapned rather by chance than malice) commanded his Ianizaries to ſtay their fury. K This tumult appeaſed, *Halis* cauſed proclamation to be made, That all ſuch Chriſtian ſoldiers as would ſerue *Solyman* in his wars, ſhould haue ſuch place in his army as their quality required, with bountifull entertainment: yet of all the Chriſtian ſoldiers were found only ſeuenty, which carefull of their liues accepted the offer, fearing that the Turks would vpon ſuch as refuſed exerciſe their wonted cruelty. *Halus* entertaining them courteouſly, ſent them away with the other youths whom he had before culled out, downe the riuer to Buda: the other ſoldiers he tooke into his protection, and vſed their labor to help the Turks to make cleane the caſtle. But *Liſcanus*, who to ſaue his gold had made ſhipwrack of his honor & reputation, was glad to giue vnto *Halis* the faire chaine of gold which he had moſt couetouſly & inſolently before taken from *Peremus*; when as *Halis* (who would otherwaies haue taken it from him by force) by L way of military curteſie now craued it of him, as a ſtrange kind of ornament among the Turks: with which gift he was in hope to haue ſaued the reſt of his coine. But fortune fauoured not ſo much the couetous coward: for when he was about to depart away with his horſes of ſeruice which he kept very good, & had cunningly ſtuffed the ſaddles ful of gold, thinking ſo ſlily to haue conueied it: the Turks laughing at him, tooke from him his horſes furniſhed as they were, ſaying, that he which was to go by water needed no horſes. So was the couetous wretch at once quit of the great wealth which he had in long time euil got. The captains with the reſt of the ſoldiers diſpoiled of their armes, were conueied ouer the riuer of Danubius, and ſo trauelled on foot to Poſſonium, where the County *Salme* by the commandement of the king apprehended *Liſcanus*, *Salamanca*, and ſome other of the captains for ſuſpition of treaſon, & com- M mitted them to ſafe cuſtody, there to anſwer for their cowardly yeelding vp of the city.

Solyman entreth into Strigonium, and there ſetteth vp the Mahometan ſuperſtition.

Solyman entred into Strigonium the tenth of Auguſt in the yere 1543, and there conuerting Chriſtian Churches into Temples for the Mahometan ſuperſtition, firſt ſacrificed for his victory (as he had before done in Buda) and after with all ſpeed ſo ſtrongly fortified the city,

as

A as if he would thereby for euer haue taken from the Chriſtians all hope of recouering the
ſame againe, deriding the ſloathfull negligence of the Germans, who poſſeſſed of it foureteen
yeares, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Oſſainus* a valiant
captaine Gouernor of Strigonium, and ſending his Tartarian horſmen to ſpoile the country
on the left hand, as far as Alba-Regalis, went himſelfe to beſiege the caſtle of Tatta, called
in antient time Theodota. The garriſon ſoldiers terrified with the loſſe of Strigonium, and
the ſight of the Turks army, vpon the firſt ſummons yeelded the caſtle without reſiſtance, and
were ſo ſuffered quietly to depart. That caſtle after the maner of the Turkiſh diſcipline, (who
with few and thoſe very ſtrong holds keep their prouinces in ſubjection) was by *Solymans* commandement
preſently raſed downe to the ground. *Torniellus* Generall of the Italians cauſed
B *Hanniball*, captaine of the caſtle, to haue his head ſtrucke off, for his cowardly yeelding vp of
the place he had taken charge of: thereby to admoniſh others, which had the charge of ſtrong
places, not to refuſe an honourable death in defence of their country, for feare of an ignominious
death attending their cowardiſe.

A cowardly captaine worthily rewarded.

Solyman goeth to Alba Regalis.

Tatta thus laid in the duſt, *Solyman* marched with his army towards Alba, ſyrnamed Regalis,
for that the kings of Hungary by an antient cuſtome vſed there to be crowned, and alſo buried.
Buda, Strigonium, and Alba-Regalis, three principall cities of the kingdome of Hungary,
ſtand in maner of a triangle, almoſt equally diſtant one from another, about a hundred miles
in compaſſe. Buda and Strigonium are ſcituate vpon the riuer of Danubius: but Alba ſtandeth
more into the land, ſtrongly ſeated in the middeſt of a great lake, but not ſo wholeſomly, eſpecially
C in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreaſing, and groſſe vapours ariſing
with the heat of the Sunne. From the city thorow the mariſh or lake, vnto the firme land, lie
three broad and high cauſeys (in manner of the ſtrakes of a cart wheele) well built with faire
houſes and gardens on either ſide, and a broad way in the middle, wherby men paſſe in and out
of the city. At the end of euery cauſey toward the land were caſt vp ſtrong bulwarkes, which
the citiſens vſed not to watch but in dangerous times of war: ſo that by theſe bulwarkes, the
houſes of the ſuburbs ſtanding vpon theſe cauſeys, were ſafe from the danger of the enemy, the
lake filling vp all the ſpaces betwixt the cauſeys: which, what for the depth, what for mud,
flags, and bulruſhes, growing in it, was not by horſe or man to be paſſed thorow. And the city
it ſelfe ſtanding in the midſt of the lake, compaſſed round about with a ſtrong wall, and a deep
D ditch alwaies full of water, was hardly to be beſieged: for which cauſes a great number of the
country people vpon the comming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cattell, as vnto a moſt ſure
hold. In the city lay in garriſon two companies of Germans, and 200 horſemen, vnto whom
were joyned 500 Hungarian horſemen, ſuch as in time of peace liued by robbing, and are by
an infamous name called *Vſarous*: vnto theſe, the Italian County *Torniellus*, who with his Italians
was come as far as Iauarinum, or Rab, ſent foure captaines with their companies, ſuch as
were moſt forward in that ſeruice: after whom followed *Barcotius*, captain of the Kings guard,
with a company of horſemen, appointed by the King for Generall. Who was no ſooner come
into the city, but newes was brought of *Solymans* approch. Whereupon he in haſt called together
the other captaines, with *Birrous* then Major of the city, and other the chiefe citiſens to
E conſult with them, What was beſt to be done for the defence of the city, but eſpecially, Whether
the ſuburbs of the city, ſtanding vpon thoſe three broad cauſeys, were to be deſtroied or
not? that ſo the city ſtanding in the middeſt of the great marriſh, might both with leſſe labor
and danger be defended. This queſtion was ſeriouſly debated, and great reaſons alledged:
at laſt the citiſens cried out with one voice, againſt the matter and ſaid, That they would neuer
ſuffer thoſe goodly ſuburbs, wherein were ſo many churches and faire buildings as might
compare with the city it ſelfe, to be ſo ſhamefully deſtroied, to the vtter vndoing of ſo many
rich citiſens: for what could be (ſaid they) more diſhonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging
of the barbarous enemy, to ſhew ſuch a token of extreame feare; and with their
owne hands to burne and deſtroy thoſe ſtately buildings, which might by ſtrong hand be well
F enough defended againſt the enemy, if they did not play the ſhamefull cowards. Of which
opinion with the citiſens was alſo *Octauianus Sorboſactius* an Italian Captaine; alledging that
both the City and the ſuburbs might both with like danger be defended; foraſmuch as they
were equally fortified with the benefit of the marriſh, and if the worſt ſhould happen, the defendants
might yet ſafely enough retire into the City. At laſt ſtanding vp as one thruſt for-

The deſcription of Alba Regalis.

The citiſens of Alba will not ſuffer the ſuburbs to be deſtroied.

ward, both with the publicke hard fortune and his owne, ſaid, *Valiant gentlemen, what ſhew will* G
you giue of your valor, or what honor ſhall you haue of your ſeruice? If you ſhall defend ſo famous a city,
by deforming of it your ſelues, and cutting off the ſuburbs, as it were the armes thereof, before the danger,
vpon too haſty deſperation? Verily you ſhall do nothing, either in the ſeruice of the King, or the honour of
your ſelues, except this city (if God ſo pleaſe) be of you whole and ſound valiantly defended. Vpon this
ſpeech they all aroſe, the wiſer ſort and of greateſt experience giuing place to the importunity
of the ignorant and ſimple. *Barcotius* himſelfe full of care, and ouercome with the vain opinion
of the greater part, yeelded alſo vnto that fatall reſolution of ſauing the ſuburbs. *For it often*
falleth out, that they, who wiſely weighing dangers in the ballance of reaſon, and do therefore fearefully
reſolue of the euent of things, and doe thereupon oftentimes giue more hard and reſolute iudgement of
things than men of greater courage; yeeld neuertheleſſe to be partakers of other mens follies, yea euen to
moſt aſſured death, rather than by maintaining their fearefull opinion, to be deemed cowards. So fell it H
out with *Barcotius* the Generall, who ſetting a good countenance on the matter which nothing
liked him, went out to the ſouldiers, declaring vnto them the reaſons why the ſuburbs were to
be defended: exhorting them with like valour on their parts to anſwer that honourable reſo-
lution, promiſing to prouide whatſoeuer ſhould be neceſſary for the obtaining of the victory;
aſſuring them of great rewards and preferment, which ſhould by their good ſeruice deſerue
the ſame. Hereupon the ſuburbs were by the common labour of the ſoldiers and the citiſens
quickly ſortified, the great ordnance in places conuenient orderly planted, and watch and ward
kept by their captains and their companies by their turns day & night. But the Turks drawing
neere to the city, bent their forces only againſt the ſuburbs of the gate leading towards Buda: I
for that they perceiued the mariſh was in that place drier than the other, and the ſandy ground
more vnfit for the making of bulwarks, & other fortifications for the ſafety of the defendants,
than in the other places where the ground yeelded better turfe. *Barcotius* perceiuing the ene-
mies purpoſe, drew all the Italians and Germans from the other gates into the ſuburbs of the
gate of Buda, leauing the country people which were fled into the city, & the citiſens, in their
places. At the firſt comming of the Turks, the Hungarian and German horſmen, with the Ita-
lian footmen, ſallied out of the ſuburbs, and after certain light skirmiſhes retired. Which ma-
ner of fight was continued by the ſpace of three daies without any great harme don on either
ſide; for the captains had warily commanded, That the ſouldiers ſhould not aduenture out too
far. But after that *Solyman* himſelf was come, and had with the multitude of his tents beſet the K
city far and neere, to the terror of the beholders; the Chriſtians ſhut vp all the gates, and ſalli-
ed out no more. Which thing cauſed the wild Hungarian *Vſarous* (vſed to open skirmiſhes) to
prouide for themſelues in time, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be coupt vp (as they termed)
within the wals of the city: ſo for faſhion ſake, asking leaue to be gone (who were not againſt
their wils to be ſtaied) they by night departed, being not to be intreated by the Generall or
citiſens to ſtay, and by knowne waies eſcaped thorow the woods from the enemy. In the mean
time the Turks were come with their winding trenches within ſhot, and with their arrowes
and ſmall ſhot ſo ſcoured the top of the bulwarke, that no man could there poſſibly appeare
but he was ſtreight wounded: and ſuch was the fury of the great artillery, that it had in ſhort
time battered in ſunder the planks and timber which kept in the ſandy mould, whereof the for- L
treſſe was made, more for ſhew than for ſtrength; in ſuch ſort that the great ſhot flying quite
through all, ſlew and wounded many that were a far off: in which diſtreſſe of the defendants,
the Turks Aſapi with ſmall danger filled vp the ditches of the bulwarke, and diuers places of
the marriſh with earth and wood, which they brought continually from a wood thereby with
ſix hundred waggons, ſo that in the ſpace of twelue daies they had made a firme way for them
to paſſe ouer vpon, both to the bulwarke and the ſuburbs; a worke before thought impoſſi-
ble to haue been performed. The ditches thus filled vp, the Turks valiantly came on, ſeeking
by plaine force to enter the bulwarke. Firſt came on the Aſapi, whom as men of leaſt worth
the Turks captains vſe to thruſt to the firſt danger: after whom followed the horſmen, now on
foot, with ſwords and targuets, or elſe their horſemens ſtaues, couering the Ianizaries, who M
vpon their knees with their harquebuſies ſore gauled the defendants. This hot fight endu-
red aboue three houres with equall hope and courage: but the Turks ſtill relieued with freſh
ſouldiers, repulſed the Chriſtians, and gained the vttermoſt bulwarke: neuertheleſſe the
Italian fort was that day valiantly defended, the very women and religious helping to defend
it:

The Turks with incredible labor fill vp the ditches and lake, and by plaine force aſſault the bulwark of the ſuburbs toward Buda.

A it: in which aſſault a tall Hungarian woman, whoſe courage far exceeded the weakneſſe of her
ſex, thruſting in amongſt the ſouldiers vpon the top of the fort, with a great ſythe in her hand
at one blow ſtrucke off two of the Turks heads, as they were climing vp the rampier. This aſſault
was giuen the nine and twentieth of Auguſt, on which day the Turks had before taken
Belgrade, and alſo ſlaine king *Lewis* at the battell of Mohatchz, and were therefore after their
ſuperſtitious manner in obſeruation of their fortunate and vnfortunate daies, in good hope to
haue then taken the city: wherein they were much deceiued, being not able at that time further
to enter, but enforced againe to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, ſent for *Abraham*,
Achomates, and *Halis* (the chiefe captains in that aſſault) into his tent, and reproued them ſharply,
for that the bulwarke being ſo valiantly and fortunatly won, they had not with more courage
B prosecuted the victory, but cowardly (as he thought) giuen it ouer, being in a manner already
won: and therewithall with ſterne countenance commanded them to prepare all things
ready within three daies for a freſh aſſault, and neuer to returne vnto him, except they did win
the city. Whereunto the captains anſwered no more (for were they neuer ſo guiltleſſe, they
might not before him ſtand to excuſe themſelues) but that they would in ſhort time accompliſh
his deſire. Wherefore hauing made all ready, and encouraged the ſouldiers to this laſt
aſſault, they terribly aſſailed the rampiers, and brought a great feare vpon the defendants: for
taking the benefit of a thick miſt (as it oftentimes chanceth in marriſh grounds) they were with
great ſilence (contrary to their manner) got vp to the top of the rampiers, and come to handy
blowes, before they were well diſcouered. The fight was for the time fierce and terrible: but
C the Ianizaries preuailing, at length put the Germans to flight, and after them the Italians alſo,
ſo that now well was he that could run faſteſt towards the city. But that their haſty flight little
auailed, when as they were to paſſe out by a little narrow gate in maner of a wicket: & they
in the city, without regard of them that fled, had plucked vp the draw bridge ouer the ditch.
For naturally it commeth oftentimes to paſſe, that the feare of the preſent danger, without
bluſhing excuſeth our foule dealing. So the barbarous and fierce enemy purſuing the flying
Chriſtians at the heeles all the length of thoſe ſuburbs with moſt cruel execution, many notable
men, ſome fighting, ſome flying, were there ſlain: amongſt whom was *Octauianus Seroſactius*,
author of the euil counſell whereof enſued that calamity. *Barcetius* the Generall flying on horſbacke
to the little gate, which was not to be paſſed thorow, and crying in vaine to them that
D fled, to haue the great gate opened, was by the comming of the Ianizaries ſlaine: whoſe head
and right hand full of rich rings, was by the barbarous enemy carried about in deriſion vpon a
launce. The reſt of the flying multitude finding the little gate ſhut vp with the bodies of the
dead, and the bridge malitiouſly drawn vp, deſperatly threw themſelues into the deep ditch;
where ſome of them labouring to ſwim out, were caught by the legs and arms by others that
could not ſwim, & both together drowned. Some hardly crawling ouer, were ſhot in the head
or backe with the Turks arrowes: otherſome ſticking faſt in the mud, were as if it had been in
ſport ſhot to death by the Turkes: ſome few there were which got ouer and were ſaued.

A notable act of an Hungarian woman.

The ſuburbs of Alba Regalis won by the Turks.

The miſerable ſlaughter of the flying Chriſtians

There was yet left in the city the Generall of the German horſemen, and *Vſcaſadus* of Cremona,
an Italian captain; theſe two gathering the remainder of the ſouldiers which were left,
E placed them vpon the wals: but the citiſens were ſtrucke with ſuch a feare, that they could not
tell which way to turn themſelues. For now *Birrous* the major, with the Aldermen and other
chiefe citiſens, ſeeing the ſlaughter of the Italians and Germanes, were ſo ouercome with deſpaire,
that they thought no hope of their well doing was to be repoſed in making of any further
reſiſtance, but only in the mercy of *Solyman*. Wherfore *Birrous* ſpake vnto the Turks from
the wall, That he might ſafely ſend Embaſſadors to *Solyman*, to intreat with him vpon reaſonable
conditions, for the yeelding vp of the city: which thing *Achomates* eaſily granted. With
theſe Embaſſadors for the citiſens, went alſo the Generall of the German horſemen, and *Carolus
Rufus* an Italian captaine (who of all others had borne himſelfe moſt valiantly in all the aſſaults,
to the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the ſafety & liberty of the ſouldiers.
F The Embaſſadors being brought before the great Baſſaes, requeſted, That yeelding the city,
the citiſens might enjoy their liues & liberty: whereunto they were ſo anſwered, as that it ſeemed
they ſhould not all be pardoned, yet was the general feare wel diminiſhed, for that the puniſhment
reſpected but ſome few. *Rufus* was curteouſly entertained, and eaſily obtained, that
the Italians might in ſafety depart with bag & baggage to Vienna: the like grace alſo had the
Gene-

Embaſſadors ſent to Solyman to entreat vpon conditions for the yeelding of the city.

Generall of the Germans for his ſoldiers. *Solyman* the Eunuch Baſſa, offered vnto *Rufus* honourable entertainment, if he would haue ſerued *Solyman*: which when he refuſed as bound to G king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him a rich cloake wrought with flowers of gold. The Embaſſadors returning into the city, and telling how they had ſped, deliuered the citiſens of a great feare. Shortly after the city being yeelded, *Achmates* by open proclamation in the market place, commanded the Italians and Germans to make themſelues ready againſt the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarians went with them; he alſo ſtreightly charged the citiſens to keep their houſes, vntill the ſtrange ſoldiers were departed. At the time appointed the Italians and Germans ſet forward, conducted by *Homares* with a company of the Turks horſemen, who faithfully defended them againſt the Tartars, running vp and downe the country after ſpoile: neither was any thing taken from them but H their dags, which the German horſmen after a new faſhion carried at their ſaddle bowes; theſe the Turks greatly deſired, delighted with the nouelty of the inuention, to ſee them ſhot off with a firelocke without a match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their trauell ſet vpon by the Hungarians with whom they had many hot skirmiſhes, and had hardly eſcaped vnſpoiled, had they not bin reſcued by the Kings ſoldiers lying in garriſon in the Caſtles as they paſſed alongſt the country. The few which remained, after many troubles came at laſt to Vienna, more like ghoſts than men.

Solyman entreth into Alba Regalis.

Solyman entering quietly into the city, firſt viſited the Sepulchres of the Hungarian Kings, and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians ſhould feare of him no harme; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and ſo I to reſtore againe that entire kingdome vnto *Stephen* the right heire of King *Iohn*. But within three or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citiſens into a field not far off, wherein the bodies of condemned men were wont to be buried, as if he would there haue taken an oath of them for their fidelity: whether, after they were all aſſembled in the beſt manner they could, as to ſome ſolemne feaſt, the cruel tyrant (without regard of his faith or promiſe) cauſed them all to be ſlaine. Howbeit ſome report, that he cauſed them only to be put to death which bare office in the city, at ſuch time as they reuolted from the obedience of the Queene and the infant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German ſoldiers; and that he ſent the reſt into exile to Buda and Belgrade. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibeius* Gouernour of Alba-Regalis; and *Mahometes* ſometime Gouernour of Belgrade, his Lieutenant Generall for the whole go- K uernment of that kingdome, returned againe toward Conſtantinople (Winter now beginning to approch) after he had that Summer won Strigonium and Alba-Regalis, two of the chiefeſt cities of Hungary. All this while king *Ferdinand* had raiſed no power worth the ſpeaking of, to withſtand ſo mighty an enemy; only at Vienna lay ſeuen thouſand Germans and foure thouſand Italians, at ſuch time as *Solyman* departed from Alba-Regalis, which were ſhortly after diſcharged.

Solymā causeth the chiefe Citiſens of Alba Regalis to be ſlain.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Whiles *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of Alba-Regalis, he ſent his Tartarian horſmen which ſerued him to ſmall purpoſe in the ſiege, to ſpoile the country round about: theſe ſauage people doing much harme, were in diuers places circumuented by the Hungarians, & about three thouſand of them ſlaine: one of them being taken priſoner, had found in his knapſacke halfe L a child, of about two yeares old, the loathſome remainder of his barbarous feeding.

Barbaruſſa all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before ſaid) at Marſeilles, fretted exceedingly, that he had to his diſhonour vndertaken ſo long a voiage by ſea, to pleaſure him which was not able (as he ſaid) to direct his own deſignes to any certain reſolution, but ſhamefully ſuffered the beſt time of the yeare for ſeruice, negligently to paſſe away without any thing doing, the blame whereof would (as he ſaid) be imputed to him at Conſtantinople: and that *Solyman* who deſired to aid the King his friend and confederat, and by all means to annoy his enemies, would take in euill part to haue it reported, that he had with ſo great charge ſet out ſo great a fleet, and ſo far off, to helpe his friend hardly beſet with his enemies, and to haue done nothing: beſides that, he tooke on like a Turke, that he who in time of ſeruice neuer vſed M negligently to let ſlip the leaſt opportunity, ſhould now blemiſh his former credit and eſtimation, by lying ſtill all that Summer in the harbour of Marſeilles, where his ſoldiers grew lazy with nothing doing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the King, told him of the proud Turks great diſcontentment for lacke of imploiment: and returning to *Barbaruſſa*, brought order from the

A the king, that he ſhould lay ſiege to Nice a city of Prouince, then holden by the Duke of Sauoy.
This city ſtanding vpon the ſea, was by one of the French kings for a great ſum of mony
pawned vnto the Duke: which mony, King *Francis* had many times offered to haue repaied;
but could neuer get the city out of the Dukes hands. Vnto which ſeruice, the French King
ſent alſo his fleet of two and twenty gallies and eighteen ſhips, wherein were imbarked eight
thouſand footmen, and victuall for many daies. This fleet departing from Marceilles, keeping
cloſe by the ſhore, came to the port called Monoc; whither two daies after came *Barbaruſſa*
alſo with an hundred and fifty gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandement from the king
writ vnto the State of Genoa, That they ſhould not feare of that great fleet any hoſtility,
which was not to hurt any but them of Nice, and not them neither if they would yeeld themſelues.
B For more aſſurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers Genoa captiues, which
had long time bin chained in their gallies, and courteouſly ſet them at liberty, and ſent them
home without ranſome. After that, he friendly exhorted the citiſens of Nice, to yeeld themſelues
againe vnto their antient and lawfull Prince, renowned for his bounty and power; rather
than to aduenture their State to all extremities for that poore and diſtreſſed Duke, who
betweene the Emperor and the French king, diſpoiled of the greateſt part of his dominions,
ſaw no other end of his miſeries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the
one or to the other, that ſhould firſt lay hand thereon. Wherunto the magiſtrats of the towne
anſwered, That they knew no other Prince or ſouereigne, but *Charles* their Duke: wherefore
he ſhould deſiſt farther to ſolicite them by letters or meſſengers, whom they would make no
C other account of but as of their enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their
forces, laid ſiege to the towne in three places. The citiſens had but a little before newly fortified
their wals, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, captaine of the caſtle, and one of the Knights
of the Rhodes, a man of great experience; who long before taken at ſea by pyrats, had ſometime
ſerued *Barbaruſſa*, and therefore perſuaded the citiſens as reſolute men to withſtand the
Turks. Which, that they ſhould more conſtantly performe, he tooke their wiues and children
and weaker ſort of the people into the caſtle; and from thence furniſhed the citiſens with all
things neceſſary for their defence. The City was at once in diuers places battered by the
Turks and French, both by ſea and land: ſo that at laſt the Turks had beaten downe one of the
new built bulwarks, and made ſo faire a breach, that with their enſignes diſplaid, they attempted
D to haue entred: whoſe forwardnes *Leo Strozza* (then ſeruing the French King with a band
of Italians) imitating, ſought to haue entred alſo: but the citiſens ſtanding valiantly vpon their
defence, manfully repulſed both the Turks and Italians, and cauſed them with loſſe to retire.
In this aſſault were ſlaine about 200 Turks, and of *Strozza* his ſouldiers 22. Preſently after,
Barbaruſſa with all his force began a freſh battery, in ſuch terrible maner, that the citiſens ſeeing
their wals in diuers places opened, and the few ſouldiers they had, ſore wounded, and no
hope to be in conuenient time relieued, began to parley with the French Generall from the
wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the city; vpon condition, that they might in all reſpects
liue vnder the French King as they had done vnder the Duke: for performance wherof, the
Generall gaue them his faith. But *Polinus* fearing leſt the Turks ſhould violate this compoſition,
E and for griefe of the loſſe of their fellowes, or for hope of the ſpoile, breake into the city,
entreated *Barbaruſſa* to recall his ſouldiers, and to cauſe them to go aboord his gallies. For
which cauſe not long after, the Ianizaries, as men deceiued of their hoped prey, were about to
haue ſlaine both *Polinus* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbaruſſa*.

Nice in Prouince beſieged by the French and the Turks.

The Citiſens craue parley, & after yeeld the city.

The city thus yeelded, they began to conſult for the taking of the caſtle: the performance
wherof conſiſted firſt in the aſſailing of the caſtle it ſelfe, & then in defending of the city from
the ſudden ſallies of them in the caſtle, and likewiſe in defending of them which beſieged the
caſtle, ſo that no enemy ſhould come to raiſe the ſiege: of which two things, *Barbaruſſa* put the
French to choice which they would take, ſhewing himſelfe ready either to beſiege the caſtle,
or to keepe the field. The French ſtanding in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old
F Turk ſcorning their ſlow reſolution, & them alſo, as men vnfit for the ready accompliſhment
of any martiall exploit, cauſed 7 pieces of battery, wherof 2 were of wonderfull greatnes, to be
placed in a trice in a place moſt conuenient, & the ſame quickly intrenched & fortified, to the
great admiration of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten downe the battlements
of the wals, and centinel houſes, ſo that no man was able to ſhew himſelf vpon the wals.

The caſtle beſieged.

The Frenchmen likewiſe on the other ſide did with their great ordnance continually batter G the caſtle:but with long ſhooting they came to ſuch want of ſhot and pouder, that *Polinus* was glad to requeſt, that he might either borrow or buy ſome of *Barbaruſſa*: whereat the Turke fretted and fumed exceedingly, That they ſhould in their owne country ſtand in need of his prouiſion, who at Marceilles had better fraughted their ſhips with wine, than with neceſſaries for the wars. For the rough and ſeuere old Turke could not forbeare to taunt them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promiſed at Conſtantinople; and that in ſuch rage, that he would threaten to lay hands vpon *Polinus*, who had brought him from Conſtantinople thither, whereas he muſt either loſe his honour, or hauing ſpent his ſhot and pouder, expoſe himſelfe and his fleet to all dangers. Wherefore being exceeding angry with the French, he ſuddenly called a counſell of his Captaines, H and other chiefe afficers; giuing it out, That he would preſently returne toward Conſtantinople, ſeeing that among theſe cowardly and vnskilful men (as it pleaſed him to terme them) he found nothing ready or according to promiſe. Yet for all that, when he had chaſed his fill, by the faire intreatance & large promiſes of the French General & *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was perſuaded to change his minde, and to continue the ſiege. But he was yet ſcarcely well pacified, and his mind ſet againe vpon the ſiege, but letters were intercepted from the great captaine *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, to *Paulus* captaine of the caſtle, wherein he requeſted him to hold out a while againſt the enemy, till that he, who had already ſent before his light horſemen, might come alſo himſelfe with his men at armes, who were vpon the way alongſt the Alps by the ſea ſide, and would in two daies with the ſlaughter of the Turks put him and his I caſtle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the camp, ſuch a great and ſudden feare come vpon the Turks and Frenchmen (the night following the more to terrifie them prouing by chance very rainy and tempeſtuous) that they all forſooke their trenches and great ordnance, and laying downe their weapons, by narrow paths climing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the ſea ſide to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enemy to be ſeene, they were aſhamed of that they had done, and came againe to the ſiege. Not long after, when as the caſtle in all mens judgement was hardly to be battered, and ſtanding vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull ſucceſſe to be vndermined, it was generally thought good to raiſe the ſiege. The Turks vpon their departure brake into the city, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire. K

Barbaruſſa in his rage threatneth to lay hands on Polinus. and to returnforthwith to Conſtantinople.

The Turks and French giue ouer the caſtle of Nice, and ſet fire on the city.

Barbaruſſa retiring with his fleet to Antipolis, came to anker at the Iſland Lerina, called of the mariners Margarita; at which time *Vaſtius* and the Duke of Sauoy, with *Auria* his fleet arriued at Villa Franca: in the entrance of which hauen, the gally wherein *Vaſtius* went, was like to haue bin loſt. Foure other gallies by force of ſudden tempeſt were driuen vpon the rockes, and ſo ſuddenly beaten in pieces by the ſurges of the ſea, that the gally ſlaues had no leiſure to ſtrike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordnance loſt. *Polinus* vnderſtanding this diſtreſſe of the enemy, ſent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbaruſſa*, to ſhew him the occaſion offered, & to perſuade him with all ſpeed to haſt thither with his fleet, as to a moſt aſſured victory. *Barbaruſſa* ſeemed to like well of the motion, and promiſed to go; yet he moued not, letted as was thought with the contrary wind, which then blew hard at Eaſt, and with the L roughneſſe of the ſea. But the wind being fallen, and the ſea become calme, and he contrary to his wonted maner making no haſt, ſet ſlowly forward, and being a little on his way, came again to anker, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other captaines firſt maruelling, and afterward laughing thereat, ſcoffingly ſaid, That *Barbaruſſa* did but reaſon to deale kindely with *Auria*, as his brother and friend of his owne profeſſion, for that he had ſome yeares before receiued the like friendſhip at his hands, in letting him eſcape at Hippona, which he now honeſtly repaied him again. Whereunto *Barbaruſſa* both then and afterwards at Conſtantinople anſwered no otherwiſe, but, That he being an old commander, and halfe blind, ſaw more in the matter than all thoſe greene Captaines with their ſharpe ſight. Not long after, he returned againe to Marceilles, and put into the hauen of Tolon, called in antient time Taurenta. *Vaſtius* M and the Duke comming to Nice, commended the Captaine of the Caſtle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turks fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Chriſtians. *Barbaruſſa* lying with his fleet at Tolon, and by the Kings officers entertained with all poſſible courteſie, deliuered fiue and twenty gallies to *Salec* the famous pyrat, and

Barbaruſſa derided by the Turks captains.

His anſwer to their taunts.

A *Aſſanes* his nigh kinſman, who paſſing the bay of Narbona, rifled certain towns in Spain ſtanding
vpon the ſea coaſt, and about the promontory of *Venus* (called of the mariners Creum)
took great prize, and in the hauen of Palamos took one merchant ſhip and a gally with which
prey they paſſed ouer to Algiers as they were commanded, there to winter, and with the firſt
of the Spring to return againe to *Barbaruſſa* in Prouince. That Winter *Barbaruſſa* repairing
his fleet, was furniſhed with many neceſſaries by the Genowaies, and ſpecially by *Auria* himſelf,
who vnder the colour of redeeming of priſoners, willingly furniſhed the Turk with ſuch
things as he wanted: for although he profeſſed himſelſe one of the Emperours Captaines, yet
would he not ſhew an enemies mind, by the vnſeaſonable deniall of a little ſea furniture, leſt
in ſo doing he ſhould haue hurt his natiue country Genoa, which he ſaw then ſubiect to the
B iniury of ſo great a fleet ſo nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbaruſſa* to winter in Prouince,
and with the courſe of time turn a little out of the way, to ſee in *Muleaſſes* king of Tunes, the
ſmall aſſurance the greateſt haue in higheſt place of worldly honour.

Muleaſſes fearing the comming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italy, to craue aid of Charles the Emperor.

This Mahometan king, once before thruſt out of his kingdome by *Barbaruſſa*, and reſtored
again by *Charles* the Emperour (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great
fleet, and imagining nothing leſſe than that he ſhould come to the aid of the moſt Chriſtian
King, doubted (not without cauſe) leſt it was prepared againſt himſelfe. Beſides that, diuers
great cities of his kingdome, namely Conſtantina, Mahemedia, and Mahometa (called in antient
time Cyrtha) Leptis & Adrumentum, were then holden by the Turks *Barbaruſſa's* fauorites.
Wherfore fearing the worſt, about the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was ſailing alongſt the
C coaſt of Italy, he paſſed ouer into Sicily to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, and to haue obtained
of him greater aid againſt the Turks. At his departure out of Africke, he committed
the tuition of his kingdom to ſuch valiant men as he ſuppoſed would haue bim to him moſt
faithfull: Firſt, he appointed *Mahometes* (then Maniphæt) to gouern the city, and *Corſus* (otherwiſe
called *Fares*) his old ſeruant to keep the caſtle; leauing *Mahometes* his brother, and *Fares*
his ſon, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captain of the caſtle of Guletta) as pledges, the one of his
brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* his ſonne he committed the leading of
his men of war for the defence of his kingdome againſt the Turks and Numidians. As he was
paſſing out of Sicilia to haue met the Emperour at Genoa, he was by contrary winds driuen
firſt to Caieta, and afterward to Naples, where he was by the Viceroy honorably entertained,
D and a houſe appointed for him richly furniſhed: the Neapolitans wondring at the ſtrange attire
of the people, with the maner of their feeding, and curious plenty of all manner of ſweet
perfumes; for into euery diſh they put in odors of exceeding price, ſo that it was well known,
that a Peacock and two Pheaſants dreſſed after the manner of the kings kitchin, coſt aboue an
hundred duckats: ſo that not only the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the
houſe was ſo filled with the ſtrange & fragrant ſmell, that all they that dwelt neer therabouts
were partakers of that vnuſuall and delicate perfume. From Naples he was about to haue trauelled
by land vnto the Emperour, being then in conference with the Pope at Buxetum (fearing
to aduenture the ſea, poſſeſſed by the enemies fleet) had not the Emperor by his letters
willed him to ſtay ſtill where he was. But whilſt he made his abode at Naples, and carefully
E attended what courſe *Barbaruſſa* would take (who furniſhed with ſo great a fleet, was departed
from Nice diſappointed of his purpoſe) he was by certain meſſengers aduertiſed out of Africa,
That *Amida* his ſon was riſen vp againſt him, and poſſeſſing himſelſe of the kingdome, had
ſlain his captnins, polluted his wiues, and taken the caſtle of Tunes. With which news he being
exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to paſſe ouer into Africke, and though
late, yet as he might to remedy his domeſticall troubles, in hope to oppreſſe that rebellion in
the beginning, and his ſonne alſo, before he could gather any ſtrength to reſt vpon. Wherfore
he with all the haſt he could opened his coffers and entertained ſoldiers, the Viceroy giuing
leaue to all ſuch baniſhed men as would, to come and giue their names to paſſe ouer as ſouldiers
into Africke: vpon report whereof, ſuch a number of maleſactors and condemned perſons
F came flocking to Naples, that it was thought a ſufficient army might haue been made of
ſuch kind of men; euery one of them chuſing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamy
of baniſhment, and proue the fortune of wars, than to liue wandring vp and downe the woods
and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of theſe infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptiſta Loffredius*
(a man well borne, but of a fierce and couetous diſpoſition) vndertooke the leading: he co-

Coſtly diſhes.

Amida riſeth againſt Muleaſſes his father, and vſurps the kingdome of Tunes.

Muleaſſes returneth into Africke to Guletta.

Amida thruſt out of Tunes.

Amida returneth, and poſſeſſeth the kingdome.

uenanting with *Muleaſſes* to haue three months pay before hand, leuied 1800 men; which he G preſently ſhipped, and keeping the greateſt part of their pay to himſelfe, paſſed ouer with the King into Africke, and landed at Guletta. But how *Amida* roſe vp againſt his father, and what was the end of that bloudy rebellion, ſhould not be amiſſe briefly to rehearſe. There were certain Noblemen of great authority about *Amida* when *Muleaſſes* departed, which at their pleaſure ruled the yong Prince, who eaſily hearkened vnto their counſell, and followed the ſame: the chiefe of theſe was one *Mahometes* the ſonne of *Bahamer*, who in the reigne of *Mahometes*, *Muleaſſes* his father, was Maniphæt, whom *Muleaſſes* (poſſeſſed of the kingdome) put ſhamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, becauſe he had by haſty marriage deceiued him of *Rhahamana* a maiden of incomparable beauty, the daughter of *Abderomon* captain of the Caſtle, whom he moſt paſſionatly loued: for which cruell fact, *Mahometes* his ſonne had H long time conceiued a deadly hatred againſt *Muleaſſes*, which he had many yeres diſſembled, that he might as occaſion ſerued be the more cruelly reuenged. Next vnto him was another *Mahometes* ſyrnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleaſſes* was wont commonly to call his worſt ſeruant. Theſe two with a few others conſpiring together, gaue it out, that *Muleaſſes* was dead at Naples, and before his death had moſt irreligiouſly (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Chriſtian religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* moued, came vnto him, and perſuaded him quickly to enter into his fathers ſeat, leſt *Mahometes* his yonger brother (then lying in hoſtage with the Chriſtians at Guletta) ſhould by the fauour and help of *Touarres*, whoſe garriſon was euer ready, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eighteene yeares old, reſembling his Grandfather in name, fauor, and diſpoſition, and therefore of the Citiſens of I Tunes beſt beloued. Wherfore *Amida* came in poſt haſt out of the camp to Tunes, to lay firſt hand vpon his fathers Kingdome. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the Kings death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many ſtood maruelling that he was ſo raſhly come into the City without his fathers commandment, *Mahometes* (appointed by *Muleaſſes* to gouerne the City) came out and ſharply reproued him as guilty of high treaſon, perſuading him to returne againe into the camp, and ſeeing him ſtay, by force of multitude thruſt him out of the City. *Amida* deceiued of his expectation, got him out of the way into the pleaſant country of Martia between Vtica and the ruines of old Carthage. But *Mahometes* Gouernour of the City, after he had repulſed *Amida*, got him with all ſpeed by water to *Touarres* at Guletta, to know of him more aſſuredly, if any ſuch euill news were brought from K Sicily of the death of the King; and to complain of the raſhneſſe and intollerable preſumption of *Amida*. Where ſtaying ſomewhat long in diſcourſing with the Captaine, and afterwards returning to the City, he was ſuſpected to haue practiſed with the Captaine, to make *Mahometes* (the pledge in Guletta) King in his fathers ſtead; for ſo the common voice went. The Moores are by nature a faithleſſe people, haſty, ſuſpitious, deſirous of news, which true or falſe, they for the time interpret as ſerueth beſt their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen. So at the firſt there roſe in the City a doubtfull rumor of the making of a new King; the ſuſpition whereof more and more increaſing, ſet all the City on an vprore. By occaſion whereof, certain of the citiſens to whom the very name of *Muleaſſes* was odious, ſpeedily certified *Amida* (then in the gardens of Martia, ſighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how L all ſtood, and that now was the time to do himſelfe good. He reuiued with that vnexpected news, and encouraged by the perſuaſion of *Bohamar* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; reſolued to take hold vpon that good offer of fortune, which would not alwaies frown, & to follow his good hap. So in haſt returning to Tunes, and entring in at the gate, which he then found open, ran preſently to the Gouernours houſe, and finding him not at home, cruelly ſlew all his houſhold, and with his bloudy company went preſently to the Caſtle: where *Fares* the Captain ſeeking to haue kept him out, and boldly laid hands vpon his horſes bridle to haue thruſt him back, was by a deſperat Æthyopian, one of *Amida* his followers, thruſt through with a ſword and ſlain: ouer whoſe body yet ſprawling, *Amida* forcing his horſe, brake into the caſtle with his friends, & finding *Mahometes* gouernor of the city, preſently ſlew him alſo: and M ſo by this means *Amida* in the ſpace of an houre (a little before, a man in deſpair) obtained the city, the caſtle, and kingdom together. After that, he murthred his yonger brethren, & embrued with bloud, without ſhame polluted his fathers concubines. *Muleaſſes* landed (as we haue before ſaid) at Guletta, with ſuch forces as he had brought with him out of Italy; was aduiſed

A by *Tovarres* the Spaniard, not to aduenture with ſuch a handful of men to go to Tunes, before
he were wel aſſured of the good diſpoſition of the citiſens toward him: and was the more ear-
neſt with *Loſredius* not to go, becauſe the Viceroy had expreſly written, that he ſhould in no
caſe go farther than Guletta, except the King according to his promiſe had a good ſtrength
of the Numidians to ioyn with him. But certain of the Noblemen amongſt the Moors, who
vnder the colour of friendſhip were fled out of the city, and had after the ſolemne manner of
their nation, put their ſwords vnto their throats, and ſworn to be faithfull vnto him, wonder-
fully pricke forward both the King and *Loſredius* (too haſty of themſelues to their own deſti-
ny) bearing them in hand, that *Amida* vpon the firſt ſight of his father would forſake the Ci-
ty and betake himſelf to flight. So without any more ſtaying, *Muleaſſes* with enſigne diſplai-
B ed ſet forward toward Tunes, *Loſredius* cheerfully following him; *Tovarres* requeſting them
in vain to beware of the Turks trechery. *Muleaſſes* marching ſtill forward, was come ſo nigh
that they might from the wals deſcry him, when ſuddenly a ſtrong troupe of Moores ſallied
out at the gate with a terrible cry, and fiercely aſſailed him: whom the Kings horſmen vali-
antly receiued, many falling on both ſides. *Muleaſſes* in this hot skirmiſh fighting couragi-
ouſly againſt his enemies, was wounded in the face, and bled exceedingly; which ſo diſcoura-
ged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their backes and fled: when pre-
ſently a wonderfull number of horſe and foot ſuddenly iſſuing out of the oliue gardens, had
beſet *Loſredius* and his ſouldiers round; vpon whom the Italians diſcharged certaine field pie-
ces: but after they had once diſcharged them, they had no leiſure to charge them againe; for
C the barbarous enemy came on ſo thicke and ſo faſt, that the Italians ſeeing themſelues too
weake, and compaſſed in round, let fall their weapons as men diſcouraged, and caſt themſelues
into the lake, ſo by ſwimming and taking hold of the little boats, to ſaue themſelues from the
enemies ſword: which boats ſtood theſe diſtreſſed men in great ſtead; for being furniſhed
with ſmall pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly purſued them euen into the
lake with their horſes. *Loſredius* as a man amaſed with the ſudden comming of the enemy,
tooke the lake with his horſe, and was there vnhorſed by the enemy and ſlaine, as were diuers
with him. Some few there were that fought couragiouſly, chuſing rather honourably to die
in the midſt of their enemies, than ſhamefully to be ſtrangled in the ſtinking lake. *Muleaſſes*
ſoiled with his owne bloud and with the duſt, flying amongſt the reſt, was knowne and taken:
D nothing more bewraying him than his odoriferous perfumes. In this conflict 1300 Italians
were loſt; the reſt which eſcaped *Touarres* relieued, and ſhortly after ſhipped them ouer into
Sicily, from whence they trauelled home to Naples, but ſo poore, as well ſhewed the miſery
of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victory, was more carefull of nothing than
to make his father vnfit for gouernment, which he did by cutting the ſight of both his eies
with a hot penknife: the like cruelty he vſed vpon *Nahazar* and *Abdalla* his brethren, then ta-
ken with his father. After that, he certified *Touarres* Captaine of Guletta, That he had taken
a few youths priſoners, which he would deliuer vnto him; and that he had bereft his father of
his ſight, who had deſerued a worſe puniſhment, as he that had long before done the like to his
brethren, but had yet left him his life, as an example to other tyrants, and to ſhew that he dealt
E not altogether vnmercifully with ſo perfidious a father. Laſt of all, he confirmed (vpon cer-
taine conditions) the ſame league which his father had with him: which he well ſaw was to
great purpoſe, eſpecially in the newneſſe of his kingdome. Neither did *Touarres* refuſe the
ſame, as ſtanding with his preſent profit: for vpon this agreement, *Amida* was to giue him cer-
taine mony to pay his ſouldiers, and to deliuer him the priſoners he had taken, with the en-
ſignes and body of *Loſredius*. For more aſſurance whereof he gaue *Sebites* his ſon then nine
yeares old, in hoſtage, yet vpon condition, that if any aſſured peace could not be agreed vpon,
but that they muſt needs enter into war, then *Touarres* ſhould forthwith reſtore him his ſonne
Sebites in ſafety. Theſe capitulations, although they ſeemed not vnreaſonable, and were of
them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogether agreeing with the honor of the Em-
F peror, that he ſhould enjoy the kingdome, who by moſt horrible treaſon and deteſtable villany
had thruſt himſelfe thereinto without the Emperors leaue. Wherefore he entred into a new
deuice to cal in the rightful heir, who might at the Emperors pleaſure (offended with the in-
jury done by *Amida*) reigne in Tunes.

Muleaſſes going to Tunes, by the way ouerthrowne.

Loſredius ſlaine.

Muleaſſes taken.

Amida puts out his fathers and brethrens eies.

There was an exile amongſt the Numidians one *Abdamalech*, euer ſince the time that *Muſ-*

cetes

Touarres ſends for Abdamalech Amida his elder brother.

Abdamalech by policy obtaineth the Kingdome of Tunes.

Abdamalech dieth, and Mahometes his ſon is choſen King in his place.

Muleaſſes at the requeſt of Touarres is ſent to Guletta.

cetes fled to *Barbaruſſa*. Him, becauſe he was *Muleaſſes* naturall brother, *Touarres* ſent for, putting him in hope of the kingdome, ſupported by *Anemſeah* a great Prince amongſt the Numidians, who had all that long time curteouſly entertained him. Neither was *Abdamalech* ſlow to accept the occaſion preſented, eſpecially incouraged thereunto by the Numidian prince his good friend, and the predictions of the Aſtrologers, who had foretold him, That he ſhould die king of Tunes. Which vain kind of diuination hauing in it no maner of aſſurance, yet cauſeth great mindes oftentimes to vndertake great attempts beyond reaſon, which falling out with more hap than they were with reaſon foretold, giueth ſome credit to that vanity, and cauſeth thoſe cold prophets to be of ſome accounted as great wiſards. And to worke this feate, ſuch a time was offered, as a better could not be wiſhed: for *Amida* hauing ſet all things in order as he pleaſed in the city, and caſting no perill, was gon to Biſerta, to take order for his Cuſtoms. which was there great vpon fiſhing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keepe his promiſe, ſent backe *Sehites*, *Amida's* ſon, in a boat to Tunes, and receiued *Abdamalech*: who trauelling moſt part by night, was ſecretly come to Guletta, and there reſting himſelfe and his horſes a few houres, to preuent the fame of his comming, poſted in haſt with a troupe of his Numidian followers to Tunes, and paſſing through the city, went directly to the caſtle, which he entred without reſiſtance of the warders; ſuppoſing him to haue bin *Amida* come from Biſerta: for *Abdamalech* had after the manner of the Moors couered his face with a ſkarſe, as if it had bin to haue kept him from the ſun & the duſt, and by that happy ſlight got into the caſtle before it was known who he was. The warders perceiuing their error, began as men amaſed now too late to betake themſelues to their weapons, for in making reſiſtance they were quickly ſlain by the Numidians which came in with *Abdamalech*: who thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle (the chiefe ſtrength of that kingdom) let in his friends, which were many in the city, by whom preſently he was ſaluted king: the reſt of the citiſens either well liking of the matter, or at leſt not daring for feare to ſtir. But as in theſe worldly things, for which men ſo vainly toil, is no aſſurance, ſo this new king ſhortly after fel ſick and died, when he had reigned but 26 daies, and was afterwards roially interred. After whoſe death, his mighty friends, with the chief of the citiſens (perſuaded and incouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) choſe *Mahometes* his ſon (a childe ſcarce 12 yeares old) to reign in his fathers place; appointing *Abdalages* Maniphæt (brother to him who *Amida* ſlew) *Abdelchirinus* Meſuar, *Schyriſſus* (a great man in their Mahometan ſuperſtition) and *Perellus* a Chriſtian knight, to be his directors & gouernors: which foure ſwaied all at their pleaſure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendring the welfare of his country, and diuiſing out of ſeaſon how to ſet vp one of the roiall bloud that were of himſelfe able to gouern the kingdom (ſaying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a childe) was for his labour by his other three fellowes ſuddenly ſlain, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whoſe death the other three erected a manner of Triumvirat gouernment, euery one of them laying hand vpon one part of the ſtate or other, as liked him beſt. *Amida* thus ſhut out of Tunes, and hauing loſt his kingdom, wandred vp and down to Leptis, Cyrapolis, and many other places, crauing aid of euery man to recouer his kingdom, miſerably rent in ſunder (as he ſaid) by moſt wicked men who inſolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of Tunes knew well to be true, and daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faithfull Counſellor and father of his countrey. Whilſt *Amida* is thus trudging vp and down, crauing help of this and that prince, prouing his friends, and ſounding his ſubiects affection towards him, *Muleaſſes* grown miſerable with his long impriſonment and the calamity of his diſaſter fortune, obtained of the yong king his nephew ſo much fauour, as that he might ſomtime go out of the caſtle to the church: vnder colour whereof he took ſanctuary, a place in Tunes holden in ſuch reuerence amongſt the Moors, as that it was a moſt inuiolable refuge to all ſuch as fled thereunto. Not long after, at ſuch time as *Bernardinus Mendoza* the Admiral of Spain, came to Guletta with the Spaniſh fleet, *Muleaſſes* at the requeſt of *Touarres* was conueyed out of the ſanctuary to the Lake, and ſo by water to Guletta, there to be preſent at the conſultation there holden for the vtter ſubuerſion of *Amida* and the driuing out of the Turks out of ſuch Cities as they yet held alongſt the ſea coaſt in Africa. *Muleaſſes* had hardly before eſcaped the hands of certaine of his enemies in Tunes, who ſought after his life, preſerued by an old woman, who mooued with pitty, hid him from their fury vnder a great heap of garlicke: and had he not now in good time eſcaped to Guletta, he had againe fallen into the hands of his merciles ſon *Amida*, who ſhortly after recouered again his kingdom, and would not, as he ſaid himſelf, haue ſpared him for the reuerence of any ſanctuary. For the citiſens of Tunes weary of the euil gouernment of ſuch as were in authority about the yong king, and not a little offended with the King himſelf, for eſpouſing *Melucca* his couſin, one of *Muleaſſes* his daughters; ſecretly incouraged *Amida* by letters to repair to the city, promiſing to aid him in recouering of his kingdom. Wherupon he came in ſuch haſt, that the yong king had ſcarce time to get out of the city; and *Amida* entring without reſiſtance, and holpen by his friends, eaſily obtained again the kingdom, and exerciſed moſt exquiſit cruelty vpon his enemies: of whom he cauſed ſome to be torn in pieces and deuoured of fierce maſtiues kept hungry for that purpoſe. *Perellus* he cauſed to be tortured, his ſecrets to be cut off, and himſelf afterward burnt to aſhes in the market place.

Amida recouereth the kingdom of Tunes.

But *Muleaſſes* ſtaid not long at Guletta, offended with the couetouſnes of *Tovarres*, who, as he ſaid, had not faithfully reſtored ſuch things as he had before put him in truſt withall, but had auaritiouſly to his miſery deceiued him of part of his rich houſhold ſtuffe, with certaine notable pretious ſtones, and ſome of his treaſure: whereof the blind King ſo grieuouſly complained to *Charles* the Emperor, that for deciding the matter they were both commanded to repair vnto him into Germany: where in concluſion to end the ſtrife, *Tovarres* was diſcharged of his gouernment, and *Muleaſſes* ſent into Sicily, there to bee kept of the common charge of that rich Iſland. *Muleaſſes* by the way comming to Rome, was honorably feaſted by Cardinal *Farneſius*: at which time he ſhewed himſelf both in his apparel and behauiour not forgetfull of his better fortune: and being brought into the preſence of *Paulus* the great Biſhop, would do him no greater honor than to kiſſe his knee, accounting it too great an indignity to haue kiſſed his foot. He was of ſtature tall, and of a princely diſpoſition, vnworthy of ſo hard a fortune, had he not in the like maner before vnmercifully dealt with his own brethren.

1544.

Barbaruſſa weary of his long lying to ſo ſmall purpoſe in Prouince, requeſted the French King either thorowly to imploy him, or els to giue him leaue to depart: offering if he ſo pleaſed, to ſpoil all alongſt the coaſt of Spain, from the mountain Pyrenæi to Cadiz. But he not ignorant what hard ſpeeches ran of him already in all parts of Chriſtendom, for bringing in the Turks, was loth to leaue to the memory of all poſterity, the foule remembrance of ſo woful a ſlaughter: beſides that, he was aduiſed to diſburthen his Countrey of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, who rouing about, did much harm in the prouince where they lay, and as it was reported, now & then ſnatcht vp one country peaſant or other, and chained them for ſlaues in their gallies. Wherfore in ſupply of the Turks that were dead, the king gaue vnto *Barbaruſſa* all the Mahometan ſlaues in his gallies, to the number of about 400, and furniſhing him with all kind of prouiſion, and beſtowing great gifts vpon him and his captains, ſent him away, and with him *Strozza* with certain gallies, his Embaſſadour to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of Prouince, kept along the coaſt vntil they came neer to Savona, whither the Germanes ſent diuers preſents and freſh victuals to *Barbaruſſa*; which he took ſo thankfully, that he proteſted not to hurt any of their territory. From thence he took a right courſe to the Iſland of Elba belonging to the duke of Florence, ouer againſt Populona; where vnderſtanding that one of the ſons of *Sinan* his old friend was kept priſoner, he writ vnto *Appianus* Gouernour of the Iſland, for his deliuerance, to this effect:

I know that a yong man a Turk ſerueth thee, the ſon of Sinan *ſyrnamed the Iew (a famous Captaine) taken of late at Tunes; him I would haue thee freely to reſtore: which gift I wil make thee to vnderſtand to be vnto me moſt acceptable, for this our great fleet in paſſing by you ſhall faithfully forbear to vſe any hoſtility. But if thou ſhalt in this ſo ſmall a matter refuſe to gratifie me, expect vpon the coaſt of thy country all the harms that an angry enemy can do.*

Barbaruſſa his letters to Appianus.

Wherunto *Appianus* (ſhewing his men vpon the walls in token that he was not afraid) anſwered, That the yong man was become a Chriſtian, & therfore might not in any caſe be deliuered to the Turks: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him what he could, and for his ſake vſe the yong man as his ſon. And to mollifie the vnkindneſſe of his anſwer, he ſent him freſh victual with other preſents. But *Barbaruſſa* offended with the anſwer, landed his men round about the Iſland, and commanded them to make what ſpoile they could. Which they performed accordingly, hunting the Iſland people vp and down the rocks & mountains like hares; vntil that *Appianus*, not without cauſe doubting the vtter ſpoil of the Iſland, redeemed his peace by deliuering the yong man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbaruſſa* gallantly attyred after the Italian maner; of whom he was ioyfully receiued, as the ſon of a moſt valiant captain his old friend. And therupon *Barbaruſſa* ſtaid his ſoldiers from doing any further harm vpon the Iſland, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This yong man *Barbaruſſa* honored with the command of ſeuen gallies, and afterwards ſent him to his father, then lying at Suetia a port of the red ſea, Admiral againſt the Portugals, who greatly troubled thoſe ſeas. But the old Iew ouerjoyed with the ſudden and vnexpected return of his ſon, whom hee had for many years before giuen ouer as loſt, in embracing of him fainted, and ſo preſently for joy died.

Sinan the Iew dieth for ioy.

Barbaruſſa doth great harm vpon the coaſt of Italy.

This man for valor was accounted little inferior to *Barbaruſſa*, but for diſcretion & iuſt dealing far beyond him, nothing of ſo furious and waiward a diſpoſition as was he. *Barbaruſſa* departing from Elba, came into the bay of Telamon in Tuſcany, and in ſhort time tooke the city, which he ſpoiled and burnt, eſpecially the houſe of *Bartholomeus Telamonius*; whoſe dead body but a little before buried, he cauſed to be pluckt out of the graue, and his bones to bee ſcattered abroad, becauſe he being admiral of the Biſhop of Romes gallies, had in the Iſland of Lesbos waſted *Barbaruſſa's* fathers poor poſſeſſions: and marching by night eight miles farther into the land, ſurpriſed Montenum, and carried almoſt all the inhabitants away with him into captiuity. The like miſchief he did at the port called Portus Herculis; but purpoſing to haue taken Orhatello, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* and *Vitellius* (two valiant Captains before ſent thither, the one by the State of Siena, and the other by the Duke of Florence) repulſed. So though diſappointed of his purpoſe, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole country of Tuſcany in exceeding fear, he departed from thence & landed again at Igilium, now called Gigio, an Iſland about twelue miles diſtant from Portus Herculis, where he quickly battered the town, and caried a wonderful number of all ſorts into miſerable captiuitie. Keeping his courſe, he paſſing the cape of Linar, and comming ouer againſt Cantumcelle, had burnt that city for the ſame reaſon he did Telamon, had he not bin otherwiſe perſuaded by *Strozza* the French Embaſſador, fearing to draw the French King into further obloquy. From thence he came with a direct courſe to the Iſland of Iſchia; where landing in the night, he intercepted moſt part of the inhabitants of the Iſland, as they were flying into the mountains; and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceiued againſt *Vaſtius* at the ſiege of Nice, he burnt Forino, Panſa, and Varranium, three chief townes of that Iſland: but Pithacuſa the dwelling place of *Vaſtius*, ſtanding vpon a broken rocke ſomewhat diſtant from the ſea, he durſt not aduenture vpon. Then ſcraping along the Iſland Prochita with leſſe hurt, becauſe moſt part of the inhabitants were before fled to Pithacuſa, he put into the bay of Puteoli, and ſent *Salec* the pyrat with part of his fleet, to make proof if the city of Puteoli might from ſea be battered. *Salec* drawing neer the city, ſhot into it with his great ordnance, and by chance ſlew one *Saiauedra* a valiant Spaniard, vpon the wals, and put the citiſens in great fear leſt the whole fleet ſhould haue landed, they themſelues as then vnprouided. But the Viceroy came preſently with a power both of horſe and foot from Naples: which *Barbaruſſa* diſcouering from ſea as they came down the mountains, called back *Salec*, and leauing the Iſland of Capri, and paſſing by the promontory of Atheneum, was about to haue ſeiſed vpon Salernum; when a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing diſperſed his fleet, and draue him beyond the promontory of Palinurus, vpon the coaſt of Calabria, where he did exceeding much harm, eſpecially at Carreato. From thence he departed to the Iſland of Lipari, betwixt Italy and Sicily, which Iſland he miſerably ſpoiled, and with forty great pieces ſo battered the City, that the Citiſens were conſtrained for fear to yeeld; whom he carried away all priſoners, about the number of ſeuen thouſand of one ſort of people and other, and afterwards burnt the City. So loded with the rich ſpoil of Italy and the Iſlands vpon the coaſt, hee returned againe towards Conſtantinople, with ſuch a multitude of poore Chriſtian Captiues ſhut vp ſo cloſe vnder hatches among the excrements of Nature, that all the way as they went almoſt euery hour ſome of them were caſt dead ouer boord. Euery man deteſting the endleſſe hatred betwixt the Emperor and the French King, the very ground of all this and many thouſand other moſt woful and vndeſerued calamities of the poor ſubiects. With this rich prey, and an infinite

A finit number of captiues *Barbaruſſa* arriued at Conſtantinople in the beginning of Autumne,
in the year 1544. where hee was honorably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended for
his good ſeruice both by ſea and land.

Solyman triumphing at Conſtantinople for the good ſucces he had in Hungary, in the middeſt
of all his glory was aduertiſed of the death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſon, whom of all his
children he held deareſt: whoſe dead body was ſhortly after brought from Magneſia, & with
wonderful ſolemnity and no leſſe mourning buried at Conſtantinople. How intirely *Solyman*
loued this his ſon, wel appeared by the great ſorrow he conceiued at his death; and not contented
to haue built him a ſtately Tomb, he erected alſo in memorial of him a Mahometane
church, called the Church of *Mohomet* the leſſer, for the difference of *Mahomet* the great who
B won Conſtantinople. Wherto alſo he anexed a monaſtery and a colledge, with many things
more after the groſſe maner of their ſuperſtition, for the health of his ſoul, as he vainly ſuppoſed.
After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted maner, which was but euery ſecond or third
year to take in hand ſome notable expedition, for two years ſpace ceaſed from wars; in which
time many of the great princes and worthy men of that age died, amongſt whom was *Francis*
the French King. *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* that famous Turk of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken,
(being a man of great years, and of no leſſe fame) left this life in the year of our Lord 1547,
and was buried at a houſe of his own called Beſictas, neer to Boſphorus Thracius on Europe
ſide, not far from the mouth of Euxinum, about four miles from Pera, where he had but a few
years before at one time ſould about ſixteen thouſand Chriſtian captiues taken out of Corcyra.
C And to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his owne coſt built a
Mahometan temple there, which with his ſepulchre is yet to be ſeen. That place was in antient
time called Iaſonium. About which time alſo died of conceit the famous captain *Alphonſus
Davalus Vaſtius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but forty fiue years. At
which time *Charles* the Emperour by his Embaſſadour *Gerardus Veltunich* concluded a Peace
with *Solyman* for fiue years, wherin King *Ferdinand* was alſo included. Which peace was afterwards
before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the requeſt of *Henry* the French King) 1548.
broken.

Mahomet Solymans eldeſt ſon dieth.

Barbaruſſa and Vaſtius die.

Solyman had now almoſt three years taken his reſt, when it fortuned that *Ercaſes ImirZa* king 1549.
of Sirvan, mooued with the often injuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Perſian King, fled
D to *Solyman* at Conſtantinople to craue aid againſt his brother. *Solyman* glad of ſuch an occaſion
to work vpon, entertained him with all curteſie, and promiſed to vndertake his quarrel, and
to protect him againſt his vnnatural brother: and when hee had made all things ready for ſo
great an expedition, paſſed ouer into Aſia, and after a long and painſull trauell entred at laſt
with a puiſſant army into Armenia, and there in the borders of the Perſian kingdom firſt beſieged
the city of Van, which after ten daies ſiege was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, that
the Perſian ſoldiers there in gariſon might with life and liberty depart with their arms as ſoldiers:
which was at the firſt by *Solyman* granted, and ſo the city ſurrendred. From thence *Solyman*
ſent his chief Commanders with a great part of his Army to burn and ſpoil the Enemies
country: which they for a time cheerfully performed, and running far into the country,
E ſtroue as it were among themſelues who ſhould do moſt harm; where *ImirZa* among the reſt
(for whom *Solyman* had vndertaken this war) was as forward as the beſt to waſt and ſpoile his
brothers kingdom, ſparing nothing that came to hand: the beſt and richeſt things he got he
preſented to *Solyman*, to draw him on ſtill in that War. But that ſerued not his turn to recouer
again his kingdome of Sirvan: for *Tamas*, without ſhewing any power to withſtand the
Turks, had after his wonted manner cauſed his people to withdraw themſelues far into the
mountain Country, leauing nothing behind them in that waſt country to relieue them, but
the bare ground: ſo that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without hope of
better ſucceſſe than ſuch as they had before to their loſſe made proof of, in their former expeditions
into that great Kingdome. The conceit wherof did not ſo much pierce the common
F ſouldiers only, but euen the Captaines themſelues, that to make an end of that long and vnprofitable
war taken in hand for another mans good, they conſulted amongſt themſelues either
to kil *ImirZa*, or elſe to diſgrace him with *Solyman*. Which thing they ſo cunningly
wrought; ſome ſuggeſting falſe ſuſpitions of his trecherous dealing in the proceeding of that
war; and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendſhip giuing him warning in ſecret of the
danger

Van yeelded to the Turks.

Imirza murdered in priſon.

danger he was in; the one filling *Solymans* head with diſtruſt, and the other *Imirza's* with fear; briefly to ſhut the matter vp in their own terms, *They perſuaded the Hare to fly, and the hounds to follow.* *Imirza* doubting ſome ſudden miſchief, fled to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of Chaldæa, who moſt trecherouſly ſent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother his moſt cruel enemy; who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliuered into his hands, caſt him in priſon: and that *Solyman* nor any other ſhould in his behalf further proſecute the war, or by his means hope for victory, cauſed him to be murthered in priſon. In this expedition againſt the Perſian king *Solyman* was occupied a yeare and nine moneths: all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were often hardly diſtreſſed by the Perſians: vntill at laſt *Solyman* himſelf weary of that tedious war, wherin he had got neither honor nor profit, thought it beſt ſo to make an end; and therupon returned again to Conſtantinople in the year 1549.

1550.

Dragut the pyrat taketh certaine cities in Africk.

1551.

Malta attempted by the Turks.

In the mean time it fortuned that one *Dragut Rayſes* a notable pyrat of the Turks, had craftily ſurpriſed the city of Africa in the kingdom of Tunes (called in antient time Aphrodiſeum, and alſo Leptis Parua, and now of the Moors Mahomedia) and there ſetling himſelf as in a place both commodious and of good aſſurance; exceedingly troubled the Chriſtians both by ſea and land, eſpecially ſuch as traded in the Mediterranian. So that the Emperor, mooued as wel with the manifold injuries don by that arch pyrat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaints of his poore ſubjects, commaunded the Viceroy of Sicilia, and *Auria* his admiral, to levy a ſufficient power, in time to repreſſe that pyrat before he grew to further ſtrength. Whereupon they with a ſtrong fleet wel manned, and thorowly appointed for that purpoſe, and aided by the Knights of Malta, paſſed ouer into Africk, and landing their forces, by the ſpace of three moneths beſieged the City, before poſſeſſed by the pyrat; which with continual battery they had at length made ſaultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was comming with a new ſupply to relieue it, they with al celerity aſſailed it both by ſea and land, and in the ſpace of a few hours took it by force the 10 of September, *An.* 1550. in which aſſault many of the enemies were ſlain, and the reſt taken. *Auria* hauing thus diſpoſſeſſed the pyrat, and aduiſedly conſidering that the city was not without infinit charge to be holden by the Chriſtians, among ſo many of the infidels, raſed it down to the ground, carying away with him 7000 captiues, and all the ſpoil of the city; and not ſo contented, did all the harme hee could with fire and ſword all alongſt the coaſt of Africa, to the intent that the Turks ſhould there find no relief; and took 12 priſoners out of Monaſterium, a town not far from the City of Africa: and ſo hauing don what he came for, returned againe into Sicily. *Dragut* thus at once thruſt out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* to Conſtantinople, and ſo inſenced him with the grieuous complaint of the wrong don vnto him by the Chriſtians, that in reuenge therof he reſolued to make war both vpon the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding that the fiue yeares league hee had before taken with him at his going into Perſia, was not yet expired. So with cheerful words and curteous entertainment comforting vp the deſperat Pyrat, the Spring following (which was in the year 1551) he furniſhed him with a great fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the injuries done vnto him by *Auria* in Africk. With this fleet, in number 140 ſaile, *Sinan* one of the Turks great Baſſa's, accompanied with *Dragut* the pyrat, by the appointment of *Solyman* departed from Conſtantinople, and cutting thorow the ſeas, arriued at length in Sicily, where they ſuddenly ſurpriſed the town and caſtle of Auguſta, which they preſently ſacked. Departing thence, they came to the Iſland of Malta, and there landed their men in the port of Marza, otherwiſe called Moxet, neer vnto the caſtle, which they battered with certain great pieces of Ordnance, but ſo as that it was not to any great purpoſe. At which time diuers companies of the Turks running farther into the Iſland, made hauock of whatſoeuer came in their way. After they had thus a few dayes in vaine battered the Caſtle, and ſaw themſelues both there valiantly repulſed, and in other places by ambuſhes and ſuch like meanes cut off by the ſouldiers and inhabitants of the Iſland, they remoued thence to the road of Saint *Paul*, where they landed their ordnance with purpoſe to haue beſieged the city: but perceiuing by a little, what ſmall hope there was to preuail, and ſeeing diuers of their men dying through the extremity of the heat, they forſook the Iſland and went to Gaules, now called Goza, a little Iſle about thirty miles in compas, fiue miles diſtant from Malta Weſtward, ſubject to the Knights of the Religion:

A and there landing their men, miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland, and whatſoeuer they light vpon,
and carried away with them of one ſort of people and other ſix thouſand and three hundred
captiues into moſt woful bondage. With which booty they put againe to ſea, and ſayled di-
rectly to Tripolis in Barbary, called of old Leptis Magna: which city *Charles* the Emperour
had before giuen to the knights of Malta, & was at that time by them kept. This city was the
marke whereat the Baſſa and the pyrat ſhot; for taking whereof they landed their forces and
by long and winding trenches approached as neere the ſame as they could: Which they did
not without great loſſe of their people, for they of the caſtle hauing good ſtore of great ord-
nance, and moſt expert canoniers, did with continuall ſhot ſo annoy the Turks, that they were
oftentimes inforced to retire; yet with much troubleſome labour and no leſſe perill, they
B came at laſt within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Baſſa cauſed his gabions made
of thicke planks, to be placed in the night, and his battery planted. And the next day (which
was the eighth of Auguſt) the cannon began to play, which was again anſwered from the ca-
ſtle with like, and euery houre ſome of the Turks ſlaine, the great ſhot ſtill flying into their
trenches, ſo as that day foure of the beſt canoniers in the army were ſlaine, with certain other
men of good account alſo: and the clerk-generall of the army, a man of great eſtimation and
well beloued of the Baſſa, had his hand ſhot off, and many other of the Ianizaries & common
ſouldiers either ſlaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their beſt peeces, and diſmounted
foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turks
approched yet neerer vnto the caſtle, vpon whom the Chriſtians in the break of the day ſal-
C lied out euen vnto their very trenches, and afterwards retired. With the riſing of the Sunne
(which the Turks haue in great reuerence) they renued their battery with greater force than
before, yet with ſuch euil ſucceſſe, that the Baſſa was almoſt mad for anger: for about the eue-
ning the fire by miſchance got into their pouder, wherewith thirty of the Turks were burnt,
many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the Turks were come ſo neer, that they had plan-
ted their battery within 150 paces of the wal: which they continued with ſuch fury, that they
had made a faire breach euen with the ditch: but what was beaten down in the day time, the
defendants repaired again by night, in ſuch ſort, as that it was not to be aſſaulted. Yet in con-
cluſion, a traiterous ſouldier of Prouince, before corrupted by the Turks, found meanes to fly
out of the caſtle into the camp, where he declared vnto the Baſſa the weakeſt places of the ca-
D ſtle, by which it might be moſt conueniently battered and ſooneſt taken, and eſpecially one
place aboue the reſt which was againſt the gouernours lodgings; which ſtanding towards the
ditch, and hauing vnderneath it cellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once
battered, well be repaired again or fortified. Which the Baſſa vnderſtanding, cauſed the batte-
rie there to be planted, laying the peeces ſo low, that they did eaſily beat the cellars & vaults
in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time the walls were ſo ſhaken, that the rampiers aboue through the
continuall battery, began greatly to ſink: which ſo amazed the ſoldiers, ſeeing no conuenient
means to repaire the ſame, that ſetting all honour aſide, they requeſted the Gouernour, That
ſithence the matter began now to grow deſperat, and that the place was not longer to be hol-
den, he would in time take ſome good order with the enemy for their ſafety, before the walls
E were further endamaged. With which motion, *Villier* the Gouernour (an antient knight of
Dauphiny, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Poiſieu* another of the
knights, perceiuing, he as a man of great courage, and of all others there preſent moſt antient,
in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, that the breach was neither ſo great, nor
ſo profitable for the enemy, but that it was defenſible enough, if they would as men of cou-
rage repaire the ſame, ſaying, That it was more honourable for worthy knights and luſty ſol-
diers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting againſt the Infidels for the
maintenance of their law & Chriſtian religion, than ſo cowardly to yeeld themſelues to the
mercy of thoſe, at whoſe hands nothing was to be looked for but moſt miſerable ſeruitude,
with all kind of crueltie: and therefore perſwaded the gouernor to hold it out to the laſt. For all
F that, he ouercome with the importunity of ſuch as would needs yeeld, who with al vehemen-
cy vrged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be ouerwhelmed, and finding
himſelf bereft both of heart and fortune, and forſaken of his ſoldiers; without farther conſi-
deration, conſented that a white enſigne ſhould be diſplayed vpon the Walls, in token that
they deſired parley: When a Turke preſenting himſelfe, they requeſted him to vnderſtand of

The Turks fleet arriueth at Tripolis in Barbary.

Tripolis batte-red by the Turks.

danger he was in; the one filling *Solymans* head with diſtruſt, and the other *Imirza's* with fear; briefly to ſhut the matter vp in their own terms, *They perſuaded the Hare to fly, and the hounds to follow*. *Imirza* doubting ſome ſudden miſchief, fled to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of Chaldæa, who moſt trecherouſly ſent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother his moſt cruel enemy ; who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliuered into his hands, caſt him in priſon: and that *Solyman* nor any other ſhould in his behalf further proſecute the war, or by his means hope for victory, cauſed him to be murthered in priſon. In this expedition againſt the Perſian king *Solyman* was occupied a yeare and nine moneths : all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were often hardly diſtreſſed by the Perſians : vntill at laſt *Solyman* himſelf weary of that tedious war, wherin he had got neither honor nor profit, thought it beſt ſo to make an end; and therupon returned again to Conſtantinople in the year 1549.

G

Imirza murdered in priſon.

H

1550.

Dragut the pyrat taketh certaine cities in Africk.

In the mean time it fortuned that one *Dragut Rayſes* a notable pyrat of the Turks, had craftily ſurpriſed the city of Africa in the kingdom of Tunes (called in antient time Aphrodiſeum, and alſo Leptis Parua, and now of the Moors Mahomedia) and there ſetling himſelf as in a place both commodious and of good aſſurance; exceedingly troubled the Chriſtians both by ſea and land, eſpecially ſuch as traded in the Mediterranian. So that the Emperor, mooued as wel with the manifold injuries don by that arch pyrat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaints of his poore ſubjects, commaunded the Viceroy of Sicilia, and *Auria* his admiral, to levy a ſufficient power, in time to repreſſe that pyrat before he grew to further ſtrength. Whereupon they with a ſtrong fleet wel manned, and thorowly appointed for that purpoſe, and aided by the Knights nf Malta, paſſed ouer into Africk, and landing their forces, by the ſpace of three moneths beſieged the City, before poſſeſſed by the pyrat; which with continual battery they had at length made ſaultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was comming with a new ſupply to relieue it, they with al celerity aſſailed it both by ſea and land, and in the ſpace of a few hours took it by force the 10 of September, *An.* 1550. in which aſſault many of the enemies were ſlain, and the reſt taken. *Auria* hauing thus diſpoſſeſſed the pyrat, and aduiſedly conſidering that the city was not without infinit charge to be holden by the Chriſtians, among ſo many of the infidels, raſed it down to the ground, carying away with him 7000 captiues, and all the ſpoil of the city ; and not ſo contented, did all the harme hee could with fire and ſword all alongſt the coaſt of Africa, to the intent that the Turks ſhould there find no relief ; and took 12 priſoners out of Monaſterium, a town not far from the City of Africa: and ſo hauing don what he came for, returned againe into Sicily. *Dragut* thus at once thruſt out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* to Conſtantinople, and ſo inſenced him with the grieuous complaint of the wrong don vnto him by the Chriſtians, that in reuenge therof he reſolued to make war both vpon the Emperor and King *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding that the fiue yeares league hee had before taken with him at his going into Perſia, was not yet expired. So with cheerfull words and curteous entertainment comforting vp the deſperat Pyrat, the Spring following (which was in the year 1551) he furniſhed him with a great fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the injuries done vnto him by *Auria* in Africk. With this fleet, in number 140 saile, *Sinan* one of the Turks great Baſſa's, accompanied with *Dragut* the pyrat, by the appointment of *Solyman* departed from Conſtantinople, and cutting thorow the ſeas, arriued at length in Sicily, where they ſuddenly ſurpriſed the town and caſtle of Auguſta, which they preſently ſacked. Departing thence, they came to the Iſland of Malta, and there landed their men in the port of Marza, otherwiſe called Moxet, neer vnto the caſtle, which they battered with certain great pieces of Ordnance, but ſo as that it was not to any great purpoſe. At which time diuers companies of the Turks running farther into the Iſland, made hauock of whatſoeuer came in their way. After they had thus a few dayes in vaine battered the Caſtle, and ſaw themſelues both there valiantly repulſed, and in other places by ambuſhes and ſuch like meanes cut off by the ſouldiers and inhabitants of the Iſland, they remoued thence to the road of Saint *Paul*, where they landed their ordnance with purpoſe to haue beſieged the city : but perceiuing by a little, what ſmall hope there was to preuail, and ſeeing diuers of their men dying through the extremity of the heat, they forſook the Iſland and went to Gaulos, now called Goza, a little Iſle about thirty miles in compas, fiue miles diſtant from Malta Weſtward, ſubject to the Knights of the Religion:

I

K

1551.

L

Malta attempted by the Turks.

M

and

A and there landing their men, miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland, and whatſoeuer they light vpon,
and carried away with them of one ſort of people and other ſix thouſand and three hundred
captiues into moſt wofull bondage. With which booty they put againe to ſea, and ſayled di-
rectly to Tripolis in Barbary, called of old Leptis Magna: which city *Charles* the Emperour
had before giuen to the knights of Malta, & was at that time by them kept. This city was the
marke whereat the Baſſa and the pyrat ſhot; for taking whereof they landed their forces and
by long and winding trenches approached as neere the ſame as they could; Which they did
not without great loſſe of their people, for they of the caſtle hauing good ſtore of great ord-
nance, and moſt expert canoniers, did with continuall ſhot ſo annoy the Turks, that they were
oftentimes inforced to retire; yet with much troubleſome labour and no leſſe perill, they
B came at laſt within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Baſſa cauſed his gabions made
of thicke planks, to be placed in the night, and his battery planted. And the next day (which
was the eighth of Auguſt) the cannon began to play, which was again anſwered from the ca-
ſtle with like, and euery houre ſome of the Turks ſlaine, the great ſhot ſtill flying into their
trenches, ſo as that day foure of the beſt canoniers in the army were ſlaine, with certain other
men of good account alſo: and the clerk-generall of the army, a man of great eſtimation and
well beloued of the Baſſa, had his hand ſhot off, and many other of the Ianizaries & common
ſouldiers either ſlaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their beſt pieces, and diſmounted
foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turks
approched yet neerer vnto the caſtle, vpon whom the Chriſtians in the break of the day ſal-
C lied out euen vnto their very trenches, and afterwards retired. With the riſing of the Sunne
(which the Turks haue in great reuerence) they renued their battery with greater force than
before, yet with ſuch euil ſucceſſe, that the Baſſa was almoſt mad for anger: for about the eue-
ning the fire by miſchance got into their pouder, wherewith thirty of the Turks were burnt,
many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the Turks were come ſo neer, that they had plan-
ted their battery within 150 paces of the wal: which they continued with ſuch fury, that they
had made a faire breach euen with the ditch; but what was beaten down in the day time, the
defendants repaired again by night, in ſuch ſort, as that it was not to be aſſaulted. Yet in con-
cluſion, a traiterous ſouldier of Prouince, before corrupted by the Turks, found meanes to fly
out of the caſtle into the camp, where he declared vnto the Baſſa the weakeſt places of the ca-
D ſtle, by which it might be moſt conueniently battered and ſooneſt taken; and eſpecially one
place aboue the reſt which was againſt the gouernours lodgings, which ſtanding towards the
ditch, and hauing vnderneath it cellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once
battered, well be repaired again or fortified. Which the Baſſa vnderſtanding, cauſed the batte-
rie there to be planted, laying the pieces ſo low, that they did eaſily beat the cellars & vaults
in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time the walls were ſo ſhaken, that the rampiers aboue through the
continuall battery, began greatly to ſink: which ſo amazed the ſoldiers, ſeeing no conuenient
meane to repaire the ſame, that ſetting all honour aſide, they requeſted the Gouernour, That
ſithence the matter began now to grow deſperat, and that the place was not longer to be hol-
den, he would in time take ſome good order with the enemy for their ſafety, before the walls
E were further endamaged. With which motion, *Vallier* the Gouernour (an antient knight of
Dauphiny, and one of the Order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Reiſſen*, another of the
knights, perceiuing, he as a man of great courage, and of all others there preſent moſt antient,
in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, that the breach was neither ſo great, nor
ſo profitable for the enemy, but that it was defenſible enough; if they would as men of cou-
rage repaire the ſame; ſaying, That it was more honourable for worthy knights and luſty ſol-
diers, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting againſt the Infidels, for the
maintenance of their law & Chriſtian religion, than ſo cowardly to yeeld themſelues to the
mercy of thoſe, at whoſe hands nothing was to be looked for but moſt miſerable ſeruitude,
with all kind of cruelty: and therfore perſwaded the gouernor to hold it out to the laſt. For all
F that, he ouercome with the importunity of ſuch as would needs yeeld, who with al vehemen-
cy vrged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be ouerwhelmed, and finding
himſelf bereft both of heart and fortune, and forſaken of his ſoldiers; without farther conſi-
deration, conſented that a white enſigne ſhould be diſplayed vpon the Walls, in token that
they deſired parley: When a Turke preſenting himſelfe, they requeſted him to vnderſtand of

The Turks fleet arriueth at Tripolis in Barbary.

Tripolis batte-red by the Turks.

the Baſſa, if he could be contented that ſome of them might come to intreat with him of ſome good order to be taken for the yeelding vp of the caſtle. Whereunto the Baſſa willingly conſenting, two of the knights were forthwith ſent out, to offer to him the caſtle with the artillery and munition, ſo as he would furniſh them with ſhips to bring them with bag & baggage ſafely to Malta.

Hard conditions offered by the Baſſa to the beſieged.

Whereunto the Baſſa briefly anſwered, That (foraſmuch as they had as yet deſerued no grace, preſuming to keep ſo ſmall a place againſt the army of the greateſt Prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the army, he would condiſcend to their requeſt; or if they would not thereunto conſent, that for recompence, all they within the caſtle ſhould continue his ſlaues & priſoners: notwithſtanding if they incontinently & without delay did ſurrender the place, he would exempt out of them 200. Wherupon the meſſengers returning in deſpaire, were ſtaid by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and faire promiſes that they would ſo much as lay in them, perſuade the Baſſa to condiſcend to a more gratious compoſition; fearing indeed that the beſieged through deſpaire would reſolue (as their extreme refuge) to defend the place euen to the laſt man. Wherfore they went preſently to the Baſſa, to declare vnto him his ouerſight in refuſing them who voluntarily would haue put themſelues into his hand, whom reaſon would he ſhould with all curteſie haue receiued: for that after he had the caſtle & the men in his power, he might diſpoſe of them as he ſhould think good.

More eaſie conditions offered by the Baſſa, which he confirmeth by his oath.

The Baſſa liking wel of his counſell, cauſed the meſſengers to be called again, & with fained & diſſembling words told them, That at the inſtance of *Dragut* & *Salla Rais* there preſent, he did diſcharge them of all the coſts & charges of the army, ſwearing vnto them (the better to deceiue them) by the head of his lord & his own, inuiolably to obſerue al that he had promiſed vnto them: which they too eaſily beleeued, and forthwith went to declare the ſame to the Gouernor, & others within the caſtle. The Baſſa, the better to come to the effect of his deſire, after theſe meſſengers ſent a crafty Turke, whom he charged expreſly to perſuade the Gouernor to come with him into the camp, for the full concluſion of the giuing vp of the caſtle, & for the appointing of ſuch veſſels as ſhould be needful for their ſafe conduct to Malta; and that if he made any doubt to come, he ſhould make ſhew as if he would there remaine in hoſtage for him, but aboue all things, to conſider of the ſtrength & aſſurance of the beſieged, and of the diſpoſition of all things there. Which the ſubtile Turke ſo finely handled, that the gouernor by the counſell of thoſe who had perſuaded him to yeeld (notwithſtanding the reaſons of wars & duty of his office forbad him in ſuch maner to abandon the place of his charg) reſolued vpon ſo ſmall an aſſurance of the Baſſa, & gaue eare to the miſerable end of his fortune. So taking with him a knight of his houſhold (to ſend back vnto thoſe of the caſtle, to declare vnto them how he ſped in the camp) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to fetch him, he went ſtreight to the tent of the Baſſa: who by the Turke that went firſt in, was aduertiſed of the ſmall courage of the defendants, which he aſſured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to ſuch order & agreement as he would himſelfe. Vpon whoſe perſuaſion calling in the gouernor *Vallier*, after he had rigorouſly reproued his raſhnes, ſaid vnto him, That foraſmuch as he had once giuen his word, if he would pay the charges of the army, he was content to let them go with bag & baggage, otherwiſe he would diſcharge but two hundred. Whereat the Gouernor greatly moued, anſwered, That that was not according to his laſt promiſe to the knights before ſent. But when he ſaw it would be no better, he requeſted him that he might again returne to the caſtle to know the minds of the reſt: which the falſe Baſſa would by no means grant, but only permitted him to ſend back the knight that he had brought with him, to make report of theſe hard news to the beſieged: as for the Gouernor, he was ſent to the gallies with yrons on his heeles. When they of the caſtle vnderſtood what had paſſed betwixt the Baſſa & the gouernor, they began exceedingly to feare the miſchief then at hand: yet took no other reſolution, but to returne the ſaid Knight to the Baſſa, to know whether they ſhould expect from him no better anſwer. Who as ſoon as he was come before him, the captain of the caſtle was brought in, of whom the Baſſa asked, Which of the two he would chuſe, either to pay the expences of the army, or els both he & al the reſt to remain his priſoners?

The warie anſwer of the gouernour to the Baſſa.

Whereunto the Gouernor anſwered, That a ſlaue had no other authority than that which by his maſter was giuen him; & that hauing loſt (beſides his liberty) the power to command, if any thing were yet reſerued in him, could not counſel him to command others to agree vnto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before ſent.

A ſent. Which thing the Baſſa hearing, for feare that ſuch a reſolute anſwer ſhould come to the
knowledge of the beſieged, and cauſe them to become deſperat; hauing taken counſell with
his other Captains, he tooke the Gouernour by the hand, and with a ſmiling and diſſembling
countenance told him; That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promiſed;
and that therfore without fearing any thing, he ſhould cauſe them all to come out of the
Caſtle. But the Gouernour becauſe he had bin before deceiued, would not truſt to his word,
but ſaid vnto him; That he might command him that was come from the Caſtle; for that he
knew they would now do neuer a whit the more for him. So the Baſſa turning towards the other
Knight, commanded him forthwith to go vnto them in the Caſtle, and to cauſe them to
come forth, ſwearing again as before, by the head of his great Lord, and his owne, That they
B ſhould al be deliuered & ſet at liberty, according to the conuentions firſt agreed vpon: which
the Knight beleeuing, went to report to them this good news: which they receiued with ſuch
ioy, that without further care or conſideration of their miſhap ſo neer, they ran in preaſe with
their wiues, children, and beſt moueables, ſtriuing who ſhould firſt get out. But they were no
ſooner iſſued, but they were by the enemies ſpoiled of all that they had, and taken priſoners;
part of the Knights were ſent to the gallies, and the reſt to the Baſſa. Who being by the gouernour
put in remembrance of his faith twice giuen, anſwered, That there was no faith to be
kept with dogs, and that they had firſt violated their oath with his great Lord, vnto whom at
the giuing ouer of the Rhodes, they had (as he ſaid) ſworn neuer more to beare armes againſt
the Turks. The Caſtle was forthwith taken and ſpoiled, and about two hundred Moores of
C that country that had ſerued the Knights, cut in pieces, & therupon, a great peale of ordnance
diſcharged, with great cries and ſhouts in ſign of their victory. Thus the ſtrong caſtle and antient
City of Tripolis in Barbary was deliuered vnto the Turks the fifteenth day of Auguſt,
in the yeare 1551. Whilſt the Baſſa lay at this ſiege, the Lord of Arramont, who had many
yeres lien Embaſſador from *Francis* the French King at Conſtantinople, and was now ſent again
by *Henry* the ſecond, came to the Turks camp, being requeſted ſo to do by the Great maſter
of the Rhodes, to haue diſſuaded the Baſſa from that ſiege: wherein he nothing preuailed.
Yet now grieued to ſee how the faithles Turk, contrary to his oth, moſt villanouſly intreated
the Gouernour and the other Knights, lying at his feet as men halfe deſperat; was ſo bold as
to put him in mind of his promiſe, confirmed by his oth; which if he would not keep, that yet
D at the leaſt according to his own voluntary offer, he would releaſe two hundred of them: but
he excuſed himſelfe as before, ſaying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had firſt
broken their own faith. Yet afterwards he condiſcended, that two hundred of the eldeſt and
ſuch as were moſt vnfit for ſeruice (amongſt whom was comprehended the Gouernor and certain
other old Knights) ſhould be ſet at liberty; who were forthwith ſent aboord the French
Embaſſadors gallies, and by him tranſported to Malta: where they were but hardly welcom,
for that they had ſo cowardly ſurrendred a place, which they might much longer haue defended.
The next day after the caſtle was deliuered, which was the 16 of Auguſt, the proud Baſſa
for ioy of his victory made a ſolemne dinner, whereunto he inuited the French Embaſſador,
and *Vallier* the late Gouernour: which they refuſed not to come vnto, in hope to recouer
E ſome mo priſoners. This great feaſt for the more magnificence was kept in the Caſtle ditch
againſt the breach, where were ſet vp two ſtately pauilions, the one for the Baſſa, and the other
for the Embaſſadour and his company, where he was honourably feaſted with wonderfull
plenty both of fleſh and fiſh and good wines, which they had found in the Caſtle; which
ſeruice was done with muſicke of diuers ſorts, and officers in number aboue a hundred, apparelled
for moſt part in long gownes of fine cloth of gold, tuffed or fringed; and the other of
veluet or damaske. The Baſſa was no ſooner ſet down, but all the Ordnance of the fleet was
diſcharged with ſuch a noiſe and thundring, that it ſeemed the heauens and skies did ſhake.
The table being taken vp, the Embaſſador, and the late Gouernour *Vallier*, entred into the pauilion
of the Baſſa, and beſide the two hundred men which he had promiſed, obtained twenty
F mo, vpon the Embaſſadours promiſe, That he ſhould for them cauſe to be releaſed 30 Turks
taken at Malta, at the landing of the army there. The Turks hauing in their hands an antient
gunner of the Caſtle, called *John de Chabas* born in Dolphin (to the end that this triumphant
feaſt ſhould not be vnfurniſhed of ſome cruell ſacrifice of Chriſtian bloud) for that he had
in time of the ſiege ſhot off the hand of the clerke generall of the army, brought him into the

towne,

The caſtle yeelded.

The ſhameleſſe anſwer of the faithleſſe Baſſa to the French Embaſſador.

The Turks triumph for the winning of Tripolis.

A ſhamefull cruelty of the Turks.

towne, and hauing cut off his hands and his noſe, put him quick into the ground to the waſt, G
and there for their pleaſure ſhot at him with their arrows,& afterward to make an end of him
cut his throat. The Baſſa ſhortly after departing out of Barbary, left *Dragut* the pirat Gouernor
of Tripolis,honoring him with the title of Sanzack of that place; from whence he many
years after grieuouſly moleſted the Moors neer vnto him by land, and the Chriſtians by ſea.
The ſame year 1551, *Solyman* notwithſtanding the fiue years peace before taken with K. *Ferdinand*,
at his going into Perſia,ſent *Achomates* his Lieutenant in Europe with a great Army
into Hungary,who with *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda inuaded the vpper Hungary, and firſt tooke

Temeſwar and Zolnok taken by the Turks.

the city of Temeſware,and contrary to their faith giuen,ſlew the garriſon ſoldiers. After that
they took alſo the caſtle of Zolnoc,forſaken by the Chriſtians, and certain other ſmall Caſtles.
But laying ſiege to Erſam,they were partly by the valor of the defendants,and partly by H
the comming on of winter inforced to forſake the ſiege,and to get themſelues into their wintring
places.

Queen *Iſabel*,King *Iohns* widow,ſeeing the Turks daily incroching vpon that little they had
left her,and that ſhe was not able by any means to defend Tranſyluania againſt them,by the
aduice of *George* Biſhop of Veradium her old counſellor,agreed with King *Ferdinand* to deliuer
vnto him the gouernment of the country,with al the royall dignity of Hungary,for which
ſhe was to haue of him Caſſovia,and a yearly penſion of an hundred thouſand ducats:which
agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptiſta Caſtalius* an Italian (whom *Charles* the
Emperor had but a little before ſent to aid King *Ferdinand*) the Queen returned into Polonia
her natiue country;and ſo King *Ferdinand* by that means obtained almoſt all the prouince of
Tranſyluania,and what els the Queen had in Hungary. But the Biſhop a little before made I
a Cardinal,being ſuſpected by *Baptiſta* the Italian, that he fauored the Turkes faction more
than King *Ferdinand*,and by that means ſought to get the gouernment to himſelf;was by the
Italians deuice ſuddenly murthered in his own houſe at Veradium: an end good enough for
ſo troubleſome a Prelat.

George Biſhop of Veradium murdered in his owne houſe.

1552

Haly Baſſa of Buda proud of the good ſucces he had the year before,vnderſtanding that diuers
of the chief Hungarians had withdrawn themſelues into the caſtle of Agria, purpoſed
in himſelf with all his power to beſiege it,and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*,*Chaſan*,
and other of the Turks Sanzacks and captains,by *Solymans* appointment ready at his call,
he came with an army of 35000 Turks,and the 10 of September, *An*. 1552, incamped round K
about the caſtle:where after he had placed his artillery he began a moſt furious battery. But

Agria beſieged by the Turks.

doubting to preuail that way,he attempted alſo to vndermine the Caſtle, omitting nothing
that could be deuiſed for the taking therof. But all in vain; for the Hungarians by the good
direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their Captain,couragiouſly indured the ſiege,and very manfully
repulſed the enemy. At length the 29 of September,the enemy with 28 enſignes of ſelect ſoldiers
gaue a freſh aſſault to the caſtle,and were by the defendants inforced ſhamefully to retyre:
at this time 24 barrels of gunpouder by miſchance got fire, and beſides that it blew vp
diuers captains and ſouldiers,did much harm in the Caſtle,to the great diſmaying of the defendants.
After that,the Turks with incredible pertinacy the 12 of October fiercely aſſaulted
the caſtle from morning vntil night,and for deſire of reuenge and hope of ſpoile left nothing L
vnattempted for the gaining of the place,but were by the greater valor of the Hungarians
beaten back,and with great loſſe inforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault. Thus the Baſſa
nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promiſes and large offers to haue brought
them form. Which he vnderſtanding to be nothing regarded,and his letters ſcornfully burnt,
brought on his ſoldiers again, & gaue vnto them in the caſtle a moſt furious aſſault, but with

The Turks giue ouer the ſiege of Agria.

no better ſucces than before; for hauing loſt many of his beſt ſouldiers, he was inforced to retyre.
So after he had in vain ſix weeks beſieged the caſtle, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege and
retyre to Peſth. After whoſe departure there was found 12000 great ſhot wherewith hee had
battered the wall. In this ſiege 6000 Turks were ſlain,and of the Hungarians but three hundred.
King *Ferdinand* glad of this victory, made *Stephanus* the worthy Captaine Vayuod of M
Tranſyluania,and bountifully rewarded the other Captaines and ſouldiers as they had well
deſerued.

Henry the French king,who together with his kingdome had as it ſeemed receiued the hereditary
quarels of *Francis* his father againſt *Charles* the Emperor,had by his Embaſſador the
Lord

A Lord of Aramont ſo wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the Emperor,
he ſent a great fleet into the Tyrrhenum or Tuſcan ſea, which in the yeare 1553, and the yere
following, did great harme vpon the coaſts of Calabria, Sicilia, Sardinia, as alſo in the Iſlands
of Elba, Corſica, Cerbe, and Majorca, and ſuch like places on the frontiers of the Emperours
dominions: yet were the Turks in moſt places notably againe repulſed by the people of thoſe
Countries. The ſame yeare *Solyman*, ſeduced by *Roxolana* (ſometime his faire Concubine, but
then his imperious wife) and *Ruſtan Baſſa* his ſon in law, moſt vnnaturally murthered his eldeſt
ſon *Muſtapha*, the mirrour of the *Othoman* Family: Which tragicall fact (the like wherof both
for the trecherous contriuing and inhumane execution hath ſeldome times beene heard of) I
haue thought good here in due time to ſet downe, in ſuch ſort as it is by moſt credible Writers
B of that time reported.

Solyman after the manner of the *Othoman* Kings (who to auoid the participation of their ſoueraignty,
vſe not oftentimes to marry, but otherwiſe to ſatisfie their pleaſure with ſuch beautiful
Concubines as it pleaſeth them to make choice of out of the faireſt captiues of all Nations,
moſt daintily brought vp for that purpoſe in the Court) had by a Circaſſian bondwoman
a ſon called *Muſtapha*, who for his wonderfull towardlineſſe and rare perfection, was amongſt
the Turks had in ſuch expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themſelues
more happy, than in the hope laid vp in him: whoſe noble carriage was ſuch, as thereby
he ſo poſſeſſed the minds of all men in generall, (but eſpecially of the men of warre) that he
was reputed the glory of the Court, the floure of Chiualry, the hope of the ſouldiers, and joy
C of the people. Whileſt he thus grew, increaſing both in yeares and fauour, it fortuned with
Solyman as it doth with men delighted in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of ſome
called *Roſa* (but more truly *Hazothya*) by condition a captiue, but ſo graced with beauty and
courtly behauiour, that in ſhort time ſhe became miſtreſſe of his thoughts, and commandreſſe
of him that all commanded: and that which more eſtabliſhed her in poſſeſſion of his loue,
ſhe had in time made him father of foure faire ſons, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Bajazet*, and *Tzihanger*;
and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtemes* the great Baſſa. In this height
of worldly bliſſe nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans*
eldeſt ſonne by the Circaſſian woman; who honoured of the greateſt, and beloued of the reſt,
ſtood only in her light, imbarring her and hers (as ſhe thought) of the hope of the Empire,
D which ſhe now aboue all things ſought to bring to one of her owne ſons: which the better to
compaſſe, ſhe vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that *Muſtapha* the young
Prince and his mother ſhould as it were for their greater honor and ſtate, with a Princely allowance
be ſent into Caramania to gouerne that great country, far from the Court. Which
was no great matter for her to bring to paſſe: for that the Turkiſh Emperours vſually ſend
their ſons after they come to any yeares of diſcretion, vnto ſuch prouinces as are far from the
Court, attended vpon with one great Baſſa and ſome graue Doctor of their Law, ſo to acquaint
them with the manner of gouernment; the Baſſa inſtructing them in matters of ciuile policy,
and the Doctor in matters concerning their ſuperſtition: and yet by ſending them a far off, to
keepe them from aſpiring to the Empire by the fauour of the Court: (a thing of the Turkiſh
E Emperors not vnworthily feared euen in their owne and beloued children. *Roxolana* hauing
at once thus cunningly rid the Court of the great competitors both of her loue and of the
Empire (things of all others enduring no partners) reſted not ſo, but began ſtreightway to
plot in her malitious head the vtter deſtruction of him, to whom all others wiſhed all happineſſe.
This ſhe ſaw was not to be brought to paſſe without ſome complices: wherefore after
ſhe had in her ſecret conceit diſcarded many, of whom at firſt ſhe had reaſonable good liking;
at laſt ſhe made choice of *Ruſtan Baſſa* her ſonne in law, vpon whom ſhe would ſet vp her
reſt. This *Ruſtan* was a man baſely borne in Epirus, altogether compoſed of diſſimulation and
flattery, euer ſeruing his owne turne, were it neuer ſo much to the hurt or grieuance of others:
by which meanes he, although none of the beſt ſouldiers, was yet by many degrees growne vp
F to be the greateſt man in the Court, and *Solymans* ſonne in law: him ſhe probably thought to
wiſh the ſucceſſion of the Empire to one of her owne ſons, his wiues full brethren, rather than
to *Muſtapha* her halfe brother. Beſide that, ſhe was not ignorant how that *Ruſtan* as one carefull
of the Emperours profit (the readieſt way to preferment) had abridged the penſions and
fees of the officers and ſeruitors in Court: which he perceiuing to pleaſe the Emperour, pro-

Muſtapha, Solymans eldeſt ſon in great eſtimation with the people.

Solyman becommeth amorous of Roxolana.

Muſtapha ſent to gouerne Caramania.

The malice of Roxolana againſt Muſtapha.

ceeded ſo far therein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had beene poſſible, ſome part of *Muſtapha* his princely allowance: for which doing, ſhe knew how odious he was to all the courtiers (whereof he made ſmall reckoning) but eſpecially to *Muſtapha*, inſomuch that it was thought he would not forget ſo notorious an injury, if euer he ſhould obtaine the Empire. Hereupon ſhe brake with *Ruſtan* vpon the matter, whom ſhe found ready ynough of himſelfe to do what in him lay to further her miſchieuous deſire.

Roxolana conſpireth with Roſtan Baſſa her ſon in law, againſt Muſtapha.

Roxolana faineth her ſelfe religious.

To begin this intended tragidy, ſhe vpon the ſudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of *Solyman* growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had been vpon a deuout zeale for the health of her ſoule, after the maner of their Turkiſh ſuperſtition, to build an Abbey, with an Hoſpitall and a Church: which ſo godly a purpoſe ſhe imparted to the Muphti or chiefe Mahometan Prieſt, demanding of him, if ſuch works of charity were not acceptable vnto God, and auaileable for her ſoules health. Wherunto the Muphti anſwered, That thoſe workes were no doubt gratious in the ſight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her ſoules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the ſoule of the great Emperor *Solyman*, vnto whom as vnto her Lord, both ſhe and all ſhe had appertained. With which anſwer of the great Prieſt ſhe ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull penſiue and melancholy, her cheerefull countenance was repleat with ſadneſſe, and her faire eies flowed with teares, her mirth was mourning, and her joy heauineſſe. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, and ſorry to ſee his loue vpon conceit ſo to languiſh, ſent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort her ſelfe; promiſing in ſhort time to take ſuch a courſe as ſhould eaſe her of all her griefes: which he forthwith did, ſolemnly manumiſing her from her bond eſtate. So great a fauour obtained, *Roxolana* with great cheerefulneſſe began thoſe meritorious works by her before intended, as if ſhe had thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thought were in the depth of hell. When ſhe had thus a good while buſied her ſelfe in pauing the way to heauen, as was ſuppoſed; *Solyman* not able longer to forbeare the company of her, in whom his ſoule liued, after his wonted manner ſent for her by one of his Eunuchs, who ſhould haue brought her to his bed-chamber. To whom ſhe with her eies caſt vp to heauen, demurely anſwered, that her life and whatſoeuer elſe ſhe had was at her dread Soueraignes command, but againe to yeeld her body vnto his appetite ſhe might not in any caſe do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifeſt breach of his ſacred Lawes, which permitted her now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he before without offence might command of his bond-woman: and becauſe ſhe would not ſeeme to vſe this as an excuſe, ſhe referred her ſelfe in all things to the graue judgment of the learned and reuerend Muphti, with whom ſhe had before at full conferred. This ſhe did, preſuming of the ſoueraignty ſhe had ouer that great Monarch, whom ſhe right well knew ſhe had ſo faſt bound in the pleaſing fetters of his affection towards her, as that ſhe was ſure enough of him without a keeper. *Solyman* rauiſhed with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, ſent for the Muphti, requiring his judgement in the matter: who before inſtructed in all points, agreed with that *Roxolana* had ſaid, aggrauating the hainouſneſſe of the fact, if he ſhould proceed to enforce her as his ſlaue, who being now free, he might not without great offence touch vnmarried. Whereupon *Solyman* more and more burning in his deſires, became a freſh ſuter to her for marriage, whom he had ſo often before commanded: which his ſute eaſily obtained, (as the marke ſhe had all this while aimed at) he with all ſpeed to the great admiration of all men, and contrary to the manners of the Mahometan Emperours, ſolemnly married her, appointing for her yearely dowry fiue thouſand Sultanyns. But here before we proceed any further, ſtay a while, and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch ſo much doted, as it is by the skilfull workemans hand moſt liuely expreſſed.

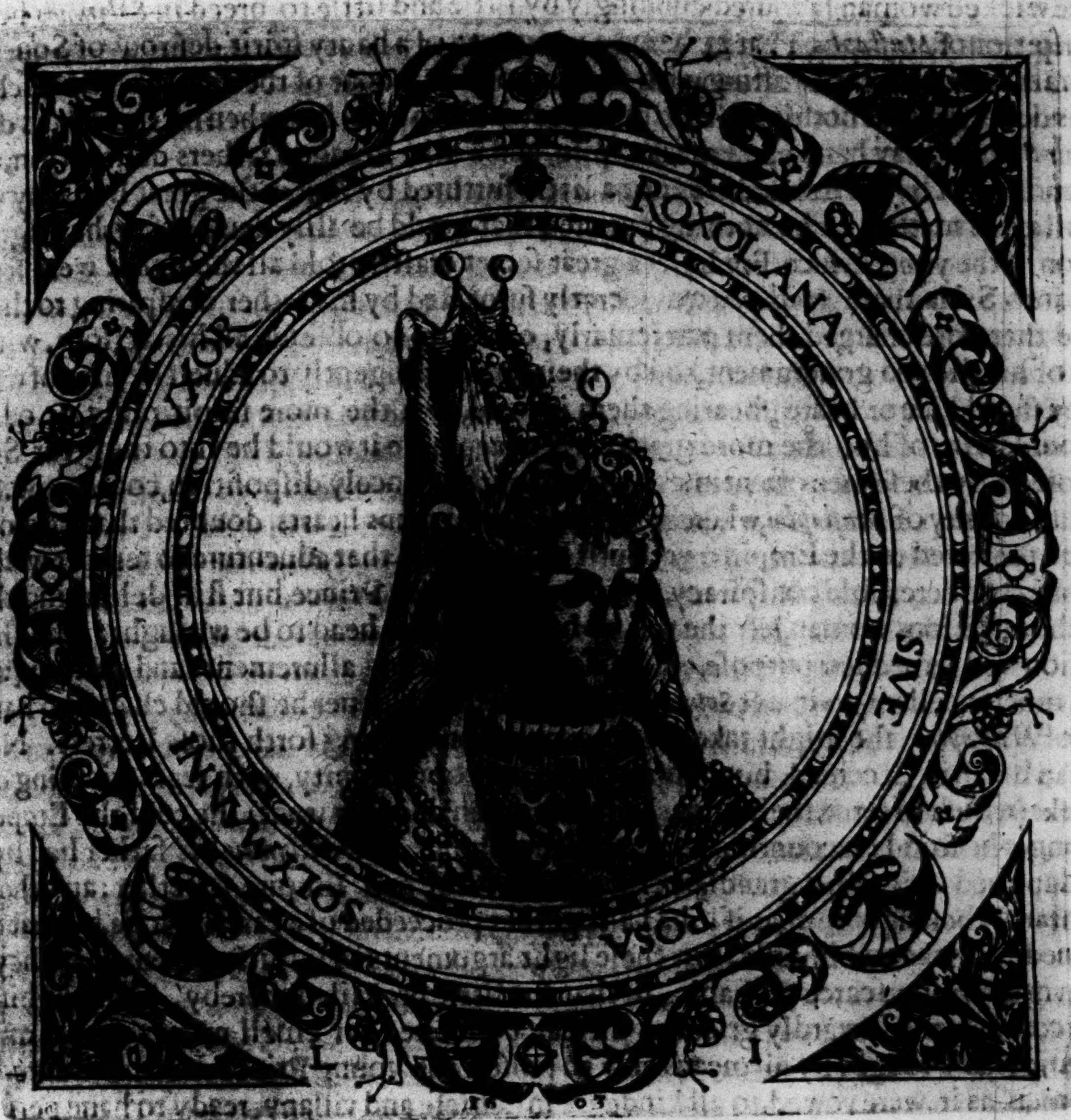
Solyman manumiſeth Roxolana.

Solyman ſends for Roxolana.

She excuſeth her ſelfe, and refuſeth to come.

Solyman marrieth Roxolana

ROX-



Frontis nulla fides, nulla eſt fiducia formæ:
Pectore dum ſæuo dira venena latent.
Philtra viro miſcet fallax miſeróſque coegit
Sanguine natorum commaculare manus.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

To faireſt looks truſt not too farre, nor yet to beauty braue:
For hatefull thoughts ſo finely maskt, their deadly poyſon haue.
Loues charmed cups the ſubtill dame doth to her husband fill;
and cauſeth him with cruell hand his childrens blood to ſpill.

This woman of late a ſlaue, but now become the greateſt Empreſſe of the Eaſt, flowing in all worldly felicity, attended vpon with all the pleaſures her heart could deſire, wanted nothing ſhe could wiſh, but how to find means that the Turkiſh empire might after the death of F *Solyman* be brought to ſome one of her own ſons. This was it that had (as is before ſaid) long troubled her aſpiring mind, and in the midſt of all her bliſſe, ſuffered her yet to take no reſt. Noble *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne, and heire apparant of the Empire, although far abſent, was yet ſtill before her eies preſent; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her deſires: he was the only cloud that kept the ſunne from ſhining vpon her; if he by

Roxolana plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha.

any means might be taken away, then wanted nothing that ſhe deſired. Which to bring to G
paſſe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solymans* head no
ſmall ſuſpition of *Muſtapha*, That he being a yong man of a hauty ſpirit, deſirous of Soueraignty,
generally beloued, and ſwelling with the immoderat fauour of the men of war, which were
all at his deuotion, left nothing elſe to be expected from him, but when he ſhould (as did his
grandſier *Selymus*) lay hand vpon the Empire, and worke his aged fathers deſtruction. This
miſchieuous plot by her deuiſed, was not a little furthred by *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, by whom
paſſed all great matters: who nothing omitted that could be ſlily deuiſed for the diſgrace or
confuſion of the yong Prince. For he as a great ſecret, craftily told all them that were ſent gouernors
into Syria, that *Muſtapha* was ſecretly ſuſpected by his father, of aſpiring to the Empire,
and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obſerue all his actions, with the H
manner of his life and gouernment, and by their letters diligently to aduertiſe him of whatſoeuer
they ſhould ſee or heare; bearing them in hand, that the more ſuſpitiouſly or odiouſly
they ſhould write of him, the more gratious & acceptable it would be vnto the great Sultan.
Wherfore he by theſe men oftentimes certified of the princely diſpoſition, courage, wiſdom,
valour and bounty of *Muſtapha*, whereby he had won all mens hearts, doubted that he would at
length be preferred to the Empire: yet durſt he not for all that aduenture to temper with *Solyman*
about that deteſtible conſpiracy againſt the innocent Prince, but ſtill deliuering the letters
to the malitious woman, left the reſt by her vngratious head to be wrought. And ſhe ſtill
as occaſion beſt ſerued her purpoſe, ceaſed not with pleaſing allurements and flattery (wherin
ſhe was moſt excellent) to infect *Solymans* mind, that whenſoeuer he ſhould chance to haue any I
ſpeech of *Muſtapha*, ſhe might take the fitter occaſion to bring forth thoſe Letters. Neither
was ſhe in her drift deceiued, but hauing found a fit opportunity, with tears trickling downe
her cheeks (which to ſerue their turnes ſubtill women ſeldome want) ſhe told the Emperor in
what danger he ſtood: recounting amongſt other things, how *Selymus* his father had by ſuch
means depriued *Bajazet* his grandfather, both of his life and Empire together: and therefore
moſt inſtantly beſought him, as if it had altogether proceeded of a carefull loue, by that example
warned, to looke to himſelfe. But theſe light arguments of ſuſpition ſeemed as they were
indeed, vnto *Solyman* ſcarce probable; ſo that ſhe little preuailed thereby. Which thing ſhe
well perceiuing, and inwardly grieuing thereat, conuerted her cruell mind to other miſchieuous
deuices, and ſought by all means how to poiſon the young Prince: neither wanted there K
wicked men, as it were vowed to all kinde of miſchiefe and villany, ready to haue performed
what ſhe deſired, had not Gods prouidence withſtood ſo horrible a practiſe. For whereas
certaine rich apparell was by her ſent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the worſt, would
not touch it before he had cauſed it to be worne by one of his ſeruants: by which curious warineſſe
(as it was thought) he for that time preuented the treaſon of his wicked ſtepdame,
and made her malitious practiſe manifeſt to the world. Yet reſted ſhe not ſo, but was ſtill plotting
new deuices, tending all to one purpoſe: for being growne to that height of honour and
power as neuer was woman in the *Othoman* court, and by the means of *Trongilla* a Iew (as it was
thought) hauing bewitched the mind of the Turkiſh Emperor, ſhe ſtill grew more and more
in fauor, and obtained that her ſons might by turnes be ſtill preſent in Court: of purpoſe, that L
by their daily preſence and continuall flattery, they ſhould more and more procure their fathers
loue; and if by chance *Muſtapha* ſhould come thither, ſhe might haue the better means
to diſpatch him: if not, to expect ſome other fit time, when ſhe might by ſome one or other
meane take him away. But *Muſtapha* neuer comming (for why, the Emperours ſons vſe not
without their fathers leaue to go out of the prouinces aſſigned vnto them, or to come to Conſtantinople,
but after the death of their father to receiue the Empire, attended vpon with a
number of ſouldiers) ſhe eaſily deuiſed another practiſe, that her ſons ſhould wait vpon their
father, not in the city only, but in the Prouinces alſo; ſo that *Tzihanger* ſurnamed *Crouchbacke*,
alwaies followed his father in the campe. Certaine yeres thus ſpent, and ſhe ſtill hammering
her miſchieuous deuices; at length fortune fauouring her wicked deſire, got from the Baſſa
which had the gouernment of *Muſtapha* and the prouince of Amaſia (for as we haue ſaid, euery
one of the Kings ſons hath with him one Baſſa, which is as it were his lieutenant in adminiſtration
of iuſtice and martiall affaires) certain ſuſpitious letters, wherin was contained, that
there was a ſpeech of a marriage to be made betweene *Muſtapha* and the Perſian Kings daughter:

Ruſtan the great Baſſa furthereth the deuiſes of Koxolana.

Muſtapha in danger to haue beene poyſoned by Roxolana.

ter; which thing he thought good to giue knowledge of to the Counſell, that if any harme ſhould enſue therof, he might be out of all ſuſpition. Theſe letters being brought to *Ruſtan*, he thought he had now as good as halfe brought to paſſe the long deſired ruin of *Muſtapha*: ſo making no ſtay, he opened the matter to *Roxolana*, & afterwards both together went to the court, and declared all the matter to the Emperor: in doing wherof, they forced both their vngratious wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull, with ſuſpition, and to poſſeſſe his mind with the feare of his own moſt dutifull ſon: ſaying, That he as a proud and ambitious young man, rauiſhed with the deſire of ſo glorious an empire, ſought againſt the laws both of God & nature, to take his father out of the way, that ſo he might with more ſpeed ſatisfie his aſpiring mind. And to giue the more credit to this their moſt falſe ſuggeſtion, they warned him of the alliance by him purpoſed with the Perſian king the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors: wiſhing him to beware leſt *Muſtapha* ſupported by the ſtrength of Perſia, and the fauor of the Sanzacks and Ianizaries, whoſe loue he had by bounty purchaſed, ſhould in ſhort time when he feared leaſt, together depriue him both of his life and Empire. With theſe and ſuch like accuſations they ſo preuailed with the aged man, whom they neuer ſuffered to reſt in quiet, that he at length reſolued to worke his ſafety (as he ſuppoſed) by the death of his owne ſonne; in this ſort:

Roxolana and Ruſtan together put Solyman in feare of his ſon Muſtapha

In the yeare 1552 he cauſed proclamation to be made almoſt in all the prouinces of his Empire, That foraſmuch as the Perſians without reſiſtance with a great army inuaded Syria, burning and deſtroying the country before them, he to repreſſe that their outragious inſolence, was inforced to ſend thither *Ruſtan Baſſa* with an army: which according to his appointment was in ſhort time raiſed. Now when all things were in readineſſe, as if it had beene for ſuch a war as was pretended, he commanded *Ruſtan*, with as much ſecrecy and as little tumult as was poſſible, to lay hands vpon *Muſtapha*, and to bring him bound to Conſtantinople: which if he could not conueniently effect, then by any other means to take him out of the way.

Solymans ſends Ruſtan Baſſa with an army to take Muſtapha.

With this wicked and cruell charge *Ruſtan* with a ſtrong army marched towards Syria; *Muſtapha* vnderſtanding of his comming, without delay with 7000 of the beſt horſemen in all Turky made towards Syria alſo: whereof *Ruſtan* hearing, and perceiuing that he could not (as he deſired) conueniently execute the cruell command of the vnnaturall father, forthwith turned his backe, and treading the ſame ſteps he came, returned with his army to Conſtantinople with ſuch ſpeed, that he endured not to behold the very duſt raiſed by *Muſtapha's* horſemen, much leſſe his preſence: giuing it out, That he certainly vnderſtood that the prouince was in quiet, (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto *Solyman* he told another tale in ſecret, which he malitiouſly had deuiſed, That he by moſt apparant ſignes and manifeſt preſumptions had perceiued the whole army ſo inclined towards *Muſtapha*, that if he ſhould haue attempted any thing againſt him by plaine force, he ſhould haue bin vtterly forſaken, and had therefore in ſo dangerous a caſe left the matter as it was to his graue further direction. This tale ſuſpiciouſly told, raiſed in the wicked and vnnaturall father (nothing degenerating from the naturall cruelty of his anceſtors) new and great ſuſpitions, whereof to diſburden his diſquieted mind, he conceiued with himſelfe a moſt horrible deuice. Wherfore the yere following, which was the yeare 1553, he raiſed a great army; giuing it out, That the Perſians had with greater power than before inuaded Syria, and that therefore he for the loue of his Country, and defence of his Empire, was determined to go thither with his army, and in perſon himſelfe to repreſſe the attempt of his enemies. Wherfore the army being aſſembled, & all things neceſſary orderly prouided, he commanded to ſet forward, and in few daies after followed himſelfe: who comming at length into Syria, preſently by truſty meſſengers commanded *Muſtapha* to come vnto him at Aleppo, for there he lay incamped. And yet for all theſe ſhadowes, the matter was not ſo cloſely by *Solyman* conueied (although he was exceedingly carefull therof) but that his mortall and deadly hatred againſt his ſon was perceiued by the Baſſa's, & other great men about him: inſomuch that *Achmat Baſſa* by a ſecret and truſty meſſenger gaue him warning thereof, that ſo he might in time the better prouide for the ſafegard of his life. Neither could *Muſtapha* himſelfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparant reaſon ſhould come ſo far with ſo great an army; yet truſting to his owne innocency, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he reſolued (although it were with the extreme danger of his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers command: for he thought it more commendable and honorable to incurre the danger of death, than liuing to fall into the foule ſuſpition of

The malitious deuice of Ruſtan.

Solyman goeth himſelfe with an army to kill his ſonne.

He ſendeth for Muſtapha.

Muſtapha perplexed in mind.

diſloyalty. In ſo great a perplexity of mind, after he had with himſelfe much diſcourſed too and fro, what courſe he were beſt to take, at length he boldly and reſolutely asked the Doctor whom (as we haue before ſaid) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the Empire of the World, or a bleſſed life were of man more to be deſired? To whom the doctor frankly anſwered, That the Empire of the World, to him that would enter into the due conſideration thereof, brought with it no felicity, more than a vaine ſhew and outer appearance of good, nothing being more fraile or vncertaine than worldly honor, bringing with it feare, vexation of mind, tribulation, ſuſpition, murder, wrong, wickedneſſe, ſpoile, ruin, and captiuity, with infinit miſchiefes of like nature, not to be deſired of him that would attaine to true felicity, by which meanes the bleſſed life was to be loſt and not gained: But they vnto whom God had giuen the grace rightly to conſider and weigh the fragility and ſhortneſſe of this our eſtate (which the common ſort deemeth to be the only life) and to ſtriue againſt the vanities of this World, and to embrace and follow an vpright kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place aſſigned for them in heauen and prepared by the great God, where they ſhould at length enjoy life and bliſſe eternall. This anſwer of the great doctor wonderfully ſatisfied the troubled mind of the yong Prince, foreſeeing as it were the approch of his owne end; and ſo ſtaying not any longer diſcourſe, forthwith ſet forwards toward his father, and making great haſt, came at length to his fathers campe, and not far off pitched his tents in the open field: But this his ſo haſty comming the more increaſed the ſuſpition in the mind of his wicked father: neither ſpared *Ruſtan* in the meane time with his crafty and ſubtile deuiſes to augment the ſame: for by a ſigne giuen he cauſed the Ianizaries and chiefe men in the army to go as if it had bin for honors ſake to meet *Muſtapha*; which they all without delay preſently did at his command, and ſo all together ſet forward. In the meane time he the moſt crafty varlet, with troubled countenance (for he could notably diſſemble) as a man halfe diſmaied came in haſte into *Solymans* pauilion, and falſly told him, That the Ianizaries and almoſt all the beſt ſouldiers of the army were of themſelues without leaue gon to meet *Muſtapha*, and that he feared what would enſue thereof. Which news ſo troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale for feare, and going out of his tent, and finding them gone, eaſily beleeued all to be true that the falſe Baſſa had told him. Neither wanted *Muſtapha* ſtrange warning of his end ſo neere at hand, for the third day before his ſetting forwards toward his father, falling aſleepe in the euening, he thought he ſaw his Prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparell to take him by the hand and lead him into a moſt pleaſant place, beautified with moſt glorious and ſtately palaces, and moſt delicat & pleaſant gardens; and pointing to euery thing with his finger, to ſay thus vnto him, *Here reſt they for euer, which in this World haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue, and deteſting vice*: and after that turning his face to the other ſide, to haue ſhewed him two great and ſwift riuers, whereof the one boiled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he thought) numbers of men wallowing and tumbling, ſome vp, ſome downe, crying horribly for mercy: *And there* (ſaid he) *are puniſhed all ſuch as in this fraile life haue bin the malicious workers of iniquity*: the chiefe of whom (as he ſaid) were Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other great men of the world. *Muſtapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholy dreame, called vnto him his doctor: and hauing told him all the matter, asked him what the ſame might ſignifie? who ſtanding a great while in a muſe (for the Mahometans are exceeding ſuperſtitious, attributing much to dreams) full of ſorrow and griefe at length anſwered, That this viſion (for ſo it pleaſed him to terme it) was vndoubtedly to be feared, as preſaging vnto him the extreame perill of his life, and therefore requeſted him to haue great care both of his life and honor. But *Muſtapha* as he was of a notable ſpirit and courage, regarding nothing that anſwer, ſtoutly replied, What, ſhall I ſuffer my ſelfe to be terrified and ouercome with childiſh and vain feare? why rather haſte I not couragiouſly and reſolutely to my father? and ſo much the more boldly, becauſe I know aſſuredly I haue alwaies (as reaſon was) ſo reuerenced his Majeſty, that againſt his wil I neuer turned my eies or foot againſt his moſt royall ſeat, much leſſe affected his Empire, except the moſt high God had called him to a better life, neither then, without the general good liking & choice of the whole army, that ſo I might at length without murder, without bloud, without tyranny, well & juſtly reigne, and in loue and peace inuiolate liue with my brethren: for I haue ſet down with my ſelfe, and choſen, if it be my fathers pleaſure ſo, rather to die in his obedience, than reigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, eſpecially my competitors, a rebell or traitor.

His talke with his Doctor.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers campe.

The exceeding treachery of Ruſtan againſt Muſtapha.

The melancholy dreame of Muſtapha in comming to his father.

A Hauing thus ſaid, he came vnto his fathers camp, & pitching his tents (as we haue before ſaid) ſuted himſelfe all in white, in token of his innocency, and writing certaine letters (which the Turks when they are about to go to any place of danger, vſe to write, and alwaies to carry with them, for they are wonderfull fooliſh in their ſuperſtition) and putting them in his boſome, attended vpon with a few of his moſt truſty followers, came with great reuerence towards the tent of his father, fully reſolued to haue kiſſed his hand, as their vſuall manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of his tent, remembring that he had yet his dagger girt to him, he entred not vntill he had put it off; becauſe he would not come into his fathers ſight with any weapon, if happily ſo he might cleare himſelfe of his fathers needleſſe ſuſpition. So when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with ſuch honour as belonged B to his ſtate cheerfully receiued by his fathers Eunuchs. But ſeeing nothing elſe prouided but one ſeat whereon to ſit himſelfe alone, he perplexed in mind, ſtood ſtill a while muſing; at length asked where the Emperor his father was? Whereunto they anſwered, That he ſhould by and by ſee him: and with that caſting his eie aſide, he ſaw ſeuen Muts (theſe are ſtrong men bereft of their ſpeech, whom the Turkiſh tyrants haue alwaies in readineſſe, the more ſecretly to execute their bloudy butchery) comming from the other ſide of the tent towards him: at whoſe ſight ſtrucken with a ſudden terrour, ſaid no more, but, *Lo my death*; and with that, ariſing was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuchs and Muts, and by force drawn to the place appointed for his death: where without further ſtay, the Muts caſt a bow-ſtring about his necke, he poore wretch ſtil ſtriuing, and requeſting that he might C ſpeake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is ſufficient ſignificantly to expreſſe his vnnaturall villany) both heard and ſaw by a trauers from the other ſide of the tent: but was ſo far from being moued with compaſſion, that thinking it long till he were diſpatched, with a moſt terrible and cruell voice he rated the villains enured to bloud; ſaying, *Will you neuer diſpatch that I bid you? well you neuer make an end of this traitor, for whom I haue not reſted one night theſe ten yeares in quiet?* Which horrible commanding ſpeeches, yet thundering in their eares, thoſe butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent Prince vpon the ground, and with the helpe of the Eunuches forcecibly drawing the knotted bow-ſtring both waies, by the commandement of a moſt wicked father ſtrangled him. With like barbarous cruelty, he ſhortly after cauſed *Mahomet* his nephew (*Muſtapha* his ſonne) to be ſtrangled D alſo.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers tent.

Muſtapha moſt cruelly ſtrangled in his fathers ſight.

Mahomet Muſtapha's ſonne ſtrangled alſo.

This vnnaturall and ſtrange murther committed, he preſently commanded the Baſſa of Amaſia *Muſtapha's* Lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne preſence to be ſtrucke off. Which done, he ſent for *Tzihanger* the Crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in ſporting wiſe, as if he had done a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet his brother *Muſtapha*: which thing *Tzihanger* with a merry and cheerefull countenance haſted to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as ſoone as he came vnto the place where he ſaw his brother lying dead vpon the ground ſtrangled, it is not to be ſpoken how he was in minde tormented. He was ſcarcely come to the place where this deteſtible murther was committed, when his father ſent vnto him certaine of his ſeruants to offer vnto him all E *Muſtapha's* treaſure, horſes, ſeruants, jewels, tents, and withall the gouernment of the Prouince of Amaſia; but *Tzihanger* filled with extreame heauineſſe for the vnmercifull death of his welbeloued brother, ſpake vnto them in this ſort: *Ah wicked and vngodly* Caine, *traitor (I may not ſay father) take thou now the treaſures, the horſes, the ſeruants, the jewels, and the Prouince of* Muſtapha. *How came it into thy wicked, cruell, and ſauage breaſt, ſo vngratiouſly and contrary to all humanity, I will not ſay the reuerence of thine owne bloud, to kill thy worthy, warlike, and noble ſonne, the mirrour of courteſie, and Prince of greateſt hope, the like of whom, the* Othoman *family neuer yet had, nor euer ſhall? I will therefore my ſelfe prouide that thou, nor none for thee ſhall euer hereafter in ſuch ſort ſhamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much ſaid, ſtab'd himſelfe with his owne dagger into the body, whereof he in ſhort time died: Which ſo ſoone as it F came to the old Tigers eares, it is hard to ſay how much he grieued. His dead body was by his fathers commandement carried from Aleppo in Syria, to Conſtantinople, and afterwards honourably buried on the other ſide of the Hauen at Pera. For all this bloudy tragedy, his couetous minde was not ſo troubled, but that he could forthwith command all *Muſtapha's* treaſures and riches to be brought to his tent: which his ſouldiers in hope to haue

Solyman offereth to Tzihanger all Muſtapha's treaſure and wealth.

Tzihanger for ſorrow killeth himſelfe.

the ſame giuen them for a prey, willingly haſted to performe. In the meane time the ſouldiers which were in *Muſtapha's* campe, not knowing what was become of their maſter, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of ſoldiers thruſting into their campe without all order, to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolency, ſtept out in their armour, and notably repulſed them, not without much bloudſhed.

A bloudy tumult betwixt the ſoldiers of Solyman and Muſtapha.

At length, the noiſe of this ſtir was heard by the reſt of the Kings ſouldiers, who ſeeing the tumult to increaſe more and more, ran in to helpe their fellowes, ſo that in ſhort time there began a hot skirmiſh and cruell fight on both ſides, inſomuch that two thouſand were ſlaine, and mo wounded: neither had the broile ſo ended, had not *Achomat Baſſa* a graue captaine, and for his long experience of no ſmall authority amongſt the ſouldiers, kept backe the Ianizaries, and ſtaied their fury; and turning likewiſe to *Muſtapha's* ſouldiers, by gentle and mild words and courteous perſuaſions, in this manner appeaſed their rage.

The tumult appeaſed by Achomates Baſſa.

What my brethren (ſaid he) *will you now (degenerating from your antient loyalty, for which you haue beene for ſo many ages commended) impugne the command of the great Sultan our dread Soueraigne? Truely I cannot ſufficiently maruell what thing ſhould moue you, whom I haue hitherto proued to haue beene moſt worthy and valiant ſouldiers, in this ciuill conflict to draw thoſe weapons againſt your fellowes and brethren, which you haue moſt fortunatly vſed againſt the the enemies of the* Othoman *Kings: except you meane thereby to make your ſelues a joyfull ſpectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to ſee themſelues ouercome by your victorious weapons, may yet rejoyce among themſelues to ſee you turne the ſame one vpon another. Wherefore my ſonnes, for your antient honours ſake, be carefull that you do not by this your inſolency loſe the reputation of your wiſedome, loyalty, and valour; for which you haue hitherto beene aboue all others commended: reſerue theſe your weapons which you haue now too too much vſed among your fellowes, againſt your enemies, of whom you may get more praiſe and honour.* This ſpeech of the old Baſſa, ſo millified the ſtout ſouldiers, that they freely permitted all that was in *Muſtapha's* tents to be carried to *Solyman*: but as ſoone as the death of *Muſtapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the reſt of the army in *Solymans* campe, another tumult roſe among them worſe than the firſt,

The Ianizaries vp in armes againſt Solyman for the vnworthy death of Muſtapha.

They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noiſe confuſed with teares and lamentation, as they were in rage and fury, brake violently into *Solymans* pauillion with their drawne ſwords: which ſtrucke the tyrant into ſuch a feare, that deſtitute of all counſell in himſelfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden by by his friends, and making a vertue of neceſſity, vpon the ſudden aduentured to do that which at better leiſure he would ſcarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but with a pale and wan countenance, he ſpake vnto the enraged ſouldiers thus: *What broile is this? what ſturre: what ſo great inſolency? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angry lookes? know you not your Soueraigne? and him that hath power to command you? Haue you ſo reſolued to ſtaine the antient and inuincible honour of your ſelues and your anceſtours, with the bloud of your Lord and Emperour?*

The ſtout ſpeech of Solyman to the Ianizaries.

The fierce anſwer of the Ianizaries to Solyman.

Whileſt he was yet thus ſpeaking, the ſouldiers boldly anſwered, That they denied not, but that he was the man whom they had many yeares before choſen for their Emperor: but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mighty Empire, and in like manner preſerued it; that was therefore of them done, that he ſhould for the ſame gouerne them vertuouſly and juſtly, and not to lay his bloudy hands without diſcretion vpon euery juſt man, and moſt wickedly embrue himſelfe with innocent bloud: and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they ſaid) moued with juſt cauſe to reuenge the vnworthy death of guiltleſſe *Muſtapha*, and that for that matter, he had no juſt cauſe to be angry with them. Wherefore they required, that they might publikely cleere themſelues of the treaſon whereof they were accuſed by *Muſtapha's* enemies, and that the accuſer might be brought forth to juſtifie his accuſation: proteſting that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, vntill the accuſer made his appearance in judgement, and commenced his accuſation judicially, vpon paine to endure the like puniſhment if he failed in proofe.

Solyman yeeldeth vnto the Ianizaries.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the hainouſneſſe of the late committed fact cauſed euery man to ſhed teares, ſo that *Solyman* himſelfe ſeemed to be ſorry for the murther ſo lately by himſelfe committed: wherefore he promiſed vnto the ſouldiers whatſoeuer they required, and did what he could to appeaſe their angry minds. For all that, they in the meane time, leſt he ſhould craftily ſlip away and deceiue them of that he had promiſed, and of the expectation of ſuch things as they had required, with a maruellous care and diligence all kept watch and ward.

A *Solyman* to appeaſe this fury of the Ianizaries, depriued *Ruſtan Baſſa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his ſeale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates Baſſa*. But *Ruſtan* worthily ſtrucken with feare and horrour, ſeeing himſelfe now in no ſafety in his owne tents, fled ſecretly to *Achomates*, asking his counſell what were beſt for him to do, and what courſe to take in ſo doubtfull and dangerous a caſe? To whom the Baſſa anſwered, that it were beſt for him to vſe the great Emperors aduiſe, and to do what he commanded. Which anſwer well ſatisfied *Ruſtan*: and ſo he which of late gaue other men acceſſe vnto the Emperour at his pleaſure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to preſet this poore ſute, To know his pleaſure what he would haue him to do: from whom he receiued this anſwer, That he ſhould incontinently without further delay get him out of his ſight, and out of the campe: B which the Baſſa ſaid he could not conueniently do, being by his diſpleaſure and the ſouldiers rage diſfurniſhed of all things neceſſary for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* ſent him anſwer againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were beſt for him without more ado to be gon for feare of further harme. Whereupon *Ruſtan*, guilty in conſcience of moſt horrible villany and treachery, accompanied but with eight of his moſt faithfull friends in ſtead of his late world of followers, poſted in haſt to Conſtantinople, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treaſon againſt *Muſtapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

Ruſtan diſgraced by Solyman, flyeth to Conſtantinople.

This young Prince *Muſtapha* thus ſhamefully murthered by his own father, was for his rare vertues generally beloued of the Turks: but of the ſouldiers moſt for his martiall diſpoſition, C and readines for the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. The opinion they had conceiued of him was ſuch, and their loue ſo great, that they neuer thought there was any in the *Othoman* family, of whom they expected ſo much for the enlarging of their Empire: inſomuch, that euer ſince, when in their priuat or publike actions they faile of any great hope, they vſe this prouerbe euen at this day taken from him, *Gietti Sultan Muſtapha*, Sultan *Muſtapha* is dead: as who ſhould ſay, our hope is all loſt. *Achomates Baſſa* the great champion of the Turks, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the ſmall aſſurance of the great honors of that ſtate, at ſuch time as he receiued the ſeale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then frankly beſtow it vpon him, ſo he would at one time or other to his no leſſe diſgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* ſolemnly promiſed with an oath, not to diſplace him ſo long as he liued. For all that, he D had not long enjoyed that honor, but that *Solyman* falling in diſlike with him, & willing again to promote *Ruſtan Baſſa* to that great honour, greater than which there was none in the Turks court, which by reaſon of his oath he could not do ſo long as *Achomates* liued; To ſaue his oath, and to prefer his ſon in law (whom he had indeed diſplaced only to pleaſe the tumultuous Ianizaries) reſolued to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpoſe *Achomates* altogether ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuano in all his honour, vpon the ſudden receiued word from *Solyman*, that he muſt preſently die, and forthwith was the hangman ready to haue ſtrangled him, as was giuen him in charge: whom the ſtout Baſſa thruſt from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere in ſhew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about E him, eſpied at laſt an honeſt man whom he had many times before pleaſured, whom he moſt earneſtly requeſted for all the kindneſſe ſhewed vnto him, to do him that laſt fauor as to ſtrangle him with his owne hand, which ſhould be vnto him the greateſt good turne that he could poſſibly deuiſe, deteſting nothing more than to die vnder the hand of the executioner. Which thing, when he after much intreaty had vndertaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he ſhould not at one twich ſtrangle him out right, but letting the bow-ſtring ſlacke againe, giue him leaue once to breath, and then to diſpatch him: which is requeſt was by his friend accordingly performed, and he in that ſort ſtrangled: wherein it ſeemeth that he was deſirous, firſt to taſt of death, and not to die all at once. Immediatly after whoſe death, *Ruſtan Baſſa* was again reſtored to his place of chiefe Viſier, and had the great ſeale deliuered vnto him: which honour he enjoyed about ſix yeares after, and ſo at laſt died of the dropſie. This was the end of theſe two great Baſſaes *Achomates* and *Ruſtan*, who in that time ſwaied that great Empire, vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue ſo much ſpoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, ſhould ſay, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thouſand times, in ſeeing his honour taken from him and beſtowed vpon another.

The miſerable end of Achomates the great Baſſa.

The

1554 The Turks gallies by the ſolicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuſcan G ſea, did much hame vpon the coaſts of Calabria and Sicilia in this yeare 1554, as they had the yeare before, and ſo did diuers yeares after. At which time alſo *Pandulphus Contarenus* the Venetian Admirall ſcouring alongſt the ſeas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Venetian eſtate, chanced to meet with the Baſſa of Callipolis, who in the yeare before had rifled certaine Venetian Merchants; in reuenge of which injury he ſet vpon him, and after a great ſpoile made both of the Turks and their gallies, he ranſacked Dirrachium then one of the Turks port townes in Dalmatia.

1555 The next yeare 1555, the ſame Baſſa recouered his ſtrength, but not daring to be too buſie with the Venetians, ſurpriſed the Iſlands of Blumbis and Elba, ſubject to the Duke of Florence, and withall ſent letters to *Solyman*, to perſuade him to take vp armes againſt the Venetians, as they which had broken the league. H

At the ſame time, *Haly* the Baſſa of Buda by policy ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Baboza, in Hungary: and was in good hope by the like fineneſſe to haue taken the Towne and Caſtle of

1556 Zigeth, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpoſe, he came the next yeare 1556, with a great army, and the thirteenth day of Iune incamped before the towne, wherein was Gouernor *Marcus Horwath* a valiant Captaine, with a garriſon of notable ſouldiers. Shortly after he began a moſt terrible battery: during which time the Chriſtians ſallying out diuers times, ſlew many of his men; who for all that vſed ſuch diligence, that the twentieth of Iune they won the outtermoſt wall, and after fiue hot aſſaults were in hope at the ſixt to haue won the caſtle alſo: but the Chriſtians perceiuing the danger, reſolutely ſallied out, and hauing I ſlaine eight hundred of them, draue the reſt againe from the wall. Yet the Turks gaue it not ſo ouer, but with a great number of carts labored to haue filled vp the marriſh and ditches about the towne: which their attempt was by the induſtry of the defendants alſo defeated. The Baſſa perceiuing how hardly the towne would be won by force, attempted to haue perſuaded them to haue yeelded it vp by compoſition: but failing therein of his purpoſe, began againe the twelfth of Iuly to aſſault the city, which aſſault he maintained fiue daies together without intermiſſion, ſtill ſending in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or ſlaine: yet was the city for all that by the valour of the Chriſtians notably defended. So when he had in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his forces, he raiſed his ſiege the one and twentieth day of Iuly and departed: but within ſix daies after, he returned from the city Quinque Eccleſiæ, and aſ- K ſaulted the city afreſh; but was at length glad to giue ouer the ſiege and be gone, when he had loſt of his beſt ſouldiers aboue two thouſand, and of the defendants ſlaine but an hundred and twenty. After his departure there was ten thouſand great ſhot found, wherewith he had battered the towne and the caſtle, which was for this time thus worthily defended. The Turks in the meane time after their wonted manner ceaſed not to do what harme they could in the Tuſcane ſea, and had again miſerably ſpoiled the Iſland of Corſica: for withſtanding of whom the Biſhop of Rome exacted of his people a great ſubſidue, and finely ſtript the Iewes of their mony, and ſeaſed vpon their rich Merchants goods in his territory. At whoſe earneſt ſute *Solyman* in their behalfe writ vnto the Biſhop as followeth: L

Zigeth beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.

A terrible aſſault.

Zigeth notably defended.

Sultan *Solyman*, moſt mighty Emperor of Emperors, the ſonne of *Selym*,
Emperor of Emperors, to whom God giue eternall victory:
to Pope *Paulus* the fourth greeting.

Solymans Letters to the Pope in behalfe of the Iewes Merchants.

Moſt excellent and moſt mighty Lord of the Profeſſors of the Meſſias Ieſu, and Lord of Rome, the Almighty keepe thee. At ſuch time as thou ſhalt receiue our Seale, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by out Letters, that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppreſſed of thee with too grieuous exactions, when they come to trafficke at Ancona: This burthen I requeſt thee to take from them, and to reſtore againe vnto them their goods, that therby they may be able to pay to vs our Tribute: which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) ſhall do, thou ſhalt feele our fauour. Farewell. From Conſtantinople the laſt of M *the bleſſed moneth * Rambeluch, in the yeare of our great Prophet* Mahomet, *nine hundred threeſcore and foure.*

** The ninth of March, Anno 1556.*

Haly Baſſa beſiegeth Zigeth againe.

Haly Baſſa grieued with the late repulſe he had receiued at Zigeth, came againe the next yeare, A yeare, and beſieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* ſent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the county *Serinus* with a power raiſed in Sueuia and Auſtria, to recouer Baboza, a caſtle betwixt Sigeth and Stiria, before ſurpriſed by the Turkes: of whoſe comming the Baſſa hauing intelligence, roſe with his army and departed from Sigeth, which he had for certaine moneths hardly beſieged, and not far from Baboza met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who joyning battell with him, after a hard and ſharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victory with the comming downe of young *Ferdinand*, King *Ferdinands* ſonne, Archduke of Auſtria with new ſupplies, ſo terrified the Turks in that part of Hungary along the riuer Dranus, that they for feare forſooke Baboſa, Sammartin, San-Laurence, and diuers other ſmall caſtles which they had before taken, and fled to Quinque Eccleſiæ.

Haly Baſſa ouerthrowne.

B The Gouernour of Sigeth encouraged herewith, ſallying out with his garriſon, ſlew many of the Turks in their flight towards Quinque Eccleſiæ, and meeting by chance with a troupe of horſemen which were bringing the Turks pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the mony, and ſo with an exceeding rich prey returned to his caſtle. At which time alſo *Adam* the Gouernour of Rab, otherwiſe called Iauarinum, hauing burnt the ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis, and driuen away many thouſands of cattell, at a towne called Sian ouerthrew fiue hundred Turks, and as many fugitiue Chriſtians, and ſo with a great prey and little or no loſſe at all of his men, returned.

Henry the French King at the ſame time in warres with *Philip* King of Spaine, and troubled with the loſſe of his army ouerthrowne not farre from S. Quintins (at which time the Duke C *Montmorencie* Conſtable of France and Generall of the army, with his ſon and diuers other of the nobility of France were taken priſoners) by his Embaſſadour *Michael Condignac* ſolicited *Solyman* to haue by ſea inuaded Naples and Sicilia, ſo to haue withdrawne the Spaniſh forces out of France, to defend their owne frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the inſolency of the Embaſſadour, refuſed to doe: yet neuertheleſſe commanded his aduenturers all alongſt the coaſt of Affricke, to infeſt thoſe ſeas, and to do what harme they could vpon the coaſt of Italy and Sicilia, which they ſo diligently performed, that the Viceroy of Sicilia was faine for defence of thoſe countries to lie in readineſſe with his gallies in the ports of Caieta and Naples.

Henry the French king ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade the king of Spaine his territories.

In the meane time the *Guiſe*, Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of S. *Iohns* in France (and D brother of *Francis* the Duke of *Guiſe*, Generall of the French Kings army in Italy, who vpon the ouerthrow receiued at S. Quintins, called out of Italy, ſhortly after tooke Calais) Admirall of the gallies of Malta, went out towards the Eaſt with foure gallies well appointed, to lie in wait for the Turks, and by fortune met with two great ſhips laded with the Turks merchandiſe, which he tooke; and by and by after, light vpon foure of the Turks gallies, with whom he had a great fight: yet at length hauing ſunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the other two. After which victory returning towards Malta to haue repaired his gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallies of the Turks: who deſirous to reuenge the loſſe of their fellowes, ſet vpon him, and he ſeeing now no remedy, but that he muſt needs fight couragiouſly, encountred them. But foraſmuch as he had in the two fights E before loſt ſome of his men, and 72 of the Knights in the gallies lay ſore wounded, he, by the counſell of the captaines retired towards Malta: but by the way one of his gallies was taken by the Turks, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the reſt and the prizes before taken, he recouered the Iſland of Malta, where he ſtaied that Winter; and the next Spring ſailed into France to be pertakers of thoſe troubles, which beginning ſhortly after, haue but of late taken end.

The Guiſe, Lord Grand Prior in France, Admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turkes gallies.

The immoderat fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrary to his deſire, than in the proofe of thoſe his children, of whom the world held the greateſt expectation. *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſon the mirrour of courteſie, and rare hope of the whole Turkiſh nation, the ſuſpitious tyrant had moſt vnnaturally cauſed to be murthered in his own preſence, F to the griefe of all his ſubjects in generall, as is before declared: poore *Tzihanger* was dead for ſorrow: and *Mahometes* his eldeſt ſonne by his beſt beloued the faire *Roxolana*, was departed this life alſo. So that now remained vnto him onely *Selymus*, the vnworthy heire of ſo great an Empire, and *Bajazet* his younger brother, the liuely image of his father, both men growne, and the ſonnes of the ſame *Roxolana*: but ſo far differing the one from the other both in feature

Solyman in nothing more vnfortunate than in the proofe of his children.

of

Bajazet Solymans younger ſonne ſeeketh to aſpire vnto the Empire.

The crafty dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceiue the people.

A counterfeit Muſtapha ſet vp to make a head of rebellion.

of body and diſpoſition of mind, as if they had not bin of the ſame kindred and line. *Selymus* the elder brother moſt like vnto his mother, was in the ſecret determination of the aged Emperor his father appointed heire of that moſt mighty empire. *Bajazet* much reſembling his father, was on the other ſide ſtrongly ſupported by the care and entire loue of his mother: which whether it proceeded of a ſecret commiſeration of his ineuitable deſtiny, or that he had by loyalty or other means ſo won her fauor, is not knowne; but euery man ſaw, that if it had lien in her power, ſhe would vndoubtedly haue preferred him before his eldeſt brother *Selymus*, and haue placed him in the Empire: but ſhe muſt needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmly and irremoueably ſet down, that the Deſtinies ſo permitting, none ſhould reigne after him but his eldeſt ſon *Selymus*. Of which his purpoſe and reſolution *Bajazet* being not ignorant, began moſt circumſpectly to looke about him, if he could by any means fruſtrat that forcible neceſſity, and exchange his certaine deſtruction with an Empire: in which his deep and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauor & loue of *Roxolana* his mother, & of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa his brother in law; who together had in any other matter bin able to haue ouerruled the aged Emperor. Whereupon he reſolutely ſet downe himſelfe, rather to end his daies by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which by courſe of nature could not now be far off) to be as a ſacrifice baſely butchered by ſome vile hangman of his brothers. *Bajazet* ſo reſolued, and now already fallen out with his brother *Selymus*, took occaſion vpon the generall diſcontentment of the people and others, for the vnworthy death of *Muſtapha* their late joy, to begin thoſe ſtirs which he had before with himſelfe plotted, and ſo to make a head, wherunto he might afterward joine the body alſo: for why, that worthy *Muſtapha* had left behind him ſo great deſire of himſelfe, that now it wearied many to liue after him, they had ſo placed al the hope of their good fortune in him, vnto whom nothing was more deſirous than to reuenge the wrong don vnto him, or els to run the ſame bad fortune with him: other ſome guilty of the immoderat affection they had born vnto him yet liuing, and fearing to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any ſtate better and more aſſured than that wherein they preſently ſtood, and therefore ſought all occaſions of new ſtirs, and how to ſet all on a hurly burly: only a captain was wanting, *Muſtapha* could not be again reuiued, yet might he be ſtrongly ſuppoſed to liue. This deuice pleaſed *Bajazet*, as beſt fitting his purpoſe, being not ignorant of this diſpoſition of the people. Wherefore by certain of his moſt faithfull and truſty followers he found out a certaine obſcure fellow of a notable audacity, which ſhould take vpon him the name & perſon of *Muſtapha*, whoſe ſtature alſo and countenance and proportion of body differed not much from *Muſtapha* himſelfe: he, as if he had by chance eſcaped, firſt began to ſhew himſelfe in that part of Thracia, which is aboue Conſtantinople, and lieth toward Danubius, not far from the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, & was for that cauſe both fitteſt for rebellion, and alſo beſt ſtored with horſemen, who of all others moſt honored *Muſtapha*. Hither he comes as if it had bin from a long journy, ſlenderly accompanied, and as if he had bin deſirous at the firſt not to haue bin known; his followers being demanded (as it chanced) who it was, did rather fearefully giue them that asked occaſion to gheſſe, than plainly to tell them, that it was *Muſtapha*: neither did he himſelfe much deny it: wherby the people became more and more deſirous to know him. Which beginning thus laied, he afterward began to rejoice of his fortunat comming thither, and to giue God thanks for his ſafe arriuall there amongſt his friends: he tels them, That at ſuch time as he was ſent for by his father, he durſt not come in his ſight, or commit himſelfe vnto him in his fury, but by the counſell of his friends to haue with great promiſes perſuaded one that was maruellous like vnto himſelfe to goe in his ſtead: by whoſe danger he might make proofe of his fathers mind towards him: who before he was admitted to the ſpeech of his father, was without hearing miſerably ſtrangled, and ſo caſt out before his pauilion: at which time there was many (as he ſaid) which perceiued the deceit, but the greater part remained in errour, deceiued with the lineaments and countenance of the miſerable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible paines of death, and ſuppoſing it to haue bin him indeed that was ſlaine. Which thing as ſoone as hee vnderſtood, he thought it not good longer to ſtay, but preſently to fly and to prouide for his owne ſafety, and ſo flying with a few of his owne followers, thereby the more ſecretly and ſafely to eſcape; and hauing paſſed aboue Pontus by the people of Boſphorus, was now come thither, where he was in good hope to finde much helpe and comfort

A fort in the fidelity of his friends,whom he requeſted not now to forſake him, or to make leſſe
account of him diſgraced by the malice of his ſtep-mother , than they had before in time of
his proſperity, for that he was minded to reuenge the injury don vnto him, and by force of
arms to defend himſelf. For what els had he now left; beeing by no other meanes preſerued
but by the death of another man. That he had ſufficiently proued how his father ſtood affected
toward him,and that he now liued by his miſtaking,not by his kindnes. The cauſe of all
which his troubles was his ſtep-dame, who (as he ſaid) with her inchantments led the ſilly
old man(now almoſt doting for age,and mad for loue)whither ſhe would at her pleaſure:and
by her agent *Ruſtan Baſſa* forced him forward headlong into al kind of miſchief. But that God
be thanked he wanted not friends, by whoſe helpe he would find a way out of theſe miſeries,
B and take reuenge of his enemies : for why,he had as yet couragious hearts, and the Ianizaries
with the greater part of his fathers family on his ſide; and that great multitudes of people
would flock vnto him vpon bruit of his name; and that they which now mourned for him as
dead(being in number many)would by heaps run to help him being aliue : ſo that they there
preſent would but only curteouſly receiue him as a gueſt,and protect him now diſtreſſed,till
ſuch time as his wel-willers and friends might repair vnto him. And this at laſt he gaue out
not in ſecret, but openly to all men wherſoeuer he came. The ſame things did they alſo report,
whom he made the people beleeue to haue bin the companions of his flight : which was
alſo confirmed by diuers of good credit and authority,whom *Bajazet* had before dealt with to
that purpoſe. So that a great number of men altogether vnknown to *Bajazet*,were therby ſeduced:
C for this matter was ſo cunningly wrought,that many who had known *Muſtapha* aliue,&
ſeen him ly dead before his fathers pauilion,yet liſted not greatly to beleeue that which they
knew,but eaſily ſuffered themſelues to be perſuaded that this was the true *Muſtapha*. But the
companions and followers of *Muſtapha* (in whoſe mindes the liuely countenance and reſemblance
of him was fully ingrauen)nothing could deceiue, yet blinded partly with fear,partly
with grief and deſire of reuenge, and wiſhing rather to aduenture any thing, than longer to
liue without *Muſtapha*, were the firſt men that came to offer their ſeruice to this counterfeit
Muſtapha,and would not ſuffer other men to doubt but that he was the true *Muſtapha*, which
was falſly reported to haue bin ſlain. As for the deceiuer himſelf,he either kept with him, or
entertained them that came,ſome with fair promiſes, ſome with curteous ſpeeches, & many
D alſo with mony & rewards,which he made them beleeue he had reſerued of the reliques of his
better fortune. For *Bajazet* had before notably prouided that he wanted nothing for countenancing
of his credit. So within the ſpace of a few daies ſuch a multitude of men was reſorted
vnto him as might almoſt haue made a whole army. When *Solyman* vpon the ſudden was
aduertiſed by the fearful meſſengers and letters of the Sanzacks therabouts,what danger was
like to enſue by the concourſe of ſo great a multitude of people to this counterfeit *Muſtapha*,
he preſently ſuſpecting(as the truth was)that this was not don without the priuity of one of
his ſons, thought it not a thing to be neglected; and therefore by his Letters reproued the
Sanzacks,That they had ſuffered the matter to run ſo far, and had not in the beginning (as
their duty was) ſuppreſſed the ſame. Grieuouſly threatning them , if they did not with all
E ſpeed ſend vnto him in bonds that counterfeit companion and the reſt of his Complices:the
which that it might be the eaſilier by them performed, he promiſed to ſend one of the chiefe
Baſſa's,namely *Partau Baſſa* (who had maried the widow of *Mahometes* the eldeſt ſon of *Roxolana*,
of whom we haue before remembred) and with him a ſtrong power of the ſoldiers of the
Court. But if they would haue themſelues excuſed, they ſhould of themſelues diſpatch the
matter before the comming of that aid. This *Partau* led after him certain ſquadrons of ſouldiers,
not ſo many in number, as notable for their fidelity. For *Solyman* had cauſed the moſt
faithful of his Colonels,Captains,and Corporals, to be culled out; wiſely doubting leſt his
ſoldiers,either led with affection,or corrupted with reward,might take part with him againſt
whom they were ſent. For the common ſort of Ianizaries ſtanding in ſuſpence at the fame of
F *Muſtapha*,and expectation of ſome great nouelty,fauored that broil,and wiſhed all on a hurly-burly:
neither was the matter indeed without danger. The Sanzacks after they had receiued
this ſtreit charge from *Solyman*,conſidering how much it ſtood them vpon to make ſpeedy diſpatch,
began now to incourage one another to beſtir themſelues, to make all the haſte poſſible,
and with all their power on euery ſide to oppoſe themſelues againſt the attempts of this

Solyman ſends Partau Baſſa gainſt the ſuppoſed Muſtapha.

new ſound *Muſtapha*, laboring to ſtay ſuch as were comming vnto him, and to diſperſe ſuch as were already come, by ſhewing them the greatneſſe of the danger, and threatning them with all extremities. In the mean time *Partau Baſſa* came on with his army, and was not now far off: when (as in like caſe it often fals out in things not yet ſufficiently confirmed, and by celerity preuented) the ſoldiers of the counterfeit *Muſtapha* ſeeing themſelues beſet on euery ſide, began to fear, and firſt ſome few to ſlip away, but afterwards all without regard of ſhame or of their promiſe, to forſake their captain and fly euery man whither he thought beſt. The Captain ſeeking likewiſe to make ſhift for himſelf, was with the chief of his counſellors and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the Baſſa, who with a ſtrong gard ſent them all in bonds to Conſtantinople: where *Solyman* by moſt exquiſit torments drew from them al the ſecret deuices of his yong ſon *Bajazet*; and that he had purpoſed after ſuch a head made by this ſuppoſed *Muſtapha*, as he thought conuenient, to haue vpon the ſudden ioyned himſelf with a great power, and ſo as ſhould beſt ſerue for his purpoſe, to haue gon directly to Conſtantinople, or els againſt his brother *Selymus*. But whilſt he goeth ſomewhat too ſlowly about his buſines, his vnripe counſels were by his fathers celerity oppreſſed. Of all which matter *Solyman* now thorowly aſſured, cauſed the ſuppoſed *Muſtapha* with his companions at midnight to be drowned in the ſea; thinking it not good to haue theſe things commonly known, and to haue his domeſtical wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of his neighbour princes. Neuertheles, being mightily offended with *Bajazet* for ſo great an iniury, he ceaſed not to caſt in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him, which his wife *Roxolana* a woman of great wiſdom was not ignorant of. Who after a few daies, at ſuch time as the old mans fury was ouerpaſt, falling of purpoſe into talk with him about the matter, ſhe laid together in her ſons behalf, and alledged the indiſcreetnes of his youth, the neceſſity of the fact, and the example of his anceſtors in like caſe, that it was ſo prouided for by nature, that euery man ſhould bee careful of himſelfe and his, and that euery man did indifferently ſhun death; that young men were by euill counſel eaſily ſeduced and made to forget their duty. That it were reaſon hee ſhould forgiue him his firſt fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gain for the father to haue ſaued his ſonne: but if he ſhould again fall into relapſe, there would not want time to puniſh him for both facts. And that if ſo be he would not pardon him for his owne ſake, hee would vouchſafe to pardon him for hers, intreating now for him for whom ſhe had before groaned, and not to be cruel vpon him, one of the pledges of their loue, in whom reſted the bloud of them both: for in what woful caſe ſhould ſhe be, if of thoſe two ſonnes (all that God had left her) the fathers ſeuerity ſhould bereaue her of the one. Wherfore ſhe requeſted him to moderat his anger, & to prefer his clemency before his iuſt indignation; foraſmuch as God himſelf of al power and might, did not alwaies deal with ſinners in ſeuerity, but for moſt part in mercy; wheras otherwiſe all mankind would not ſuffice his wrath. And would mercy in any place be more fitting, than in the father toward his child? She promiſed further, that *Bajazet* ſhould from thenceforth remain in dutifull obedience towards his Maieſty; and vpon his ſo great clemencie, to conuert the fear wherein he now liued, into a world of duty and deuotion. Honorable minds ſhe ſaid were retained with nothing more than with kindnes and curteſie; That the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiuenes ſhould be a ſtay vnto him, for euer doing the like again. At laſt, That ſhe would promiſe for him, and take vpon her, that he ſhould for euer afterwards ſatisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of duty and loyalty. Which words mingled with tears and other womanly geſtures, ſo wrought with *Solyman*, being otherwiſe too much in her power, that he reſolued to forgiue the fault, yet ſo, that he ſhould come and ſubmit himſelf, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother foreſlowes no time, but by letters ſecretly aduertiſed *Bajazet* not to feare to come to his father at ſuch time as he ſhould be ſent for. Aſſuring him that there was no danger, for that his father was by her means appeaſed, and he again brought into his fauor. With which good newes *Bajazet* well comforted, reſolued to go at ſuch time as he was ſent for: yet ful of fear, and oftentimes looking back vnto his brother *Muſtapha*, whoſe dreadful example ſufficiently warned him, what a danger he aduentured himſelfe vnto. Yet he came vnto the place appointed for his parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called Careſtran, a few miles from the city of Conſtantinople. For ſuch is the ſuſpitious maner of the Turkiſh Tyrants of theſe times, not to ſuffer any of their ſons that bee men growne, to ſet their foot within the gates of Conſtantinople,

Muſtapha and his companions drowned.

At Roxolana's requeſt Solymã pardoneth Bajazet.

Bajazet goes to his father in fear.

A nople, as dangerous for ſolliciting the ſoldiers of the Court, and ſo conſequently for altering the ſtate. *Bajazet* was no ſooner lighted from his horſe, but his fathers Gard was ready to receiue him, commanding him to lay aſide his ſword and dagger: which thing though it be a vſual matter in others that are admitted to the preſence of the Turkiſh Emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guilty ſon raiſe a great fear. But his kind mother (who had before foreſeen in what fear and perplexity he would come) had conueied her ſelfe into a Chamber faſt by the entrance of the ſame houſe as *Bajazet* was to paſſe; where out of a little caſement couered with a thin linnen cloth ſhee called to him paſſing by, in theſe few words, *Corcoma Oglan, Corcoma*; which is as much to ſay, *Fear not my ſonne, fear not*. With which ſhort ſpeech *Bajazet* was not a little both comforted and incouraged. But as ſoon as he was come into his B fathers preſence, and had done his duty, *Solyman* commanded him to ſit down by him. Then began the grim Sir grieuouſly to reproue him of raſhnes and want of diſcretion in taking vp Arms, which he could not otherwiſe conceiue of but as taken vp againſt himſelf. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the beſt that he could make of it, taken vp againſt his elder brother, yet was it neuertheles a great preſumption and moſt wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole ſtate of the Mahometan Religion (which at this day reſteth vpon the *Othoman* family) had by his domeſtical diſcord been ſore ſhaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruin, to the great iniury, reproch, and contempt of his Majeſty, a moſt deteſtable and horrible crime, which could not but with condign puniſhment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to ſhew himſelf rather a kind father, than a C ſeuere judge; ſo that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: foraſmuch as none of theſe things are done by our appointment, but that kingdomes and Monarchies are beſtowed as it beſt pleaſeth him. So that if it were his deſtiny to enioy the Empire after his death, he ſhould be ſure therof, as of a thing that would of it ſelf come to him, and could not by any mans power be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him. But if it were otherwiſe appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vain to ſtriue againſt the wil of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherfore he ought now (as one wel warned) to ceaſe to rage & ſtorm, and not moleſt his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he ſhould again fal and raiſe new ſtirres, it would aſſuredly fall vpon his own head, neither would any place of mercy be found for his ſecond offence; & that D he ſhould then find him not as now, his gentle father, but a moſt ſeuere and reuenging judge. Which when he had ſaid, and *Bajazet* had thereunto briefly anſwered as the time would permit, rather crauing pardon for his treſpaſſe, than excuſing that was not to be excuſed, and promiſing from henceforth to liue moſt loyally at his command; *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commanded to be giuen to *Bajazet*, who not daring to refuſe it, although he had rather haue ſo done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting leſt that ſhould haue bin his laſt: of which fear his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the ſame cup. So *Bajazet*, though guilty, hauing with better ſucceſſe ſpoken with his father than had his brother *Muſtapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.

Solyman reproueth Baiazet of diſloyalty, and afterward pardoneth him.

Baiazet returneth vnto his Charge.

E This hapned in the yeare 1555, from which time *Bajazet* ſo long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himſelf with al dutifull & brotherly kindnes both towards his father & his brother; and that rather for to keep her fauor, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindneſſe, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the only thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But ſhe dead about two yeres after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, & diſcharged of all bonds of duty, fell to his former courſe, & began more grieuouſly than before, to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him & his brother, ſomtime ſeeking by ſecret practiſes to haue him made away, and other ſomtimes by open force entring into his prouince, which was not far off, there euill intreated ſome of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their maF ſters ſake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the diſgrace of him whom of al other he wiſhed dead: he had alſo certain of his fauorits at Conſtantinople, by whom he cunningly wrought by all means to gain the loue of the ſoldiers of the court, and doubted not as occaſion ſerued to paſſe ouer thither himſelfe, and there to lurk in ſecret with ſuch as were of his faction, and priuy to his deſignements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but eſpecially by letters from *Selymus*, wherin he was alſo aduertiſed to haue care of his own ſafety; G for that he was far deceiued, if he perceiued not that theſe preambles of *Bajazets* wicked intentions would at laſt turn vpon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, ſo that hee might alone reign: vnto whoſe vnruly deſires his fathers welfare was no leſſe a bar than was his brothers, and therfore through his ſides was his life ſhot at. Which treaſon had (as hee ſaid) bin of long time plotted, and now occaſion ſought to haue the ſame performed. Wherfore he ſhould take heed that he were not by ſuch trechery ouerwhelmed before he were aware therof. That for himſelf, he could eaſily bear with the injuries of his brother *Bajazet*, yet could not chuſe but be mooued with the greatnes of his fathers dangers. By which means *Solymans* hatred againſt *Bajazet* was more and more increaſed. Wherfore he by letters put him in remembrance of his duty, how curteouſly he had vſed him, and again what he had on his part promiſed: H that there would not alwaies be place for forgiuenes; that hee ſhould therefore ceaſe to wrong his brother, and trouble his father. That he had but a ſhort time to liue, and that after his death God would aſſigne each of them their fortune. But all this was to no purpoſe with *Bajazet*, fully ſet down reſolutely to haſard any thing, than as a beaſt to haue his throat cut by his brother: which thing he as plainly ſaw would betide him in the reign of *Selymus*, as if it had bin euen then in execution. Yet he anſwered to his fathers commands not impertinently, but his deeds agreed not with his ſayings, neither did hee alter any thing of his intended purpoſe. Which thing ſo ſoon as *Solyman* perceiued, he thought it beſt to take another courſe, and to remoue his ſons both farther from himſelf, and alſo farther one from another. Wherfore he gaue them to vnderſtand that it was his pleaſure, That both of them within a certaine I prefixed time ſhould paſſe out of their gouernments (*Bajazet* being then gouernor of Cutai, and *Selymus* of Magneſia) and that now *Bajazet* ſhould remoue to Amaſia, and *Selymus* to Iconium. *Selymus* was without imputation, and altogether in fauor with his father; yet becauſe no occaſion ſhould be giuen *Bajazet* to fal into extremities, if he ſhould haue bin remoued alone, *Solyman* to ſeem indifferent commanded them both to remoue. Vnto which command it was adjoined, That the farther they were one from another, they ſhould be ſo much the neerer in mind and brotherly loue: foraſmuch as neernes of dwelling of the Great did oftentimes hinder their good agreement, whilſt by forwardnes of officers many things are on both ſides don to the grieuing of their maſters. And that they ſhould in any caſe do as they were commanded; and that he which ſtayd longeſt, ſhould not be free from the ſuſpition of contempt. K *Selymus* made no long ſtay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be don for his ſake. But *Bajazet* hung back, and being gon a little on his way, complained of the vnlucky prouince of Amaſia, ſtained with the bloud of his late brother the noble *Muſtapha*, to be aſſigned vnto him as ominous; and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatſoeuer than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miſerable end of the neereſt to him in bloud, ſhould be euer before his eies, to the wounding of his heart. Wherfore he requeſted that he might at leaſt Winter in thoſe places, or els there from whence his brother was now of late departed: but *Solyman* would in no wiſe hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gon before certain days iourny, with ſuch troups as his father had ſent vnto him beſides his own, for feare of *Bajazet*, who yet ſtayd loitering and trifling on the time, ſuddenly returning and fetching a compas about, L ſhewed himſelfe at his brothers back, marching toward Pruſa in Bithynia, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh Kings; which he did not without the priuity of his father, who liked not of the lingring of *Bajazet*: for what if he, hauing gained the good wil of the Ianizaries, ſhould haue gon either to Pruſa, or vnto Conſtantinople, what a danger might therby haue grown to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole State in generall? In this common fear, *Solyman* though it beſt for *Selymus* there to ſtay, from whence they might moſt conueniently help one another, if *Bajazet* ſhould (as was feared) turn himſelf vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* ſo ſtrong as to aduenture to join battell with his brother, whom he knew ready to put all vnto the haſard of one day. But when *Bajazet* (contrary to his expectation) ſaw *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother ſhould be the vndoubted heire of M the Empire if his father ſhould die, (which was then by reaſon of his ſickly conſtitution of body more and more feared) he writ vnto his father accuſing his brother, That hee could not more manifeſtly in any thing declare how maliciouſly he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect courſe, which was to no other purpoſe but to aſpire to the Empire, and to

Solyman remoueth his two ſons farther aſunder.

Bajazet delayeth his going to Amaſia.

A haue a ſhort cut ouer to Conſtantinople, if hee ſhould haue any newes of his fathers death,
which he ſtil gaped after. Which his longing if his fathers longer life ſhould delay, then by
the ſecret miniſters of his treaſon to diſpatch him, and by murdering of him to poſſeſſe himſelf
of the empire: and yet neuertheles this man, as a moſt dutiful and obedient ſon, to bee of
him much made of, and as it were put in his boſom. Wheras he on the contrary part meaning
wel, into whoſe conceit neuer any ſuch thought came, but was euer at command, was not had
in any regard, but caſt off and contemned; whoſe greateſt requeſt was but to ſhun an vnfortunat
ominous prouince. Then conuerting his ſtile to prayers, he intreated his father to gratifie
him with ſome other prouince, if it were that from which his brother was gon, or with any
other whatſoeuer, ſo that it were more lucky than that of Amaſia. For anſwer whereof, hee
B ſaid he would ſtay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his requeſt, hee ſhould not
haue need farther to retyre. But if he ſhould not obtain his requeſt, that then he was ready to
go whitherſoeuer his father ſhould command. It was not altogether for nought, that *Bajazet*
found fault with Amaſia; being the manner of the Turks, of the ſmalleſt things of all to diuine
vpon the greateſt. But *Solyman* vnderſtood the matter otherwiſe, who not ignorant of his
ſons tears, knew right well, that he in them ſought for nothing els but a more commodious
place for him to raiſe new ſtirs in, than was Amaſia, ſo far diſtant from Conſtantinople. So
Bajazet by many delaies did what he could to fruſtrat his fathers appointment, ceaſing not
in the mean time to augment his ſtrength with new ſoldiers, to prouide armor, mony, & whatſoeuer
els ſeruing for the defence of himſelf, and impugning of his brother. Which *Solyman*
C took in no other part than as intended againſt his owne perſon: yet would he ſeem as not to
haue any vnderſtanding of the matter. For why, the wary old Sir would not by taking knowledge
therof, driue headlong his ſon, who was already running to faſt of himſelf. Beſides that,
he was not ignorant that the eies of all Nations were bent vpon this diſcord of his two ſons;
and therfore he deſired by all means, that theſe grudges might with as little ſtir as was poſſible
be appeaſed. Wherfore he anſwered *Bajazet* curteouſly, that concerning his gouernment
of Amaſia he could not alter it, as reſolutely ſet down as wel for his brother as himſelfe; and
that therfore they ſhould do wel to go both to their appointed places, as he had before commanded.
As for the reſt, they ſhould be of good comfort, for that hee would take ſuch order
as that neither of them ſhould haue iuſt cauſe to complaine. *Partau Baſſa*, the fourth of the
D great Baſſa's of the Court, was appointed to go with this meſſage to *Bajazet*; and *Mehemet*
third of the ſame great Baſſa's, with like charge to *Selymus*; becauſe the matter ſhould ſeem
to be don with all indifferencie: and both theſe great men commaunded not to depart from
them they were ſent vnto, before they were both come vnto the places of their gouernment
wherunto they were aſſigned. Which *Solyman* wiſely did, to keep them both within the compas
of duty, by the preſence of two ſuch graue Counſellors. Which thing *Selymus* tooke in
good part, but *BajaZet* not ſo: who hauing reſolued with himſelfe to ſet all on a burly-burly,
thought nothing more vnfit for his deſignes, than to haue one of his fathers greateſt Counſellors
ſtill at his elbow as Cenſor of all his ſpeeches and doings: wherfore hauing curteouſly
entertained him, and rewarded him according to his abilitie, he diſmiſſed him (though
E vnwilling to depart) making this excuſe, That he would vſe him as his patron and defender
with his father, foraſmuch as he had no other in Court to defend his cauſe; promiſing not to
be vnto him an vnworthy or vnthankfull Client: and to carry word back again vnto his father,
That he would aboue all things haue care of his command, if he might ſo do for his brother
Selymus, whoſe injuries and trecheries he had much ado to brook. *Partau* the great Baſſa thus
ſent away, aſſured *Solyman* what the very mind and purpoſe of his yonger ſon was. And albeit
that *BajaZet*, to make it ſeem as if ſomthing had bin don by that embaſſage, made ſhew as if
he would haue preſently gon toward Amaſia; yet *Solyman* neuertheles fearing the worſt, made
all the preparation he could againſt him: commanding the Beglerbeg of Greece, although
then ſick of the gout, to make haſt, and with his horſemen with all ſpeed to paſſe ouer to ayd
F *Selymus*. And *Mehemet* Baſſa but lately returned, he ſent forthwith backe again to *Selymus* for
the ſame purpoſe, with certain of the moſt truſty companies of the Ianizaries; and the old man
in readines, made ſemblant as if he would himſelf in perſon haue gon ouer into Aſia. But the
Ianizaries, and other ſoldiers of the court came with euill wil together, deteſting that Warre
between the brethren, as altogether abhominable: for againſt whom ſhould they draw their

Partau & Mehemet two Viſier Baſſa's ſent by Solyman to conduct his two ſons to their ſeueral Charges.

Bajazet ſends Partau Baſſa back again.

Solyman preparing to go againſt Bajazet, finds the Ianizaries vnwilling.

ſwords? was it not againſt the Emperours ſons, and haply the heire of the empire? Wherſore
this war might (as they ſaid) wel enough be let alone, as altogether vnneceſſary, and not they G
to be inforced to imbrue their hands one in anothers bloud, and to pollute themſelues with
ſuch impiety: as for that which *Bajazet* did, was to be holden excuſed, as proceeding from neceſſity.
Which ſpeeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solymans* ears, he forthwith declared
them to the Muphti (who in all matters of doubt they flee vnto, as vnto a moſt ſacred Oracle)
demanding of him, how he was to be intreated, who of himſelf preſumed whilſt hee yet
liued, to leuy ſoldiers, raiſe an army, ranſack towns, & trouble the ſtate of the whole empire?
and what alſo he deemed of them that were his followers and took part with him? and laſt of
all, of them alſo that refuſed to bear arms againſt him, and ſaid that he had in ſo doing offended
nothing? Wherunto the Muphti anſwered, That both the man and his partakers were all H
worthy of death, and that ſuch as refuſed to take vp Arms againſt him, were as prophane and
irreligious men to be accounted inteſtable. Which the great Prieſts anſwer was publiſhed
vnto the people, and by the chiefe Chiaus ſent to *Bajazet*, to ſee if he might be therwith mooued.
Within a few daies after there came to Conſtantinople one of the Chiaus (whom *Bajazet*
had intercepted, being ſent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Bajazet* gaue his father to vnderſtand,
that he was in al duty his, and that he had not taken vp Arms againſt him, neither refuſed
to be vnto him in all things obedient: but that he had to do only with his brother, and
with him to fight for his life, by whoſe ſword he muſt die, or els he by his, for that a miſchief
was to be by one of them performed. Which quarrel he was reſolued to try while he yet liued,
and that therfore he ſhould do beſt not to meddle in the quarel, or giue aid to either. But I
if ſo be he would needs (as the report was) paſſe ouer the ſea to aid *Selymus*, he ſhould not eaſily
get him into his hands; for that he knew right well, if the worſt came, how to eſcape and
ſaue himſelf, and would before he could get ouer into Aſia, make ſuch ſpoile with fire and
ſword, as neuer had *Tamerlane*, or other the cruelleſt enemy that euer the Turks had. Which
meſſage did not a little trouble *Solyman*; and withall it was reported, that the town of Axuar,
where one of *Selymus* his ſons ruled as Sanzack, was already taken by *Bajazet* and ſhamefully
ſacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was gon toward Amaſia, and now on his way as
far as Ancyra, being out of all ſuſpition of danger which hee feared vpon the way ſo long as
his brother was yet lingring in thoſe quarters, haſted now towards Iconium, which was with a
ſtrong gariſon kept for him. For amongſt other cares wherwith *Solyman* was vexed, it was not K
the leaſt, that *Bajazet* intercepting Iconium, ſhould get into Syria, and from thence into Ægypt,
an open country, and not yet thorowly eſtabliſhed vnder the Turkiſh gouernment; neither
forgetful of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, & therfore deſirous of change: from
whence it would haue bin an hard matter to haue driuen *Bajazet*, eſpecially the Arabians being
alwaies ready and at hand at euery light ſtir, where any hope of prey was. Out of which
prouince alſo in caſe of extremity he might eaſily tranſport himſelf into one of the Chriſtian
kingdoms. *Solyman* therfore took great care, that this paſſage which might ſeeme the laſt
refuge of *Bajazets* deuices, might be ſtopped vp: and concerning the ſame, had giuen commandement
vnto moſt of his Commanders in Aſia, to be alwaies in readines to aid *Selymus*
whenſoeuer he ſhould call. With them *Selymus* lay incamped vnder the wals of Iconium, attending L
euery ſtirring of *Bajazet*, reſoluing there to expect further aid from his father, & not
by vntimely fight to commit his ſafety to the haſard of one doubtful battell. But *Bajazet* on
the other ſide, not vnmindful what a matter he had taken in hand, ſlept not therupon, but firſt
entertained a valiant ſort of horſmen which the Turks cal Chiurts, and are ſuppoſed to be of
that people which were ſomtime called Gordij, men for their known valor famous. He yet lay
in the plain and open fields by Ancyra, of the commodities of which city, which were indeed
great, he made great vſe. In the caſtle therof he beſtowed his concubines and children: of the
rich merchants he took vp mony, to be repaid with the vſe vpon the good ſucces of the War:
and from thence he took whatſoeuer was needful for the arming and furniſhing of his men.
Beſides his own family, which was very great, and thoſe Chiurts which we ſpoke of, many repaired M
vnto him, which in former time had bin beholden to his mother, to his ſiſter, & to *Ruſtan*
the great Baſſa. Many alſo of the reliques of the valiant *Muſtapha* and *Achomates* the
great Baſſa, valiant men and expert ſouldiers, who deſired to reuenge the vnworthy death of
their Lords and Maſters euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding

Bajazet requeſteth his father not to meddle betweene him & his brother.

Bajazet ſtayes at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his Forces.

rabblement

A rabblement of ſuch as weary of their preſent ſtate, deſired ſome new alteration and change.
The commiſeration alſo of the ſtate of the vnfortunat *Bajazet*, eaſily drew many to take part
with him, whoſe whole truſt was in his valor:they fauored the young prince liuely repreſenting
his father. When as in *Selymus* appeared no likenes of himſelf,but the expres liniaments
of his mothers face and body,a woman whilſt ſhe liued generally hated of all the people. He
went heauily,as ouercharged with his greaſie panch,blub cheeked,and exceeding red faced;
ſo that the ſoldiers in ſport would ſay he was fed with green malt. He was altogether giuen
to his eaſe,and ſpent his time in drunkennes and ſleep;neither was he curteous of ſpeech, nor
willing to deſerue wel of any man:for he would not(as he ſaid)offend his father by being popular;
ſo was he only of his father beloued,and of all other men hated. Of all kind of men hee
B moſt diſliked them that ſet al their hope in a bountiful and courageous prince. The ſame ſoldiers
were alſo wont to cal *Bajazet*, *Softie*, that is to ſay,a man giuen to quietnes and ſtudy:but
after they ſaw him take vp arms,and for the ſafety of himſelf and his children ready to aduenture
any thing,they began to admire him as a man of valour and courage,and to ask amongſt
themſelues, Why his father ſhould reiect him of ſuch worth,the expreſſe image of himſelf,
and prefer before him that gorbellied ſluggard,in whom no ſpark of his fathers valor was
to be ſeen? This his entring into arms was no fault,being therunto by neceſſity inforced. For,
had not *Selymus* their grandfather don the like? whereof no better example could be found,
whom the force of neceſſity conſtrained not only to take vp arms againſt his brother,but alſo
by haſtning the death of his father;and by ſo doing purchaſed vnto himſelf and his poſterity
C the empire:which ſo gotten,if *Solyman* did not vniuſtly poſſeſſe,why might not his ſon vſe the
ſame courſe?why ſhould he ſo rigorouſly reuenge that in his ſonne, that was ſo lawfull in the
grandfather? Although there was,as they ſaid,great difference betwixt that *Selymus* and this
Bajazet; for that this man intended no harm againſt his father, but wiſhed him long to liue:
neither yet againſt his brother,if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once ceaſe
to do him wrong. That it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repel force by force, and to ſhun
preſent death,if the deſtinies would ſo permit. By ſuch affections and motions *Bajazets* forces
daily increaſed:which being now grown almoſt to the greatnes of a ful army, he thought
it not beſt to vſe longer delay,but to march forthwith againſt his brother to fight with him
one battel for his life,ſtate and empire:accounting it ſome commendation(though in vaine)
D to haue attempted ſo great an enterpriſe. His purpoſe was, as *Solyman* feared,to get into Syria:
which if he could bring to paſſe,he then doubted not of the reſt. *Selymus* ſtrengthned with
his fathers power,lay waiting for his comming before Iconium, wel appointed of al warlike
prouiſion:his army was exceeding ſtrong,and in it many notable commanders, martiall men
of great experience whom his father had ioyned vnto him; who all lay couered with their
great ordnance,planted in places moſt conuenient. But *Bajazet* nothing terrified therwith, as
ſoon as he came within ſight of his brothers Army, incouraged his ſoldiers in few words to
play the men,for that now was come the time they wiſhed for,& place for them to ſhew their
valor in: Wherfore they ſhould ſhew themſelues courageous and valiant,and he would make
them all rich and fortunat. He told them,that their fortune was now in their owne hands,to
E frame it euery man as he would himſelfe; ſo that if any of them were weary of their preſent
ſtate,there was the field wherin they might exchange it with better, and therin lay down the
miſery of their former liues. That of him they ſhould if they ouercame,expect riches,promotions,
honors,and whatſoeuer els,the rewards of valiant men. That with the victory of one
battel,all their deſires ſhould be ſatisfied,were they neuer ſo great:which victory was by the
valor that reſted in them to be gotten, and his brothers Army, the heartleſſe followers of a
heartleſſe captain,ouerthrown:as for his fathers ſoldiers that were with his brother,they were
in body preſent,but in mind altogether on his ſide. That it was only *Selymus* that withſtood
his welfare and their felicity; whom they ſhould therfore valiantly ſeek for in field as their
common enemy:and not to be afraid of his multitude:foraſmuch as victory was to be gained
F not by number,but by valor: and the moſt mighty God of heauen and earth was ſtil preſent,
not with the moſt,but with the beſt. Beſides that,he willed them to remember,with what a
cruell enemy they were to fight, who thirſted after nothing more than their bloud. And to
conclude,he willed them all not to looke vpon his words,but his deeds; and ſayd, If as you
ſhall ſee me fighting for your profit,you ſhall likewiſe fight for myne honor, I dare then aſſure

The deſcription of Selymus.

Bajazet & his quarrel generally fauoured of the ſoldiers.

Bajazet goes againſt his brother.

ſure you of the victory. Which ſaid, he with great courage charged the enemy, and fighting
himſelf a long time among the formoſt, and there performing all the parts of a valiant ſoldier G
and worthy Captain, was for his notable valor no leſſe commended of his enemies than of
his own ſoldiers. The battell was bloudy and terrible, and many fell on both ſides: but after
that they with wonderfull obſtinacy had a great while fought with doubtful victory, ſo that
forty thouſand Turks lay there did vpon the ground; at length the victory began to incline to
that ſide wheron ſtood the greater ſtrength, the iuſter cauſe, and better counſel. Many of the
enemies being ſlain, & many of his own people alſo loſt, *Bajazet* was inforced to retyre; which
he did ſo leiſurely, and without ſhew of any fear, that it ſeemed to the beholders, he had welneer
as wel gained as loſt the field. Neither durſt *Selymus* purſue him, but ſtood ſtil faſt in the
ſame place, neuer more glad of any thing than to ſee his brothers back. But *Bajazet* after hee H
had in contempt of his fathers command, thus run his own courſe, and ſatisfied his own deſire,
though diſappointed of his purpoſe, and not able to perform the journey by him intended
into Syria, turned now his courſe, and began in good earneſt to go to Amaſia his appointed
prouince.

The battell betwixt Selymus and Bajazet. Forty thouſand Turks ſlain.

Solyman ſpeedily aduertiſed of the euent of this battel, forthwith paſſed ouer into Aſia: for
as the great Baſſa's his counſellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the ſtreight
before the victory; ſo after it was certainly known, they thought it not good longer to ſtay, leſt
the ouerthrow of *Baiazet* might giue occaſion to ſuch as ſecretly fauored his quarrel, to ſhew
themſelues, and ſo to raiſe greater troubles. Beſides that, the fame of his paſſage ouer would
(as they ſaid) much auail both to the diſcouragement of *BajaZet*, and the terrifying of all his
friends; and therfore it was by them thought good, haſtily to purſue him, now ouerthrowne, I
and not to ſuffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather *Selymus*, *Solymans*
father, who had bin more terribly vanquiſhed than when hee ſtood in his own ſtrength, and
and might ſeem by that meanes eſpecially to haue preuailed, for that he was at firſt vnfortunatly
ouerthrown. Neither were theſe things without reaſon foreſeen; for it is almoſt incredible,
what admiration and loue this battel (though vnfortunat) did gain *Bajazet*; men wondred
that he durſt with ſo ſmall a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, incounter with his
brother far better appointed, and alſo ſupported by his fathers ſtrength; neither fearing the
great diſaduantage of the place, nor the fury of the artillery: and to haue behaued himſelfe in
the battel not like a yong ſoldier, but like an old expert commander. *Selimus* might at his pleaſure
boaſt of himſelf (as they ſaid) to his father for the victory; but *Bajazet* was the man that K
deſerued to ouercome: and that *Selymus* might to any thing aſcribe the victory, rather than
to his own valor.

Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, as they made *Bajazet* gratious among the people generally,
ſo doubled they his fathers cares, and increaſed his hatred, to wiſh him the rather dead. For
why, he was reſolutely ſet down, not to leaue any other heir of the empire than *Selymus* his eldeſt
ſon, always loial and obedient to him: wheras the other he abhorred as ſtubborn & rebellious,
gaping after the empire whilſt he yet liued; of whom he was therfore ſo much the more
to ſtand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valor, and for the aid he had now
ſo openly giuen to *Selymus*. For theſe cauſes he paſſed ouer the ſtreit into Aſia, with purpoſe, L
not to go farre from the ſea coaſt, but as it were afar off with his fauourable aſpect to countenance
Selymus his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his Army, to indanger
himſelf by the ſudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which he aboue all things feared.

Auger. Busb. Epiſt. 5. legat. Turcicæ.

I my ſelf (ſaith the author of this hiſtory) ſaw him departing out of Conſtantinople the
firſt of Iune, *Anno* 1559, when as within a few daies after, I my ſelfe was alſo ſent for thither:
for the Baſſa's thought it not amiſſe to haue me in the camp, and to vſe me curteouſly as their
friend; for which cauſe I was aſſigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neer to the camp, where
I lay very wel. The Turks lay in the fields round about: but lying there three months, I had
good leiſure and opportunitie to ſee the manner of their Camp, and in part to know the order
of their martial diſcipline. So I attyring my ſelf in ſuch apparell as the Chriſtians commonly M
vſe in thoſe parts, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my pleaſure vnknowne.
Firſt I ſaw the ſouldiers of all ſorts moſt orderly placed; and that, which he would
ſcarſly beleeue that knoweth the manner of our war, there was in euery place great ſilence, &
as a man may ſay, dumb quietneſſe; no brawling, no inſolencie, no not ſo much as a word or

laugh-

A laughter paſſing in ſport or drunkenneſſe. Beſides that wonderfull cleanlines,no dunghils,no
excrements that might offend either their eies or noſe,for all ſuch things the Turks do either
bury or carry them far out of ſight. They themſelues ſo oft as they are inforced to diſcharge
the burthen of nature,dig an hole with a ſpade and bury it, ſo is all their camp without filth.
There was not to be ſeen any drinking or feaſting,no dicing(the great ſhame of our wars) the
loſſe of mony or time at cards and dice,the Turks know not.I met only with a rough Hungarian
and his companion,a ſoldier, who heauy himſelf, to the Lute rather houled than ſung a
doleful ditty,containing the laſt words of a fellow of his dying of his wounds vpon the green
banke of Danubius ; wherein he requeſteth the riuer,becauſe it ran to the place where he was
born,to carry news to his friends and countrymen,that he died an honorable death,and not vnreuenged,
B for the increaſe of his religion,and honor of his country:wherunto his fellows ſighing,
bare a foot, *O happy and thrice happy wight, would Fortune with thee change we might.* For the
Turks are of opinion, That no mens ſoules go more ſpeedily to heauen, than of ſuch valiant
men as die in battell,for whoſe welfare their maidens daily make prayers and vowes. I would
alſo needs go through their butchery, where their beaſts were killed, to ſee what fleſh was to
be ſold ; where I ſaw but foure, or at moſt fiue weathers hanging ready dreſſed, and that was
the butchery for the Ianizaries,which I deemed to be in that camp not fewer than foure thouſand.
I maruelled that ſo little fleſh ſhould ſuffice ſo many men:but I was anſwered, That few
of them did eat fleſh, for the moſt part of them had their victuals tranſported from Conſtantinople.
Then I demanding what it was,they ſhewed me a Ianizarie ſitting by,who in an earthen
C diſh had pilled a turnep,an onion,a head of garlick,a parſnep,and a cucumber, all ſauced
with ſalt & vineger,or more truly to ſay,with hunger;whereon he fed as ſauorly,as if they had
bin feaſants or partridges:his drink was the common drinke of all liuing creatures,euen faire
water.By which frugall kind of diet,they prouide both for the health of their bodies,and the
ſparing of their purſe:and that I maruelled the more at,it was the time that their great faſt, or
to ſpeake after our faſhion,their Lent was at hand : at which time with vs Chriſtians, euen in
well ordered cities,much more in camps,all rings with playing,dancing,ſinging,crying,quaffing,
carouſing,and in briefe,with madding & phrenſie.So that it is not vainly reported, That
a Turke ſent about that time Embaſſador into Germany,comming home,reported, That the
Chriſtians on certain daies did ryot, and became mad,vntill they,beſprinkled with a certain
D kind of aſhes in the Church, came to themſelues againe,and ſo recouered ; and that it was a
wonderful thing to ſee,how much they were changed by the efficacy of that remedy,that they
ſeemed not to be the ſame men : meaning indeed the diſordered manner of the Chriſtians at
Shrouetide, and the Ceremonies vſed on Aſhwedneſday:Which thing they to whom it was
told, ſo much the more maruelled at, for that the Turks haue many medicines which cauſe
madnes,but few or none which preſently eaſeth the ſame. And they vpon thoſe daies that go
before their great faſts,change nothing of their wonted maner of life to the worſe:but rather
contrariwiſe prepare themſelues to abſtinence, by taking ſomwhat from their vſuall fare, the
better to endure the ſudden change of their faſt:which they ſo preciſely obſerue,that on their
faſting daies they will not ſo much as taſt a cup of water,or waſh their mouths with water all
E the day long,before the ſtars appeare in the ſky:which maketh their faſts, eſpecially in Summer
when the daies be long and hot,to be vnto them very tedious.

The opinion the Turks haue of them that die in their wars.

The ſpare diet of the Ianizaries.

The preciſe maner of the Turks in their faſts.

Whiles I thus lay in the camp,there came vnto me one *Albertus* a learned man with certain Preſents from the emperor to *Solyman*,which were certain gilt plate;and a moſt curious clock, which was carried vpon an Elephant like a caſtle;and ſome crowns to be diſperſed among the Baſſaes : which *Solyman* would needs haue preſented to him in the campe in the ſight of the whole army,to make it the better known what friendſhip was between him and the Emperor, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Chriſtian Princes.

Preſents ſent from the Emperor Ferdinand to Solyman.

But to returne againe to *Bajazet*,from whom we haue a while digreſſed : he after the battel
at Iconium,had retired himſelfe to Amaſia,the place of his gouernment,as though he would
F haue now there quietly liued,if his father would ſo giue him leaue. He had now ſatisfied his
youthfull deſires & griefe, and ſeemed willing from thenceforth to ſatisfie his fathers better
expectation:and therfore ceaſed not by letters & fit men to proue his fathers minde. Neither
did *Solyman* ſhew himſelf ſtrange from ſuch a reconciliation:at firſt he eaſily gaue the meſſengers
audience,read his ſons letters,& courteouſly returned anſwer ; ſo that it was commonly
reported

Bajazet goeth to Amaſia, and ſeeketh for his fathers fauour.

Solyman diſſembles with Bajazet.

Bajazet flieth from Amaſia.

Bajazet deceiueth the Baſſas of Sebaſtia and Erzirum.

reported in the camp, that the father & the ſon would agree, and that the old man would pardon the youthfull pranke already paſt, ſo that he would from thenceforth remaine dutifull. But all this was by the counſel of the Baſſa's, nothing but deep diſſimulation in the crafty old ſire, vntill he had ſhut vp *Bajazet*, and ſo got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, leſt he deſpairing of pardon, ſhould with ſuch a power break into the borders of Perſia (now the only place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon thoſe frontiers: whom *Solyman* charged by continuall letters ſo to ſtop all the paſſages into Perſia, as that there ſhould not be any crany for *Bajazet* to fly out by. In the mean time, if any came within his reach that were ſuſpected to haue taken part with *Bajazet*, or fauored his proceedings, thoſe he cauſed to be tortured & ſecretly made away, and among them ſome whom *Bajazet* had of purpoſe ſent to excuſe themſelues. For *Solyman* fearing leſt *Tamas* the Perſian King (more mindfull of his old quarrels than of the late inforced peace) ſhould hardly with much ado ſuffer his ſon to be got out of his hands if he ſhould fly thither, and ſo again raiſe a long & dangerous war; did therfore what he poſſibly might to oppreſſe him before he ſhould come thither. Which his purpoſe although it was couered with al ſecrecy, yet was it not hidden from ſome of *Bajazet* his friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to truſt his father, but to beware of treaſon, and in any caſe ſpeedily to prouide for his owne ſafety. But *Solyman* thinking he had now ſo prouided as that he could by no means eſcape, and happily the more to deceiue his ſon, appointed to return with his army to Conſtantinople the day after their Eaſter day. But *Bajazet* vpon the very feaſt day, hauing performed the ſolemnities therof, commanded al things to be truſſed vp at Amaſia, and ſo ſet forward vpon his vnfortunat journy towards Perſia; knowing right wel that he went to the antient enemy of the *Othoman* family, but yet fully reſoluing to proue any mans mercy, rather than to fall into the hands of his angry father. Now were they all ſet forward, except ſuch weak ſouls as were not thought able to endure the labor of ſo long a journy: among whom was left *Solyman*, *Bajazets* yongeſt ſon, but then newly born; which guiltleſſe babe with his mother *Bajazet* thought better to leaue to the mercy of his grandfather, than to take him with him, a poor companion of his wofull and miſerable flight; whom *Solyman*, as yet vncertain of his fathers fortune, commaunded to be nurſed at Pruſa. *Baiazet* ſo gon from Amaſia, vſed ſuch celerity in his trauell, that almoſt in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, and lighted vpon many that were appointed to ſtay his paſſage, before they were aware of him. The Baſſa of Sebaſtia he thus deceiued: There was two waies, wherof one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his journy, and that the Baſſa had already taken. Wherfore he ſent certain as if they had bin fugitiues, to tel the Baſſa that he was already gon the other way. Which the Baſſa beleeuing, left the place he had before taken, and riſing with all his power ſpeedily to purſue him the other way, whereby it was told him that he was gon, left that way free and open for him to paſſe by.

The Baſſa of Erzirum he alſo deceiued by another not much vnlike ſhift. From whome when he was not far diſtant, and knowing that in paſſing his Country he was to indure great danger, he ſet vpon him with a wyle, ſending vnto him certain of his followers with commendations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the yong princes calamity, to moue the Baſſa to pitty, at laſt requeſted that he would giue him leaue to ſhoo his horſes in his territorie; telling him that he came vnprouided of all things, and therefore was deſirous in that fruitful country to refreſh his horſes a day or two, and to new ſhoo them. Wherunto the Baſſa curteouſly anſwered, That he would not let him to take whatſoeuer he needed. But whether it was for the compaſſion that he had vpon the ſtate of *Bajazet*, or for the ſecret loue he bare him, or that he thought by that means the eaſilier to intrap him, is vncertain; and haply preuented by *Bajazets* quick ſpeed, had not as yet ſufficient time to draw his ſoldiers together. He ſent alſo to *Bajazet* certain ſmal preſents, ſeeming to be glad of his welfare and comming. Who neuertheles kept on his way, reſting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Baſſa of Erzirum vnderſtanding that *Bajazet* came ſtil on, made what haſt he could alſo, and ioyned his power with the reſt of the Baſſa's which followed after: for many Baſſa's & Sanzacks hearing that *Bajazet* was fled from Amaſia, purſued faſt after him, being charged by *Solyman*, vpon pain of their heads to bring him back either aliue or dead: but all in vain, by reaſon of his ſpeedy departure, & for that he made more haſt to fly, than they did to follow. Yet it coſt no

man

A man dearer than this Baſſa of Erzirum of whom we haue now ſpoken, whom *Solyman* for this
cauſe diſplaced and *Selymus* afterwards ſlew, with two of his ſons young ſtriplings, whom hee
before in deſpight ſhamefully abuſed againſt nature. Yea *Selymus* himſelf and *Mahomet* the
great Baſſa, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia, followed alſo after *Bajazet*, though it were afar off.
This his departure grieued *Solyman* aboue meaſure, aſſuring himſelf (as the truth was) that he
was fled into Perſia: wherwith he was ſo much moued, that he could ſcarſly contain himſelfe,
but would needs haue gon with his whole power in all haſt againſt the Perſian, to haue terrified
him at hand from relieuing his rebellious ſon. But theſe his raging fits his graue Counſellors
moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger he ſhould aduenture himſelf vnto, by
reaſon of the doubtfull faith of his beſt ſoldiers: and what if *Bajazet* (as he was a deſperat and
B ſudden man) ſhould in the mean time turn about aboue Pontus and the fens of Mœtis, and ſo
fetching a compas come to Conſtantinople, and proclaiming a general liberty in his abſence
poſſeſſe himſelf of the empire. By which wholeſome perſuaſion *Solyman* ſtaid his ſo haſty a
journy. But *Bajazet* all the way as he went writ on the gates & dores, that he would giue double
pay to all ſuch as ſhould follow him: which cauſed *Solymans* captains to haue their owne
ſoldiers in diſtruſt, and the more, for that they might oftentimes hear among them ſpeeches
of great good wil and loue toward *Bajazet*.

Bajazet hardly purſued.

After long flying, he was at length come to the riuer Araxis, which ſeparates the Turkiſh
kingdom from the Perſian: which hauing paſſed ouer, and yet not ſo in ſafety, he left certaine
of his followers vpon the bank of the riuer, to keep the Sanzacks (who ſtill eagerly purſued
C him) from paſſing ouer. Whom the Sanzacks eaſily repulſed, and ſo paſſing the riuer, entred
a great way into the Perſian kingdom, vntil ſuch time as they were met by certain of the Nobility
of Perſia with great troups of horſmen; who demanding what they meant, by that their
purſuit, and what they ſought for in another mans kingdom, were anſwerd by the Turks, that
they purſued their kings fugitiue ſon. To whom the Perſians replied, That they did not wel,
contrary to the league with their lord & maſter, to come in arms beyond the bounds of their
own kingdom: and that there was a ſtrong league betwixt king *Tamas* and *Solyman*, which it
behooued them to regard. As for *Bajazet*, their king would conſider what was conuenient for
him to do, and not in that point forget himſelf: in the mean time they ſhould doe well to get
them out of that country wherin they had nothing to do. Wherupon the Turkes forthwith
D left this purſuit and departed.

But by and by came meſſengers from the Perſian king to *Bajazet*, to ſalute him, and to demand
the cauſe of his comming, and alſo to ſee what ſtrength he brought with him, which as
ſome account was about 20000. To whom *Bajazet* declared, That he by his brothers injurie
& fathers hard dealing driuen out of his country, was fled vnto the ſacred majeſty of the Perſian
king, as his moſt aſſured refuge; who as he wel hoped, in compaſſion of mans inſtability,
would not reject him ſo diſtreſſed, and otherwiſe deſtitute of all help. Wherunto the Perſian
anſwered, That he had don very vnwiſely to come to him that was in league and amity with
his father; whereof one Condition was, That they ſhould account the enemies of the one
the enemies of the other, and the friends of the one, the friends of the other. Which Law to
E break he counted a thing vtterly vnlawful. Neuertheles ſeeing the matter was ſo fallen out, he
was welcom as vnto his friend, who in his behalf would leaue nothing vnattempted to reconcile
him to his father, which he diſpaired not to bring to paſſe. So *Bajazet* meeteth with the
Perſian king, but in an euill houre, although at their firſt greeting there was great welcome,
friendly countenance, chearfull lookes, mutuall kindnes, often conference, and great feaſting
one of another: things wherby the ſecret thoughts of hollow hearts are beſt concealed. There
was alſo a motion made of a ſtreiter bond of allyance, and one of the Perſian kings daughters
promiſed to *Orchanes* one of *Bajazets* ſons; and he put in hope that the Perſian king would neuer
reſt in quiet vntill *Solyman* had made him Gouernour either of Meſopotamia, Babylon, or
Erzirum (which gouernments were by the Perſians greatly extolled) and that he might there
F liue without fear of his brother, far from him and his father alſo: where if any thing ſhould
fal out otherwiſe than well, he might haue his brother the Perſian King as a ſure refuge to retire
vnto, and ſo ſafe from all danger. Which ſpeeches were haply giuen out of purpoſe to
auert *Bajazet* his thoughts from the feeling of the preſent danger. Who ſeemed vnto himſelf
ſo aſſured of the loue and friendſhip of *Tamas* the Perſian King, that at ſuch time as hee ſent

Bajazets entertainment in Perſia.

his Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, for a reconciliation to be made betwixt *Solyman* & him, G
(as was commonly ſuppoſed) he willed the ſame Embaſſadour to tel his father, that he had
loſt a father at Conſtantinople, and found another in Perſia. But whether the Perſian dealt
ſincerely in this behalf for *Bajazet* by his Embaſſadors, which were many, may well be doubted.
Like it was, that there was more feined ſhew of double diligence, than of any true meaning
therin; and rather to feel *Solymans* mind, than to do the poor diſtreſſed Prince any good:
and the rather, for that in the mean time all things were ſeriouſly plotted that might tend to
his deſtruction. Which were no ſooner grown to their full ripenes, but there was of purpoſe a
motion made, That ſuch a multitude as followed this yong prince lay ſo cloſe together, that
there was not in one place victual ſufficient for them: and that it was therſore more conuenient
to haue them billeted in the country therabout; which would be more commodious as H
Tamas in feare of Bajazet.
well for the better victualling of them, as for diuers other purpoſes alſo. Truth was, that *Tamas*
the Perſian King, far vnlike his noble father *Iſmael*, ſtood in doubt leſt he brought vp a ſerpent
in his boſom. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Perſians minde
at firſt to haue deſtroyed *Bajazet*, but to haue bin therunto inforced by the practiſe of ſome of
his familiars and followers: who not regarding the curteſie of the Perſian king, nor the laws
of hoſpitalitie, perſuaded *Bajazet* to thruſt him out of his kingdom. Wherof there was many
euident tokens; and among other things it was told King *Tamas*, that one of *Bajazets* chiefeſt
Captains ſhould ſay, What mean we? why ſtay we to kil this heretical King, and to poſſeſſe
his kingdom? for we ſhal no doubt by his trechery all come to deſtruction. And that vpon
ſuch occaſion the King was conſtrained to condiſcend to a deuiſe more neceſſary than honorable. I
Bajazet had no great power, but moſt of them were valiant men, and ſouldiers of great
experience, ready to aduenture vpon any thing; of whom the Perſian not without cauſe ſtood
in ſome fear. He knew his kingdom to be neither antient, nor yet wel aſſured, as gotten by
his father by a counterfeit ſhew of a reformed religion: and who could aſſure him, but that among
ſo many Nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many weary of the preſent
ſtate, and ſo deſired nouelties? vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting than the comming
of *Bajazet*, a noble and valiant yong gentleman, and that more was, deſperatly ſet: and as
yet he himſelf might of right rather ſeem in the power of his gueſt, than hee in his; and that
therfore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertain him as his gueſt, but to coupe
him vp as a moſt dangerous wild beaſt: which to do, the eaſieſt way was to diſperſe his power, K
and ſo to take him vnawares. For that he could not without much bloudſhed be openly taken
in the middeſt of his ſtrength, eſpecially by the dainty Perſian, of long time not vſed to
War, and as yet not come together; againſt *Baiazets* ſoldiers, men of great actiuity and experience.
So was the matter cunningly imparted to him for the diſperſing of his ſouldiers, & all
the commodities to inſue therof alledged. Which *Bajazet* might not wel gainſay, although
many of his wiſe followers (men of great reach) did ſhrewdly ſuſpect the ſequell. But what
could he refuſe, vpon whom neceſſity lay ſo heauy; where no hope was left; where hee liued
as it pleaſed another man; and that again too, where once to doubt of the fidelity of his hoſt
might be imputed to him for the greateſt trechery. So theſe moſt valiant ſouldiers, the poor
B jazets followers diſperſed and ſlain.
Princes faithfull followers, neuer again to ſee one another, are diſperſed into diuers countrey L
villages, and beſtowed where the Perſians thought good. Not many days after, at a time pickt
out for the purpoſe, they in number few, and diſperſed in a ſtrange country, were incloſed by
many and ſlain: their horſes, armor, apparel, and whatſoeuer els, became a prey vnto the murtherers.
At the ſame inſtant was *Bajazet* and his ſons caſt in bonds alſo; and that to his greater
Bajazet impriſoned.
grief, as many report, taken as he was ſitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The
Perſian king ſeemed to haue foreſeen much in this his hard dealing with *Bajazet*: as that if he,
being a valiant and couragious yong prince, and much better ſoldier than his brother, ſhould
haue ſucceeded his father in the empire, much trouble and peril might haue growne thereby
both to himſelf and his kingdome: and that it ſtood farre better with the ſafety of his eſtate
that *Selymus* (a man wholly giuen to voluptuouſnes and eaſe) ſhould reign ouer the Turks: in M
whoſe time he might as it were promiſe vnto himſelf all peace and ſecurity. And therefore
it was thought that he would neuer let *Bajazet* go aliue out of his hand, but rather make him
away in priſon, as if he had there died for melancholy and grief. Well he was aſſured, that after
he had ſlain his Followers, and impriſoned himſelfe and his ſonnes, hee would neuer bee

A friends with him that had ſo notably wronged him. *Bajazet* thus ſhamefully impriſoned, meſſengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old Princes *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongſt the reſt, the Perſian King ſent a ſolemne Embaſſadour vnto the Turke with Preſents, namely, curious tents, coſtly carpets, an Alcoran containing the miſteries of their ſuperſtition, and certaine ſtrange beaſts. The cauſe of his comming was pretended to be for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and his Sonne; which Embaſſador was honourably entertained and feaſted by his great Baſſa's. Now was poore *Bajazet* in ſmall hope of life, his cruell father ſtill crauing to haue him deliuered into his hands to be ſlain: and the Perſian yet denying to deliuer him, and ſeeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogether faithfully. *Solyman* left no means vnattempted to haue wrung him from the Perſian; ſomtimes he ſpake him faire, B putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they ſhould both haue the ſame friends and the ſame enemies: otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of war, except he would deliuer him his ſonne: he furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons all the frontiers of his dominion towards Perſia; he filled all Meſopotamia and the bankes of the riuer Euphrates with ſouldiers, eſpecially with them of his owne guard, and ſuch as he had before vſed in the battell againſt *Bajazet*; ouer whom commanded *Mehemet Baſſa* the third of the Viſier Baſſa's, and *Selymus* the Beglerbeg of Græce (for *Selymus* was ſoone weary of the field, and ſo betime returned home:) he alſo incited the Georgian people to take vp armes againſt the Perſians: who wiſely anſwered, That they had not ſuch confidence in their own ſtrength, as to prouoke King *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himſelfe come with his army, and whey they ſaw C him preſent in the field, then they knew what they had to do, and that he ſhould then well ſee that they wanted neither diſcretion nor valour. And becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued, he made ſhew as if he would in perſon himſelfe haue gone to Aleppo in Syria, and ſo haue on that ſide inuaded the Perſian: neither was the Perſian King altogether out of feare, hauing to his coſt many times proued what *Solyman* was able to do. But the vnwillingneſſe of the ſouldiers, and their minds altogether eſtranged from that war, eaſily ſtaied the raging Turke: they deteſted that war, and forſooke their enſignes, a great number of whom (eſpecially horſemen) without leaue of their Captains returned to Conſtantinople: and being commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with ſuch countenance and cheere as well declared how they were affected, and what they would do if occaſion ſerued for them to reuolt.

The Perſiā king ſendeth Embaſſadors with preſēts to Solymā.

D For which cauſe, after that *Solyman* perceiued that *Bajazet* could not aliue be got from the Perſian (excuſing himſelfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had ſo grieuouſly offended, if he ſhould by any meanes eſcape) he thought it beſt to follow that which was next, and to haue him there ſlaine; which he was in good hope to compaſſe, and the rather, for that the Perſian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell to ſee him deale ſo ſlenderly in a matter of ſo great importance: That he on his part had ſent him diuers embaſſadors; & that he on the other ſide had ſent him nothing but common meſſengers with papers, which cauſed him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he ſhould doe well to ſend vnto him men of account and place, with whom he might confer and conclude alſo according to the weightineſſe and exigence of the cauſe: beſides that, he was (as he ſaid) E not a little in his debt, for that *Bajazet* and his followers had beene vnto him no ſmall charge before he could get him into his power: all which it was good reaſon he ſhould haue conſideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceiued, that mony was the thing the Perſian King ſought after; and therfore rather than he would in an vnfit time of his life intangle himſelfe in a dangerous and vnneceſſary war, he determined by the counſell of his Baſſa's, rather with money than with the ſword to fight with the Perſian king. Hereupon was *Haſſan Aga* (one of the chief gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embaſſador into Perſia, with whom was joined the Baſſa of Maras, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large commiſſion almoſt in the depth of Winter, with great ſpeed and wonderfull toile by thoſe long and difficult waies, arriued at laſt at Caſbin the ſeat of the Perſian King, hauing by the way loſt diuers F of their ſeruants & followers. Being come to the Court, the firſt thing they deſired was to ſee *Bajazet*, whom they found ſhut vp in a cloſe priſon, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard ſo long and ouergrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely reſemblance of his wonted countenance and fauor, ſo that *Haſſan* very well knew him to be him: for he had been brought vp with him of a

The cauſe why the Perſian King would by no meanes let Bajazet go out of his hand.

The miſerable eſtate of Bajazet.

The agreement betweene the Perſian King and Solyman for the deſtruction of Bajazet.

Bajazet and his foure ſons ſtrangled.

The rare force of innocency.

childe in the Court, and for this cauſe eſpecially had *Solyman* ſent him thither to be aſſured G
that it was he. At length after long diſcourſe and conferance betweene the King and the Embaſſadors,
it was agreed vpon, that the king ſhould receiue from *Solyman* full recompence of all
the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him ſuſtained ſince the comming of *Bajazet*
into Perſia, with ſuch further reward as ſo great a good turne deſerued: which things performed,
that then it ſhould be in *Solymans* power to haue *Bajazet* made away. With this news *Haſſan*
poſteth to his maſter at Conſtantinople, who forthwith cauſed the promiſed reward, together
with ſuch charges as the Perſian King demanded, to be made ready, and with a ſafe conuoy
to be ſent vnto the borders of Perſia, where they were of the Perſians receiued. Preſently
after returned *Haſſan* the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat *Bajazet*: for ſo *Solyman* had
ſtreitly charged him to ſtrangle him with his owne hands. Which thing this new made hangman H
accordingly performed, and with a bow-ſtring ſtrangled the vnfortunate Prince; who is
reported to haue requeſted of the executioner, that he might but ſee his chilnren before he
died, and take of them his laſt farewell: which poore requeſt could not be granted, but he
forthwith commanded to die. This was the wofull end of the vnlucky attempts of *Bajazet*, a
Prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his brother, who in ſeeking to ſhun the death he
feared, haſted the ſame before his time. Such as was the fathers end was alſo the end of his
foure ſons, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhomet*: of whom the three eldeſt were ſtrangled at Caſbin
with their father, whoſe dead bodies together with his, were ſolemnly brought to Sebaſtia,
and there buried. The yongeſt but new borne left at Amaſia, and ſent by his grandfather
to Pruſa (as is before ſaid) to be there nurſed, was now vpon the death of his father commanded I
by his ſaid grandfather to be ſtrangled alſo. The Eunuch ſent by *Solyman* to haue done
the deed, and loth to do it himſelfe, tooke with him one of the porters of the Court, a deſperat
and otherwiſe a hard hearted Ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villany: he
comming into the chamber where the childe lay, and fitting the bow-ſtring to the childes
necke to haue ſtrengled him, the innocent babe ſmiled vpon him, and lifting it ſelfe vp as well
as it could, with open armes offered to haue imbraced the villaine about the necke and kiſſed
him. Which guiltleſſe ſimplicity ſo wounded the ſtony hearted man, that he was not able to
perfomre the intended butchery of the poore ſimple child, but fel down in a ſwoune and there
lay for dead. The Eunuch ſtanding without the doore maruelling at his long ſtay, goes in,
& finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that the other K
could not find in his heart to do, and ſo ſtrangled the guiltleſſe childe as had bin giuen him
in charge. Whereby it euidently appeared, that it was not the mercy or compaſſion of *Solyman*
that ſo long cauſed the guiltleſſe infant to be ſpared, but rather the opinion generally receiued
amongſt the Turks, who meaſuring all things by the good or bad ſucceſſe, referre all
things that fall out well, vnto God as the author thereof, be they neuer ſo vngratiouſly begun:
and therfore ſo long as it was yet vncertain what ſucceſſe the attempts of *Bajazet* would haue,
Solyman ſpared the infant, leſt vpon his fathers good hap he might ſeem to haue ſtriuen againſt
the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrel by the euill ſucceſſe therof
condemned as it were by the ſentence of the Almighty, he thought it not good longer to ſuffer
him to liue, leſt of an euill Bird might come an euill Chicke. I had ſometime (ſaith the L
reporter of this Hiſtory) great reaſoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into
talke with him of *Bajazet*, he began bitterly to enuigh againſt him for taking vp armes againſt
his brother. Wherunto (ſaith this Author) I replied, That in my opinion he was worthy both
to be pittied and pardoned, for as much as he was of neceſſity inforced either to take vp arms,
or elſe ſhortly after to yeeld himſelfe to the ſlaughter. But he ſtill exclaiming againſt him, I
ſaid vnto him, You blame poore *Bajazet* of great wickedneſſe for bearing armes againſt his
brother: but *Selymus*, *Solymans* father you blame not, who vpon like occaſion tooke vp armes
both againſt his father and his brethren; yet he therin did nothing amiſſe, nor in your judgement
blame worthy. And rightly, (ſaith the Chiaus) for the euent of the matter ſheweth ſufficiently,
that that which he did was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from M
Heauen predeſtinated thereunto: whereas in *Bajazet* the euent ſheweth the cleane contrary.
So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer ſo wicked means compaſſed or brought to paſſe,
they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall otherwiſe, the judge it as
a thing condemned by God himſelfe; depending wholly vpon the good or bad euent of
things,

A things, and therefore judging them to be well done, or otherwiſe.

1558

Charles the emperor reſigneth the Empire to his brother Ferdinand, and ſhortly after dieth.

This yeare 1558, *Charles* the fifth that noble Emperor (of whom we haue in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſo often ſpoken) who weary of the World, had two yeares before deliuered all his hereditary kingdomes and principalities to his ſon *Philip*, did now the 24 of February, on which day he was borne, by his Embaſſadors ſolemnly ſent for that purpoſe, reſigne that Empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother King *Ferdinand*, requeſting the Princes Electors to confirme the ſame vnto him, which they did the thirteenth of March next following. So liuing as a priuat gentleman in that ſolitary life whereunto he had to the wonder of the World certaine yeares before retired himſelfe from all worldly affaires, the 21 day of September following died of a feauer, when he had liued 58 yeares, and thereof reigned B 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongſt the greateſt Chriſtian Emperors that liued before him. About which time died alſo his two ſiſters, *Mary* the Queene of Hungary, and *Elenor* the French Queene, both Ladies of great honour.

1559

The Chriſtian Princes ſet out a fleet for the recouery of Tripolis in Barbary.

The Knights of Malta, who of long had beene ſuters to the great Biſhop and the King of Spaine, for the recouery of Tripolis in Barbary, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turks; at which time they alſo ſurpriſed the Iſland of Zerbi vpon the coaſt of Barbary betwixt Tripolis and Tunes, from whence they much troubled the Chriſtians trauelling by thoſe ſeas: had now at length ſo much preuailed, that the King commanded a great fleet to be now forthwith made ready in September in the yeare 1559, to meet together in Sicilia, and from thence to go directly againſt the enemy by Malta. Vnto which fleet, the great Biſhop, C the Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, joyned their forces alſo; ſo that at length there was a hundred gallies and ſhips met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* the Generall. But whilſt this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the Duke of Medina Cœli came before with part of the fleet to Malta, and in the hauen of Marza Moxet expected the comming of the reſt, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whileſt they were wintered expecting the Spring, many of the ſouldiers fell ſicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their ſetting forward being come, the Captaines conſulted among themſelues, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet vpon Tripolis, or the Iſland of Zerbi, otherwiſe called Mening. The Knights of Malta being of opinion, that it were better firſt to beſiege Tripolis, and that D with all ſpeed, before Dragut ſhould come thither to furniſh it with ſouldiers and prouiſion. Others thought it better firſt to inuade the Iſland of Zerbi, where the army might be relieued with plenty of all things neceſſary, and from whence they might at all times of danger in ſafety retire; and from thence afterwards as time ſhould ſerue, to go to Tripolis. Which vnfortunate counſell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in February the yeare following they departed from Malta, and ſailed directly to Zerbi. In the meane time *Dragut* the moſt famous pyrat at that time amongſt the Turks, and Gouernor of Tripolis, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably ſtrengthned the city with men, victual, and new fortifications; and preſently ſent meſſengers to *Solyman* at Conſtantinople, to certifie him of the arriual of the Chriſtian fleet in Affrick. But the Chriſtians comming E to the Iſland of Zerbi, were at the firſt landing encountered by the Moores, whom they repulſed and ſo at pleaſure landed. This Iſland is not far from the maine, here and there full of bogs and mariſhes, other riuer hath it none, and in the middeſt is ſomewhat hilly. It was inhabited with about 30000 men, which dwelt in low cottages, ſimply apparelled: yet is the Iſland reaſonable fertile, yeelding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and ſuch like. When the Chriſtians were there landed, they ſent for *Carauanus* a poore King amongſt the Moores (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Iſland) to vſe his counſell for the better proceeding in that war. In the meane time they agreed with 8000 men to beſiege the ſtrongeſt caſtle in the Iſland: in going whereunto, the Spaniards went formoſt, the Germans next, and laſt of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light vpon 10000 Moores which lay in ambuſh in a wood, to haue F vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them vnawares; but being diſcouered, and 700 of them ſlain in skirmiſh by the Spaniards, the reſt fled. So comming to the caſtle they planted their battery, and laid hard ſiege vnto it. The Captaine of the caſtle finding himſelfe too weake long to hold out, fled ſecretly with his Turks, leauing the caſtle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in ſafety depart, yeelded the Caſtle to the Spaniards: for keeping

1560

The Chriſtian fleet arriueth at the Iſland of Zerbi.

The Caſtle of Zerbi taken by the Chriſtians.

whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda* two Spaniſh Captains were there left with their companies. Whileſt G
theſe things were in doing, *Carauanus* the Moore King came to the campe of the Chriſtians
and there talked with the Generall; in whoſe hoary countenance reſted a reuerend Maieſty:
his apparell was after the Moores faſhion of white linnen, with him came alſo the King
of Tunes his ſon. In talking with the Generall his manner was to ſit flat vpon the ground, and
wiſely diſcourſed how the Turks were to be remoued out of Affricke. But in the middeſt of
theſe diſcourſes, when ſuch a thing was leaſt feared, ſuddenly a pinnace brought newes from
ſea, That *Piall Baſſa* the Turks great Admiral was comming thither with a great fleet of eighty
fiue gallies, and that mo were daily repairing vnto him on euery ſide. Which was indeed true:
for *Solyman* vnderſtanding from *Dragut* the Arch-pyrat, that Iſland to be by the Chriſtians
now poſſeſſed and fortified, thought it not (in his ſo great power & flouriſhing eſtate) to ſtand H
with his honor to ſuffer, but rather to giue aid vnto the Moores of that Iſland, a people agreeing
in religion with himſelfe: and therfore commanded *Piall Baſſa* his Admiral to take in hand
that expedition. Who therupon rigged vp a great fleet wel appointed & ſtrongly manned with
a number of the Turks beſt and moſt approued ſouldiers, as well Ianizaries as others: yet all
both doubtfull and fearefull of the long journey, as alſo the fame of the enemies with whom
they were to incounter: for why, the Turks had conceiued a great opinion of the valour of the
Spaniards, as knowing great wars both of antient and later times to haue been by that nation
(to the immortall praiſe therof) moſt happily performed: they remembred *Charles* the fift, and
daily heard much of King *Philip*, the heire both of his fathers vertues and kingdomes; which
made them ſo careful, that many of them before their ſetting forth (as in times of greateſt dander) I
made their wils, and ſo departed from Conſtantinople, taking their leaue of their friends,
as if they ſhould neuer haue thither returned again. So that all the city was in a confuſed feare:
neither was there any man, whether he went or ſtaid, that hung not in ſuſpence with the doubtfull
expectation of the euent of that war. Howbeit *Piall* with his great fleet, with long ſailing
and a proſperous wind was at length come welneere as far as Malta, and knowledge thereof (as
aforeſaid) giuen vnto the Chriſtian fleet at Zerbi. With which vnexpected news the Chriſtians
there were not a little troubled: neuertheleſſe they fortified the caſtle with new fortifications
and bulwarks, and fell to agreement with the principall man amongſt the Moores of the
Iſland, who commanded the reſt, and had before pluckt downe the enſignes of *Dragut*, and ſet
vp the King of Spaines) that he would yearely pay vnto the King of Spaine (as he had before K
vnto *Dragut*) ſix thouſand crownes, one camel, foure Oſtriches, foure Sparrow-hawkes, and
foure blew Faulcons: a tribute fit for ſuch an Iſland.

Piall Baſſa Solymans Admirall ſent to remoue the Chriſtians out of Zerbi.

But ſhortly after, *viz.* the ninth of May, the Great maſter of Malta by another pinnace gaue
the Chriſtians at Zerbi again to vnderſtand, That the Turks fleet was euen now at hand, and already
departed from the Iſland of Gozo, well appointed and ſtrongly manned: and that therefore
he aduiſed them with ſpeed to hoiſe ſaile, & to get them to ſome place of more ſafety, or
els to come to him to Malta, for feare of being by ſo great a power of the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed.
Whereupon *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall ſent vnto the Generall, requeſting him
to come abord, that ſo they might before the comming of the Turks fleet, retire themſelues to
ſome place of more aſſurance. But he for all that ſtaid ſtill at the caſtle, where the Chriſtians L
had built foure ſtrong bulwarks: whereof they had named one *Auria's*, another *Gonzaga's*, the
third the Viceroy's, and the fourth the Knights, not yet all perfectly finiſhed: as for the caſtle
it ſelfe they called it *Philip Alcazer*, by the name of the King. But whileſt the Generall is thus
buſie, and vainly hopeth to keepe both his caſtle and his ſhips, he the next day deſcrying from
far the comming of the Turks great fleet, haſted with the Admirall to be gone: and putting
twice at ſea, was both times by a contrary wind driuen againe into the hauen, ſo that he and
the Admirall had much ado in time to get them into the caſtle: for the wind was ſo fauourable
for the Turks, and brought them ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians diſmaied with their ſudden
comming, knew not well what to do, or which way to turne themſelues. But by good hap,
the greater part of the ſhips and 14 gallies were got out and gone the night before, and the M
Great Maſter had in Aprill called home his gallies, wherewith and ten others of his owne he
afterwards defended the frontiers of his Iſland. As for the reſt of the fleet that ſtaied for the
Generall and the Admirall, ſome few gallies eſcaped by flight, otherſome ran themſelues
aground, ten of which were preſently taken by the Turks, as were the reſt alſo that were left,

Part of the Chriſtian fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi by the ſuddē comming of the Turks.

although

A although they for a while did what they might to haue ſaued themſelues. The night following, the Viceroy and the Admirall ſecretly ſtole out of the caſtle, and ſo by good fortune in two ſmall frigots fled to Malta. *Caranamus* alſo the Moore King, with the Prince of Tunes, got them away into the maine. *Gonſaga* the Viceroy departing from Malta to Sicilia, prouided as he might for the ſafety of that country. *Auria* in the mean time gathered together the remainder of the diſperſed fleet, hauing loſt in this vnfortunat expedition ſeuenty gallies, with a great part of the ſhips.

Now in the caſtle was left as Generall, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, a valiant gentleman of great ſpirit and long experience, with fiue thouſand footmen, ſome Germans, ſome Italians, but for the moſt part Spaniards, beſides a thouſand other that were no ſoldiers. So that the Turks be-
B ginning to beſiege the ſame the ſeuenteenth of May, were by them many times notably encountered, and in their aſſaults repulſed. Vnto this ſiege at length came *Dragut* the pyrat, who with fifteene great pieces which he brought with him from Tripolis, encreaſed the fury of the Turks battery. Neither were the Chriſtians in the mean time wanting vnto themſelues, hauing in the caſtle forty great pieces of artillery, wherewith they ſlew a number of the Turks and Moores: and ſometimes ſallying out, fought with them hand to hand; and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, retired againe into the caſtle. In this manner the ſiege continued three moneths with many an hot and deſperat skirmiſh: during which time, nothing more troubled the defendants than thirſt in that hot & dry climat and intemperat time of the yere: for why, in the caſtle there was but one great ciſterne, which although it yeelded ſome good ſtore of water, yet was it not enough to ſuffice ſo great a multitude, but was by meaſure ſtill ſparingly
C giuen out to the ſoldiers ſo far as it would ſerue, no man hauing more allowed him than would ſuffice to keep him aliue: the quantity whereof ſome augmented by diſtilling of the ſame water, and mingling it with their allowance, and ſo wel eaſed their thirſt, vntil ſuch time as hauing ſpent all their wood they wanted that poore helpe alſo. There might a man haue ſeene many poore ſoules lying vpon the ground halfe dead, gaping and ſtil crying out nothing but Water, water; into whoſe dry mouths, if any man vpon compaſſion vouchſafed to poure a little water, they as men reuiued therewith would preſently ſit vp, vntil that for thirſt they fell downe againe, and ſo at length as men roſted gaue vp the ghoſt. Thus many died daily, beſide them whom the chance of warre and other diſeaſes without helpe conſumed in ſo great a diſtreſſe.
D *Don Aluarus* the Gouernor conſidering the great extremity they were now brought vnto, attempted with *Don Sanchius de Leyua* Admirall of the Neapolitan gallies, *Belingerius de Requeſenes* Admirall of the Sicilian gallies, & ſome others, by night to haue eſcaped away into a gally which lay vnder the caſtle, but in doing thereof were perceiued by the Turks, and ſo all taken. Whereupon ſuch ſoldiers as ſickeneſſe and the enemies ſword had yet left aliue, pinched with extreame neceſſity, forſaken of their beſt captaines, and out of all hope of reliefe alſo, couenanting their liues only with the enemy, yeelded themſelues into moſt miſerable captiuity. In this vnfortunat expedition periſhed about eighteene thouſand Chriſtians, ſome with ſickneſſe, ſome drowned, but moſt ſlaine, beſide the loſſe of a great part of the fleet alſo.

The caſtle of Zerbi beſieged by the Turks.

Don Aluarus with the reſt of the chiefe commanders taken priſoners.

The Caſtle of Zerbi yeelded vnto the Turks.

Of this victory *Piall* ſent news by one of his gallies to Conſtantinople, which for the more
E manifeſting thereof, dragged at the poupe thereof a great enſigne of the Chriſtians, with the picture of Chriſt crucified therein. Which was no ſooner come into the hauen, but that the rumor of the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians was forthwith blowne thorow the whole city, the Turks exceedingly rejoycing one with another for the news of ſo great a victory: yea many of them not ſo contented, came by heaps to the gate of the houſe where the emperor *Ferdinands* embaſſador lay, & there meeting with his ſeruants, by way of deriſion asked them, if they had any brethren, kinſemen, or friends, in the Spaniſh fleet at Zerbi; for if you haue (ſaid they) you ſhall ſhortly ſee them here. Beſides that, they with many words moſt inſolently bragged of their own valor, & ſcorned the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians, asking who were able to withſtand them, now that the Spaniard was alſo ouercome. Al which with much more the embaſſadors
F men with great griefe were inforced to heare, but there was no remedy, ſeeing God had ſo appointed it. Shortly after, in September, the victorious fleet returned to Conſtantinople, dragging with it the priſoners, ſpoiles, and gallies of the Chriſtians, a ſight no leſſe pleaſant vnto the Turks, than heauy vnto the Chriſtians: and that night it lay at anker neer vnto the rocks in the face of the city, with the greater pomp and glory to come the next day into the hauen. At

The Turks with victory returne to Conſtantinople.

which

Augerius Buſbequius Epiſt. 4. legationis Turcicæ.

The miſery of the Chriſtian captiues.

which time *Solyman* himſelfe was come downe into a gallery neere vnto the hauens mouth, G
adjoyning to his garden, the better to ſee the comming in of the fleet, and the Chriſtian captaines
ſet there to ſhew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gally, namely, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*,
Don Sanchius de Leyua, *Don Billingerus de Requeſenes*, all of late great commanders: as for the
Chriſtian gallies all diſarmed and vnrigged, ſo to ſeem the more contemptible in compariſon
of the Turks, they were towed at the taile of the Turks gallies. They which then ſaw *Solymans*
countenance, perceiued not in him any ſigne at all of any inſolent joy. I my ſelfe (ſaith *Busbequius*,
then the Emperour *Ferdinands* Embaſſador there) ſaw him two daies after going to the
church with the ſame countenance he had alwaies, with the ſame ſeuerity and grauity, as if
this victory had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced ſtrange or vnexpected: ſo capable
was the great heart of that old ſire, of any fortune, were it neuer ſo great; and his mind ſo
ſetled, as to receiue ſo great applauſe and rejoicing without mouing. Within a few daies after, H
the Chriſtian captiues (before almoſt ſtarued with hunger) were brought to the court: many of
whom could ſcarce ſtand vpon their legs; ſome others for weakenes fell down and fainted, and
otherſome died out right: they were all ſcornefully led in triumph, with their armes diſordered
and ſcornefully put vpon them: the Turks in the meane time inſulting round about them,
promiſing vnto themſelues the Empire of the whole world: and vainly asking, What enemy
they were to feare, now that the Spaniard was ouercome. *Aluarus Sandes*, as chiefe of al the priſoners,
being brought into the Diuano before the Viſier Baſſa's, and demanded by *Ruſtan Baſſa*,
What his maſter meant, being not able to defend his own, to inuade other mens? anſwered,
That it beſeemed not him to judge theron; and himſelfe to haue done but his duty, with ſuch I
faithfulnes as was meet to put in execution what he was commanded by his lord, although he
had no good fortune therein. After that, he beſought the Baſſa's vpon his knee, to ſpeake for
him vnto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poore wife, with certain ſmall children, for whom
he requeſted him to ſpare him. Wherunto *Ruſtan Baſſa* (contrary to his manner) courteouſly
anſwered, his ſoueraigne to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his
pardon might be of him obtained: ſo was he commanded away vnto *Caradines* his caſtle, towards
the blacke ſea. But he was not gone far, but that he was called backe againe, for that the
great Chamberlain, a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet ſeen him: for which cauſe
he was ſent for backe againe; wherwith he was not a little troubled, fearing leſt the Baſſa's hauing
changed their minds, would haue put him to death. The reſt of the captiues of the better K
ſort were committed to the caſtle of Pera, and amongſt them *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, with his
two baſe ſonnes, and alſo *Don Billingerius Requeſenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarus
de Sandes*, were neuertheleſſe afterwards with much ado and almoſt beyond all hope, at the requeſt
of the Emperour, and by the dexterity of his Embaſſadour, by *Solyman* ſet at liberty; although
he had before denied them vnto *Saluiat* the French Kings Embaſſador, who had bin an
earneſt interceſſor for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of priſon, the Muphti or Turks
great prieſt was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull, for a greater number of Turks to
exchange a few Chriſtian captiues (for the Embaſſador beſide the rewards he had promiſed
vnto the Baſſa's to further the matter, had alſo vndertaken, that forty common priſoners of
the Turks ſhould be ſet at liberty for them) whereunto the Muphti anſwered, That the Doctors L
of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that queſtion, ſome ſaying that it was
lawfull, and ſome not; howbeit as then it was by him reſolued vpon vnto the more fauourable
part, and the exchange allowed.

There were among the priſoners taken at Zerbi, beſides theſe noblemen of whom we haue
before ſpoken, two other noble gentlemen right honourably borne, *Don Iohn* of Cardona, *Don
Billinger* his ſon in law, and *Don Gaſto* the Duke of Medina his ſon, to whom yet but a youth his
father neuertheleſſe had giuen an honourable place in the army. Of theſe two *Don Iohn* had
wiſely taken order for a great ſumme of mony to be left in the Iſland of Chio, by the way as
the Turks fleet went to Conſtantinople, from whence he afterward in ſafety got into Spaine.
But *Gaſto* was by *Piall Baſſa* (vpon hope of a great ranſome) purpoſely hid out of the way, M
which had like to haue wrought his deſtruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an inckling therof
by the inſtigation of *Ruſtan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gaſto* found out, ſo to
haue a more juſt occaſion for the putting of *Piall* to death, being taken tardy in ſo maniſeſt a
fault. But all that labour was ſpent in vaine, *Gaſto* being by death taken away, but whether by
the

A the plague (as ſome report) or by *Piall* his meanes (as it were more like) leſt the truth ſhould be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care ſought for by the Duke his fathers ſeruants, he could neuer be heard of more: ſo that it was thought *Piall* for the ſafegard of his owne life, not to haue ſpared *Gaſto* his priſoners life. Who neuertheleſſe for a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to Conſtantinople, tooke occaſion with a few gallies to wander about amongſt the Iſlands of Ægeum, as if he had there ſomething to do: but indeed ſo ſhunning the ſight of his angry Lord, for feare he ſhould haue been compelled in bonds to haue anſwered the matter. Vntill at length he appeaſed at the requeſt of *Suleiman Baſſa* (the Eunuch and *Solymans* great Chamberlaine) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* ſon, granted him his pardon in theſe words well worth the marking, out of the mouth of an Infidell B Prince: *Well haue he from me pardon and forgiueneſſe for ſo great an offence: but let God the moſt iuſt reuenger of all villanies take of him due puniſhment after this life.* So fully he ſeemed to be perſuaded that no euill deed ought to remaine without puniſhment, either in this life or in the life to come.

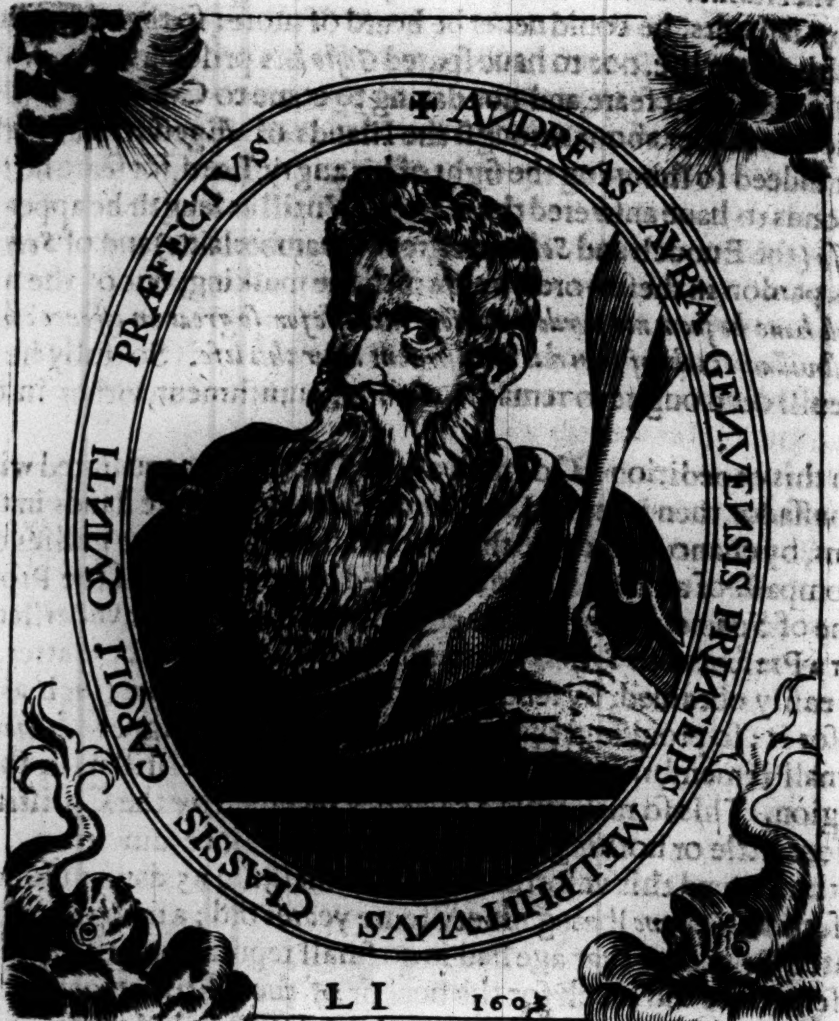
Piall in diſgrace with Solyman, ſhunneth to come to Conſtantinople.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turks well acquainted with *Busbequius* the Emperors Embaſſador, then lying at Conſtantinople: into whoſe hands in that diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians, by chance was come the Imperiall enſigne of the gallies of Naples; wherein within the compaſſe of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the Prouinces belonging to the kingdome of Spaine. Which faire enſigne the Embaſſador vnderſtanding him to purpoſe to giue for a Preſent vnto *Solyman*, thought good to preuent the matter, and to get it from him: which he eaſily obtained, by ſending him two ſutes of ſilke (ſuch as the Turks make C reckoning of) for it: ſo prouiding that one of the Imperiall enſignes of *Charles* the fift, ſhould not to the eternall remembrance of that ouerthrow, remaine ſtill with the enemies of the Chriſtian Religion. This ſo miſerable a calamity receiued by the Chriſtians at Zerbi, made that Iſland, before little or nothing ſpoken of, to be euer ſince famous.

One of the imperiall enſignes of Charles the fift redeemed from the Turke.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the 25 day of Nouember died *Andreas Auria* (that ſecond *Neptune*) being ninety foure yeares old: a man in his time of great fame, and of the greateſt Princes of that age had in no ſmall reputation, but eſpecially of *Charles* the fifth, in whoſe ſeruice he did much for the benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, being for moſt part imploied in his greateſt wars againſt the Turks and Moores. Yet amongſt all the D notable things done to his immortall glory, the kindeneſſe by him ſhewed vnto his natiue country was greateſt; which oppreſſed by the French, he ſet at liberty: and when he might haue taken vpon him the ſole gouernment thereof (as had diuers others before him) moderating his deſires, and reſpecting the only good thereof, appeaſed the great diſſention that had of long reigned therein; and eſtabliſhed ſuch a forme of gouernment, confirmed with ſo good and wholeſome lawes and orders (no mans liberty infringed) as that it hath euer ſince to his eternall praiſe, in great wealth, ſtate, and liberty, thereby flouriſhed. Vnto whoſe remembrance (for that we haue before of him much ſpoken in the courſe of this Hiſtory) I thought it not amiſſe to ioyne the liuely counterfeit of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed anſwerable vnto his noble vertues.

The death of the noble Andreas Auria.


ANDREAS AVRIA GENVENSIS PRINCEPS MELPHITANVS CLASSIS CAROLI QVINTI PRAEFECTVS
LI
1603

Genua quem genuit, genui quam deinde viciſsim,
Auria qui merui Carolo *ſub Cæſare quinto.*
Turcarum terror, piratarumque Subactor,
Barbara quem ſenſit tellus, & capta Thuniſſa,
Arx & Aphrodiſium, Moriaque vrbs celſa Corone,
Mors rapuit Luſtris decies prope quinque peractis.

As Genoa did me beget, ſo I preſerv'd the ſame:
 And ſeruing vnder *Charles* the fifth, exalted haue my name.
A terrour to the Turks I was, I brought the pyrats low:
 And ſpoiling the Barbarian coaſt, made them my force to know.
Faire Tunes and ſtrong Aphrodiſe, both by my help were won:
 And Corone in Morea, by me was ouerrun.
So hauing ſpent ninety foure yeares in treading honours trace:
 Full fraught with honour and with yeares, I ended haue my race.

1561 The Turks the yere following, with their gallies robbed and ſpoiled diuers places vpon the coaſts of Italy, Sicily, and Malta: againſt whom *Philip* King of Spaine ſending forth his gallies, by force of tempeſt loſt twenty fiue of them, the eighteenth day of September, together with *Mendoza* Admirall of that fleet. M

A great ſhipwracke.

Ferdinand the Emperour, hauing with long ſute and much intreating obtained peace of *Solyman,*

A *lyman*, and being now well ſtricken in yeares, and carefull both of the ſtate of the Empire and
of the aduancement of his poſterity, began to deale with the Princes Electors for a choice to
be made of a King of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of Germa-
ny, ſucceed him in the Empire: commending vnto them his ſon *Maximilian*, a Prince of great
hope, then King of Bohemia. Whereupon an aſſembly of the Princes Electors was appoin-
ted to be holden at Franckford: who there meeting at the appointed time, with generall con-
ſent the 24 day of Nouember in the yeare 1562, choſe *Maximilian* the Emperors ſon King of
the Romans, and with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities crowned him: who alſo the yeare after
was at Presburg the eight of September with much ſolemnity crowned King of Hungary.
Vnto this ſolemne aſſembly of the Empire at Franckford, *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor ſent
B *Ibrahim Baſſa*, otherwiſe called *Abraham Strozza* (a Polonian borne, of whom we haue before
ſpoken) his Embaſſador with preſents and letters to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, to confirme the
peace for eight yeares betwixt them before concluded; who the ſeuenteenth day of Nouem-
ber in preſence of the Emperour, the King of the Romans, and all the Princes Electors, had au-
dience: where after much glorious ſpeech in ſetting forth his maſters greatneſſe, with his loue
towards the Emperour and his ſon the new choſen King, as wiſhing vnto them all happineſſe,
he deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperor: the coppy wherof I haue not thought
amiſſe here to ſet downe, for that therein is notably to be ſeene the moſt inſolent pride of that
barbarous Prince, and miſerable eſtate of the rent kingdome of Hungary, diuided as it were
at his pleaſure betwixt him and the Emperour.

1562

Maximilian choſen King of the Romans, & after crowned King of Hungary.

Solyman by his embaſſador confirmeth a peace with Ferdinand the emperor for eight yeares.

C

*I the Lord of Lords, ruler of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, who am of power to do and not to do whatſouer
pleaſeth me, Lord of all Grecia, Perſia and Arabia, Commander of all things which can be ſubject to
King and command; the great Worthy of theſe times, and ſtrong Champion of the moſt wide World,
Lord of all the white and blacke ſea, and of the holy city of Mecha ſhining with the brighneſſe of God,
and of the City of Medina, and of the holy and chaſte City of Ieruſalem, King of the moſt noble Kingdome
of Ægypt, Lord of Ionia, and of the City of Athens, Senan, of the ſacred Temple of God, Zabilon and Baſ-
ſio, Rethſan and Magodim, the ſeat and throne of the great King* Naſhin Rettam, *and Lord of the
Iſland of Algiers, Prince of the Kingdomes of Tartary, Meſopotamia, Media, of the Georgians, Morea,
Anatolia, Aſia, Armenia, Valachia, Moldauia, and of all Hungary, and of many other Kingdomes and*
D *territories, whereof I am Emperour; the moſt mighty Monarch Sultan* Solyman, *ſonne of the great
Emperour Sultan* Selym, *who hath power from God to rule all people with a bridle; and ſtrength to
breake open the gates and barres of all cities and ſtrong places: into whoſe mighty hand are deliuered all
the ends of the World, none accepted. I the ruler of the Eaſt, from the Iſland of Tſein vnto the fartheſt
bounds of Africa, whom God hath appointed a mighty warriour in the edge of the ſword: amongſt whoſe
moſt mighty kingdomes the impregnable caſtle of Ceſaraa is reputed for the leaſt, and in whoſe heredita-
ry dominions the Kingdome or Empire of* Alexander *the Great is accounted of vs a trifle: with me is
the ſtrength of the whole World and vertue of the firmament. Foraſmuch as thou King* Ferdinand,
*which art the mighty Lord of Chriſtendome, and the choſen veſſell of the mighty Chriſtian Faith, created
and Elected Emperour of the Roman people, of Bohemia, Vandalia, Crabatia, and many other Countries*
E *King and Lord, &c. Not long ſince ſent vnto our Court (which is the refuge of all Kings, the protecti-
on and ſanctuary of all that fly thereunto, and the throne of Grace for all Princes of theſe times which re-
paire vnto it) one* Augerius Busbecke, *thy faithfull Counſellour and Embaſſadour, with letters of con-
ſideration, to renew with vs a peace, and to enter into a further league and bond of amity: Which letters
beare date the yeare from the Prophet Ieſu (vpon whom and our Prophet* Mahomet *reſt the brightneſſe
and peace of God)* 1562, *the firſt day of Iune, requeſting of vs, That granting you peace for eight yeares,
we would not with any hoſtility hereafter moleſt your Cities, Caſtles, or Countries, ſubjects, but to ſuffer
them to liue in ſecure peace and tranquility, &c. Vnto which your petition we anſwer you, That from
henceforth for the whole ſpace of eight yeares ſhall be betwixt vs on both parts to be continued a new, true,
and firme league: of which agreement, peace, and confederation, Theſe ſhall be the conditions. Firſt, That*
F *you our beloued ſhall be bound to ſend yearely to our Court as a pledge of this league thirty thouſand Hun-
garian Duckets, with that remainder which you owe vnto vs for the two yeares laſt paſt: For which we
promiſe vnto you, that we from henceforth during this eight yeares league, will take no part either by way
of hoſtility or friendſhip with King* Iohns *ſonne, foraſmuch as belongeth to his hereditary Countries,*

Solymans proud Letters to the Emperor Ferdinand.

whether they be in the hither part of Hungary, or on the further ſide of Teiſſe: All which for all that, by
law of armes belong vnto vs. And the ſame King Iohns ſonne in time of this eight yeares league ſhall G
be alſo bound in ſuch ſort to performe vnto vs his obedience, as that from henceforth it ſhall not be lawfull
for him to vſe any war or hoſtility againſt you, neither to trouble your ſubjects with fire or ſword, nor to
ſurpriſe your Cities, Caſtles, or Townes; or by violence to take away or exact of your people or ſubjects,
their ſheepe, their cattell, their goods, mony or reuenewes. We alſo our ſelues ſhall haue no right, nor take
occaſion to driue away your people, to burne your countries, or carry away any captiues: but rather in this
eight yeares ſpace religiouſly keepe peace and concord with you. And vnder theſe conditions of peace ſhall
alſo be comprehended Michael Balaſcus, Nicholas Bathor, with all their goods and territories, and
diuers other ſuch like, which ſhall be ſubject vnto you and King Iohns ſonne. To be briefe, if happily
any of yours or King Iohns ſonnes ſubjects ſhall haue now before in time of warre thruſt one another out H
of his goods, lands, or poſſeſſions, whereof new quarrels or diſcord may ariſe; We well and decree, that all
ſuch controuerſies, quarrels, and claimes ſhall be deferred vntill this definite time of the league be expired.
Beſide, if by chance any diſſention ſhall hereafter ariſe betwixt vs about our juriſdiction, which can
by no meanes be compoſed and ordered; We will that yours ſhall in the meane time remaine as yours, and
ours as ours; all contention and enmity ſet apart: alſo many Townes ſcituate here and there by Danubius
and Tatta, ſhall be ſuffered to vſe the ſame law they did in former time; ſo that the ſouldiers which are
yet in garriſon in the Caſtle of Tatta, ſhall haue no right to infeſt or vexe thoſe townes ſcituate neere vnto
Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace concluded, any of your Noblemen or Gentlemen ſhall fortune
to haue any of our Noblemen by reuolt or other occaſion whatſoeuer, captiues, they ſhall diſmiſſe them and
ſet them at liberty, to returne vnto their friends freely without hurt or ranſome; that ſo the concord and
peace begun betwixt vs, may be the more firmely kept, and our ſubjects liue in more ſecurity. All and I
euery one of theſe things we grant and promiſe to be of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforeſaid
eight yeares, without all fraud or guile religiouſly obſerued and kept: and for that purpoſe haue cauſed
theſe our letters of this peace and confederation to be publiſhed from our royall pallace: and moreouer, haue
not onely prouided, that the coppy of the ſame ſhould together with our edict be proclaimed to all and
euery the Generalls, Captaines, Lieutenants, of our armies both by ſea and land, in all the parts of our Empire,
and to all our mercenary ſouldiers, but haue alſo ſtreightly commanded, that it ſhall be firmely and ſincerely
kept. We will alſo, that this agreement of peace and amity ſhall comprehend and concerne our two
chiefe Gouernours or Voyuods of Valachia and Moldauia, ſo that none of your people of Hungary, Crabatia,
Sclauonia, or other your Countries or Iſlands whatſoeuer, ſhall in any ſort be moleſted or grieued
by our ſubjects. And if it ſhall fortune that ſome ſhall on your part out of their Caſtles ſet vpon our ſubjects, K
or by force take away their goods, the ſame men ſhall in any caſe be bound to make thereof reſtitution.
Alſo if any ſhall fly from vs, and carry away with them the mony or goods of their Maſters whom they
ſerued, or if the like ſhall be done by any of yours flying to vs, then the ſame goods on both parts are to be
of right demanded and recouered againe, and the fugitiues to the example of others to be corrected and
puniſhed: foraſmuch as fugitiues goods of right appertaine vnto their Lords and Maſters. Furthermore,
it ſhall be lawfull for your Captaines and commanders to fortifie or build Caſtles, Cities, or Townes,
in the borders of Hungary, and to put into the ſame victuall, armour, and ſuch like, but ſo, that they doe
none of theſe things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league, it ſhall not be lawfull
to take or carry away any of your ſubjects priſoners either in Hungary or in other places of your juriſdiction: L
which for all that, if it ſhall by any chance happen, that then ſuch captiues (without delay) be ſuffered
ſafely to returne home againe. Furthermore, whatſoeuer Chriſtian ſhall haue any buſineſſe to do in our
magnificent court or any part of our dominions, as are Embaſſadors, officers, ſeruants, and ſuch others:
vnto all theſe we not only grant and permit, that they may come and goe about their buſineſſe, and ſo againe
depart from our court or prouinces; but alſo haue willed and commanded, them to be well and courteouſly
entreated by our ſubjects, and furthered with the interpretation of our language. And if it ſhall fortune
any contention or diſcord to ariſe betwixt our ſubjects on either ſide, about the bounds and limits of
Lands, or other ſuch like cauſes: ſuch controuerſies we will to be decided and determined by diſcreet and
indifferent men on both parts, and the authors of ſuch diſcord and variance, to be puniſhed as ſuſpected
perſons and breakers of the league. We alſo prohibite thoſe skirmiſhes or combats, which were wont to be
ſometimes on both ſides made vpon the borders. And deſire, that the forme of this league and peace, and M
euery article thereof, may be publikely read and ſet vp in ſundry places of your Dominions; and commandement
giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obſerued and kept. Which we likewiſe

haue

A *haue now before promiſed faithfully and aſſuredly to performe: and your Embaſſador whom a few moneths*
agone you ſent vnto vs, in your name requeſting the ſame of vs, and hath with earneſt praiers moued vs,
by Imperiall oath and theſe Letters of credence to witneſſe, that we did ratifie and confirme the ſame; as
if we our ſelues ſhould ſpeake to you in preſence. Wherefore we haue giuen vnto him theſe our Letters of
Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, ſouldiers, and ſubjects, may be bound alſo to obſerue and
keepe all theſe things: wherefore, ſo long as nothing contrary to this league ſhall be done on your part; ſo
long in like maner all theſe articles of peace ſhall be of me excepted and aſſured. For witneſſe & confirma-
tion whereof I ſweare this oath; By the true and liuing Creator of heauen and earth, by the true ſignes of
our great and reuerend Prophet, by my Imperiall power, and by my true faith; that nothing contrary or re-
pugning vnto the aforeſaid articles, conditions, and promiſes of the eight yeares league agreed vpon be-
B *twixt vs, ſhall be attempted or done by any our Gouernors, Generals, or Voyuods, &c. Commanding more-*
ouer, all our ſworne Gouernors of our moſt mighty Empire in Valachia and Moldauia, and King Stephen
himſelfe, and others which haue the Gouernment of our Empire confining vpon you, That they all and eue-
ry of them as well as our ſelues, ſhall juſtly, faithfully, and religiouſly accept, reuerence, and keepe theſe
conditions of peace, towards your ſubjects, cities, caſtles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and
in the leaſt things not to hurt, injury, or wrong any your ſubjects. In briefe, we ſhall as far as our part
concerneth vs, giue vnto this moſt mighty and great new made loue and friendſhip; ſo great honour, reue-
rence, and authority, that that which may euen in the leaſt things be had, ſhall not on our part be wanting.
In token whereof we haue ſuffered certaine Chriſtian captiues, whom by your Embaſſador you requeſted
to haue ſet at liberty, franckely to returne vnto you without ranſome; out of which captiuity they could
C *neuer haue beene redeemed, if in regard of this our amity and friendſhip we had not granted them liber-*
ty: truſting that you will in like ſort ſet at liberty ſuch of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our Impe-
riall Palace and ſeat in the moſt mighty City of Conſtantinople, the firſt day of September, in the yeare of
our great and reuerend Prophet 969.

The ſame Embaſſador after he had deliuered theſe letters, preſented vnto the Emperor the
gifts he had brought from his great Maſter: which was two great cups of naturall Cryſtall cu-
riouſly wrought and ſet with ſtones of great price; a couragious Turky horſe with a ſaddle
and trappings wrought with gold, and ſet with pretious ſtones, and garniſhed with chaines of
pure gold; and foure of the faireſt camels that were to be got in all Conſtantinople. In deli-
D uering of which Preſents the Baſſa made his excuſe, that the horſe and camels had loſt their
beauty, being with foure moneths trauell from Conſtantinople, growne ſomewhat leane and
weary.

Preſents from Solyman to the Emperour Ferdinand.

This peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperour *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firme vntill
the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two yeres after in the yere 1564 vpon S. *Iames* his day died,
being ſixty yeres old: whereof he reigned as Emperor not full ſeuen yeares. In whoſe place
ſucceeded *Maximilian* his ſon, before choſen King of the Romans. But immediatly after the
death of *Ferdinand*, the Captaines on the frontiers of that part of Hungary which was holden
for the Emperour on the one ſide, and the Turks Captaines with the Vayuod of Tranſylua-
nia on the other ſide, weary of their eaſe, began contrary to the forme of the League, to ſur-
E priſe ſtrong holds and townes one in anothers confines, whereof enſued much trouble: The
author whereof was *Melchior Balas* the Emperours lieuetenant in that part of Hungary which
bordereth vpon Tranſyluania, who firſt ſurpriſed certaine townes vpon the frontiers therea-
bouts: in reuenge whereof, the Vayuod ſuddenly ſet vpon Sackmar a towne in the Emperors
Territory, which he tooke, and therein *Balas* his wife and children. In deſpight whereof *Ba-*
las rancacked and burnt Debrezin a great Towne of the Vayuods. But not long after, the Vay-
uod *Solymans* Vaſſall, and aided by him with foure thouſand Turks and three thouſand Mol-
dauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of Hungary which belonged vnto
the Emperour; and firſt tooke Hadad, and afterwards beſieged Vngar. In requitall where-
of, *Maximilian* the Emperour ſent *Lazarus Suendi* a valiant Captaine; who with an Army of
F eight thouſand beſieged the ſtrong Caſtle of Tokay, which he tooke the fiſt of February, in
the yeare 1565; and after that tooke the rich Towne of Erden. In the meane time *Solyman*, 1565
who had in himſelfe fully purpoſed to be reuenged of all theſe injuries (as well appeared by
that he did the yeare following) to ſtay the Emperour from proceeding further, vntill ſuch
time

1564

The death of the Emperor Ferdinand.

New troubles in Hungary.

The Turks purpoſing warre, craftily ſue for peace.

time as he were at better leiſure to be reuenged, (for as then he was making great preparation for Malta) ſent *Marcus Lilineſius* a renegat Tranſyluanian of Cibinum, his embaſſador to *Maximilian*, to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wiſh him to haue regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperour becauſe he would not ſeeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his lieutenants and captains no more to inuade Tranſyluania or that part of Hungary which the Turks held. Howbeit that whileſt this Embaſſadour was thus intreating of peace at Vienna, the Baſſa of Temeſware in the borders of Tranſyluania, made diuers incurſions into the borders of Hungary, and with ſix thouſand ſouldiers beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of Iula, and the Turks in great number came dayly into Tranſyluania. At which time alſo *Suendi* Generall of *Maximilian* his Forces vpon the frontiers, by meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, wiſhed him not to giue any credit to the Turks Embaſſadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the colour of peace ſought nothing elſe, but to take him vpon the ſudden vnprouided. Neither ceaſed theſe troubles thus, but dayly grew from euill to worſe: for in Iune the Tranſyluanians beſieged Erden, before taken by the Imperials, and after two moneths ſiege had it yeelded vnto them. In the meane time *Chernouich* the Emperours Embaſſadour to *Solyman*, returned from Conſtantinople; aſſuring him that the great Turke for all his faire ſhowes of peace, meant indeed nothing but warres, for which he was (as he ſaid) making great preparation both by ſea and land. Whereupon the Emperor began to raiſe new forces: which thing diuers Noblemen both of Germany and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers: and amongſt other *Romerus* one of the Knights of Malta, and diuers other of his brethren, with fiue companies of ſouldiers well appointed, ſent thither by *George Hochenheime* grand Prior of that Order in Germany, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks being buſie vpon the borders of Styria, and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the Archduke: who taking them at an aduantage, ſlew at one time three thouſand of them. Yet for all, the Turkes Embaſſadour was ſtill at Vienna treating for peace, and ſo cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma* a valiant Captaine, had corrupted the chiefe Iudge with certaine others of Alba-Regalis, to haue betraied the City vnto him; for performance whereof they had deliuered their wiues and children as hoſtages, and he was now vpon his way from Rab, which is but eight miles off, in an aſſured hope to haue ſurpriſed the City; he was ſuddenly by Letters in poſt from the Emperour, called backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and ſo was that notoble deſignement vnfortunately diſappointed: of which practiſe the Turks hauing knowledge, afterwards moſt cruelly executed forty of the conſpiratours, impailing ſome of them vpon ſharpe ſtakes, and hanging others vpon yron hookes by the jawes vntill they were dead. Shortly after the Turks tooke Neoſtat, which was not long after recouered againe by the Emperour.

At the ſame time one of the Turks ſpies was taken at Zigeth, who but thirteen daies before was ſent from Conſtantinople of purpoſe to view the ſtrength and ſcituation of that place: he being brought before *Charles* the Archduke, and examined, ſaid, That *Solyman* would aſſuredly the next Spring come in perſon himſelfe into Hungary, to beſiege the ſtrong caſtles of Zigeth and Iula. At which time alſo County *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turks Spies, by whom he was certainely aduertiſed of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongſt others, *Scapher Vayda* the Baſſa of Buda his chiefe Counſellor. Beſides this, the country-men contributors both to the Imperials and the Turks, were now ſtreightly commanded by the Turks, to pay no more contribution mony vnto the Imperials: whereupon it was eaſily gathered, that all that talke of peace was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing els but to delay the time, and to put them in ſecurity. Beſide that, the Turks made incurſions daily into one place or other of the Emperors territories, ſhewing their antient hate, and ſowing by thoſe light skirmiſhes, as it were the ſeed of a greater war againſt the next Spring: which the Emperor now out of doubt of (being alſo warned thereof by many Letters from his friends) put ſtrong garriſons into the frontier towns, eſpecially into Rab and Zigeth. But knowing that to be but a poore helpe againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, he reſolued as his father and vncle had done before, to reſt vpon the ſtrength of the Empire, and againſt the next yeare to call a generall

A aſſembly of the Princes of the empire at Auguſta, for the better withſtanding of the common Enemy. The wars thus beginning again in Hungary, *Solyman* at the ſame time in reuenge of the manifold harms don to his ſubiects by the Knights of Malta (whoſe hand he found euer againſt him in all his dealings with the other Chriſtian Princes) made great preparation by ſea and land, purpoſing, as ſeemed by the maner therof, to haue raſed the memoriall of thoſe worthy men from off the earth. Whervnto, beſide the naturall hatred which he bare againſt all Chriſtians in general, and them aboue the reſt in particular, he was much incited by *Caſſanes, Barbaruſſa's* ſon, King of Algiers, and *Dragut* gouernor of Tripolis, by whoſe perſuaſion he cauſed a ſtrong fleet to be rigged vp, commanding the lieutenants and gouernors of his ports and hauens al alongſt the ſea-coaſt, to put to their helping hands, and to be ready againſt the B next Spring. And not long after, vnderſtanding partly of his own certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardnes things were, hee calling together a great aſſembly of his chief princes and men of Warre, deliuered vnto them his mind as followeth:

Solyman prepares to inuade Malta.

What thing I haue theſe forty years always wiſhed, which was to haue ſo much leiſure from other wars, as to pluck out of their neſts and vtterly to root out thoſe croſſed pyrats, which vaunt themſelues to be the Bulwark of Chriſtendom: that ſame me-thinks I haue by the fauor of God, and Mahomet *his Prophet, at this time obtained. For we haue ſo repreſſed the attempts of the Perſians, that they canot let vs. And in Hungary, from whence certain dreadfull motions were reported, we our ſelues wil ſhortly do thoſe things* C *which ſhall inforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of Germany, and to ſue to vs for peace. You your ſelues daily hear the pittifull complaints of our ſubiects and merchants, whom theſe Maltaſes, I ſay not ſoldiers, but pyrats, if they but look into thoſe ſeas, ſpoil and make prize of: whoſe iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man do require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleaſing or more honorable, than if I may before I die accompliſh theſe things, that is to win Malta, and to leaue all things in order in Hungary and Polonia. Except perhaps ſome man thinke it no harder matter for vs to thruſt theſe croſſed Companions from the rocks of Malta, than for our Anceſtors to haue driuen them out of Ieruſalem, and ſo quite out of Syria: and for our ſelues to haue forced them out of the ſtrong Iſland of the Rhodes. But this ſome will ſay is neerer vnto Italy, from whence aid may eaſily be ſent, and the place defended by a Fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer aduenture to fight with vs at ſea, who remember themſelues to* D *haue bin there by vs ſo often ouerthrown: beſide that, ſo little a place cannot contain any great gariſon, neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherfore vnto this expedition we haue determined with the firſt of the Spring to ſend a moſt ſtrong fleet: and euen now we haue already commanded all our ſea Captains and Aduenturers which acknowledge our command, to be there preſent with their ſhips. The King of Algiers will be there, the gariſons of Alexandria are in readines, ſo alſo is* Dragut *with his appointed fleet. As for our own, it is by myne own appointment rigged vp: vnto which fleet I doubt not but that all the ſtrength of the Weſt will giue place. Which thing (worthy Captains) we ſpeak truſting vpon the help of almighty God and* Mahomet *his great Prophet, with your known and approued valor. Now remaineth only, that euery one of you think with vs, how this war may beſt be managed, and ſo to referre your deuices vnto vs. Which that you may the better do, Lo, I here deliuer vnto you the ſcituation of the whole Iſland,* E *and project of all their fortifications, which we haue receiued of moſt expert and skilfull men.*

Solymans oration to his captains for inuading of Malta.

Solymans purpoſe thus made known, and the matter wel conſidered; after that they which beſt knew the ſtrong places & maners of the Maltezes, had declared their opinions what they thought moſt expedient; it was decreed, That they ſhould with al ſpeed ſet forward. Wherfore victual and other things neceſſary for ſuch an expedition being with wonderfull celerity prepared, they expected but wind.

Of theſe things *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Grand Maſter of Malta, and one of the Knights of the Order, being both by Letters and Meſſengers aduertiſed (for he had alwaies ſet there his F intelligencers at Conſtantinople, who warily noted the purpoſes and actions of *Solyman*) was not afraid; but knowing that of God depended the victory, and that men were to watch, labor, and foreſee: he aſſembled a Councel of his Knights, and in few words ſpake vnto them in this ſort:

The grand maſter aduertiſed of Solyman his purpoſe.

Valetta's Oration vnto his Knights.

What Solyman *prepareth (moſt noble and valiant Knights) and what a great War he prouideth againſt vs, you with me of late right well vnderſtand. Wherfore it is needles for me to vſe any long ſpeech with you concerning that matter. The Enemy is known, his inſatiable ambition is known, his ſtrength is known, and his mortall hate againſt vs and the Chriſtian Name is ſufficiently known. Wherfore let vs all as one firſt reconcile our ſelues to God, and then prouide all ſuch things as ſhall be needfull for the War. In brief, noble Knights, to reconcile our ſelues vnto God, and to appeaſe his diſpleaſure, two things are of vs to be performed: wherof the one conſiſts in amendment of life, with a holy conuerſation; the other in a religious worſhipping of him, with a firm and conſtant truſt in his help, with Prayer, which is called godlineſſe. By theſe means our Anceſtors obtained many victories againſt the Infidels in the Eaſt. Neither is it to be doubted, but that if we ſhall in theſe things ioyn together, we ſhall alſo fruſtrate all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But foraſmuch as God vſually helps them which labor and take pains, and not the negligent and ſloathfull, we muſt of neceſſity ioyn vnto them thoſe helps, which both our profeſſion and the courſe of war requireth: which partly conſiſteth in our ſelues, and partly in the other Chriſtian Princes. For victuall, armor, mony, and other ſuch things as in wars are requiſit, we will ſo prouide, that no man ſhall iuſtly complain that we ſpared either coſt or pains. I will poure out all my ſtore, neither will I for deſire of life refuſe any danger. As for the Chriſtian princes, I canot perſuade my ſelfe that they will lie ſtill in ſo fit an opportunity, and in ſo great danger, not of our eſtate only, but much more of their own. Verily I wil not ſpare to exhort euery one of them both by letters and meſſengers, which in part we haue already don: and I doubt not but we ſhall haue aid enough from the Pope, the Emperor, and the king of Spain (ſuch is their Chriſtian Zeal) and they I hope ſhall moue the reſt. As for you, the Princes and very light of this ſacred Order, and the reſt of our brethren, moſt valiant Knights, I am well aſſured you wil ſo fight for the moſt holy Chriſtian religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glory of the Latine name, againſt a moſt cruell Tyrant, the rooter out of all true Religion, of all ciuility and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that he ſhall feel the ſting of the Croſſe, which hee ſo much contemneth, euen in the city of Conſtantinople, yea in his houſes of pleaſure. For we ſhall not haue now to do with him in the Iſland of the Rhodes, far from the help of our friends, (from Aſia, from Europ, from Egypt incloſed with our enemies both by ſea and land) but in the eies of Italy and Spain, in places ſtrongly fortified, from whence the Enemy may eaſily be circumuented. Which that it may ſo fal out, let vs not ceaſe to pray vnto almighty God, and to craue his ready help.*

When the Grand Maſter had thus ſaid, all that were there preſent promiſed with one aſſent, rather to loſe their liues, than in any part to fail the Common Cauſe, or to fall into the power of *Solyman*. After that, publique prayer and ſupplication was made in euery Church thorow the Iſland; and three Colonels choſen out of all the Knights: one an Italian, ſyrnamed *Imperator*, another *Byrneus* a French man, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all aduiſed men and moſt expert ſouldiers, which ſhould with all diligence prouide all things neceſſarie and conuenient for the War. By whoſe appointment the ſuburbs and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrown; the fortifications were thoroughly viewed, the Garriſons ſtrengthned, and all manner of prouiſion moſt plentifully diſtributed: and Letters from the Grand Maſter ſent vnto the Great Biſhop and ſundry other Chriſtian Princes, requeſting their aid againſt the Common Enemy. Meſſengers were alſo diſmiſſed into diuers places, to certifie both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turks great preparation.

The Knights prepare againſt the Turks.

Solymans fleet departeth from Conſtantinople.

Solymans Fleet departing from Conſtantinople the two and twentieth day of March in the year 1565, kept a direct courſe toward Peloponeſus, and ſo came to Methon; where *Muſtapha Baſſa* one of the Turks greateſt Captains, a man of ſeuenty fiue years old, and General of the land forces, muſtred the army, wherein were numbred ſeuen thouſand horſemen of them which are of the Turks called Spachi: out of the leſſer Aſia, conducted by the Gouernour of that country, and two Lieutenants of Cilicia, fiue hundred: and out of the Iſland of Lesbos, now called Metylene four hundred: he had of the Ianizaries four thouſand fiue hundred, led by two Colonels appointed by *Solyman*, for that the chief Captain of the Ianizaries (which they call the Aga) neuer departeth from the city but when the Sultan goeth himſelf. Beſides theſe was a certain kind of men amongſt the Turks, who liue of the reuenues of the Church; of them there was in the Army thirteene thouſand, who had all at Conſtantinople vowed

A their liues for their ſuperſtition. Out of Thracia and Peloponeſus were come two Colonels,
and one Lieutenant,with twelue hundred horſmen,and 3500 Voluntiers out of diuers Countries.
There alſo *Pial Baſſa, Solymans* Admirall, took view of the fleet, wherin were found an
hundred and thirty gallies,two and twenty ſhips for burthen,ſome greater,ſome leſſe;beſides
one that was caſt away neer vnto Methone,where was loſt 6000 barrels of pouder, 1300 great
ſhot,and 400 Spahi. Beſides theſe,there were ten gallies from the Rhodes, commaunded by
Halyport a man of 70 years;two gallies from Mitylene, and 17 galliots and other ſmall pyrats
ſhips. With this ſtrong fleet the Turks departing from Methone the 13 of May, arriued at
Malta the 18 of the ſame month,and put into a hauen in the North-Eaſt part of the Iſle, called
by the inhabitants Marzaſiroc: but perceiuing themſelues not to be there in ſafety, they
remoued to another port called Major.

The Turks fleet arriues at Malta.

The deſcription of Malta.

B The Iſland of Malta lying betwixt Africa and Sicilia, might be doubted whether it were
to be accounted in Africk or Europ, but that the antient coſmographers and the Moors language,
which the Maltæſes haue alwaies vſed, claime it for Africke: it is in length from the
North-Eaſt to the South-Weſt 20 miles; and in the broadeſt place 12. It regards Africk
Southward, ouer againſt Leptis parva; and Sicilia toward the North, but more towards Pachinum
than Lilybeum; and is in circuit threeſcore miles. It ſeemeth to take the name Melita
of *Mel* or hony,wherof it yeeldeth plenty. The trees there bear fruit twice a year,& they
haue oftententimes twice harueſt, eſpecially of Barly and Cotton wool; yet is the Iſland in
ſome places ſtony,grauelly,and bare of wood. Neuertheles it beareth figs,apples, Almonds,
Grapes,and other fruit trees planted by the induſtry of man,Date trees alſo, but not fruitful:
C it beareth thiſtles of ſuch bignes that the inhabitants vſe them for wood. Freſh water is there
wonderful ſcarce, and ſuch wels as they haue are filled with rain in Winter, for in Summer
they are either clean dry,or els the water becomes brachy. The Inhabitants are ſo burnt with
the Sun,that they differ little in colour from the Ethyopians: they are of a wholſom constitution
of body,ſpare of dyet,induſtrous,rather painful than warlike,dying more for age than
of ſicknes. Their buildings,except it be in the city (which is in the midſt of the Iſland) and
ſuburbs,are long and low like vnto the Moors,couered with turf or reed. It is commonly ſuppoſed
that Saint *Paul* was by ſhipwrack caſt vpon this Iſland: but it is with greater reaſon to
be thought that it was the other Melyta in the Adriatick,betwixt Corcyra and Illyria, and
D better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apoſtles trouble and ſhipwracke in the
Adriatique, out of which ſea it is not to be gathered by the Text that *Paul* and the reſt were
driuen. But again to our purpoſe; That ſide of Malta which reſpecteth Sicilia hath in it many
good harbors and commodious hauens fit for ſhipping; where beſides the port Marzaſiroc
toward the Eaſt,where the Turks fleet firſt landed,and the port of S. *Thomas*,with another
called Scala not far off,it hath two other notable hauens,the one called Major,the other Marza
Moxet; diuided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground, which with a ridge
runneth in length from the South to the North almoſt in maner of an Iſland, hauing the hauen
Major on the Eaſt, and Marza Moxet on the Weſt. Vpon the head of this high ridge
ſtandeth the caſtle of S. *Elmo*,of great ſtrength both by nature and art. As a man entreth into
E the hauen Major, on the left hand are four promontories pointing far into the hauen on that
ſide,almoſt in maner of Iſlands,making ſo many Bayes. Vpon the firſt ſtandeth the Gallows,
wherof alſo it taketh name: vpon the point of the ſecond, on a rough and high rock ſtandeth
a moſt ſtrong caſtle,called the caſtle of S. *Angelo*, wherto adjoineth the town, ſeparated from
the caſtle only with a wall and a ditch,and is placed in a hollownes cut out of the main rock;
ſtrengthned alſo with the ſea and the induſtry of man, and is of ſome called the Burg; of others
the New City. In this Caſtle reſideth the grand Maſter,and the ſouldiers in the Burg.
Vpon the [illegible]d promontory ſtandeth another ſtrong caſtle, which they call alſo the Burg of
S. *Michael*. The fourth promontory is not inhabited; from whence the ſea runneth alongſt
the winding banks almoſt into the midſt of the Iſland, vnto a place called Aqua Marſia. Again,
F after the port Marza Moxet, Weſtward is the port of S. *George*: and after that another
called Bennorrat: then followeth the port of S. *Paul*, no leſſe than the port Marzaſiroc. After
which comes the port called Salinarum Sinus: but on that ſide of the Iſland toward Africke
is only one port called Milliaria. Neer to the Iſland of Malta lie certain other little Iſlands,

Acts 27 & 28

as Gauloſa, now Goza, two other called Cuminia, and another called Piper, all ſubject to the G
Maltæſes.

Thus much I haue thought good to ſet down concerning the Turks fleet; and for the de-
ſcription of thoſe places wherin this great action was performed, the brute wherof then filled
the World. Now ſhal it not be amiſſe in like maner to declare vpon what ſtrength, next vn-
to God, *Valetta* the Grand Maſter ſtood againſt ſo mighty and puiſſant an enemy. Firſt, there
was in the Iſland 1300 Mercinaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines, and the
reſt of Naples: there were alſo 1000 ſea men of the Knights, and 500 in the Town of S. *An-*
gelo, and of the country people which were fled into the ſtrong places fiue thouſand, men not
altogether vnskilfull of the wars. There were alſo fiue hundred Knights of the Orders, beſides
Prieſts and Squires; for of theſe three ſorts of men are they which are called Brethren of the
Order. This was the number of them which defended the caſtles and towns of S. *Elmo*, S. *An-* H
gelo and S. *Michael*; whereunto they were proportionably diuided, and in the city it ſelf, which
is called Melita, being in the middle of the Iſland, was 200 ſouldiers and as many Citiſens,
with three hundred of the Country people all horſmen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a valiant
Captain. Beſides this, euery place was furniſhed with plenty of victual; armor, weapons, ar-
tillery, and whatſoeuer els was needfull for the induring of a long ſiege, and a war that ſhould
want many things: and that which paſſed all the reſt, minds armed with inuincible courage
againſt whatſoeuer ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed victors. All
theſe things being in readines and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoon as they vnderſtood that ſeuen and
twenty of the Turks gallies had put into the hauen Marzaſiroc, and were there landing their I
men; *Gyon* Admiral for the Order, a valiant and couragious Knight, marched thither with
500 harquebuſiers, to haue skirmiſhed with them. But as ſoon as the Turks perceiued them
comming, they retyred again to their gallies. On the other part where the other fleet lay, two
Riuerius with other Knights taken of the Turks.
hundred of the Turks going on ſhore, met by chance with *Riuerius* a Frenchman, and eight
Knights more, who hauing his horſe killed vnder him, and one of his Companions ſlaine, fell
with the reſt into the hands of the enemy. Whilſt theſe things were in doing, a certain Chri-
ſtian mariner fled out from the Turks to the City Melita, who diſcouered the enemies pur-
poſes, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Muſtapha* had determined to haue
landed the greateſt part of their forces, preſently to haue beſieged ſome ſtrong place; had not
Pial Baſſa the Admiral exclaimed againſt it, doubting to be left too weak at ſea, ſaying plain- K
ly, That he would attempt nothing before the comming of *Dragut*, who was euery houre ex-
pected. For *Solyman* had expreſly commanded that they ſhould do nothing without his ad-
uice; ſo great an opinion had he of his policy and valor. But whether this his report were
The Turks land
true or otherwiſe, the Turks for all that returning with their fleet to Marzaſiroc, landed twen-
ty thouſand ſoldiers and fiue field pieces, and ſo intrenched themſelues. This don, *Pial Baſſa*
with ſeuen hundred went to view the caſtle of S. *Michael*; but for fear of the great ſhot, durſt
They of the caſtle S. Michael skirmiſh with the Turks.
not come nigh it: neuertheles they of the town ſallying out, couragiouſly skirmiſhed with
the Turks; in which conflict *Curſelinus*, ſyrnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spani-
ard, ſo furiouſly aſſailed the enemy, that he took from him one enſigne, and ſlew one of the
Sanzacks a great commander, with diuers others. When *Pial* was come again to the Camp, L
the General began to conſult with the other Captains, whether it were better to lay ſiege to
the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, or to the town of S. *Michael*. In concluſion it was agreed vpon, That
they ſhould with all their forces beſiege the caſtle of S. *Elmo*. And going vp the hil to view
the caſtle, they were incountred by the garriſon ſouldiers, in which fight ſome few were loſt
on both ſides. Thus by degrees things growing hoter and hoter, the grand Maſter thought it
good to certifie *Garzias* of Toledo viceroy of Sicily, how things ſtood, that he might the ſoo-
ner rig vp his fleet to come to their reſcue. Wherfore he commanded one gally [illegible] put out of
the hauen by night, and to paſſe ouer into Sicily, with *Salvagus* one of the Knights ſent thi-
ther on meſſage. In the mean time the Turks caſt vp a mount to haue battered the Caſtle of
S. *Elmo*, and beaten the gallies in the hauen Major, and ſo to haue opened a way for their fleet M
to haue entred: but they were not able long to keep that mount; for they had ſcarſly well en-
ded the work, but that it was forthwith by the continual thundring ſhot out of the caſtle bea-
ten down again, which thing greatly abated the Turks courage. About that time, *Ochial* came

The Turks beſiege the Caſtle of S. Elmo.

Dragut comes to aid the Turks.

The Turkes aſſault S. Elmo.

A to the fleet with ſix ſhips, drawn out of them which were left for the defence of Alexandria,
and in them 900 ſoldiers. The Turks beaten from their firſt mount, caſt vp another on a high-
er ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of Ordnance, wherewith they annoied not
only the hauen wherin the fleet of Malta rid, but the caſtle of S. *Angelo* alſo, the Great maſters
ſeat, and with a rolling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*: which al-
though they had at firſt in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the Caſtle, yet at
laſt with much labour and trauell they brought it to perfection: for the Turks in that kind of
worke, ſtill performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others. Wherfore in ſhort
time they planted their great ordnance in ſuch ſort, as that they might batter both the caſtles
of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michael*. There was in the Turks camp a gentleman of Spaine, but then a
B ſlaue vnto a Turke, who vnderſtanding the enemies purpoſe for the beſieging of the caſtle of
S. *Elmo*, by a Chriſtian fugitiue aduertiſed the Great maſter thereof; whereupon he forth-
with ſent *Cerda* and *Miranda* with two companies of Spaniards into the Caſtle, who were af-
terwards a great ſtrength vnto the Caſtle, and hinderance vnto the enemy. At length came
Dragut Gouernor of Leptis, long looked for of the Turks, with 13 gallies, and in them 1600
ſouldiers: after whom followed ten galliots from Bona, and in them two companies. In the
mean time *Saluagus* the worthy Knight (ſent before into Sicilia) came to Meſſana, and hauing
certified the Viceroy of the State of Malta, was by him commanded to return to Malta in a
Galliot, conducted by two gallies of the Great maſters; which hauing brought him neer vnto
the Iſland, returned again into Sicilia: but he with his galliot (not without moſt manifeſt
C danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne through the middeſt of the ene-
mies fleet, with the loſſe of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the great
maſter what he had in charge from the Viceroy, he was the ſame night ſent back again by the
Great maſter into Sicilia, to certifie the Viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requeſting
him with all ſpeed to ſend him ſome ſupply, whereby he might the better hold out againſt
the force of ſo great an enemy. *Saluagus* diſcouraged neither with the labour nor the danger,
preſently committed himſelfe againe to ſea, and in ſhort time arriued in the port of Siracuſa,
where finding the two gallies we before ſpake of, he ſent them to Malta, as he had in charge,
with 400 ſoldiers, among whom were diuers Knights of the Order, and certain ſkilfull cano-
niers: willing them to ſhun the Weſt part of the Iſland, wheras they muſt needs come into the
D enemies ſight, and to paſſe by the Eaſt end therof, which was farther about, but ſafer, & tur-
ning Southward, to land in the port Miliare, and from thence by the low places of the Iſland
to conuey the ſoldiers by night to the city Melita, which was but four miles off; from whence
they might eaſily paſſe to the caſtle S. *Michael*. This order taken, he went to Meſſana, and
there declared to the Viceroy the danger of the war, with the ſmal number of the defendants:
requeſting of him a thouſand footmen, which with thoſe already ſent, he thought would ſuf-
fice to hold out the ſiege til he with his whole fleet might come to relieue them. But whilſt
theſe things were ſlowly prouided (which with much difficultie and delay could hardly be
brought to paſſe, the Chriſtian Princes as it were ſleeping in ſo great a danger) the Turks vp-
on the ſudden the third of Iune aſſaulted the caſtle S. *Elmo*, in hope with ſhort ſcaling ladders
E to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neereſt vnto the bulwark of the Caſtle. But
the defendants in the ditch (which before had no flankers to ſcour the ſame) had of earth and
fagots made a large flanker, from whence the caſtle alſo helping them, valiantly reſiſted the
enemy, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, truſting
to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour, they obtain ſo many victories)
thruſt ſtil on, vntill they had by obſtinat force (although long firſt) gained the flanker: wher-
by they commanded all that part of the ditch toward the port Marza Moxet. In which place
they with wonderfull celerity ſo fortified themſelues, that they could not be hurt by the de-
fendants. Wherin they were much holpen by their own great ordnance planted on the other
ſide the hauen Marza; for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the
F corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwark, whoſe hight and greatnes trou-
bled the enemy, but was not ſo commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without
any flankers. But night comming on, fiue thouſand of the nine thouſand Turkes which gaue
the aſſault, tarried there wherfore the Chriſtians conſtrained to forſake the place, retyred in-
to the Caſtle. The Turks in the mean time couered with the darknes of the night, with ſacks

filled

S. Elmo again aſſaulted.

New ſupply ſent into the Caſtle S. Elmo.

filled with tow and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwark, but neither of any great wideneſſe or depth; which don, they gaue a freſh aſſault, wherin 800 of them were ſlain, part Ianizaries and part Spachi; and beſides them, many wounded, of whom the moſt part remained half dead in the ditch, where they periſhed and could not be relieued. Of the Chriſtians were loſt 45; amongſt whom were fiue Knights of the Order, *Guardampes* an Auergnois, *Maſim* a Colonel of Narbona, *Contilie* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neinec* a German. G The ſame night the Great Maſter thinking, as reaſon was, that they in the Caſtle Saint *Elmo* might want help, ſent two hundred of his Knights and as many other ſoldiers into the Caſtle; who if they had bin more, together with the four hundred which were before in the Caſtle, might haply haue driuen the Turks both from the rampiers and the flanker, and alſo kept the place longer. But foraſmuch as the Great Maſter wanted ſoldiers, and had therfore ſent *Salvagus* into Sicily for new ſupplies (as we haue before ſaid) he in the mean time contagiouſly H expected their comming, refuſing no labor or pain; yet bewailing ſomtimes with himſelf the vnfortunatnes of the Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe negligence ſo fit an occaſion for the ouerthrow of the barbarous enemy was let ſlip. But aboue all things, hee maruelled exceedingly that no help yet came, eſpecially thoſe two gallies, which (as we haue ſaid) were in all haſte ſent by *Salvagus*. But they by the Maſters default kept not the appointed courſe: For firſt, wheras they ſhould haue ſhunned the VVeſt part of the Iſle, and haue turned toward the Eaſt, they ſhaped their courſe VVeſtward to the Iſland of Gaulos; the Maſter vainly affirming, That he ſaw certain of the Turks Galliots lying before port Meleria. VVhich was afterward well known not to haue bin ſo: for the truth was, that he for fear (whereby notable deſignes I are many times fruſtrated) durſt not go forward. VVherby it came to paſſe that the great maſter was diſappointed of ſo neceſſary a ſupply: which thing much grieued both the Viceroy & others, but eſpecially *Salvagus*. For he ſaw it would come to paſſe, that if the Turks ſhould take the Caſtle of S. *Elmo* (the moſt aſſured bulwark and defence of the Iſland of Malta) the other places muſt of neceſſity be brought into extream danger; all the way to relieue them being therby ſhut vp. And that it might be taken, ſeemed not to him impoſſible, the enemy hauing already taken one fort, and laying hard ſiege almoſt on euery ſide of that little pile. The due conſideration of theſe and ſuch like things grieued the minds of skilful men, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch ſlack preparation in a caſe requiring ſuch preſent relief. Yet in the meane time ſoldiers were taken vp at Rome by the commandment of *Pius quartus* then Biſhop, to be K ſent to Malta. And by his example to ſtir vp other princes, he gaue 100 pounds of gold to *Cambianus* Legat for the Order, and commaunded gunpouder and other neceſſaries for that War to be taken out of his caſtle S. Angelo; that ſo he might ſeem to be wanting in nothing that was in him to performe. Ouer theſe ſoldiers, in number 600, he appointed *Pompeius Calumna* General; and commanded *Camillus Medices* his Legat to accompany him. With theſe went many voluntary men, of purpoſe to lay down their liues for the eterniſing of their names in ſo religious a war; and that with ſuch an ardent deſire, as that euery little delay ſeemed a year vnto them. VVherfore comming to Naples, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eleuen ſhips, the Prince of Populonia with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others ſet forth by other priuat gentlemen. In theſe ſhips were imbarqued all thoſe footmen which L came from Rome, and ſo tranſported to Meſſana, where the Kings fleet was prouiding. But whileſt the Chriſtians make ſlow preparation, conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger, the Turks not ignorant therof, reſolued to proue their vtmoſt, before the ſtrength of the Chriſtians were ready or drawn together. For the caſtle of S. *Elmo* once taken, they aſſured themſelues with more eaſe to cary the reſt; for that therby they ſhould firſt haue the hauen Marza Moxet in their power, wherin their fleet might ſafely ride as long as they pleaſed; and the riſing ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them, both to batter the Towne of S. *Michael*, and to keep the hauen Major, ſo that none could without their leaue paſſe in or out therat. VVherfore vpon theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations they began again to batter the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, as it had bin with thunder. VVhich furious battery they continued M by the ſpace of four daies together without intermiſſion. The night following, they ſuddenly with great force gaue an aſſault, and with their ſcaling ladders had almoſt gained the top of the wall. VVhen the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to come to handy blowes, draue them down again with ſuch violence, that neuer after they durſt ſet ladder to the Wall

The Turks repulſed.

vntil

A vntil the very laſt conflict. Whilſt things were thus hot at the caſtle S. *Elmo*, *Draguts* ſoldiers
vpon a brauery, as if they had bin the only men went to a place called Marſia Scala, which
is betwixt the gallows & S. *Thomas* rode, as if they would haue don more than the reſt: which
the Chriſtians beholding out of the town of S. *Angelo*, to repreſs their inſolencie ſallied out
vpon them, and ſo welcommed them, that they were glad after they had receiued great loſſe,
forthwith to retyre to the place from whence they came. Of the Chriſtians were ſlain *Bonnemius*
a Frenchman one of the Knights, and ſeuen others.

The ſame time *Monſerratus* was by the Great Maſter ſent into the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, to command
there as Gouernor in ſtead of *Brolia*: for that he with watching and pains taking in defence
therof was fallen ſick. The ſame *Brolia* had many times before written to the great maſter,
B That the caſtle was ſo wel fortified and furniſhed of al things needful, as that he thought
it impoſſible to be won by the enemy; and had with cheerful ſpeech and braue behauiour ſo
incouraged the Knights & other the defendants, that they fought againſt their enemies with
more than mens ſtrength, and greater courage than is to be beleeued. Neither were the Turks
for that diſcouraged, although they were with great loſſe ſtill repulſed; but for certain dayes
battered the caſtle with greater fury than before, and immediatly gaue an aſſault. For they
had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of maſts & ſail-yards, of ſuch a bredth, that ten men might
go theron in rank, and had placed about the ditch 4000 harquebuſiers, and brought all their
fleet to S. *Georges* ſhore, not far from the caſtle. And when they had by the ſpace of 18 days
ſore ſhaken it, & torn the wals with 13000 great ſhot, and were now in hope euen preſently to
C win the caſtle, ſee, *Heragamus* a Biſcane one of the Knights, and *Medranus* a Spaniſh captain,
with certain other valiant men, ranne to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the beholders,
oppoſed themſelues againſt the multitude of the miſcreants. The fight hand to hand was
on both ſides fierce and terrible; when now one of the Turks had aduanced a Turkiſh enſigne
vpon the bulwark, which whilſt *Medranus* layeth hand vpon, and the Turk on the other ſide
ſtrugleth to clear himſelf from him, in ſtriuing together they fel down both dead, ſhot thorow
with one bullet by one of the Turks. At which time the 400 which we ſaid were but a
little before ſent thither by the Grand Maſter, ſtood in good ſtead; for ſeeing all brought to
ſo great a danger, ſome of them (whilſt other-ſome fought with the enemy) thruſt barrells of
gunpouder vnder the bridge, ſome caſt down wild-fire, ſtones, and whatſoeuer els came vnto
D hand, vpon the enemy; and others farther off with their harquebuſes ſore gauled the Turks;
ſo in ſhort time the bridge was burnt and blown vp, which in the fall therof ouerwelmed 800
Turks: the reſt as they might retyred, few whole, but moſt part wounded. In this conflict the
Chriſtians pluckt down two enſignes, the one *Muſtapha's*, the other *Draguts*, which the Turks
had ſet vp vpon the very battlements of the walls. On the other part toward the South-weſt
a band of the Turks had got to the top of the higheſt rampier: which ſo ſoon as they in the
caſtle of S. *Angelo* perceiued, thinking to haue beaten them off with a great ſhot, ſlew by
chance ſeuen of the defendants vpon the ſame rampier, as they were going to and fro. But to
recompence that error, at the next ſhot they rent in ſunder four of the Turks Captains, with
twelue other of their moſt forward ſoldiers. Whilſt they were here fighting, other Turks in
E the mean time had caſt vp a trench on that ſide of the caſtle toward S. *Angelo*; out of which
they were quickly driuen, with fire, ſtones, and other like things thrown down vpon them by
the defendants. The Turks valiantly on euery ſide retyred into the Camp, when they had in
this aſſault loſt two thouſand of their beſt ſoldiers, and of the Chriſtians ſlain almoſt a hundred,
and wounded as many. The ſame day *Valetta* the great Maſter perceiuing the port Marza
Moxet not to be very ſtreitly kept by the Turks, commanded a light Brigandine to be carried
out of the hauen ouer land to the place called Marſia Scala, that from thence hee might
ſend into Sicilia. For he, as reaſon was, conſidering in what danger the caſtle S. *Elmo* ſtood,
by letters certified the Viceroy and the Biſhop of Rome therof, and of ſuch things as were
there don, requeſting their ſpeedy relief. The copy of the letters ſent to the Viceroy, I haue
F here ſet down: as for thoſe which were ſent to the great Biſhop, becauſe they were almoſt of
the ſame purport, I haue purpoſely omitted.

An horrible battery.

800 Turks ſlain.

The Turks retyre.

TO GARZIAS of Toledo, Vice-Roy of Sicilia, and Lord Admirall of the Fleet,

Greeting.

The great Maſters letters to the Viceroy of Malta.

SInce the time that I ſent Salvagus, *I haue ſent vnto you two Letters, which I cauſed to be ſent by Melita into Gaulos; which I pray God be come vnto your hands. After that, when as neither letters nor meſſengers came vnto vs from you, I commanded a man with inſtructions to haſt to Meſſana, who when he had certain nights attempted to go out, and was at laſt got out, he was ſcarſly gon two miles, but hee ſaw the Turks with might and main making after him; whom to eſcape, he was glad to run his pinnace on ground, and caſting his letters into the ſea, to forſake his boat, and by flight to ſaue himſelf. Now the Turks hauing remoued their fleet out of the port Vulturnus, I conſidering how much it concerneth to certifie you of thoſe things which are here don, commanded a Brigandine to be carried to Martia Scala: for ſeeing the Turks fleet is gon to another part of the Iſland, I hope my Letters will without let in ſhort time come vnto you. And the things I would haue you to know are theſe: The fifteenth of this moneth all the Enemies fleet a little before night paſſed by this port (the comming on of the night hindered vs, that wee could not well perceiue the weakeneſſe therof) whilſt the gallies almoſt vnarmed were with much difficulty towed forth: want of water cauſed them chiefly to depart out of the port Vulturnus, and peraduenture fear of your fleet. For as I haue heard, they haue intelligence that 150 ſail lye at road in the port of Meſſana: for which cauſe alſo they haue not put themſelues into the port of S.* Paul, *but haue placed their fleet aboue the port Marza Moxet, yet a good part of their gallies lie at the port S.* George, *ſo to be neerer to their land forces: yet is not their neernes ſuch, but that if your fleet come vpon the ſudden, they will with the ſame fear retyre to their fleet that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to bee ſeen at Vulturnus, for they haue left their firſt camp at S.* Katharines *and Saint* Iohns, *hauing burnt all the country villages, and now lie with their fleet as I haue ſaid; and with their army at the caſtle S.* Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will. Which thing is euen for this to be hoped for, which was but yeſterday don; when as our moſt valiant ſoldiers by the help of God, for the ſpace of four houres couragiouſly indured a moſt terrible aſſault. The Turks hauing alſo made a bridge Weſtward toward the Port Marza Moxet, we haue four times repulſed them to their great loſſe, yet not without ſome loſſe alſo on our part; amongſt whom* Medranus *a worthy captain was to my great grief ſlain. With this victory our men are ſo incouraged, that I am in hope the caſtle may be defended vntill your comming, eſpecially the Enemies battery not ſo furiouſly now as before maintained. If I were relieued with certain companies of freſh ſoldiers, or at leaſt with thoſe our two gallies, I would neuer think that this Caſtle could be taken from vs: in defence wherof, whilſt we euery hour look for help, we haue ſpent both our men, and whatſoeuer warlike prouiſion we had els. We are reſolued, although it coſt vs all our liues, to go thither, relying vpon you, who as we hope, for your deuotion and noble courage, wil not be vnmindfull of our health and welfare: But knowing the danger wherinto we muſt needs fall, if you ſhall defer to aid vs, will ſend vs out of hand ſome bands of men, eſpecially when they may ſo eaſily be ſent. For now that the Turkes are departed from the Eaſt part of the Iſland, our ſoldiers may be landed at the black rocks. Our liues lie in your hands, on whom (next vnto God) reſteth all our hope. Wherfore we beſeech you moſt inſtantly not to forſake vs, committing our ſelues and all that ours is to your compaſſion and protection. Fare you well.*

From Malta the 17 of Iune.

For gallies ſent to relieue Malta.

Theſe letters receiued, and the diſtres of the beſieged caſtle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as he rightly ought) greatly mooued, and made ſemblance as if he had bin deſirous to haue brought forth his whole fleet againſt the Turks. But foraſmuch as the ſupply of ſhips from Genoa & Spain were not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to aduenture the fortune of a battell, he forthwith ſent *Iob. Cordona* with four Gallies, wherof two were of Malta; and with *Cordona* joined one *Robles* Camp-maſter, with a ſelect company of Spaniards, with whom went alſo about fourſcore Knights of Malta, who ſtayed at Meſſana, awaiting ſome fit occaſion to paſſe ouer. Amongſt whom were theſe chief men of the Order, *Pariſot* the Great Maſters Nephew, *Vincentius Caraffa*, *Boninſcana*, and *Maldonatus*, both Spaniards, *Centius* of Aquitania, and ſome others. Who although letted by tempeſt and other occaſions,

A caſions,they came too late to Malta, as ſhall be hereafter declared, yet ſerued they in great
ſtead;and had they come in time before the caſtle S.*Elmo* was loſt, haply it might haue been
ſtil kept.

The Turks making no more account of ſo great a ſlaughter of their men, than of ſo many
ſheep,deſperatly renued the fight, as men reſolued to indure all extremities. And firſt they
moſt horribly thundred day and night with their great ordnance vpon the Caſtle: afterwards
they aſſaulted the breaches with ſuch a multitude and force, that if true valour and hope of
immortality had not excluded al fear out of the hearts of the defendants,the terror of the aſſault
had inforced them either to haue fled or yeelded. Dreadful was the fight,and had they
not bin obſtinatly ſet down on both ſides,the one to win the caſtle,and the other to defend it,
B that day had ended the quarrel. Fiue hours indured that moſt terrible aſſault; at length the
Turks repulſed by the valor of the Chriſtians, retyred: yet did they not for all that paſſe the
night following in quiet,but with their great ordnance did ſo beat the defendants, that they
had much ado to keep the Turks from ſcaling the walls: Which that they ſhould not then
dare to attempt,was with exceeding indeauour prouided for by the Chriſtians; of whom in
this aſſault was loſt 200,and of the Turks a great number. And *Dragut* himſelf,whileſt hee
there performed the duty both of a General and moſt valiant ſoldier, got a blow on the head
with a ſtone,wherof he in two daies after died. His dead body was afterwards caried to Tripolis,
and there honorably buried.

A terrible aſſault.

Dragut ſlain

The Commanders of the Turks Army ſtil more and more inraged with this valour of the
C Chriſtians and ſlaughter of their men,gathering all their fleet together, commanded them to
compas about the Caſtle, of purpoſe to giue thereunto their laſt aſſault with all their forces
both by ſea and land;and to ſend new ſupplies of freſh ſoldiers one after another, vntill they
had taken the caſtle. Wherfore they with great induſtry prepared bridges,ladders,engins,armor,
weapons,ſhot,and whatſoeuer thing els was needful for the aſſault. Which *Valetta* perceiuing
out of his caſtle S. *Angelo*,and fearing(as meet was)leſt they in the caſtle ſhould not
be able longer to endure ſo great a fury,called together in counſel his knights,two daies before
the Turks gaue their laſt aſſault; and told them,That they all as well as hee,ſaw in what
danger they which defended the caſtle of S.*Elmo* were:and that he doubted not,but that euery
one of them, vpon a godly zeal and compaſſion, was no leſſe mooued with the ſlaughter and
D danger of their fellows and other their Chriſtian ſouldiers, than with their own:wherfore,he
requeſted them to declare what they thought beſt to be don for their ſafety; yet ſo,as that haſtily
they ſhould not determin any thing that agreed not with the antient valor and honor of
their ſacred military profeſſion. Which motion once made,and their opinions in brief deliuered,
a Decree was made, That foraſmuch as the Caſtle could not longer be holden,regard
ſhould be had for the ſafegard of them that were therin:for which purpoſe it was agreed, that
12 pinnaces ſhould be ſent to fetch them away. But before,three knights were choſen, who
ſhould in haſt the night following go thither,to tel them what was in the councel agreed vpon,
& carefully to conſider in what ſtate the caſtle was; which if the defendants thought was
to be abandoned,they ſhould poiſon the water and cloy the great ordnance,that it might not
E afterward ſtand the Turks in any ſtead. The three knights ſent thither was *Medina* a Spaniard,
Rocca a Frenchman,and *Conſtantinus Caſtriot* an Italian:who not without danger of death (being
oftentimes ſhot at by the Turks) got into the Caſtle, and declared vnto them that were
there in garriſon,how carefull the Great Maſter and the reſt were of them. And they on their
ſide firſt gaue thanks to the grand Maſter and the reſt for the regard they had of them:and afterward
concerning the caſtle ſaid, That if they conſidered the ſtreitnes of the place,the ſmal
number of the defendants,and multitude of the enemy,they ſhould wel perceiue the danger
they were in,if the Turks ſhould often with ſuch obſtinacy renue the aſſault: yet foraſmuch
as they had euer hitherto felt the help of God ſo preſent, who had ſtil mercifully defended
them againſt the rage of the enemy, & wanted nothing needful for the defence of the place;
F the keeping wherof they had requeſted of the grand Maſter as an honor, although they knew
right wel,it could not without moſt maniſeſt danger of their liues be holden:yet would they
for all that keep it to the laſt man; for that perhaps the like honorable occaſion for them to
ſhew themſelues in ſhould neuer again be offred:wherfore they had(they ſaid)reſolued there
to ſpend their liues for Gods glory and the Chriſtian Religion. The courſe of this life (they
ſaid)

Three Knights ſēt to view the ſtate of the Caſtle S.Elmo.

ſaid) was but ſhort, but that honor and fame was for euer: and whereas death is to all men prefined, it were to be wiſhed, that the life which is to nature due, ſhould rather ſeem to be by vs franckly giuen to God and our countrey, than reſerued as natures debt: which if it ſhould ſo happen, they would ſo vſe the matter, as that the barbarous enemy ſhould haue neither pleaſure nor ioy, which ſhould not coſt him much bloud euen of his beſt ſouldiers. This they willed the knights to tell the Great Maſter, and to requeſt him not to be too careful of them, but to promiſe to himſelfe thoſe things of them which beſt beſeemed reſolute men, eſpecially of them who had vowed themſelues to that ſacred war. This anſwer of greater reſolution than fortune, receiued; the three Knights, when they had diligently viewed the caſtle, returned to the Grand maſter: who calling to counſel his knights, and hauing heard the anſwer of the beſieged, would needs heare alſo what opinion the three knights themſelues were of concerning the keeping of the caſtle: of whom *Caſtriot* was of opinion, That the place was ſtil to be defended, and that if he were there to command, he would vndertake to perform it; and there rather to loſe his life than to forſake it, after he had once taken vpon him the charge therof. But *Rocca* the French knight was far of another mind, and ſaid plainly, that the place could not poſſibly be holden againſt ſo ſtrong an enemy; and that if *Iulius Caſar* himſelfe were aliue, and ſaw to what ſtreight the place was brought (eſpecially all the rampiers being either beaten down or ſore ſhaken, and ſuch a power of obſtinat enemies lying round about it) he would neuer ſuffer ſo many valiant ſouldiers to be loſt, but quit the place, and reſerue his men to further ſeruice: for why, it was the part of valiant men to performe ſo much as was of men to be performed; but to ſtriue to do more, was no manhood at all: wherfore he thought it beſt to do that which men vſe with members mortified, whoſe recouery is deſperat; in which caſe we doubt not to make a ſeparation, ſo to ſaue the reſt of the body with life. The Spaniſh Knight in moſt part agreeing with *Caſtriot*, ſaid, That he thought it not good, that the place ſhould ſo eaſily be forſaken; firſt, for that the ditches and bulwarks were yet defencible; and then becauſe he ſaw ſo great a conſent among the defendants, and ſuch a cheerfulneſſe to withſtand the enemy, which thing (as he ſaid) preſaged victory.

Diuers opinions concerning the keeping of S. Elmo.

Theſe opinions of the Knights throughly in counſell debated, and euery particular well weighed, it ſeemed good to the greater part, that they which were in the caſtle, ſhould for certain daies yet hold it out; eſpecially becauſe it was not the maner of the knights of the Order eaſily to abandon their ſtrong holds, but rather to keep them to the laſt, that euen therein the barbarous enemy might perceiue with whom he had to do, and ſo ſee his pride abated. For if they ſhould haue forſaken the place, they might haue been thought to haue done it for feare: whereby the enemies inſolency might haue bin increaſed, and the honourable Order of thoſe ſacred Knights diſgraced.

But the Turks intentiue to that they had before determined, the 23 day of Iune aſſembling all their forces both by ſea and land round about the caſtle, in the dead time of the night on euery ſide ſet vp ſcaling ladders, made bridges, wrought mines, and with 32 great pieces of artillery battered the reſt of the wals yet ſtanding, and preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault. The defendans on the other ſide beat downe ſome, repulſed other, ſlew many, euer more carefull how to wound the enemy, than to ſaue themſelues: and where he preſſed faſteſt on, there to ſhew their greateſt valour. Great were the outcries made on both ſides, mixt with exhortation, mirth, and mourning; the face of the whole fight was diuers, vncertain, cruell, and dreadfull: and now it was the third houre of the day, when ſtill the victory ſtood doubtfull; and had not the fury of the great Ordnance been ſo terrible, that it now had beaten down all the wals vnto the very rocke whereon the caſtle ſtood, the defendants might for ſome longer time haue endured the enemies force. But the very rock bared both of wals & defendants, and more than foure hundred ſlain, a man could now ſcarcely ſhew himſelfe, but he was preſently ſtruck in pieces. *Monſerratus* Gouernour of the caſtle, and *Garas* of Euboea, men of equall valour, integritie, and honour, were both ſlaine with one ſhot; for a ſhort and tranſitory life made partakers of immortality together. Yet the reſt which ſtood in defence of the caſtle, nothing terrified with ſo great a loſſe and ſlaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it were with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before, ouerthrew the Turks enſignes now ſet vp in the caſtle, ſlew the enſigne-bearers, captains, and colonels; now reſpecting nothing more, but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtai-

The Turks furiouſly aſſault the City.

A ning of immortal fame. By this time the ſun was mounted to the middle of heauen,great was the heat,and men exceeding weary;the murthering ſhot neuer ceaſed,and ſuch was the multitude of the enemy, that he ſent in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or wounded. On the other ſide,the ſmall number of the Chriſtians,and thoſe weakned with labour,watching,thirſt and wounds,did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a greater force, and ſo the caſtle by the Turks won,but with ſuch ſlaughter of their men,that it was a wonder ſo many ſhould be ſlain by ſo few. The defendants were all ſlain euery man in valiant fight.

The caſtle of S.Elmo taken by the Turks.

Here may I not in ſilence paſſe ouer the inhuman and more than bribarous cruelty of the Turks,againſt the dead bodies of the ſlain Knights; that therby may appear,that cruelty neuer wanteth wheron to ſhew it ſelf merciles, yea euen after death. The Turks after they had B taken the caſtle,finding certain of the knights yet breathing, & but halfe dead, firſt cut their hearts out of their breſts,and then their heads from their bodies:after that, they hanged them vp by the heels in their red cloaks with white croſſes(which maner of attyre they after an antient cuſtom vſe in time of war,as they do black in time of peace) in the ſight of the Caſtles S.*Angelo* and S.*Michael*. And yet *Muſtapha* the Turks General not ſo contented,commanded them afterwards to be faſt bound together,and ſo caſt into the ſea,whoſe dead bodies were in few daies after by the ſurge of the ſea caſt vp in the hauen Major, and known by their friends, were by the commandement of the ſorrowfull great Maſter honorably buried. With which barbarous cruelty of the enemy he was ſo mooued,that he commanded no Turk ſhould from that time be taken priſoner,but to be preſently ſlain. And therupon all that were before taken C were forthwith put to the ſword,and their heads thrown ouer the wals on that ſide toward the enemy. From the beginning of the ſiege to the taking of the caſtle,of the Chriſtians were ſlain 1300,among whom were 130 of the knights of the Order, all worthy to be regiſtred in the book of euerlaſting Fame.

Barbarous cruelty of the Turks.

The caſtle of S.*Elmo* thus loſt,*Valetta* although his mind(as he had good cauſe)was exceedingly grieued inwardly;yet made ſemblant otherwiſe,becauſe he would not daunt his ſouldiers minds: telling them,*That nothing was hapned vnprouided for or vnforeſeen. This was* (as he ſaid) *the will of God,and the chance of war,that ſomtimes one, ſomtimes another ſhould be ouercome: and that cowardiſe,not ſuch valor as was in them that were gon,gaue occaſion to liuing friends to lament: Yet that the Enemy was not for that to be feared, who had alſo receiued ſuch a loſſe, as hee might thereby* D *rather ſeem conquered,than a victorious Conquerour: whereas the loſſe of his Knights was recompenced with honor and immortality,things of themſelues ſufficient to inflame all Noble mindes to behaue themſelues valiantly. As for himſelf* (he ſaid) *that truſting not in his own ſtrength, but in the help of Almighty God,he had not yet caſt off the hope of victory ouer the reliques of the diſcomfited enemy: & that he well hoped they were all of the ſame mind,wherin he moſt earneſtly requeſted them to perſiſt to the end.* When he had thus ſaid,he being a man armed againſt all fortunes,withdrew himſelfe a little aſide; where caſting many things in his troubled mind, he determined to ſend letters to *Petrus Meſquina* gouernor of the city of Melita,to certifie him and the Knights of the order that were at Meſſana,and the Viceroy,of the loſſe of S.*Elmo*. The copy whereof, becauſe in them euidently appeareth the Chriſtian mind of him the Great Maſter, I haue thought good here E to ſet down as followeth:

Valetta's Letters to the Gouernor of Melita.

Whilſt theſe Knights are ſetting forward, in the mean time chanced the miſerable misfortune of the Caſtle S.Elmo: *which although it brought vnto vs that grief you may eaſily imagin, yet for all that, as if it had hapned by ſome ſecret appointment of God,haue taken it in ſuch part, that he as a moſt mercifull father purpoſeth therby to warn vs,but not vtterly to deſtroy vs. Neither do I thinke it lawfull to doubt of his mercy and power. Yet for all that, I may neuertheles complain, That we are of them forſaken, of whom it leaſt beſeemed. So that in the ſpace of ſeuen and thirty daies,wherin our moſt valiant ſouldiers endured all the force of the enemy (which truly was don rather by the power of God than of man) wee were holpen of our own (which owe ſo much vnto vs) not ſo much as with the leaſt help, which they oftentimes* F *might haue ſent vnto vs. But I liſt to aſcribe it, whatſoeuer it is, to God, of whom alone as wee haue hitherto receiued ſo many good things, ſo reſt we in hope herafter to receiue alſo. For, for any thing that I can ſee, we muſt not now truſt to mans help; foraſmuch as wee could by no Letters, no diligence, no prayers, no admonitions, and to be briefe, by no commaunds mooue them, who of all other ought moſt* *to haue obeyed it. The ſhortnes of the time ſuffreth vs not to write to the Viceroy of theſe things, it ſhall* G *be your part to certifie both him and other our friends therof, who if they had obeyed our command, or aided vs with neuer ſo ſmall a ſupply of ſoldiers, haply we had not loſt the caſtle of S.* Elmo, *in defence wherof we haue ſpent the beſt part of our ſoldiers. Wherfore except the Viceroy make haſt to deliuer vs from this ſiege, I fear that he canot in time come; but eſpecially if we bee here beſieged before the comming of thoſe our ſmall helps which we as in a dream haue promiſed vnto our ſelues, and which we now ſcarſe hope will be in time preſent. For all that, we do not diſtruſt of Gods loue and prouidence, by whoſe diuine inſpiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being ſhortly ſtirred vp, will haſten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare conſiſts in celerity. Our enemies hauing drawn all their fleet into the hauen Marza Moxet, are buſied in clenſing the caſtle and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward vſe them the better againſt vs. Wherfore vpon ſight of theſe our letters, ſend vnto vs the captains* Catherin, Belcacar, Belmeſt, H *and* Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vſe their valiant and faithful ſeruice. God of his mercy ſend vs aid from ſome place, and keep you. Fare you well.*

From our Caſtle S. Angelo *the 24 of Iune, 1565.*

Meſquita hauing receiued theſe letters, commanded a Galliot forthwith to be launched, & therin imbarqued *Maſius Codonellus* one of the Knights, to whom he deliuered both the letters of the grand Maſter, and others of his own almoſt of the ſame purport, directed to the knights of the Order which lay at Meſſana, requeſting him with all ſpeed poſſible to paſſe ouer with them into Sicilia. I

Muſtapha Baſſa ſends meſſengers vnto the Great Maſter.

In the mean time *Muſtapha* the Turks General ſent a meſſenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spaniſh captain, with promiſe of liberty if he would go with his meſſenger to the Town, to talk with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to try if he would by any meanes come to agreement. Who comming to the town, the Turk ſtill waiting at the gate, the Chriſtian was let in and brought to the Great Maſter, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Baſſa. But ſo ſoon as *Valetta* heard of the name of compoſition and yeelding, he was ſo filled with indignation, that had he not bin a Chriſtian, he would preſently haue commanded him to haue bin hanged. Wherfore he gaue him choice either to tarry ſtil in the town, if he thought ſo good, or els forthwith to return and tel his Companion, that if he got him not quickly packing, he would ſend him farther off with a great ſhot. K With this ſhort anſwer the Turk ſuddenly returned into the camp. Wherupon *Muſtapha* fel into ſuch a rage, that openly he proteſted, neuer from that to forbear any kind of cruelty againſt the Chriſtians. There was then with *Muſtapha* one *Philip*, one of the noble Grecian family of *Laſcaris*, who of a boy taken priſoner by the Chriſtians in Patras a city of Achaia, & by them honeſtly & curteouſly vſed, was euer after wel affected toward the Chriſtians. He priuy to certain of *Muſtapha's* deſignes, by a certain diuine motion thought hee ſhould not a little profit the Chriſtians by reuolting vnto them: wherfore he reſolued to fly to the Caſtle S. *Michael*. Which thing when he had often attempted, at length the firſt of Iuly he caſt himſelf into the ſea (for by land he could no way eſcape) & ſwam to the caſtle, not without danger of his life; for diſcouered by the Turks, he was many times ſhot at both with their arrows and ſmall ſhot. L Hee, brought to the Great Maſter, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies ſecrets, and alſo aduiſed him what was to be don at the point of S. *Michaels*, to fruſtrat the enemies purpoſe for aſſailing that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no ſmall help; and afterward as often as need was, during the ſiege, fought valiantly againſt the Turks.

The great Maſters anſwer.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Codonellus* (ſent as we haue before ſaid into Sicily) came in ſafety to Meſſana, where he found the Chriſtian fleet not yet ready to relieue the diſtreſſed Maltæſes; for the Spaniſh ſhips were not yet come, and *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eight and twenty ſhips was ready to return to take in four thouſand footmen, which were taken vp in Etruria by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnes the Knights of the Order conſidering, and what danger was in delay, after they had wel debated the matter amongſt themſelues, they re- M ſolued by the power of God, by all means poſſible to help their brethren. And for this expedition choſe two moſt fit Generals of their own fellows (the Commanders of Meſſana and Baroli) who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the ſacred

knights

A Knights of their Order had done,not for the King of Spaine only, but for the Chriſtian com-
monweale, and alſo what great charge they had been at the yeare before in the Pinonian ex-
pedition,wherein they had neither ſpared ſhips,victual,nor munition, neither their own liues,
to profit the King and the Chriſtian commonweale. Beſides this,they beſought him well to
conſider,that the loſſe of Malta concerned not the ſacred Knights only,but all Italy, and eſpe-
cially Sicilia,for the neerneſſe of ſo troubleſome and puiſſant an Enemy. For theſe and other
like reaſons,which the ſhortneſſe of the time ſuffered them not to rehearſe, they requeſted of
him 4000 footmen, with whom all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many
other noble and voluntary men would make all poſſible ſpeed to relieue the beſieged, which
they had before in vaine attempted; with which ſtrength they were in good hope, if not to re-
B pulſe the enemy, or to recouer that was already loſt, yet at leaſt to ſtop & ſtay his further pro-
ceeding,vntill ſuch time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet,might ſet vpon
the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquiſh and diſperſe them. But whilſt the Viceroy ha-
uing heard their requeſt, conſidereth what anſwer to make, a meſſenger came vnto him from
Spaine,but with what command from the King(although men gueſſed diuerſly)could not be
knowne. But vpon his comming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold anſwer, That he could
not grant what they requeſted, for that in ſo doing he ſhould disfurniſh his fleet, and not be
able afterwards to relieue them as he deſired: but if it pleaſed them to tranſport the Knights
with part of the Biſhops ſoldiers into the Iſland, they might ſo do with their own two gallies
they had already, whereunto he would alſo ioyne another of his owne. The Knights when
C they could obtaine no more,accepted of that which was offered.

The Knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold anſwer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilſt theſe gallies were ſetting forward, thoſe foure gallies whereof we haue before ſpo-
ken, wherein were imbarked 80 Knights and 600 other ſoldiers, hauing at ſea ſuffered many
troubles by the ſpace of twenty daies,could not as yet arriue at Malta: and becauſe the Vice-
roy had commanded that they ſhould not land, except they firſt knew whether the Caſtle
S. *Elmo* were ſtill holden by the Chriſtians, they ſent out a frigot to land, promiſing that day
and the next to tarry in the ſea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempeſt ſuddenly
ariſing,it fell out,that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne: wherefore the gal-
lies which expected her comming, fearing leſt ſhe had been either by tempeſt loſt, or by the
enemy intercepted,retired vnto Pozalo a port vpon the coaſt of Sicilia,neereſt to Malta,there
D to expect ſome good newes: where as ſoone as they had put in, they vnderſtood that S. *Elmo*
was yet defended: whereupon they put to ſea againe, with purpoſe to haue arriued at Malta.
But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed,they
ſaw a fire there,which cauſed them to miſtruſt that the place was poſſeſſed of the enemy, and
that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to Pozalo; where
now vnderſtanding of the French knight come from Malta, that that fire was made by his
commandement, as a ſigne that they might without feare come forward; they with all ſpeed
made again for the ſame place, and at the length the 29 day of Iune about midnight landed at
the Blackerockes on the South ſide of the Iſland toward Affricke, and vnſeene of any, got in
haſte to the city Malta,where they were ioyfully receiued, and there ſtaid to expect what the
E Great Maſter ſhould command. In the mean time it fortuned,a great foggy miſt (which ſel-
dome times there chanceth) to ariſe ſo thicke,that a man could hardly ſee for it:at which time
a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the caſtle of Melita,
ſuddenly,as one afraid cried out, that he ſaw a Turke going from the city to the caſtle of
Saint *Michael.* Which thing ſome of the Knights hearing, ran preſently out that way, and
found a Greeke of the city Melita, who brought backe and examined (for that without the
Gouernors paſſe it was not lawfull for any man to go out of the city) confeſſed, That his pur-
poſe was to haue aduertiſed the Turks of the comming of thoſe ſouldiers, that ſo they might
haue intercepted them as they ſhould haue come from Melita to the Grand maſter: for which
treaſon he was,as he had well deſerued,cut in foure pieces. Three daies after,this new ſupply
F come from Sicilia,in the firſt watch of the night came all in ſafety from Melita to the Grand
Maſter,except two or three boies, who ouercharged with armor and other baggage, were not
able to keepe way with the reſt. It is not to be told, how much the beſieged reioyced at the
comming of theſe their friends; and eſpecially *Valetta,* who ſeeing the floure of his Knights
and other ſouldiers, as it were by diuine prouidence come vnto him; with teares trickling

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The ſouldiers new come out of Sicilia,come to the Great Maſter.

downe his cheekes, and his eies caſt vp to heauen, ſaid : G

The prayer of Valetta.

I thanke thee, ô heauenly Father, which heareſt my praiers, and forſaketh not this thy little Flocke, beſet round with moſt rauening Wolues : theſe are the workes of thine euerlaſting goodneſſe, mercy and prouidence.

Theſe new come ſouldiers requeſted of the Great Maſter, as a reward of their paines, That
they might be put in garriſon into the Towne S. *Michael*, a place now moſt laid vnto by the
Turks : which thing (he commending their forwardneſſe) eaſily granted; yet for all that remoued
not his old garriſon. Theſe freſh and couragious ſoldiers deſirous of nothing more than
to fight with the enemy, the next day ſallied out, and hauing ſlain 200 of the Turks, and wounded
as many more, without loſſe of a man returned, euery mans ſword imbrued in the bloud of
his enemy. Which thing *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall hearing, knew it was they which lately H
came into the towne; and thereupon fell in rage with his captains, as that they had by their
negligence entred. But the ſuſpition grew moſt vpon them which were appointed for the keeping
of the vttermoſt part of the Iſland : which was the more increaſed, for that three galliots
of Algiers had withdrawne themſelues away; ſo that he neither truſted them nor the renegat
Chriſtians, who as occaſion ſerued fled daily from him. For which cauſe he gaue out proclamation,
That none of them ſhould lie by night out of the gallies, and that ſuch as did otherwiſe,
ſhould therefore be burnt, or impailed vpon ſharpe ſtakes : and changing his warders, appointed
Salec with his galliots, whom he thought to be more faithfull, for the keeping of the
Iſland. And that neither they nor the Chriſtians ſhould be able to attempt any thing, he chained
together diuers gallies in the entrance of the hauen Marza Moxet, & cauſed the reſt of the I
fleet to ride neerer together than before. But becauſe exceeding many were at that time ſicke
in the Turks camp, of the flix and other diſeaſes; three places were aſſigned for them; one for
the wounded men neere vnto Aqua Martia, garded with 2000 Turks; another in the poups of
their ſhips and gallies for the Turks voluntaries; and the third amongſt the bulwarkes, where
the inforced Chriſtians were cured. At the ſame time, *Muſtapha* appointed *Ochiall Baſſa* Gouernor
of Tripolis, in ſtead of *Dragut* before ſlaine : who going thither with fiue gallies, and
hauing ſet all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. With him the Baſſa had
ſent two ſhips loaded with corne to Tripolis, there to make bread, whereof they began to feele
ſome want in the campe. He alſo ſent *Zaloch* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of
the winning of the caſtle S. *Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the deſcription of the Iſland of Malta K
as they found it at their arriuall; and further to declare vnto him, That he found the Maltæſes
ſtronger and better prouided, than was at his ſetting forth ſuppoſed: wherefore if it were his
pleaſure longer to continue the ſiege, he ſhould ſend a new ſupply of men, victuall, and other
warlike prouiſion; which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other ſtrong places of
the Iſland alſo, though not ſo ſoone as was at the firſt ſuppoſed : and that in the meane time
whileſt he expected anſwer, he would not faile to do what he poſſibly might. And becauſe he
would not ſeeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his battery in foureteene places with
70 great pieces of artillery, amongſt which was three moſt huge baſilisks : for from the Gallows
promontory to Aqua Martia, and from thence to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, wherein he had placed
300 Ianizaries, the Turks had incloſed all that compaſſe with ſundry bulwarks, trenches, L
and mounts, from whence they with their thundring ſhot day and night inceſſantly battered
the townes and caſtles of S. *Michael* and S. *Angelo*, ouerthrew the walls, beat down the bulwarks,
and brake down the houſes in ſuch terrible manner, that ſcarce any could be ſafe therein
: which of all others moſt troubled the fearfull women and children. But the Turks in their
trenches reſted in far more ſafety : yet ſo, as they durſt not ſtray far out of the campe, but truſting
vpon their multitude, and not that many times without their loſſe, being cut off by the
horſemen of the garriſon of Malta, who were euer ready at their heeles.

Ochiall Baſſa made gouernor of Tripolis.

A terrible battery.

When the loſſe of the caſtle S. *Elmo* was knowne at Rome, the city was filled with mourning
and heauines: ſome were ſorry for the diſhonour, other ſome feared leſt the calamities of
the Maltæſes ſhould redound vnto themſelues. There was alſo amongſt others, a certain enuious M
and foule mouth'd kinde of men, altogether ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall affaires,
who ſhamed not to lay the blame of the loſſe of S. *Elmo* vpon the Grand Maſter: whom
both his owne valour, with the worthy teſtimony of ſo many famous and valiant men as were
there preſent with him, as alſo this hiſtory gathered out of the true light of things then done,

ſhall

A ſhall both for the time preſent and for all poſterity ſufficiently acquite of ſo falſe a ſlander.
*But he will eaſily blemiſh another mans name, that ſpareth not his owne: neither can Ignorance rightly
judge of the counſels of the skilfull; or cowardiſe, of valiant deeds.*

But to returne againe to our purpoſe: we ſaid before, that three gallies were made ready at
Meſſana; in ſetting forth whereof, they which had the charge vſed ſuch diligence, that the ſe-
uenth of Iuly they departed out of harbour. In them (beſides the Knights of the Order) was
imbarked 600 Spaniards, and 300 of the Great Biſhops ſouldiers, conducted by *Pompeius
Columba*: the mariners were part hired, part ſlaues, to whom liberty was promiſed, if they would
luſtily do their endeuour to get into the hauen, and to be accounted of as the reſt of the ſoul-
diers were. And becauſe they would relieue the beſieged not with men only, but with victu-
B all alſo, they put into the ſame gallies fiue hundred buſhels of wheat, beſide gunpouder, ſalt-
peeter, and lead for ſhot. And although it was thought a moſt hard matter, by the hauen it
ſelfe to enter into the Iſland, the Turks poſſeſſing it and all the places therabouts, neuerthe-
leſſe there was in the Knights ſuch an earneſt deſire to relieue their Brethren, that they pro-
miſed both to themſelues and others, al things eaſie and ſafe. But when they began to approch
the Iſland, they ſent a ſcout before, to vnderſtand by ſignes from the caſtle S. *Angelo*, whether
they were to proceed forward or not: who comming ſo far that they might diſcouer the ſigne,
perceiued thereby that they ſhould retire. Which things the Turks perceiuing alſo, preſently
with the ſmoake of their great ordnance and other things, they ſo obſcured the aire as with a
thicke cloud, in ſuch ſort as that thoſe ſignes were no more to be diſcerned: but all in vaine:
C for why, our men had already diſeried them: ſo thoſe three gallies returned againe into Sici-
lia. For, *Valetta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring ſo many of the ſacred Knights,
ſo many noble gentlemen and valiant ſoldiers, into a moſt manifeſt danger: for he ſaw certaine
of the Turks gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the hauen Marza Moxet, at a place called
the Little ſands, to impeach the going in or out of the hauen Major. About the ſame time, they
which lay in garriſon in the city Melita, hearing of the notable ſally made by the ſouldiers
lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at ſuch time as the Turks were fetching in a certaine
booty of cattell, the horſemen purſued them, and hauing ſlaine diuers of them, recouered the
prey; and yet not ſo contented, chaſed them euen to their campe. But the other Turks ſeeing
their fellowes flying in ſuch haſte towards them, raiſed an alarum, ran to their Generals tent,
D and for that time ceaſed their battery.

Three gallies depart from Miſſana with aid towrds Malta.

The gallies vpon a ſigne giuen returne backe.

The Great Maſter probably conjecturing, that the Turks would in ſhort time aſſault both
the towne and caſtle of S. *Michael*, thought good by his preſence to encourage and ſtrengthen
the garriſon, and therefore was about to haue gone thither by a bridge made of boats from the
one point of the land to the other, betweene S. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo*: but quickly vnderſtan-
ding the certainty thereof, returned againe into his caſtle. Some there be that think, For him
to haue ſo done, had been a venturous part, and full of danger, and therefore to haue been diſ-
commended: for that great things are performed, not ſo much by ſtrength of body as of mind,
by politique counſell and direction, wherwith a Generall (although abſent) may yet with his
forces be alwaies preſent, but the Generall once loſt (which may eaſily happen if he will pre-
E ſent his perſon to the danger) we ſee moſt commonly all fall together with him, no otherwiſe
than doth all parts of the body when the ſoule departeth. But other ſome are of contrary opi-
nion, That the Generals preſence, eſpecially in great dangers, is both praiſe-worthy and moſt
neceſſary; for that he, as the ſoule, cannot prouide for or rule the body, except it be preſent, yea
placed therin: and that *Valetta* in ſo doing, had followed the examples of the greateſt kings &
moſt famous Generals, as of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Caſar*, *Themiſtocles*, *Marius*, and others:
whoſe words vnto their ſouldiers were theſe, *I my ſelfe will be your conductor in the field, in the bat-
tell partaker of the danger with you, you ſhall be in all things as my ſelfe.* Beſides that, who knoweth
not, that as in other things, ſo moſt of all in martiall affaires, all things are better, more order-
ly, and more eaſily done when the Maſter is preſent; neither was the learned Poet his meaning
F any thing els, when in the wars betwixt the Latines and the Rutilians, he ſaith, *Vrget præſentia
Turni?* whereupon they concluded, That the Great Maſter in going had done both valiantly,
wiſely, and according to his duty. But this we leaue for martiall men to determine.

At the ſame time the king of Algiers came to aid the Turks with 7 gallies and ten galliots,
and in them 2200 ſouldiers: who ſorry that he was not there at the beginning, and deſirous

The king of Algiers commeth to aid the Turks

to do ſome notable act, and withall to make proofe of the valor of his ſoldiers, requeſted the G
great Baſſa to beſtow vpon him the firſt place in the beſieging the caſtle S. *Michael*: which he not only granted, but joyned to his forces 2000 of his own beſt ſoldiers. Theſe things obtained, he commanded ninety ſmall veſſels by deuiſes to be carried ouer land out of the port Marza Moxet to Aqua Martia, for that he purpoſed on that ſide to beſiege the caſtle by water. But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, both by ſeeing that was done, and alſo aduertiſed thereof before by a Chriſtian fugitiue; preſently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull ſhipmaſters of Malta, and imparting the matter vnto them, demanded what they thought beſt to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it ſeemed they purpoſed at the walls foot. They quickly perceiuing the matter, anſwered, That in their opinion, if a chaine were made of maſts and ſaile-yards as ſpars joined together with yron rings, and ſo drawn all alongſt from the corner H
of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, to that place where the enemy thought to land, their purpoſe might be ſo defeated. This deuiſe ſo pleaſed the Great maſter, that the night following ſuch a chain was made, and faſt mored in the appointed place. The Turks ſo ſoon as it was day perceiuing this bar, ſtood as men doubtfull, not knowing how by any means to land their men, as they had before purpoſed. Whileſt they ſtood ſo abaſhed, a Chriſtian fugitiue a moſt deſperat villaine (in which kind of men fooliſh hardineſſe is accounted a vertue, and deſperation, conſtancy) came to the King, and promiſed him to breake the chaine, and ſo with a hatchet in his hand caſt himſelfe into the ſea; after whom followed two or three more to help him: who ſwimming to the chaine, got vp vpon it, and began to hew apace with their hatchets. Which the Chriſtians beholding, ſuddenly fiue or ſix of the Maltæſes ſwam thither with their drawn I
ſwords in their hands, and hauing ſlaine two of them, cauſed the other to fly: after which time none of the Turks was ſo hardy as to attempt the ſame. The barbarous king for all that gaue not ouer his purpoſe ſo, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the ſiege, which the fifteenth day of Iuly began both by ſea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordnance vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the fury thereof (in the ſpace of three houres, which the aſſault endured) ſlew two thouſand Turks, and ſunke twelue of the Galliots: the reſt comming as far as the chaine, when they could get no further, nor land their men, turned their prows vpon the corner of the caſtle, but were glad at laſt to retire and leaue that they came for vndone. The aſſault at land alſo endured fiue houres, wherein many of the Turks were ſlaine: and of the defendants 200, amongſt whom was *Fredericus* the Viceroy of K
Sicilia his ſon, ſtrucke in ſunder with a great ſhot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciſcus Sanoghera* and his nephew *Iohn*, Spaniards, all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was alſo wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* conſidering into what danger the ſtate of Malta was like to fall, if he ſhould be conſtrained to fight many ſuch fights, where his ſoldiers wearied day & night without reſt, were ſtill to encounter with freſh men, and heard nothing of any aid or new ſupply; the 17 day of Iuly he ſent a meſſenger into Sicilia, who ſwam from the caſtle to the fartheſt part of the bay to Aqua Martia, and from thence eſcaped vnknown thorow the midſt of the enemies, vnto the city of Melita, and ſo in a little frigot came to Meſſana. By him the Great maſter ſent letters to the Viceroy, requeſting him to ſend him his owne two gallies with thoſe Knights which were at Meſſana, and ſuch other ſouldiers as might in them be L
tranſported: willing them, that as ſoon as they came to the Iſland, they ſhould houer off aloof before the hauen, ready vpon a ſigne giuen to thruſt in. The ſame time that this meſſenger arriued at Meſſana, came thither alſo the fleet from Spaine, wherein were many of the Knights of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy deſirous to ſend theſe two gallies to *Valetta*, ſent letters before vnto him in ſecret characters by two frigots, wherin he certified him that he would ſend the gallies, requiring to haue from him ſome ſigne whereby they might at their comming know whether they ſhould enter or retire: which frigots taking diuers courſes, one of them laded with medicines, as was afterwards knowne, was intercepted by the enemy: the other although ſhe came in ſafety to Melita, yet for as much as all the paſſages betwixt the caſtle of S. *Michael* and the city Melita, were certaine daies before by the diligence of the enemy M
ſhut vp, and three which had vſed to paſſe too and fro, intercepted and moſt cruelly executed; and beſides that, the hauen ſtreightly kept; the the Knights of Meſſana could haue no further direction from the Great Maſter, for the ſafe ſending of the two Gallies: yet neuertheleſſe becauſe he had requeſted them, and they themſelues were of the ſame opinion (as
he

A deſperat fugitiue.

The king of Algiers notably repulſed both by ſea and land.

A hard ſhift to carry newes.

A he had before written) that where all is in queſtion, the aduenture of a little part is leſſe to be feared; they thought it good to aduenture them, yet with this regard, not to expoſe all thoſe knights to ſo great a danger, but of them all to ſend only forty, with a conuenient number of other ſouldiers, and with them *Salazer* a Spaniſh captaine was ſent by the Viceroy to be landed in the Iſland Gaulos, who ſhould afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpoſe towed along by the gallies) paſſe ouer into the Iſland of Malta as a Spie, to take view both of the city and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the loſſe receiued in the aſſault of the caſtle S. *Michael*, and deſirous of reuenge, did ſo violently batter the caſtle with their great ordnance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they ſtill beat downe againe by day: and in time B of battery made a bridge, which the 20 day of Iuly before the Sun riſing they laied ouer the ditch, that they might as if it had bin vpon euen ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians. Which ſeen, and quickly perceiuing what danger it might bring, by and by *Pariſot* the Great maſters nephew, and *Agleria*, both Knights, with certaine mercinary ſoldiers ſallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were ſo receiued of the Turks, that they were almoſt all ſlain together with *Pariſot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceaſing continued their furious battery vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly, which day in the afternoone they in diuers places aſſaulted the caſtle, thrice they with freſh and new ſupplies relieued their repulſed and wearied ſouldiers, and ſo fiercely maintained the aſſault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Caſtle. But the defendants with no leſſe reſolution C withſtood them, repulſing them with their weapons, with ſhot, fire, and force, and at length inforced them with no ſmall loſſe of their men to retire from the wals. This victory ſo incouraged the beſieged, that now they made ſmall reckoning of the enemy: but foraſmuch as our men alwaies ſpared their great ordnance but in time of fight, and ſallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garriſon was but weake, and that ſhot and pouder grew ſcarce in the Caſtle. Yet deceiued in both, for that it was rather of purpoſe, than for want, ſo commanded by the Great Maſter, who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and ſeeing the enemy to giue daily more fierce aſſaults, would not vainly ſpend his moſt neceſſary helps. The Turks perceiuing what little good they had done with their often aſſaults, determined now to proue what might be done by vndermining the caſtle: and had almoſt brought one of their D mines to perfection before it was of the Chriſtians diſcouered: and to the intent they ſhould the leſſe marke it, they cauſed two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, & to batter that place, in hope that whileſt our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they ſhould the leſſe regard what they were working in ſecret, that ſo they might in the mean time more eaſily get into the caſtle. But the beſieged carefull of all that was to be cared for, perceiuing their purpoſe, with a countermine defeated their mine, & by the couragiouſneſſe of certain of their ſoldiers, but eſpecially of one Ancient, draue out the enemy, who hauing caſt certaine pots of wild-fire before him into the mine, and following preſently after with a piece of fire-worke in his hand, forced him out. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great Maſter rewarded with a chaine of gold of fiue pound weight. And becauſe of vertue ſpringeth vertue, which ſtill E reſteth vpon difficulties, the next day, which was the firſt of Auguſt, the bridge which we ſaid the enemy had made ouer the ditch, was by a ſally made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpouder caſt vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again aſſailing that part of the caſtle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulſed. This aſſault endured 3 houres, in which time 300 of the Turks were there ſlain: and of the knights, *Rufus* himſelfe and *Bareſus*, with certaine mercinary ſoldiers. At this time the Chriſtians were by the enemy ſo ſhut in with the multitude of great ordnance, that they could not ſo much as looke into the ditch or ſhew themſelues, much leſſe ſally out, but they were preſently ſet off. Yet did they not for all that make ſpare of their liues when occaſion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a F Spaniard, who ſeeing ſome viewing that part of the wall which the enemy had moſt battered and ſhaken at the caſtle bulwarke, doubted not to ſally out, but was preſently taken with a bullet and ſlaine: which miſchance when it might ſeeme of right to haue terrified the reſt from attempting the like, did indeed the more inſence them; ſo that when they ſaw the enemy exceeding buſie in filling the ditch, they, reſolutely ſet downe to offer themſelues to moſt aſ-

A bridge made ouer the Caſtle ditch by the Turks.

The Turks repulſed.

A mine of the Turks defeated.

The bridge made by the Turks burnt.

ſured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſſe enemy, agreed to ſally out by night, and to meet with his deſignes. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other ſouldiers, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemy to forſake the ditch and betake themſelues to flight, of whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne, ten men: amongſt whom were *Ioannes* and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vpon two ſpears vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day, they of the city of Melita at night made at one inſtant a number of fires, and as it were in triumph diſcharged great vollies of ſmall ſhot, with many other tokens of joy: which as well the beſieged as the Turks thought verily to haue beene done vpon diſcouery of the Chriſtian fleet, or els the landing of ſuch forces as were come to remoue the ſiege: wheras indeed it was neither, but done only to ſhew their cheerefulneſſe, and to keep the Turks in ſuſpence with the nouelty of the matter: who for all that were not ſlacke in their buſineſſe, but with earth filled vp the ditch at the caſtle bulwarke; wherby it came to paſſe that they could not be hurt by the flankers made in that place to ſcoure the ditch, but might thereby, as vpon plaine ground, without ſtay paſſe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with their continuall battery, and with two great pieces (which they had planted vpon a high mount which they had newly caſt vp on the right hand the bulwarke Sauoire) they began to play vpon the caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commanded. *Ioannes Bernardus Bodinctius* a Spaniſh knight was there ſlaine with a ſmal ſhot. The ſame day *Franciſcus Aquilates* a Spaniard, one of the garriſon ſoldiers, perſuaded by feare and hope (in dangers two euill counſellors) fled out of the town *S. Michael* to the enemy, perſuading the Turks Colonels to giue a freſh aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the towne, becauſe there was but 400 ſoldiers left aliue in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and ſeeing faire breaches both in the wals of the new city and of the caſtle *S. Michael*, wide enough for carts to go through, they determined with all their forces to aſſault both places at once, and to proue if there were yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe holds as again to repulſe them: ſo the 7 day of Auguſt at one inſtant they aſſaulted the new city at the caſtle bulwark, & the caſtle *S. Michael* at the breach, with ſuch a multitude, that all the earth ſeemed to be couered with men round about. The thundring of the great ordnance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of armour, and noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, with the cry of men on both ſides was ſo confuſed and great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue been confounded together. Which when the Knights in the city Melita heard, and ſaw the heauens obſcured with ſmoake, fearing that the Turks (as at the caſtle *S. Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the aſſault vntill they had won both the towne and the caſtle, preſently all the garriſon horſemen iſſued out of the city, and to auert the Turks from the aſſault, ſet vpon thoſe Turks which lay at Aqua Martia: who all ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, fled, the Chriſtian horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloudy execution, and they in their flight pittifully crying out vpon their fellowes for helpe. Whereby it came to paſſe, that they which were aſſailing the city and caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfited fellowes, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault: ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by the Chriſtians, they returned to their trenches, when they had loſt about fifteene hundred at the aſſault, beſide them which were ſlaine in the chaſe by the horſemen of Melita. Of the defendants of both places were ſlaine aboue an hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This fight endured about fiue houres. *Valetta* deliuered of ſo great a danger, that day and certaine others cauſed publike praiers to be made, and went himſelfe with the multitude of the citiſens to the Church, to giue thanks to Almighty God for that victory.

Aquilates a Spaniard flieth to the Turks.

The Turks at one time aſſault the new city and the caſtle S. Michael.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Melita ſallying out cauſe the Turks to giue ouer the aſſault at Saint Michael.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Viceroy was aduertiſed from Calabria, that certaine ſhips laded with men, victuall, and other prouiſion neceſſary for the wars, were comming from Conſtantinople to Malta: wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada* two noblemen, with fiue gallies to meet them: who being come within thirty miles of Malta, met with no ſuch ſhips, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they took, but the galliot eſcaped to the enemies fleet at Malta.

Muſtapha the Turks General now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continuall labour and watching be wearied and ouercome, reſolued not to giue vnto the beſieged any time of reſt, but commanded his ſouldiers againe to aſſault the breach at the Caſtle of Saint

Michael,

A *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulſed: neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but rather to perform the duty of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſſely commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a galliot in haſte with letters to *Solyman*, wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the fleet, with what difficulties the army was diſtreſſed, what ſmall hope there was of winning the places beſieged; how well the Chriſtians were prouided, with many other ſuch things.

Muſtapha ſendeth a meſſenger to Solyman.

In the meane time thoſe two gallies of Malta (which we haue before ſpoken of) departing from Meſſana, came to Syracuſa, where they ſtaied a day. The next day after, in going out of the hauen, they met with one of Malta in a ſmall boat comming from Pozalo ſore wounded: B he being demanded how he was ſo hurt; told them, That landing by night with his boat and one companion, he was requeſted by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to reſt there that night; which they doing, about midnight fiue Turks brake into the houſe vpon them, killed his companion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit of the night: moreouer, he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turks, that two gallies were come into that port, with ſouldiers and other warlike prouiſion bound for Malta. Whereby the knights perceiued, that their comming would be diſcouered vnto the enemy, and that it was a moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſſible to get into the hauen of Malta, as they had before purpoſed: neuertheleſſe, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their courſe. But as they were ſailing, they deſcried two gallies and one galliot going before them, who ſeeing C the gallies comming after them, made with all ſpeed to Malta: and were no doubt thoſe gallies, from whence thoſe fiue Turks came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded Malteſe reported. For all that, theſe gallies kept on their courſe as far as Pozalo, from whence they certified the Viceroy by letters of all that had hapned: and not daring to put to ſea, the South wind blowing with a ſtiffe gale againſt them, they returned backe againe to Syracuſa, expecting their farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one of the Knights to him to Meſſana; by whom they receiued anſwere, that they ſhould goe no farther, but to ſtay for the comming of the whole fleet, ready in ſhort time to paſſe ouer to Malta. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to Pozalo, reſolued with his little boat to go on: and although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thunder and rain, D yet the daies following prouing more calme, he in ſhort time arriued in the Iſland of Malta, and came in ſafety to the city Melita; and there diſguiſed himſelfe in Turkiſh apparell, and taking with him one companion who could ſpeake the Turkiſh language, by night got into the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in al the Turks army of land ſoldiers ſcarce 14000, and of them many wounded and ſicke, and that the reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of warres had (as commonly it doth) conſumed their beſt ſouldiers. When they had thus viewed the camp, they returned again to the city; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous and valiant man, went to a certaine place neere vnto the watch tower of Maleca: which when they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſeruing the ſignes from the Iſland of E Gaulos and the city of Melita, he might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his approch, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelfe, he in his little boat (which at his comming into the Iſle he had there left) happily returned to Meſſana, and there declared vnto the Viceroy all that he had ſeene: conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That the Turks fleet was but weake, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of men and munition, far vnable to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two frigots which were before ſent to Malta, returned with another Spaniard, and a fugitiue from the Turks campe: and foure gallies before gone from Meſſana, were alſo come in with foureteene Turks taken about the Iſland of Malta, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported: Which was, That the Turks army was with often aſſaults wonderfully weakened, both in F number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which the Baſſa had with his owne hands ſlaine diuers of them: and that which more encreaſed their feare, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that, they ſaw the Chriſtians with inuincible courage to defend their ſtrong places, and not to ſpend one ſhot in vaine: Wherefore they were ſorry, and repented that they had euer tooke in hand that

Salazar a Spaniſh Captaine as a ſpy entreth the Turks campe.

expedition; they deteſted ſuch a war, ſhrinking as much as they could from the aſſault, and as G they might ſteale quite away, which many of them did, ſpecially ſuch as had before abjured the Chriſtian Faith. For which cauſe diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement giuen by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolue with themſelues either to win the towne, or there all to lay vp their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commanded, whom to gaineſay, was in it ſelfe death. Theſe and ſuch other like perſuaſions, cauſed the Viceroy ſomwhat the ſooner to thinke the bringing forth of the fleet: of his beſieged in the mean time did what men might for defence of the place and themſelues. There was in the caſtle one *Franciſcus Ganara* captain of the vauntgard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit, he about ten foot from the towne wall, which the enemy had with their great ordnance beaten downe, cauſed a curtain to be drawn 50 foot long, & fiue foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which H in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great help to the beſieged. The enemy in the mean time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Boningſegna* a Spaniard and a moſt valiant Knight had the charge: which the beſieged perceiuing, by a countermine defeated the ſame. It hapned in the mean time, that as a fugitiue was ſwimming to the towne he was taken by the enemy, which much grieued the beſieged, deſirous to haue vnderſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the enemies camp, and of their purpoſes. Now when the former mine had taken ſo euill ſucceſſe, part of the Turks aſſailed the caſtle S. *Michael*, & part with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the caſtle bulwarke: but by the carefulneſſe and courage of the defendants, all their attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turks were in both places ſlaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With theſe and I other ſuch difficulties, *Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turks Generals diſappointed of their hope, conſulted with the other great captains of the army, Whether they ſhould their ſtill continue that deſperat ſiege, or depart? Where moſt were cleere of opinion, That it were beſt betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Baſſa ſaid, He would there ſtay, vntill the galliot which he had before ſent to Conſtantinople, were returned with anſwer from *Solyman*, and in the mean time both by force and policy to ſeeke after victory: which thing he oftner did, than ſtood with the broken eſtate of his army, or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelfe, nor ſuffering others to take reſt: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or els made bridges, ſomtime he caſt vp mounts, and then again filled the ditches; and euer and anon gaue one aſſault or another. In all which doing he vſed ſuch induſtry, that whatſoeuer he tooke in K hand, was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might haue carried a ſtronger place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and politicke deuiſes.

The Turkes mines defeated by the Chriſtians.

Robles gouernor of the Caſtle of S. Michael, ſlaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp-maſter, and Gouernour of the caſtle S. *Michael*, was by night viewing the ruins of the wall, he was ſtrucke in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlain, leauing behind him to his fellowes, the great deſire of himſelfe: for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the defendants in great ſtead) worthily beloued. In whoſe ſtead the Great maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelfe, a moſt expert and reſolute captaine, to take charge of S. *Michaels* caſtle; who by his valiant care and prouidence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turks attempted the place, ſo often they were with loſſe repulſed. L

The two gallies with the galliots, deſcried by the gallies of Malta (as we haue before ſaid) told *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall, that the Chriſtian fleet was ready to come forth: wherefore he fearing the ſudden comming therof, cauſed ſeuenty gallies to be in readineſſe: beſides which, forty others lay in the hauen Marza Moxet vnſeruiceable, as wanting both men & other equipage; for that was ſpent in making bridges, mines, & other ſuch things neceſſary for the ſiege: as for the men, they were part with ſickeneſſe, and part with often aſſaults conſumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himſelfe by day in the port Major neere the ſhore, and by night put forth to ſea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when he ſaw no man appeare, he againe landed his ſouldiers: and becauſe at land the Baſſa began to want pouder, of euery thirty barrels of pouder in euery gally, he tooke out twenty, and of ſome M twenty fiue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater fury than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes, eſpecially with thoſe great pieces which they call Baſiliskes, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound weight was ſeuen hands about; whereby the wals of the caſtle of S. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame time, *The Turkes at once aſſault the townes S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulſed.*

A the Baſſa at the caſtle S. *Angelo*, had with continuall battery ſo ſhaken the caſtle bulwarke,
that it was almoſt fallen quite downe. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turks ſaw both
townes bared of wals and other defendants, and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let
them to look vpon their enemies, they made no longer ſtay, but the 18 day of Auguſt (the Sun
being now at the higheſt) with all their power fiercely aſſaulted both the towns. Thrice they
were repulſed, and ſtill came on afreſh; yet at length beaten downe on euery ſide with greater
ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to giue ouer the aſſault, and againe to retire to their
trenches. In this moſt cruell fight (which endured fiue houres) the inuincible courage of the
Great Maſter notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold,
was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the breach; whoſe preſence encouraged not the ſouldiers
B only, but euen boies and women to fight: for ſo it is, that men are more moued with example,
than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turks, part ſtood ſtill in the towne
ditch, and to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of the caſtle bulwarke, had with wonderfull celerity
caſt vp a defence of earth, fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpoſe to approch
and to vndermine the walls, and had therefore incloſed the ſpace of fifteen elnes: which
when the beſieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillery vpon it, and ſlew many of
them, and with fire conſumed what was left. The next day the aſſault was at the ſame places by
the enemy renewed, who by reaſon of his number of ſouldiers might eaſily ſend freſh men in
ſtead of them which were wounded or weary: and firſt, after their wonted manner they battered
both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards the Moone ariſing, about midnight
C with a horrible cry they began a moſt terrible aſſault, which at the firſt much troubled the
Chriſtians, who yet ſtill mindfull of their wonted valor, did ſo much with their weapons and
fire-workes, that the enemy euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his
trenches. The ſame day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the caſtle bulwarke, wherein
a hundred Turks there found, were almoſt all ſlaine, and the mine deſtroied. Yet for all this
did not the enemy reſt at all, but the next day ſeuen times aſſaulted the ſame breaches, vſing
now not weapons only, but fire-workes alſo; wherewith *Beſninſega* had his face ſo burnt, that he
loſt one of his eies. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks at a place called the Spurre, laboured
mightily to haue gotten into the caſtle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage, got
vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike couragiouſly thruſt them down that were climing vp, and
D thruſting thorow one diſcouraged the reſt; but was himſelf wounded in the arme with a ſmall
ſhot: yet when he had a little withdrawn himſelfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came again
to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight, vntill he had (as a valiant conqueror) preſerued
the place. So the Turks with great ſlaughter on euery ſide repulſed, left the victory to the
Chriſtians, of whom were ſlaine almoſt an hundred, and moſt of them (as at other times) with
ſhot: amongſt whom were theſe moſt valiant Knights; at the caſtle *Angelo, Fragus*; at the caſtle
of S. *Michael, Scipio Piatus, Ioh. Baptiſta Soderinus, Paulus Bomportus, Marius Fagianus, Ruffinus*, and
certaine others, men worthy of longer life. The Turks had alſo at the ſame time wrought a
mine at the caſtle S. Michael, which was at once both diſcouered and deſtroied.

Another aſſault.

With theſe ſo many & ſo great aſſaults, certain of the knights (and thoſe not of the meaneſt
E ſort) fearing leſt that which was ſo often attempted by the enemy, ſhould at length be effected;
told the Great Maſter, That they thought it conuenient and neceſſary, to remoue all the records,
al the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the caſtle
S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great Maſter, although
he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with
that ſpeech exceedingly moued: wherefore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to do were nothing
els but to appale and diſcourage the minds, not of the Maltæſes only, who had hitherto
valiantly behaued themſelues, & don more than any man could haue hoped for; but alſo of the
mercinary ſouldiers, if they ſhould perceiue it: wherefore he was reſolued, either together to
keep all, or loſe all: and becauſe none ſhould from henceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength
F of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the garriſon out of the caſtle into the towne,
that there they might together with others withſtand the enemy; & that he would leaue in the
caſtle none but gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the enemy: an anſwer truly well
beſeeming a man of his place, and to be to all poſterity commended: for how can the ſoldier
hope, which ſeeth his captain deſpaire? or adventure, where the chieftain ſeemes to be ſtrucke

The reſolute anſwer of the Great Maſter.

The Turks aſſault both the townes the fourth time.

The Turks enter the new city.

The comfortable ſpeech of the Great Maſter when the Turks were entred.

The Turks with great ſlaughter againe repulſed

with feare? Whileſt the Grand Maſter with this anſwer doth both aſhame them and alſo encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before ſhould not paſſe without aſſault) with the dawning of the day aſſailed the very ſame places with the greateſt fury poſſible, eſpecially at the ruines of the caſtle: where *San Romanus* an Auergnois, which had the charge of that place, loſt this ſhort and tranſitory life, winning thereby immortall fame: and at S. *Michaels*, *Adurnius* one of the knights, and *Fagio* with certain others, were grieuouſly wounded: for the enemy ſuddenly retiring from the aſſault, preſently ſo thundred into the breaches with their great and ſmall ſhot, that all the Iſland ſeemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkned with ſmoke. In the mean time *Valetta* thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himſelfe a little to breath himſelfe: when ſuddenly a Spaniſh prieſt, with his hands caſt vp to heauen came running to him, roaring and crying out, That all was loſt and forlorne, and that three or foure enſignes of the enemies were by the caſtle breach broken into the towne. Which the Great Maſter hearing, ſuddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand, ſaid vnto them that were about him, *Loe fellow ſoldiers, the houre is come wherein you may ſhew your ſelues the moſt valiant Champions of the Chriſtian religion, if it be ſo, that you now alſo retaine the ſame valour which you haue in other battels ſhewed. There is no cauſe wherefore you ſhould doubt of this laſt, for the enemy is the ſame; and the ſame God which hath hitherto preſerued vs, will not now forſake vs: Wherefore follow me, valiant hearts.* This ſaid, he haſted to the place where moſt danger was, and with him all the ſouldiers, all the citiſens men & women, old and yong, yea, the very children, all againſt the common enemy. There was fought a moſt dreadfull and dangerous battell: ſome kept the enemy from entring, ſome ſet vpon thoſe that were already entred, whom they wounded, chaſed, and ſlew, although they notably reſiſted. Within, without, all was couered with weapons, darts, dead bodies, and bloud. The Great maſter was carefull of all, and in euery place preſent, commending, exhorting, directing, as occaſion required, performing at once all the duties of a moſt valiant ſoldier and worthy Generall. At length the Turks with the ſetting of the Sun retired, and ſo the aſſault ceaſed. Thus was the Great Maſter the vndoubted victor, but not without much bloud of his people, conſidering his ſmall number: for in this fight he loſt aboue 200 men, whereas of the enemies, beſide them which were entred, whereof not one eſcaped, were ſlaine aboue 2000. Theſe are thoſe foure terrible aſſaults, preſently giuen one after another vnto the beſieged.

Garzias the Viceroy in the mean time tarried for nothing els to tranſport his army to Malta, but for the comming of *Io. Cardona*, who with twelue gallies was gone to Panormo, to conduct thence foure ſhips laded with prouiſion: but when he ſaw him ſtay long, he ſent to him in poſt, That if he could not with ſuch ſpeed as was required tow forth thoſe ſhips, he ſhould ſpend no longer time, but take out the prouiſion into his gallies, and with ſpeed to come away. So the Viceroy with a fleet of 72 gallies the twentieth day of Auguſt ſet forward from Meſſana to Syracuſa, wherein he carried ten thouſand ſelect ſoldiers, amongſt whom were aboue two hundred Knights of the Order of S. *Iohn*, and aboue forty of the Order of S. *Stephen*, which is an Order of Knights inſtituted by *Coſmos Medices*, Duke of Florence, to the imitation of the Knights of Malta, in the yeare 1561, and haue their reſidence at Coſmopolis, a new built city in the Iſland of Elba in the Tuſcane ſea, ouer againſt Piombino. Beſides theſe Knights, in this fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of Italy, Sicily, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at Syracuſa, the Viceroy ſent *Auria* with one gally and a boat to Malta, to land a man, to know of *Paccias* (left, as we haue beforeſaid, for a watch in the Iſland of Maleca) what newes, or what he had ſeene. By whom it was vnderſtood, That no ſhip was ſeen at ſea, but one galliot, which the one and twentieth day of Auguſt in the morning made towards Gaulos, and the ſame day towards night as he was informed by the watchmen of Maleca, ſixteene gallies came to water at Saline, but what became of them afterwards, by reaſon of the comming on of the night could not be deſcried.

In this while the beſieged had notably repaired the breach at the caſtle bulwarke, and had in ſundry places aptly placed certain great pieces to flanker the ditches, & to beat the mount caſt vp by the enemy at the bulwarke of Boninſegna, that they might from thence annoy all the plain of the caſtle with their ſmal ſhot. But the Turks hauing determined with all their forces at once to aſſault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of ſpars and boords, able to couer thirty men, vnder the breach at S. *Michaels*; whereby it came to paſſe, that none of the defen-

A defendants could without danger ſhew themſelues in the breach: which when they could by
no means endure, they ſuddenly ſallied out, and putting them to flight which were there coue-
red, ſet fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which beſieged the new city, were
repulſed at the caſtle breach, & another like engine burnt. The next night certain of the watch
of the caſtle iſſued out, and hauing deſtroied the Turks engines prepared for the aſſailing of
that place, and ſlaine them that were ſet for the keeping thereof, returned in ſafety into the ca-
ſtle. But when the enemies both that day and others following reſted not, but repairing their
mines, mounts, and engines, laboured in both places to haue beaten the Chriſtians from the
wals; all their endeuour and labour was by the induſtry and valor of the defendants made fru-
ſtrate. The beſieged had at the caſtle breach made a mine, & laid in it eight barrels of pouder,
B that if the enemy ſhould againe aſſault that place, he might there be blowne vp: but whilſt the
Turks were for like purpoſe working a mine in the ſame place, they chanced vpon the mine
before made, which they ſpoiled, and carried away all the pouder. Thus whileſt they labour
both on the one ſide and the other, *Muſtapha* the Generall, a moſt expert and famous comman-
der, conſidering that Summer now ſo far ſpent, he was not to vſe longer delay; and withal, that
reſolute perſeuerance oftentimes in war findeth out a way to victory; determined with all his
power once againe to aſſault the caſtle S. *Michael*. Wherefore diſplaying the ſtately ſtanderd
of the Turkiſh Emperor, vpon the point whereof was faſtened a globe of Gold, he comman-
ded his ſouldiers to enter the breach; who now like deſperat men attempted to haue perfor-
med his command, and were by the Chriſtians valiantly encountred: ſo that in the breach was
C made a moſt terrible & doubtful fight. But when the Turks had now bin twice rejected & bea-
ten downe, *Muſtapha* perceiuing his ſoldiers as men halfe diſcouraged, but faintly to maintain
the aſſault, came himſelf to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged, but
that day to confirme their former labors and victories; and not to ſuffer their vanquiſhed ene-
mies to triumph ouer them: he told them that the enemy had now no defence left wherewith
to couer himſelfe, that all was beaten down flat, and that there remained only a few weary and
maimed bodies, which were not able long to indure the edge of their ſwords; that with ſuch
reſolution they had before won the caſtle S. *Elmo*: laſt of all, he by promiſing to ſome mony,
to ſome honor and preferment, threatning ſome, and requeſting others, incouraged ſome one
way, ſome another, euery one according to his quality and diſpoſition: who moued either with
D their Generals preſence, promiſes, or threats, gaue a freſh and fierce aſſault. The fight was on
both ſides terrible, yet at length the Turks were againe inforced to retire: for the defendants
had caſt vp a rampier, wheron they had fitly placed two field pieces, wherwith they ſore trou-
bled the enemy, and at the firſt ſhot ſtruck in ſunder one of thoſe woodden engines, which the
enemy had made ſtronger than the reſt, couered with raw hides to keep it from burning, and
rent in pieces forty ſouldiers which were vnder it: and the ſame night they which were in the
other towne and the caſtle bulwarke, ſallying couragiouſly out, deſtroied all the enemies de-
fences, and draue them from a mount which they had made vpon the fortifications of the
Chriſtians: whereby they perceiued plainly, what ſmall courage the Turks had to fight, for
vpon that mount they were almoſt 300, wheras of our men were but 25, with which ſmall num-
E ber for all that, they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpoſe as before, made
another mine at the caſtle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the
enemy in repairing his fortifications without, they ſuddenly put fire vnto it, by force whereof
threeſcore Turks which were within the danger of the place, were blowne vp and ſlaine.

A mine of the Chriſtiãs found by the Turks.

The Turks deſperatly aſſault the Towne of S. Michael.

The Turks enforced to retire.

Garzias the Viceroy, in the mean while that theſe things were in doing, departing with his
fleet from Syracuſa, with a proſperous wind kept on his courſe toward Pachynum, where they
deſcried a tall ſhip at ſea, driuen thither (as was afterward knowne) by tempeſt: ſhee out of
the Iſland Mening was carrying a great ſupply of ſhot and pouder vnto the Turks campe at
Malta; but now ouertaken by the Chriſtian fleet, eaſily yeelded, and was by the Viceroy ſent
by other mariners to Syracuſa. And now the Chriſtian fleet carried with a faire gale towards
F Malta, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a tempeſt from the Eaſt, that they were driuen to the Iſland Ægu-
ſa, two hundred and twenty miles Weſt of Malta, from whence the firſt of September letters
were brought from the Viceroy to the Great Maſter, certifying him, That he would in ſhort
time come with his fleet and relieue him. The ſame day alſo a Chriſtian fled out of the Turks
gallies, wherein he was captiue, to the city S. *Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turks camp
were

The Chriſtian fleet driuen by tempeſt to the Iſland Ægoſa.

were few men able to fight,moſt of the army being with wounds,famine,ſickeneſſe, and other G miſeries brought to extreame weakeneſſe: and beſides that,that infinit numbers of them died daily: yet for all that he ſaid moreouer, that they were determined to beſiege the city of Melita, and had already for that purpoſe mounted fiue great pieces of artillery for battery; and that they had but a few daies before taken twelue,and the laſt day of all fourteene horſmen of the garriſon ſouldiers of that city. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we ſaid) to Æguſa,the rage of the ſea being now well appeaſed, came to Drepanum, and from thence toward Gaulos, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of Malta light vpon two galliots, and tooke them.

The Chriſtian fleet commeth to Gaulos.

The fifth day of September the Chriſtian fleet came to Gaulos,where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed ſignes from Malta, whereby he might ſafely land, returned forthwith H backe againe to Pozalo,whither *Auria* immediatly following him,told him, That he had ſeen the ſignes,and aſſured him of ſafe landing in the Iſland of Malta: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged,the next day towards night returned againe to Gaulos.

A fugitiue diſcouereth the enemies purpoſes to the Great Maſter.

The ſame day a Chriſtian captiue fled from the Turks to S. *Angelo*,and told the Great maſter, That he was come to bring him good newes,how that the Turks had determined to proue their laſt fortune in aſſaulting the caſtle S. *Michael*, which they would do the next day: where if the ſucceſſe were anſwerable to their deſire,they would then tarry;but if not,then forthwith to be gone: and that *Muſtapha* the more to encourage his ſouldiers, had promiſed fiue talents of gold to the enſigne bearers, that ſhould firſt aduance their enſignes vpon the wals, and farther to promote them to greater places of honour; as for the reſt, he would reward euery one I of them according to their deſerts,either with mony or preferment. *Valetta* thinking all theſe things to be by Gods appointment diſcouered vnto him by ſuch men,as they had from time to time bin: firſt gaue thanks vnto Almighty God;and after that, with all diligence prepared ſuch things as he thought moſt neceſſary for the repulſing of the enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great ordnance battered the new city, and the ſhipping in the hauen, in ſuch ſort that one of the great ſhips was there ſunke.

The Viceroy arriueth at Malta,and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzias* the Viceroy with his fleet arriued at the Iſland of Malta, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces,and whileſt his gallies watered at Gaulos,went forward with the army about halfe a mile, inſtructing the Generals and Colonels, what he thought needfull to be done, commanding all proclamations and commands to be made in the name K of the King of Spaine,vntill they came to the Great maſter,and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Aſcanius Cornia* the Generall,in all his actions to follow the counſell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men,he left them marching towards Melita. About noone he retired to his gallies,and ſailing Eaſtward,came with all his fleet within the ſight of the city of Melita, about 3 miles diſtant from the South ſhore. They of the city vpon ſight of the fleet, in token of joy diſcharged all the great artillery, which was anſwered from the fleet, by diſcharging all their great ordnance twice. After that, he returned as he had before determined into Sicilia,to take into his gallies the Duke of Vrbins companies,which were come to Meſſana, and certain bands of Spaniards at Syracuſa, and ſo forthwith to return to Malta,to attend the departing of the Turks fleet,being now euill L appointed,and already as good as halfe ouerthrowne.

The Turks, who(as is before ſaid) had purpoſed to proue their laſt fortune vpon the towne of S. *Michael*,had now certaine daies before the comming of the fleet, begun to truſſe vp their baggage:but as ſoon as they heard that the fleet was come,and the army landed,there ſuddenly aroſe a wonderfull tumultuous confuſion amongſt them:ſome cried, Arme,arme,and otherſome as faſt to be gone: and being generally all afraid,euery one according to his diſpoſition, betook himſelfe to his weapons or to his heels,the greateſt number thruſt together into their trenches as neere as they could vnto the great ordnance; and ſo burning the engines and fortifications,with all the ſpeed they could imbarked their great ordnance and baggage. Which they in the town of S. *Angelo* perceiuing,not expecting the commandement of the Great maſter M in ſo ſudden an opportunity, couragiouſly ſallied out to Burmola, where certaine Turks kept a huge great piece of ordnance;who now hauing no mind to fight,betooke themſelues to flight,and forſooke the piece;which they of the town preſently drew within their wals:and if the new come forces had that day charged the enemy as they diſorderly ran to their gallies,

A pily they had found an occaſion of victory, or at leaſtwiſe taken from them the greateſt part
of their artillery. But it may be they followed the old military ſaying, That vnto the flying
Enemy a man ſhould make a bridge of ſiluer. Beſides that, they thinking it not conuenient
to depart from the prouiſion and things which they had brought for reliefe of the beſieged,
(which for the roughnes of the way and want of horſes were hardly caried) would not prouoke
the enemy with any skirmiſh: wherby it came to paſſe that the Turks without let imbarqued
their great ordnance, their baggage, and moſt part of their army. The 11 of September, whilſt
the Turks fleet was brought out of the hauen Marza Moxet, a fugitiue of Genoa came in haſt
to the Great Maſter and told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward Melita, to meet
with the Chriſtians vpon the way. Which thing the Great Maſter hearing, preſently ſent a
B ſufficient number of good ſoldiers to the caſtle S. *Elmo*, there to ſet vp one of the enſignes of
the ſacred Order: who comming thither, found 24 great pieces, ſome for battery, ſome for the
field, which they could not in ſo great haſt remoue thence.

The Turks forſake the ſiege.

The Turks fleet departing out of the hauen Marza Moxet to the port of S. *Paul*, there landed
7000 men, with *Muſtapha* their General, who was falſly informed, that the Chriſtians
were not aboue 3000 ſtrong: and from thence incouraged with the ſmall number of the enemy
(as they ſuppoſed) they marched directly toward Melita. The Chriſtians alſo marching
orderly and ready to giue battel, held on their way to meet them; and at the riſing of a hil both
armies meeting together they gaue a great ſhout, and withall the formoſt began the battell,
where ſome few were at the firſt ſlain on both ſides. But the Chriſtians ſtil growing vpon
C them both in number and ſtrength, the Turks finding themſelues ouercharged, fled, the Chriſtians
purſuing and killing them til they came to their gallies; where in ſtriuing who ſhould
get firſt in, about 400 of them were drowned in the ſea, beſides 1800 ſlain in the battel at land.
And had the Chriſtian ſouldiers wel known the Country, they had ſlain them euery mothers
ſon. The Turks thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the hauen all the next day, and moſt
part of the night following; but a little before day, vpon the ſhooting off of a great piece,
the ſigne of their departure, they all hoiſed ſail for Grecia, leauing the Iſland of Malta ſore
impoueriſhed and waſted. In this ſiege the Turks loſt about four and twenty thouſand, whereof
moſt part were of their beſt ſoldiers. And of the Chriſtians were ſlain about 5000, beſides
two hundred and forty Knights of the Order, men of diuers Nations, but all worthy of eternal
D fame; whoſe dead bodies the great Maſter cauſed to be honourably buried. The Turkes in
their battery during the ſiege, ſpent as is truly accounted, threeſcore and eighteene thouſand
great ſhot.

The Turks ouerthrown by the Chriſtians, depart frō Malta

If a man do wel conſider the difficulties and dangers the beſieged paſſed thorow in theſe
fiue months ſiege, the manifold labors and perils they indured in ſo many and ſo terrible Aſſaults;
the ſmal relief to them ſent in ſo great diſtres, with the deſperate obſtinacy of ſo puiſſant
an enemy; he ſhall hardly find any place theſe many years more mightily impugned, or
with greater valor and reſolution defended. The late beſieged, but now victorious prince, honorably
acquited of ſo great an enemy, firſt commanded publique prayers with thanksgiuing
to be made vnto the Giuer of all victory. After that, he rewarded the valiant, commended the
E reſt, and gaue thanks to all: he charitably relieued the ſick and wounded, bewailed the ſpoyle
of the Iſland, & carefully prouided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered; and
yet in all this doing diligently inquired after the Enemies courſe and purpoſe, and was not in
any thing remiſſe and ſecure, as in victory moſt men are. But becauſe ſo great harmes could
not without great helps in ſhort time be repaired, and the returne of the proud Enemy not
without cauſe the next year feared; he by letters to diuers great princes, and eſpecially to the
grand Priors of the Order in diuers countries, requeſted help: amongſt whom *George* Grand
Prior of Germany, and founder of the Caſtle of S. *Elmo*, was one of the chiefeſt. The copy of
which letters, becauſe they briefly contain what wee haue before in this hiſtory at large written,
I haue thought good here to ſet down, that the ſame may in ſuch order be read, as it was
F by the Great Maſter himſelf reported.

The great Maſters care.

Brother *Valetta*, Maſter of the Hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Chriſt, *George* of Hohenheim, called *Bombaſt*, Prior of our Priory in Almainie, greeting.

The letters of the great maſter to the grād prior of Almaine, concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the ſiege of Malta.

Although we doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you already vnderſtand of the comming of the Turks to inuade theſe Iſlands, or rather vtterly to ſubuert our Societie: And the happily and heauenly victory by vs obtained of it: yet if the ſame things ſhal by our letters alſo be brought vnto you, we haue thought the ſame will be vnto you a thing much more pleaſing. For ſeeing that we are certainly perſuaded, that you in this no leſſe happy than wholſome ſucceſſe will giue moſt hearty thanks to Almightie God, and that the fruit of this good ſhall moſt of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare to our Order, we haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainely and openly to proteſt, That we attribute this ſo notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Chriſt Ieſus, the greateſt King of all Kings, and author of all good things. Which that you may the more worthily and willingly do, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an Hiſtory) but briefly and in few words. Sultan Solyman the moſt mortall enemy of the Chriſtian name, and eſpecially of our Socieiety, not contented to haue ſpoiled vs of the famous Iſland of the Rhodes, the caſtle of Tripolis, and almoſt whatſoeuer we had elſe; commanded a great and ſtrong fleet to be made ready againſt vs; which departing from Conſtantinople the one and twentieth day of March, arriued here the eighteenth day of May: Which fleet conſiſted of almoſt two hundred and fifty gallies, galliots, and other ſhips. The number of the enemy that bare armes, according to the truth, was about forty thouſand more or leſſe: Generall of the land forces, was Muſtapha Baſſa; and of the fleet, Piall Baſſa was Admirall: who hauing ſpent a few daies in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and ſetting things in order (as the maner of war is) they began firſt to aſſaile the caſtle of S. Elmo (ſcituat in the mouth of the hauen) with great force and a moſt furious battery. Which when they had many daies don without intermiſſion, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons aſſaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and proweſſe of our Knights, and other worthy ſouldiers, kept and defended by the ſpace of thirty fiue daies, with the great loſſe and ſlaughter of the enemy: although the caſtle it ſelfe, in the iudgement of many, ſeemed not poſſible to be but a few daies defended againſt ſo great a force. At length the foure & twentieth day of Iune, when our men could no longer endure the multitude and fury of the enemy, enuironed and ſhut vp both by ſea and land, and deſtitute of all help, the caſtle was taken by the Turks; thoſe few of our men which were left, being all ſlaine. Of which victorie they being proud, began to beſiege the caſtle and towne of S. Michael, and this new city, eſpecially at the caſtle and Portingall Bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillery and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the wals. Which ſiege, the dreadfull army of the Turks by ſea and land, made to be moſt fearfull and terrible, with ſuch huge great Ordnance, as the like for bignes and force was in no place to be ſeene; day and night thundring out their yron and ſtone ſhot, fiue and ſeuen hands about, wherewith not the thickeſt wals, but euen the very mountains themſelues might haue bin beaten down and ouerthrowne: by fury whereof, the wals in many places were ſo battered, that a man might eaſily haue entred as on plain ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, ſo often were they with great ſlaughter and diſhonor repulſed and beaten back, many of their men ſlaine or wounded. Their Generals, as well at ſea as land, after that they had in ſo many places, with all their forces in almoſt foure moneths ſiege and aſſault, with exceeding fury in vain attempted the breaches, and loſt the greateſt part of their old ſouldiers, eſpecially Winter now comming on, wherein all warres by law of nations ought to ceaſe; thought of nothing elſe but of departure, or rather of flight: which the comming of Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the King of Spaine his fleet, with ten thouſand ſelect ſouldiers (amongſt whom was at the leſt two hundred and fourteene of our Knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen; which only with a Chriſtian zeale, voluntarily met together from diuers parts of the World to help and relieue vs) cauſed them to haſten. So haue you ſummarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turks fleet, and the victory by vs (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It ſhall be your part to conſider and coniecture, in what ſtate

A *ſtate our Order and this Iſland now ſtandeth, into what poor eſtate we are brought, how many things wee want; wherein except we be relieued by the help and aid of our brethren, eſpecially ſuch as you are, as wee well hope, and aſſuredly beleeue we ſhall, our State will quickly take end. Farewell.*

From Malta the ninth of October, 1565.

The great Maſter thus deliuered of ſo great a ſiege, and bountifully relieued by the Chriſtian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order; ſpeedily repaired the breaches & places battered, and with new fortifications ſtrengthned thoſe places as he had by the late paſſed dangers perceiued to be moſt ſubiect to the enemies force.

B After the return of the Turks fleet to Conſtantinople, *Solyman* being exceeding angry with the gouernor of the Iſland of Chios his tributary, as wel for that he had during the late ſiege of Malta had intelligence with the great Maſter, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes deſignes; as alſo for detaining of two years tribute, which was 20000 ducats; and had alſo neglected to ſend his wonted preſents to the great Baſſa's, who therefore the more inſenced the Tyrant; commanded *Pial Baſſa* his Admiral to make ready his fleet, and by force or policy to take that fruitful & pleaſant Iſland into his own hand. Who without delay with a fleet of 80 gallies the 15 of April, *An. 1566*, being then Eaſter day, arriued at Chios. The chiefe men of the Iſland vpon ſight of the fleet, forthwith ſent Embaſſadors to the Baſſa with Preſents, courteouſly offering vnto him the hauen, and whatſoeuer elſe he ſhould require. *Piall* C with kindnes accepted their offer, and preſently poſſeſſed himſelfe of the hauen in three places: and afterwards landing, ſent for the Gouernour of the City and twelue of the chiefe Citiſens to come to him, as if he had ſome ſpeciall matter to confer with them about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for Malta or Italy. Who hauing a little conferd together, went to him with great feare; and that not without cauſe; for as ſoone as they were come before him, he commanded them to be laid hold vpon & caſt faſt into yrons: which don, the ſouldiers forthwith took the towne hall, and without reſiſtance pulling down the townes enſigne (wherein was the picture of S. *George* with a red Croſſe) in ſtead thereof ſet vp one of the Turks: the like whereof was done with great reioyceing of the Turks, through the whole Iſland. After that, they rifled the Churches, and again conſecrated them after their Mahometan manner. D The Gouernour of the City, and the Senators, with their families, the Baſſa ſent in fiue ſhips to Conſtantinople: as for the vulgar people, they were at choice, either there to tarry ſtil, or depart, as beſt ſtood with their liking. And ſo the Baſſa, when he had there placed a new Gouernour, one of the Turks, with a ſtrong garriſon, and ſet vp the Mahometane ſuperſtition in that moſt fertile Iſland, departed thence for Italy: where ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Apulia, he did exceeding much harm in burning and deſtroying the country villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuity; and ſo returned.

The Iſland of Chios taken by the Turks.

1566

At this time the kingdome of Hungary was moſt miſerably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperour, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſiluania *Solymans* vaſſall: who grieued with the harmes done vnto him by the Emperours Cap- E taines, whereof himſelfe was the cauſe, and vainly hoping to haue obtained at *Solymans* hands the greateſt part of the kingdome of Hungary, as had ſomtime king *Iohn*; ceaſed not continually to ſolicite him to come himſelfe in perſon to make a full conqueſt of the reliques of Hungary, yet holden by the Emperour and ſome of the Hungarian Nobility: and flattering himſelfe in that vain hope, called himſelfe the king of Hungary: and increaſing his ſtrength by letters vnto the Nobility and Burgeſſes of the city of Hungary, ſummoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they ſhould all the ninth of March meet together at Thorda, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing as ſoon as *Lazarus Suendi* the Emperours lieutenant vnderſtood, he forthwith by other letters countermined thoſe of the Vayuods; perſuading the Hungarians F not to liſten to the charmes of the Vayuod and Turk, tending to their deſtruction, but rather to yeeld their obedience to *Maximilian* the Chriſtian emperor, whoſe purpoſe was by the ayd of the Chriſtian princes to protect & preſerue them in peace: and hereby it came to paſſe, that the remainders of this ſore ſhaken kingdom, diuided into factions, and diuerſly caried, according to their affection, ſome to one ſide, ſome to the other, began afreſh to work one anothers

The Turks ſurpriſe townes in Hungary.

confuſion, which fitly ſerued the Turks to incroach more and more vpon them: Who at the G ſame time ſurpriſed the towne of Ainatſch (the captaine whereof, with certain of the garriſon ſoldiers being gon about their buſines to Agria) & put to the ſword all them that they found in the town. They thought alſo to haue taken the ſtrong town of Sigeth, but were by the valiant County *Nicholaus Serenus* gouernor therof, couragiouſly encountred, and after foure hours hard fight ouerthrown and put to flight. Not long after, they ranged vp and down the country, and fet in booties as far as Iula and Rab, and did the countrey people much harme. For which cauſe *Maximilian* the Emperor about the later end of May brake vp the aſſembly of the Empire then holden at Auguſta, and began carefully to prouide all things needfull for the war: appointing his captains for the raiſing of ſuch forces in Germany, as were but a little before granted vnto him by the Princes and States of the Empire, in their late aſſembly; but went H himſelfe to Vienna. For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extreme age was with a mighty army ſet forward from Conſtantinople, and marching through Bulgaria and Seruia, was come directly to Belgrade, where *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſiluania met him, and kiſſing his hand, had commended himſelf and all his ſtate vnto his protection. At which time *Suendi* the Emperours lieutenant laid hard ſiege to the towne of Huſth in the borders of Tranſiluania. The Baſſa of Buda at the ſame time on the other ſide, by commandment of *Solyman*, with 8000 Turks and 25 pieces of great Ordnance beſieging Palotta (a ſtrong towne about eight miles from Rab) had with continuall battery by the ſpace of eight dayes brought the ſame into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hearing of the approch of *George* County of Helffenſtein, ſent by the Emperor with certain com- I panies of Germans to relieue the ſame, he roſe in ſuch haſt from the ſiege, that he left certain of his great Ordnance and a great part of his baggage behind him, and retyred towards Alba Regalis. The County hauing relieued the towne, cauſed the breaches to be forthwith repayred, and with a new ſupply ſtrengthned the old garriſon. Thus was a moſt lamentable war at once begun in diuers places of Hungary. After that, the County of Helffenſtein, ſtrengthned by the comming of the County *Salma* with certain companies from Rab, departed from Palotta, and came to Veſprinium, a city about two miles off, then holden by the Turks: which city he tooke by force the laſt of Iune; and left not a Turke aliue therein, becauſe that they a few dayes before had cruelly ſlain certain Chriſtians whom they had taken priſoners. So leauing ſtrong garriſons both in Veſprinium and Palotta, they returned to Rab. Shortly after, K the County *Salma* laid ſiege to Tatta a ſtrong town, otherwiſe called Dotis, betwixt Rab and Comara, which at length he took by aſſault the 28 of Iuly, and ſlew al the Turks except fifty, who flying into one of the towers of the caſtle, yeelded vpon compoſition: among whom was the late gouernor of Veſprinium, and the gouernor of this place, with the Baſſa of Buda his nigh kinſman, who were all preſently ſent priſoners to Vienna. So the County following the courſe of his victory (the terror of his former good fortune running before him into the Turks ſtrongeſt holds) was on his way to haue beſieged Geſtes a town neer Palotta; when the Turks there in garriſon, vpon the firſt ſight of his army left all and fled out at the farther ſide of the town to Strigonium. After whoſe example other of the Turks Garriſons in Witha, Tſchokiku, and Sambok, caſtles therabout, ſet fire on that they could not carry, and followed their L fellows to Strigonium alſo. The Emperor vnderſtanding of the good ſucces of his captaines, cauſed publique prayers with thankſgiuing to almighty God to be made in all the churches therabouts.

Great troubles in Hungary.

The good ſucces of the emperors captains,

County *Serinus*, Gouernour of the ſtrong town of Sigeth and the countrey thereabout, certainly aduertiſed of the comming of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſparus Alapianus* and *Nicolas Cobach*, two of his Captaines, with a thouſand footmen and 500 horſe, to lie in wait for the forerunners of the Turks Army; who drawing neer vnto the place where theſe Turkes lay, not farre from Quinque Eccleſiæ, ſuddenly in the ſhutting in of the next day ſet vpon them, when they doubted no ſuch matter, and put them in ſuch fear that they diſorderly fled, ſome one way, ſome another, and were moſt of them ſlain or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Haly Beg* M one of the Turks great Sanzacks, and leader of that Company, ſore wounded, and ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight in the mariſhes, there periſhed. His ſon and many other notable men amongſt the Turkes, were taken and carried priſoners vnto Sigeth. The ſpoyle the Hungarians there took was exceeding great; for beſides plate and coyne, whereof they

found

A found good ſtore, they took eight camels, fiue mules, ſixty horſes, and ſix carts laden with all maner of ſpoil, and many garments of great price; wherin the gentlemen attyred, returned to Sigeth in great brauery, with two fair red enſignes of the enemy.

Maximilian the Emperour long before aduertiſed of *Solymans* purpoſe for the conqueſt of the remainder of Hungary; to withſtand ſo mighty an enemy, had beſide the forces raiſed in his own dominions, procured great aid both of the ſtates of the empire and other Chriſtian Princes, which about this time met together at Rab. Firſt there repaired thither four legions of German footmen, and vpwards of 20000 horſemen, with 4000 Hungarians. The duke of Sauoy ſent thither 400 Argoletiers; and many noble gentlemen out of diuers parts of Europ reſorted thither, to ſerue the Emperour in thoſe Wars of their owne charge; eſpecially the B Knights of Malta: and out of Italy *Proſper Columna* and *Angelus Ceſius*. Out of France, *Guiſe* the grand Prior, *Briſſack*, and *Lanſack*; who but a little before were going to Malta, of purpoſe to haue ſerued there, if the Turks fleet had come thither again, as it was reported it would: but vnderſtanding that it came not, returned directly into Hungary, with certain Knights of the Order. Many alſo of the Princes and free Cities of Italy declared their good wil toward the Emperor in this War; ſome ſending him men, as did *Coſmus Medices* Duke of Florence, who ſent thither of his own charge three thouſand footmen. Some mony, as Mantua, Genoa, and Luca. Thither came alſo *Alphonſus* Duke of Ferrara with a gallant company of Noble Gentlemen and other his followers. Beſide which land forces, the Emperour had alſo prouided vpon the riuer of Danubius twelue Gallies, and thirty other ſhips for burthen, ſo made, as C that the men could not be hurt by the Turks arrows. Wherin were imbarqued three thouſand ſouldiers, moſt part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a Germane and one of the Knights of Malta, who was afterwards receiued into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

Solyman comming to the riuer Drauus, commanded a bridge to be made ouer that great riuer, and the deep fens on the farther ſide of the riuer toward Sigeth, for the tranſporting of his army; a work of ſuch difficulty, that being thrice vnfortunatly begun, it was again giuen ouer as a thing almoſt impoſſible. Wherwith *Solyman* was ſo mooued, that in his rage he ſwore to hang vp the great Baſſa that had the charge of that work, if he did not with as much ſpeed as were poſſible bring it to perfection. Wherupon the work was again begun, all the boats that D were to be found in the riuer taken vp, & timber for the purpoſe brought from far for the making of that bridge. In this work were imploied not the vulgar people only, in the Countrey which was tributary to the Turks, but the gentlemen themſelues alſo were by the imperious Turk (now commanding for his life) inforced to lay their fingers to work day and night without ceaſing, vntil the bridge (which before was thought ſcarſe poſſible to haue bin made) was by the reſtleſſe induſtry and labor of ſuch a multitude of men, in the ſpace of ten daies perfected. Wherein the ſeuerity the barbarous Tyrant vſeth toward his ſubiects is worth the noting; wherby he extorteth from them more than is almoſt poſſible for men to perform: ſo that it is not to be maruelled that he hath ſo good ſucces in whatſoeuer he taketh in hand. Ouer this bridge (a mile in length) paſſed *Solyman*, and incamped at a place called Mohatcz, where E he ſtaied certain daies vntil his Army was all come ouer. The laſt of Iuly, ninety thouſand Turks (the vantgard of *Solymans* Army) came before Sigeth, and incamped within a mile of the Town. After whom ſhortly after followed an hundred thouſand more out of *Solymans* camp; of whom many approching the town, were ſlain with great ſhot out of the Caſtle. The reſt for all that quickly incamped themſelues as neer vnto the town as they could, and began the ſiege.

The Turkes with much labor make a bridge ouer the riuer Drauus.

The Turks incamp before Sigeth.

The town of Sigeth is ſtrongly ſcituate in a mariſh on the North ſide of Drauus, vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, commanding all the country round about, which of it takes name, and was at that time a ſtrong bulwark againſt the Turks, for entring farther into the countrey that way toward Styria. In this town was gouernor *Nicolaus Serinus*, commonly called the County, F a valiant man and a mortal enemy of the Turks, with a gariſon of 2300 good ſoldiers: who ſeeing the hugy army of the Turks, called together the Captaines of the Garriſon with the chief of the Citiſens into the Caſtle; where ſtanding in the midſt of them he ſpake to them as followeth:

Serinus his reſolute and comfortable ſpeech.

You ſee (ſaid he) *how we are on euery ſide beſet with the multitude of our enemies, wherin reſts their chief hope. But let not vs be therof afraid or diſcouraged, for that victory dependeth not of a confuſed multitude of heartleſſe men, but of the power of God, who hath by a few at his pleaſure oft times ouercome the mighty armies of the proud; and will not in the midſt of theſe dangers now forſake vs, if we putting our truſt and confidence in him, doe what beſeemeth valiant and couragious men. Beſides that, our iuſt cauſe, with the ſtrength of the place we hold, our own valour, and the help of our friends, who I aſſure my ſelf will not fail vs at our need, counteruaileth their confuſed multitude, forced together by their imperious commanders out of far countries, and whatſoeuer els the Tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherfore let vs all as becommeth valiant men, for the truth of our Religion, and the honor of our prince and country, liue and die together: knowing whatſoeuer befall, that to a life ſo loſt, beſide neuer-dying fame, belongeth a moſt aſſured hope of ioy and felicity. As for my ſelf, I am reſolued (as I hope you are alſo) that as I am a Chriſtian, and free born, ſo will I by the grace of God, in the ſame faith and freedome end end my daies. Neither ſhall the proud Turk, ſo long as I am able to hold vp this hand, haue euer power to command ouer me, or the ground wheron I ſtand.*

This ſaid, he firſt took himſelf a ſolemn oath to perform what he had promiſed, & perſuaded the reſt to take the like. Which don, euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman comes to the camp at Sigeth.

The defendants burne the new town.

The Turks win the old town.

The fift of Auguſt *Solyman* incamped within a mile of the Town, and the next day after came himſelf into the camp; at whoſe comming the great Ordnance and ſmall ſhot ſo thundred out of the Turks camp, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue gon together; the Turks after their wonted maner crying aloud, their *Alla, Alla, Alla*: and the Chriſtians anſwering them with the name of Ieſus. The ſeuenth of Auguſt the Turks caſt vp a great mount, and theron planted certain great pieces of ordnance. The next day following they began moſt terribly to batter the new town in three places, and with incredible labor caſt vp a mount in the midſt of the marſh, as it were in the town ditch; from whence they the next day with certain pieces of great artillery day & night battered the inner caſtle of the town without any intermiſſion, and did great harm both to the caſtle and defendants. The County perceiuing the new City to be now ſo laid open with the fury of the Turks battery, as that it was not poſſible to be defended, cauſed his ſoldiers to ſet it all on fire, and to retyre into the old. The tenth of Auguſt the Turks furiouſly battered the old town in three places, and brought their ordnance into the new town, and with timber, earth and rubbiſh made a bridge, the more commodiouſly to go ouer the mariſh. For the ſpeedier accompliſhment wherof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carry wood, fagots, earth, and ſuch like things without ceaſing. There might a man haue ſeen all the fields ful of camels, horſes, and of the Turks themſelues, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, ſtones, or one thing or other to fill vp the mariſh. So was there with wonderful labor two plain waies made thorow the deepe fen, from the town to the caſtle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great ſhot with ſacks of Wooll and ſuch like things, did with the multitude of their ſmall ſhot ſo overwhelme the defendants, that they could not againſt thoſe places without manifeſt danger ſhew themſelues vpon the wals. So that what by their vigilant induſtry, and the fury of their great artillery, the Turks (although not without great loſſe) by force entred the old town the 19 of Auguſt, vſing in their victory ſuch celerity, that they ſlew many of the moſt valiant defendants before they could recouer the ſafegard of the caſtle. Both the towns thus loſt, and ſo many worthy men ſlain, not without cauſe brought great heauines vpon the reſt which were in the caſtle with the county. The Turks poſſeſſed of the old Town, the next day planted their battery againſt the caſtle in foure places, and with fagots, rubbiſh, and earth, made two plain ways to it, ſtil filling vp the marſh; and hauing with continual battery made it ſaultable, the 29 of Auguſt they began fiercely to aſſail the breaches: but when they had loſt many of their men, and don what they could, they were inforced with ſhame to retyre. In this aſſault, among many other of their beſt ſoldiers, was loſt one of their great Baſſa's alſo.

Solyman dieth of the bloudy flix.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Solyman* far ſpent with years, and diſtempered with his long trauel, fel ſick of a looſnes of his belly, and the better to recouer his health, retyred himſelf (the ſiege yet continuing) to Quinque Eccleſiæ a City neer to Sigeth, where ſhortly after he died of the bloudy flix the fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1566, when he had liued 76 years, and therof reigned ſix and forty. He was of ſtature tall, of feature

ſlender,

A ſlender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his noſe long and hooked, of nature ambitious
and bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promiſe than were for moſt part the Mahometan
Kings his progenitors; wanting nothing worthy of ſo great an empire, but that wherin all
happines is contained, Faith in Chriſt Ieſus. *Muhamet* the Vizier Baſſa (who all commaunded
in *Solymans* abſence) fearing the inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and leſt ſome tumult ſhould
ariſe in the camp, if his death ſhould be known, concealed it by all meanes; and to be ſure of
them that were of all others beſt able to make certaine report thereof, cauſed his Phyſitians
and Apothecaries to be ſecretly ſtrangled; and by a truſty meſſenger ſent in poſt, certified
Selymus (*Solymans* eldeſt ſon, and his father in law, then lying at Magneſia) of the death of his
father; willing him in haſt to repair to Conſtantinople, to take poſſeſſion of the Empire: and
B that don, forthwith to come to the army in Hungary. But this could not be ſo ſecretly done,
but that the Ianizaries began to ſuſpect the matter: which *Muhamet Baſſa* quickly perceiuing,
cauſed the dead body of *Solyman* in his wonted apparel to be brought into his tent, ſitting vpright
in his horſ-litter, as if he had bin ſick of the gout his wonted diſeaſe; & ſo ſhewing him
to the Ianizaries, both deceiued and contented them, and ſo the ſiege went forward.

The Ianizaries hauing in the laſt aſſault loſt many of their fellowes, began now to vndermine
the greateſt bulwark of the caſtle, from which the defendants with their great ordnance
did moſt annoy them: wherin they vſed ſuch diligence, that the fift of September they with
gunpouder and other light matter prouided for that purpoſe, had ſet all the bulwarke on a
light fire; and by that means poſſeſt therof, with all their force aſſailed the bulwark next vnto
C the caſtle gate, from whence they were with great ſlaughter twice repulſed by the County.
But the raging fire ſtil increaſing, he was inforced with thoſe which were yet left aliue, to retyre
into the inner caſtle, wherin was but two great pieces, and 14 others of ſmall force. Thus
the Turks ſtil preuailing, and taking one place after another, the 7 of September they furiouſly
aſſaulted the little Caſtle, wherinto they caſt ſuch abundance of fire that in ſhort time it
caught hold of the buildings, and ſet all on fire. The county thus aſſailed by the enemy without,
and worſe diſtreſt with the fire within, which ſtil increaſing, left no place for him in ſafety
to retyre to, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new ſuit of apparel, came preſently
out again with his ſword and target in his hand; and finding his ſoldiers with cheerful
countenance & their weapons in their hands attending his comming, ſpake vnto them theſe
D few his laſt words: *The hard fortune of this ſinful kingdom hath together with our own ouertaken vs;*
but let vs, noble hearts, with patience endure whatſoeuer is to vs by God aſſigned. You know what we haue
before promiſed, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like
reſolution perform this laſt. The place you ſee is not longer to be kept, the deuouring fire groweth ſo ſtill
vpon vs, and we in number are but few. Wherfore let vs as becommeth valiant men break out into the vtter
caſtle, there to die in the midſt of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer: I will be the firſt
that will go out, follow you me like men. This ſaid, with his ſword and target in his hand, without
any other armor, calling thrice vpon the name of Ieſus, hee iſſued out at the Caſtle gate, with
the reſt following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge, and hauing
ſlain ſome of them, he was firſt wounded in two places of his body with a ſmall ſhot, and
E at laſt ſtrook in the head with an vnlucky ſhot, fell downe dead: the Turks for joy crying out
their wonted word *Alla*. The reſt of the ſoldiers in flying back again into the Caſtle, were all
ſlain by the Turks, except ſome few, whom ſome of the Ianizaries in regard of their valour, by
putting their caps vpon their heads ſaued from the fury of the reſt. In this ſiege the Turks (as
themſelues reported) loſt 7000 Ianizaries, and 28000 other ſoldiers, beſide many voluntary
men not inrolled in their muſter books, and three of their great Baſſa's. *Serinus* his head was
preſently cut off, and the next day, with the heads of the other ſlain Chriſtians, ſet vpon poles
for all the army to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken down, and by *Muhamet* the great Baſſa
ſent to *Muſtapha* the Baſſa of Buda his kinſman; who by two country men ſent it wrapped in
a red ſcarf couered with a fair linnen cloth, to County *Salma* in the Emperours camp at Rab,
F with this taunting letter thus directed;

The great Bulwark undermined and fired by the Ianizaries.

The little Caſtle ſet on fire.

Serinus ſlain.

Serinus head is ſent to County Salma.

Muhamet Baſſa to *Eccim Salma*, Greeting.

In token of my loue, behold here I ſend thee the head of a moſt reſolute and valiant Captain thy friend *the remainder of his body I haue honeſtly buried as became ſuch a man. Sigeth bids thee farwel for euer.*

The death of this noble and valiant Captaine was much lamented of all the Chriſtian Army, and his head with many tears by his ſon *Balthaſar* honorably buried among his Anceſtors in Tſchacaturna his own caſtle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mighty Army into Hungary, had purpoſed before his return, if he had not bin by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdom of Hungary, and to haue again attempted the winning of Vienna. For the accompliſhing of which his deſignes, he at his firſt comming ſent *Parthauus Baſſa* with forty thouſand Turkes to helpe the Baſſa of Temeſware and the Tartars, in the behalf of the Vayuod to beſiege the ſtrong town of Gyula, ſcituat vpon the lake Zarkad, in the confines of Tranſylvania; not far from whence *Suendi* had but the Auguſt before ouerthrown the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the aid of the Vayuod, and ſlaine of them ten thouſand. And at the ſame time he ſent *Muſtapha Baſſa* of Boſna, and *Carambeius* with a great power to Alba-Regalis; who joining with the Baſſa of Buda, ſhould keep the Emperour *Maximilian* buſie, whilſt he in the mean time beſieged Sigeth, as is before declared. *Parthauus Baſſa* comming to Gyula, and laying hard ſiege to the town, was ſtil notably repulſed by *Nicolas Keretſchen* Gouernor of the town: inſomuch, that in a ſally he had certain pieces of his great Ordnance taken from him by the defendants, and the reſt cloied. But this braue Captaine, not to haue bin conſtrained by all that the Baſſa could do, was at laſt perſuaded by his kinſman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had but a little before taken certain Caſtles, for reuolting from the Emperor to the Vayuod) for a great ſum of mony to deliuer vp the town to the Baſſa. Which he did, couenanting beſides his reward, that the ſoldiers ſhould with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. All which was frankly granted: who were not gon paſt a mile out of the town, but they were ſet vpon by the Turks, and all ſlain except ſome few which crept into the reeds growing in the mariſh faſt by, and ſo eſcaped. The Traitor himſelf expecting his reward, was caried in bonds to Conſtantinople: where afterward vpon complaint made, how hardly he had vſed certain Turks whom he had ſomtime taken priſoners, he was by the commandement of *Selymus*, who ſucceeded *Solyman*, thruſt into an hogſhead ſtuck full of nailes with the points inward; with this inſcription vpon it, *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice and treaſon. Gyula thou ſoldeſt for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy Lord, neither wilt thou be to me.* And ſo the hogſhead cloſed faſt vp, he was therin rolled vp and down vntill he miſerably died.

The gouernour of Gyula betrays the town to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The Emperors Camp then lying at Rab, & the Baſſa of Buda and Boſna with thirty thouſand Turks not far off at Alba-Regalis, and many hot skirmiſhes paſſing between them; it fortuned that the fift of September, the Turkes in hope to haue don ſome great piece of ſeruice vpon the Chriſtians, came forth of the camp in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the Army, of whom they ſlew ſome: the reſt flying raiſed an alarm in the Camp. Wherupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with ſome others iſſuing out, purſuing the Turks, ſlew diuers of them. In which purſuit *George Thuriger* deſcrying the Gouernor of Alba-Regalis, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilſt hee liued, fiercely purſued him in the midſt of the flying enemies, and neuer left him til he had taken him priſoner: and at his return preſenting him to the Emperour, was for that good ſeruice knighted, and rewarded with a chain of gold. There was by chance then preſent a Spaniard, who had heard him ſay openly at Conſtantinople, That he alone with his own power was able to vanquiſh the Germane King (by which name the Turks commonly term the Emperor.) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the preſence of the Emperor, ſtil vrging him as it were to ſay ſomething for himſelfe: the Turke ſtraitway anſwered him in theſe few words following; *Such is the chance of Warre, thou ſeeſt me now a priſoner, and able to do nothing.*

The gouernour of Alba Regalis taken.

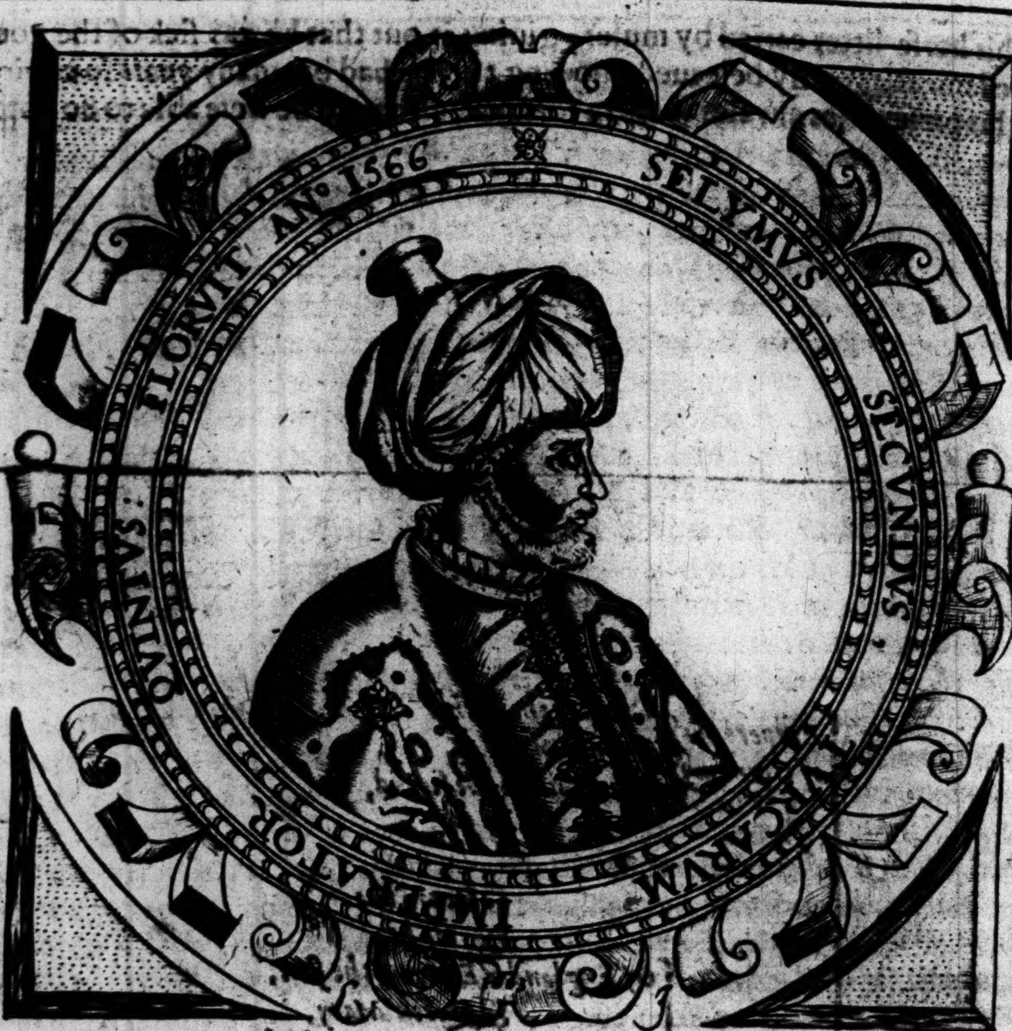
All theſe troubles, with many more like in ſhort time to haue inſued, were by the death of *Solyman* within a while after wel appeaſed. *Muhamet* Baſſa after that hee had repaired the breaches, and placed a Turk Gouernour of Sigeth, with a ſtrong garriſon for defence of the place, and commanding of the Country, called back the diſperſed forces, and riſing with the Army, retyred towards Belgrade, carrying *Solymans* dead body all the way ſitting vp-

The Turks Army returne with Solymans dead body to Belgrade.

right in his horſe-litter caried by mules, giuing it out that he was ſick of the gout. Which thing the Ianizaries eaſily beleeued, knowing that he had bin many years ſo carried: yet ſtill wiſhing his preſence, as alwaies to them fortunat, although he were able to do nothing.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Solyman,	*Emperours of Germany*		*Charles the fifth,*	1519.	39
			Ferdinand,	1558.	7
			Maximilian the ſecond,	1565.	12
	Kings	*Of England*	*Henry the eight,*	1509.	38
			Edward the ſixt,	1548.	6
			Queen Mary,	1553.	5
			Queen Elizabeth,	1558.	44
		Of France	*Francis the firſt,*	1514.	32
			Henry the ſecond,	1547.	12
			Francis the ſecond,	1559.	1
			Charles the ninth,	1560.	14
		Of Scotland	*Iames the fifth,*	1514.	29
			Queen Mary,	1543.	26
	Biſhops of Rome,		*Leo the X,*	1513.	8
			Hadrian the VI,	1522.	1
			Clemens the VII,	1523.	10
			Paulus the III,	1534.	15
			Iulius the III,	1550.	5
			Marcellus the II,	1555.	22 dayes.
			Paulus the IV,	1555.	4
			Pius the IV,	1560.	5
			Pius the V,	1566.	6


FLORVIT AN°. 1566
SELYMVS SECVNDVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR QVINTVS.

Dißimilis patri, Selymus regalia Sceptra
Corripit, & dira concutit arma manu.
Fœdus cum Venetis frangit (Quid fœdera proſunt?)
Armataque manu Cypria regna rapit.
Inſtrauit tumidum numeroſis claßibus Æquor:
Vt Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldavum fœda mulctauit morte Dynaſten:
Et magni fines prorogat imperij.
Obruit Hiſpanos multos: Punica regna
Deſtruit: & regnis addicit illa ſuis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoque ſepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Vnlike his father, *Selymus* the royal Scepter takes,
And ſhaking arms with cruel hand, exceeding ſtirs he makes,
With Venice State his league he breaks (With Turks what league can ſtand?)
And Cyprus kingdom takes from them by force of mighty hand.
He couered the ſwelling ſeas with hugy fleets to ſee;
That vanquiſhed, vnto thoſe ſeas he might an honor be.
The Vayuod of Moldavia he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdom great ſo that he might extend.
In Gulet he the Spaniards ouerwhelm'd with mighty power;
And therby Tunes kingdom did the ſelf ſame time deuour.
But wholly giuen to Venery, vnto exceſſe and play,
He poſteth on before his time to haſt his fatall day.

THE

THE LIFE OF *SELYMUS*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, FIFT EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

SElymus,the only ſon of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Mahamet Baſſa* vnderſtanding of the death of his father, haſted from Cutai, a City of Galatia not far from Ancyra, toward Conſtanti-
C nople ; & comming to Scutari, was from thence by *Roſtanges Baſſa* of the court, conducted ouer the ſtreit to Conſtantinople ; where by him and *Scander Baſſa* (*Selymus* his ſon in law,and then *Solymans* Vicegerent)he was conueyed into the Imperiall palace the 23 of September, *An.* 1566;and there poſſeſſed of his fathers ſeat,was by the Ianizaries there preſent ſaluted Emperor. He was about the age of 42 years when he began to reigne , a man of an vnconſtant and haſty diſpoſition, wholly giuen to wantonnes and exces ; ſo that he neuer went to Wars himſelf,but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrary to the charge of *Selymus* his grandfather,giuen by him to his father *Solyman*,wherof he was neuer vnmindful. The next
D day he came abroad and ſhewed himſelf in his majeſty;and in the temple of Sophia,after the maner of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition,cauſed ſolemn prayers and ſacrifices to be made for his father:which don,he gaue to the Ianizaries a largeſſe of 100000 Sultanines, with promiſe to augment their wages. And all things being in readineſſe for his intended journy, he with a goodly retinue ſet forward from Conſtantinople the 27 of September ; and the 10 of October a little from Belgrade met the Army comming from Sigeth, gallantly marching vnder their Enſignes,with the dead body of *Solyman*,whom the ſoldiers generally ſuppoſed to haue bin yet liuing,but troubled with the gout,to keep his horſ-litter, as his maner was to trauell. *Selimus* alighting,came in his mourning attyre to the horſ-litter,looked vpon the dead body of his father,kiſſed it and wept ouer it,as did all the great Baſſa's alſo. And that the death of
E *Solyman* might then be made known to all men,the enſignes were preſently let fal and trailed vpon the ground,a dead march ſounded,and heauy ſilence commanded to be kept thorow all the camp. Shortly after,*Selymus* was with great applauſe of the whole Army proclaimed emperor,his enſignes aduanced,and euery one of the great commanders of the Army in their degree admitted to kiſſe his hand. So marching forward, he returned again to Conſtantinople the 22 of Nouember:but thinking to enter his palace(commonly called the Seraglio)he was by the diſcontented Ianizaries but now come from the Wars, prohibited ſo to do;they with great inſolencie demanding of him a greater donatiue,together with the confirmation both of their antient and new priuiledges, before they would ſuffer him to enter. Againſt which their great preſumption,the Vizier Baſſa's together with the Aga oppoſing themſelues, and
F ſeeking by all means to appeaſe them,were by them fouly intreated,and wel rapped about the pates with the ſtocks of their caliuers:but eſpecially the two great Baſſa's,*Mahamet* and *Partau*,as the chief authors that their lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which ſo ſudden and vnexpected a mutiny of his beſt ſouldiers *Selymus* not a little troubled,and cal-

ling

Selymus ſaluted Emperour of the Turks in the yeare, 1556.

ling vnto him the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, demanded of him the cauſe therof. Who G
with tears trickling down his cheeks for grief, told him it was for mony. Which by *Selymus*
now promiſed vnto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties, and the Aga with
fair words and heauy countenance moſt earneſtly intreating them, not to blemiſh the reputa-
tion of their wonted loyalty with ſo foul a diſorder, nor to oppoſe the life of him their louing
captain vnto the heauy diſpleaſure of their angry Sultan; and further aſſuring them, that hee
would not fail them in the leaſt of his promiſes, but content them to the ful of their deſires;
the mutiny was at length appeaſed, the inſolent Ianizaries again quieted, & *Selymus* into the
Seraglio receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet* chief of the Vizier Baſſa's, for certain dayes after went
not out of his palace, neither came as he was wont into the Divano, but kept himſelf cloſe, for
fear of ſome greater miſchief from them. This tumult thus ouerpaſſed, and all again wel pa-
cified, *Selymus* with all roial ſolemnity buried his father in a chappel which he after the man- H
ner of the Mahometan kings had in his life time moſt ſtately built, with a colledge & an ho-
ſpital. Where faſt by his ſide is to be ſeen the tomb of *Roxolana* his beſt beloued wife, and of
certain others his murthered children: and by him hangs his ſcimiter, a token that he died in
wars; an honor not otherwiſe granted to the Mahometan princes. The reuenues ariſing of the
country about Sigeth, of late won from the Chriſtians, at his death were giuen to maintaine
the houſes by him built of deuotion, which for the magnificence therof exceed al the reſt be-
fore built by the Mahometan Kings and Emperours, except thoſe of *Mahomet* the Great, and
Bajazet the ſecond. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as
purpoſing that year to haue wintred in Hungary, and the year following to haue done great I
matters againſt the Chriſtians both by ſea and land.

Solyman buried.

1567

Troubles in Hungary.

This great army of the Turks thus drawn out of Hungary by the death of *Solyman*, in ſome
part aſſuaged, but altogether appeaſed not the endleſſe troubles of that vnfortunat kingdom.
Maximilian the emperor on the one ſide, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Tranſylvania with the Turks
captains on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had ſworne the deſtruction thereof. The
Vayuod deſiring to recouer the ſtrong caſtle of Tocay in the frontiers of his Countrey, but
lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant, laid hard ſiege to it, & had brought
it to great extremity, although it was notably defended by *Iames Raminger* the Captain ther-
of when ſuddenly news was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his
country to haue aided him againſt the Emperour, did with all hoſtility after their barbarous K
maner, burn and deſtroy his Country before them, making hauock of all things, ſo that the
country people were glad in defence of themſelues to take vp arms againſt them. Wherupon
he forthwith left the ſiege, and went to aid his diſtreſſed ſubiects againſt the Tartars. With
whom he had many a hot skirmiſh, and after much bloudſhed at laſt ouercame them, & with
much ado rid himſelf of ſuch bad gueſts. Now in the mean time, *Suendi* ſtrengthned with
new ſupplies ſent vnto him from the Emperour, had taken the caſtle of Zackmar in the bor-
ders of Tranſylvania, and with like good ſucces had the caſtle of Muncatz yeelded vnto him,
and after that beſieged the town of Huſth: ſo that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the
Turkiſh Emperor *Selymus*, vnder whoſe protection he was. Who preſently commanded *Par-
tau* one of his chief Baſſa's, and then his great Lieutenant in Romania, to go with his Forces L
into Tranſylvania to relieue them. But hearing that Embaſſadors were comming from *Maxi-
milian* the Emperor, he called him back again, vntil he had heard the effect of that embaſſage.
At which time alſo the Baſſa of Buda inclining to peace, ſent Preſents vnto the Emperour,
requeſting him to remooue certain of the Hungarian Captains from off the frontiers, leſt
haply they ſhould interrupt the treaty of peace, then on both ſides purpoſed, promiſing for
his part to puniſh all ſuch Turks with death, as ſhould make any further inuaſion, or raiſe any
new troubles. He writ letters alſo to County *Salma*, That hee could not but maruell, to what
end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his lord and maſter of peace, whileſt
Suendi in the mean time was raging in Tranſylvania, then vnder the Turks protection; which
if he proceeded ſtil to do, *Selymus* would therof take occaſion (as he ſaid) to turn all his forces M
that way. Wherfore hee requeſted him to perſuade the Emperour to take ſome more eaſie
courſe in that behalf. Promiſing alſo, That he would for his part effectually trauel with his
Maſter to haue better liking of peace than of wars, wiſhing him alſo to do the like. Which

A thing as ſoone as the Emperour vnderſtood, he commanded *Suendi* to giue ouer the ſiege of
Huſth, and to keepe himſelfe quiet vntill he might by his Embaſſadors vnderſtand what the
Great Turke purpoſed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Now indeed theſe two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably diſſembled
the matter) were both of them in heart deſirous of peace, and that for diuers great and
vrgent conſiderations. *Maximilian* for want of mony ſaw it was not poſſible for him to ſend into
the field ſuch an army the next yeare as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beſide his
other troubles, was to take order for the appeaſing of a great & dangerous rebellion in the furtheſt
part of his dominions in Arabia Fœlix; where the people riſing vp in armes, and hauing
ſlain the Baſſa's and Sanzacks their gouernors, were ready to haue caſt off the Turkiſh obedience :
B neither was he out of feare of the Perſians, ready (as was reported) to make warre vpon
him. For which cauſes he wiſhed rather for peace with the Emperour *Maximilian*, than wars ;
and ſo much the more, for that it was impoſſible for him to ſend an army of any puiſſance into
Hungary, for want of many neceſſary prouiſions for the maintenance there, in a country ſo
much impoueriſhed by reaſon of his late wars, wherin no victuals were to be found for the reliefe
of ſuch a multitude of men as he was to ſend, if he would do any good there. And truth
it was (as the Turks themſelues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he
had in field the laſt yere, might haue eaſily recouered the greateſt part of that kingdom before
loſt: but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether enclining to peace;
and by County *Salma* aduertiſed from the Baſſa of Buda, That if he would ſend Embaſſadors
C to Conſtantinople, with the tribute wont to be there paid for Hungary, a peace vpon reaſonable
conditions might be eaſily obtained; he reſolued vpon that point. And ſo certain meſſengers
being ſent vp and downe to Conſtantinople to the ſame effect, it was concluded, That if
the Emperor would ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople with the tribute yet behind, and a
large commiſſion for the treaty of peace, *Selymus* ſhould giue them his ſafe conduct, with liberty
at their pleaſure to returne in caſe either of peace or war. Which agreed vpon and faithfully
promiſed on both ſides, *Selymus* ſet at liberty the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who ſix yeres Lieger
in Conſtantinople, firſt for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now beene
ſtreitly impriſoned in his owne houſe by the ſpace of 22 moneths, in ſuch ſort that neither he
nor any of his houſhold could go abroad, watch and ward being kept both day & night about
D his houſe, and his windowes alſo boorded vp, to the end that he ſhould not ſo much as looke
out into the city or any whither elſe more than the court of his houſe only. So the Emperour
Maximilian now reſolued to ſend Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople with the tribute mony and
diuers other rich gifts & Preſents, as well to the Great Turke himſelf, as the Viſier Baſſa's his
Counſellors : and conſidering with himſelfe, whom to be moſt fit, with wiſedome and honor
to bring this ſo weighty a matter about, hauing to do with ſo barbarous, couetous, and mighty
a people, made choice of the lord *Anthonius Varantius* of Agria (of his Counſell for the
kingdome of Hungary) a Prelat of great eſtimation, who being a man of 63 yeares old, beſide
his great learning, had the experience of 27 Embaſſages; wherin he alwaies ſo diſcreetly bare
himſelfe, as well contented his Prince, and purchaſed vnto himſelfe the reputation of a moſt
E graue & wiſe man: and about ten yeres before this Embaſſage, being ſent by the Emperor *Ferdinand*
Embaſſador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian* to *Selymus* at Conſtantinople, returning
with good ſucceſſe, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Biſhop of Agria.
Vnto which ſo honorable a perſonage, hauing the charge of this ſo weighty a matter, the Emperor
the more to ennoble this embaſſage, as alſo to purchaſe the greater credit to his embaſſador,
joyned vnto him a moſt honorable Baron called the lord *Chriſtopher Teufenbatch* of Stiria,
one of his Counſellors alſo for the warres : who with full inſtructions both taking their
leaue of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Presburgh) departed, and being attended
vpon with a great and honourable Retinue, ſet forward the firſt of Iuly 1567, and ſo came to
Comara a ſtrong town in Hungary not paſt a league from the Turks frontiers. In which place
F the Embaſſadors ſtaying vntill the ſeuenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of
their comming vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium, demanding for their ſecurity in the enemies
country, to be met and receiued by ſome of his garriſon : which granted, they tooke
their barks brought from Vienna and Poſſonium, ſufficient for their greatneſſe to haue carried
them downe the riuer to Belgrade, with horſe and waggon and their whole furniture : and

Maximilian & Selymus both deſirous of peace

Maximilian the Emperor ſendeth Embaſſadors to Selymus.

The Embaſſadors come to Buda.

Preſents giuen by the emperors Embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda.

ſo entring vpon the Turks dominion about a league or a little more from Comara, being ſo far waſted by the ſoldiers and gallies of Comara, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with a Chiaus called *Becram* (ſent by the Baſſa of Buda) in certain gallies armed with Turkiſh ſoldiers. To whom the Embaſſador at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his perſon, giuing them to vnderſtand, that they were with all ſafety to conduct both him and all his to the Baſſa of Buda: which they anſwered they were ready to accompliſh; and courteouſly inuited by the Embaſſadours, they came aboord their barke, and there dined together. Here they that were ſent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turks, hauing licence to depart, returned to Comara: and they that day after fiue leagues ſailing arriued at Strigonium, where they were by the Gouernor of the city denied landing: for which ſo diſhonourable a part he was afterward ſharpely rebuked by the Baſſa of Buda. Yet as they lay that night vpon the water, certain Turkiſh minſtrels, to do them honour and to get a largeſſe, with their barbarous bawling inſtruments plaied them vp many a homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with ſundry ſorts of vauting and tumbling, ſometime leaping one vpon anothers ſhoulders, and ſometime doing their trickes on the earth, all the euening ſhewed them great ſport and paſtime. From Strigonium they with fiue leagues ſailing came to Buda, leauing behind them the caſtle of Vicegrade, two leagues diſtant from Strigonium. In this city of Buda lieth the great Baſſa by whom all Hungary, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turks power) is gouerned. This city, ſometime the regall ſeat of the Hungarian Kings, is ſcituate vpon a little hill on the South ſide of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a caſtle, much higher than the city, and of a moſt braue proſpect: in which caſtle lieth a captain with a garriſon of fiue hundred ſouldiers (as the Turks ſay) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether ſo many: it is the loſſe of his head to ſtir out of his charge; and beſide, he hath commiſſion to deny the Baſſa himſelfe entrance, vnleſſe he come very ſlightly accompanied: ſo jealous are the Turks of that caſtle, as if the ſtate of Hungary depended thereon. Herein ſtandeth the kings palace, which taketh vp moſt part of the place, greatly beautified by *Matthias*, and ſhewing outwardly to haue bin a very ſtately thing: for there are in it both large halls and faire galleries, and chambers built in moſt royall manner; where amongſt other roomes, the Embaſſadors found a decaied Library full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which things when they preſent themſelues to the eies of the Chriſtian beholders, offer a juſt conſideration of noble and reuerend antiquity, and withall, ſtrike into their hearts a certaine compaſſion joyned with horror, to ſee the renowned glory of ſo many great Kings all waſted and brought to nothing. The next morning the Embaſſadors went to ſpeake with the Baſſa: whoſe houſe was reaſonable faire (conſidering their guiſe and cuſtome, not much delighting in the beauty of their priuat buildings) ſcituat vpon the riuer ſide at the bottome of a hill whereon the city ſtandeth. Vnto this Baſſa the Embaſſadors preſented two great gilt cups, a clocke all curiouſly wrought in gold, and a thouſand dollars: which Preſent the Baſſa receiued in his Diuano (being a large hall) where he ſate with his counſellors, officers, and other Turks in their places and order; ſome on his right hand, and ſome on his left, all richly attired in garments of ſilke of diuers colours and faſhions, reaching downe to their anckles after their manner: their heads couered with their paſſing white and well made turbants: in which aſſembly nothing being then to be ſeene but goodly order and graue ſilence, they ſeemed to the ſtrange beholders ſo many counſellors of exceeding grauity and reputation. Round about the Hall wherein the Embaſſadours had audience, were many ſeats couered with Turky carpets; the reſt of the roome being all vacant. The Baſſa in a place more apparant than the reſt, ſitting in great majeſty: before whom was ſet two little chaires, on which (after he had ſtood vp a while and embraced the Embaſſadors) he cauſed them both to ſit downe. Whoſe ſpeech deliuered in the Italian tongue, after they had diſcharged themſelues of the Emperors letters and greetings, was to this effect, *viz.* That his Imperiall Majeſty (for the common benefit of their ſubjects in Hungary) requeſted him to continue in his good purpoſe and dealing for peace: and further, to giue ſafe conduct vnto them his Embaſſadours with their retinue, vntill they were come vnto the Turks court, where they were to intreat and conclude a peace, to the ending of all troubles, and the publique benefit of their ſubjects in generall. Which ſpeech with cheerefull and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embaſſadors followers were admitted to kiſſe the Baſſa's hand, accounted no ſmall fauour amongſt thoſe Barbarians. The Interpreter

A pretor of theſe things was a Iew of Padua, who declared all,that was ſpoken, in the Turkiſh
language vnto the Baſſa,and in the Italian vnto the Embaſſadors. And although(if it had bin
their pleaſure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Crouatian tongue without
an Interproter;yet the Baſſa ſtanding more vpon his reputation,& for ſome other reſpects
beſide, would haue the matter propounded and likewiſe anſwered in the Turkiſh. In which
ſort they alſo conferred continually afterward with the Baſſa's at Conſtantinople,vnles it were
in ſome particular and priuat talke of ſmal importance,or els in ſome point beſide the matter;
for then the Interpreter ſpake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to
moſt of the Turks,but eſpecially to the men of war. Before this hall where the Embaſſadors
were entertained by the Baſſa,in the baſe court ſtood all the Ianizaries in goodly array, and his
B ſlaues with their red zarcul on their heads, and other ſouldiers with high and long plumes of
feathers ſtanding vpright:all which made a beautifull ſhew,& gaue all great grace to the Baſſa's
court. Theſe men ſtir not one foot in their ſtandings,and if the conſultation do laſt foure
houres long,ſo long are they to continue ſtanding without mouing. The Embaſſadors hauing
ſtaied two daies at Buda,were by the Baſſa diſmiſſed,ſending with them his Checai(the Steward
or gouernor of his houſe) a man of great reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus, the ſame that
came to meet them at Comara,with a ſufficient guard & certain Ianizaries,ſent for their more
ſafe trauelling,and to prouide for them from place to place,of all things neceſſary for their diet,
as alſo for their horſes,at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied,they imbarqued the
tenth day of the aforeſaid moneth,towed vp the Turks gallies,which holpen by the ſwiftneſſe
C of the riuer,carried them downe in eight daies to Belgrade,where they arriued the eighteenth
of Iuly. So hauing ſtaid at Belgrade,& there leauing their boats,and taking their coaches,they
ſet forward by land the twentieth of the ſaid moneth,and with great paines trauelling thorow
Raſcia,Bulgaria,and Thracia,and paſſing a part of the great mountain Scardus,and after that,
the mountain Rhodope,ſo by the way of Philippopolis and Hadrianople,the two and twentieth
of Auguſt gathered faſt vpon Conſtantinople:where many of the Spahies and Chiauſais
of the court,with a number of the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers, for their greater honour came
to meet them a great way without the city. By whom the Embaſſadors honourably mounted
on horſebacke,were by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the midſt
of the city; where the Lord *Albert de Vuis* the Emperours Embaſſador Leiger (not long before
D inlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now moſt joyfully receiued them. It
was then Fryday the Turks Sabath, and a day of them aboue all other daies in the weeke regarded,
and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone;at which time the Embaſſadors
were no ſooner alighted,but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion,in the
Moſchy of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was ſomtime to do) paſſed along before the gate
where the Embaſſadors lay, with the whole traine of his Court; and peraduenture ſomewhat
more than ordinary,to ſhew the magnificence of his power and ſtate, to the end that the Embaſſadors
(aboue the former opinion by them conceiued)might hold him in the reputation of
a moſt puiſſant and mighty Monarch. He paſſing by, vouchſafed not once to giue them a regard,
or ſo much as to caſt his eie aſide vpon them,although they were ſtrangers, and but euen
E then arriued: but with a countenance as if he had knowne not ſo much as any thing of their
comming,held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chief Viſier Baſſa,with the other Baſſa's
and great Courtiers,in moſt gracious manner as they paſſed by caſt their eies vpon them; all
the courteſie they could then ſhew them. Six daies after,being the eight and twentieth of Auguſt,
the Embaſſadors all three went to viſit and ſalute *Muhamet*(or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*)
the chiefe Viſier Baſſa,as the maner was, preſenting him from the Emperor,with foure
cups of ſiluer all guilt,of moſt faire and curious workemanſhip; of which,two of them being
greater than the other,were three ſpans high,the two other being not ſo high by a ſpan,but hauing
in them two thouſand duckats of gold:beſide which,they gaue him alſo a clocke, being
a moſt curious piece of worke,and all ouer double gilt. After which greetings and preſents deliuered,
F beſide the contents of his Majeſties letters,they declared vnto him in generall points,
the cauſe of their comming,and the mind of the Emperor well diſpoſed to a peace; and what
great benefit would ariſe thereby to both parties:and laſtly turning ouer the blame of the late
wars,and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others,ſweetned thereby the ſowre of their
former dealings. Neither was the Baſſa likewiſe for his part to ſeeke of good words, but anſwered

The Emperours embaſſadors honourably receiued by the Turks at Conſtantinople.

Preſents giuen by the Emperors Embaſſadors to the great Baſſa's.

ſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chiefe Dragoman, who deliuered his G
mind to them in Latine or Italian, according as the Embaſſadours had before vttered theirs:
which parley ſo ended, certain of the chiefe of the Embaſſadors followers were admitted into
the Diuano to kiſſe the proud Baſſa's hand. The ſame day the Embaſſadors alſo ſaluted *Partau*
the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferrat* the third in order and authority. To *Partau* they preſented two
cups of ſiluer all gilt, beſide a clocke of the ſame making with the afore named, and two thouſand
dollars: and the like to *Ferrat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſa's, *Achomat*,
Piall, and *Muhamet*, preſenting euery one of them with two faire cups and a thouſand
dollars. Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſa's to *Selymus*, then lying at court with him, men that for
wealth and authority went before all other in the Turkiſh empire, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory
may appeare. And ſo hauing viſited them in generall, the Embaſſadors to ſet their affaires H
on foot, the fourth of September cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Eſtate-matters
was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt conference, becauſe it was neceſſary before
ſo weighty affaires were broached, firſt to do the Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the preſents,
with the Emperors letters to him written; for ſome few daies there was not any point
at all of the Embaſſadors buſineſſe handled.

Preſents ſent vnto Selymus by the Emperour.

The Emperours embaſſadors honorably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

The firſt gate of the great Turks Palace.

The ſecond gate.

Selymus not long after the Embaſſadors were arriued, went out for his diſport and pleaſure
on hunting: ſo that in the mean time, after the preſents were giuen to the Baſſa's, matters ſtood
ſtill altogether vnaduanced, vntill the 21 of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned
from his diſport) it was appointed that the Embaſſadors ſhould haue audience at the
Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers, of thoſe that ſhould attend vpon I
them, which were not in all aboue twelue perſons: for they to whom this charge was committed,
ſaid it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great traine ſhould come before
ſo great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon
they appointed but ſix apiece to attend them; and of fifteen cups of ſiluer and gilt, being moſt
curiouſly and cunningly engrauen, one of the faireſt among the reſt was giuen to each of thoſe
twelue ro carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the reſt, that came after in order
with the reſt of the Preſents; which was two exceeding pretious clocks, like in bigneſſe to
them before giuen to the Baſſa's, but far aboue them in value; & 45000 dollars for the tribute
behind and yet vnpaied. The greateſt of thoſe cups was ſix ſpans and a halfe, and the leaſt two
ſpans in height: ſome of them being double cups, after the high Dutch manner. The Embaſſadors K
(whoſe comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their
lodging (beſide many of the Spahi's and Chiauſi's, and others of good ſort (which were come
to honor them with their preſence to the palace) putting themſelues in readineſſe betimes in
the morning, and taking horſe ſet forward toward the court. The formoſt were they that did
beare the preſents in their hands, the people of the city in euery ſtreet flocking together in exceeding
multitudes to behold them as they paſſed: and verily there had beene ſeldome times
ſeene the like embaſſage in thoſe parts: for beſides the fame that was blowne abroad in euery
quarter, That they were men ſent from one of the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendome; the diuerſity
of their attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the Maieſty
of the Chriſtian Emperor to them that gazed vpon his Embaſſadors and their traine, the L
people conceiuing thereby, that he was lord and ruler ouer many prouinces and countries. For
they that were Hungarians belonging to the Biſhop of Agria (the chief embaſſador) being attired
in long & ſober garments of very fine purple cloath, hauing their ſhooes pieced ouer the
ſoles with yron plates, and halfe their heads ſhauen, ſeemed to differ from them but little: but
on the other ſide, the high Dutch attired in black, with their veluet caps, and ſhort cloaks laied
with ſiluer lace, & long breeches little leſſe than Rutter wiſe, and chaines of gold about their
necks, appeared very ſtrange & vncouth to the Turkiſh people: ſo accompanied in this honorable
wiſe, the embaſſadors entred the firſt gate of the great Turks palace. This gate is built of
marble in moſt ſumptuous maner, & of a ſtately hight, with certain words of their language in
the front therof ingrauen and gilt in marble. So paſſing thorow the baſe court, which hath on M
the right ſide very faire gardens, & on the left, diuers buildings ſeruing for other offices, with a
little Moſchy, they came to the ſecond gate, where al ſuch as came in riding, muſt of neceſſity alight:
here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at the ſecond gate, they came into a very large ſquare
court, with buildings & galleries round about it, the kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with

other

A other lodgings for ſuch as belonged to the court, and on the left hand likewiſe roomes deputed
to like ſeruices. There are moreouer many halls and other roomes for reſort, where they
ſit in counſel,handling and executing the publike affaires either of the court or of the empire;
with other matters, where the Baſſa's and other officers aſſemble together. Entring in at this
ſecond gate in one part of the court,which ſeem'd rather ſome large ſtreet,they ſaw the whole
company of the Solaches ſet in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwaies neere vnto
the perſon of the great Turke,& ſeruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vſe high plumes
of feathers, which are ſet bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there ſtood the
Capitzi in like array,with black ſtaues of Indian canes in their hands:they are the porters and
warders of the gates of the palace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who
B ſtood in ranke likewiſe in another quarter. And beſides all thoſe, with many more that were
out of order, as well of the court as of the common people, thoſe Knights of the court which
accompanied the embaſſadors thither,with other great ones alſo of like degree,were marſhalled
all in their ſeueral companies. And among the reſt,the Mutſaracha's,men of all nations and
all religions (for their valour the only freemen which liue at their owne liberty in the Turkiſh
empire) ſtood there apparelled in damaske,veluet,and cloath of gold,and garments of ſilke of
ſundry kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they
wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it ſelfe, made a moſt braue and goodly ſhew
well worth the beholding. In briefe,whether they were to be conſidered all at once,or in particular,
as well for the order that they kept, as for their ſumptuous preſence, altogether without
C noiſe or rumor; they made the Embaſſadors and the reſt of their followers there preſent,
eye-witneſſes both of their obedience,and of the great ſtate and royalty of the *Othoman* court.
Paſſing through them,the Embaſſadors were led into the hall, where the Baſſa's & other great
men of the court were all ready to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the
ſame time brought into a roome that ſtood apart vnder one of the aforeſaid lodgings all hung
with Turky carpets. Soone after (as their vſe and maner is) they brought in their dinner, couering
the ground with table-cloathes of a great length ſpred vpon carpets,and afterward ſcattering
vpon them a maruelous number of wooden ſpoons,with ſo great ſtore of bread, as if they
had bin to feed 300 perſons: then they ſet on meat in order,which was ſerued in 42 great platters
of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, ſome of
D them ſeaſoned with hony,and of the colour of hony; ſome with ſoure milke,and white of colour;
and ſome with ſugar: they had fritters alſo,which were made of like batter,and mutton
beſide,or rather a dainty and toothſome morſell of an old ſodden Ewe. The table (if there
had any ſuch bin) thus furniſhed, the gueſts without any ceremony of waſhing,ſate downe on
the ground (for ſtooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen
diſhes,water prepared with ſugar,which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But ſo hauing
made a ſhort repaſt,they were no ſooner riſen vp,but certain young men,whom they call Giamoglans,
with others that ſtood round about them,ſnatcht it haſtily vp as their fees, and like
greedy harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embaſſadors in the meane time dined in
the hall with the Baſſa's. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were ſent for the twelue of
E the embaſſadors followers,before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence:by whom (their
Preſents being already conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined,
and brought on into an vnder roome,from whence there was an aſcent into the hall,where the
Baſſa's were ſtaying for the Embaſſadors: who ſoone after came forth, and for their eaſe ſat
them downe vpon the benches, whileſt the Baſſa's went in to *Selymus*; who before this time
had made an end of dinner,and was remoued in all his royalty,into one of his chambers,expecting
the comming of the Embaſſadors. All things now in readineſſe,and the Embaſſadors
ſent for, they ſet forward with their traine, and came to the third gate, which leadeth into the
priuy palace of the Turkiſh Emperor,where none but himſelfe,his eunuchs,& the yong pages
his minions,being in the Eunuchs cuſtody,hath continuall abiding:into which inward part of
F the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Baſſa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the
Ceſigniers (that ſerue in the Turks meat) with the Baſſa's and ſome few other great men; and
that only when they haue occaſion ſo to do by reaſon of ſome great buſines, or ſent for by the
Sultan. Being entred in at this gate,which is of a ſtately and royall building, the Capitzi by
whom they were conducted ſuddenly cauſed them to ſtay, & ſet them one from another aboue

A homely feaſt giuen to the embaſſadors Followers in the Turks court.

The third gate.

ſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chiefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latine or Italian, according as the Embaſſadours had before vttered theirs: which parley ſo ended, certain of the chiefe of the Embaſſadors followers were admitted into the Diuano to kiſſe the proud Baſſa's hand. The ſame day the Embaſſadors alſo ſaluted *Partau* the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferrat* the third in order and authority. To *Partau* they preſented two cups of ſiluer all gilt, beſide a clocke of the ſame making with the afore named, and two thouſand dollars: and the like to *Ferrat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſa's, *Achomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, preſenting euery one of them with two faire cups and a thouſand dollars. Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſa's to *Selymus*, then lying at court with him, men that for wealth and authority went before all other in the Turkiſh empire, as in the courſe of this Hiſtory may appeare. And ſo hauing viſited them in generall, the Embaſſadors to ſet their affaires on foot, the fourth of September cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Eſtate-matters was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt conference, becauſe it was neceſſary before ſo weighty affaires were broached, firſt to do the Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the preſents, with the Emperors letters to him written; for ſome few daies there was not any point at all of the Embaſſadors buſineſſe handled.

Selymus not long after the Embaſſadors were arriued, went out for his diſport and pleaſure on hunting: ſo that in the mean time, after the preſents were giuen to the Baſſa's, matters ſtood ſtill altogether vnaduanced, vntill the 21 of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his diſport) it was appointed that the Embaſſadors ſhould haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers, of thoſe that ſhould attend vpon them, which were not in all aboue twelue perſons: for they to whom this charge was committed, ſaid it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great traine ſhould come before ſo great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon they appointed but ſix apiece to attend them; and of fifteen cups of ſiluer and gilt, being moſt curiouſly and cunningly engrauen, one of the faireſt among the reſt was giuen to each of thoſe twelue to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the reſt, that came after in order with the reſt of the Preſents; which was two exceeding pretious clocks, like in bigneſſe to them before giuen to the Baſſa's, but far aboue them in value; & 45000 dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpaied. The greateſt of thoſe cups was ſix ſpans and a halfe, and the leaſt two ſpans in height: ſome of them being double cups, after the high Dutch manner. The Embaſſadors (whoſe comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging (beſide many of the Spahi's and Chiauſi's, and others of good ſort (which were come to honor them with their preſence to the palace) putting themſelues in readineſſe betimes in the morning, and taking horſe ſet forward toward the court. The formoſt were they that did beare the preſents in their hands, the people of the city in euery ſtreet flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they paſſed: and verily there had beene ſeldome times ſeene the like embaſſage in thoſe parts: for beſides the fame that was blowne abroad in euery quarter, That they were men ſent from one of the greateſt Princes in Chriſtendome; the diuerſity of their attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the Maieſty of the Chriſtian Emperor to them that gazed vpon his Embaſſadors and their traine, the people conceiuing thereby, that he was lord and ruler ouer many prouinces and countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the Biſhop of Agria (the chief embaſſador) being attired in long & ſober garments of very fine purple cloath, hauing their ſhooes pieced ouer the ſoles with yron plates, and halfe their heads ſhauen, ſeemed to differ from them but little: but on the other ſide, the high Dutch attired in black, with their veluet caps, and ſhort cloaks laied with ſiluer lace, & long breeches little leſſe than Rutter wiſe, and chaines of gold about their necks, appeared very ſtrange & vncouth to the Turkiſh people: ſo accompanied in this honorable wiſe, the embaſſadors entred the firſt gate of the great Turks palace. This gate is built of marble in moſt ſumptuous maner, & of a ſtately hight, with certain words of their language in the front therof ingrauen and gilt in marble. So paſſing thorow the baſe court, which hath on the right ſide very faire gardens, & on the left, diuers buildings ſeruing for other offices, with a little Moſchy, they came to the ſecond gate, where al ſuch as came in riding, muſt of neceſſity alight: here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at the ſecond gate, they came into a very large ſquare court, with buildings & galleries round about it, the kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with

Preſents ſent vnto Selymus by the Emperour.

The Emperours embaſſadors honorably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

The firſt gate of the great Turks Palace.

The ſecond gate.

A other lodgings for ſuch as belonged to the court, and on the left hand likewiſe roomes deputed
to like ſeruices. There are moreouer many halls and other roomes for reſort, where they
ſit in counſel, handling and executing the publike affaires either of the court or of the empire;
with other matters, where the Baſſa's and other officers aſſemble together. Entring in at this
ſecond gate in one part of the court, which ſeem'd rather ſome large ſtreet, they ſaw the whole
company of the Solaches ſet in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwaies neere vnto
the perſon of the great Turke, & ſeruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vſe high plumes
of feathers, which are ſet bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there ſtood the
Capitzi in like array, with black ſtaues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and
warders of the gates of the palace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who
B ſtood in ranke likewiſe in another quarter. And beſides all thoſe, with many more that were
out of order, as well of the court as of the common people, thoſe Knights of the court which
accompanied the embaſſadors thither, with other great ones alſo of like degree, were marſhalled
all in their ſeueral companies. And among the reſt, the Mutſaracha's, men of all nations and
all religions (for their valour the only freemen which liue at their owne liberty in the Turkiſh
empire) ſtood there apparelled in damaske, veluet, and cloath of gold, and garments of ſilke of
ſundry kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they
wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it ſelfe, made a moſt braue and goodly ſhew
well worth the beholding. In brieſe, whether they were to be conſidered all at once, or in particular,
as well for the order that they kept, as for their ſumptuous preſence, altogether with-
C out noiſe or rumor; they made the Embaſſadors and the reſt of their followers there preſent,
eye-witneſſes both of their obedience, and of the great ſtate and royalty of the *Othoman* court.
Paſſing through them, the Embaſſadors were led into the hall, where the Baſſa's & other great
men of the court were all ready to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the
ſame time brought into a roome that ſtood apart vnder one of the aforeſaid lodgings all hung
with Turky carpets. Soone after (as their vſe and maner is) they brought in their dinner, couering
the ground with table-cloathes of a great length ſpred vpon carpets, and afterward ſcattering
vpon them a maruelous number of wooden ſpoons, with ſo great ſtore of bread, as if they
had bin to feed 300 perſons: then they ſet on meat in order, which was ſerued in 42 great platters
of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, ſome of
D them ſeaſoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; ſome with ſoure milke, and white of colour;
and ſome with ſugar: they had fritters alſo, which were made of like batter; and mutton
beſide, or rather a dainty and toothſome morſell of an old ſodden Ewe. The table (if there
had any ſuch bin) thus furniſhed, the gueſts without any ceremony of waſhing, ſate downe on
the ground (for ſtooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen
diſhes, water prepared with ſugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But ſo hauing
made a ſhort repaſt, they were no ſooner riſen vp, but certain young men, whom they call Giamoglans,
with others that ſtood round about them, ſnatcht it haſtily vp as their fees, and like
greedy harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embaſſadors in the meane time dined in
the hall with the Baſſa's. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were ſent for the twelue of
E the embaſſadors followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their
Preſents being already conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined,
and brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an aſcent into the hall, where the
Baſſa's were ſtaying for the Embaſſadors: who ſoone after came forth, and for their eaſe ſat
them downe vpon the benches, whileſt the Baſſa's went in to *Selymus*; who before this time
had made an end of dinner, and was remoued in all his royalty, into one of his chambers, expecting
the comming of the Embaſſadors. All things now in readineſſe, and the Embaſſadors
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F the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Baſſa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the
Ceſigniers (that ſerue in the Turks meat) with the Baſſa's and ſome few other great men; and
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Sultan. Being entred in at this gate, which is of a ſtately and royall building, the Capitzi by
whom they were conducted ſuddenly cauſed them to ſtay, & ſet them one from another about

A homely feaſt giuen to the Embaſſadors Followers in the Turks court.

The third gate.

The Embaſſadors brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of thē and their followers.

Itineratio Di Marc. Antonio Pigafetta. ca. 5.

fiue paces,in a little roome,which neuertheleſſe was paſſing delicate,al curiouſly painted ouer G with diuers colours,and ſtood between the gate and the more inner lodgings. On both ſides of which roome,when all things els were whiſt & in a deep ſilence, certain little birds only were heard to warble out their ſweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the greene trees of the gardens(which al along caſt a pleaſant ſhadow from them)as if they alone had obtained licence to make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelfe was in great majeſty ſet in an vnder chamber, parted only with a wall from the roome wherein the Embaſſadours followers attended, whereinto he might looke through a little window, the portall of his ſaid chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with the third gate aboue mentioned. The Embaſſadors entring in,were led ſingle,and one after another,to make their reuerence vnto the great Turke. And in the mean time certain of the Capitzi with the Preſents in their hands fetching a compaſſe about before the window, muſtered them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the world being raiſed, but a ſacred ſi- H lence kept in euery corner,as if men had bin going to viſit the holieſt place in Ieruſalem. Yet for all that,the embaſſadors followers placed one from another(as is aforeſaid)were not aware that the great Sultan was ſo neere,looking ſtill when they ſhould haue bin led on forwards all together: howbeit they were ſet in one after another, neither did they that were ſo ſet out,return again into the roome,but hauing ſeuerally done their reuerence,were all(except the Embaſſadors,that ſtill ſtaid in the chamber)by one and one ſent out another way into the court: neither could he that came after,ſee his fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to do his reuerence:but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduanced forward to the doore,where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa and the Odda-Baſſa,taking him by both arms and I by the necke,the one at the right hand,and the other at the left,& ſo leading him apace,by the way ſoftly felt his wriſts with their hands,leſt peraduenture he might haue ſome ſhort weapon in his ſleeue. Yet were they not all thus groped,as *Marc. Antonio Pigafetta* (the reporter of this negotiation)ſaith of himſelfe and ſome others alſo. Howbeit this hath bin,and yet is the manner of giuing of acceſſe vnto the perſon of the Great Turke, euer ſince that *Amurath* the firſt was after the battel of Caſſoua murdred by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men,who admitted to his preſence, in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his Maſter, with a ſhort poinard that he had cloſely hidden about him,ſo ſtabbed him in the belly, that he preſently died. And thus like men rather carried to priſon by ſergeants, than to the preſence of ſo mighty a Monarch, they were preſented vnto his Majeſty: he ſitting vpon a pallet, which the Turks call Maſtabe, vſed K by them in their chambers to ſleepe and to feed vpon,couered with carpets of ſilke, as was the whole floore of the chamber alſo. The chamber it ſelfe being not very great,was but darke, altogether without windows,excepting that one whereof we haue before ſpoken,and hauing the wals painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and liuely colours by great cunning,and with a moſt delicat grace:yet vſe they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The ſix Viſier Baſſa's before mentioned,were ſtanding at the left hand as they entred in at the chamber dore,one by another in one ſide of the chamber,and the Embaſſadors on the right hand on the other ſide ſtanding likewiſe,& vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the chamber,neere the place where the Sultan ſat gorgeouſly attired in a robe of cloth of gold all embroidred with jewels: when as the Embaſſadors followers by one & one brought before him, L (as is aforeſaid)and kneeling on the ground,a Turke ſtanding on his right hand,with all reuerence taking vp the hem of his garment,gaue it them in their hands to kiſſe. *Selymus* himſelf al this while ſitting like an image without mouing,and with a great ſtate and majeſty keeping his countenance,dained not to giue them one of his looks. This done, they were led back again,neuer turning their backs towards him,but going ſtill backwards vntill they were out of his preſence. So after they had all thus made their reuerence,& were departed out of the chamber,the Embaſſadors deliuered vnto *Selymus* the Emperors letters, and briefly declared vnto him their meſſage:whom he anſwering in foure words,as,That they were to confer with his Baſſa's;preſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on horſebacke, and tooke the way toward their lodging, being at their return accompanied with M the whole order of the Ianizaries,with their Aga & other captains:among whom were certain of their religious men called Haagi (which vſe to follow the Ianizaries)who continually turning about,and in their going,ſinging or rather howling out certaine Pſalmes and praiers for the welfare of their Great Sultan; gaue the Embaſſadours and their followers occaſion to

A wonder, that they either left not for wearineſſe, or fell not downe like noddies for giddineſſe.
All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompany the embaſſadors to their lodging:
and beſide theſe, many more on horſebacke that attended them at their forth comming: in
regard whereof, the embaſſadors when they were come to their lodging, to requite their greedy
courteſie, franckly diſtributed amongſt them aboue foure thouſand dollars, and yet well
contented them not.

The Embaſſadors after this entertainment at court, had diuers times conference with the
great Baſſa's concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commanded: wherin by reaſon of the Turks vnreaſonable
demands (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded:
ſo that *Selymus* himſelfe being ſhortly after to depart for Hadrianople, where he was
B to continue for ſome moneths (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon
a point of great conſequence) the treaty for peace was intermitted, vntill ſuch time as a meſſenger
diſpatched in poſt, might return vnto the Turks court, with ſome reſolute anſwer concerning
that matter. So it was, that during the reigne of the late Emperour *Ferdinand*, that the
Turke his ſubjects in Hungary paied all their taxes and tributes vnto their old Lords and maſters,
abiding and liuing in the Emperors juriſdiction, as did the ſubjects of *Ferdinand*, to their
lords that dwelt in the Turkes dominion and territories: now in this treaty for peace, the
Turks (amongſt other their vnreaſonable requeſts) demanded to haue their ſubjects freed, and
yet the ſubjects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a requeſt
nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſſe prejudiciall and hurtful vnto the Emperor his ſubjects
C in Hungary: for which cauſe the Embaſſadors would not by any meanes conſent thereunto,
before they knew the Emperors farther pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they
diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of Mantua, very skilfull in the Turkiſh language and
in ſuch like affaires, by reaſon that as well about this buſineſſe, as at diuers times before about
other the like, he had beene emploied from Vienna to Conſtantinople in the Emperours ſeruice.
So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *Viz.* the twentieth of October, departing from Conſtantinople,
in great magnificence paſſed by the gate where the Embaſſadors lay, with his whole court in
armes, and in the ſame order that is vſually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great
journey. After whoſe departure the embaſſadors hauing ſufficiently viewed the city of Conſtantinople,
and then at good leiſure, to paſſe the time and to ſee the countries they had ſo often
D both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both ſides that narrow ſea
which diuideth Europe from Aſia, embarking themſelues, & croſſing the mouth of the hauen
betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, paſſed all alongſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, vnto the Euxine
or blacke ſea, and ſo backe againe by the other ſide of that ſtreight ſea: curiouſly noting the
great ruins of the antient city of Bythinia, with ſome others alongſt the Aſian ſhore, together
with the pleaſant ſcituation they in former times had, whileſt they yet flouriſhed in their glory,
but now for moſt part (or rather altogether) laid in the duſt and brought to nought: and ſo
returned againe to Conſtantinople. But whileſt they thus deceiued the time, and lay long expecting
the returne, as well of their owne meſſenger ſent vnto the Emperour, as of *Selymus*
himſelfe: they were aduertiſed in all haſte to repaire vnto him to Hadrianople, whether the
E aforeſaid meſſenger was now come with full inſtructions of all things concerning the treaty
for peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelues ready, and taking their
leaue of *Piall Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at Conſtantinople)
ſet forward the firſt of Ianuary in the yeare 1568; and ſo after nine daies trauell, at length
arriued at Hadrianople about an hundred fifty three Italian miles diſtant from Conſtantinople.
Here they ſtaied vntill the peace was concluded, which was the ſeuenteenth of February:
the chiefe capitulations wherof were, That either of thoſe great Princes ſhould ſtill hold
what they had got each from the other in the late wars: That the Emperor ſhould yearely pay
thirty thouſand duckats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a tribute for Hungary, the tribute to begin
in the beginning of Ianuary laſt paſt this yeare 1568: That the ſubjects of the Turks ſhould
F pay nothing to the ſubjects of the Emperour, neither the Emperours any thing to the Turks,
but to be both of thoſe paiments free. And that vpon theſe conditions there ſhould be a firme
and ſure peace betwixt thoſe two great Monarchs for eight yeares next following: wherein
the Vayuod of Tranſyluania was (as the Turks tributary) to be alſo comprehended. Neuertheleſſe,
all things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turks after their ſubtile manner finding

The principall point wherupon the embaſſadors differed from the Turks in the treaty of peace.

1568

The chiefe capitulations whereon a peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the Emperor, & Selymus.

ſundry cauillations,and raiſing many doubts about the aforeſaid capitulations,did what they G
might to haue in ſome part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of
themſelues and the hurt of the Chriſtians:and ſo with many their vnreaſonable demands ſtayed
the departure of the embaſſadors vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time
hauing their diſpatch,and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Baſſa's,accompanied
with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embaſſador vnto the Emperour) they by land returned towards
Vienna; where they with the joyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there
two daies after at the court moſt honourably receiued. And fiue daies after,audience was giuen
vnto the Turks Embaſſador; who well heard and better rewarded, ſhortly after returned
with a full concluſion of peace from the Emperour, to Conſtantinople.

Embaſſadours ſent from Tamas the Perſian king,to Selymus

But whileſt this peace was thus in concluding,and the embaſſadors yet reſident at Hadrianople, H
the ſixteenth of February came an honourable embaſſage from *Shach Tamas* the Perſian
King,vnto the great Sultan *Selymus,* to intreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude
the ſame, being before agreed vpon the controuerſies, for which they afterwards fell to open
war. Which embaſſage for that it is no leſſe truly than plainely ſet downe in a letter ſent from
Erzirum (a city then in the confines of the Turks dominions towards the Perſians) written
by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes;which Chiaus was of purpoſe ſent from
Conſtantinople, to meet the ſaid Perſian embaſſador: I thought it not amiſſe for the better
vnderſtanding thereof,to ſet downe the effect of the ſame letter as it was tranſlated out of the
Turkiſh into the Italian by the Emperors embaſſadors interpreter. I

The effect of the Letter written to *Muhamet Baſſa,* the chiefe Viſier, by a Chiaus ſent of purpoſe to meet the Perſian Embaſſadour.

*After due ſalutations, this is the effect of that which wee thought good to make knowne vnto your
Lordſhip. Now at this preſent (to wit in the beginning of the moneth Giuma Sulacchir) is in good
health arriued the Embaſſador of Perſia,the Kings chiefe counſellour, called** Schach Culi Soltan, *attended
vpon with a hundred and twenty Gentlemen, with guilt Turbants on their heads,and well furniſhed
with ſpare horſes led in mens hands. Beſides whom he was accompanied alſo with two hundred knights* K
*all apparelled in cloath of gold, with foure hundred Perſian Merchants, in all aboue ſeuen hundred perſons;
with a thouſand nine hundred beaſts, Camels, Mules, and Horſes; fiue couple of drums, euery couple
being placed vpon a ſeuerall Camell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other inſtruments, in all
about thirty muſitions,playing vpon theſe inſtruments: There were alſo two Choriſters or chaunters of the
Alcaron,one Organiſt,one playing vpon a Turkiſh inſtrument like a Lute,two players vpon Sagbuts,with
two other muſitions,eight in all. There were alſo foure bondwomen ſeruing in the Embaſſadors own chamber.
Who when he was with all this magnificent pompe come within one daies journey of Erzirum, the
* Sayms and Spahies aſſembling themſelues together to the number of eight thouſand men, went to meet
him: amongſt whom were an hundred more, all apparelled in cloath of* Gold and Sattin: *two thouſand
men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauery we marching forward, the Perſian Embaſſadour* L
*amazed to ſee ſo great majeſty and pompe, ſaid, that all the army of Conſtantinople was come to meet
him: and ſo being come into the city,cauſed all the inſtruments to be plaied vpon, euen from morning vntill
night. The next morning, the Embaſſador inuited the Baſſa with all the Lords and officers; who being
come, he entreated them to heare his muſicke: and in like manner the Lord Baſſa inuited the Perſians.
But as the Embaſſadour was going to the banquet,came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought
vnto the ſame Embaſſador a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he cauſed him to
put on by the way. By this Embaſſadour the Perſian King hath ſent all the armour of Sultan* Bajazet,
*with all his Camels and other wealth. The cauſes of the long ſtay of this Embaſſadour were ſpecially two:
the one for that the Perſian King had cauſed to be made two pauilions of one piece, the curtanes being interlaced
with gold, and the ſupporters imbroidered with the ſame: beſides this, he ſent two bookes of Hiſtories,* M
*and two Pearles, which in weight weighed ten * Meſcaly: one Balaſſo as big as a little Pearle;
fourescore and two times an hundred * Tumenlich of ſtuffe, amounting to foureſcore and two ſummes of
Aſpers,and forty Falcons: all which the Perſian King hath ſent vnto the Great Sultan,as to the only Monarch
and Patron of the World. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authority to the King, and ſo was in the
time*

** Schach Culi Soltan,was not the proper name of this embaſſador, but a title of honour, and ſignifieth as much as a prince ſeruant to the King.*

** Sayms are ſoldiers of greater honor than the Spahi, hauing for their ſtipend yearely 2000 Aſpers at the leaſt, out of the reuenues of certaine Townes and villages.*

** A Meſcali is foure drams.*

** Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turks aſper.*

A *time of great King* Hyſmael. *Theſe two Perſian Sultans are the Kings chiefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore ſet themſelues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithſtanding all their brauery, being come to Erzirum within the view of our army, the Perſians were amaſed to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of the Perſians are returned againe into Perſia. And if it pleaſe God, at the comming of my meſſenger vnto you, your Lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand of what condition and ſtate theſe two Princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely ſix Tumoni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *ſix thouſand Aſpers. Your Lordſhip after this account may judge of the reſt. The other cauſe of the long ſtay of this Embaſſadour, was for that in Syruan the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were ſlaine: to the appeaſing of which ſedition, this* Schach Culy *was ſent, and now at laſt is come. From Erzirum in the beginning in the moneth of * Giuma Sulacchir, in the yeare* B *of the Prophet* Mahomet, *975.*

* *December.*

The Perſian embaſſadour honourably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople.

This the Perſian embaſſador was with the greateſt pomp that might be entertained by the Turks at his firſt comming to Hadrianople, al the braue courtiers with the Ianizaries & other ſouldiers of the court going forth in moſt ſeemely order to meet him. Who now entred the city, and come before the houſe where the Emperours Embaſſadors then lay, and ſeeing certain of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Iſuam* the Capitzi Baſſa, what people they were; who told them that they were the followers of an Embaſſador that there lay, ſent from one of the greateſt Princes of the Chriſtians, namely, the Emperor, who was deſirous to make peace with the great Sultan his maſter. Whereunto the Embaſſador replied, that he would C willingly ſalute them: which *Iſuam* hearing, ſtreight way turned his horſe towards the place where they ſtood. Now the Emperors embaſſador being ſecret within a lettice, & ſeeing them come towards him, went forth and ſtood vpon the doore threſhold, and ſo with ſignes and words ſaluted one another. Among the others the Perſian embaſſador ſaid vnto the Emperors, That he would gladly talke with him, if it might ſo pleaſe the grand Seignior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors embaſſadors, being interpreter. So hauing courteouſly ſaluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two daies after, the Perſian embaſſadors (according to the manner of that barbarous nation, who with empty hands ſalute not one another) by his Checaia or ſteward of his houſhold, preſented all the Viſier Baſſa's with diuers rich gifts and preſents, euery one of them according to their degrees & places: and D the day after went himſelf to viſit them; where by the way fel out a ſtrange matter, like enough to haue coſt him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embaſſador was going to viſit *Muhamet* the chief of the Viſier Baſſa's for the firſt) meeting him, ſhot at him with an harquebuſe, with purpoſe to haue ſlain him; but as God would, miſſed him, and hurt but one of his chiefe followers in the arme. Wherwith the embaſſador not a little diſmaid, as ſuppoſing himſelfe to haue bin betraied, turning his horſe, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Baſſa in the mean time hauing knowledge therof, preſently ſent out men to guard him, and to excuſe himſelfe of the fact. Whereof the embaſſador being aſſured, held on his way. In the meane ſpace, the fellow who ſhot the harquebuſe, being apprehended, was brought before the Embaſſador and the Baſſa; who asking him for what cauſe he diſcharged the ſhot againſt the embaſſador? E he without change of countenance boldly anſwered, That he did it for no other cauſe but for that the embaſſador was an heretick, and ſent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient he ſhould come to intreat of peace with his lord; adding further, that he was not worthy of any peace. Which the Baſſa hearing, adjudged the deſperat villain the next day to be drawn at an horſe taile thorow the city, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Perſian embaſſador the 22 of the ſame moneth went to deliuer the preſents ſent from his maſter vnto the grand Seignior, and to kiſſe his hand; ſending firſt before him the Preſents vpon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Perſia, and the other ten his owne. The Kings Preſents was an Alcoran, with the authority of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their cu- F ſtome, alwaies to preſent one ſuch Alcoran vnto the Princes to whom they ſend their Embaſſadours. It was couered with gold, and garniſhed with moſt precious ſtones. He preſented alſo a booke of Hiſtories, couered as the other: he gaue alſo a box, wherein was a very faire precious ſtone called Balaſſo, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatneſſe, with two purſes of an handfull long, full of jewels. Beſides theſe, he preſented alſo eight Fimari or Porcellaine

The Perſian embaſſador in going to viſit Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa, in danger to haue been ſlaine.

The rich preſent ſent by the Perſian King vnto Selymus.

diſhes

The Embaſſadours preſent to Selymus.

An honourable allowance.

diſhes (which we call China diſhes) made of moſt pure earth, kept aboue fifty yeres buried vnder the ground, to the end ſo to be fined and purified, which (as ſome ſay) wil milt and diſſolue if any poiſon be put into them. He gaue alſo two moſt ſtately pauilions, 20 great carpets of ſilke, and many other leſſer of ſilke and gold; alſo nine faire canopies to hang ouer the ports of their pauilions, things not vſed among the Chriſtians. He gaue alſo nine very faire carpets of camels haire, nine ſaddles ſet with ſtones after the Perſian faſhion, ſeuen ſtaues of ſiluer, ſeuen ſcimiters with red ſcaberts, ſeuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and pretious ſtone; he preſented alſo many other carpets called Teſtich, made of the fineſt lawne, and ſo large, that ſeuen men could ſcarcely carry one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way. The preſents which the Embaſſadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, were alſo theſe: an Alcoran, a pauilion faire and large, certaine ſcimiters, bowes and arrowes richly garniſhed, with certain carpets of ſilk, and Camels haire. After which preſents ſo deliuered, & reuerence don vnto the great Sultan by the embaſſador, and thirty of his followers al in cloth of gold, he returned to his lodging, very honorably accompanied, as well by the Turks as them of his own retinue. Firſt beſides many others, there were a great company of the Spahies and Chiauſies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horſes, well furniſhed & in decent order: here might a man haue ſeene ſtore of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, & other kinds of ſilke. After theſe there followed about three hundred Perſian horſemen, apparelled after their manner, ſome with gownes made of diuers little pieces of taffata of ſundry colors, repreſenting the pictures of men, women, horſes, and other beaſts; and ſome of them imbroidered with floures and fruits of ſundry ſorts; ſome had alſo gownes of cloth of gold, but not ſo faire as the Turks; and ſome of veluet, but very few of cloth; for that the Perſians had no great plenty either of veluet or yet of cloth, except ſuch as they haue from the Portingals that trauel into thoſe Eaſtern countries; yet of ſilk & wool it appeareth they haue great plenty, moſt part of their gowns being of wooll quilted with bombaſt. After theſe horſemen followed many Perſian footmen, peraduenture all ſeruants; after whom came the Turkiſh horſemen: and laſt of al came a horſe of the embaſſador led by a Perſian; after which horſe followed 200 Ianizaries: and in the rereward of all came the embaſſador alone, gorgiouſly attired both himſelfe and his horſe. He himſelfe was inueſted with crimſon veluet, mingled with ſome other colors: his ſaddle and bridle were all bedeckt with jewels: the capariſon of his horſe, was all imbroidered with Turquoies and other pretious ſtones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call Meteuenchia) was altogether wrought with gold, and ſet with pretious ſtones: in briefe, vpon euery part of his body hanged jewels of great price. After the Embaſſadour, followed about 140 Perſian horſemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, ſome well, ſome ill, according to their ability. Now although the Perſians (as is to be thought) ſhewed all their pomp, yet they made nothing ſo faire a ſhew as did the Turks; neither are they ſo faire men of complexion, being for the moſt part of a ſwart and browne color, and rather little men than otherwiſe, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embaſſador being departed, the Preſents were all brought and ſhewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary charges 500 ducats a day, for that indeed their number was great and their beaſts many. Theſe expences beſtowed vpon the embaſſadors, do preſently begin as ſoone as any of them enter into his dominions; and end, ſo ſoone as the buſineſſe for which they come is finiſhed. But long it was not, but that this embaſſador hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamas* and *Selymus*, & diſpatched ſuch matters as he came for, returned home againe into Perſia. The Venetians alſo now at this ſame time, by their embaſſadors ſought to renue the league they had made with the great Turke, now expired: which as it was eaſily obtained, ſo was it of ſmall aſſurance; *Selymus* the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raiſing new wars, to the great hurt and diſturbance of that State, as ſhall forthwith appeare.

1569

Selymus now at peace with all the World (a thing of the Turks not much deſired) began to thinke of workes of charity: and purpoſing to build a magnificent temple at Hadrianople for his owne ſepulture, with a Monaſtery, a Colledge, and an Almes-houſe (as had his father, and other his anceſtours before him at Pruſa and Conſtantinople, led thereunto with a vaine and ſuperſtitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endow the ſame with lands and reuenues ſufficient for the maintenance of ſo great a charge: for that the Mahometan Kings, are by their ſuperſtition prohibited to conuert any lands or poſſeſſions

A to ſuch holy vſes, other than ſuch as they haue with their owne ſword won from the enemies of their religion, which they may (as they are perſuaded) as a moſt acceptable ſacrifice, offer to their great Prophet which diueliſh perſuaſion ſerueth as a ſpur to pricke forward euery of thoſe ambitious Princes to adde ſomething to their Empire. This his deuout purpoſe once knowne, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuiſing ſome one thing, ſome another, as they thought beſt fitted his humor. But amongſt many things to him preſented, none pleaſed him ſo well, as the plot laid for the taking of the rich Iſland of Cyprus from the Venetians: a conqueſt of it ſelfe ſufficient, both for the eterniſing of his name, and performance of his own charitable works intended; with a large ouerplus, for the ſupplying of whatſoeuer wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at Conſtantinople. But that which moued him moſt B of all, was the glory of ſuch a conqueſt, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equall with any his predeceſſors; who in the beginning of their reigne, had vſually done or attempted ſome notable thing againſt the Chriſtians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus* propounded to the great Baſſaes to be conſidered of: without whoſe aduiſe and counſell, the Turkiſh Emperors ſeldome or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongſt theſe graue counſellors, *Muhamet* the chiefe Viſier Baſſa, a man of greateſt authority (vnto whom *Selymus* was beholden, that he had ſo quietly obtained the empire) and a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, ſeemed much to miſlike of that motion, perſuading *Selymus* not to yeeld thereunto: alledging beſide the danger and vncertainty of the expedition, that his father *Solyman* at the time of his death had charged him ſtreitly, that the league with the Venetians ſhould be religiouſly kept, C and that he could not with his honour without iuſt cauſe ſo quickly breake the league, which he himſelfe had but a little before moſt ſolemnly confirmed. But *Muſtapha* the ſecond Baſſa, ſometime *Selymus* his tutor, and therfore of him much honoured, with *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall (both enuying at the great honor of the Viſier Baſſa) ſo mightily impugned that he had before ſaid, and ſo importuned *Selymus* with the ſhew both of honor and profit attending that action, as alſo with the eaſineſſe therof (a great part of the Venetian Arſenall being but a little before burnt, and their forces much weakned) that he rejected the counſell of *Muhamet*, calling him in his choler, Chriſtian (which among the Mahometans is a word of no ſmal diſgrace:) and yeelding wholly to the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* and *Piall*, preſently cauſed preparation to be made both by ſea and land, for the performance of that his reſolution. Which was not ſo couertly D carried in the Turks court, but that it was diſcouered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian embaſſador; and not without cauſe ſuſpected by the Venetian Merchants, whom the barbarous Turks began now to cut ſhort in their trafficke, looking big vpon them, as men ſuddenly changed, and euill intreated them with hard ſpeeches, the vndoubted ſignes of greater troubles to enſue. The Venetian Embaſſador now out of doubt of the Turks purpoſe for the inuaſion of Cyprus, came vnto *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, complaining of the breach of the league: and putting him in mind of the fidelity of the Venetian State toward the Turkiſh Emperour; requeſting him, that *Selymus* might not make too much haſt to begin that war, which would ſet all Europe on a broile; but rather by his embaſſadors firſt to declare his mind to the Senat, for that ſo it might haply come to paſſe, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parts with- E out war. Which the politicke Embaſſador requeſted not of the Baſſa for any hope he had to auert the war, for which the Turke had now all things in readineſſe, but only by ſuch an hope of compoſition, to hinder the Turks endeauors, & to win time, vntil that the State (being fully certified of all theſe matters) might make ready their fleet and forces, and ſo in armes be ready to anſwere their armed foes: neither did he euer leaue the Baſſa, vntill he had by his meanes procured, that one *Cubates* ſhould be ſent Embaſſador to Venice, to proue the minds of the Senators, whether they would willingly deliuer the Iſland, or aduenture to haue it taken from them by force. Theſe things and ſuch like as were then done at Conſtantinople, being by Letters ſent in poſt from the Embaſſadour, made knowne at Venice, brought a generall heauineſſe vpon the city: for why, that vnderſtanding and prouident State, warned by their F former harmes, of all others moſt dread the Turks forces. *Cubates* the Embaſſadour accompanied with *Aloyſius Barbarus* the Embaſſadors ſonne, and *Bonricius* his Secretary, departing from Conſtantinople, came by long journies to Raguſium, where *Angelus Surianus* ſent from Venice to meet him, was ready to receiue him; who being taken into his gally, brought him to Venice.

Muhamet Baſſa diſſuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus.

Selymus ſendeth Cubates his embaſſador to Venice.

In the mean time the Senators ſitting oftentimes in counſell, were diuided in opinibus concerning the chiefe matter they conſulted vpon: ſome there were, that thought it not good to G wage war againſt ſuch an inuincible enemy, nor to truſt vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of ſuch fortune as was vnto them in that war by the enemy propounded: they alledged, That they had alwaies vnfortunatly taken vp armes againſt the Turks, and that therefore they ſhould ſet before their eies, what harmes they had ſuffered, and how that beſide the loſſes already ſuſtained, they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres loſt ſomething more: that it were better to part with Cyprus, ſo that they might quietly injoy the reſt, rather than to enter into armes: Time they ſaid, would at length giue them ſome one fit occaſion or other to recouer that they had loſt, and to reſtore their ſtate vnto their former honour; which for the preſent, was aboue their power to maintaine: To put their truſt in their H confederats (they ſaid) was but to deceiue themſelues: they ſhould remember how often euen ſmall cauſes of falſe ſuſpition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly fruſtrated and broken in ſunder the moſt ſolemne capitulations of the ſtrongeſt leagues: how often deſtruction had come thence from whence ayd was alwaies to haue bin hoped for, they needed not to ſeeke farther for examples, than from their own domeſticall affaires. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Iſland was by force of armes to be defended: ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable, than without fight to depart with ſo notable a part of their ſeigniory; neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no aſſured league could be made (as they ſaid) hold themſelues content with this yeelding vp of the Iſland, but by intreating of them I and giuing them way, become more inſolent: and when they had taken Cyprus from them, would alſo ſeeke after Creet & Corcyra, and ſo yeelding them one thing after another, ſpoile themſelues of all together: Ambitious and greedy Princes (they ſaid) grew more bold and inſolent by other mens feare: and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merry endings: that the fauor and good will of that inſatiable and greedy nation, was not to be gained but with ſo great loſſe and charge as that ſuch a coſtly piece would be much more hurtfull than war it ſelfe: beſide that, it much concerned other Chriſtian Princes to haue the Venetian State preſerued, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermoſt of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end reſolued vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, K and by plaine force to withſtand the Turke.

Hard to truſt vpon confederations.

The Turks embaſſador homely entertained at Venice.

So when *Cubates* the Turks Embaſſadour came to Venice, neither did any man of curteſie meet him, neither was any honor done vnto him, or ſo much as common courteſie ſhewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat houſe with his two interpreters only, he deliuered *Selymus* his letters, incloſed in a little bag wrought with ſilke and gold; and ſo whilſt the ſame letters were in breaking vp, and tranſlating out of the Turkiſh language into Italian, deliuered alſo his meſſage by word of mouth, as followeth:

Cubates the Turks embaſſadors ſpeech in the Senate at Venice.

What great account the mighty Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwaies made of your moſt honourable friendſhip, is therein right well declared; that in the very entrance of himſelfe into his Empire, L *he forthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which he hath on his part alwaies kept moſt faithfully and vnuiolate; worthily grieuing the like kindeneſſe not to be ſhewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you; who by harbouring of Pyrats in your hauens, and murthering of his ſubjects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which injuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged; yet hath he, ſo mighty a monarch, hitherto beene alwaies more mindfull of your honour and friendſhip, than of his owne majeſty and profit. But foraſmuch as there is no end of theſe injuries and wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbeare, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardiſe than courteſie, as alſo that it much more concerneth your ſtate than him, and that therefore you ought no leſſe than he to deſire, that all cauſes of vnkindneſſe might be cut off, and order token, that in ſo great and mutuall good will, there ſhould be no falling* M *out by new quarrels dayly ariſing: the only remedy thereof is, if you ſhall deliuer vnto him the Iſland of Cyprus, the cauſe of all theſe grieuances. Now it beſeemeth you for your great wiſedome, to make ſmall reckoning of ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the fauour of ſo great a Prince; which if you willingly of your ſelues yeeld vnto him, you ſhall right wiſely prouide for your affaires, and haue him ſo great a*

A *monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: whereas if you ſhall ſhew your ſelues obſtinate, and not to yeeld to this his ſo ſmall a requeſt, his purpoſe is, by ſtrong hand not only to take from you the Iſland, the cauſe of the war, but alſo to proſecute you with moſt cruell war both by ſea and land. And therefore I take God to witneſſe, all the blame of the calamities to enſue of ſo mortall a war, to be imputed vnto your ſelues, as the worthy reward of your wilfulneſſe and breach of faith.*

Which ſaid, he in the name of *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa told the Senatours, That he was right ſory that this breach was fallen out betwixt the Emperor *Selymus* and them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wiſely conſider of all things; yet he could B not for the good will he bare vnto them, but admoniſh them of ſuch things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholeſome: and therefore did moſt inſtantly requeſt them, and withall aduiſe them, not to enter into armes againſt ſo mighty a Prince, neither wilfully to plunge themſelues into ſuch dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their ſtrength was nothing anſwerable vnto his, and that the euent of that war would be vnto them deadly: and therefore he tooke God and the loue that he bare vnto them to witneſſe, that he had in friendly ſort forewarned them of their harms, and aduiſed them for their good. Giuing them further to vnderſtand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out moſt cruell threats againſt their State; which his indignation was raiſed of the manifold complaints brought againſt them to his court at Conſtantinople.

The effect of Selymus his letters to the Venetians.

C *Selymus* his letters anſwerable to his Embaſſadours ſpeech, was alſo full of falſe ſurmiſed grieuances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike maner entred into the frontiers of his Empire in Dalmatia, and there had don great harme; that they had put to death certain Turkiſh pyrats whom they had taken aliue: that the Iſland of Cyprus was an harbor for the pyrats of the Weſt, and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, & ſurpriſed his ſubjects trauelling that way for deuotion vnto the Temple of Mecha, or otherwiſe about their affaires. And that therefore thoſe cauſes of diſcord might be taken away, and the hinderance of trafficke remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the Iſland of Cyprus: which if they refuſed to do, he would by force of armes take it from them, and by force of ſtrong hand cauſe them to do that which they might the better haue done frankly and of their owne accord, and D further, to make them vnderſtand how far the Turks did excell all other men in martial prowesse. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he ſaid he had renewed the ſame, not becauſe he had any liking thereunto, but becauſe he had as then ſet downe with himſelfe, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peaceably to endure all things.

The anſwer of the Venetians to the Turkes demands.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embaſſadours errand before his comming, hauing now read his Letters, gaue him ſuch anſwer as they had before reſolued vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at al times inuiolably kept their leagues with the *Othoman* Emperors, and had in regard thereof let ſlip many opportunities and fit occaſions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themſelues, haue deſtroied the Turks fleet both at the Rhodes and Malta, and other places alſo; but that they more re-E garded their honour; and alwaies thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themſelues. And therfore had diſſembled and put vp many grieuous and bitter indignities, leſt they might be thought to haue firſt broken the league: That they had neuer paſſed their owne bounds, or inuaded the Turks; only to haue taken order, that no pyrats ſhould at their pleaſure roame vp and downe the ſeas. Now whereas all duties being on their parts ſincerely and moſt religiouſly kept; *Selymus* complained himſelfe to be wronged, whereas he himſelfe had done the wrong, and had contrary to the league, denounced war againſt them, expecting nothing leſſe; ſithence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of armes defend that Kingdome, which they by antient and lawfull right poſſeſſed, deliuered vnto them by F their Anceſtors. That God, in whoſe helpe they truſted, would weigh in indifferent balance, all mens words and deeds; whom they tooke to witneſſe, that they were the authors of peace, and *Selymus* the cauſe of warre: and that the ſame God would be now preſent vnto their juſt complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them, which falſifying their faith and promiſe giuen, and violating the ſacred league, had enforced them to take vp moſt juſt and neceſſary armes, which they would with the ſame courage mannage, that they had taken them in hand.

The Turks Embaſſadour ſent away in ſecret from Venice.

The reſolution of the Senat for war diuerſly liked, and diſliked of others.

With this anſwer the Embaſſador departed, let out by a ſecret poſtern, for feare of the people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number aſſembled to the Court gate, muttering among themſelues, that it were wel don to rend in pieces that accurſed Turke, the meſſenger of his faithleſſe Maſter. Which outrage it was thought they would in their fury haue performed, had not ſuch as by the commandement of the magiſtrats garded him, better aſſured him of his ſafety, than either regard of duty or the law of nations; he by the way as he went ſtill ſtorming, and ſwearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that ſo great an indignity reuenged. This anſwer of the Senat vnto the Turks Embaſſador concerning war, was of ſome well liked and highly commended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed it too ſharpe, liking of nothing that was ſaid or don to the further incenſing of the Turkiſh Emperor: being of opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by curteſie, than by rigor. As for the decreed war, they vtterly diſliked, foraſmuch as all wars were wofull, but eſpecially thoſe that were to be maintained againſt them that are too ſtrong for vs. In ſuch diuerſitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat ſhould of that ſo honorable a decree reap ſuch commendation, as the euent therof ſhould afford (than which nothing is more vnreaſonable) if things fell out well, then was it wiſely and worthily done; if otherwiſe, then was it like to be reputed a fooliſh, a raſh, and wofull reſolution.

The Emperour, the French king and the king of Polonia intangled with their leagues, refuſed to aid the Venetians againſt the Turks.

what Chriſtian Princes promiſed to aid the Venetians.

The greater the danger was now feared from the angry Turke, the more carefull were the Venetians of their State: wherefore they forthwith ſent meſſengers with letters vnto the Gouernors of Cyprus, charging them with all carefulneſſe and diligence to make themſelues ready to withſtand the Turke, and to raiſe what power they were able in the Iſland, not omitting any thing that might concerne the good of the ſtate: and at the ſame time made choiſe of their moſt valiant & expert captains both by ſea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence of their diſperſed Seigniory, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admirall, *Lucas Michael* was ſent into Creet, *Franciſcus Barbarus* into Dalmatia, *Sebaſtianus Venerius* into Corcyra, all men of great honour, experience and valour. Other meaner captains were alſo ſent with leſſe charge into the aforeſaid places, as *Eugenius Zinglitus* a noble gentleman with 1000 footmen into Cyprus, who had alſo the leading of all the horſemen in the Iſland: after whom County *Martinengus* promiſed to follow with 2000 footmen moe. The ſtrong cities were now by the Venetians in al places new fortified, armor, ordnance, and victuall prouided, aud whatſoeuer els they thought needfull for defence of their State. And foraſmuch as they well knew they had to do with too mighty an enemy, they by their Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe, earneſtly ſolicited moſt of the Chriſtian Princes to joyne with them in league, and to giue them aid againſt the common enemy, who as he was too ſtrong for any one of them, ſo were he not able to ſtand againſt their vnited forces. But the Emperor *Maximilian* excuſed himſelfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke for eight yeares, which he ſaid he might not breake: yet he had before his eies a moſt pregnant example, what ſmall reckoning the Turke made of his faith and league, which he without any juſt cauſe had broken with the Venetians. The like excuſe vſed alſo *Charles* the French King, and *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia; who both ſeemed to be very ſorry for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turke, but could not help them, for that they were in league with the Turkiſh Emperor. Neuertheleſſe the French King did them the curteſie, to offer himſelfe to be a mediator, if they ſo pleaſed, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The yong King of Portingall *Don Sebaſtian* pretended alſo for his excuſe the great plague which had but a little before raged in his kingdome, and much diminiſhed his people; as alſo that he was to maintaine wars by ſea againſt the Turks in the Eaſt-Indies, to the no leſſe benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, than if he ſhould aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Only *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* king of Spaine, with certaine of the Princes of Italy; namely, *Philebert* Duke of Sauoy, *Guido Vbaldus* Duke of Vrbin, *Coſmus Medices* Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, promiſed them aid, which they afterward moſt honourably performed.

Selymus of himſelfe angry with the Venetians, and firme in his reſolution for the conqueſt of Cyprus, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his Embaſſadors bad entertainment at Venice, further inraged: he deemed the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperor contemned, and himſelfe in the

perſon

A perſon of his Embaſſador diſgraced: ſeeing that they whom he had thought would haue yeelded vnto any thing, rather than the league ſhould haue bin broken, had ſent him ſuch a ſhort anſwer, and ſo contemptuouſly vſed his embaſſador, vnto whom they had not afforded ſo much as common curteſie. It did not a little moue him alſo, that the Venetians had in their letters ſent by his embaſſador, omitted the glorious titles vſually giuen the Turkiſh Emperors: wherfore in ſome part to ſatisfie his angry mood, he cauſed *Marcus Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embaſſador, and all the Chriſtian Merchants of the Weſt thorowout his Empire, to be clapt vp in priſon, and their ſhips ſtaied vnder an arreſt. And ſetting all other things apart, ſet himſelfe wholly for the preparing of ſuch things as ſhould be needfull for the intended war.

But foraſmuch as the Iſland of Cyprus was the prey whereafter the greedy tyrant ſo much B gaped, and for which the bloudy wars betwixt the Turke and the Venetians, with their Chriſtian confederats, preſently enſued; it ſhal not be from our purpoſe to ſpend a few words in the deſcribing thereof, as the ſtage whereon the bloudy tragedy following was as it were acted: as alſo how it came firſt into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them ſo long poſſeſſed (although it be in ſome part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the Great Turke, againſt all right iniurioully demanded, & at length by ſtrong hand wreſted from them. This Iſland lies in the fartheſt part of the Cilician ſea: it hath on the Eaſt Siria, on the Weſt Pamphilia, Southward it regardeth Ægypt, and Northward Cilicia, now called Caramania. It is worthily accounted among the greateſt Iſlands of the Mediterranian, containing in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the deſcription of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth not C aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton wooll, ſaffron, hony, roſin, turpentine, ſugar canes, and whatſoeuer els is needfull for the ſuſtentation of man, whereof it ſends forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe again. It was in antient time called *Macaria*, that is to ſay, bleſſed. The people therin generally liued ſo at eaſe and pleaſure, that thereof the Iſland was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there eſpecially worſhipped, & therof called Cypria. *Marcellinus* to ſhew the fertility thereof, ſaith, That Cyprus aboundeth with ſuch plenty of al things, that without the helpe of any other foraine country, it is of it ſelf able to build a tall ſhip from the keele to the top ſaile, and ſo put it to ſea furniſhed of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, ſaith, *Cyprus famoſa diuitijs paupertatem populi Romani, vt occuparetur ſolicitauit, ita vt jus ejus inſulæ auarius magis quam injuſtius ſimus aſſecuti*: ſc. Cy-D prus famous for wealth, allured the pouerty of the people of Rome to lay hold vpon it, ſo that we haue rather couetouſly than juſtly got the Rule thereof. In the heart of the Iſland ſtandeth Nicoſia, ſometime the regall and late metropoliticall city thereof. And in the Eaſt end therof Famaguſta, ſometime called Tamaſſus, a famous rich city, the chiefe and only port of all that moſt pleaſant Iſland. Other faire cities there be alſo, as Paphos, Amathus (now called Limiſſo) and Cyrene. This Iſland of it ſelf long time maintained the majeſty of a kingdome, as then when *Richard* the firſt, King of England, paſſing that way with his fleet for the reliefe of the Chriſtians then diſtreſſed in the Holy land about the yere 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certain of his people by force of tempeſt there caſt on ſhore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly ſlaine or taken priſoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard* tooke in ſo euill part, E that he there by force landed his army, and reſted not vntill he had taken *Iſaac* the King priſoner, and ſubdued the Iſland. The king he ſent in chains of ſiluer to Tripolis, there to be kept in cloſe priſon; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not long after he gaue, or as ſome ſay exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of Ieruſalem: for which cauſe the Kings of England for certain time afterwards were honored with the title of the Kings of Ieruſalem. This kingdome by many diſcents came at length to *Ianus* ſon of King *Peter*, who in the yeare 1231, was by *Melechel* a Sultan of Ægypt taken priſoner; but afterwards for the ranſome of 115000 Sultanins was ſet at liberty and reſtored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his ſucceſſors a yerely tribute of 40000 crownes. This *Ianus* left a ſon called *Iohn*, who after the death of his father maried the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-ferrat: after whoſe death, F he married one *Helena* of the moſt noble houſe of the *Paleologi* in Gr[illegible]cia, by whom he had one only daughter called *Carlotte*; but by another woman a baſe ſon called *Iames*. This King *Iohn* was a man of no courage, altogether giuen to pleaſure, and according to the maner of his effeminat education, ſhewed himſelf in all things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman of a great ſpirit, quickly perceiuing, tooke vpon her the ſoueraignty and whole

The deſcription of Cyprus.

King Richard in England.

How the Kingdome of Cyprus came to the Venetians.

gouernment of the Realme, gracing and diſgracing whom ſhe pleaſed, and promoting to the Eccleſiaſticall dignities ſuch as ſhe beſt liked; aboliſhing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greekes, and tooke ſuch further order as pleaſed her ſelfe in matters of ſtate concerning both peace and warre; her husband in the meane time regarding nothing but his vaine pleaſure: wherby it came to paſſe that all was brought into the power of the Greeks the queenes friends. Now the queene her ſelfe was much ruled by the counſell of her nurſe, and the nurſe by her daughter: ſo that the people would commonly ſay, The daughter ruled the nurſe, the nurſe the queene, and the queene the king. The nobility aſhamed and weary of this manner of gouernment, by generall conſent of the people, ſent for *Iohn* the king of Portingals couſin german (whom ſome call the king of Portingall) to whom they gaue *Carlotte* the kings daughter in marriage, with full power to ſupply that want of gouernment which was in king *Iohn* his father in law. He taking the authority into his hands, quickly reformed the diſordred kingdome, as well in matters concerning religion, as ciuile policy. The Latine ceremonies were againe reſtored, and the gouernment of the daughter, the nurſe, and the Queene, brought to an end. But the miſchieuous daughter doubting the countenance of the yong king perſuaded her mother, as ſhe tendred her own life, to poiſon the King. Which thing the wretched woman (by the conſent of the queene mother, as was reported) in ſhort time performed, and ſo brought that noble prince, wel worthy longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the gouernment was again reſtored vnto the Greeke queen, who in the name of her weake husband commanded again at her pleaſure. But aboue all, the nurſe and the daughter inſulted vpon the yong queene *Carlotte*: which ſhe not well brooking, grieuouſly complained thereof to *Iames* her baſe brother, requiring his helpe for redreſſe thereof: who not long after ſlew the nurſes daughter, not ſo much in reuenge of the wrong by her done vnto his ſiſter, as to prepare a way for himſelfe for the obtaining of the kingdome: grieuing inwardly, that ſhe or her husband ſhould be preferred before himſelfe. Which thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiuing, perſuaded the King her husband to cauſe his baſe ſon to enter into the order of prieſthood, and ſo to become a Church-man, thereby to cut off all his hope of aſpiring vnto the kingdome: which the king at her inſtance did, and made him Archbiſhop of Nicoſia. In the meane time *Carlotte* by the perſuaſion of her mother and the nobility of the country, married *Lewis* ſon to the duke of Sauoy: who being for that purpoſe ſent for, came with all ſpeed to Cyprus. After that, the queene mother and the old nurſe (deſirous nothing more, than to reuenge the death of of the nurſes daughter, vpon *Iames* now Archbiſhop) deuiſed firſt how to thruſt him out of all his ſpirituall promotions, which were great, and afterward quite baniſh him the kingdom. Hereupon the queene wrote letters againſt him to the Pope, to haue him degraded, for that he being a man baſe borne, with his hands imbrued with guiltleſſe bloud, was vnworthy of holy orders. Which letters by chance came to *Iames* his hands: who inraged therewith, accompanied with a number of his friends and fauourits, ſuddenly entred the court, ſlew ſuch of his enemies as he found there, diuided their goods amongſt his followers, and as king poſſeſſed himſelfe of the regall city. In this broile the Greeke queene *Helena* died, and ſhortly after her husband alſo. All things being thus in a hurley and out of order, certaine of the nobility for redreſſe thereof, ſent for *Lewis* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that kingdome in the right of his wife moſt iuſtly belonged: who vpon his arriuall was of all ſorts of men ioyfully receiued & welcommed as their king. *Iames* the vſurper vnderſtanding before of the comming of *Lewis*, and perceiuing the inclination of the people towards him, fled with diuers of his friends to Alexandria to craue aid of the Ægyptian Sultan: in whoſe court he found ſuch fauour, as that he was by the Sultans commandement royally apparelled and honoured with the title of the king of Cyprus, which he promiſed for euer to hold of the Sultans of Ægypt as their vaſſal and tributary. At which time the Sultan alſo by his embaſſadors commanded *Lewis* to depart the Iſle: who by all means ſought to haue pacified the Sultan, declaring vnto him his rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to allow vnto *Iames* a yerely penſion of 10000 duckats during his life. But all in vaine; for *Iames* ſtill preſent in the Sultans court, and wiſely following his owne ſuit, at laſt concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a king, than to confirme a king) and receiuing of him a great army, returned into Cyprus: where in ſhort time he ſo diſtreſſed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forſake the Iſland, with his wife, and to return into his country, leauing the kingdome of Cyprus again to *Iames:* who now by the ſupportation of the Ægyptian Sultan poſſeſſed therof, yet liued not without care of *Carlotte* & her husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cipriots wonderfully affected. Wherfore for the more aſſurance of his eſtate, he thought it beſt to joine in league and friendſhip with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at ſea, and of all other fitteſt to croſſe whatſoeuer *Lewis* ſhould in the right of his wife attempt againſt him. Which league he afterwards made, and the better to confirme the ſame, tooke to wife *Catherin Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of Venice, being before adopted to the Senat, and euer after their reputed daughter. Not long after this marriage, *Iames* died in the yere 1470, leauing the Queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire ſon; vnto whom with the mother the Venetian State became tutors, as their adoptiue fathers, & in their behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This childe ſhortly after died alſo, not without ſome ſuſpition of poiſon; after whoſe death great troubles aroſe in the kingdom, inſomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the queens vncle, a moſt graue counſellour, and gouernour of the Realme vnder the queene, was by the conſpiracy of certaine noble men ſlaine, and all the Iſland ready to reuolt from the queene. For appeaſing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to ſend their admirals with their gallies into Cyprus, to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length perſuaded by *George Cornelius* her brother, whileſt it was yet in her power, as a louing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdom vnto her adoptiue fathers, which ſhe deſtitute both of counſell and power, could not long hold ſo far from her friends, beſet on the one ſide with the Great Turke, and on the other with the mighty Sultan of Ægypt: She, I ſay, thus perſuaded by her brother, came to Venice, where ſhe was with the greateſt honor that could be deuiſed, receiued by the Duke & whole State at ſea in their great and goodly ſhip the Beucentaure, and ſo with all royall triumph brought thorow the midſt of the city vnto the place moſt richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where ſhortly after, attired in all her royall habiliments ſhe came in great Maieſty vnto the Senat houſe, and there before the tribunal ſeat of *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* then Duke of Venice, laied downe her crowne and ſcepter, and as a moſt louing daughter reſigned vp her kingdome, to the great honor and profit of her country. Thus the kingdome of Cyprus was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473; which they peaceably held from that time, paying vnto the Sultan of Ægypt ſuch tribute as had the late King *Iames*: which yearely tribute they in like manner payed vnto the Turkiſh Emperors, after that the kingdome of Ægypt was by *Selymus* the firſt conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto him by law of Armes: with which yearely tribute both *Selymus* himſelfe, and *Solyman* after him, held themſelues well contented. But now this Turkiſh Emperour *Selymus* the ſecond, of whom we ſpeake, deſirous both of the honour of ſuch a conqueſt, and of ſo rich a prey, made no account of the accuſtomed tribute, but of the fruitfull Iſland it ſelfe: whereof he, as is before declared, hath by his Embaſſadour made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

Sabellic. Enne. ad. 10. lib. 8.

Selymus throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the inuaſion of Cyprus, in the beginning of February ſent a great power both of horſe and foot into Epirus, and the frontiers of Dalmatia, to forrage the Venetian territory, eſpecially about Iadera; of purpoſe by that war ſo neere at home, to withdraw them from the defence of Cyprus ſo far off. About the middle of Aprill following he ſent *Piall Baſſa* with fourescore gallies and thirty gallions to keepe the Venetians form ſending aid into Cyprus. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of baſe parents, but turning Turke, and giuing himſelfe to armes, was firſt preferred for his valor ſhewed againſt the Chriſtians at Zerbi, and afterward by many degrees riſe to the honour of one of the greateſt Baſſa's. He departing from Conſtantinople, and cutting thorow Peloponeſus and Helleſpontus, came to Euboea, and there for certaine daies lay in ſuch order, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen the enemy battell: but vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Venetians grieuouſly viſited with the plague, and ſlowly relieued by their friends, were not like in haſte to come out, he took his courſe to Tenos an Iſland of the Venetians, to haue taken it from them. This Iſland is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature ſtrong, but ſtronger by the induſtry of the defendants, who liuing far from the Chriſtian countries, and compaſſed about with ſuch cruell and warlike enemies, as people far diſtant ſtood in dread of, could neuer for any feare or danger be remoued from the Chriſtian religion, or induced to ſubmit themſelues to the Turks gouernment, as moſt of the other Iſlands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, fought both

1570

Selymus inuadeth the Venetians.

Piall Baſſa ſent againſt the Venetians.

by faire meanes and foule to haue perſuaded the Inhabitants to haue yeelded vp the Towne: but when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, G he began by force to aſſault the ſame. Two daies the Towne was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended: but at length the Turks perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were reſolutely ſet downe for the defence of themſelues and their Country; ſhamefully gaue ouer the aſſault, and abandoning the Iſland, directed their courſe toward Cyprus. For *Muſtapha* authour of that expedition (for his antient hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Piall Baſſa* at a time prefixed to meet him at the Rhodes; and that he that came thither firſt ſhould tarry for the other, that ſo they might together ſaile into Cyprus.

Muſtapha hauing before ſent a great part of his army by land into Pamphilia, embarqued H the reſt with *Haly Baſſa* Generall of the forces at ſea, who yet ſtaied for him with the reſt of the fleet at Conſtantinople. This *Haly* was one of the chiefe Baſſa's, a man of great account, and ſometime an eſpeciall and noted follower of *Muhamet Baſſa*; but now (as it is oftentimes elſewhere ſeene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their minds and affections alſo) was become a great fauorite of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong and breach of the Turks faith, *Muſtapha* the Generall, according to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his arriuall in Cyprus, gaue the Venetians there to vnderſtand by letters of his comming, as alſo of his purpoſe for the taking of that Iſland from them: for that without ſome ſuch ſlender denouncing of war vnto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turks generally account their expeditions not to be altogether ſo lawfull or fortunate as otherwiſe; and therefore writ vnto I them in this ſort:

Muſtapha Baſſa, vnto the Venetians.

Muſtapha Baſſa his Letters vnto the Venetians.

THat the Kingdome of Cyprus by antient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of Ægypt, you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, is together with it become of right a part alſo of the Othoman *Empire: that Iſland we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thouſand valiant ſoldiers: vnto which power, and the wealth of the* Othoman *Kingdomes (all which, the moſt mighty Emperor is about, if need ſhall be, to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength thereon) all the united forces of the Chriſtian Kings are not comparable; much leſſe the Venetians, ſo ſmall a part of Europe, forſaken* K *of their friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore we will and exhort you, for the antient amity which hath beene betwixt your State and the victorious* Othoman *Family, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the moſt puiſſant Emperour, whoſe very name is become dreadfull to all the nations of the World; and quietly and without reſiſtance to leaue the Iſland, with the loue and friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch to be for euer inuiolably kept betweene him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholeſome counſell, fondly prefer your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of war, with ſuch dreadfull examples as the angry Conquerours vſe to make of their vanquiſhed enemies. For reſolution whereof, we yet giue you halfe a moneths ſpace to bethinke your ſelues in: and ſo fare you well.*

1570

Muſtapha Baſſa goeth for Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſſe, and a moſt royall gally of wonderfull greatneſſe and beau- L ty by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the Generall; he together with *Haly Baſſa* and the reſt of the fleet departed from Conſtantinople the ſix & twentieth of May, and at the Rhodes met with *Piall*, as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time conſiſted of two hundred gallies, amongſt whom were diuers galliots, and ſmall men of war, with diuers other veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of horſes: with this fleet *Muſtapha* kept on his courſe for Cyprus.

The Turks fleet deſcried in Cyprus.

They of the Iſland in the meane time carefully attending the enemies comming, from their watch-towers firſt diſcouered their fleet at the Weſt end of the Iſland, not far from Paphos: from whence the Turks turning vpon the right hand, and paſſing the promontory Curio, now called Del Le Gate, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and ſpoiled certaine villages, and with ſuch ſpoile and priſoners as they had taken, returned again M vnto the fleet; which holding on their former courſe, came at length to a place called Salina (of the abundance of ſalt there made) where they knew was beſt landing, and there in an open roade came to an anchor, where the Baſſa's without any reſiſtance vpon a plaine ſhore landed their army.

The Turks land in Cyprus.

Now

A Now all the hope of the Chriſtians, was to haue kept the Turks from landing, which they
ſhould with all their ſtrength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great difficulty,
for had the defendants but kept the ſhore, and from the dry and firme land valiantly repulſed
their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their ſhot and weapons haue kept them
from landing, or els had done them greater harme: knowing in the mean time, that in all the
Iſland was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road ſubiect to al
wind and weather, they could not long without danger of ſhipwracke ride it out: but they either
terrified with the greatneſſe of the fleet, or preuented by the celerity of the enemy, to
their great hurt omitted ſo faire an oportunity, as the wofull ſequell of the matter declared.
It exceedingly incouraged the Turks that they had ſo eaſily footed the Iſland, which they
B thought they ſhould not haue done without a bloudy fight.

The Baſſa now landed, preſently intrenched his army, and forthwith ſent the fleet to tranſport
the reſt of his forces out of Pamphilia into the Iſland. And at the ſame time ſent out certaine
ſcouts to take ſome priſoners, of whom they might learne the ſcituation of the country,
the beſt waies to paſſe them with his army, the ſtrength of his enemies, and what they did, and
many other ſuch like things which it concerned him to know. But the greateſt queſtion among
the Turks themſelues was, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet vpon Famaguſta or Nicoſia? Famaguſta
ſtandeth low, altogether ſubiect to the ſcorching heat, which was then great, according
as the time of the yeare, and nature of the country required: wherefore the Baſſa for feare of
diſeaſes to ariſe in his army of the immoderate heat and vnwholeſome ſcituation of the place,
C thought it better to begin his wars with the ſiege of Nicoſſa, and to make that city the ſeat of
the war, for the conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland. So hauing put all things in order, and well
viewed the country, and finding nothing he needed to ſtand in doubt of, he ſet forward with
his army toward Nicoſſa, which was about thirty miles diſtant, being the chiefe and richeſt
city of all the Iſland. Which way ſoeuer the army marched, it ſpread a great deale of ground;
and the neerer it came, the greater was the ſlaughter of the country people, and the number of
priſoners taken of all ſorts. But when news of the enemies approch was brought into the city,
a generall feare preſaging future miſery poſſeſſed the hearts of all men. There was not in the
city any valiant or renowned captaine, who as the danger of the time required, ſhould haue
taken vpon him the charge: neither any ſtrong army in the Iſland to oppoſe againſt the enemy:
D the Gouernor of the city was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a man too weake for ſo great a burthen,
who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to ſeek how to defend a ſiege. Of the citiſens
and country people he had taken vp foure thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſmen, all
raw ſoldiers, commanded by the gentlemen of the country, men of all others moſt courteous;
but as well the captaines as the ſouldiers, as men brought vp in a plentifull country, fitter for
pleaſure than for war. The greateſt hope and ſtrength of the city, was repoſed in twelue hundred
Italian footmen, and ſix hundred horſemen. The whole number of the ſouldiers in garriſon
for defence of the city, was deemed about 8000 horſe and foot: too weake a company
againſt ſo fierce and ſtrong an enemy; and the more, for that the Baſſa an old and moſt expert
Generall was there in perſon himſelfe preſent, a moſt ſeuere and abſolute commander, whom
E it would haue beene a hard matter to haue withſtood with equall power. The Venetians had
euer had great care of the Iſland of Cyprus, as lying far from them, in the midſt of the ſworne
enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified
the ſame: yet fearing therby to ſeeme to diſtruſt or dread the Turks, and ſo giue them occaſion
of offence, left it ſtill vndone. This city of Nicoſſa ſtandeth in the middeſt of the Iſland,
in a plaine and champaine country, compaſſed round with a wall, as if it had been drawne with
a compaſſe, and is in circuit about fiue miles: for the maner of the ſcituation, and magnificent
buildings, aswell publique as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull city of Florence
in Italy: and was for the wholeſome and commodious ſcituation thereof notably peopled.
This city had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and eleuen
F ſtrong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raiſed three
great fortreſſes for defence of the wall, which they furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon, great ſtore
of artillery, and other warlike prouiſion. Neuertheleſſe, they found by experience in this war,
That fortifications are ſtrengthened by the defendants, rather than the defendants by the fortifications.

Muſtapha Baſſa marcheth towards Nicoſia.

Nicholaus Dandulus Gouernour of Nicoſia.

The deſcription of Nicoſia.

The Turks beſiege Nicoſia.

Nicoſia battred and aſſaulted, & by the Chriſtians valiantly defended.

The 22 of Iuly, the Baſſa with his army incamped within a mile & a halfe of the city, when preſently the Turks by troups iſſuing out of the campe, rid contemptuouſly before the walls and gates of the city, and with often and loud outcries vpbraided the defendants: which by them being anſwered with ſilence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Muſtapha* himſelfe comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and ſcituation of the city. Shortly after, the enemy drew neerer vnto the city into a more open plaine, and with their tents filled the lower part of the hill, which they call Mandia: but the Baſſa's tent they ſet aloft vpon the hill, to the terrour of the defendants and incouragement of the Turks. The campe being fortified, the Turks with incredible labour and celerity brought their trenches from far, and at the firſt caſt vp ſome few forts, but afterwards, as their army increaſed, many mo; which they raiſed ſo high, that they ouertopped the wals of the city, and made the place more dangerous for the Chriſtians to defend. There hauing placed 70 great pieces of battery, they began to batter the city both day and night without intermiſſion; with ſuch an horrible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houſes ſhooke as if they would haue fallen down: at which time many were ſlaine, both with the deadly ſhot, and the broken pieces of ſtones beaten out of the wals: neuer was ſuch a feare as then within the city of Necoſia: euery day the enemy brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and reſted not vntill he had with reſtleſſe labour brought them vnto the very brim of the towne ditch, which the citiſens before the comming of the Turks had not well ſcoured. Being come ſo nigh, they firſt skirmiſhed a farre off with their ſmall pieces: but afterwards, they not onely battered the walls with their great artillery, but with ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and ſtones, ouerwhelmed the defendants, as if it had bin a ſhower of haile; ſo to haue driuen them from off the wall and rampires. In few daies, not only all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the fury of the great ordnance beaten downe; but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the aſſailants and defendants. For although the Chriſtians fought at great diſaduantage, both for the number of men, and indifferency of the place: yet deſperation ioyned with extreame neceſſity, of all other the greateſt weapon, gaue them ſuch courage, as with ſhot, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, to keep down their enemies, and defend their wals; and oftentimes to make great ſlaughter of them, with their artillery & murthering pieces, bent vpon them as at a certain marke, who the thicker they ſtood the greater was their harme. They alſo oftentimes diſmounted many of the great pieces and made them vnſeruiceable, and with feather beds and ſacks of cotton, wool, made vp their breaches: which the Turks labored again to burn with pitch barrels, and earthen pots full of wild fire. After long fight the Turks entring the ditch, made themſelues two waies to the walls, which they fortified on both ſides with faggots & earth; in ſuch ſort, as that they were ſafe from the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, ſome preſently ſet vp ſcaling ladders: others filled the ditches with rubbiſh, wood, faggots, & earth; and others in the meane time with mattocks and leauers were digging down the foundations of the bulwarkes Conſtance and Padocatera, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge in the building therof. The Chriſtians right valiantly endured the firſt aſſault of the enemy, and ſtrucke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climing vp the ladders: and had in ſhort time ſlain mo than they were themſelues in number, and inforced the reſt to giue ouer the aſſault. Theſe things were done in the beginning of the ſiege, whilſt yet both parties were ſtrong: in which hard conflicts a great number of ſoldiers were loſt, and moſt of the canoniers ſlain. After this aſſault, both parties for a while buſied themſelues and ſpent their time in their ingenious deuiſes: wherein it appeared that the Turks were much cunninger in deuiſing of meanes to take the city, than were thoſe Chriſtians in defending the ſame.

Now had the Venetians in the firſt motions of theſe warres, praied aid of diuers Chriſtian Princes, from moſt part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet now at length (though ſomewhat late) they had drawn into the confederation of this war, the Pope and the King of Spain: by whoſe example ſome other princes of Italy moued, put to alſo their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter moſt concerned, had in good time put their fleet to ſea, but knowing themſelues too weake to encounter the Turks, they lay ſtill vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia, about Iadera, expecting the comming of the Spaniſh Admirall with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now paſt in this expedition, and yet no newes of his comming: ſo that what the ſpeed and induſtry of the

Venetians

A Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniards, marred. Beſides
that, the plague began to ariſe in the fleet, lying ſo long in one place; which at length grew ſo
hot, that many of the gallies had neither marriner nor ſouldier left in them: neither did this
mortality ſo ceaſe, vntill there were twenty thouſand dead thereof; amongſt whom were ma-
ny noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their country good ſeruice, had
they been in time imploied.

Summer now almoſt halfe ſpent, and the plague well ceaſed, the Venetian Admirall weary
of expecting of the comming of *Auria* the Spaniſh Admirall; gathering together his fleet
which he had before diſperſed to auoid the infection, ſailed to Corcyra, where he met with
Venerius, another of the Venetian commanders, who there ſtaid for him, hauing but a little be-
B fore taken from the Turks Ceſtria, now called Suppoto, a town vpon the ſea coaſt ouer againſt
Corcyra. The whole fleet of the Venetians being aſſembled together, was an hundred and ſe-
uenteene ſaile, amongſt which were 12 great galeaſſes; but all too weake to giue battell to the
Turks, as being themſelues ſtronger in ſhipping than in men. Neuertheleſſe, the Admirall
ſorry and weary to ſee the ſpoile of the Venetian territory, and moued with the diſtreſſe of the
beſieged in Nicoſia, rather than for any hope he had with that ſtrength to do any good againſt
the Turks fleet, departed from Corcyra towards Creet, and the twelfth of Auguſt landed at
Suda, a port of that Iſland. In the latter end of this month, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and
Auria Admirall for the king of Spaine, arriued there alſo, whom the Venetian Admirall wel-
commed with great joy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat Princes now at length
C met together, conſiſted of an hundred ninety two gallies, and twelue galleaſſes, beſide victua-
lers and other ſmall veſſels, laded with munition and other neceſſary prouiſion for the fleet.
Of theſe gallies the Pope had ſet out twelue, the King of Spaine forty two, the reſt with the
galeaſſes were the Venetians. In this fleet were imbarked thirteen thouſand ſix hundred three-
ſcore ſouldiers: of whom the Pope ſent eleuen hundred, the King of Spaine three thouſand
nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty. Theſe three great com-
manders entring into counſell, what courſe to take in their proceedings in this war, after long
diſcourſe too and fro, at length by the perſuaſion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, reſolued to
go directly for Cyprus, and to giue the Turks hattell, in hope thereby to raiſe them from the
ſiege of Nicoſia. About the middeſt of September, this great fleet furniſhed with all things
D needfull for ſuch an expedition, looſed from Creet, and with a faire gale of winde ſet forward
for Cyprus; in all their courſe keeping ſuch order, as if they ſhould preſently haue met with
the enemy. In the middeſt of theſe troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of Venice, lea-
uing the reſt of the care of that warre to *Aloyſius Mocenitus*, who ſucceeded him in the
Dukedome.

The Venetian fleet of an hundred and ſeuenteene ſaile at Corcyra.

The Chriſtian fleet ſetteth forward toward Cyprus.

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus ſlowly proceed in their ſo weighty affaires, *Muſtapha* in the mean
time laid hard ſiege to Nicoſia: and diuiding his army into foure parts, aſſaulted foure of the
bulwarks of the city, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the
ſiege. The aſſault was both long and terrible: fury, and the very ſight of the warlike Generall,
who was there a preſent witneſſe, and beholder of euery mans forwardneſſe or cowardiſe (a
E matter of great moment) beſides their natural fierceneſſe, carried the Turks headlong without
any perill or danger. And on the other ſide, the greatneſſe of the danger, the feare to loſe both
life and liberty, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: ſo that
the Turks could not approch the wals, or mount their ſcaling ladders, but they were preſently
ſlain, or together with their ladders thrown to the ground. Many of the Turks were there ſlain,
but eſpecially ſuch as were moſt forward: and of the defendants were alſo more loſt than
ſtood with the ſafety of ſo ſmall a number: and foraſmuch as few or none eſcaped out of that
fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a ſmall number. Many skilfull men
were of opinion, that the city might haue bin that day taken, if the aſſault had by the Baſſa bin
longer maintained, by bringing ſtill on freſh men: but ſuch was his loſſe, as that he was glad
F for that time to giue ouer the aſſaut, and ſo with diſhonour to retire.

After this aſſault, it was by ſome of the captaines thought good, that they ſhould (whileſt
they were yet of ſome reaſonable ſtrength in the city) ſally forth vpon the enemy: ſo to make
ſhew, that they had yet ſome good hope in themſelues, and withal by ſo ſudden an eruption to
performe ſomething vpon the ſecure enemy. Of which motion *Dandulus* the Gouernor in no

The Chriſtians ſally out of the city vpon the Turks.

caſe liked, as loth by ſuch a dangerous piece of ſeruice to diminiſh the number of the defendants, G and ſo to giue the enemy an eaſier means to take the city. Yet ſeeing all the captaines generally of another mind,he yeelded vnto their deſire. So in the hotteſt time of the day,when as the Turks leaſt thought that the Chriſtians would haue ſallied out,certain Italian companies vnder the conduct of *Caſar Plonianus* of Vincentia, and *Albertus Scotus*, iſſued out by the gate that leadeth to Famaguſta,and vpon the ſudden brake into the enemies trenches: where they found the Turks ſome playing, ſome ſleeping, but fearing nothing leſſe than that the Chriſtians whom they dayly braued,durſt to haue aduentured to come forth. At the firſt entrance the Italians preuailed, and brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turks army, and ſlew many. But when the Turks, awaked with the alarme, came running in on euery ſide, the Italians oppreſſed with the multitude,were glad to retire:in which retreat diuers of them H were ſlaine,and amongſt them their two leaders *Caſar* and *Albertus*: ſo that this ſally ſerued to no other purpoſe than to weaken the defendants themſelues, and to cauſe the Turks to keepe better watch and ward againſt ſuch ſudden eruptions.

Scouts ſent out of the city, taken by the Turks and executed.

All hope of long defending the city now almoſt loſt,and that the defendants could hardly ſtand vpon their wals,or ſhew their heads without preſent danger;they for want of better counſell,rather than for any hope of good ſucceſſe,ſent out certain ſcouts,men skilfull of the waies and paſſages of the country (whom they had for great reward induced to vndertake the matter) to craue aid of the country people,that were in great multitude fled into the ſafety of the mountains: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their reliefe, their wiues and children,whom they had before ſent into the city, muſt needs in ſhort time fall into the enemies I hand,or periſh with hunger: but theſe meſſengers were by the vigilant enemy intercepted,and in the ſight of the beſieged tortured to death.

Letters ſhot into the city.

Muſtapha Baſſa in vain perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld

About the ſame time diuers letters were ſhot with arrows into the city,to perſuade the beſieged Chriſtians to yeeld themſelues;for that in ſo doing they ſhould find the Baſſa a mild and mercifull conqueror: wheras otherwiſe if they ſhould by wilfull holding out delay his victory,they were ſure to indure whatſoeuer could be indured or ſuffered. But when *Muſtapha* had thus in vaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley certaine ſouldiers that were ſtanding vpon the bulwarke called Conſtantius, of whom ſome were by the conſent of the Gouernor ſent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Muſtapha* by his interpretor complained, That no anſwer was giuen vnto his letters; he ſet forth vnto them the glory, K power, and greatneſſe of the Turkiſh empire; and debaſed the ſtrength of the Venetians: then he perſuaded them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miſeries that would fall vpon them if the city ſhould by force be taken; which he threatned would be far greater than the danger the Turks were to vndertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned none ſo much as themſelues, whether the city were giuen vp by compoſition, or els woon by ſtrong hand: he ſhewed vnto them the profit that ſhould ariſe vnto them by yeelding of it vp, and offered to them large entertainment, if they would ſerue him: and to conclude, told them, that they ſhould neuer afterward find at his hands ſo great grace as was at that inſtant offered them. The crafty Baſſa did what he might to haſten the winning of the city, both for that he doubted the comming of the Chriſtian fleet,& that his great army was exceedingly troubled L with contagious and grieuous diſeaſes,ariſing of the immoderat heat & drought in that ſo hot a country. But the ſouldiers thinking any thing more aſſured than the Turkiſh faith,anſwered him, That they did not as yet doubt their own ſtrength,& that they were ready to indure any thing that could happen,rather than to prefer the vncertain friendſhip of an vnknowne prince, before the gracious fauour of ſuch worthy Princes as they had ſo good experience of.

Muſtapha encourageth his ſouldiers.

This anſwer cut off all the Baſſa's hope for taking of the city by compoſition: wherewith being both grieued & enraged,he commanded all things to be made ready for the aſſault:and the more to encourage his ſoldiers,promiſed vnto them great rewards and honors that ſhould firſt or ſecond mount the wals. After that,he gaue a generall aſſault vnto the city with all his power:wherein both he as a moſt worthy captaine,and his ſoldiers,fought moſt fiercely. You M haue to do (ſaid he) with the ſmall and laſt remainders of your enemies;which are ſcarce able to ſtand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than with enemies indeed: ſhall you not then eaſily ouercome them, being but few and feeble, that haue vanquiſhed them when they were many and luſty? The end of all your labor is at hand,your hoped rewards approch; only

A play you the men, and faint not in this aſſault; the ſpoile of this rich city ſhal be the worthy reward of your labours; the fruit of all your trauell conſiſteth in this one moment. Whileſt he thus incourageth ſome, and reproueth others, they mindfull of his promiſes, and theſe of the diſgrace, altogether with their thick ſhot ſuffer no man to ſtand in ſafety vpon the wals; & out of their forts alſo with their great ordnance greatly annoied the defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruines of the wall, and in other places by ſcaling ladders to haue entred the city. Which terrible aſſault was by the cruell enemy maintained, not for ſome few houres, but for diuers daies together without intermiſſion, freſh men ſtill comming on in ſtead of them that were wounded or ſlain. Yet did the defendants valiantly indure all that ſtorm, and in ſuch weake caſe as they were, worthily performed what was poſſible for ſo few to doe: yet ſtill in
B hope (the poore comfort of men in miſery) that reliefe might come by the approch of the Chriſtian fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this point, that the Turks were in great hope to haue gained the wals, and *Muſtapha* himſelfe probably gueſſed, that the Chriſtians were now weary of the long aſſault, and ſore weakned with wounds and other infinit miſeries, not to ſeeke in a city ſo hardly diſtreſſed, and was in that his opinion alſo confirmed by certain fugitiue Chriſtians: he neuertheleſſe vpon the ſudden cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, & ſo retiring into his trenches, lay ſtil all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants thinking that he had giuen ouer the aſſault, becauſe of ſome aid that was comming to their reliefe, became more careleſſe of the enemy, & vpon the vain hope of ſuch aid, with leſſe diligence repaired their breaches and prouided for the repulſing of their enemies. But the Baſſa
C in the mean time had choſen out of his whole army about 200 of his beſt captains & ſoldiers, all men of aproued valour and agility of body, whom the next day after, he ſent early in the morning, to make proofe if they could by ſcaling ladders ſecretly and without any noiſe ſet vp, get into the foure bulwarkes which he had before ſore ſhaken with his great ordnance. Theſe reſolute men leading the way, got firſt vp, after whom followed diuers others, and ſo tooke the aforeſaid bulwarks: when preſently after, other companies of their fellowes which ſtood ready for the purpoſe, comming on forward, did with their ſcaling ladders in diuers places recouer the top of the wals: for now the matter was not done by ſecret ſurpriſe, but by open force. In euery one of theſe bulwarkes were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept watch and ward; theſe men part aſleep, as fearing no ſuch danger, and part lying laſily vp-
D on the ground, were there ſurpriſed on the ſudden and ſlain: otherſome of them awaked with the ſtrange and vncouth noiſe, betooke not themſelues luſtily to their weapons, but forſaking their ſtations leapt down out of the bulwarks at ſuch places as were next vnto them, ſome for feare ran vnawares into the middeſt of their enemies. Vpon this alarme ſome of the Chriſtian captains came ſpeedily to the walls with their companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whileſt he in vain crieth out to ſuch fearefull ſouldiers as he met, that they ſhould not ſo cowardly fly, and ſtaieth others that were flying, was himſelfe ſhot thorow with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. Other captains in other places likewiſe labored in vain to haue ſtaid the flying ſouldiers, whoſe perſuaſions, requeſts, and authority in ſo generall a feare, nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicoſia moſt terribly aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turks gain the bulwarkes and walls of Nicoſia.

The defendants thus beaten from the wals and bulwarks, gathered themſelues into the mar-
E ket place: but the citiſens ſtealing home to their owne houſes, there ſtood in the entrances of the ſame, fearefully expecting the deſtruction of the country, together with their owne. In the meane time the Gouernor of Aleppo with his regiment ſcoured the walls of the city round about, as he had in charge from the Generall: and without reſpect put to ſword all that he met, armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called Barbarus, it fortuned him to light vpon a company of Italians, who for a while fought deſperatly, but were in the end ouerthrowne and ſlaine. When he had thus cleared the wals, & left ſuch companies as he thought good in places conuenient for the keeping of them, he came down into the more open places of the city: and ſeeing them that were gathered together into the market place to haue caſt themſelues into a ring and to fight as men altogether deſperat, he cauſed certain murthring pieces to be bent vp-
F on them: which they perceiuing, laied down their weapons, and yeelded themſelues vnto the mercy of the enemy. By and by all the gates of the city were ſtrongly guarded by the enemy, to the intent that no man ſhould go in or out. *Dandulus* the Gouernor, and *Contarenus* the Biſhop of Paphos, with the reſt of the nobility, and better ſort of the citiſens, had got themſelues into the towne hall, and their ſtood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Muſtapha* ſent word, that he

Nicoſia taken by the Turks.

would

A great ſlaughter.

would take them all to mercy, if they would without further reſiſtance yeeld themſelues. But G
whiles meſſengers run to and fro, the Turks violently brake in vpon them, and there ſlew them
euery man. After the death of theſe noblemen, the cruell enemy ſpared none: and hauing
ſlain ſuch as they found abroad in the ſtreets, brake into the houſes, where they made hauocke
of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the hands of their mothers, virgins were
ſhamefully rauiſhed, and honeſt matrons before their husbands faces deſpightfully abuſed,
churches were ſpoiled, and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies: the ſtreets were
in all places ſtained with bloud, for in the city was ſlain that day fourteen thouſand eight hundred
threeſcore and ſix perſons. Neither was there any end of the ſpoile, vntill the greedy enemy
had carried away all the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the
prey there taken, amounted to twenty hundred thouſand millions of duckats: 200 of the moſt H
goodly and beautifull youths were choſen out of purpoſe to be ſent to Conſtantinople for a
preſent for *Selymus*. In the city were taken alſo 250 pieces of great ordnance: whereof ſome
were by the enemy carried away, and the reſt left for defence of the city. Thus the famous
city of Nicoſia, ſometime the regall ſeat of the Kings of Cyprus, fell into the hands of the
Turks, the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570, in whoſe power it ſtill remaineth.

Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turks.

Muſtapha hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of all things in Nicoſia, with the very terrour
of his name, rather than by any force, brought moſt part of the reſt of the townes in the Iſland
vnder his obeyſance; and by faire intreaty and promiſe of good vſage, brought backe again vnto
their wonted dwellings the rude country people, who by the comming of the Turks were
fled with all that they had into the mountains: them as men not to be feared, he commanded I
to till and ſow their land as they were wont. The city of Cyrene is ſtrongly ſcituated, not far
from the ſea, and was then well furniſhed of all things needful for the induring of a long ſiege.
Hither the Baſſa ſent one of the Sanzackes to ſummon the city, more to proue the courage of
the defendants, than for any hope he had to haue the city deliuered vnto him. But *Alphonſus*
Palacius then Gouernour of the city, terrified with the loſſe of Nicoſia, no ſooner ſaw the enemy,
but that without any further deliberation or force vſed againſt him, he deliuered vp the
towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardiſe, That he might in ſafety
depart from thence with all his garriſon ſouldiers: which was eaſily granted, and the city
ſurrendred.

Famaguſta beſieged.

Muſtapha raiſeth his ſiege.

Not long after, *Muſtapha* leauing a thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot in garriſon K
in Nicoſia, marched with the reſt of his army to beſiege Famaguſta. And the more to terrifie
them of the city, he by a poore country fellow, whom he had for that purpoſe ſet at liberty,
ſent vnto them in a basket the head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Gouernor of Nicoſia, and at
the ſame time ſent before him diuers horſemen, who vpon their horſemens ſtaues carried the
heads of many of the noblemen ſlaine at Nicoſia, wherewith they rid as in triumph about the
wals of the city. Which thing he did, in hope that they of Famaguſta terrified with ſuch a ſpectacle,
and the late ouerthrow at Nicoſia, would for feare of like miſery yeeld themſelues. But
deceiued in this his expectation, he encamped his army about three miles from the city. Afterwards
hauing taken view of the city, and well conſidered of the ſcituation thereof, he with
wonderfull celerity caſt vp diuers mounts againſt the ſame, and at the ſame time cauſed battery L
to be laid againſt the great tower which defended the hauen: he himſelfe alſo in the meane
while battering the gate that leadeth to Amathus. But perceiuing by the deſperat ſallies of
the defendants, their great courage, and that it was like to haue much more to do in this ſiege
than he had in the winning of Nicoſia, and Winter alſo now drawing faſt on (being about the
latter end of September) he thought it beſt betime to prouide, that by lying there he hazarded
not the honour he had with ſo much labor and danger before gained: and the rather, for
that it was commonly reported, that the Chriſtian fleet was at hand: wherefore he riſe with
his army, and retired himſelfe further off into the country, where he ſhortly after bilited his
ſouldiers in the villages round about for that Winter.

The Turkes at ſea aduertiſed of the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, prepare themſelues for battell.

The Baſſa's at ſea, *Haly* & *Piall*, lying before Famaguſta, doubting the comming of the Chriſtian M
fleet, which then lay at Creet, ſent out ſix galliots to diſcouer the doings of the Chriſtians:
who returning with certaine priſoners taken in the Iſland of Creet, declared vnto the
Baſſa's what they had learned concerning the Chriſtian fleet, and that it was already vpon the
way to Cyprus. Vpon which intelligence the Baſſa's put their fleet in order of battell, and ſet
forward

A forwards towards Limiſſo to haue met with the Chriſtians:who with a proſperous wind were
comming betwixt the Iſlands of Caprathos and the Rhodes:but there vnderſtanding by their
eſpials,that Nicoſia was loſt,and that the Turks were come to beſiege Famaguſta; they called
a Councell of all the chiefe Commanders in the fleet, to conſult what were beſt to do in
ſo dangerous a caſe. *Columnius* the Popes Admirall,and then chiefe Commander in the fleet,
with *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral,were of opinion,That it were beſt to hold on theer courſe
for Cyprus, and to relieue Famaguſta: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late
victory,were for deſire of prey, for moſt part gon aſhore into the Iſland, and ſo left their fleet
but ſlenderly manned. Beſide that,they alledged, That the Venetian Senat had expreſly decreed,
That they ſhould giue the Turks battell. But *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral thinking it,
B as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficulty and danger,was quite of another mind, ſaying,
That he could not but maruel,how the Venetian Senators ſitting at their eaſe in counſel,
could before they knew their own ſtrength,and power of the enemy,the nature of their country,
and purpoſe of their foes,determine what were fit for martial men to do;vnto whoſe actions
no certaine rule could be preſcribed. All the ſhores (he ſaid) were kept with the enemies
garriſons;ſo that what need ſoeuer they ſhould haue,they could neither get water or wood,or
put into any harbor. Beſides that,the enemy would giue them battell at his own pleaſure, and
not at theirs:for that they were not of ſo much power, as to inforce him to fight. And that if
the Senat,which vſed to do al things warily,aud with great aduiſement,did but ſee the weakneſſe
of their gallies,wanting both ſoldiers and mariners,they would be of another mind. He
C alledged further, That they were to wage war in the enemies country, where there was no port
to receiue their fleet,no peaceable place,no confederate city,nor King to friend: whereas the
time of the yere grew euery day worſe and worſe,when as they had neither harbor to put into,
neither were able to abide the ſea. And now that Nicoſia was loſt,for the relief whereof they
were come ſo far,there was no reaſon longer for them to ſtay,the enemy ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſing
the Iſland with his great army,as that there was not any hope to do any good againſt him:and
that to keep him from victuall,and ſo to diſtreſſe him, was not poſſible,lying in a moſt fertile
Iſland,and in the midſt of his own dominions:wheras they,who were ſtill to be relieued from
far,ſhould ſooner feele the want than the enemy. He was victualled (as he ſaid) when he came
from home,but for three months,in hope to haue made a ſhort diſpatch,& had now two thouſand
D miles home. He ſaid moreouer, that he had expreſſe commandment from the king,to return
to Meſſana before Winter,and that therefore ſo ſoon as the month was out he would depart.
The Venetian Admirall deſiring nothing more, than by battell at ſea to ouerthrow the
Turks,and ſo to relieue the diſtreſſed Cypriots,vrged the Spaniſh Admiral to proceed in the
voyage;ſaying,That ſo great aid was not ſent from the Pope and the King,only for the relief
of Nicoſia,but to deliuer the whole Iſland from the danger of the Turk. Of the ſame opinion
with the Spaniſh Admirall were diuers other great captains in the fleet;namely *Sfortia*: who
ſaid,That nothing was to be ſo done,as might raſhly expoſe to caſualtie or power of the enemy,
the publique fortune and majeſty of the Chriſtian commonweale,which was in that fleet
greatly hazarded: That longer ſtay might bring futther danger:that in that fleet conſiſted the
E whole welfare of the commonweale,wherin more might be loſt,if any miſhap ſhould chance
thereunto,than was good to be gained by the relieuing of Famaguſta. The great commanders
thus diffring in opinions,the Councell was in a heat diſſolued,and nothing concluded. Vpon
which ſo foule a diſagreement,the fleet began now to return back again,but ſo,that it was not
now as before,one,but three fleets,euery Admirall by himſelf drawing after him his fleet. *Auria*
the Spaniſh admiral,who firſt returned,after he had bin 2 daies wonderfully with tempeſt
toſſed at ſea,came at laſt to Carpothos,and departing thence,with much ado arriued with his
fleet in the Iſland of Crete: from whence he by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe, requeſted leaue
of *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, that he might with his good will preſently returne home.
Whereunto *Columnius* anſwered, That he would giue him no ſuch leaue: but rather charged
F him, in the duty he ought to the good of the Chriſtian Commonweale, not to depart, but to
keep company with the reſt of the fleet vntill it were paſt Zacyothus,that ſo with their vnited
forces they might more ſafely paſſe by the enemies countries: wheras otherwiſe,if any thing
ſhould by his haſty departure fall out otherwiſe than well, it ſhould be imputed to the diſ-

The commanders of the Chriſtian fleet of diuers opiniõs for giuing of the Turks battell.

The Chriſtian fleet returneth vpon the foule diſagreement of the Commanders.

honour of him that had forſaken his friends, and not of them that were ſo by him forſaken. G But to this *Auria* anſwered, That the welfare of the kingdomes of Sicily & Naples conſiſted in the ſafety of this fleet: and that therfore hauing haſt home, he could not ſtay to keep company with their heauy galeaſſes & other ſhips of burthen, which muſt oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly pretended for his departure; yet ſecretly ſought (as it was deemed) occaſion wherby to withdraw himſelf (being as he accounted the better man at ſea) from the to find an command of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full ſore againſt his will ſubiect.

After they had thus a while ſpent the time with reaſoning the matter to and fro, *Auria* of himſelfe without further leaue hoiſed ſaile, and ſo at length came to Meſſana in Sicily: neither did *Columnius* and *Zanius* ſtay in thoſe quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at ſea, arriued at laſt, *Columnius* in Italy, and *Zanius* at Corcyra. Thus this mighty fleet H which had all this Summer filled the Mediterranian with all the countries thereabout, with the expectation of ſome great matter, was by the diſcord of the Generals diſſolued, hauing don nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thouſands of right valiant men loſt their liues, being dead of diuers diſeaſes proceeding of change of diet, and vnſeaſonablenes of the weather in that hot clymat; amongſt whom was the valiant County *Hieronimus Martinengus*, ſent by the Senat with three thouſand ſoldiers for the defence of Famaguſta, who alſo moſt of them periſhed in that voyage. The Venetian fleet was no ſooner arriued at Corcyra, but *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* was ſent from the Senat to diſcharge *Zanius* the admirall of his office, and to ſend him priſoner to Venice: in whoſe room was placed *Sebaſtianus Venerius* Gouernor of that Iſland. I

Zanius the Venetian Admirall diſcharged of his office, and ſent in bonds to Venice.

The Turks Baſſa's at ſea certainly aduertiſed of the departure of the Chriſtian fleet, were not a little proud therof; as by the confeſſion of their enemies, their betters. Yet foraſmuch as the ſeas began then to grow rough, and no enemy appeared, they thought it to no purpoſe to keep the ſeas with ſo great a fleet, and therefore reſolued to leaue *Muſtapha* with his army in Cyprus, the next yere to make an end of his conqueſt ſo haply begun; and ſeuen gallies at ſea before Famaguſta, that no reliefe ſhould that way be brought into the City, and ſo to depart themſelues with the reſt of the fleet to winter in more ſafer harbors: *Piall* with the greater part of the fleet to Conſtantinople, and *Haly* with the reſt to the Rhodes. And becauſe they would for their greater credit prepare ſome worthy Preſent for their great Lord and Maſter *Selymus*, they fraughted a great galliot of *Mahumetes* the chiefe Baſſa's, and two other tall ſhips, with K the richeſt of the ſpoil of Nicoſia, and the choice of the priſoners there taken. But when they were ready to hoiſe ſaile & depart, as they were carrying out of the gallion, certain barrels of gunpouder which *Muſtapha* the Generall had commanded for his better prouiſion to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wiſhing rather to die with honor, than to liue diſhonored, ſecretly fired the pouder; by force wherof the ſaid gallion with the other 2 ſhips, were ſuddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therin blown vp into the aire. Of all that were in thoſe three veſſels, none eſcaped with life but the maſter of the gallion, & two Chriſtian captiues, but periſhed together with the rich ſpoile. But the Baſſa's following their former reſolution, departed from Cyprus, and afterwards in ſafety ariued at Conſtantinople: where both then and all the Winter following, ſuch preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next L yeare purpoſed ſome far greater matter than the conqueſt of Cyprus.

A deſperat fact of a woman.

Whilſt *Sebaſtianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at Corcyra, the rude Acroceraunian people, more famous for nothing than for their theft and want of all things; by truſty meſſengers promiſed to deliuer into his power the ſtrong caſtle of Chymera, kept by a garriſon of 300 Turks, if he himſelf with a few gallies, and a conuenient number of footmen, would come into the bay of Ambracia: offring him good hoſtages for the better aſſurance of their promiſe. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a company of horſemen, three thouſand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were no ſooner landed, but that preſently a thouſand of thoſe rough mountaine people came vnto M them: with which power taking the hill, and repulſing the Turks garriſon comming to the reliefe of the Caſtle, he ſo diſcouraged them that were in the Hold, that the next night they let themſelues downe with ropes into the valley below; but being deſcried, were there all either taken or ſlain. And ſo in a very ſhort time was that ſtrong Caſtle taken by the Admirall; and

The ſtrong Caſtle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

A and a ſtrong garriſon of Chriſtians put into it in ſtead of the Turks.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Vice-Admiral a man of great courage, landed with 24 gallies in Peloponeſus neer the Bay of Maine, and there vpon the ſudden both by ſea and land beſieged a ſtrong caſtle, which the Turks but two yeres before had built to trouble the Chriſtians paſſing that way. Which caſtle he took in fiue hours, and put to the ſword fiue hundred Turks which lay there in garriſon; and razing it down to the ground, carried away with him four and twenty great pieces of Artillery into the Iſland of Zacynthus.

Quirinus taketh a caſtle of the Turks in Peloponeſus.

At ſuch time as *Muſtapha* before lay at the ſiege of Famaguſta, *Bragadinus* gouernor of the town, and *Baleonius* a moſt expert Captain, from out of the high places of the city beholding the great army of the Turks (which couered the ground almoſt as far as they could ſee) with B the cunning manner of their fortication, were therwith much moued: and therfore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in ſo great a danger to craue their aid. And that their requeſt might be of more weight, and haue the better hearing, they intreated *Hieronimus Ragazonius* Biſhop of the City, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge; vnto whom they ioyned *Nicholaus Donatus* a noble gentleman of Cyprus. The Biſhop at the firſt was very vnwilling to go, as loth in ſo great danger to leaue his flock: but at length ouercome with the intreaty of the Gouernor, and tears of the beſieged, ſuffered himſelfe to be intreated: and embarked in a gally about the going downe of the Sun, looſing out of the hauen, and hoiſing ſaile, with a faire gale of wind paſſed through the Turks fleet, which then lay at anchor before the city; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way he made, C got him quickly out of ſight. After foure daies ſailing he came to Crete, and ſo at laſt to Venice: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, ſo there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous eſtate of the City, the ſtrength of the enemy, the weakneſſe of the defendants againſt ſo great a multitude, and the wants of many things needful for the holding out of the ſiege: and to be briefe, that except they ſent ſpeedy reliefe, the City could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the beſieged, cauſed foure tall ſhips to be loded with all maner of victual and a great quantity of gunpouder, and put into them 1700 ſelect ſoldiers, al which he ſent from Crete to the reliefe of them of Famaguſta; appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the beſt gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the ſame thither. This *Quirinus* was a moſt valiant and expert Captain, meanly deſcended, but by ſeruice grown to be a man both of D great reputation and wealth: and therfore *Zanius* at his departure to Venice, although he knew the matter required haſt, yet preſuming vpon his wiſedome and carefulneſſe, left it to his diſcretion, when and how to performe that piece of ſeruice. *Quirinus* (not without cauſe) doubting to ſet forward, the ſeas as then full of the Turks gallies, ſtaid vntil Winter was wel ſpent, and then ſetting forward the ſeuenteenth of Ianuary, kept alooſe from the ſhips, which with a proſperous wind came directly before Famaguſta; in hope that the Turks gallies which lay in the mouth of the hauen, might ſo be drawne farther into the ſea, in hope of ſome good booty, he himſelfe ſtaying with his gallies in place conuenient out of ſight. Neither had the euent deceiued his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the ſame: for the Turks vpon the dawning of the day deſcrying the ſhips, made haſtily toward them: but *Quirinus* not able E longer to ſtay himſelfe, and before deſirous to fight with them, ſhewed himſelfe too ſoon in the open ſea, before the enemy was come neer the ſhips: whom as ſoon as the Turks had ſeen, and that there was no hope to withſtand him, they ſtayd their oares, and with all ſpeed retyred. But *Quirinus* following faſter vpon them, they were glad for ſafeguard of their liues, with all the power they could to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to ſhoare themſelues: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great Ordnance beat all to pieces, and ſore gauled the other foure. The hauen thus cleered, he returned again vnto the ſhips, and brought them with the ſupply in ſafety to Famaguſta: vpon whoſe arriuall was great reioicing both among the garriſon ſouldiers and the Citiſens: for the Turks thought nothing leſſe, than that the Chriſtian gallies durſt at that time of the yeare haue put into thoſe dangerous ſeas: which F *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth again with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleaſure, took two of the enemies ſhips richly laded comming to the camp, with which booty he inriched his ſouldiers: and further incited by occaſion, landed his men in diuers places alongſt the ſea coaſt in Pamphilia, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the country with terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to Famaguſta, where he notably

Quirinus a valiant gentleman.

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encouraged the garriſon ſouldiers, perſuading them to remember their wonted valor: and fil- G ling them with hope that the Chriſtian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Summer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raiſe the ſiege. So hauing in twenty daies diſpatched that he came for, and done what good ſeruice elſe he could, he departed from Famaguſta, and within fiue daies after arriued at Crete.

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late ſupply put into Famaguſta, and of the harms don by *Quirinus*; wherwith he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he commanded the gouernor of Chios his head to be ſtruck off, and the Gouernour of the Rhodes to be diſgraced, whoſe charge it was to haue kept thoſe ſeas, ſo that nothing ſhould haue been conueied into Famaguſta. Neither ſpared he *Piall Baſſa*, but depriued him of his Admiralty, and placed *Partau Baſſa* Admirall in his ſtead, for that he had not the yeare before diſcomfited the Chriſtian H fleet at the Iſland of Crete, as it was ſuppoſed he might haue done.

From the beginning of this warre, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope, who greatly fauored their cauſe, had moſt earneſtly from time to time ſolicited *Philip* King of Spaine, to enter with them into the participation & fellowſhip of this war; which their requeſt ſtanding indeed with the good of his ſtate, he ſeemed eaſily to yeeld vnto: and therfore ſent *Auria*, his Admirall the laſt yere, with his fleet to aid them, but with ſuch ſucceſſe as is before declared. As for to ioin with them in perpetual league and confederation (as it was termed) againſt the common enemy, that he referred vnto the diſcreet conſideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuellan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his Embaſſador, ſent for that purpoſe to Rome: promiſing to performe whatſoeuer they ſhould on his behalfe agree vpon or conſent vnto. At the ſame time, I and for the ſame purpoſe lay alſo *Surianus* the Venetian Embaſſadour at Rome: vnto whom the Pope ioined Cardinal *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, & *Ruſticucius*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compoſe ſuch differences & difficulties as ſhould ariſe betwixt the aforeſaid Commiſſioners for the king and the Venetians, concerning the intended league: but theſe graue men, ſent from ſo great princes about ſo great a matter (as well there could not be greater) were no ſooner met together and ſet in conſultation, but that forthwith they began to jar about the capitulations of the league. Neceſſary it was thought that a league ſhould be agreed vpon againſt ſo puiſſant & dangerous an enemy, but to find the way how the ſame might be concluded to the contentment of al parts, ſeemed a matter almoſt impoſſible: oftentimes theſe commiſſioners ſat, but the oftner the farther off: K if one difficulty were by the diſcretion of ſome appeaſed, in ſtead therof at the next meeting ariſe three others. The chiefe command of the army to be raiſed, the proportion of the forces, the maner of the war, with many other like circumſtances incident to ſo great actions, made great differences among them: but moſt of al, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spaniſh commiſſioners ſeeking to return the greateſt part therof vpon the Venetians, and the Venetians vpon them: which was don with ſuch earneſtneſſe and ſtudy of euery man towards his own part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular ſtate from which they were ſent, rather than for the common good. For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keep the frontiers of his large dominions in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, Majorca, L Minorca, yea and of Spain it ſelf, with ſtrong garriſons, for fear of the Turke; now that the war was riſen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof tranſlated far off into other mens territories; enioied now in his own an vnwonted quietneſſe, to the great content of his ſubiects, and eaſing of his own charge in maintaining of ſo many garriſons as before: wherof many were now thought needles. Beſides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raiſed ſuch great ſummes of money vpon his Clergy, as was thought by many, ſufficient to diſcharge the charge of the war: For which cauſes he cared not for entring in any further league with the Venetians, but as it were in courteſie to ſend them a yearely aid, to maintaine a defenſiue lingring war, and ſo to keep the Turks buſied vpon the Venetian, a farre off from his owne Territories. But the Venetians, in whoſe Dominions the fierce enemy daily raged, as well in Dalmatia as in Cyprus, were euen for the ſame reaſons mooued to haſten and ſhorten the war, M that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beſide the neereneſſe of the danger, and the infinit calamities by them ſuſtained, their yerely reuenues ariſing for moſt part of their cuſtomes, were greatly impaired, and their traffick (the maintenance of their ſtate) almoſt quite cut off: which cauſed them more earneſtly to confederate themſelues with the Spaniard. But hard it was

A to ioyn in one, States ſo far differing in reſpect of their particular profit, and almoſt by nature
contrary. Thus was all the laſt yere, and a great part of this alſo, ſpent by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners
in turbulent and fruitleſſe conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning
the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themſelues too weake for
ſo mighty an enemy as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certain ſtrength from their friends to reſt
vpon. But whilſt they ſtood thus doubtful of the league with Spain, and quite out of hope of
any attonement with *Selymus*; on the ſudden when it was leſt expected, it was by good fortune
layd as it were in their laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before moſt earneſtly
deſired) ioyne in league with the Pope and the King of Spain, or els fall to agreement
with *Selymus*: and that by this means.

B *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long
time honored, had no great liking of the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Muſtapha* in Cyprus, and therfore
deuiſed night and day, how to croſſe the riſing of him, the competitor of his honor; and
withall to help the Venetians, vnto whom he was much beholden. He by ſecret meſſengers
had before oftentimes ſounded the mind of the Venetian Embaſſadour, and put him in hope,
that if ſuit were made vnto *Selymus* for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and further
promiſed, to be himſelfe a helper and interceſſor for the ſame. But finding the Embaſſador to
caſt many perils, and to giue ſmal credit vnto their talke, who had before by truſting them deceiued
him: he did not ſo giue ouer the matter, but referring the further tempting with him
vnto a more fitter time, for the preſent he took opportunity to enter into diſcourſe with *Selymus*
C himſelf concerning the Venetians; and told him that it was reported, That they weary of
the long alteration they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, & now deſtitute
of all hope and aid, would now haply of their own accord grant him that which they had before
to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare ſo of them, he proceeded
further in the matter, to know his pleaſure what he would haue done therin, cunningly by the
way of good counſell perſuading him vnto that which he moſt wiſhed himſelf to be don. Immediatly
after, he ſecretly aduertiſed *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embaſſador, That there was
great hope of peace, and that therefore the Senat ſhould vnder the colour of exchanging of
priſoners, and redeeming of Merchants goods, ſend ſome fit man to Conſtantinople, with
whom he would in ſecret confer of al ſuch matters as might further the pacification. This vnexpected
D news from the Embaſſador brought to Venice, was well heard of the Senat: for they
thought it much to concern their State, to haue a way opened wherby vpon tolerable conditions
to make peace with the mighty tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the King of
Spain could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Iacobus Ragazonius* to goe
about the matter to Conſtantinople. This *Ragazonius* was a man of great ſpirit and dexterity
of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deep iudgement in the managing
therof, and withall exceeding rich, and of ſo good carriage of himſelfe, as that he was therfore
famous: al which things were thought of great moment to win the fauor of that couetous and
barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proof what men thought of the
matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the ſending this notable man, men
E would thereof diuerſly diuine, euery man according to his own fantaſie, and that many of the
wiſer ſort would indeed ſurmiſe, as the truth was, that he was ſent for to intreat of peace, although
the exchange of priſoners, and redemption of Merchants goods, were the only things
were openly pretended: and the Senat, although they thought it not amiſſe to haue it ſo vnderſtood,
becauſe ſuch a ſuſpicion was like enough to ſtir vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to
accept of ſuch conditions of the deſired league, as they had before reiected; yet leſt the hope
of the league (which they for many cauſes thought good to cheriſh) thereby cut off, might
cauſe the Pope & the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other
Chriſtian princes, of the ſending of *Ragazonius*, yet of purpoſe concealing the ſecret drift
of his going. *Ragazonius* throughly inſtructed by the Senat, was in a gally conducted to Raguſium:
F which *Caſſan Beg* (the great Baſſa *Mahometes* ſon, Gouernor of Liburnia) vnderſtanding,
met him vpon the frontiers, & told him, That he was ſent by his father, both to meet him and
ſafe conduct him: which the martial man, contrary to the maner of the Turks courteouſly performed,
honorably entertaining him, & afterward ſending him with a ſafe conuoy till he was
out of all danger. *Ragazonius* comming to Conſtantinople, was there by night ſecretly receiued

Muhamet Baſſa a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, puts thẽ in hope of peace.

The Venetians ſend an Embaſſador to Selymus to intreat with him of peace.

Ragazonius the Venetian Embaſſadour commeth to Conſtantinople.

The conference betwixt Muhamet the Great Baſſa, and Ragazonius.

ued into the city, and at firſt brought into a little baſe Inne, and a guard ſet ouer him that he ſhould ſpeak with no man. But after three daies he was remooued to a much better place, and preſented with diuers kinds of dainty diſhes of ſundry kinds of meats. The effect of his meſſage was, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embaſſador to intreat of peace. At length hauing acceſſe to the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, after he had deliuered vnto him (as he had in charge) his meſſage concerning the exchange of priſoners and merchants goods, *Muhamet* asked him, If he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to be made? Wherunto he anſwered, that he had, but that he muſt firſt ſpeak with the Embaſſador, without whoſe aduice and counſel he was not of himſelf to do any thing. At that firſt incounter, the Baſſa to terrifie the meſſenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks horſmen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainly boaſted) was able by force or policy to withſtand: alſo his great and inuincible fleets at ſea, with whom all the power of the Chriſtians ioined together, was not able to encounter; and much other ſuch like ſtrength and wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withſtand *Selymus*, than they were in times paſt to reſiſt his father & his anceſtors. Yet he diſcourſed of this matter in ſuch ſort, as not therby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but ſaid, That the Venetians ſhould beſt haue prouided for the ſafety of their ſtate, if at the firſt they had liſtned vnto him, friendly & faithfully aduiſing them not to haue entred into arms, in which doing they ſhewed more courage than power: and that yet, as the caſe now ſtood, and that *Selymus* was in a moſt aſſured hope, in ſhort time to become lord and maſter of the whole Iſland, it ſhould be to their great good to prefer the fauour and good will of the Turks before war, and by the voluntary yeelding of Cyprus, gain to themſelues perpetuall peace and tranquility. As for the Iſle it ſelf, it was not now worth the hazarding of ſo many dangers, being deſtitute of inhabitants, which were almoſt all either ſlain or fled, the cattell driuen away, the townes ranſackt and burnt, and the whole country, of late moſt pleaſant and beautifull, now ſo ſpoiled and vnpeopled, that it could not of long time yeeld vnto him that ſhould haue it, any profit or commodity. *Ragazonius* being a coole and aduiſed man, and withall perceiuing that the Baſſa was not to be contraried in his talke, ſo tempred his anſwer, as that he ſhewed no token of feare, neither let any word fall that might offend his ears, ſaying, That he was right glad that he had found ſo much fauor in his ſight, as to haue acceſſe and leaue to talk with ſo great a Prince, who for wiſdome and grauity excelled all the reſt of the Princes of the great Emperors Court, who ſo far as he might with his loyalty towards his ſoueraign, had alwaies moſt gratiouſly fauored the Venetian ſtate: who alſo not ignorant of the vncertainty of worldly things, knew of all others beſt, that on both ſides were both men & arms, and that moſt mighty Princes had oftentimes with ſmall forces bin ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of war: no power vpon earth being ſure, which could not within ſome bounds containe the ſtrength of it ſelf: and that therefore he was in good hope, that he ſo worthy a man, knowing beſt what belonged both to peace and war, would deuiſe ſome ſuch courſe as might ſort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkiſh Empire; in which doing he ſhould find ſufficient matter for his eternal praiſe and glory, if by his diſcreet wiſdome a pacification might be made. Such talk hauing paſſed at their firſt meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to ſpeake with the Embaſſador, who then lay at Pera vnder ſafe keeping. In paſſing ouer to Pera, *Ragazonius* might ſee a fleet of Turkiſh gallies encountring one with another in maner of a fight at ſea, which the Turks had prouided of purpoſe to ſhew vnto him as a ſtrange ſight. Whereat *Ragazonius* ſmiling, ſaid vnto the Turks that were preſent with him, That it was a pretty childiſh ſport for him that had neuer ſeen the like before: but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with theſe matters in earneſt, as the Turks ſhould well know whenſoeuer they had a mind to make proof what they were able to do at ſea. *Ragazonius* comming to the Embaſſador, had conference with him at large, and reſolued with him what to do in his negotiation. And ſo returning to *Muhamet*, eaſily diſpatcht with him for the exchange of priſoners and Merchants goods: but when they came to talk of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the firſt they were ſo far off, as if they would neuer haue met: but after much and often conference, ſomtime the one yeelding, ſometime the other, the matter was brought to ſome conformity, ſo that there was no ſuch great difference betwixt them, but that they were like enough to haue agreed. *Pius* the Pope, & *Philip* king of Spain aduertiſed of the ſending of *Ragazonius*

A to Conſtantinople, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was ſent about ſome treaty of peace, what colour ſoeuer the Senat pretended to couer the ſame. And therfore doubting leſt the Turkiſh Emperour hauing once made peace with the Venetians, ſhould turn his great forces already prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that peace, now with all ſpeed to haſten the league, which they had ſo long before delayed. For which purpoſe the Pope ſent the noble *Columnius* to Venice: who admitted into the Senat, declared at large how matters had paſſed at Rome concerning the league: and afterward, what profit might ariſe of ſuch a league concluded, and what harms might inſue of the ſame, neglected. And to haſten the matter, ſet as it were before their eies, how much it concerned the common good, but them eſpecially, to haue the ſame with ſpeed confirmed. As for to giue B any truſt vnto the Turks, was (as he ſaid) not beſeeming their deep wiſdome and iudgement; ſeeing they ſo often had bin by them rather deceiued than vanquiſhed. In concluſion, he requeſted them, That for his Holineſſe ſake, moderating in ſome part their hard demands, they would with ſpeed ioin with him and the King in a moſt firm and Chriſtian league. Although this ſpeech of *Columnius* had much moued the minds of the Venetians, ſo that many inclined to the league, yet were there many doubtfull therof, and could not be reſolued whether it were better to imbrace peace with the Turk, or the league with the Pope and the King. Peace pleaſed them, neither did the league diſpleaſe them: it ſeemed a matter moſt difficult, whether to reſolue vpon. They were fearful of the league either receiued, or reiected: the hope of victory, the inconſtancy of the Turks, their owne ſtrength at ſea, the large promiſes of the Chriſtian C Princes, the certain hope of the league, and vncertainty of the peace, perſuaded them to embrace the league. On the other ſide, the bad ſucceſſe of the yere before, their forces ſhaken, and almoſt ſpent in Cyprus, the ſuſpected and doubtfull faith of the confederats, with the vncertainty of the ſucceſſe, induced them to prefer the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in ſuſpence betwixt both, gaue the Embaſſador daily more doubtfull anſwers than other, neither by promiſe binding themſelues, neither by flat denial cutting off the hope of the league, by examples and arguments rather refelling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themſelues thought. Somtime they alledged ſuch things as might make a man beleeue, that they were willing to ioin in league, and by and by again, they would ſeem neither to reiect nor accept of the ſame. In which doubtfulneſſe many daies paſſed. At D length the matter being propounded in the Senat, there found not vnlike diſpoſition of minds that it had among the meaner ſort: for ſome of the Senators inclined to the league, whoſe reaſons were grounded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit & honor alſo, which they wiſhed to be chiefly regarded: declaring alſo, what great ſecurity, honor and glory, ſhould redound vnto them, by entring into ſuch an honourable league. But the remembrance of former loſſes, the ſtrength of the Turk poſſeſſing a great part of the world, compared to their own, the terror of the enemies name, the feare of euill ſucceſſe, the ſmall hope of preuailing, induced others to like better of peace: whoſe opinion was alſo confirmed by this, That the confederation with thoſe Chriſtians, was of no more aſſurance or continuance than the Turks peace; beſides that, they alledged, That leagues were therfore of leſſe aſſurance, for that confederations and ami- E ties were ſeldom or neuer ſincerely & faithfully kept on both ſides, euery man commonly ſeruing his own turn, without care of other men. They alſo ſet as it were before their eies what great occaſions, euen ſmall ſuſpitions might giue princes to break their leagues, what ſtrange effects the fear of the loſſe of goods, or ſome part of their territory might work. After this ſo weighty a matter had bin thus with great contention throughly debated on both ſides in the Senat, it was at laſt put to voices, and ſo by conſent of the greater part, the league was as moſt honorable receiued, & the Turks peace reiected; & a decree of the Senat to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by ſecret letters from the Senat vnderſtanding of all theſe matters, began to deale more warily with *Mahomet* the great Baſſa in matter concerning the peace, and more hardly to yeeld to his demands, ſo propounding many difficulties of purpoſe deuiſed, requeſted of him, F That he might by his good leaue return to Venice, to be reſolued of many things by the Senat, whereof he was not able himſelf to iudge, & ſo to return to him again with more certain inſtructions: aſſuring him that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace do and deuiſe many things for the furtherance of the ſame, which could not ſo well be done by letters as if he were there himſelf preſent to reſolue them vpon euery particular. This his requeſt

The Pope & the K. of Spain fearing leſt the Venetians ſhould make peace with the Turk, haſten the confederation.

The Venetians reſolue to accept of the League with the Pope and the King.

queſt obtained, he with great ſpeed got him out of Conſtantinople: but was ſcarcely got out of the gates, when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the King of Spain, was brought vnto the Court, and had in ſhort time filled the city, which made all the way as he trauelled more troubleſome, and fruſtrated that alſo which was before concluded concerning the exchange of priſoners & Merchants goods. *Ragazonius* being come to Venice, declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpoſe of the Turk, and what conference he had had with the great Baſſa, and in what forwardnes the peace was: for which his diſcreet carriage of the matter, his wiſdome was highly by the whole Senat commended, and he himſelfe afterward honourably rewarded. G

A perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the K. of Spaine, and the Venetians.

In the mean time the commiſſioners of Rome after long conſultation concluded a league, which they would haue to be perpetuall, as well for for inuaſiue as defenſiue wars againſt the Turke: and was by ſolemne oath confirmed by the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetian Senat the 24 day of May, in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league, it was agreed vpon, That the ſea and land forces ſhould conſiſt of two hundred gallies, an hundred ſhips, fifty thouſand footmen, and foure thouſand fiue hundred horſmen, with a proportionat quantity of great artillery, victuals, and other things neceſſary, to be euery yeare ready in March, or at fartheſt in Aprill, to meet together at ſuch a place in the Eaſt, as ſhould be to them for that purpoſe appointed, to be imploied as the Admirals ſaw cauſe, & as the preſent ſtate of things ſhould require: H

The proportioning of the charge of the warres againſt the Turke: and the other capitulations of the league.

for maintenance of which charge it was agreed, that the king of Spain ſhould defray the one halfe, and the other halfe to be diuided into three equal parts, wherof the Venetians ſhould beare two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it ſhould be too heauy for him, then that remained by him vndiſcharged, to be diuided into fiue parts; whereof the King was to diſcharge three, and the Venetians two. I The charge thus proportioned, they tooke order alſo for the prouiſion of victuals, to be at a reaſonable price taken vp in any the confederats dominions, where the army or fleet ſhould chance to ſtay: yet ſo, that it ſhould be at the King of Spain his diſcretion, out of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, firſt to take his prouiſion for the victualling of Guletta, Malta, and his own nauy. It was alſo agreed, That if the King of Spain ſhould at any time, when as the confederats had no common war, inuade Algiers, Tripolis, or Tunes, that then the Venetians ſhould of their own charge, aid him with fifty gallies well appointed: as alſo, that the king ſhould in like manner and with like forces ayd them as oft as they ſhould by the Turks be inuaded. But if it ſhould fortune the Roman territory to be inuaded, that then the aforeſaid Princes ſhould be bound with all their forces, to the vtmoſt of their power, to defend thoſe places, and the perſon of the Pope. K And that in managing of the confederat war, the three admirals ſhould confer vpon all matters, and whatſoeuer the greater part agreed togther vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon by them all: That *Don Iohn* of Auſtria, *Charles* the fifth his naturall ſon, and brother to the king, ſhould haue the chief command of the forces both at ſea and land: but not to diſplay his own enſigne, but the common enſign of the confederats. Alſo, that ſuch places as ſhould be gained from the Turk by the confederat army, ſhould be diuided amongſt the confederat princes, excepting Tunes, Algiers, and Tripolis, which ſhould remain only to the King of Spain: That all controuerſies ariſing amongſt the Generals ſhould be decided by the Pope, to whom the Venetians ſhould L lend twelue gallies, furniſhed of al things ſauing men and victuals, which the Pope ſhould of his own charge ſupply: Which gallies at the end of the war he ſhould again deliuer, in ſuch caſe as they then were: That an honorable place ſhould be left for *Maximilian* the Emperour, the French King, the King of Polonia, and the King of Portingall to enter into this league, whom with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, it ſhould beſeem the Pope to ſtir vp in ſo good a quarrell: and that it ſhould not be lawfull for any the confederat Princes to intreat of peace, or enter into league, without the knowledge and conſent of the other confederats. And for the better proceeding of all things, it was agreed, That euer in Autumn the confederat princes ſhould by their embaſſadors at Rome conſult of the next wars, and as the things and occurrents ſhould require, to determine, whether their forces were to be increaſed or diminiſhed. M

The league proclaimed.

This league thus at length with much ado concluded, was not long after in time with great pomp and triumph openly proclaimed in Rome, Venice, and Spaine, to the great ioy of the greateſt part of Chriſtendome.

Whilſt

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, ſeeke to ſtir vp Tamas the Perſiā king to take vp arms againſt him.

A Whilſt theſe things were in doing,the Venetians the more to intangle the Turke, thought
it good to make prooſe,if they might by any means ſtir vp *Tamas* the Perſian king to take vp
armes againſt him: who as he was a Prince of great power, ſo did he exceedingly hate the
Turks,as well for the difference betwixt the Perſians and them about matters of their vain ſuperſtition,
as for the manifold iniuries he had oftentimes ſuſtained. There was one *Vincent*
Alexander,one of the Secretaries for the ſtate,who hauing eſcaped out of priſon at Conſtantinople,
was but a little before come to Venice, a wary wiſe man,and of great experience, who
for his dexterity of wit, and skilfulneſſe in the Turkiſh language,was thought of all others
moſt fit to take in hand ſo great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and inſtructions for the
Senat,and furniſhed with all things neceſſary,trauelling through Germany, Polonia,and the
B forreſts of Mœſia, in Turkiſh attire, came to Moncaſtron, a port towne vpon the ſide of the
Euxine or blacke ſea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boriſthenes: where he embarked himſelfe
for Trapezond,but was by a contrary wind driuen to Sinope, a City of great traffique;
from whence he trauelled by rough and broken waies to Cutay, keeping ſtill vpon the left
hand,becauſe he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks army (which was then marching
towards Cyprus through all thoſe countries) neuertheleſſe he fell vpon a part thereof, from
which he with great danger rid himſelf being taken for a Turke,and by blind & troubleſome
waies,through rocks and forreſts,arriued at length at Erzirum,a ſtrong city of the Turks,then
vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This iourney of *Alexanders*
was not kept ſo ſecret,but that it was vented at Conſtantinople by a ſpie,who vnder the color
C of friendſhip,haunting the Venetian Embaſſadors houſe at Pera, had got certain knowledge
of the going of *Alexander* into Perſia. Wherupon certain courrors were ſent out with al ſpeed
to beſet the three ſtreit paſſages into Perſia,wherby it was ſuppoſed he muſt of neceſſity paſſe
with certain notes alſo of the fauour of the man,of his ſtature,and other marks,wherby he was
beſt to be knowne. But he in ſo dangerous a countrey doubting all things,and fearing ſuch a
matter, leauing his company behind him, with incredible celerity poſted from Erzirum to
Tauris,and was a great way gone before the Turks currors came into thoſe quarters: who yet
hearing of him,followed after as far as they durſt,but could not ouertake him. *Alexander* comming
to Tauris,vnderſtood that the Court lay at Caſbin,about twelue daies iourney farther
vp into the country; comming thither,the fourteenth of Auguſt of this yeare 1571,he chanced
D to meet with certaine Engliſh Merchants,with whom he had before bin acquainted: by
whoſe help he not only got to ſpeake with *Ayder Tamas* the Kings third ſonne, but learned of
them alſo the manners and faſhions of the Perſian Court, and how to beare himſelfe therein.
The Perſians by reaſon of the intollerable heat, do moſt of their buſineſſe at that time of the
yeare by night. Wherfore *Alexander* about midnight brought into *Aider*,declared vnto him
the cauſe of his comming:and the next night admitted vnto the ſpeech of his aged father,deliuered
his letters of credence,and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him,with what perfidious
dealing *Selymus* the Turkiſh Emperour was about to take away Cyprus from the Venetians,
with what greedineſſe and pride he had ſet vpon the Chriſtians, and that diſcharged
of that war,he would of all likelyhood ſet vpon the Perſians,hauing the ſelfeſame quarrel vnto
E the Perſians that he had vnto the Venetians,that is, an ardent and inſatiable deſire of ſoueraignty:
a ſufficient cauſe for the greedy Turke to repute euery King the richer that he was,
the more his enemy. After that, ſetting forth to the full the proweſſe of the Chriſtians, the
wonderfull preparation they had made both at ſea and land, he perſuaded the King with all
his power to inuade the Turke,now altogether buſied in the wars of Cyprus,and to recouer again
ſuch parts of his Kingdome as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Wars
he ſaid were more happily managed abroad than at home: that ſince he alone (the Chriſtian
Princes all then at quiet) had withſtood the Turks whole force and power,he needed not now
to doubt of his moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, the Chriſtian Princes now ioyning with him. That
he was much vnmindfull of his former loſſes and wrongs, if he thought he enioyed an aſſured
F peace; which he ſhould find to be nothing elſe but a deferring of war vnto more cruell
times; and that the Turke if he ſhould ouerrun Cyprus,would forthwith turne his victorious
armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as he ſaid) but the beginning of another: and
that the Turkiſh Empire could neuer ſtay in one ſtate: and that he ſhould obſerue not the
Turks words, but his deeds; and how that the *Othoman* Emperours according to the oppor-

Alexander the Venetian Embaſſadour hath audience with the Perſiā king.

tunity of the times, vſed by turnes, ſomtime force, ſomtime deceit, as beſt ſerued their purpoſes: That no Princes had at all times by diſſembled peace & vncertain leagues more deluded ſome, vntill they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning dealing might appear to the world: and that Princes would think, that being combined together, they might more eaſily ouercome the Turk, than being ſeparated, defend their own: That in former times, ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to vnite their forces: and that therfore they ſhould combine themſelues for their common good againſt the common enemy: That it concerned no leſſe the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to haue the power of the Turk abated: and that this taking vp of arms, ſhould be for the good of the Perſian king howſoeuer things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recouer what he had before loſt, with much more that was the Turks: if otherwiſe, yet by voluntary entring into armes to countenance himſelf, and to giue the Turk occaſion to think that he feared him not: which was (as he ſaid) the only way to preſerue their common ſafety, which would be vnto al the confederat Princes eaſie enough, if they themſelues made it not more difficult than the power of the enemy. The ſpeech of the Embaſſador was willingly heard: wherunto the king anſwered, That he would conſider thereupon what he had to do: and in the mean while, a faire houſe was appointed for the Embaſſador and his followers, and bountifull allowance of the Kings charge. He was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the noblemen, whom he ſtil requeſted to be mediatours to the King, to take that honorable war in hand. The King had at that time a ſon called *Iſmael*, a man of great ſpirit, whom he kept in durance, for that he with too much inſolency made roads into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, to the diſturbance of the league his father had before made with the late Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*: vnto him *Alexander* hauing acceſſe, was of him courteouſly heard; who fretting and languiſhing for very grieſe of reuenge vpon the Turks, wiſhed, that either the king his father had his mind, or he himſelſe the power of a king: and ſaid, That if euer it were his good fortune to obtain the kingdome, he would indeed ſhew what he then in mind thought. But of him more ſhal be ſaid hereafter. Whilſt this matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian Court than the Embaſſador would haue had it, news was brought to the Court, of the great victory which the Chriſtians had much about that time obtained of the Turks at ſea: vpon which occaſion the Embaſſador ſolicited *Tamas* more earneſtly than before, to make himſelſe partaker of the victory of the Chriſtians, by entring into confederation with them, and by taking vp of arms, rather than to hold vncertaine friendſhip with the Turks in their miſeries, by whom he had bin ſo often wronged. This he ſaid was the only time for the Perſian king to recouer his former glory, the like offer whereof would neither often chance, neither long ſtay: and that if he ſuffered ſo fit an opportunity to ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vain wiſh for the ſame, when it were too late. This ſo wholſome counſell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to ſtir vp the aged King: who then troubled with rebellion in Media, or weary of the former wars he had had with the Turk, and glad of ſuch peace as he had then with him, anſwered the embaſſador, That foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Princes had made a perpetuall league amongſt themſelues, he would for 2 yeres expect the euent, and afterward as occaſion ſerued, ſo to reſolue vpon peace & war. This improuident reſolution of the King, brought afterward vnprofitable and too late repentance to the whole Perſian kingdom; when as within a few yeres after, all the calamities which the Senat had by their embaſſadors (as true prophets) foretold, redounded to the great ſhaking therof. For the Cyprian war once ended, and peace concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the ſon of *Selymus*, ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh Empire, inuading the Perſian King, tooke from him the great countrey of Media, now called Siluan, with a great part of Armenia the Great, and the regal city of Tauris, as ſhal be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Perſian, who now refuſed to take vp arms, or ioyne in league with the Chriſtian Princes, repented that he had not beſote hearkned to the wholſom counſell of the Venetians: and taught by his own harms, wiſhed in vain, that the Chriſtian princes would again take vp arms and ioine with him againſt the Turke.

The anſwer of Tamas the Perſian King vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour.

Muſtapha Baſſa returneth to the ſiege of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa and General of the Turks army, furniſhed of all things that could be deſired for maintenance of his ſiege, and ſouldiers in great number dayly repairing vnto him out of Cilicia, Syria, the leſſer Aſia, and the Countries thereabout, beſide great ſupplies brought vnto him by *Haly Baſſa* from Conſtantinople; inſomuch, that it was

thought

A thought he had in his army two hundred thouſand men: began now that Winter was paſt, in the later end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto Famaguſta, and with incredible labour to caſt vp trenches & mounts againſt the City, of ſuch height, that the defendants from the higheſt places of the city could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks ſpears, or tops of their tents, as they lay incamped: which was no great matter for the Baſſa to perform, hauing in his camp forty thouſand pioners alwaies ready at his command.

The City of Famaguſta is ſcituat in the Eaſt end of the Iſland, in a plain and low ground betwixt two promontories, the one called S. *Andrews* head, and the other the head of Græcia. It is in circuit two miles, and in form foure ſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer and more winding than the reſt, doth much deform the exact figure of a quadrant: it is almoſt B on two parts beaten vpon with the ſea, the other parts toward the land are defended with a ditch not aboue fifteen foot broad, a ſtone wall, and certain bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the gate that leadeth to Amathus ſtandeth a ſix cornered tower: other towers ſtand out alſo in the wall, euery one of them ſcarce able to contain ſix pieces of Artillery. It hath a hauen opening toward the Southeaſt, defended from the iniury of the weather by two great rocks, betwixt which the ſea commeth in by a narow paſſage about forty paces ouer, but after opening wider giueth a conuenient harbor to ſhips, whereof it cannot contain any great number, and was now ſhut vp with a ſtrong chain. Neer vnto the hauen ſtandeth an old Caſtle with foure towers, after the antient manner of building. There was in the city one ſtrong bulwark, built after the maner of the fortification of our time, with paliſadoes, curtains, caſements, and ſuch C like, in ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made ſhew of a ſtrong and well fortified city, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weak long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turk: but what wanted by reaſon of the ſcituation and weak fortification, that the Gouernour and other noble captains ſupplied in beſt ſort they might, with a ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſouldiers, the ſureſt defence of ſtrong places. There was in the city two thouſand and fiue hundred Italians, two hundred Albanois horſmen, before entertained by the Gouernour; and of the Cypriots themſelues were muſtred two thouſand and fiue hundred mo, all men reſolutely ſet down to ſpend their liues in defence of their country.

The deſcription of Famaguſta.

The number of the defendants of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha with wonderfull celerity hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted D his battery of 64 great pieces; amongſt which were foure great Baſilisks of exceeding bignes; wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the wals of the City in fiue places; but eſpecially that part of the wall that was between the hauen and the gate that leadeth to Amathus. And with great morter pieces caſt vp huge ſtones, which from high falling into the City, with their weight brake downe the houſes they light vpon, and fell oftentimes through their vaults, euen to the bottome of their cellars, to the great terror of the beſieged. The wals in diuers places ſore ſhaken, and the houſes beaten down, he began to aſſault the city: which the defendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not only defended their wals and draue the Turks from the breaches, but furiouſly ſallied out vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their fortifications, & abated their courage: E neither did the enemy with greater fury maintain the battery or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians the defence of the city, ſtill ſending their deadly ſhot into the thickeſt of that great multitude; inſomuch that in few daies the Baſſa had loſt 30000 of his men: and the captains themſelues wondring at the valor of the defendants, as if they had not now to do with ſuch Chriſtians as they had before ſo oftentimes ouerthrown, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began to deſpair of the winning of the city. The Turks thus doubting, & almoſt at a ſtand, the Chriſtians in the mean time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool ſacks, and ſuch like, not ſparing their very beds, and bed-cloths, cheſts, carpets, & whatſoeuer els might ſerue to fil vp the breach. Among many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of pouder which with continuall ſhooting began greatly to diminiſh: wherefore to reſerue ſome part thereof F againſt al extremities, they thought it beſt whilſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to vſe the ſame ſtore ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldome. But the Turks ſtill drawing neerer and neerer the city, & caſting vp mounts higher than the wals of the city, with earth & faggots filled vp the ditch: which done, they of the broken ſtones made wals on either ſide, to ſaue themſelues from the flankring ſhot of the Chriſtians; then giuing a freſh aſſault, they vſed not only their ſhot and

Famaguſta aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians.

Famaguſta againe aſſaulted by the Turks.

other miſſiue weapons,but came foot to foot,and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. Which manner of fight (as if it had been ſo agreed vpon) they euery day maintained for the ſpace of ſix houres. And although the Turks by reaſon of their multitude were diuided into many parts,and freſh men ſtill ſucceeded them that were weary; yet ſuch was the courage of the defendants, that euery man requeſted to haue the places of moſt danger, and from thence with couragious hand repulſed the Turks with exceeding great ſlaughter. But for all that,the furious enemy maintaining the aſſault,not only by day,but by often alarms in the night alſo, kept the Chriſtians continually in doubtfull ſuſpence and readineſſe, as if they ſhould haue receiued a preſent aſſault: and as ſoon as it was day, with freſh men that had ſlept their ſleep, deſperatly aſſailed the Chriſtians almoſt ſpent and megre for lack of ſleep and reſt. Force not preuailing, the reſtleſſe enemy leauing nothing vnattempted, by a queint deuiſe was like to haue taken one of the gates of the city:there was growing in the Iſland great plenty of a kind of wood much of the nature of the Firre or Pitch tree, eaſie to be ſet on fire, but hardly to be quenched,but diffring in this,that in burning it gaue forth ſuch a noiſom ſmell, as was not by any man well to be endured:of this kind of wood the Turks brought a wonderfull quantity to one of the gates called Limoſina, which once ſet on fire, could not by the defendants by any means be quenched,although they caſt whole pipes & tuns of water at once into it,but moſt terribly burning cloſe vnto the gate by the ſpace of foure dayes, with the vehemencie of the heat and lothſomneſſe of the ſmell,ſo troubled the defendants,that ſcarce any of them could endure to ſtand vpon the wall, but forſaking the ſame, were euer and anon like to haue giuen the enemy leaue to enter.

Bragadinus encourageth the defendants.

Bragadinus the Gouernour,more careful of the common ſafety than of his own danger,ceaſed not ſtill to be going about from one place to another; telling the Italians, That now was giuen the fitteſt occaſion they could deſire, for them to ſhew their valor in,and to gaine great honour of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glory, if by their onely means without any other help, the city ſo far off from the reliefe of the Chriſtians might be defended,and the great power of the Turks defeated:this(he ſaid)was the only time wherein it ſtood them moſt vpon to play the men;for if they could keep that little was left, the reſt of the Iſle would be eaſily recouered:and although the Turks army exceeded far in number, yet did they excell them in proweſſe and valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handfull of men,had oftentimes preuailed againſt moſt infinit multitudes:now all the eies of the world, as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, ſo that if they held out againſt ſo great a power, both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Chriſtendome extoll their inuincible courage and proweſſe, and that they themſelues ſhould therby reap both great profit and honour: neither that any thing could be alledged, why they ſhould not be compared with the worthy knights of Malta, who to their eternall fame deliuered themſelues out of the mouth of the Turke,and left to the world a moſt faire example for men valiantly to ſtand in ſo good a quarrell vpon their own defence:Nicoſia(he ſaid)was loſt rather by the cowardiſe of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemy. He alſo praiſed the fidelitie and courage of the Græcians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Venetians, or induced to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turks gouernment:and perſuaded them,with the ſame reſolution to defend their owne city, that they ſaw in the Venetian ſoldiers,fighting for them, and for their own honour to ſtriue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their countrey, their wiues, and children, againſt the tyrannie of the Turks; foraſmuch as aid would in ſhort time come,and ſet them free from all danger. The Senat alſo in like maner had ſent letters to Famaguſta,willing them to be of good cheere,and yet a while to hold out the ſiege, and that they ſhould be in ſhort time relieued.

Baleonius a valiant captaine.

Baleonius alſo Generall of the garriſon ſouldiers, himſelfe in armes was preſent at euery skirmiſh,carefully foreſeeing what was in euery place and at all times to bee done; and by encouraging of his ſouldiers, and aduenturing of his perſon, ſhewed himſelfe to be both a worthy commander and a valiant ſoldier. Neither did the ſoldiers alone,but euen the women alſo what they might, ſtriuing aboue the power of the ſtrength both of the minds and bodies;ſome bringing meat,ſome weapons vnto the defendants,and others,ſtones,beds,cheſts,and ſuch like ſtuffe to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now to wax ſcant,8000 of the vulgar ſort of people were turned out of the city,who al in ſafety were ſuffred to paſſe through the midſt of the Turks army,to ſeek their liuing in the country.

Thus

The Turks ſeek to vndermine the City.

A Thus whilſt open force preuailed not according to the Turks deſire, they began in foure places to vndermine the City, in hope to haue found entrance: but the defendants doubting ſuch a matter, by diligent liſtning, and great veſſels ſet full of water neer vnto the wals, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof diſcouered their works, and with countermines fruſtrated thoſe of the enemy: yet in ſo great a ſtir and hurly-burly all things were not poſſibly to be diſcouered; wherby it came to paſſe, that whilſt the defendants were altogether buſied in defending the wals, a mine not perceiued was ſuddenly blowne vp neer to the tower ſtanding vpon the hauen; by force wherof a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a moſt horrible noiſe ouerthrown. With the fall therof the Turks thinking the City as good as taken, with an horrible ſhout and outcry mounted the wall, and in the breach ſet vp B their enſigns; County *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the ſame, ſo ſuddenly ouerthrown: which *Neſtor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came ſpeedily from his own ſtation, to repulſe the enemy now ready to haue entred. The fight became there moſt fierce and terrible, on the one ſide hope, on the other ſide deſperation, inraged their minds: the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themſelues but a little they ſhould forthwith win the city; and the defendants propounding nothing vnto themſelues but ſhamefull death and torture, fought as men altogether deſperat. The Turks truſted to their multitude, and the Chriſtians to their valor. In the mean time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certain great pieces aptly placed, out of the caſtle ſlew a number of the Turks as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in haſt with a company of couragious ſoldiers, C to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and cheering vp his followers, thruſt himſelf with the formoſt into the face of the breach; and there not only appointed what was to be don, and with cheerfull countenance encouraged his ſoldiers, but with his own hand, hauing ſlain many, took one of the Turks enſigns, when as he had before ſlain the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the ſight therof others incouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, as men fighting for their laſt hope. In fine the Turks were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thouſand carkaſes of their ſlain fellows in the town ditch, with fourteen of their enſigns which were brought into the city. Neither was this victory gained without ſome loſſe of the Chriſtians; about a hundred were ſlain, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid Nocius*, *Celſus Feto*, *Eraſmus Firmo*, all Captaines. D

The breach notably defended.

For all this, they in the city, took ſmall reſt, the Turks great ſhot ſtil thundring in amongſt them; & that in ſuch furious ſort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of Iune) were numbred about fiue thouſand great ſhot, ſhot into the city. With which continuall battery, one of the round bulwarks of the towne was ſo ſhaken, as that a part of the front therof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part ſtood leaning ready to fall, in ſuch ſort as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Chriſtians perceiuing, preſently vndermined the ſame bulwark, and in the mine placed certain barrels of gunpouder. The Turks comming to aſſault the place they had ſo ſore battered, the defendans after ſome ſmall reſiſtance feigned themſelues to retire for feare, ſo to draw the enemy the faſter on; who was no ſooner come to the E place deſired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwark with al them that ſtood thereon; of whom ſome were ouerwhelmed with the earth it ſelfe, other ſome were blowne vp in the aire, and falling downe again, miſerably periſhed; and other ſome ſhot (as it were) out of a gun, fell down a great way off, and ſo were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a moſt pleaſant ſight. About ſix hundred of the Turks periſhed at this aſſault, amongſt whom were *Muſtapha* Generall of the voluntary ſoldiers, and *Feregates* a man of great marke amongſt the Turks. But by the haſty firing of the mine, there periſhed alſo about an hundred of the Chriſtians, ouertaken in their owne deuice, amongſt whom were alſo ſome of great account.

They of Famaguſta blew vp one of their own battered bulwarks with 600 Turks thereon.

The Turks inflamed with their loſſes, were more inraged with the ſpeeches and perſuaſions F of *Muſtapha* their general; who moſt earneſtly exhorted them, with one conſent to aſſaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the Iland, ſpoiled of al their country, truſting more vnto the ſtrength of the place, than of themſelues, intreating for nothing more, than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (ſaid he) is there impregnable for the Turks? Nicoſia, Zigeth, and ſuch other ſtrong Townes woon, what are they but the monuments and teſtimo-

Famaguſta hardly aſſaulted.

nies of the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians,and the proweſſe of the Turks?This day (ſaid he)wil G
confirm your former labors & victories,which you before vndertook for honor,but here ſhal
you haue honor mixt with gold,and prey ſufficient to make you all rich. The Turks incouraged
with this ſpeech of their General,as men forgetfull of all dangers, began a more terrible
ſiege than before;and hauing with incredible labor made three great mines; and firing them,
ouerthrew a great part of the caſtle wall,the notable defence of the hauen. Which don, they
with all their force oftentimes aſſailed the city,as if it ſhould haue bin their laſt labour;neither
ceaſed they ſo to do night or day. At which time alſo that part of the city which is beaten
vpon with the ſea,was aſſaulted by them in the gallies alſo.

The poor Chriſtians ſpent with deadly wounds,continual labor, perpetual watching both
night and day,and now brought to ſmal number, hardly withſtood the furious enemy, aſſaying H
them in ſo many places at once, and held out that tempeſt rather with courage than
ſtrength. In the mean while the enemies army increaſed daily,the Turks in hope of the like
ſpoil they had at Nicoſia,continually repairing out of the countries therabout,to the camp.
The Chriſtian captains ſeeing their men with continual aſſaults ſore ſpent (inſomuch that
how many ſoeuer they ſeemed to be,there was not aboue 300 ſound men left) but 7 barrels
of pouder remaining,want of al things daily increaſing,and hope of aid decreaſing,& the Venetians,
their only comfort,ſo far from them;the captains (I ſay) themſelues began to quaile
in courage: and the rather, for that the relief ſent from Venice could not poſſibly be brought
them,but ſtaid at Crete; the Turks gallies ſtil lying before Famaguſta,ſo that nothing could
in ſafety be brought thither. This fear of the Captains could not long be hid or diſſembled, I
but that it was of the Citiſens perceiued: who hauing neither power to hold out the ſiege,
neither place left to fly vnto, ouercome with neceſſity,came flocking to the Gouernour, crauing
of him aid and comfort; and with aboundance of tears beſought him,in this Common
deſperation to take compaſſion of them,their wiues,and children,a people that had always ſo
wel deſerued of the Venetian State. Their Walls (they ſaid) were beaten down, their Bulwarks
ouerthrown, the ſoldiers that remained ſpent with wounds, watching, and famin; the
Enemies ſtrength increaſing daily; ſo that they muſt needs in ſhort time all periſh with the
ſword,if the city were by force taken. Wherfore they beſought him,that yeelding to neceſſity,
which no power was euer able to withſtand, he would at laſt whilſt time yet ſerued, prouide
for the ſafety of ſo faithfull and kind a people,and not to refuſe any conditions,how hard K
ſoeuer.

They of Famaguſta parley with the Turks

The requeſts and tears of the Citiſens of Famaguſta, with the due conſideration of the
diſtreſſed ſtate of the City,mooued *Bragadinus* to compaſſion; who comforting them vp in
beſt ſort he could,perſuaded them to be of good cheer,for that he had care both of them and
their ſtate, and would ſo prouide for them, as that they ſhould neuer repent themſelues of
their fidelity and loialty toward the Venetian State. Hee in the mean time conſidering the
greatneſſe of the danger which preſently hung ouer all their heads,propounded the matter in
a general councel called together for the ſame purpoſe;where after a little debating the matter,
they all agreed to yeeld: only *Baleonius* at the firſt diſſenting, as doubtful of the Turkes
faith;but afterwards yeelding vnto the opinion of the reſt. So an herauld being ſent vnto the L
Baſſa,a truce was taken for certain daies to parle in, and hoſtages giuen on both ſides, during
which time not ſo much as a dart was thrown,or an arrow ſhot from either ſide. After a few
daies parly the conditions were agreed vpon, wherupon the City ſhould be yeelded into the
power of the Baſſa;which were theſe: Firſt,That the inhabitants in the city yet aliue,ſhould
in ſafety injoy their liues,liberty,and goods,with the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion.
That the Gouernour with the reſt of the Captains and ſouldiers might in ſafety depart with
bag and baggage; and at their departure to take with them fiue great pieces of ordnance and
three horſes, which ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them to make choice of;& that the Turks ſhould
ſafely conduct them into Crete,finding them both victuall and ſhipping. All which things
were with more kindnes promiſed,than with fidelity performed: yet all theſe matters agreed M
vpon and conceiued into writing,as alſo by ſolemn oath on both ſides confirmed;the gouernor
ſending a meſſenger before,requeſted that he might haue leaue to ſee the Baſſa,and to deliuer
vnto him the keyes of the city. Leaue being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouernor, *Baleonius*,
Andreas Bragadinus, *Laurentius Thepolus* Earle of Paphos, *Io. Antonius Quirinus*, *Aloiſius Martinengus*,

A *tinengus* with a great ſort of other Captains came into the Camp: but before they entred into
the Baſſa's pauilion, they were commanded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did. At
the firſt meeting *Muſtapha* entertained them curteouſly, and with many glorious words, as if
it had bin in admiration, extolled their worthy valour and courage; ſaying, That he was glad
now to know them by face, whoſe valiant minds he had before known by their moſt valiant
deeds. Now proweſſe and valor ſeemed not only in ſafety, but alſo honoured of the Enemy:
when after a long diſcourſe, the falſe Baſſa revolved vnto the miſchief and trechery he had before
reſolued vpon; complaining, that certain of his men taken at the ſiege, had bin afterward
againſt all reaſon and order ſlain. Which the gouernor and the reſt vtterly denying, hee ſtart
vp as in a rage, and with high words and ſtern countenance vrging the fact, commanded them
B all to be forthwith caſt in bonds; and ſo bringing them out of his pauilion, in the ſight of the
Army, contrary to his oath and promiſe cauſed them all to be ſlain. At which time *Bragadinus*
and *Theupolus* were oft times commanded to lay down their heads to haue had them ſtruck
off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reſerued, not to ſaue them, but with
more exquiſit puniſhment and torture to ſatisfie the barbarous cruelty of the faithleſſe and
vnmercifull Tyrans. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his ears before cut off in deſpight,
was brought forth to be wondred at, and tortured with the moſt extremeſt kind of torture
that Tyrannie it ſelf could haue deuiſed: for diſpoiled of his jewels and attyre, and a basket
laid vpon his ſhoulders filled with earth, he was inforced oftentimes to carry the ſame, to repair
the rampiers that were ouerthrown; and euer as he paſſed by, the proud Baſſa inſulting
C vpon him, to fall down and kiſſe the ground at his feet: and ſo buffeted with the Turkes fiſts;
and ſpurned as a dog with their feet, was in great deriſion and deſpight asked, whether he hoped
that Chriſt his God would come to helpe him or no? Which indignity of it ſelf bitter
and miſerable, the dignity of the man made much more miſerable; whoſe comly and ſtately
countenance, with his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extremity added vnto him a certain
majeſty and grace. In this ſo foul a ſight of vertue troden vnder foot, the poor Chriſtians
could neither wel ſtay their tears, nor let them fall for fear of the Turks diſpleaſure. But the
forſworn Baſſa, not only forgetfull of all humanity, but inraged rather with extream cruelty,
cauſed that noble and worthy *Bragadinus* to be ſet in a chair, and his skin flain off from him
quick: a puniſhment vnworthy of him that ſuffered it, but moſt worthy him that inflicted the
D ſame. Yet in ſo great & horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word not beſeeming
a faithfull Chriſtian, and the honor of his country; only he called vpon God for mercy, and
deteſted the Turks perfidious trechery, and ſo breathed out his life. But the Tyrant, worthy
of eternall infamy, not ſatisfied with the torture of the liuing man, cauſed the head to be cut
off from the dead body, and vpon the point of a ſpear to be ſet vp on a high place for all men
to look vpon. His skin alſo ſtuffed with chaffe he cauſed to be hanged vp at the yards arm, and
ſo to be caried about; not ſo true a trophy of his victory, as a teſtimony of his perfidious tyrannie.
Two daies after, County *Theupolus*, after he had bin moſt ſhamefully intreated, ful of
the marks of the Turks cruelty, was (to make an end withall) ſhamefully hanged in the market
place. With what cruelty the Baſſa had tyranniſed vpon the Nobility, with the ſame he
E alſo raged vpon the meaner ſort of citiſens, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he chained in the galies,
and caried away the reſt into bondage: 300 Chriſtians, ſome ſoldiers, ſome citiſens, that
came forth with the gouernor to ſee the Turks camp, were there alſo ſlain. *Neſtor Martinengus*
a famous captain eſcaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Baſſa's Eunuchs; who
by the help of a Greek fiſherman got to Leptis, and from thence to Crete, and ſo afterwards
to Venice; where he faithfully reported to *Aloyſius Moſenicus* the Duke, the whole proces of
that War, with the loſſe of that City: and that in the ſpace of threeſcore and ten daies there
was aboue a hundred and forty thouſand great ſhot diſcharged againſt the city. Such Noblemen
and gentlemen as eſcaped out of this ſo general a ſlaughter, baniſhed their Country, and
in miſery, diſperſed without hope of return, led afterward a miſerable and vagrant life, though
F ſome of them euen at this day (as I haue bin credibly informed) are by the Venetian State
right wel maintained. The country people and artificers were generally by the Turks ſpared,
for the peopling of the Country. This was the fatal ruin of Cyprus, one of the moſt fruitfull
and beautiful Iſlands of the Mediterranian. The loſſe wherof not without cauſe grieued many
Chriſtian princes, as ſometime a kingdome of it ſelfe, but now a prouince of the Turkiſh

The treache. Baſſa breaketh his faith, and cruelly maſſacres Bragadinus and diuers others.

Cyprus loſt.

Empire:our ſins, or the euil agreement of Chriſtian princes, or both the cauſe therof, I know G
not;neither if I did,durſt I ſo ſay.

Whilſt *Muſtapha* yet lay at the ſiege of Famaguſta, the other two Baſſa's, *Partau* and *Haly*,
(the one the Admiral,and the other General of the ſoldiers appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping
of the ſea,that no relief ſhould be ſent by the Venetians to Famaguſta: and further, as
occaſion ſerued to infeſt their dominions) about the midſt of May arriued in Eubœa, with
230 gallies: whither *Vluzales* Viceroy of Algiers,with diuers other the Turks notable pyrats
reſorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from Eubœa,and ſailing alongſt
the coaſt of Myſia,Ionia,Caria,and ſo directly toward the Rhodes,they were met with
30 gallies of the Turks aduenturers. After that, hauing left certain gallies to lie before Famaguſta,
they directed their courſe for the Iſland of Crete, and the thirteenth of Iune put into H
the bay of Amphimalea,now called Suda,and there landed 12000 men.

The Turk with a great fleet arriues at Crete.

Crete deſcribed

The Iſland of Crete,now called Candia,is greater than Cyprus,but leſſer than Sicilia or
Sardinia: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the Iſlands of the Mediterranian. It was
in antient time famous for many things,but eſpecially for a hundred cities which ſtood therin,
as witneſſeth amongſt others, *Seneca*, *Vrbibus centum ſpecioſa Creta*: but at this time it hath
only three,Candia a Colony of the Venetians,wherof the Iſle now taketh name; Canea, and
Rhetimo. The circuit of the Iſland is fiue hundred and twenty miles, ful of hills; for which
cauſe people of the Country are much delighted in hunting;in it is no nauigable riuer or venimous
creature. It is now moſt famous thorow a great part of the World, for the good
Malmſey which there groweth, and is from thence in great aboundance ſent into many far I
countries. Therin grows alſo great plenty of Cypres trees, ſeruing for ſhipping. It is at this
day ſubject to the Venetians. The Turks being landed, and ranging vp and down the Country,
did what harm they poſſibly could,burning and ſpoiling all as they went; vntil that at laſt
they were vpon the ſudden incountred by *Franciſcus Iuſtinianus*, who but a little before their
landing was come into the Iſland with a thouſand ſouldiers,and now joining with the Iſland
people,notably charged them,being altogether diſperſed and ſeeking after prey, and hauing
ſlain many of them,inforced the reſt to retyre to their Gallies. The next day the Turks landing
again in great number,burnt diuers towns,and ranſacked Setia and Rhetimo,where they
took a rich prey,and caried away many priſoners. But loded with their booty,diſperſed,and
fearing nothing leſſe than to be at that time ſet vpon, they were aſſailed by *Lucas Michael* a K
valiant Captain, two thouſand of them ſlain, and with the loſſe of their booty and priſoners
glad to retyre vnto their Gallies. Thus repulſed from Crete,they took their courſe to Cythera,
Zacynthus,and Cephalenia, Iſlands ſubject to the Venetians;where beſides other harmes
by them don, they carried away with them ſix thouſand poor Chriſtians into moſt miſerable
captiuity.

The Turks driuen from Crete.

Departing thence,and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Epirus, they came to Suppolo an hauen
town in Epirus,which *Venerius* in the beginning of theſe wars had taken from the Turks,but
was now again by them recouered. After that,they came to Dulcigno, which the Turks had
but a little before beſieged by land,for that the Gouernor therof and of Antivari (another
town of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia) had compacted with three hundred L
Epirots to ſtir vp the country into rebellion,and to reuolt to the Venetians. For the effecting
wherof the Epirots requeſted of the Venetians ſix thouſand ſoldiers to make head;which the
Venetians promiſed to ſend them. Wherupon the aforeſaid Epirots forthwith took Arms,
and raiſed moſt part of Epirus into rebellion:vnto whom was ſent at the firſt a captain with a
hundred Italians from Catora. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promiſed aid,ſaw
themſelues on euery ſide hardly beſet with their enemies,diſpairing of any good ſucces,they
yeelded themſelues to the mercy of *Achmetes Baſſa*, *Selymus* his great Lieutenant in Grecia,
(who to repreſſe that ſo dangerous a rebellion was come thither with an Army of fourſcore
thouſand Turks.) So was a moſt fair occaſion loſt,when as the reſt of the Epirots, inflamed
with the hope of liberty, were ready to haue come vnto their friends already in Arms,and by M
their example like enough to haue raiſed all Grecia into rebellion. But now deceiued of their
expectation,they bewailed their miſery,and truſting to the promiſe of the Venetians, they
had caſt themſelues and al theirs into moſt manifeſt danger. They of Dulcigno ſeeing themſelues
hardly beſet both by ſea and land,ſent to *Partau Baſſa*, and couenanting with him, That

A fair occaſion let ſlip.

A they might in ſafety depart, deliuered vnto him the town; and ſo *Sara Martinengus* gouernor of the town, with the gariſon ſoldiers, were in four ſhips conueyed in ſafety to Raguſium. As for the citiſens, promiſe was kept with them after the Turkiſh maner. In the ſame hurly the Turks took alſo the towns of Antivari and Budua. Antivari was both by ſcituation and fortification ſtrong, and furniſhed with a good gariſon. Neuertheles *Alexander Donatus* gouernor therof, a man of no experience in martial affairs, ouercome with the preſent fear, & diſpairing to be able to hold the town, cowardly yeelded the ſame vnto the enemy. Which his beaſtly cowardiſe the Senat ſuffered not vnpuniſhed, but confiſcating his goods, and remoouing him from the Senat, caſt him into exile. From Antivari, the Turks following their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the Bay called Rizonicus, but now the Bay of Catharo, and B both by ſea and land layd hard ſiege vnto the ſtrong Town of Catharo, called in antient time Aſcrivium: againſt which they caſt vp two great bulwarks, and planted theron nine great pieces of Artillery, wherwith to haue battered the Town and Caſtle. But the defendants as reſolute men ſallying out, put them from their Ordnance, and inforced them againe to their Gallies.

Certain ſtrong townes of the Venetians yeelded vnto the Turks.

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Vluzales* and *Caracoza*, both men of great account and name among the Turks, got leaue for ten days of the Admiral, with 60 Gallies to ſpoile the Iſlands neer therabouts ſubiect vnto the Venetians. Who comming to the Iſland Curzola, about eighty miles Eaſtward from Raguſium, landed their men, with purpoſe to aſſault the town of Curzola, of the ſame name with the Iſland. Which *Anthonius Contarenus* the gouer- C nor therof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for fear out of the town, into the rocks and places of more ſafety, after whom the townſmen followed alſo: ſo that in the town were not left aboue 20 men, and about 80 women; who with weapons in their hands, after the reſt were fled, came to the walls, as wiſhing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous enemy. But at ſuch time as the Turks began to approch the town, and the women with ſtones, fire, and ſuch weapons as they had, were beating them off, and with greater courage defending the place, than was to haue bin in their ſex expected, by the goodnes of God a great tempeſt aroſe ſuddenly out of the North, which ſo outragiouſly toſſed the gallies, that *Vluzales* & *Caracoza* were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and to get them thence into a place of more ſafety. Sailing alongſt the coaſt, they by the way ſpoiled Lyſna, Bracia, and Liſſa, D little Iſlands vpon the coaſt of Dalmatia, out of which they carried away 1600 poor Chriſtians into captiuity. Theſe arch-pyrats at their pleaſure roaming vp and down the ſea, fortuned to light vpon a ſhip of the Chriſtians, bound from Meſſana to Corcyra, which they took, and in rifling therof found certain letters directed to the gouernor of Corcyra, certifying him of the league then but lately concluded among the Chriſtian Princes. Which letters they ſent in poſt to *Selymus*, to giue him knowledge therof: who therupon writ to his Admirals, With all hoſtility to infeſt any of the dominions of the Chriſtian Confederats.

Curzola forſaken by the men, is defended by women.

The Turks fleet thus raging and reigning in the Adriatick, brought a great fear not onely vpon the coaſts of Dalmatia, Iſtria, and the Iſlands therabouts which were by them moſt afflicted, but alſo vpon the ſea coaſt of Apulia, and all alongſt that ſide of Italy, yea and vpon the E city of Venice it ſelf: inſomuch as they were glad to fortifie aswel the City, as the frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and gariſons, as did alſo the King and the pope in Italy: for why, no ſhip or gally could now look out of any port but it was preſently ſurpriſed and taken by the Turks. Which with the ſundry calamities before receiued, ſo confounded the Venetians, that they in their aſſemblies and conſultations ſeemed rather to quake for fear, than after their wonted maner, grauely to conſult how the enemy was to be repulſed. Yet for the more ſafety of their city, and for fear leſt the Turks fleet ſhould forcibly break in vpon them, they ſtrongly fortified the paſſages through the rock or bank which defendeth the city from the ſea, and kept continually twelue thouſand men in readines in the City, for the more aſſurance therof.

F All the Turks fleet being again met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from Aulona, the 26 of Auguſt, and ſailed directly to Corcyra: which little Iſland ſeemed to be compaſſed in round with the great enemies fleet. *Partau Baſſa* at his firſt arriual there landed 800 horſemen and a thouſand foot, who ranging vp and down the Iland, did great hurt, and burnt the very ſuburbs of the city. At which time the gariſon ſoldiers ſallying out vpon them with a thou-

ſand horſmen and 500 foot ſlew a great number of them, and among the reſt one *Paphus Rays*
a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet hauing don wonderful harm in the Venetian territory, G
as wel in the Iſlands as vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, inriched with the ſpoile of thoſe
countries, and carying away with them fifteen thouſand moſt miſerable captiues; departing
from Corcyra, arriued al in the bay of Corinth, now called the gulf of Lepanto, where we wil
for a while leaue them to ride in ſafety.

The Turkes put into the Bay of Lepanto.

At ſuch time as this great fleet (the terror of that part of Chriſtendom) firſt put into the
Adriatique, *Venerius* the Venetian Admiral then lying with fifty gallies at Corcyra, and fearing
if he ſhould longer ſtay there, to be inforced with ſo ſmall a power to fight againſt ſo
ſtrong an enemy, or els ſo to be ſhut vp, that he could not joyn his forces with the Spaniſh
fleet, which was daily expected; vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to Meſſana, H
there more commodiouſly and more ſafely to attend the comming of *Don Iohn* of Auſtria, general
of the Spaniſh forces. At his comming *Columnius* met him with 12 gallies (which the
great Duke of Florence had ſent in the aid of the Confederats) and three gallies of Malta,
who only were yet come thither, and with great honor receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius*
Quirinus and *Antonius Canalis* came thither alſo with 62 gallies, before appointed by the
Venetians for the relief of Famaguſta, but now called back again to join with the reſt of the
fleet: and in ſhort time the gallies of Sicily arriued there alſo. At laſt after long expectation
in the later end of Auguſt came *Don Iohn* with his Spaniſh fleet; a man then about 24 yeares
old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemiſh only excepted: who although
he was moſt dear vnto his father *Charles* the fift, yet left he him nothing by his Wil, but only I
commended him to his ſon *Philip* as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing
of his comming, went to meet him, and that with ſuch triumph and joy, that all the former
heauines before conceiued of his long ſtaying, was turned into gladnes, with moſt aſſured
hope of triumphant victory; their doubled forces, and two great fleets joined in one, encouraged
them aboue meaſure, filling all the Weſt with expectation of ſome great matter.
The Venetian fleet conſiſted of 108 gallies, ſix galliaſſes, two tall ſhips, and a great number
of ſmall galliots. Vnto them were joined 12 gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was admiral.
And with *Don Iohn* the General, and *Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral, came 81 Gallies, of
whom three were from the Knights of Malta. In this fleet, beſide mariners, were reckoned to
be twenty thouſand men, an Army not only beautiful for ſhew (as conſiſting of moſt choice K
bodies) but indeed ſtrong and puiſſant, old beaten ſouldiers almoſt throughout it, in euery
place intermixed with others of leſſe skil: many known to be men of great experience, rich
and luſty bodies, were by name called forth to this ſo honorable ſeruice; and diuers others of
great nobility, as wel old men, as yong and luſty gallants, for the naturall hatred they bare against
the Common Enemy, came, and as voluntary men cheerfully thruſt themſelues into
that religious War; euery of which Noblemen as they were greater by birth or power, ſo had
they drawn after them a greater number of their fauorits and followers, ſtrong and able bodies
of their own charge brauely armed, who ſought for no other pay for their pains and danger,
but by ſome notable victory to eterniſe their names, or honourably to ſpend their liues in ſo
iuſt a quarrel, as for the defence of the Chriſtian faith and Religion. Among theſe moſt honorable L
and reſolute men were three of greateſt mark, *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of Parma, in
time to be the honor and glory of Italy his natiue country; whoſe vntimely death in the low
Countries euen his honorable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cauſe and
worthy deſert accounted among the moſt politique and famous leaders of our age. The ſecond
was *Franciſcus Maria* prince of Vrbin, a yong man honorably deſcended, and of an inuincible
courage. And the third *P. Iordanus Vrſinus*, an honorable gentleman of the family of the
Vrſini in Rome.

The forces of the confederats meet together at Meſſana.

Don John of Auſtria General.

All the power of the confederat princes thus met together at Meſſana, and al things now in
readineſſe, a Councel was called by the General, to reſolue what courſe to take in thoſe moſt
dangerous wars, againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy: vnto which Councel were admitted onely *Don* M
Iohn the General himſelf, and *Aloiſius RecheZenes*, of ſome called *Requeſenius*, great Commendor
of Caſtile, the Generals lieutenent, or rather director of his actions; *Sebaſtianus Venerius* the
Venetian Admiral; and *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* General proueditor, of equal authority and reputation
with the Admiral; and one Secretary. *Marcus Antonius Columnius* the Popes admi-

rall,

A ſal,with *Pompeius Colonna* his kinſman. The chief point wheron theſe great Commaunders
were to reſolue,was, Whether they ſhould aduenture the general fortune of a battel againſt ſo
ſtrong an enemy,or only ſeek to defend the frontiers of their own dominions. Which queſtion
(as all others of like ſort)was of diuers diuerſly fanſied, euery man pleaſing himſelfe with
his own reaſons. *Requiſenius, Don Iohn* his chief Counſellor(without whom he willingly did
nothing,and vndoubtedly a man of great valour and experience) ſpeaking firſt, ſaid, That the
Enemies ſtrength was neceſſarily to be known,before they committed all to the fortune of a
battel; and that therfore delay was to be vſed,leſt improuident haſt ouerthrew all. Matters of
War that were to be decided by the ſword,were (as he ſaid) with great and ſound aduice to
be adminiſtred,for that the errors of battel,wherby all was to be put in haſard, were not again
B to be amended. He highly commended *Scipio Africanus*,who counſelled great Commanders
not to fight with the enemy but vpon ſome great advantage, or els therunto forced by neceſſity.
But as things now ſtood,what opportunitie could be miniſtred,or aduantage taken,the
enemy keeping himſelf cloſe within the bay of Corinth,and no apparant means how to draw
him out from thence. Neither that he for his part was of ſo great ſpirit,as within the harbor
in place of diſaduantage,without hope,to ſet vpon an enemy in common eſtimation ſtronger
than himſelf. For what diſhonor ſhould they incur, if hauing receiued ſome notable loſſe;
they ſhould be inforced with ſhame to giue ouer the enterpriſe begun? And to beſiege Orichus,
Dirrachium,or Caſtrum Novum,frontier Towns of the Turks, ſo to draw them out to
battel; what were this more, than to ſhew a certain fear & diſtruſt in themſelues, and to diſcourage
C the minds of the ſouldiers? For as well the Enemy, as the common ſouldior,would
forthwith deem ſuch a poor attempt to proceed of a meer fear,as to make a vain ſhew of ſomthing
doing,when as they durſt not incounter the enemy in his ful ſtrength. As for the other
reaſon drawn from Neceſſity; What neceſſity had they,ſo deſperatly to ſet vpon the enemy,
who vpon the approch of Winter muſt needs in ſhort time lay vp his Gallies; and being already
in ſafe harbor, would neuer be drawn to the haſard of a battel, eſpecially like hope,like
ſtrength, like danger appearing on both ſides? Wherfore it were beſt in his opinion, only to
make a great ſhew of their forces, ſo to terrifie the barbarous Enemy; but in no caſe to hazard
the hope of the whole Chriſtian Commonweal vpon the fortune of one battell. He further
alſo propounded vnto him the vncertain euents of things, the common chances of War,
D the ſtrength of the Enemy as wel by ſea as by land, with whom they themſelues were not (as
he ſaid) indeed comparable. Then what an infinit heap of miſeries was like to ouerwhelm
the Chriſtian Commonweal,if they ſhould in any thing miſcarry. And that therefore ſafe
aduice was in this caſe to be preferred, before that which was attended vpon with great and
imminent danger.

The Venetians vrge battell.

On the other ſide the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to
their State,were far of another opinion. Where *Venerius* and *Barbadicus* not only vehemently
perſuaded,but moſt inſtantly requeſted the Generall, with the reſt of the great Commanders,
That as ſoon as opportunity ſerued they would commit the matter to the trial of a battel,
and not make that Councel,which their couragious minds might make moſt glorious &
E fortunat,by declining of battel to become diſhonorable & fruſtrat. If deſire of honour (ſayd
they) mooue vs not,ſhal neither theſe things mooue vs? the loſſe of ſo great and chargeable
a preparation, the ſpoiling of our frontiers, and the inſolencie of our enemies, which we increaſe
by delay? We defend our ſelues and ours,we inuade not them: We go not about to
driue the Turk out of his Empire; but that we our ſelues be not by him driuen out of our own
countries. Wherfore we ought ſo much the more readily and ſpeedily to think of battell,by
how much the neceſſity of him is greater that repulſeth a danger,than of him that offreth the
ſame. What are our weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? Shall the Turks ſo often prouoke
vs,& we ſtil be vnreuenged? Shall we alway ſhew our weapons, & neuer fight? One fortunat
battel is able to blot out the infamy of former time, & to fil vs with hope of future happines.
F If nothing els, let the very indignity of the matter ſtir vs vp to battell. And what
doubt is there but that the Enemy ſwelling with pride,wil come forth with his fleet and giue
vs battel? Think you that a ſmal diſcredit wil inſue to our honour and reputation,if contented
with a vain brag,hauing not once skirmiſhed with the Enemy, or ſo much as ſeen him,we
ſhall return home,to the generall ſhame of Chriſtendom? See how many peſtilent inconveniences

veniences

uenienccs will inſue, if we ſhall take this courſe. This manner of proceeding wil fil all mens minds with diſpair; the people wil murmure, That they are to no purpoſe oppreſſed with exactions and tributes. The confederat princes (carefull of this war) will ſay, That they haue in vain wearied themſelues with often embaſſies and care therof. The proud enemy wil account our departure, or declining of battel, for a maniſeſt victory. The next year we may looke for him again with a greater and ſtronger fleet, which wil not only make a more heauy War, but deſtroy and bear down all before it. At which time who can aſſure vs that the Chriſtians will haue the like preparation, if we ſhal now delay to fight. What labor is to be taken? what coſt to be beſtowed, to ſet forth again ſo great a fleet? Vnto theſe cauſes which impoſe vpon vs a neceſſity and force to fight, is adioyned not only a ſingular regard of our honor, but a moſt notable opportunity alſo offered. We neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furniſhed with men, munition, and all things els to be required for the gaining of a notable victory: & who knows not the Chriſtian gallies are far ſtronger than the Turks? Beſides that, the greateſt part of their beſt ſoldiers are in hope of prey gon into Cyprus, who there ſeeking after ſpoil, & forgetful of the enemy, without controlment glut themſelues with the pleaſures of that rich Iſland, wherby their fleet is ſo much the weaker. All which things, as they promiſe no hard victory, ſo do they propound vnto vs honor, glory, fame, and moſt honorable rewards; & open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the preſent, and recouery of that hath bin before loſt. What then ſtand we ſtil looking for? or why do we not in Gods name ioin that battel, which is vnto vs not only neceſſary, but profitable alſo. G H

Thus much ſaid, they began to intreat and beſeech the General and the reſt, not longer to ſuffer the Chriſtian commonweal to receiue loſſe vpon loſſe, but to repoſe their only hope in the good ſucces of one worthy battel; and neuer to look for the like opportunitie if they let ſlip the preſent. This matter of ſo great conſequence thus thorowly debated among the greateſt commanders, they thought it good to hear alſo the opinions of other noble Captains, of no leſſe experience than themſelues (then in the fleet) before they would conclude any thing. Among the reſt, *Antonius Cornea* and *Gabriel Serbellio*, both Spaniards, and for their great wiſedom and valor had in general reputation of all men; beeing demaunded their opinions, with moſt ſubſtantial reaſons declared the neceſſity of giuing battel; and that it was not ſo dangerous as to be therfore ſhunned or delaied, forſomuch as that violent enemy was far eaſier to be dealt withall at ſea than at land, where he muſt fight without his great multitude of men, the Turks chief hope, and onely means wherby they haue obtained ſo many victories againſt the Chriſtians. And ſo concluded their opinions with an effectuall perſuaſion to ſet forwards to Corcyra, and without delay as occaſion ſerued to giue the enemy battel. Which their opinion being generally wel liked, was ſhortly after by the General and the reſt approoued, & a reſolution ſet down for the giuing of battel. Which was no ſooner known but there was a general reioicing through the army, euery man cheerfully preparing himſelf to lay down his life in defence of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and that with ſuch an erneſt deſire of battel, that euery day now ſeemed nothing els but a delay of a moſt aſſured victory. I K

Cornea & Serbellio perſuade the giuing of battell.

The confederats put their fleet in order of battell.

Yet before they ſhould come into the ſight of the enemy, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the fleet into the ſea, and there to martial the ſame in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould euen then preſently haue ioined battel: to the intent, that by ſuch orderly diſpoſing of their fleet, and by appointing to euery man his place he was to keep, they might ſo acquaint them with the order of the battel, as that they ſhould when time ſerued, of themſelues without further direction, martial themſelues, and ſo more readily enter into battel. The next day the Admirals brought forth their fleets into the open ſea: in the right wing (which conſiſted of fifty three Gallies) was *Auria* placed; in the left wing was *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* with the like number of Gallies alſo; and in the middle battel ſtood the General himſelf with ſeuenty gallies: on the right hand of the General ſtood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius* his aſſociats. Thus with equal front the fleet ſet forward, as if they ſhould euen preſently haue ioined battel. Betwixt the wings and the middle battel was left no more ſpace but for three gallies to row: in the rereward behind the General followed *Requiſenius*, the great Commaunder of Caſtile, with his gallies. After *Columnius* followed the Admiral gally of Genoa, wherin was *Alexander Farneſius* Prince of Parma: and behind *Venerius* came the Admiral gally of Sauoy, and in her the Prince of Vrbin; in the ſpace betwixt the middle battel and the left wing, was L M

placed

A placed *Paulus Iordanus* : and betwixt the middle battel and the right wing was *Petrus Iuſtinianus*
with the gallies of Malta : vpon the left wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*, and *Quirinus* on
the right. About half a mile behind all the reſt followed *Alvarus Bacianus* Marquis of Sancrace,
and Admiral of the Neapolitan fleet, with 30 gallies; a man of great experience in matters
at ſea, and now ſo placed, to be at all times ready to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as
the fortune of the battel, or impreſſion of the enemy ſhould require. The Chriſtians had repoſed
great hope in ſix galliaſſes; which furniſhed with great ſtore of ordnance, & certain ſelect
companies of moſt reſolute ſoldiers, ſeemed rather like caſtles than ſhips. Theſe galliaſſes
conducted by *Franciſcus Dodus* a moſt expert captain, were placed aboue half a mile from
the fleet, two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battell: ſo far diſtant
B one from another, as that with equal ſpace they anſwered the whole bredth of the front
of the fleet, which was almoſt the ſpace of fiue miles, and ſerued the ſame in ſtead of moſt
ſtrong bulwarks. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not cloſe together, but ſuch a conuenient
diſtance one from another, as might ſerue for them at liberty to diſcharge their Ordnance
when time ſhould require. In the wings, as alſo in the main battel, were the Popes, the
Kings, and the Venetian Gallies indifferently intermixed, that by the quality of the danger
they ſhould haue more care to relieue one another than if they had ſerued apart. *Ioannes Cardonius*
a moſt valiant captain, with 8 gallies of Sicily and 2 galliots, was appointed to go ten
miles before the fleet, to deſcry what he might of the enemies doings, and in his return to join
the one half of his gallies to the one wing, and the other half to the other.

C In this ſort they departed from Meſſana, with purpoſe to ſeek out the enemy; and not long
after came to Paxo; where of a ſmall broil at the firſt had like to haue riſen a great miſchief:
for the next day, whilſt *Don Iohn* ſtaied there to take a view of the Venetian Gallies, and how
they were furniſhed both of men and munition; he finding them but weakly manned, for ſupplying
that want, appointed 4000 Spaniards and a thouſand Italians to be put abord into the
Venetian gallies where moſt need was.

Amongſt theſe ſouldiers was one company vnder the command of *Mutius Tortona* their
Captain, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboord the gally of *Andreas Calergus*,
firſt fel to words with the Captain of the gally, and after much ſtir into plain fight; ſo
that in a trice they were altogether by the ears, as wel the ſoldiers as the captains: of al which
D ſtir *Mutius* was the only author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, ſent the
captain of his own gally to appeaſe the tumult: who thruſting himſelf into the midſt of the
furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury fouly intreated, and diuers of them that came
with him ſhrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himſelf alſo of an hot nature) taking as
don in diſgrace of the Venetians, and therwith exceedingly moued; to the terror of others
cauſed *Mutius* and his Enſigne-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arm of the ſame gally; to
the great offence of all the Spaniards. The Generall alſo taking this execution in euill part,
ful of choler and indignation grieuouſly complained, that he himſelf as General was therin
not a little wronged; and that it became euery man to know what belonged to his place, and
not to incroch vpon his betters: ſo ſhould the conditions of the league be better kept, if euery
E Commander could keep himſelf within the bounds of his own authority. *Venerius* (he ſaid)
whoſe authority was inferior to his, could not of right without his command determine any
thing againſt *Mutius* a Spaniſh captain: and that therin his honor was impaired. For which
if he had not a publique and honorable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redreſſe his
wrong, and the league being broken, to carry away with him the Kings gallies. Neither wanted
there ſome, who fauoring *Don Iohns* quarrell, and angry with the Venetians, laid ſtill more
coles on the fire that was already too great. Hereunto *Venerius* ſent word vnto the Generall,
That he ſhould do wel to moderat his anger, and at leiſure to aduiſe himſelfe, and better to
vnderſtand the matter; ſo ſhould he plainly ſee, that there was neuer more iuſt and wholſom
execution don vpon any, than vpon thoſe mutinous perſons. But if he, carried away with the
F heat of youth, ſhould attempt any more violent courſe than ſtood with the common quiet, it
were not to be marueiled if he afterward repented. He (as he ſaid) was alſo in Arms, and
ready to ſhew himſelf a man. The matter was grown to that heat, that it was not onely not
far from the breaking off of the league; but euen at the point to haue ſet all on a broile, and
to haue put the whole fleet in great danger. Had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, againſt

A Spaniſh captain raiſeth a mutiny.

He and his Antient hanged.

Diſſention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius.

this tempeſt oppoſed himſelf:he with al his power labored to cure the wounded mind of the General,and to appeaſe his anger ; telling him, That the Common enemy would hardly be withſtood by them all,being at vnity and concord among themſelues:but if vnto the forrein danger were alſo ioined domeſtical diſcord,then were the Chriſtian commonweal vndon.But if he would moderat his anger,and more regard the honor and credit of the Venetian Admiral,than the puniſhment of a ſeditious man, euen they which were vnto him friends, and enemies vnto the Venetians,would highly commend his moderation & ſtaidnes. Yea,that howſoeuer the matter was don,it could not be now vndon. But whatſoeuer *Venerius* had don,was in his opinion iuſtly don. That it was alwaies ſo accounted and obſerued,that when princes joined their forces together, in matters that concerned the common mannaging of War,nothing was to be don without the command of the Generall ; but in matters belonging to the priuat gouernment of euery mans regiment,euery General had power of life and death ouer them that were vnder his command. Which to be ſo,was as he ſaid herby to be vnderſtood: King *Philip* was King of many kingdoms , and that he might long ſo be he heartily wiſhed : Now if any Millanois had committed any capital crime worthy of death,in the kingdom of Naples , ſhould the iudgment of that crime be of right to be referred vnto the King himſelf,as the chief Soueraign ? or vnto the Gouernor of Millain, where the offendor was born? or rather to the ciuil Magiſtrat of Naples,in whoſe iuriſdiction the fault was committed,and ſo of right there to be executed ? What difference was there then,but that *Mutius* might iuſtly ſeem to haue bin rightly puniſhed by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spaniſh Captain, had yet raiſed a mutiny in a Venetian Gally which was vnder the commaund of the Venetian Admiral. Beſide that, the diſcipline of War ſomtime required a ſeuere and exemplary kind of puniſhment. For which cauſe it was both notably and truly ſaid of *Clearchus*, That a General was to he more feared of his ſoldiers,than the enemy. And that among the antient Romans it had bin the cuſtom,euen for priuat men with more ſeuere puniſhment to reſtrain the factious Citiſen,than the moſt cruell enemy. That the fact was not ſo much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it. That it was the duty of Commaunders to withſtand the madnes of the mutinous. The author of ſedition and tumult, he ſaid, had ſuffered but condign puniſhment of his fact:who if he had eſcaped vnpuniſhed,would but haue bin the more diſordred. But now his exemplary puniſhment would deter others from the like inſolencie: Beſide that,the external danger was ſuch,as ought to reconcile them were they neuer ſo great enemies. That ſuch men as they were ſhould aboue all things regard what might profit or hurt the Common cauſe ; in contemplation wherof all priuat injuries were to be remitted : and the rather, for that the honor and diſhonour of the good or bad ſucces of ſuch an important action ſhould redound vnto themſelues,but eſpecially to the General. His own duty he had as he ſaid diſcharged,in dealing ſo plainly and faithfully with him,and could do no more but pray vnto God,with mercifull eie to behold the troubled Chriſtian Commonweal in ſo dangerous a time.

Don Iohn ſtill envieth Venerius.

Thus was the mutiny at Paxo by the great labour of *Columnius* hardly appeaſed. Neuertheleſſe *Don Iohn* could not afterwards endure to participate with *Venerius* his Counſels,or ſo much as to come into his company : but all was don by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Prouidetor.

Barbadicus a notable man.

This *Barbadicus* was not inferior to *Venerius* in courage and valor,but far beyond him in diſcretion : a man of a tall and goodly perſonage, wel coloured,his beard grizy, though not for age, for why he was not aboue fifty years old : beſides that,in his eies and countenance appeared a vivacitie or liuelines of ſpirit : in his very gate and comly motion of his body hee carried a certain grace and majeſty : his talk and ſpeech was alwaies calm and temperate, his counſell graue and ſound ; ſo that he was greatly honored and beloued of all men. His chief endeuor alſo was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Venetians,ſo well begun by *Columnius*. And ſo all things brought into ſome reaſonable good tearms,they departed from Paxo and came to the Iſland of Corcyra, the ſpoil wherof wel declared the Enemies late being there. From thence they departed vnto Cephalenia, where they by Letters from *Pau.Contarenus* Gouernour of Zacynthus, were aduertiſed, That the Turks fleet of three hundred and three and thirty ſail, of one ſort and other, lay in the gulf of Corinth, which is now called the gulf of Lepanto. Wherupon they ſhortly after remooued, with full purpoſe to haue gon to Petala,an hauen lying oppoſit ouer againſt the Iſlands (or rather rocks) called

Echinades,

A Echinades, but now Corzulares, and ſo to the bay of Corinth, to draw the enemy forth to battel: but ſtayed with contrary winds they put back again into the vally of Alexandria, another port in the Iſland of Cephalenia; from whence they afterward departed to the Iſlands Corzulares, where by the way they vnderſtood by letters out of Crete, That Famaguſta was loſt. With which bad news they were no whit diſcouraged, but rather inflamed with deſire of reuenge. From the Iſlands they went to Galanga, a good harbour, where they ſtaied one night, purpoſing the next day to haue gon to the mouth of the gulf of Lepanto, there to dare the Turks to battel.

The Turks Baſſa's *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good ſafety within the gulf, hearing of the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, began to conſult with the reſt of the moſt expert Captains, B Whether to giue the Chriſtians battel, or to keep themſelues ſtil within their ſafe harbor: vpon which doubt they were among themſelues of diuers opinions. Amongſt the reſt, *Chiroche* a man of great years and authority, and withall a moſt noble Captain, exhorted the Baſſa's, in no caſe, when no need was, vpon a vain-glory to aduenture all to the fortune of an vncertain battel: it was, as he ſaid, the part of wiſe and worthy commanders, to moderate with reaſon their happy fortunes, for that therunto were incident many accidents, wherby their former felicity might be diſgraced. They had already run along the enemies coaſt, ſpoild the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honor & greater ſpoil ſafely returned, hauing increaſed the Turkiſh empire with many ſtrong towns of the enemies. The Iſland of Cyprus was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turks obeiſance, the enemies great prouiſion C at ſea fruſtrated, in ſuch ſort, as that hauing loſt diuers of their gallies, they were neuer yet able to draw their ſwords: they had with their fleet at their pleaſure romed vp and downe the Adriatick, and diſplaied their victorious enſignes almoſt vnto the very City of Venice. What could they then deuiſe or wiſh for more honorable or glorious, than with the ſafety of their fleet, yea without any loſſe at all, to haue performed ſo great matters? Now the three General commanders of the enemies fleet to be ſo at diſcord among themſelues, as that they were ready to fall in ſunder of themſelues; who now vpon the approch of winter, and for want of victual muſt needs in few daies return home again, neuer herafter to meet again with like ſtrength at ſea. And therfore to what purpoſe were it, by force of arms and vncertain battell, with danger to ſeek for the ſoueraignty and command of the ſea, which would forthwith of it D ſelf without any danger fal vnto them? neither ſhould they by the doubtful victory ſo much increaſe their honour, as by the vncertain euent of a battell blemiſh the ſame, if any thing ſhould fal out otherwiſe than wel. And that therfore they ſhould do well to take heed, that in ſeeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honor already gained; but wholſomly to delay the War, and keepe themſelues in ſafety with their fleet within the gulf, and not to go out at the enemies pleaſure, but when they ſhould ſee good themſelues, at ſuch time as the enemy was not ſo wel prouided. So ſhould they (he ſaid) without any great labor or danger attain to the full of their own deſires.

Chiroche diſſuades the Baſſa's frō giuing the Chriſtians battell.

Partau Baſſa was of opinion, that the Chriſtians would not at all offer him battel. Which opinion the Chriſtians had alſo of him: and in this queſtion, for giuing or not giuing of battel, E ſeemed neither to approoue or diſlike that *Caroche* had ſo grauely ſpoken, but as a man indifferent, loth to incur any blame, ſhewed himſelf ready either to ſtay or ſet forward, as ſhould be thought fit by the greater part. But *Haly Baſſa*, a man of a hoter ſpirit, and the great Champion of the Turks, could not indure to hear of any delay, but of preſent battell. The pleaſure of *Selymus*, the hope of victory, the remembrance of the diſpleaſure of *Pial Baſſa* had the laſt year incurred, for not giuing the Chriſtians battell, induced him now in no caſe to refuſe battel, but forthwith to go out of the gulf, and to accept therof if it were offered. In which opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous Pyrat, and in great account among the Turks; who in a ſwift galiot taking view of the Chriſtian fleet, had reported it to be much leſſe than indeed it was; deceiued as it was afterward thought by not taking ful F view therof, by reaſon of his poſting haſt; or els blinded by the Iſland, which lying behind the fleet, ſuffered him not perfectly to deſcry the ſame. Vpon which report there was great reioycing among the Turks, who now after their accuſtomed maner dreamed of nothing but victory and ſpoil. So that *Haly*, vainly perſuaded that his fleet was both the greater and ſtronger,

Partau Baſſa indifferent for giuing or not giuing battell.

would

The Turkes reſolue to giue the Chriſtians battell.

would now needs fight, in hope that the Chriſtians vpon firſt ſight of the Turkes fleet would either retyre and ſaue themſelues by ſhamefull flight, or els in aduenturing battel at ſo great ods, by their fooliſh hardines receiue a notable ouerthrow. This opinion of the Baſſa was alſo not a little confirmed by the perſuaſion of *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa's* ſon, *Vluzales*, and *Chais Beg* Gouernor of Smyrna, all men of great mark and experience, eſpecially in ſea matters. And although *Partau* the other Baſſa ſtood wauering as a man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Gouernor of Alexandria, with *Carabuzes* Gouernor of Cilicia, and *Mechmet* Gouernour of Eubœa, men of no leſſe worth than the other, vpon better conſideration were of a quite contrary mind, for not giuing the Chriſtians battel. Yet ſuch was the authority of *Haly*, or rather his importunitie, forced to his own deſtiny, that his opinion preuailed; ſo that now out they muſt needs and fight. Albeit that two other Spies ſent out after *Caracoza*, and hauing more perfectly viewed the fleet, returning with ſpeed told the Baſſa's as truth was, That the Chriſtians very ſtrong and wel appointed, were comming with enſignes diſplaied, of purpoſe to fight; and that their fleet was in number much greater than was before ſuppoſed. With which news ſo far contrary to their expectation, the Baſſa's were exceedingly troubled: and demaunding whether the formoſt gallies were all Venetians or not; and being anſwered that they were intermixt, ſome Venetians, ſome Spaniſh and of the other Weſtern countries, they began to doubt the worſt, and became exceeding penſiue. Neuertheles knowing themſelues to be of all things wel furniſhed, hauing now victualled in the bay of Corinth, and there alſo taken in 12000 Ianizaries and Spahies, drawn out of the garriſons of Ætolia, Acarnania, Peloponeſus, and the countries there by, all reſolute men, and four thouſand other common ſoldiers, and that they could not now with their honor ſhrink back, they held it ſtil for the beſt to on hold their former reſolution for the giuing of the Chriſtians battel. Yet before their ſetting forward, calling together the captains and chief commanders of the fleet, *Partau* the more to incourage them, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Partau Baſſa incourageth the Turks.

We are to fight (ſaid he) *fellows in arms, with that kind of men whom our anceſtors haue driuen out of Eubæa, the Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponeſus, and Tripolis, and we our ſelues but yeſterday out of the famous Iſland of Cyprus; whoſe cities and ſtrong towns, in number infinit, our Emperor hath as the reward of his wars; whom we haue alwaies vanquiſhed as well by ſea as by land: and ſhall it then now repent you that you in this war imbrued in the Chriſtian bloud, haue ſunk or taken many of their ſhips and gallies? That you haue caried away great and rich ſpoils? that you haue taken whole Iſlands and cities at the firſt aſſault? That we haue by proof ſhewed vnto the world, what force there is in the Turk to ſubdue ſtrong cities and towns? and what little power is in the Chriſtians to defend the ſame? What direction brought vs victory before, the ſame ſhall alſo at this preſent giue vs the like. Not to ſpeak of that, that we far excell them both in number of men and gallies; this is more to be reckoned of, that we excell them in valour and proweſſe: for you being old expert ſoldiers, from your infancie trained vp in the wars, hardned in infinit battels, and full of courage and ſtrength, ſhal fight againſt weak freſh-water and effeminat ſoldiers; who entertained for pay (of the refuſe of all Nations) know nothing belonging to the warres; or forcibly preſſed out of Cities, ſerue not becauſe they would, but becauſe they can neither will nor chuſe. But to ſpeak no more of the maner of the Chriſtian ſoldiers, who are nothing els than the perpetual exerciſe of your renowned proweſſe; and to come vnto him vnder whoſe fortune and conduct they ſerue: What ſhould I ſay? Should I compare either of vs (who haue ſpent our liues in victories and triumphs: who born & brought vp amongſt arms, haue with our right hands gained vnto our ſelues honor and fame) with this ſtripling and half-moneths captain, who neuer ſaw battels but theſe? Who in a leſſe matter neuer ſhewed proofe of himſelf, why ſhould he be accounted of in a greater? who in ſo mighty a cauſe needeth a tutor; and ſuch a one as indeed bears the name of a General, more for his honor, than for any worth in himſelf. Beſides, amongſt the enemies is ſuch diſſention, that euery man regardeth his own priuat, ſerueth as pleaſes himſelf, contemneth and is contemned: wheras with vs is ſuch conſent, that it canot be deuiſed how the ſoldiers in general ſhould more truſt their commanders, or the Commanders their ſoldiers. What things were by the diſcipline of war or carefulnes of a General to be prepared, all thoſe you haue abundantly and plentifully in readines: Onely this laſt warlike labour remaineth; which once diſpatched, our Enemies ſhal be diſcomfited euen in that wherin their greateſt confidence reſteth. They ſhall be deſpoiled of their honour and traffique at ſea: and that * city once ſubdued (which is alone the glory of the ſea) there ſhal be no hope left*

for

* *Viz. Venice.*

A *for the Chriſtians, whether by ſea or land: and (that we haue alwaies wiſhed) Italy, faire Italy (wherein theſe matters are plotted againſt vs) ſhall be in our hand and power: wherefore let vs with ſuch courage aſſaile our enemies, as beſeemeth moſt victorious conquerors, men ſo many times conquered: And ſo ſet forward, as if you ſaw our Emperor himſelfe encouraging you, and giuing you the ſignall of battell; of his bounty, and the preſent victory, expecting all felicity and bliſſe.*

This comfortable ſpeech with great grauity deliuered by the Baſſa, ſo encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind ſeemed to deſire nothing more than battel: for they ſtill poſſeſſed with the firſt report of *Caracoza*, a[illegible]ncouraged by the Baſſa's ſpeech, were in good hope to haue fought the battell vpon great aduantage, and therfore thought vpon nothing B but preſent victory. Whereupon ſetting forward with great cheerefulneſſe, they came out of the gulfe, and ſhaped their courſe for the Iſlands Echinades, about mid-way betwixt Lepanto and Patras, before little Iſlands, or rather obſcure rocks, ſcarcely appearing in the ſea, but now to be made famous throughout the World, by the moſt notable battell that euer was fought in thoſe ſeas.

The Turks fleet commeth out of the gulfe of Lepanto.

The Iſlands Echinades, or Corzulares.

The Chriſtians alſo comming ſtill on towards the enemy, the ſeuenth of October in the afternoone vnderſtood by their eſpials, that the Turks fleet was comming, and euen now at hand: whereupon the Generall commanded the great Enſigne of the confederats (the appointed ſignall of battell) to be forthwith diſplaied, and a great warning piece to be ſhot off out of his Admirall gally. And himſelfe gliſtering all in bright armor, with *Cardona* Admirall of Si- C cilia, and *Soto* his ſecretary, in a long boat went to all the ſquadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerefull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the men: remembring, that they that day carried in their hand the wealth, honour, glory, and liberty of their countries, yea, and the very religion of their forefathers; and that that daies victory would bring vnto them and theirs perpetuall felicity: whereas otherwiſe, if they ſhould as cowards ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome and vanquiſhed, it would be vnto them the beginning of all manner of moſt woſull calamities. To which and other his like ſpeeches, the Captaines and ſouldiers (before of themſelues cheerefull enough) in euery place where he came gaue ſuch applauſe with the ioyfull cry of Victory, Victory, ſo often and ſo cheerefull in all places reſounded, as that it was taken as a lucky aboadment of the glorious victory ſhortly af- D ter enſuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right wing, and *Barbadicus* in the left (for the fleet kept the ſame order that they had appointed before at Meſſana) ceaſed not by all comfortable ſpeeches to encourage their followers: ſhewing vnto them, That now the time was come they ſo long wiſhed for, wherein they not oppreſſed with multitude, might at length ſhew their true valour againſt the falſe and faithleſſe enemies, who being indeed nothing els but baſe & contemptible ſlaues borne to bondage, and hauing loſt their owne liberty, came to impugne the liberty of others; bringing with them a greater terror of their name, than valour of their perſons: and that therefore, if euer, they would now ſhew themſelues valiant and couragious, and that day, wherein of all others true force was to be ſeene, to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruell enemy, and to make their reioycing for the conqueſt of Cyprus ſhort, before E they had well taſted the pleaſures thereof. At which time alſo, the Captaines generally thorowout the fleet, with cheeerfull countenances and couragious ſpeech encouraged their ſouldiers; leauing nothing vnſaid that might hearten them on; or vndone, that might further the victory.

Neither were the Turks wanting to themſelues (although it was fallen out much contrary to their expectation, to ſee the Chriſtians, who they before thought durſt not haue ſhewed themſelues, now ready to dare them battell) but encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind, came on proudly with their fleet orderly and gallantly ſet after their wonted manner in forme of a Croiſant or halfe-Moon, their fortunat enſigne: neuertheleſſe in their comming on they were much troubled with the brightnes of the Sun, which F then ſhining full in their faces, with his bright beams ſo dazled their eies, that they could not well ſee how to their moſt aduantage to direct their gallies. In this fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty gallies, fifty galiots, and twenty brigadines & other ſmall veſſels: all which a far off ſhewed like a thicke wood, but cumming neere hand, preſented (as we ſaid) the forme of a Croiſant. The middle battell in number much like the Chriſtians, was conducted by the great

The number & order of the Turks fleet.

great Baſſa's *Haly* and *Partau*, attended vpon with *Agan* Maſter of the Turks Arſenall; *Muſtapha Zelibi* the Treaſurer; *Achmat Bay*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the ſonnes of *Haly*: *Achmat Aga* Gouernour of Teuthrania: *Aſſis Caiga* Gouernour of Calipolis: *Caracoza*, *Caſſanes* the ſonne of *Barbaruſſa*; *Malamur* Gouernour of Mytilene: *Dely Solyman Gider* Captaine of Chios; *Caſſambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes; *Proui Aga* Captaine of Nauplium; *Giaper Zelibi* Preſident of Calabra; *Dordagnan*, *Dondomeni*, and many others, whoſe barbarous names I purpoſely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their experience at ſea the chiefe ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. The right wing was by the appointment of the Baſſa's commanded by *Mahomet Be*[illegible]th fifty ſix gallies, with whom were alſo many worthy Captaines; and in the left wing was *Vluzales* the old Arch-pyrat, but now the Vice-Roy of Algiers, with ninety fiue gallies, accompanied with *Carielo* and *Arabey* his two ſonnes, with a multitude of pyrats, men of his owne profeſſion, but moſt valiant and expert ſouldiers. In the rereward came *Amurathes Dragut*, with thirty gallies, and diuers other ſmall veſſels.

The great and notable battell betweene the Turks and the Christians, commonly called, the battell of Lepanto.

Now was the day well ſpent when both the fleets were ready to giue battell, the enemy ſtil comming on almoſt in the ſame order that the Chriſtians did: for their middle battel came directly againſt our middle battell, and their wings againſt ours. So the ſignall of battell on both ſides giuen by the ſhooting off of certain great pieces; the Turks after their maner comming on with an hidious cry, firſt light vpon the ſix galiaſſes, which lying at anchor almoſt a mile before the fleet, as moſt ſtrong bulwarks, out of their forecaſtles poured out thier murthering ſhot vpon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their paſſing by ſo plagued them, by diſcharging their whole broad ſides, firſt the one, and eftſoons the other vpon them, that hauing receiued great loſſe, and diuers of their gallies ſunke, they were inforced to breake their order, and to fall further off. Which ſo much the more troubled the Turks, for that they had before ſuppoſed, thoſe great carts and vnſeruiceable ſhips (as they accounted of them) to haue carried little or no great ordnance on their ſides, after the manner of their gallies: for the vſe of the galeaſſes was not vnto the Turks known, vntil now that they had receiued from them moſt notable harme: which as it was the beginning of their miſery, ſo was it vnto the Chriſtians of greateſt importance for the gaining of the victory. At which time alſo the wind, which all that day had much fauoured the Turks, was now (God no doubt fighting his own battell) come about to the Weſt, and with a pleaſant gale in the time of the fight carried the ſmoke of the great ordnance vpon the Turks, to their no ſmall diſaduantage. Yet for all this loſſe and diſorder in their fleet, the fierce enemy with wonderfull pertinacie paſſing by theſe galeaſſes, quickly repaired again to their places, and made good their diſordred ſquadrons, and with all their force aſſailed the Chriſtian fleet. The trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of war had ſcarcely wel ſounded, when all ſhook with confuſed cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillery, and other noiſe of the mariners and ſea men: wherwith many were ſo aſtonied as if they had bin both deaf and blind, hauing vpon the ſudden almoſt loſt the vſe both of their ſight & hearing. At which very inſtant a man might haue ſeen the whole ſhowers as it were of arrows and darts mixt with the deadly ſhot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the maſts broken, the ſaile-yards ſtrucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confuſed with horror and feare. *Haly* beholding the Admiral gally (which was eaſie to be known by the flag) & vſing the ſurpaſſing cherfulnes of his mariners & rowers, ran vpon her with ſuch violence as if he would haue preſently ſtemmed her: but being with like force incountred by the Admirall, they met together with ſuch violence, that both their beaks were with the feaze broken off, and ſo fell into the ſea. There began a moſt cruell fight betwixt theſe two great commanders, who had before drawne vnto them the ſtrongeſt gallies in their fleets, and the choiſeſt men in their armies. In the Admiral gally of the Chriſtians were 400 ſelect men pickt out of the whole army, moſt of them Captains & antients, men of approued valor; who not only valiantly repulſed their furious enemies, but with greater courage inforced them to ſhrinke backe, and preſſing hard vpon them, entred the gally euen to the main maſt; where the enemy ſtrengthned with new ſupplie, fought couragiouſly, repulſed the Spaniards, and cleered again their gally. Many were there wounded on both ſides, and many ſlain. *Don Iohn* ſeeing his men giue way, ſent in new ſupply; wherewith the other encouraged, beſtirred themſelues more luſtily than before, and hardly charged the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encountred them. The battell was like vnto the

A terrible onſet

A dreadful and doubtfull fight betweene the two Admirall gallies.

A ebbing and flowing of the ſea: thrice the Turks were driuen euen vnto the maine maſt; and thrice ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, they with great ſlaughter repulſed the Chriſtians backe againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the General, was about to haue aſſailed the poupe of *Haly* his gally, ſo to haue indangered her, being ſet vpon both before and abaft: but in comming thither he was encountred by *Partau* the other Baſſa, who with a company of gallies oppoſed himſelfe againſt him, and that with ſuch celerity, that hauing made ſhew as if he would haue charged him afront, he by and by ſet vpon his ſide. Which vnexpected manner of fight ſo ſuddenly faſhioned, at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themſelues. *Venerius* (vpon whoſe valor the Venetian State reſted) gallantly B armed, not only incouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threatning, but was himſelf in the midſt of them fighting; whoſe great honour much moued the minds of his ſouldiers, but his reuerend yeres more; to ſee him (being aboue 77 yeres old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthful commander, in the very face of the greateſt danger. The fierce enemy hauing ſlain many of the Chriſtians, preſſed on more furiouſly, & fighting cloſe together, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gally now bared of defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valor oppreſſed the Venetians: who had there no doubt bin ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus* and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant captains, and lying not far off, ſpeedily come to their reliefe. By whoſe comming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered; ſo that they which a little before fiercely aſſailed the Venetian gallies, were now glad C to defend their owne: ſo for a ſpace the fight ſtood indifferent, but in proceſſe of the battell, thoſe two worthy captaines, whileſt they alſo performe the parts of moſt reſolute ſouldiers, were both ſlain; ſhot through with ſmall ſhot. The fall of theſe notable men did rather enrage than diſcourage the minds of their ſoldiers: ſo that blinded as it were with fury, and ſuddenly become other men, they deſperatly preſſed in vpon the Turks: ſo that whileſt they on the one ſide kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turned from them that was euen at the point to haue been vanquiſhed, vpon the victors; and our men after great ſlaughter of the Turks, tooke two of their gallies: *Partau* the Baſſa in a long boat eſcaped the danger, and ſo got him out of the battell. Not farre off thence, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant Chiefetaine hardly aſſailed other of the D Turks gallies, and made amongſt them great ſlaughter: one ſingled from the reſt, he took, and diſordred the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of Genoa with like courage thruſt himſelfe into the thickeſt of the enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an enemy fell about the Prince of Parma, *Rueres*, *Vrſinus*, *Cornea*, and *Iuſtinianus*; who for their preſent honor, and future fame, fought moſt couragiouſly.

Venerius comming to the relief of Don Iohn is incountered by Partau Baſſa.

Venerius in danger.

Lauretanus and Malipetra ſlaine.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of ſome called *Mahomet Bej*) with his right wing with great confidence came forward againſt the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the galeaſſes, was from out of them miſerably beaten with the great ordnance, hauing many of his men ſlaine, and diuers of his gallies ſunke and torn, few of the huge and deadly ſhot falling in vaine into the ſea, by reaſon of the thick ſtanding of the E Turks gallies: where alſo diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wildfire caſt into their gallies out of the tops of the galeaſſes. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeaſſes, & to ſhun the dangerous ſhelfe betwixt him and the main (which the riuer Achelous running betweene the borders of Acarnania and Ætolia, and there falling into the ſea, maketh) ſent a great part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis* a notable renegat of Genoa, to caſt about aloofe vpon the right hand, and ſo to come vpon the backe of *Barbadicus* the leader of the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet. Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, & with their prows receiued the firſt onſet. The great ordnance firſt on both ſides diſcharged, diuers of the gallies grapled faſt together; in ſuch ſort, as that they incountred one another not with their miſſiue weapons only (as with their ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawne ſwords foot to F foot. Among the reſt, the fight of two of the Chriſtian gallies was moſt notable; in the one was *Barbadicus* himſelfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell ſix of the enemies Gallies, and vpon *Barbadicus* fiue: who although they were on euery ſide diſtreſſed with a moſt doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they moſt valiantly with worthy reſolution endure the ſame. In the fury of this battell, *Barbadicus* encouraging his ſouldiers, and fighting himſelfe

The right wing of the Turkes fleet ſore gauled by the galeaſſes.

A terrible fight betwixt Chiroche and Barbadicus.

euen there where moſt danger was, was hit in the left eie with an arrow, and ſo ſtrucke into the braine almoſt thorow the head: wherewith falling preſently downe, he was taken vp for dead; howbeit he died not thereof vntill three daies after. The ſuppoſed death of this worthy man much troubled the Chriſtians, and both the armies felt his fall (ſuch force there is in the valour of one worthy man) for the Turks now as conquerors luſtily boorded the gally, troubled with the loſſe of the Captaine; and the Venetians as men diſcouraged gaue way: the galley there had vndoubtedly bin loſt, had not *Fredericus Nanius* and *Syluius Porcia* with their gallies ſpeedily come to her reliefe: by whoſe comming in ſuch an alteration was made, as that the gally before halfe taken, was not only cleared, but diuers of the Turks gallies alſo boorded, and ſome of them taken, not without the great ſlaughter of the Turks. In this ſo hard and mortall a conflict, *Syluius* was grieuouſly wounded in the thigh and in his right ſide. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That lying that euening at the point of death, the battell then ended, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the victory: and being told that the Chriſtians had got it, and that the Turks fleet was moſt part taken, and the reſt ſunke or burnt; he with his eies caſt vp to heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thankes therefore, and not long after ioyfully departed this life, to liue in bliſſe for euer.

The death of Barbadicus.

Ciconia hardly beſet, and in danger to haue beene loſt, is relieued.

Ciconia in the meane time hardly beſet with ſix of the enemies gallies, (as we haue before ſaid) was himſelfe ſore burnt with wild-fire and hurt in the face; and hauing indured a long and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue been loſt; when ſudden reliefe comming in, he was now contrary to all hope ſaued, and therewith ſo much encouraged, that with his weary and wounded ſouldiers, as men from death reuiued, he afreſh charged the enemy, and tooke one of the principall gallies, with one of the Turks faireſt enſignes, which in the Venetian Armory is yet there to be ſeene: of his worthy valour, his honeſt wounds in his face and the fore part of his body, were moſt certaine and vndoubted witneſſes.

A hard fight betwixt Io. Contarenus and Chiroche.

Not far off, in the ſame wing *Ioannes Contarenus* an honourable and valiant gentleman, did with his great ſhot exceeding much harme amongſt the Turks gallies: which *Chiroche* perceiuing, and therewith inraged, ran ſo fiercely vpon the ſide of *Contarenus* his gally, that with his beake he had wel neer ſtemmed her; & preſently grappling faſt with her, was like to haue boorded her: whom neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians notably repulſed, with greater ſlaughter than was thought poſſible for ſo ſmall a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fall vnreuenged, but all imbrued with the bloud of the Chriſtians. Seldome hath bin ſeene a more cruel fight, or more reſolute Captaines to encounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time ſtood doubtfull, the hope of the Chriſtians increaſed vpon two cauſes, for which the courage of the enemy quailed: firſt, for that many of the Turks being ſlaine or wounded, they were brought to a ſmall number; then, for that both parties ſaw *Chiroche* himſelfe ſlain: from which time the enemy as well deſtitute of a leader to conduct them, as of freſh ſupplies to relieue them, began to be cut down right or taken: which their danger was the more increaſed, becauſe the gally bulged with the great ſhot, was now leake, and in danger to ſink: wherfore the Turks in that wing ouercome with deſpaire, began to thinke rather how to ſaue themſelues by flight than by fight, repoſing their truſt in nothing more than in the neernes of the main. But as they were turning about toward the ſhore, they were preuented by the Chriſtians: who entring the gally, and hauing ſlain and driuen ouerboord almoſt all that were left, took *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but halfe dead; and ſeeing ſmall hope of his life, with freſh wounds made an end of him.

Chiroche ſlain, and his Galley taken.

A hard and doubtfull battell.

Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man his enemy, ſo he fought; according as euery mans diſpoſition put into him courage or feare, or as he met with mo or fewer enemies, ſo was there here and there ſomtime victory, and ſometime loſſe. Many fights were in ſundry places ſeene mingled together: ſome gallies whiles they run to ſtem others, are themſelues by others ſtemmed: ſome, which you would thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gally or other, ſuddenly take them: other ſome, as if they had bin of neither part, row vp and down betwixt the battels. The chance of war in one place lifteth vp the vanquiſhed, and in another ouerthroweth the victorious: all was full of terror, error, ſorrow, and confuſion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Chriſtians at length began to appeare much ſuperiour both in courage and ſtrength: and the Turks ſeemed now rather to defend themſelues, than to aſſaile their enemies.

A *Bazanus* in the rereward intentiuely marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required, ſent in preſent aid, without reſpect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of Spaines, or the Venetians, that were diſtreſſed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks ſeeing the Chriſtian Generals gally hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Baſſa*, to be almoſt bared of defendants in the poupe, all the ſoldiers hauing their hands full before, were about to haue boorded her abafte, and to that purpoſe were fetching a compaſſe about her. Which *Bazanus* quickly perceiuing, gliſtering in bright armour came ſpeedily in with certaine gallies, and by oppoſing of himſelfe againſt them ſtaied their courſe. In all the battell was not ſeene a more cruell fight; for hauing diſcharged many volleys of ſhot, and arrowes and darts without number, they grapled at length together, and came to the ſword, where with the formoſt, B *Bazanus* not only with words, but with his preſence and valour wonderfully encouraged his ſouldiers, hauing receiued in his target of proofe two ſmall ſhot. Many were on both ſides ſlain. The Spaniards attempting ſundry times to haue entred the Turks gallies, were with great loſſe repulſed: but not giuing it ſo ouer, neither giuing the enemy leaue to breath, or ſo much as to looke behind him, valor was vanquiſhed by pertinacie, and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrowne and ſlaine their enemies, enjoyed their gallies.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly Baſſa and Don Iohn.

Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and ſtrength, but with doubtfull victory, fought three houres and more with *Haly Baſſa*: when after ſo dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the vttermoſt of their deuoire, were in danger to haue beene ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken C himſelfe vnto his only and laſt refuge. He had (as is before ſaid) reſerued vnder the hatches 400 of his beſt and ſelect ſoldiers, for their valour choſen out of the whole army againſt all the euents of ſo long and dangerous a battell: theſe men attentiuely attending euery becke of *Don Iohn*, vpon ſigne giuen, as was before appointed, ſuddenly ſtart out and with a terrible cry and deſperat onſet aſſailed the enemy, before almoſt ſpent with labor and wounds. This freſh and vnexpected company ſo ſuddenly grown vp, firſt aſtonied, and afterwards confounded, & with a great ſlaughter vanquiſhed the Turks, and poſſeſſed the gally. The Baſſa deadly wounded in the head with a ſhot, and all imbrued with bloud, was taken, and as a joyful ſpectacle brought to *Don Iohn*; who ſeeing him ready to breathe his laſt, commanded him to be deſpoiled of his armor, and his head ſtrucke off. Which preſently ſet vpon the point of a ſpeare, he for a ſpace D held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophy of his victory, as alſo with the ſight thereof to ſtrike a terror into the minds of the other Turks, who in the other gallies faſt by fought yet right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued; for the Turks beholding the knowne countenance of the Baſſa their late General, and a flag of the croſſe ſet vp in the top of his gally, and the noiſe of the Chriſtians, crying Victory, running thorow the army; were therewith ſo diſcouraged, that confounded with fear they turned their gallies and with might and main made toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus*, yet breathing with the late ſlaughter of the Turks, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly purſued the flying enemy, and ſunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partau* his ſon by the ſtaying of the reſt got time to run his gally on ground, and ſo forſaking her, ſaued himſelfe and his men E by running aſhore: ſo did alſo diuers others run themſelues aground and forſake their gallies, which preſently became a prey vnto the Chriſtians. In this hot conflict *Caracoza* the famous pyrat (who abjuring the Chriſtian Religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exceeding much miſchiefe vpon the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries) valiantly fighting, was ſlaine by *Buzzacharinus* of Padua, by whoſe death many were deliuered of great feare.

Haly Baſſa ſlain.

The Turks middle battell diſcomfited.

Caracoza the famous pyrat ſlaine.

Haly Baſſa had brought forth with him his two ſons *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one 23 yeares old, and the other 13, the nephewes of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his ſiſter married to *Haly*; them their father had placed in a great gally, with a ſtrong guard of the Ianizaries: who ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the main battell, with the danger now drawing neere vnto themſelues, were exceedingly affraid, and therefore to ſaue themſelues, thought it beſt with all ſpeed to F make toward the maine. But in ſo doing they were preuented by *Requiſenius* the great Commendor, who with his furious Spaniards boording the Turks, already diſmaied and running away, ſlew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done, tooke the gally, and that which pleaſed him more, the two ſonnes of *Haly* both aliue. In the time of which fight, the poore Chriſtians who ſat chained in the gally, had as ſlaues long ſerued in great miſery; now perceiuing the Chriſtians to preuaile, brake off their gyues, looſed one another, and with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand luſtily laid about them, and notably furthered the victory.

Notwithſtanding all this good ſucceſſe, the fortune of the battell ſtood yet doubtful in the right wing. There ſtood in either battell two of the moſt noble chieftains one againſt another: on the Chriſtian part *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Spaniſh Admiral; and for the Turks *Vluzales*: both moſt valiant and expert commanders, wel known the one to the other, for that they had of long vſed the ſame ſeas, equall for their military diſcipline, as alſo for their noble acts, but far vnequall for number of their gallies: for the Turks had of one ſort & other almoſt twice ſo many.

The doubtfull lying of Iohn Andreas Auria with the right wing of the Chriſtian fleet.

Auria, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the battel warily decline the danger, and not hazard his gallies, wherein his chiefe honour would be alſo indangered; or elſe afraid leſt the enemy, who far exceeded him in number of gallies, ſhould extend his wing at large, and incloſe the Chriſtian fleet behind; vpon the ſignall of battell giuen, ſhrunke farther off from the reſt of the battel: but whether vpon policy, that it might be at his choice either to fight, if the reſt of the army preuailed, or to retire if they ſhould be ouercome; or that he vpon martial policy declined the force of too ſtrong an enemy; diuers men diuerſly gloſed: but what the cauſe was indeed the wiſeſt could not ſurely tell. Howſoeuer the matter ſtood, it ſeemed his purpoſe was by policy to counteruaile what he wanted in ſtrength. This his falling off ſeemed vnto the Turks moſt ſtrange, to whom his quick departure ſeemed at the firſt in maner of a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that ſpace he had firſt ſeparated himſelf from the army; but the ſecond time fell off farther, and there ſtaying and houering a looffe off, ſeemed to await ſome good opportunity to take the enemy at ſome aduantage: hauing in the mean time one of the galeaſſes of Piſa lying before him, as it were in ſtead of a bulwark, which with often ſhot much troubled the enemy. *Vluzales* alſo extending his wing, took ſuch a ſpace, as that he ſeemed able to haue cumpaſſed in and incloſed *Auria*; yet offered not battell, but rather lay as expecting if any aduantage ſhould be giuen him by the Chriſtians, than raſhly or vnaduiſedly to offer himſelf or his galies to any deſperat danger.

Twelue of the Venetian gallies taken by Vluzales.

He had not long ſo lien, but that according to his deſire, 12 of the Venetian gallies, which had withdrawn themſelues from *Auria*, & without any order or direction romed to and fro, fell into his danger: theſe gallies cut off from the reſt, *Vluzales* with wonderfull celerity incloſed, and with the multitude of his gallies bording them one by one, ſlew the defendants, and tooke the gallies. In this fight many of the Knights of the Order of S. *ſtephen* moſt valiantly fighting were ſlain. *Benedictus Superantius* a noble Venetian, ſeeing moſt part of the men ſlain, himſelf mortally wounded, and his gally now almoſt taken, reſoluing rather preſently to die, than to fall into the hands of his enemies, deſperatly put fire to the ſtore of pouder he had in the gally, and blew vp himſelfe, his ſoldiers that were left, with a great number of the enemies together.

A notable fight of the Knights of Malta.

The report of the great ordnance and noiſe of the battel in that part of the fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle battel got the victory, together turned their gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one ſquadron together, but commming along one after another, as euery man had ſooner or later cleered himſelfe of his enemy: amongſt the reſt, *Petrus Iuſtinianus* (Admirall of the gallies of Malta) comming formoſt, was incountred with three of the Turks gallies, with whom he with his knights had a great and moſt terrible fight. Which *Vluzales* beholding, and aboue all others hating the Knights of the Order, ſpeedily ſent in other three gallies to help their fellows. So *Iuſtinian* hardly beſet with ſix gallies, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, had loſt fifty of his moſt valiant knights, with one of his enſignes, and with much adoe hardly defended himſelfe. But being now brought to the laſt caſt, and the gally in the judgment of all men giuen for loſt, lo, two other of the gallies of Malta, who had ſo valiantly fought with other three of the enemies gallies, that they were now vpon point to haue taken them all, ſeeing the danger of their Admiral, forſook their vanquiſhed enemies, & with all ſpeed came to reſcue him: where they found him yet aliue, but ſhot in with three arrows, and ſtill fighting couragiouſly at the decke of his gally, with thoſe few he had yet left, beſet round with their enemies: but by the comming in of theſe two gallies, as if it had bin by help ſent from heauen, the Turks were notably repulſed, and the Admiral with his gally reſcued, as a prey out of the mouth of the greedy Lyon.

Vluzales flieth.

Vluzales vnderſtanding that the maine battell and right wing of the fleet was ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians, for feare gaue ouer the fight, and leauing the gallies he had taken, A and hoiſing ſaile, was the firſt in that wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiuing, who was come in before the reſt, ſuddenly ſhewed himſelf at his back, and by aſſailing the hindermoſt gallies, did what he might to ſtay their flight vntil the reſt of the victorious gallies were come in. But whilſt he ſo eagerly purſueth the flying enemy, fifteene of the Turks captains inraged with ſuch an vnwonted diſgrace, and mindfull of their wonted prowesse, ſtaid their flight, and contrary to the expectation of the Chriſtians, turned themſelues and renewed the battell: What minds they bare, the euent ſhewed; for in a trice almoſt all *Cardonius* his ſouldiers and marines were ſlaine: nothing letted the taking of the gally, but that *Vluzales* ſeeing *Don Iohn, Columnius*, and *Venerius* neere at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* alſo comming faſt on, was afraid longer to ſtay, and therefore giuing ouer the fight, fled as faſt as he could: yet B carrying away with him one gally of Cyprus, and one enſigne of the Knights of Malta, as teſtimonies of his own valor when he ſhould appeare before *Selymus*. The Chriſtians although weary of the long fight which they had almoſt by the ſpace of fiue houres indured, yet ſo long as they were in any hope to ouertake any of their flying enemies, hardly purſued them in chaſe: but when they perceiued it preuailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than time to ſee to their weary and wounded ſouldiers and mariners, they ſtaied from further purſuit; for why, the night now came faſt on, vnder the couert whereof the crafty old pyrat flying for life with ſailes and oares, eſcaped with thirty (or as ſome write, forty) gallies againe into the bay of Lepanto.

The Chriſtians hardly purſue the flying enemy

It was a horrible ſpectacle to ſee, how in this battell the ſea was ſtained with bloud, and couered with dead bodies, weapons, and the fragments of the broken gallies; beſides the great C number of them that were ſlain, & beaten into the ſea: many of the Turks blinded with feare, caſting away their weapons, to eſcape the fury of the enemy, threw themſelues headlong into the ſea, but finding no hope to recouer the land, laboured againe to come to the gallies; or els fainting by the way, were miſerably drowned. Others, either halfe dead, weake, and vnskilfull of ſwimming, or ouercharged with their armour, the ſea alſo deuoured: yea, many that could well ſwim, wearied and wounded, ſunke for feare. Others vpon plankes and the pieces of the broken gallies, ſought to ſaue themſelues; and not knowing what to follow or what to ſhun, wofully periſhed. Other ſome ſwimming, and pitifully intreating their enemies, rather to take them priſoners than to kill them, were (as it oftentimes chanceth where things are done vpon D choler, rather than vpon diſcretion) without compaſſion ſlaine: in which doing, the Chriſtians thought they did rather reuenge former injuries to them done, than to do them any wrong: with ſome mercy more preuailed than wrath; who remembring the common chance of warre, choſe rather to take the Turks priſoners (wofully crauing nothing but their liues) than without mercy to kil them. The number of the Turks loſt in this moſt famous battell, could hardly be known, by reaſon that many of them were drowned. *Antonius Guarnerius* writing the hiſtory of this war, reporteth two & thirty thouſand to haue periſhed: but they which write more ſparingly thereof, reported not paſt halfe ſo many to haue beene ſlaine: of whom theſe were of greateſt name; *Haly Baſſa* the Generall, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwiſe called *Chiroche* or *Siroche*) Gouernor of Alexandria, *Caſſanes* the ſon of *Barbaruſſa*, with his ſon *Malamur* Gouernor of Mytilene; E *Gider* Gouernor of Chios, *Caſſambeius* Gouernor of the Rhodes, *Proui Aga* captaine of Nauplium, *Muſtapha Zelibi* the great Treaſurer, *Caracoza* the famous pyrat; with many others, whom but to name were tedious. The chiefe priſoners there taken, were *Achmat* and *Mahomet* the ſons of *Haly Baſſa*, both afterwards ſent as Preſents to the Pope, of whom the eldeſt died by the way at Naples; the younger preſented vnto the Pope by *Columnius* at Rome, was there honourably kept priſoner: and *Mechmet Bey*, Gouernor of Euboea; and about three thouſand fiue hundred others were in that battell taken alſo. The chiefe of them that eſcaped by flight, were *Partau Baſſa*, who ſeeing all go to wracke, fled in time in a long boat to land: and *Vluzales*, who (as it was afterwards certainly known) but with fiue and twenty gallies, and ten galliots, fled to Lepanto. Of the enemies gallies were taken an hundred threeſcore and one, forty ſunke F or burnt: and of galliots and other ſmaller veſſels were taken about ſixty. The Admirall gally then taken amongſt the reſt, was ſo godly and beautifull a veſſell, that for beauty and richneſſe ſcarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable vnto her. The decke of this gally was on both ſides thrice as great as any of the others, and made all of blacke Walnut tree like vnto Ebony, checkered, and wrought maruellous faire, with diuers liuely colours and variety of hiſtories

The number of the Turks ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto, diuerſly reported.

The ſurpaſſing beautie of the Admirall gally.

hiſtories. There was alſo in her diuers liuely counterfeits, engrauen and wrought with gold with ſo cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue bin compared vnto ſome princes palace. The cabbin gliſtered in euery place with rich hangings wrought with gold twiſt, and ſet with diuers ſorts of precious ſtones, with certaine ſmall counterfeits moſt cunningly wrought. Beſides this, there was alſo found in her great ſtore of the Baſſa's rich apparell; wrought with the needle, ſo curiouſly and richly emboſſed with ſiluer and gold, that his great lord and maſter *Selymus* himſelfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His casket there alſo found with ſix thouſand duckats in it, with a yerely penſion of three hundred duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in Macedonia, which ſlew the Baſſa; and was therefore alſo knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had alſo giuen vnto him the Burrell of the Turkes ſtanderd, which at his returne to Venice (where he had of long time before dwelt, and ſerued in the Arſenall) ſold vnto the goldſmith: whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed it of the goldſmith, paying for euery ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongſt the trophies of that moſt famous victory. It was all of maſſiue ſiluer, guilt and engrauen round about with Turkiſh letters. On the one ſide was written, *God doth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthy enterpriſes: God doth fauour* Mahomet. On the other ſide, *God hath no other God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet.*

The Greek that ſlew the Baſſa, honourably rewarded.

This notable victory thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Columna*, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but eſpecially *Venerius*, calling him father, and attributing vnto him the greateſt part of the victory. Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen, they vpon their knees gaue immortall thankes vnto Almighty God. So did alſo the reſt of the captains and maſters; commending one anothers valour and good ſeruice: but eſpecially theirs, who for their religion and country had there moſt honourably ſpent their liues; which were in number about 7566. Amongſt whom, the chiefe men that were ſlaine, were *Ioh.* and *Bernardinus*, of the honourable family of *Cordona* in Spaine, *Horatio Caraffa*, and *Ferantes Bisballus*, *Virginius*, and *Horatius*, noble Romans, of the honourable family of the *Vrſini*. Of the Venetian Nobility, *Auguſtinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Lauretanus*, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Marcus Antonius Landus*, *Franciſcus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paſchaligus*, *Hieronimus Venerius*, all of the Order of the Senators. Beſides diuers other honourable Gentlemen, who well deſerued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of Fame. Of the knights of Malta were alſo many ſlaine, amongſt whom of the German Nation theſe were chiefe: *Ioachim Spart*, Commendour of Moguntia and Franckfort, *Ro.* of Hambergh, Commendour of Hemmendorf, and *Fra. Droſt*. Of them that were wounded, theſe were of greateſt name: *Don Iohn* the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall ſhot through the foot, *Paulus Iordanus*, *Troilus Sauell*, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of leſſe fame, to the number of almoſt ſeuen thouſand.

The number of the Chriſtians ſlain in the battell of Lepanto.

Great was the joy conceiued of this victory, but to none more welcome, than to the poore Chriſtians faſt chained to the Turks gallies, of whom twelue thouſand were thereby deliuered from moſt miſerable thraldome, and contrary to all hope reſtored to their ancient liberty.

Two daies after this victory, *Venerius* ſent *Humfredus Iuſtinianus* with newes thereof vnto the Senat at Venice: who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the 19 of October, by ſhooting off of certain great pieces, gaue warning vnto the city of his comming, which at that time hung in a great ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare. The citiſens generally awaked with the report of the great ordnance, came flocking by heaps to the port, euery man longing to heare the firſt newes. There they might ſee *Iuſtinian* comming a far off with his gally, but when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the mariners attired like Turks, and foure of the Turks enſignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gally, which filled their mindes with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the ſpoile of the enemy. But after that *Iuſtinian* was landed (which he had much to do for the preſſe) and was gone to the court, with a world of people following after him, crying out for newes; and had there deliuered his letters, and at large diſcourſed of all the ſucceſſe of the battell (which was forthwith blowne into the City) and that the mariners alſo after his departure had reported the victory, and that the enemy was in a great battell ouerthrowne! good God, how the

A generall reioicing, eſpecially in Venice, for the victory.

A the people as men ouerjoyed, ran vp and downe the ſtreets, doubling and redoubling the joyfull name of victory. The Senators alſo rejoycing together, gaue thanks to God with publike praiers and joyfull hymnes in euery Church: and afterwards by ringing of bels, peals of ordnance, bone-fires, & other ſuch like things, ſhewed all the tokens of joy poſſible. And to make this joy the more generall, all priſoners were ſet at liberty, and all debts that exceeded not the ſumme of fiue and twenty crownes, payed out of the common treaſurie; which was generally done through all the Venetian Seigniory: and a decree made, That that day whereon the victory was gotten, which was the ſeuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iuſtina*, ſhould for euer be kept holy-day: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great maſſe of mony was coined, with the impreſſion of *Iuſtina* vpon it, and an inſcription B declaring the victory. Many alſo their neighbor Princes ſent their Embaſſadors congratulatory to Venice; namely, the Dukes of Sauoy, Florence, Ferrara, Parma, Mantua, and Vrbin, and the Knights of Malta. In which ſo publike joy no man was ſeene to put on any mourning garments, or to ſhew any token of heauineſſe, although many had loſt their deareſt friends and neereſt kinſemen; whoſe liues they reckoned not loſt, but giuen vnto the Chriſtian Commonweale. The like rejoycing was alſo made in Rome, in Spaine, Naples, Sicilia, and Malta, eſpecially at ſuch times as Embaſſadors from their neighbour Princes, came to joy them of this victory: yea, and afterwards in other countries further off was like rejoicing and ſignes of joy, as with vs here in England.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of Lepanto, fought neere vnto the C Iſland Curzolari, the ſeuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer fought at ſea againſt the Turke, wherein he loſt his chiefe ſtrength at ſea, with moſt of his beſt ſea captains: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his ſucceſſors were to feare, if the Chriſtian Princes at unity amongſt themſelues, all diſcord ſet apart, ſhould in zeale of their religion joyne their inuincible forces againſt them.

In the middeſt of all this joy, generally conceiued of the late victory, one of the chiefe priſoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the loſſe of Cyprus (for that *Selymus* had therein loſt his fleet, his beſt men of war, with great ſtore of ordnance) by a fit compariſon ſhewed it not to be ſo, ſaying, That the battell loſt, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man ſhould ſhaue his beard, which would ere long grow again; but that the loſſe of Cyprus was vnto the Venetians, as the D loſſe of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring thereby the great inequality of the loſſe.

A witty and fit compariſon made by a Turk to ſhew that the loſſe of Cyprus was greater than the loſſe of the battell of Lepanto.

The rich ſpoile taken from the enemy in this moſt glorious victory, was thus diuided amongſt the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted 19 gallies, two galliots, nine great pieces of ordnance, two and forty leſſer pieces, and fourescore and one priſoners. Vnto the king of Spaine eight and fifty gallies and an halfe, ſix galliots and an halfe, eight and fifty great pieces and an halfe, eight great murthering pieces & a halfe, an hundred twenty eight leſſer pieces, and a thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteen priſoners. Vnto the Venetians were aſſigned for their ſhare, nine and thirty gallies and a halfe, foure galliots and a halfe, nine and thirty great pieces and an halfe, fiue great murthering pieces and a halfe, foureſcore and ſix leſſer pieces, E and a thouſand one hundred threeſcore and two priſoners. The reſt were beſtowed vpon ſuch other Princes as had giuen aid, or otherwiſe well deſerued in that ſeruice.

The ſpoile of the enemy diuided amongſt the confederats.

The joy conceiued of this victory was not ſo great amongſt the Chriſtians, but that the ſorrow thereof was amongſt the Turks far greater. *Selymus* himſelfe was then at Hadrianople, where eight daies after the battel, news was brought vnto him, That his fleet was ouerthrown and almoſt all taken or ſunke by the Chriſtians. Which ſo ſoone as he heard, he was ſtrucken with exceeding griefe: and ouercome with melancholy, would not that day ſuffer any man to ſpeake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow ſtill increaſing, had in ſhort time filled all places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauineſſe: ſome bewailing their parents, ſome their children, ſome their husbands, ſome their friends or kinſmen, there loſt. But that which moſt F grieued the Turkiſh Emperor, was the loſſe of ſo many worthy and expert captains, of ſo many skilfull maſters and notable ſouldiers; who brought vp all their liues at ſea, were not thought inferior to any then liuing: beſides the perpetuall ignominy and vnwonted diſgrace, thereby inflicted vnto him and his poſterity for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was

about to haue commanded all the Chriſtians in his dominions (in number infinit) to be put to
death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they weary of the Turkiſh thraldome, and G
deſirous of innouation, ſhould with weapons put into their hands, riſe vp againſt him, and take
part with the other Chriſtians his enemies. But whilſt the other Baſſa's (as men diſmaid with
the cruelty of the command) ſtood all ſilent, *Muhamet Baſſa* for his former deſerts in great fauor
with the tyrant, thought it good to make proofe if his fury might by reaſonable perſuaſion
be mitigated, and ſome better courſe taken, both for the honor of *Selymus* himſelfe, an dthe
common good of the State: yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannicall
gouernment, openly to ſpeake any thing contrary to the good liking of the wilfull Emperour,
he durſt not apertly contradict him: but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleaſure, by little
and little to draw him from himſelfe; and ſo before he were aware, to lead him into his own H
deuiſe, and by delay moderat the rigour of his former fury. To which purpoſe he cunningly
ſet vpon him in this ſort.

Muhamet Baſſa cunningly diſſuadeth Selymus from ſo rigorous a reſolution, by filling his head with moſt neceſſary conſiderations.

Your anger (ſaid he) *moſt magnificent and inuincible Emperour, againſt the Chriſtians, is moſt juſt:*
and in this my deſire exceedeth all others, That they ſhould endure and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as they haue
of right deſerued. Yet it behoueth vs to ſatisfie our wrath, as men better regarding their own good, that
the hot deſire of reuenge. And foraſmuch as I am for your many and vndeſerued fauours, in all loyalty
bounden vnto your highneſſe aboue others; I reckon it in part my duty, ſo much the more franckely to
deliuer my opinion, ſuch as it is, in matter of ſo great importance. Neither will I attemper my ſpeech in any
reſpect to the comforting of your grieued minde: for how can it be that you, who following the worthy examples I
of your noble progenitors, haue alwaies heretofore ſhewed your moſt heroicall and couragious mind,
contemning all the chances of Fortune, ſhould not for euer after ſhew your ſelfe to be rather dreaded of
all men, than dreadfull of any? Let others, whoſe kingdomes are built vpon vncertainty, ſubiect to the reuolution
of time, and change of Fortune, yeeld vnto their euill haps: as for you, whoſe empire is founded
by the mighty hand of the moſt Higheſt, and compaſſed about with an impregnable defence, and are your
ſelfe by the prwer of Grd appointed King and Commander of Nations and people in number infinite; Fortune
may well a little pricke you, but neuer ouerthrow you. As for this late miſchance, if it muſt needs ſo
fall out, as proceeding from ſome immutable and eternall cauſe; muſt it be therfore alwaies fixt and permanent?
Only thoſe miſeries and miſchiefes which the cowardiſe or fooliſhneſſe of men bring vnto themſelues,
haue their firme and certaine calamities: other common euents comming from other cauſes, haue K
alſo their common and ſudden changes: but how this late miſhap at ſea may be amended, and your former
glory there againe recouered, is hereafter to be conſidered. Now for the preſent (in mine opinion) this one
thing, as of all others moſt neceſſary, is to be prouided, That the weake and worſt fortified places of your
Empire, moſt ſubiect to danger, may be preſently ſtrengthened with ſtrong garriſons; and that by your preſent
repare vnto the Imperiall City, you cheere vp the minds of your heauy and diſmaied ſubiects: which
done, what ſhall let, but that you may at your pleaſure be reuenged to the full of the Chriſtians? For there
is no cauſe why we ſhould feare the Chriſtians, ſix hundred times and more before ouerthrowne: both our
enemies and we are the ſame men we haue bin for many ages, we beare the ſame minds, the ſame bodies, the
ſame ſtrength, the ſame weapons, wherewith me haue gotten infinite victories, both of them and others.
And although ſuch be the ſtate of man, as that he cannot otherwiſe but ſomtime or other taſte of the worſt L
fortune; yet I thinke this preſent misfortune to be rather imputed vnto ſome fatall cauſe to vs vnknowne,
than to the valor of the Chriſtians. Beſides that, we may well enough oppoſe one ouerthrow againſt our ſo
many and infinite victories: yea, we are to giue immortall thanks vnto Almighty God, that we haue by
force of armes ſubdued the rich and famous Iſland of Cyprus, and that your high deſignes haue in that
point ſorted to your hearts deſire. And hard it is in mine opinion to judge, whether this late vnfortunate
battell ſhall more hurt vs, or the Chriſtians: for beſides that the multitude of the Turks hath no feeling of
ſo ſmall a loſſe, they will not as men diſcouraged, giue themſelues to mourning and vaine lamentations, but
with greater courage and fury come forth againe into battell, and reuenge this loſſe with the infinit calamities
of the Chriſtians: who after this their good hap, will according to their wonted manner giue themſelues
to exceſſe, pleaſure, careleſneſſe, and eaſe, vnto their owne farther confuſion. Thus haue I in briefe M
faithfully declared mine opinion: yet with that ſubmiſſiue loyalty, as that whatſoeuer ſhall proceed from
the mouth of your imperiall Majeſty, ſhall be of me deemed moſt wiſely and magnificently conſidered of.

A The Baſſa was in ſuch grace and authority with *Selymus*, that his opinion in counſel preuailed,& the tyrants wrath by his perſuaſion was well aſſuaged. But by the comming of *Vluzales* to court, the remainder of his former griefe and melancholy was fully quieted: who after he had excuſed himſelfe of the late ouerthrow,& declared what he had himſelfe done in the battell,and in teſtimony thereof,preſented him with one of the enſignes of the knights of Malta, told him alſo,how that he had left the Chriſtian fleet ſo rent and torn,as that it could not poſſibly be made ſeruiceable againſt the next yeare: which newes was both of *Selymus* and the reſt gladly heard. In the mean time *Selymus* placed this *Vluzales* in the ſtead of *Haly Baſſa* that was ſlain:and ſtreitly commanded the great officers which had the charge of his nauy,to build new ſhipping night and day:and further injoyned euery Gouernor out of his prouince he had B in charge,to haue in readineſſe one gally or two againſt the next Spring,as wel for the defence of his own dominions, as to reuenge the loſſe he had ſo lately ſuſtained:whereunto alſo many of his great men put to their helping hands,& cheerfully furthered his deſire. New ſupplies of ſoldiers were alſo preſently raiſed,and put into his frontier towns,great ſtore of new ordnance caſt,weapons and armor prouided, and whatſoeuer els the neceſſity of the preſent time required. So with the Turks ſtood reaſon & induſtry,rather than with the Chriſtians, who(as ſome note)rather wanted diſcretion how to vſe the victory,than valor to gain the ſame: which whether it chanced for that proſperity begetteth negligence, or that men joying in their pleaſant bliſſe,regard little the time to come,I leaue it to the judgement of the wiſer to determine.

Selymus repaireth his nauie with all diligence poſſible.

After this ſo memorable a victory, the three great commanders of the fleet ſat in counſell C to conſult,what farther courſe they were beſt to take. But foraſmuch as Winter began now to approch, and that they could not much do vntill their fleet was new furniſhed and manned, they all reſolued for that time to diſſolue the fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of Aprill,to meet together againe at Corcyra. Whereupon *Don Iohn* and *Columnius* returned to Meſſana, where they in ſafety arriued in Nouember; and departing thence, and taking their leaue the one of the other, arriued, *Don Iohn* at Naples, and *Columnius* at Rome: where they were in both places with great joy and triumph receiued.

The Chriſtian fleet diſſolued.

The Venetians for all that grieued with the loſſe of Cyprus,gaue not ſo ouer,but repairing their nauy with thirty gallies,wherein were imbarked ſix thouſand ſouldiers, won a caſtle in Epirus called Margarita: and alſo recouered the towne of Suppoto, which the Turks had D that Summer before taken from them; but now hearing of this ouerthrow, did vpon the approch of the Venetian fleet,againe forſake it. The gallies alſo of Creet conducted by *Canalis*, intercepted many of the Turks veſſels laded with captiues and the ſpoiles of Famaguſta, as they were paſſing thence to Conſtantinople.

Suppoto againe recouered by the Venetians.

Although vpon the late obtained victory, a certaine reconciliation had bin made betwixt *Don Iohn* and *Venerius*, yet of the former diſſention remained an inward heart-burning of one of them againſt the other: for which cauſe,the Spaniards requeſted the Venetians to appoint another Admirall in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a man of great yeres,and his ſtrength far ſpent;yet for that in his aged body reſted great wiſedom & courage,and that they thought him for his great deſert worthy of all honour,they were wonderfull loth, and vnwilling therin E to gratifie the Spaniard: for why, they well knew there was no other cauſe of the Spaniards proud hatred, but that he had ſtood againſt them vpon the honour of the Venetians: and farther, they liked not that the Spaniard ſhould ſo preſumptuouſly preſcribe vnto them, whom they ſhould place or diſplace, in or out of their honorable offices. Neuertheles,not forgetting what commodity came by concord,and what euils of diſcord,and that they might not againſt ſo mighty an enemy wel ſpare the help of the Spaniard,they reſolued to make choice of ſome other;who ſucceeding *Venerius*, might with one conſent manage their wars together with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*. There was then one *Iacobus Fuſcarinus* their chiefe Gouernour in Dalmatia, who but a little before had notably fortified Iadera, and the other frontier towns, and for the ſpace of foureteene moneths had notably repreſſed the furious incurſions of the Turks:of F him then abſent and not deſirous of the place (as of a man of worthy deſert) the whole State by generall conſent made choice for their Admiral & General by ſea againſt the Turke:which moſt honourable place he receiued not with all the ſolemne ceremonies thereto belonging at Venice, as the manner was, but at Iadera: from whence he in the Admirall gally ſent for that purpoſe by *Aloyſius Grimanus* his ſucceſſour in Iadera, ſailed ouer to Corcyra: where he found the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no leſſe care prouiding for all things, than if he ſhould himſelfe haue ſtill continued the war. Of which great care *Fuſcarinus* at his comming eaſed him, by taking it wholly vpon himſelfe.

Caſtra Novum in vain attempted by the Venetians.

Whilſt *Fuſcarinus* thus lay making his preparation againſt the next Spring at Corcyra, *Sara Martinengus*, who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counſell of *Venerius*, who was now returned to Venice) vpon the ſudden landed his men, & beſieged Caſtro Novum, a ſtrong towne of the Turks in the borders of Iſtria, where at his firſt comming he tooke the ſuburbs, and had in ſhort time brought the towne to great extremity. But in the height of his hope to haue woon the towne, hearing that the Beglerbeg of Græce was with great power comming thither, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege, and with all ſpeed to get him againe to ſea. The Turks in like manner, to diſtreſſe the ſtrong town of Cataro, holden by the Venetians in the borders of Dalmatia, built a great and ſtrong fort vpon the paſſage from ſea to the towne, wherein they placed great ſtore both of men and artillery: in hope by keeping them of the towne from all reliefe by ſea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attempted by force; for by land it was already inuironed with the cruell enemy, poſſeſſing the country round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidetor, then lying at Corcyra with the Admirall, vnderſtanding how Cataro a town of no ſmall importance, was thus both by ſea and land by the enemy diſtreſſed: with twenty gallies manned with the moſt choice ſouldiers could be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the raſing of the fort, and relieuing of the towne. *Superantius* with this ſelect company, and certaine other gallies which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of Cataro, and there diuiding his fleet, left the one part thereof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himſelfe couragiouſly paſſed by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turks out of the fort made diuers ſhot, but (by reaſon it was darke) to ſmall purpoſe. In paſſing by, *Superantius* tooke ſuch view as he could of the fort, and by and by began on that ſide to batter the ſame; as did alſo the other gallies on the other ſide: and withall landed their men on both ſides; who vpon ſignall giuen, ran reſolutely to the fort, and by plaine force entering the ſame, preuailed vpon the fearefull Turks, and put them to the ſword euery mothers ſon; ſo that of all that great garriſon, was not one left aliue to carry newes of the ſlaughter. This fort was in length fiue hundred paces, but not ſtrong towards land, from whence no ſuch feare was doubted. In it was taken ſeuenteen great pieces of ordnance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and ſeuen galliots which lay at anchor vnder the fort. Cataro thus relieued, *Superantius* with victory returned againe to Corcyra.

Superantius relieueth Cataro, and taketh a great fort of the Turks.

1572

Fuſcarinus the Venetian Admirall with all things in readineſſe, hauing long lien at Corcyra, expecting the comming of the confederates, as was before appointed; ſent *Superantius* the Prouidetor with fiue and twenty gallies to Meſſana, to haſten the comming of *Don Iohn*, and to attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet and a ſtrong power in good forwardneſſe to haue ſet forward, he found ſuch ſmall preparation, as well ſhewed the Spaniards ſmall care for repreſſing of the Turke, and that they would not be very forward in the ſeruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, cauſed him to complaine vnto himſelfe of their vnfaithfulneſſe, and to bewaile the ſtate of his country, with the whole Chriſtian common-weale: for *Don Iohn* had before ſolemnely promiſed vnto the Venetian Embaſſador, that all things ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the appointed time: but now a great part of Summer was paſt, when ſcarce ſome few companies, and about fifty gallies were met together at Meſſana; and when *Auria* would come with the reſt, no man could tell. So that the carefull Prouidetor ſtood now no leſſe in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks fury.

Selymus ſends out Vluzales with two hundred gallies.

Selymus, after the great ouerthrow he had receiued at the Iſlands Corzulares, for feare he ſhould be driuen quite out of the ſea, was aboue all things carefull for the renuing of his nauy: and hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred gallies, commended them to the conduct of *Vluzales*; with expreſſe charge, That by how much things had fallen out worſe the laſt yeare, he ſhould with ſo much the more care now beware of the like danger; and not goe out of the bounds of the Archipelago, or to aduenture battell but vpon aduantage, or at leaſtwiſe vpon an euen hand.

This *Vluzales* (otherwiſe called *Occhiall*) was an Italian borne in Calabria, who in his

A youth taken at ſea by the Turks,and chained in the gally,and afterward renouncing his faith,
by many degrees grew vnto the higheſt preferments amongſt the Turks,and ſo became an exceeding
plague as wel to his own country as all other of the Chriſtians bordring on the Mediterranian.
He now Admirall for the Turk,after the manner of the proud Barbarians,threatned
with fire and ſword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians; which knowne at Venice,much
troubled them, as well acquainted with the fury of the old Archpyrat. Beſide that, *Antonius*
Barbarus their Embaſſadour, all the time of this war kept in ſafe cuſtody at Conſtantinople,
had by letters certified them,what a great fleet,and what a ſtrong army *Selymus* had prouided
againſt them: and that he himſelfe told 250 ſaile of gallies when they ſet forward from Conſtantinople,
beſide ſome other that were to meet with him at Calipolis: and that therefore
B they ſhould beware how they incountred with the Turks fleet but vpon equal ſtrength. It was
alſo at the ſame time commonly reported, That king *Philip* chief of the Confederats,careleſſe
of the wars againſt the Turk in the Eaſt, was about to turn his forces vpon the Kingdomes of
Tunes or Algiers, neerer vnto him; as indeed he did the yeare following. The Venetians intangled
with ſo many difficulties were euen at their wits end, and day by day the Senat ſate
from the riſing of the Sun to the ſetting of the ſame,conſulting how all theſe miſchiefs were
to be remedied. But foraſmuch as the greateſt danger was to be feared from the Turks fleet,
as then houering euen ouer their heads; they by Letters commanded *Fuſcarinus* their Admiral,
That whether the Confederats came vnto him or not, he ſhould forthwith take his courſe
towards the Eaſt,and there according to the enemies deſignes,and his own diſcretion and valour,
C to do what he ſhould think beſt to be done for the common good of his country,and not
to refuſe to ioyn with the enemy in battell, if he ſaw any good hope of victory. Neither ceaſed
they at the ſame time, both by their Embaſſadors and letters, earneſtly to call both vpon
the Pope and the King, to haſten their forces to incounter the enemy before he ſhould come
out of his own ſeas; and to carry the terrour of the war home to his own doores,rather than to
receiue it at their owne. The like meſſage was alſo done to *Don Iohn*, putting him in minde
what his place,what the time,and what the danger of the time required; intreating him (if it
were poſſible) of himſelfe to adde ſomthing vnto that haſt which the neceſſity of ſo important
a cauſe required. Who neuertheleſſe, for all the meſſengers and letters to him ſent (which
were many) went ſtill on faire and ſoftly,delaying from day to day; telling, That he would
D by and by come, and that the Spaniards would alwaies be ſo good as their word. Which was
ſo far from his thought,that afterwards finding one excuſe after another,he not only ſtaid his
comming, but called back again *Requiſenius* alſo, whom he had ſent before with twenty gallies
to Corcyra. Now were two months (fitteſt for the wars) vainly ſpent; when *Superantius*
grieued to ſee time to no purpoſe ſo ſlip away, and fearing leſt the reſt of the Summer ſhould
to as ſmall effect in like manner paſſe alſo, with great inſtance importuned him to haſten his
journy. Then at length *Don Iohn* anſwered, that the Venetians requeſted but reaſon, neither
that he wiſhed for any thing more than to ſatisfie their deſires,but that a greater care hindred
the leſſe, which was firſt to be preuented: He was aduertiſed (as he ſaid) that the French King
pretending the ſuppreſſing of certain pyrats, had aſſembled a great fleet at Rochel, with purpoſe
E indeed to inuade Spain,now that the king was buſied in theſe wars againſt the Turk;and
that therfore they muſt pardon him if he preferd the regard of Spain before others, being expreſly
commanded from the king,not to depart from Meſſana vntill he had other commandment
from him. But whether this excuſe by France proceeded of a true fear or otherwiſe, the
Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French King vnderſtanding thereof by
the Venetians,was therwith (as reaſon was) exceedingly offended: proteſting, that he was euer
ſo far from that purpoſe of hindring any the confederat princes in that their religious war,that
if the troubles of his own country would haue ſo permitted,he would gladly haue giuen them
aid therin. Many there were alſo that thought, *Enuy the antient enemy of vertue and valor*, to haue
had a great power in this delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would more reioyce of the
F victory wel hoped for,if they ſhould ioin with the Venetians,or grieue if the ſame ſhould by
the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* weary of diſcourſes and long expectation,
and almoſt out of hope of any help in time from the Spaniard; how vntowardly ſoeuer
things went, thought better yet warily to moderate his griefe, than in ſo dangerous a time to
giue any occaſion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet ſpake he not fawningly or flatteringly

Vluzales a renegat Chriſtian and now the Turks Admiral.

Superantius haſteneth Don Iohn.

of the matter, but with a certaine modeſt grauity declared, That he had thought heauen would ſooner haue fallen, than that *Don Iohn* would not at the appointed time haue come to G Corcyra. And withall beſought him, and wiſhed him to beware that he brought not the common ſtate into ſome great danger: if they had to do with ſuch an enemy as might be delaied with, then he ſaid he could eaſily abide delay; but now, for that the war and the enemy was ſuch, as wherein, or with whom neuer any Generall had delaied without loſſe, to what end did he longer defer or trifle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they ſhould diuide their forces, then were they all too weake, but vnited together, ſtrong enough to defend the common cauſe. The neerer the enemy came, the more haſt were to be made to ioyne with the Venetian fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honorable or glorious, than for him a noble young Gentleman royally diſcended, of whom the world had conceiued a great hope, that he would in martiall honour exceed the glory of his moſt famous anceſtors, H againe to vanquiſh the proud Turk, the greateſt and moſt mighty Monarch of the world, to fight the battell of the Higheſt, to aſſure the Chriſtian commonwealth againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, and to purchaſe vnto himſelfe immortall glory and renown. As for the French, there was no ſuch thing to be feared as was pretended, who with ſuch ſlender preparation, not worth the name of a fleet, was not ſo vnaduiſed as to ſet vpon a Kingdome of ſuch ſtrength and power as Spain. Furthermore he ſaid, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the King himſelfe, to haue the Turks repreſſed: whoſe Kingdoms of Naples, Sicilia & Spain, were no leſſe than their territory, expoſed to danger by ſea. The good ſucceſſe of their affaires in the Eaſt would open the way to the conqueſt of Africk: but if the Turk ſhould preuaile, then were they I to deſpaire, not of Africk, but of all Italy, Sicily, yea and of Spain it ſelfe. The time (he ſaid) and neceſſity of the war, with the extremity of the danger of the whole and common ſtate, required that he ſhould with all his power and ſpeed poſſible, take vpon him the defence of the common cauſe, or to ſay more truly, of the Chriſtian commonweale, then ſo dangerouſly impugned. Theſe reaſons drawn from the common good and the truth it ſelfe, much moued the Generall: but the Kings pleaſure was to be preferd before all reaſons or dangers that could be alledged. But hearing afterward, what reſolute command the Venetian Senat had ſent vnto their Admirall, he became exceeding carefull: for he feared leſt if the Admirall ſhould without his help fight the battell and gain the victory, he would conuert all the glory therof vnto himſelf: but if he ſhould chance to be ouerthrown, it would turn to his vtter reproch and perpetual K infamy, that in ſo neceſſary a time he had withdrawn himſelf from the common cauſe. Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to doe, he ſtood for a while as one at his wits end: yet at laſt, he vpon deliberation reſolued to take a middle courſe, and ſo neither without the command of the King (by whoſe preſcript order all was to be don) to depart with the fleet from Meſſana; neither altogether to fruſtrat the Confederats of the expected ayd. And to that purpoſe ſent two and twenty gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of Andrada (a noble Gentleman) to the Venetian Admirall at Corcyra; with whom went alſo *Columnius* with the Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompanius*, by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his ſtead; who vpon the ſame conditions with his predeceſſour, had entred into the league, and liking very well of *Columnius*, kept him ſtill for his L Admirall.

Don Iohn in doubt whether to ſend aid to the Venetians or not.

He ſendeth Lilly of Andrada, with 22 gallies.

Long had *Fuſcarinus* expected the comming of the Confederats, and albeit that the yeare was far ſpent (Auguſt being then come) and no ſuch aid ſent as he had expected; yet deſiring to do ſomthing worth the remembrance, and beſeeming their honour, he earneſtly perſuaded *Columnius* and *Lilly* to ſet forward with him toward the Eaſt, and with their vnited forces to giue the enemy battell: telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they ſhould go not only to the glory of the preſent battell, but to the great honor and aduancement of the Chriſtian commonweale. After that, he extenuated the power of the enemy, ſaying, That he could not but maruell from whence ſuch a number of gallies as was reported, could ſo ſuddenly be gathered; or whereupon ſo great confidence and boldnes was grown vnto them, ſo lately ouer- M thrown and put to flight: the enemies fleet (he ſaid) was the yere before ouercome and diſperſed, the Captains and mariners ſlain; and that therfore it was not credible, that ſo many gallies could with ſuch celerity be built, and ſuch a number of mariners and maſters as was needfull in ſo ſhort time prouided: That the prouiſion of the enemy was by flying fame made ſo

greater

A greater than indeed it was or poſſible could be : for why, they might eaſily gueſſe what the
enemy was able to do, by the Chriſtians themſelues, who could not without much adoe and
great labour build their fleets, and train vp their Mariners and Maſters : and that therfore letting
fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are; he
was verily perſuaded, that the enemy was glad to vſe moſt vnskilfull and ignorant as well Mariners,
Maſters, as ſoldiers: who ſuddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies,
knew not ſo much as the very names of the ropes and tacklings, and other equipage: and
then thoſe gallies which they had were like enough to be [illegible] weake, as of them which were
the laſt yere rent and bruiſed, & now again botched vp, or [illegible] built of green timber, could
not be nimble or greatly ſeruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men to ſet forward
B against the enemy; and that with the greater courage, for that the laſt yeares victory had
opened vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it ſhould ſo fall out, as good
hope there was, they ſhould therby take from the proud enemy both power and hope (but in
long time) to be able to recouer his ſtrength at ſea: ſo that they in the mean time without fear;
might at their pleaſure take the rich Iſlands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turks declining
battel, ſhould retire themſelues into the Helleſpont, then might they with fire & ſword ſpoil
all the frontiers of their dominion on this ſide the ſtreits, and open a way vnto the Chriſtians
to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* perſuaded by the Admirall: neither did they thereunto
giue their conſent, vntill it was decreed, That they ſhould not in any caſe ioin battell with the
C enemy, but with their gallions & galeaſſes firſt placed in the front of the battel, in whom conſiſted
the greateſt hope of the victory. So ſetting forward toward the enemy, & come to Commentitia,
letters were brought vnto them from *Don Iohn*, certifying them, that he was now by
letters from the King commanded to come towards the Eaſt, and to ioin his forces with the
confederats; but yet that for certain daies he could not come, vntil he were better prouided of
all things neceſſary: and that therfore they ſhould in the mean time careffully looke vnto all
things, promiſing ſo ſoon as he poſſibly could to come to them. Vpon theſe letters *Columnius*
and *Lilly* began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the comming of the Generals
yet foraſmuch as he had not expreſly written any thing concerning their ſtaying, and *Fuſcarinus*
vrged them forwards, on they went, with their fleet diuided into three battels. The whole
D fleet conſiſted of 155 gallies, ſix galeaſſes, and twenty tall ſhips: in the right wing was *Superantius*;
in the left wing *Canalius*; and in the middle battell, *Columnius*, *Fuſcarinus*, and *Lilly*; and
in the rereward followed *Quirinus*. Before each battell went two of the galeaſſes ſtil in readines
for preſent battell. In this order they came firſt to Zacynthus (commonly called Zanto)
& ſo to Cerigo: the next day after to Colubraria (commonly called Dragonaria) ouer againſt
Cerigo. Here *Angelus Surianus* a valiant gentleman, ſent before to diſcouer the enemy, & what
ſtrength he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admirall, That the Turks fleet,
conſiſting of 160 gallies, 60 galliots, and four great ſhips, lay about Maluaſia, in the entrance
of the bay called Sinus Argolicus, vpon the borders of Peloponeſus, about fifty miles off
from the Chriſtian fleet. Shortly after, the ſame fleet was again diſcouered making for Maleas
E wherupon the Chriſtians, before reſolued to fight whereſoeuer they ſhould meet the Enemy,
forthwith put themſelues in order of battel, and ſo with their galeaſſes in the front, made with
what ſpeed they could toward him. Theſe two fleets were thought for many reſpects almoſt
equal: the enemy was in number moe, but inferiour in ſtrength. The Chriſtian fleet by reaſon
of the heauines of the galeaſſes, made but ſmal way; and the enemy afraid of the great ſtore of
Ordnance the galleaſſes carried, durſt not come neer them. The Turks fleet was rather nimble
than ſtrong, but ours more firm and forward. Look wherin each exceeded the other, therwith
they endeauored to help themſelues and annoy the enemy. The Chriſtians fearing to be circumuented
by the multitude of their enemies, oppoſed their ſhips and galeaſſes before them
as a moſt ſure forteſſe: and the Turk, by how much he had had the worſe ſucceſſe the yeare
F before, was ſo much the more carefull to beware how he indangered himſelf within the reach
of the galeaſſes. The Chriſtians deſired nothing more than to fight and to come to handy
blows: but the Turk who thought it ſufficient for the preſent not to be ouercome, ſomtime
made away as faſt as he could, and by and by ſtayd again, if haply he might haue taken the
gallies ſeparated from the galeaſſes; neuer ſeeming willing to aduenture further than reaſon

The number & order of the Chriſtian fleet.

The Chriſtian fleet and the Turks almoſt equall.

The Turke warily declineth battell.

and diſcretion were. The enemy ſeeing the Chriſtian fleet comming ſtill on, and ready to giue battell, firſt ſeemed as if he would haue don the like, but afterwards turned his courſe vpon G the right hand, and kept aloof alongſt the coaſt of Malea: At which time the Chriſtians, although they were very deſirous to haue followed them, yet the Turks with their nimble fleet were quickly too far gon for the Chriſtian fleet to ouertake them, eſpecially with their heauy ſhips. That day almoſt ſpent as it were in the chaſe of the enemy, towards the going down of the Sunne, the enemy put into the current of the ſea betwixt Cerigo and the Harts Iſland, in bredth about ten mi[illegible] there diuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the comm[illegible] Chriſtians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if vpon the confidence of the p[illegible], which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purpoſed nothing more than to fight. Yet both fleets ſeemed reſolued; the one not to fight without the galeaſſes, and the other not to come neer thoſe hot ſhips, from whom they had but the yeare H before receiued ſo great harm. And although the enemy, as was afterwards known, purpoſed nothing leſſe than to fight, but vpon great aduantage; yet fearing by open flight to diſhonor his lord and maſter, and by granting as it were of victory, to increaſe the fame of the Chriſtians, the crafty pyrat made a great ſhew of that he leſt indeed purpoſed. For pretending a great deſire to fight, he indeed deluded the Chriſtians hope: who although the wind had failed them, yet in hope the enemy would abide them battell, with much labour and rowing came ſo neer him, that the great ſhot began to fly too and fro on both ſides: but when the matter ſhould haue come to haue bin tried by dint of ſword, then it plainly appeared what the enemy had indeed purpoſe: for ſtill keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Chriſtians, he by let- I tle and little ſhrunk back, and beſide that the ſhadow of the night began then to approch, he cauſed all his great Ordnance, charged only with pouder, to be ſhot off, and ſo in the thick of the ſmoake retired vnſeen; colouring his ſubtill departure alſo, by certain lights left in their cock-boats, making ſhew as if the whole fleet had ſtill there ſtaid. By this means the Turks with great celerity eſcaped, being alſo holpen in this, that the Chriſtians hindred vp the heauineſſe of the galeaſſes, could not but faire and ſoftly purſue them: for theſe galeaſſes, as they are veſſels of great ſeruice, ſo are they alſo heauy and vnweldy, and not fit for chace. The departure of the enemy at length known, the Chriſtians alſo vnwilling to fight by night, returned to Cerigo. Two daies after, the Turks ſtayd in the bay of Tenarus (now called Metapan) & the Chriſtians at Cerigo; contented in that, that the enemy was the cauſe that the battell was not fought, and reckoning his weary and couert declining of battell, as a ſecret con- K feſſion of the victory. The third day after, the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to joyn in battell with the enemy, in their former order ſet forward from Cerigo, and ſailing all the night, were in the break of the day deſcried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Vluzales* by ſhooting off of certain warning pieces commanded all his men to go abourd, and to put themſelues in readines for battell. And now the Chriſtians were not far off, when as the Turks (leſt declining of battel, might reproue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet diuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the ſea, the right wing ſtill keeping neer vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himſelfe: who came all on no faſter than the tide draue them, ſtaying their courſe oft times of purpoſe, L to haue drawne the gallies of the Chriſtians from the galleaſſes and ſhips. *Vluzales* ſeeing his fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galliaſſes, commanded both the wings of his fleet (hauing in each of them fourſcore gallies) to fetch a great compaſſe about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleaſſes, and ſo to aſſaile the wings of the Chriſtians on the ſides or behind: in hope ſo to haue diſordered their battell, and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleaſſes and the other heauy ſhips. Which their intent the Chriſtians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies alſo, in manner of the new Moone, their maine battel ſtill facing the middle battell of the Turks. The wings of the Turks fleet thus farre ſeparated from the middle battell, ſeemed to preſent vnto the Chriſtians a great aduantage: which *Fuſcarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune) M quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and ſhewing them the enemies main battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requeſted and perſuaded them, That not ſtaying for the heauy Ships and Galleaſſes, they would with him vpon the ſudden aſſaile the enemies middle battell now deſtitute of the wings: not doubting but ſo to ouerthrow

the

Vluzales meaning nothing leſſe, yet maketh ſhew of battell.

The Turks politiquely retyre.

The Chriſtians deſirous of battell, go againſt the Turks.

A the enemies greateſt ſtrength there, before the wings could, now they were ſo far gone, ioyne themſelues to the battell again. What could (as he ſaid) haue hapned more wiſhedly, than to haue their battell diuided. So that they might at more aduantage fight againſt euery part therof, now ſeparted, than againſt all three parts at once. If they had thought themſelues not only equall, but too ſtrong for the whole enemies fleet, ſhould they not the better ouercome them apart and diſperſed. The opportunity, as he ſaid, was but ſhort, and therefore to be forthwith reſolued vpon. If they would take the preſent occaſion of victory then offred, and as reſolute men charge their enemies, little fearing any ſuch thing, they ſhould by their celerity and valor, teach the Turks what the Chriſtian diſcipline of war and power was able to do: but if they would therein vſe delay, they ſhould ere long in vain wiſh for the like occaſion they B had let ſlip, when as their battell was again ſtrengthned with the wings. This the Admirals ſpeech was of moſt that heard it ioyfully receiued, and his counſell well liked; and that with ſuch a generall cheerfulneſſe of the ſouldiers, as ſhewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemy preſent battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the ſame mind they had bin alwaies, ſaid it were dangerous ſo to do, for fear of drawing the whole three battels of the enemy at once vpon them, againſt which they ſhould be too weak, without the help of the galeaſſes and heauy ſhips: and therfore ſaid flatly, That without thoſe veſſels ſo much feared of their enemies, they would in no caſe hazard the fortune of a battel. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they ſo thought, or were ſo charged by *Don Iohn* (of whom they altogether depended) not to fight in his abſence, many doubted. The wings of the Chriſtians C in turning about to confront the enemies wings, were a little diſordred: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the preſent opportunity, with 15 of their gallies were about to haue charged the ſtragling gallies: which *Superantius* perceiuing, to ſtay their courſe, went out couragiouſly againſt them with foure gallies, and made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* ſeeing forty more of the enemies gallies comming towards him, and doubting to be incloſed, with all ſpeed ſent for relief, which came preſently in, namely twenty gallies, with two of the galeaſſes: which forthwith ſent their thundring ſhot ſo thick and furiouſly among their enemies, that in a little time eighteen of their gallies were by them al rent and torn; and the Turks therwith diſmaied, were glad in ſuch haſt to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing at that fight but one of his gallies ſhot through, returned again to D his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue bin the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuſcarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling again into their order, although the Chriſtians could not ſo faſt follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they ſo neer them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their ſmall ſhot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many ſigns gathered, that neither the Turks would abide preſent battell, neither the Chriſtians longer delay, if by their enemies they ſo might. The Chriſtians had agreed (as is before ſaid) not to ioyn in battel without their galleaſſes and tal ſhips: which *Vluzales* wel vnderſtood, both by the fugitiues and his own eſpials, as alſo by their maner of ſailing. And he himſelfe, although he had no great deſire to fight, yet to be the better able to fruſtrat the endeuors of the Chriſtians (who with great labour drew with them the E galeaſſes and other heauy ſhips) ſent his chargable great ſhips to Maluaſia, there to be vnrigged; wherby he diſcharged himſelf of a great burthen, & made himſelf able at his own choice and pleaſure, to leaue or take, to fight or not: and alſo with ſuch ſoldiers and other neceſſaries as were in the ſame great ſhips, ſupplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policy the matter was brought to that paſſe, that if the Chriſtians would needs draw the enemy to battel, they muſt of neceſſity forſake their galeaſſes, their moſt aſſured ſtrength; or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any means inforce the ready enemy to fight. The day now declining, the enemy ſuppoſing himſelf to haue done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heart of the Chriſtians, and encouraging his owne people, in ſeemly order, as one not afraid, ſailed with his fleet to Corona. The Chriſtians in like manner retiring F themſelues to Cerigo.

The Turks fleet at Corona, and the Chriſtians at Cerigo.

Whilſt things thus went, *Don Iohn* by a frigot ſent of purpoſe, gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to Corcyra, ſharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they ſtayd not for his comming: and further commanded them as their Generall, all other things ſet apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to reſolue of all matters.

Don Iohn ſendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

Columnius wholly deuoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the fauour of *Don Iohn* before the reſt,hearing his meſſage,was in ſuch haſt to haue returned,that he would haue perſuaded *Fuſcarinus* to haue left the heauy veſſels and other weak gallies at Cerigo, and with a hundred of the beſt gallies with all ſpeed to haue returned to the Generall. Of which opinion was alſo *Lilly*:but *Fuſcarinus* more careful than the reſt,as he whom the danger more concerned,would not yeeld to that perſuaſion:for that in ſo doing, they ſhould (as he ſaid) leaue the ſhips and galleaſſes,the chiefe part of their ſtrength,in danger to be ſpoiled by the enemy; whom they now kept at a bay without the help of their general;and ſhould,as he wel hoped,by often prouoking of him,at one time or other draw him to battell,and haue ouer him a notable victory. And therefore requeſted them for the loue of God, and the zeale they bare vnto the common good of all Chriſtendome, not to depart farther off, nor to ſuffer the enemy to eſcape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leaue the Iſlands of the Venetians ſubiect to the fury of the enemy:whereas the Generall might at his pleaſure and without danger come vnto them,they lying betwixt the enemy and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* reſolutely ſet down,hap what hap ſhould,to do what *Don Iohn* had commanded,would not liſten to the reaſonable perſuaſions of the Venetian Admirall, but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had ſaid yeeld to them,they would forthwith leaue him to himſelf,and with their gallies preſently return to Zacynthus,as the Generall had commanded. Whilſt they were yet thus diſcourſing,news was brought,that the enemy was come with his fleet into the fret of Cerigo:which cauſed them all with one conſent to reſolue in ſuch order to paſſe by the enemy,as if they ſhould haue giuen him preſent battell:wheras before,they were determined by the perſuaſion of *Fuſcarinus* to haue gon to Crete, and there leauing the ſhips and galeaſſes in ſafety,to haue afterwards returned to the General. In ſuch order the Chriſtians paſſed by the enemies fleet, which lay ſtill in the fret of the ſea without mouing, ſtanding as it were rather vpon the guard of themſelues,than reſolued for battell. In three days ſailing they came to Zacynthus,where they found not *Don Iohn*,but two of his gallies,& commandment,that they ſhould there leaue their heauy ſhips, and with their gallies come to Cephalenia, where they ſhould not faile to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieued, and muttered through the whole fleet,That the Spaniards bearing themſelues vpon their wealth, were too proud,and in compariſon of themſelues, regarded neither the conditions of the league, neither any other mens credit,but troad all men vnder foot; & would now vſe the Venetians not as their friends and confederats, but as their ſlaues and vaſſals, feeding them in the mean time but with vaine hope. Yet foraſmuch as the time and neceſſity ſo required, they were content to be ouerruled: and ſo leauing the ſhips and galeaſſes at Zacynthus, went with the reſt of the fleet to Cephalenia:whither *Don Iohn* was not yet come,and ſent word thither, That if they had any deſire to ioin their forces with his,they ſhould yet come further back vnto him to Corcyra. This meſſage(which they had rather feared than expected) much troubled the Venetians;who readier to ſuſpect euery miſchiefe, than to hope for any good,began to fret and complain, That the Spaniards could very wel tel the Venetians what they had to do,and forgot in the mean time, what was on their own part to be performed. A hard thing it was to ſay,and yet to be ſaid,that now they had more to do with thoſe their dallying friends and confederats, than with their enemies: for with their enemies they were to fight but in time of battell, but with them they were to wreſtle at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they ſaid) drawn from the ſight of their enemies, when as they might haue bin ouerthrowne: not to the intent that with their vnited forces they might more ſafely fight againſt them, or vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* gain the victory;but rather leſt any thing ſhould haue bin don which might be to the honor or profit of the Venetians:and that time which was to haue bin beſtowed in the managing of the war,ſpent in lingring and delaying, and vain going forward & backward to no purpoſe. One only way there was (as they ſaid) to haue diſpatched with the Turke, which was by ouercomming him in another notable battel,& ſo to haue vtterly broken his ſtrength at ſea:which courſe the confederats made no leſſe difficult by their ofwardnes and delaies,than the enemy by declining of battell: That they had long ago by many ſecret ſignes probably coniectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder & croſſe other mens doings, than to do any thing of themſelues: That their endeauors were to fruſtrate thoſe great hopes which promiſed vnto the Chriſtian commonweale the greateſt felicity and happines, together with immortall glory:

Don Iohn ſendeth for the fleet to Cephalenia,where he alſo faileth to meet them.

Don Iohn commandeth the fleet to repaire vnto him to Corcyra.

A glory:and, That the Turks of late diſcouraged with the fortunat proceedings of the Chriſtians,might again reioice at their miſhaps.

The Chriſtian fleet al together at Corcyra, ſetteth forward again towards the enemy.

The Venetians, notwithſtanding all theſe their murmuring ſpeeches, loth to fall off from the Spaniard,kept ſtill on with the reſt vntil they came to *Don Iohn* at Corcyra,who then lay with 53 gallies,and 18 ſhips at Spilca,in the vtmoſt end of the Iſland. At their firſt meeting, *Don Iohn* ſhewed himſelf not a little offended,that they had not with more duty before attended his comming: and they againe not a little complained of his long ſtay,with many other their grieuances, which were tedious here to rehearſe. The fleet now all with much ado at length met together,which conſiſted of two hundred gallies,nine galeaſſes,and thirty ſix tall ſhips:it was by generall conſent agreed, That they ſhould again ſet forward toward the Enemy. B They were not yet vnder ſaile, when two of their eſpials brought them news,that the enemies fleet(weakly furniſhed both of mariners and ſouldiers)was come to Naudrinum:which filled them all with good hope,that the Turks fleet ſo euill prouided,might in that place vpon the ſudden be eaſily oppreſſed,and the rather, if they came vpon them vnexpected. Wherfore becauſe they would not be deſcried, they kept not their courſe on right forth, but ſayling by night,kept aloof vpon the right hand:& hauing paſſed Zacynthus,came with great ſilence vnto the Strophades,where they lay at anchor all that day. In the euening they looſed thence, ſo caſting their courſe, that the more to terrifie the enemy, they might before day fall vpon him; and be ſeen in the mouth of the hauen where he lay, before there could be any report made of their comming thither. But this courſe ſo well ſet, the time was ſo euill caſt, that it C was fair day long before they could come to the appointed place,when the Turks out of their watch towers diſcouered afar off the comming of the Chriſtian fleet,gaue warning therof vnto their fellows: wherupon an alarm was preſently raiſed in the towne, and all men in armes ran headlong to the wals and to the hauen. But the Turks out of hope with their euill rigged fleet to be able to withſtand the Chriſtians,and not daring to truſt to that weak harbour, they all now in a great hurly burly ran confuſedly hand ouer head, ſoldiers and mariners, aboord: and whilſt they had yet time,got them in haſt out of that harbour,and as men chaſed by their enemies, got them into ſafe harbour at Modon,a ſtrong town of Peloponeſus, about ſix miles off. *Columnius* was ſent before the reſt of the fleet to haue purſued them:but they were got ſo far before him,that they had recouered the harbor before he could ouertake any of them. D The Chriſtian fleet comming before the harbour, and leauing a ſpace as it were of purpoſe for the enemy to come out into,there lay in the face of the town,daring the Turks battell. But when they had ſo lien almoſt all that day,and no man durſt come out; and now towards the euening certain ſignes of tempeſt appeared,the Chriſtians fearing to be by force of weather driuen on ground, put farther off again to ſea. Then at length *Vluzales* ſent out certain light gallies to follow in the taile of the fleet, when the Confederats ſuddenly ſtaying their courſe, and turning their prowes vpon them,draue them headlong again into the harbour:and afterwards retyred themſelues with the whole fleet into the Iſlands Oenuſæ, now called Sapientia, right oppoſit againſt Modon. The next day wanting freſh water, they remoued to the bay of Meſſana,there to water in the mouth of the riuer Pamiſus,which there falleth into the ſea: where E in paſſing by Corone,they were oftentimes ſhot at out of the town; and landing their men to water,were encountred by certain troups of horſmen,ſent for that purpoſe by *Vluzales*. There was water deerely bought with the liues of many there ſlain on both ſides: in the end, the Chriſtians preuailing, watered, and ſo returned againe to the Oenuſæ from whence they came.

The Chriſtians offer the Turks battell.

The deſcription of the bay of Modon.

Methone or Modon(for it is by both names known) ſtandeth almoſt in an Iſland ſtretching far into the ſea, where toward the Weſt runneth out a long point of the land a great way into the ſea; in the vttermoſt part whereof ſtandeth a great round tower. The towne it ſelfe, is on the one ſide incloſed with the ſea,and toward the land ſo ſtrongly fortified,as that it ſeemeth almoſt impregnable: Towards the South commeth in a faire bay about three miles wide,ſafe F from all winds except the Northerly wind only;and ſhut vp by a little Iſland in the mouth of the bay,maketh a ſafe & quiet harbor,with two entrances therinto on either ſide of the Iſland. Within this bay lay the Turks fleet, with the ſterns of their gallies toward the land,and their prows toward the ſea. At the Southerly comming in of the bay ſtandeth an hil, which the inhabitants call Albus:on the top whereof,the enemy had placed ſix great pieces of Ordnance, wherwith to keep the Chriſtians from entring that way. So had they alſo vpon that point of G the main, which (as we ſaid) runneth out from the town, and vpon S. *Bernards* rock, planted other great pieces of Ordnance to defend that paſſage alſo. The Chriſtians comming vnto the mouth of the bay, there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts, but yet doubtful what to do: for beſide that the entrances of the bay were but narrow, they were alſo far more dangerous to be entred, by reaſon of the great Ordnance planted vpon them. Neuertheles, the Venetian Admirall in hope of good ſucceſſe, and loth to let the fearfull enemy ſo to eſcape out of their hands, would fain haue perſuaded the General with his whole fleet to haue entred the bay, and there in the harbor to haue oppreſſed the enemy: which he ſhewed to be no matter to do, for that the enemy was too weak in ſtrength, and could not be from land relieued. In which doing, they ſhould indeed ouerthrow but one fleet; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, cut H in ſunder all the ſinews of the Turkiſh Empire by ſea: and raiſing a tumult in the bay, and filling all with a generall feare, ſhould vndoubtedly at the firſt onſet put the enemy to flight: Which don, what ſhould let, but that carrying about with them the terror of the victory, they ſhould with their victorious fleet, take from the Turke all the Iſlands of the Ægeum? That truly and wiſely it was ſaid of *Themiſtocles*, That whoſoeuer had the command of the ſea, muſt needs alſo preuaile in the reſt, and at length carry away the victory by land alſo. It was (as he ſaid) the part of good chieftains, not to be wanting vnto themſelues when occaſion was offered: beſides that, they were the ſame Turks, whom they had but the yeare before vanquiſhed; and what had that one yere either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turks? or what ſhould they feare ſix pieces of Ordnance mounted vpon a hill, who if they ſhould vndertake the battell, I were not to fear the great ſtore of Ordnance in 260 of the enemies gallies and galliots? I my ſelf (ſaid he) will be the guid and leader, in whatſoeuer ſhall ſeem moſt difficult and dangerous: and will in perſon my ſelfe be the firſt that ſhall enter the harbour, and aduenture the firſt danger. Great victories (he ſaid) were not to be gained but with great aduentures; & that therfore the matter were to be haſted, before more aid ſhould be ſent vnto the Turks. Wherefore they ſhould as reſolute men attempt that, the Turks thought the Chriſtians durſt not to haue attempted; and with the ſame courage brake into the bay, wherewith they had but the yere before broken the ſtrength of the ſame enemy; and by the power of God carry away another notable triumph of the vanquiſhed Turks: who ouercome in a ſecond battell at ſea, muſt needs depart with all their maritime territories. With euill liking of the Spaniards was the K Venetian Admirall heard: and *Don Iohn* the Generall, deeming both the time and place vnfit for the attempting of ſo great an exploit; rehearſed on the one ſide, the ſtrength of the enemy, the diſaduantage of the place, the difficulty of the battell, with the manifold and great calamities receiued by the ouerhaſty & raſh atempt of their enemies: That the enemies ſtrength was not to be ſo much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reaſon; and that many in ſeeking to increaſe their former glory, had in ſo doing ouerthrown the ſame: That the Chriſtians in entring and aduenturing the harbor, ſhould on the one ſide be beaten with the Artillery from the hil; and on the other, with the artillery out of the caſtle of Modon: and that it was not like that *Vluzales* ſhould if need require, lack aid from land: who but the other day had ſent great troups of horſmen to haue kept the Chriſtians from watring: L that a matter of ſo great importance was (by *Fuſcarinus* his leaue) not raſhly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and hautineſſe of ſtomack, but vpon graue and mature deliberation: for if they ſhould in a place of ſo great diſaduantage, hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it ſhould ſeem that either he knew not that kind of fight and force of the enemy, or els would make the bay of Modon more famous by the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians, than was the Curzulari by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Then what a ſhame would it be, if they which were about to oppres the enemies fleet, ſhould themſelues be ouerthrown, and that in their own deuice. He had rather (as he ſaid) preſerue his own fleet, than to take 600 of the enemies gallies, and to acount the ſame for a greater honor. Which he determined not, for that he would not haue any thing don; but that vnripe occaſions ſhould not be too much haſtned, and as it were thruſt headlong forward: wheras time M would giue opportunity for the ouerthrow of the Turks fleet, ſo that they ran not blindly on headlong: & that in future time the Venetians would reioice that they had ſo moderated their deſires. The Chriſtians (he ſaid) had ſufficiently preuailed, if thoſe things ſhould fall out well, which were warily and aduiſedly conſidered and reſolued vpon.

Don Iohn refuſeth to follow the counſell of the Admirall.

The

A The matter thus on both ſides debated, and nothing don, they returned with the fleet into the port of Nauarinum. This proceeding, as it diuerſly moued the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo brought it forth diuers ſpeeches, euery man ſpeaking in fauour of his own nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That he had moſt wiſely reſolued, for that how deer the counſell of the Venetian Admirall would haue coſt if it had bin followed, the thing it ſelf (as he ſaid) ſhewed, by the extreme danger therof preſented, not in the doubtfull opinion of men, but laid open before their eies. The Venetian on the other ſide more deſirous of battell, the neerer they had ſeen the opportunity to haue preuailed vpon the enemy, the more impatiently they endured ſo aſſured a victory, to haue bin let ſlip out of their hands: and thereof ſpake accordingly.

The Caſtle of Modon in vain beſieged by the Christians.

B The Chriſtians lying at Nauarinum, conſulted of many things what they were beſt to take in hand: and reſoluing at laſt, by ſea & land to beſiege the caſtle of Modon, which kept the paſſage into the bay, and defended the Turkiſh fleet, they returned again thither, & landed 7000 of their beſt ſoldiers, to beſiege the caſtle. And at the ſame time, appointed the galeaſſes with certain gallies to batter it alſo from the ſea: which the more commodiouſly to do, they ioined two of their greateſt gallies together ſide to ſide, which they made faſt with maſts and ſtrong ropes, and ſo bourded them clean ouer, wheron as on a platform, they placed gabions al affront, filled with earth, and great Ordnance betwixt to haue battered the Caſtle. But when this Engine (in maner of a floating fort) ſhould haue performed the ſeruice for which it was deuiſed, it proued vnſeruiceable, after it had with much ado bin brought thither, being ready to ſinke C with the weight of the great Ordnance and other things wherwith it was ouercharged. For which cauſe, and for that they vnderſtood a great number of horſemen to be come into the town, they gaue ouer the ſiege vainly begun, and put again with their fleet to ſea. It fortuned at the ſame time, that a tall ſhip of Venice departing from Zacynthus, and comming alongſt the coaſt of Peloponeſus, with prouiſion for the fleet, was deſcried by the enemy; who thinking to do the Chriſtians a great diſhonor, if they could almoſt in the ſight of their fleet surpriſe her, they ſent out certain light gallies to haue taken her, *Vluzales* in the mean time with the reſt of his fleet, lying in the very mouth of the bay, ready to come out if the Chriſtian fleet ſhould once ſtir to relieue her. Which the Chriſtians perceiuing, and wel hoping that ſo the enemy would be drawn to battell, ſent out *Columnius* with his gallies to reſcue the ſhip; and D others alſo which lying aloof, might get in betwixt the Turks gallies & the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall lying ready to haue giuen battell, if *Vluzales* ſhould haue come forth: but the Chriſtians comming on with a ſmall gale, the enemy being afraid, by ſhooting off of certain warning pieces within the bay, in time called back the gallies that were already gone out of the bay: who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mohomet* the nephew of *Barbaruſſa*, a moſt famous captain amongſt the Turks, who as one of great courage, and deſirous of honour, ſtaid a little without the bay, with greater courage than diſcretion, expecting who ſhould aſſaile him. Him the Marques S. *Crucis* ſet vpon, and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end the Marques preuailing, ſlew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honor caried away the gally. So the diſhonor which *Vluzales* would haue don the Chriſtians, fell vpon himſelfe, E hauing in his own ſight loſt one of his beſt captains with his gally.

Mahomet ſlain

The Prince of Parma in vain beſiegeth Nauarinum.

The next day, becauſe the yeare ſhould not paſſe without ſomthing don, nor the hope of ſo great a preparation come to nothing, the Chriſtians determined to beſiege the Caſtle of Nauarinum (which was in antient time called Pylus) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the natiue place of old *Neſtor*. The City of Nauarinum ſtandeth vpon a riſing ground, ſtretching ſomwhat into the ſea; wherinto it hath a large proſpect, and a faire large hauen, but ſubiect to the North wind. It is defended with a point of the main, running compaſſe into the ſea, whereon ſtandeth an old Caſtle. Some ſent before to view the ſcituation of the place, brought word back, that the caſtle might in three days be won. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Aleſander Farneſius* Prince of Parma, whom the Venetians furniſhed F with munition and victual. He landing with 2000 Italians, a thouſand Spaniards, and 500 Germans, began with twelue great pieces to batter the caſtle. And albeit that the battery was planted ſo far off, as that it did the enemy no great harme; yet haply the enterpriſe had taken effect, if by taking the ſtreight and troubleſome paſſages through a rough and thick forreſt, the City had bin kept from relief: but foraſmuch as thoſe paſſages were left free, the enemy cunningly oppoſed policy againſt force; for ſalying out of the city they gaue the Chriſtians an hot skirmiſh. And in the mean time whilſt the Chriſtians were ſo buſied, by a port toward the forreſt on the other ſide of the City receiued in great number both of horſe and foot. The report of this new come aid cauſed the Prince to raiſe his ſiege, and to go again aboord. And now reſted all the hope of gaining the town in the ſtrength of the fleet, and that not ſmall, for that the Turks not relieued with victuals by land, were now by the confederats kept from them alſo by ſea: for at that time the Turkes were troubled with two great miſchiefs, the famin and the plague. For no prouiſion had there bin made, as in a thing neuer feared; and that little being ſpent that was in the Towne, they were inforced to ſeek for victuals farther off: which comming but ſparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the ſouldiers which lay about in the country villages, wanting victuals no leſſe than they in the city. And the more men the Beglerbeg of Greece brought down for defence of the ſea towns, ſo much the more the wants of all things daily increaſed. So that no man doubted but that in ſhort time all would be brought to extream penury. What a dearth the mortalitie had made, the want of men in gallies wel declared: for many of the gallies for lack of mariners and ſoldiers were ſent away into Eubœa, or left at Maluaſia, or carried away to Conſtantinople. Thoſe which ſtaid in the bay of Modon were ſcarſe an hundred gallies, and forty galliots, and they ſo ſlenderly manned, that the greateſt gallies had not aboue a hundred and twenty men in them, and they ſo megre and faint, as that they could ſcarſly hold vp their weapons. The Chriſtians vnderſtanding of theſe things, were in good hope, that by continuing the ſiege, they ſhould without danger gain a notable victory. For which cauſe *Fuſcarinus* perſuaded the Spaniards (of whoſe conſtancy he doubted) to hold it out as men of reſolution. Shewing them, That in the euent of this action reſted for them for euer to be feared or contemned of the Turks: who except they ſhould be changed into fiſhes or into birds, could not (as he ſaid) without a notable ouerthrow eſcape their hands out of the Bay. But vnto this his hope and counſel the euent was not correſpondent: for the Spaniards, whether it were for the tedious nes of the ſiege, or for want of victuals, or for the approch of winter, or els moued with ſome other reaſons, began to think of the matter diuerſly: and at the firſt a report was raiſed, That the Chriſtians giuing ouer the ſiege, would ſhortly return home; and the reaſon was, for that they wanted bisket, and had ſcarſly victuals left for fifteen daies, which was to be reſerued for their long journy home. Beſides that, the approch of Winter did call them from the action: and that hauing don what they might, they could neuer draw the enemy forth to battell. And therfore hauing ſufficiently, and as far as was poſſible, already diſcharged their duties, they were now alſo to regard their ſafety, and to foreſee, that their fleet, wherein the wellfare of them all was repoſed, were not too far indangered. At the firſt theſe ſpeeches were divulged by the common ſouldiers and mariners of ſmall credit or reputation; but afterward by more, and they alſo men of better place and ſort. Yea *Don Iohn* himſelfe, whether it were to ſome other purpoſe, or that he ſo ſpake in good earneſt, began to lay the fault vpon others, why he, ſo lately come from Meſſana, ſhould in ſo ſhort time want victuals and all things els neceſſary.

The weaknes of the Turks fleet.

The Venetians murmure againſt the Spaniards.

With theſe vnexpected reports, and ſo far different from the Confederation, the Venetian Admiral with the reſt of the Venetian Commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieued aboue meaſure: for it ſeemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the moſt fertile and plentifull cuuntry of Sicilia, in all ages the moſt fruitfull and abundant granary and ſtore-houſe of Italy, both in peace and war, could ſo ſoon want victuals. Could eighteen tall ſhips, which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loded with bisket, victuals, and other warlike and neceſſary prouiſion, be come empty? or but to haue brought ſo much as might ſuffice but for a moneth only? If this were don without the knowledge of *Don Iohn*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winked thereat, where was his zeal to the confederation, or to what purpoſe came he to Corcyra? Was it to auert the Chriſtian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemy) from doing any good vpon him? Could it come into any mans head (beſides that in ſo doing he was therin to extinguiſh the glory of a moſt certain victory, like to work the Turks confuſion) by the infamy of a voluntary returne to increaſe the glory and renown of his enemy, and to bring a perpetual ignominy & diſgrace vnto the honour of the Chriſtians? Verily the Spaniards therein not to ſhew themſelues ſo

willing

A willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the ſtrength of the Venetians not increaſed.

The Venetian Admirall perſuadeth the Spaniards in no caſe to returne from the enemy.

These things *Fuſcarinus* and the Venetians ſomtimes fretted at amongſt themſelues; and
otherwhiles the Admirall himſelfe expoſtulated the ſame with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*; and
in the preſence of the greateſt counſellors ſhewed, not only how profitable, but alſo how ne-
ceſſary perſeuerance was in all martiall affairs: That it was an old and vſuall matter for men
in beſieging of their enemies, to ſuffer many difficulties: if they ſhould, hauing performed
nothing, return with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was a-
gain the next yeare to be renewed? And what could this delay be elſe, but a propagation of
their further calamities? That therfore it much concerned the Chriſtian Commonweale, al-
though they had not all things in abundance, yet reſolutely and with patience to endure the
B ſcarſity of victuals. If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might eaſily remedy that mat-
ter, by ſpeedily ſending for thoſe ſhips which lay laded with victuals good ſtore at Tarentum:
which thing might in ſhort time be performed. In the mean time he promiſed to ſupply the
Spaniards wants with part of his own ſtore: and that he had rather his men ſhould liue with
roots, than to let the enemies fleet coupt vp, ſo to eſcape his hands: That the deſire to protect
the honour of the Chriſtians, would ouercome all difficulties. Beſides that, the matter would
be but ſhort, if it were done at once, in one continued courſe; and would vndoubtedly be by
them performed, if they gaue not ouer the thing they had ſo well begun, till they had accom-
pliſhed it. They (as he ſaid) might in good ſafety lie with their fleet in the ports of Nauari-
num, Sapientia, and Capraria: wheras the enemy, lying ſhut vp in the bay of Modon, ſhould
C haue but a bad and dangerous Winter harbor; and October being now begun, ſhould in ſhort
time be in danger to periſh with bluſtring ſtorms and rage of the ſea, familiar vnto that time
of the yeare; or els inforced with the extremity of the weather, and with want, to aduenture in-
to the open ſea, and with their weak forces to ioin battell. What ſhould therfore let, why they
ſhould not for 10 or for 15 daies continue the ſiege, as beſt beſeemed the honor of themſelues,
the valour of their ſouldiers, and worthines of the Chriſtian name? What a terrour it would
be vnto the enemy, to ſee the Chriſtians ready to endure all extremities and wants, to gaine
the victory ouer the Turks? Again, what diſhonour and diſcredit would be vnto themſelues,
if they ſhould ſuffer the enemy (ſhut vp and not daring to fight) to eſcape: eſpecially, when as
they might ſitting ſtill, end the war? The Senat of Venice, he ſaid, moſt reſted vpon the valor
D and courage of *Don Iohn*, and therefore he requeſted him not to deceiue the great hope they
had of him conceiued: for how much ſhould he himſelfe blemiſh his own honour, if when he
had before relieued the afflicted ſtate of the commonweale, he ſhould now, when it was moſt
of all to be holpen, forſake the ſame? Which ſhould not be much vnlike, as if a man ſhould
with great labour purchaſe great ſtore of pretious pearles, and vpon an humorous paſſion caſt
them all into the ſea: That men generally held a great opinion of him the General, an honora-
ble remembrance of his victory, and regard of his valour; all which, how much the more preg-
nant and honorable ſhould they be, by the ſecond vanquiſhing and ſubduing the moſt mighty
monarch of the world: and that if the action well begun, ſhould be effectually proſecuted by
the goodnes of God, the direction of the Commanders, and the reſolution of the ſouldiers, in
E ſhort time the Chriſtians ſhould carry the victory from the Turks, and make him their gene-
ral equal not only with the great chieftains of the preſent time, but euen with the moſt famous
commanders of all former ages. Wherunto *Don Iohn* replied, That the action then in hand no
leſſe concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life deſired nothing
more, than to ſtand the Chriſtian Commonweale in ſtead: That he pointed at the ſame mark
with *Fuſcarinus*, and in zeale to do good to the Chriſtian commonweale, gaue place to no man;
but indeed to perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to ſay it: leſſer things (he ſaid)
were to be ouerpaſſed, to reſerue themſelues for the performance of greater: and therfore mar-
uelled that *Fuſcarinus* alone could not ſee things moſt manifeſt before his eies; who other-
wiſe could with his piercing wit ſee through the deepeſt matters: could he think by any o-
F ther means to abate the power of the Turk, than if they kept their fleet whole; that it was euer
the maner of the greateſt & worthieſt commanders, rather to ſhun preſent dangers, than to in-
creaſe their territories: that nothing was ſo wel purpoſed, which might not be of ſome wrong-
fully ſuſpected: but his faithful meaning to be pure & without ſpot, and albeit that the oppor-
tunity ſerued not for him to ſhew it, yet was his deſire & endeuor nothing leſſe: and that *Fuſca-*

Don Iohn replieth vpon the Venetian Admirall.

rinus, ſhould do well more intentiuely to conſider, what the cauſe, the matter, and the time required: G
That the maner of war at land and at ſea were much different: and that although wars
of both ſorts were to giue place to the moſt vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, vnfit for any kind
of war, yet might men at land, better endure the winter ſtorms in their tents and cabbins, than
at ſea in their gallies, where oftentimes will, skil, wiſdome, nor valor help not: but that (except
it be ſo prouided and foreſeen, that the ſeaſonable time of the yere, and commodious for ſayling,
may be taken) al muſt together periſh by ſhipwrack. What, would he haue them to ſtriue
aboue their power with the winter ſtorms, and famin, the greateſt extremity of nature? Beſides
that, he was verily perſuaded, that the Turks inioying the commodities of a good harbor, and
of a rich city, would there in ſafety winter, the country of Peloponeſus relieuing them with al
neceſſaries: when as the Chriſtians in the meane time, except they in time returned home, H
ſhould lie expoſed to the rage of the ſea, ſtanding as it were in a continuall watch, not laying
away their weapons in the depth of Winter and dead time of the yere, which in reaſon ought
to giue reſt to all men. And that therefore euery man ought for the preſent to beare his own
grieuances, and not by the harms of his friends or confederats, to ſeek his owne auaile. And
that he, bearing himſelfe vpon the inward integrity of his good will toward the Venetians,
would this ſay, howſoeuer *Fuſcarinus* ſhould vnderſtand it, That if the Kings fleet ſhould by
long ſtaying, there periſh, it would no leſſe concern the Venetians, than the king himſelf: and
taking God to witneſſe, would ſolemnly promiſe, Nothing to be vnto him more leifer or religious,
than to be preſt ſo ſoon as the time of yeare would giue leaue, and by his endeauour to
make al men know, that he had no leſſe care of the Venetian ſtate, than of the kings affairs, neither I
deſired any thing more, than to be accounted, & indeed to be a moſt conſtant vpholder of
that moſt Chriſtian league, and that beyond al expectation, euen in the iudgement of the Venetians
themſelues: but for the preſent they muſt pardon him, if he gaue place vnto the neceſſity
of the time: as for the offer of the communicating of their victuals, that would not be any
help, but the deſtruction of both the fleets; for ſo they ſhould both ſooner feele the want:
wherefore it were much better to preſerue the fleet, which they might vſe in the next yeares
wars, than wilfully to caſt away the ſame by famine, and the rage of the ſea. In brieſe, what an
indignity ſhould the Chriſtians ſuſtain, if they themſelues ſhould by the ſame meanes be ouerthrown,
whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrown others.

The Spaniards about to return without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were ſo reſolutely ſet down for their departure, that not only without K
the conſent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuity, their departure was reſolued on,
and ſecret command giuen to the maſters of the gallies, with all the haſt that might be, to depart
thence to Meſſana. Which the Venetian Admiral vnderſtanding, and therwith troubled
as with an vnexpected matter, came aboord the general, & greatly complained of his purpoſe
for ſo ſudden a departure: requeſting him a while to ſtay, vntil the two gallies made faſt together
in the harbor of Nauarium (as is before ſaid) with the Ordnance vpon them might be put
in good ſafety, and neither they, or any thing els left for a prey to the enemy. With much ado,
Fuſcarinus perſuaded him no ſtay that night, that thoſe gallies might be brought out of the
harbor, and all things put in order for their departure. The reſt of the night was ſpent in debating
of the matter too and fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceiued into a publike L
inſtrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall conſent of the three Admirals returned
for lack of victuals: wherunto the Venetian Admirall hardly conſented. But when the inſtrument
ſhould haue bin made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduiſed by one of his Secretaries,
That the ſame would redound vnto the great diſhonour both of the King and himſelfe,
that the fleet comming out of the fruitfull country of Sicilia, ſhould in a months ſpace want
victuals, changed his mind for the writing, and only requeſted the Venetian Admirall to credit
him and *Columnius*, in that they had ſaid concerning the want of victuals: promiſing him,
that if vpon the way he ſhould meet with the victuals that were ſent for, he would forthwith
return & giue him aid, as the time and occurrents ſhould require: but in the mean time to proceed
by common conſent, to do that which was moſt needfull. Hereupon they returned: and M
comming to Corcyra, they met the expected ſhip laded with victuals. Now is not *Fuſcarinus*
vnmindfull of his duty, but comming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promiſe;
[illegible] That it was not vnlike, but that the enemy ſo ſoon as he vnderſtood of their de-
[illegible] come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards Conſtantinople; and

being

A being but weake manned, and worſe furniſhed of mariners, might eaſily be ouertaken vpon the way and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto perſuaded; pretending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to return. So the expectation of great matters to haue bin this yeare done, came to nought, but vaniſhed into ſmoake: and nothing performed worth ſo long a diſcourſe, more than to ſee with what difficulty great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their own honor, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the faireſt opportunities, and by their croſſe dealing, no leſſe than the enemy, hinder the common good, whereat they would all faineſt ſeeme to aime. From Corcyra *Don Iohn* departed to Meſſana, and *Columnius* vnto Rome. *Fuſcarinus* with greater honour than ſucceſſe returned to Venice, where he was with great joy receiued, B both of the Senat and the citiſens in generall: and ſo (no leſſe famous for his patience and moderation towards the other confederats, than for his policy and valor) with the good liking of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

Amyda the exiled King of Tunes craueth aid of Don Iohn.

About this time, *Amida* King of Tunes (of whom much is before ſpoken in the life of *Solyman*) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turks (who had of long by little and little incroached vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two ſons at Guletta with *Franciſcus Tonares*, Gouernour thereof; hearing of the great ouerthrow of the Turks at Lepanto, and of the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians, ſent Embaſſadours to *Don Iohn* Generall of the confederat princes, then lying in Sicilia, humbly requeſting his aid for the recouery of the kingdome; promiſing to defray the whole charges of the war, and foreuer to C hold his kingdome of the King of Spaine, as his vaſſall and tributary. Which his requeſt well conſidered of, and the matter thought of no ſmall conſequence for the ſafety of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt that part of Affricke, to haue ſo dangerous an enemy remoued; *Don Iohn* the yere following (in the beginning of October) by the commandement of the king of Spaine his brother, departing from Drepanum in Sicilia, with an hundred and fiue gallies and forty ſhips, arriued the next day about noone at Guletta, where the gallies of Malta came vnto him, and ſhortly after *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteen more, and *Columnius* the Popes Admirall with foureteene moe, all well appointed. At his arriuall at Guletta, he vnderſtood by *Amida* and the Gouernour, the whole eſtate both of the city and of the kingdome of Tunes: and that the Turks and Moores, terrified with ſo greet a fleet, were about to D forſake the city. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his forces about foure miles from the city, and ſent two thouſand fiue hundred footmen before the reſt of the army to the city; who found it all deſolate, the Turks and Moores being before for feare fled, ſome to Carauana, ſome to Biſerta: who entring without reſiſtance came to the caſtle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who ſaid they kept it for *Amida* their King; but yet would by no means ſuffer the Chriſtians to enter. All which was forthwith made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then becauſe it was almoſt night, would not mooue, but early the next morning ſet forward with his whole army; and entring the city, before abandoned by the inhabitants, and ſo comming to the caſtle, found nothing therein but great ſtore of oyle, butter, and wooll.

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E *Amida* the late King, by the commandement of *Don Iohn* all this while ſtayd at Guletta. But whileſt *Don Iohn* was yet at Tunes, newes was brought vnto him the 13 of October, That the Turks garriſon before fled out of Tunes, with diuers Moores, comming to Biſerta, were there kept out by the citiſens, and not ſuffered to enter: for which cauſe they began to burne and ſpoile the country thereabout. Whereupon the Generall ſent *Tonares* the Captain of Guletta thither with part of the army; who encountring with thoſe Turks ouerthrew them, and had the city by the citiſens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The iuſt iudgement of God vpon Amida the late King of Tunes.

The kingdom of Tunes thus eaſily once again recouered from the Turks, *Don Iohn* thorowly informed of the faithleſſe and cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in deteſtation of the Chriſtians and their religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and proF cured the death of ſome of the Chriſtians; gaue this definitiue ſentence vpon him, being yet in the caſtle of Guletta: That foraſmuch as he had of long time bin the author of great diſcord and endleſſe troubles in that kingdom, and had moſt vnnaturally depriued *Muleaſſes* his father, firſt of his kingdome, and afterward of his ſight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his naturall brethren, the rightfull heires of that Kingdome, whereby the Turks had taken occaſion

ſion both to inuade and poſſeſſe the ſame: he ſhould therefore by the commandement of the king of Spaine be carried priſoner with his two ſonnes into Sicilia, there to remaine for euer. G Which heauy doome he taking moſt grieuouſly, and yet crying out for mercy, was forthwith thruſt into a gally, and with his wife and children tranſported into Sicilia, there to liue in perpetuall exile: the iuſt reward of his mercileſſe and vnnaturall dealing with his father and brethren; God no doubt requiting him with the like meaſure he had before meaſured vnto them.

Mahomet, Amida his brother, made King of Tunes, and vaſſal to the King of Spaine.

After that (the King of Spaine ſo commanding) *Mahomet, Amida* his elder brother, and right heire of that kingdome, was appointed king in his place: who departing from Guletta to Tunes, was receiued as King, and there by ſolemne oath promiſed for euer to be the King of Spaine his vaſſall, and to do whatſoeuer he ſhould command.

There was before departed out of Tunes forty thouſand Moores, who now came and offered H their ſupplication to *Don Iohn*, that they might again returne and liue with their new king; which their requeſt being eaſily granted, they in great numbers euery day returned into the city. Shortly after, fifteene hundred Turks, with 3000 of thoſe wilde people which ſome call Arabians, ſome Alarbes, ſore troubled all the paſſages about the city: who were at laſt by the Chriſtians ouerthrowne, and an hundred and fifty Chriſtians whom they had taken priſoners, reſcued. After that, *Don Iohn* by the aduice of his moſt expert and ſkilfull captaines, commanded a ſtrong caſtle to be built in the middle way betwixt Guletta and Tunes: and for the performing therof left *Gabriel Serbellio* with two thouſand Italians, and *Calazar* a Spaniard with other two thouſand at Guletta. And ſo hauing performed that he came for, and diſpoſed of I all things as he thought beſt, returned againe into Sicilia.

A grieſe of griefs it is, and ſorrow almoſt vnconſolable, when worthy actions moſt happil begun, ſort not to ſuch happy end as was in reaſon hoped for. The greateſt and moſt famous victory of all ages gained againſt the Turke, ſeemed to haue lightened a Chriſtian Commonweale, and great hope there was, that the Chriſtians falling into vnity amongſt themſelues, would by an happy exchange make the Turkiſh empire the ſeat of their wars, and to turn into the Turks dominions, the terrour, ſlaughter, and other calamities of war, which had ſo many yeres afflicted the Chriſtian commonweale. But by how much the more the ioy was amiddeſt ſuch daily calamities and teares; ſo much greater was the ſorrow ſo great an hope to be come to nought, and men to be ſo blinded with the darkeneſſe of enuy and diſdaine, that they could not ſo much as think, with what diſhonor and danger of the common ſtate, they ſhould ſhrink K from ſo iuſt, ſo honorable, and ſo needful a ſeruice, including in it ſelfe the generall good of all Chriſtendome. When poſterity ſhall conſider what things might then haue bin don, and the deuiſes whereby the common cauſes were ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame and greatly lament ſo notable a victory and fit opportunity, ſent as it were from heauen for the effecting of great matters, to haue bin let ſlip & paſſed ouer ſo lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had repoſed all their hope in arms, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of peace. Truly the Venetians both ſpoke & thought honorably of king *Philip*, as of a moſt faithfull, iuſt, deuout, and honorable prince: yet greatly blaming his officers and others of great authority about him, as men more regarding their owne priuate, than the L good of the Chriſtian commonweale. In theſe perplexities of the Venetians, king *Philip* promiſed them to ſet forth a greater and ſtronger fleet againſt the next yeare, and to be ſooner in readineſſe with all his forces and warlike prouiſion, and ſo to help them in all he might. Who for all that gaue ſmall credit to thoſe promiſes, for that with the like they had bin oftentimes before deceiued. And therefore as truſting moſt vnto their owne ſtrength, they with all carefulneſſe and expedition entertained moe ſoldiers; of whom ſome they put into their fleet, the reſt they placed in their garriſons in Creet, in Dalmatia, and their frontier townes in Epirus. Neither were the Turks then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that war with greater fame than ſtrength: for they had of purpoſe giuen it out, That they would the next Spring with diuers armies inuade the Venetian Territories, in Creet, in Dalmatia, M in Epirus, yea, and in Italy it ſelfe; and with their innumerable multitude both of horſe and foot ſo ouerwhelme the Venetians, that they ſhould not be able poſſibly to hold out. This and more too they brauely vaunted of: but indeed *Vluzales* comming to Conſtantinople, had brought his fleet ſo ſhaken and ſo weake, as that it ſeemed not poſſible but in long time

The Venetians weary of the delayes and croſſe dealing of the Spaniards, reſolue to ſue vnto the Turkes for peace.

A. to be againe repaired, and furniſhed with ſoldiers and mariners, in ſtead of them that had bin
loſt, ſome in fight, but moe by the contagiouſneſſe of the infection. But howſoeuer the matter
ſtood, the Venetians carefull with the expectation of great matters, and in ſmall hope of good
ſucceſſe, comparing their own ſtrength with the ſtrength of the enemy: yet were they no leſſe
diſcouraged with the delaies and croſſe dealing of the confederats, than with all the prouiſion
of the enemy. It ſtucke in their minds, how that the Spaniards at ſuch time as Cyprus might
haue bin defended, delaied their comming ſo long, that Nicoſia being loſt, it was time to return:
neither could they forget that lingering delay to haue bin the cauſe of the great mortality
amongſt their men dying in the fleet at Iadera: They remembred alſo, that the commodities
which of ſo notable a victory were moſt plentifully to haue bin reaped, were by the ſlender
B proſecuting of the ſame, ſo ſparingly taken, that the former dangers ſtill remained: And
that *Don Iohn*, who ought by appointment to haue bin at Corcyra in the beginning of Summer,
was ſcarcely come thither in the latter end of Auguſt: And that he in the third yeare of this
war, at ſuch time as their fleet was with great labor and charge again repaired, would not or liſted
not to aduenture to haue againe ouerthrowne the enemies fleet, but in the very action to
haue alwaies trifled away the greateſt part of Summer, before his Spaniards could ſet forward;
and when he might ſafely haue come to Cerigo, to haue called backe *Foſcarinus* and the
reſt, then facing of the enemy, and euen ready to haue giuen him battell: It was then ſecretly
ſuſpected, the Spaniards to haue ſtaied of purpoſe, and to haue dallied on the time, that the
Venetians hauing ſpent their forces, might be the more expoſed and ſubject to their injuries:
C It ſtucke faſt not in their minds alſo, but euen almoſt in their eyes, what things had happened
of former times in their confederations with that nation: they were grieued in the ſpace of
three yeres an hundred times, twenty hundred thouſand duckats to haue bin to little or ſmall
purpoſe ſpent in that war: Beſides that, they doubted leſt the Flemings with their confederats
ſhould ſo intangle the king of Spaine in defending of his owne territories, as that he ſhould
not be at leiſure to ſend any aid into the Eaſt: in which caſe, what hope or helpe were they to
looke for? How ſhould they then defend the reſt of their Seiginory in the Eaſt? How ſhould
their empty coffers ſuffice to maintaine ſo great armies both by ſea and land, as might withſtand
ſo puiſſant an enemy? Long were the diſcourſes, and effectuall the perſuaſions, that the
Venetians had amongſt themſelues, to induce one another, and all in generall, more circumſpect
D to conſider, not only what had already paſſed, or was preſently in hand; but alſo more
warily to foreſee what would be the courſe and what the euent of a matter ſo important: and
betime to breake off the confederation, which they had alwaies found to haue ſtood them in
ſmall ſtead. In reuoluing of theſe things, only one remedy ſeemed moſt effectuall for the curing
of their afflicted State; which was, by deſiſting from war, to conclude a peace with the
Turke, howſoeuer: which they were the rather in good hope to attaine, for that diuers ſpeeches
concerning the ſame had paſſed at Conſtantinople, and were from thence againe reported
at Venice. All men thus inclining to peace, the Senat referred the proceeding therein vnto
M. Antonius Barbarus their Embaſſador, (who all the time of theſe wars had lien in ſafe cuſtody
at Conſtantinople) willing him therein to vſe the helpe of the French Embaſſador, who
E had alwaies beene a perſuader of peace.

Selymus hauing got the Iſland of Cyprus and diuers other places from the Venetians, & yet
well wearied with the harmes and loſſes he had himſelfe receiued both by ſea and land, was
alſo deſirous enough of peace. So that the French Embaſſador might, as it was thought, haue
got a reaſonable and indifferent peace, if he had but expected the opportunity of time: But he
(whether moued with the common harmes, or ſome other ſecret cauſes to him beſt known) in
making too much haſt, & ſeeming too deſirous of peace, much hurt the common cauſe of the
Venetians, which he moſt deſired to haue furthered. *Selymus* hauing found him, reſolued with
Muhamet the great Baſſa, what he would haue done: who at ſuch time as the ſame Embaſſador
came vnto him about the matter, told him, That he had himſelfe many times moued, yea & ſo
F far forth as he might, importuned his great lord and maſter for peace, but could neuer find him
willing to heare thereof, vntill that now at length ouercome and wearied with the continuall
ſollicitation of ſuch as might do moſt with him, he had yeelded thereunto. So the thing that
Selymus himſelfe vndoubtedly deſired, that the crafty Baſſa ſeemed him with moſt difficulty to
grant, rather vpon the inſtance and contemplation of them that labored for the ſame, than for

Selymus himſelf deſirous of peace.

Muhamet Baſſa dealeth cunningly with the French Embaſſador ſolliciting the peace in the behalfe of the Venetians.

The Venetians ſend their Embaſſador of purpoſe to Conſtantinople to entreat a peace.

A peace concluded betweene Selymus & the Venetians.

any deſire he had thereunto of himſelfe. For certaine daies at the firſt the French Embaſſador was moſt curteouſly heard, and the Baſſa with faire & cunning ſpeech promiſed, that the matter of pacification ſhould eaſily & in ſhort time be compoſed: and ſo at their firſt conferences things paſſed rather in generall termes, than that any condition of peace were particularly agreed vpon: only this was on both parts conſented vnto, That the Venetians ſhould ſend their Embaſſador of purpoſe, for the full concluding and confirming of the deſired peace. Which charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacobus Superantius*, in whoſe wiſedome and valor they had repoſed great hope and confidence. He was no ſooner come to Conſtantinople, and the Turks deliuered of the feare of the Chriſtian ſword, by the diſſolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, & the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their diſdainfull ears, their deſpightfull ſpeeches, their long and inſolent attendance, with many other ſhamefull indignities: Yea, the Baſſa was ſo ſhameleſſe, as proudly to aske them, How they durſt be ſo bold as to impugne the great Emperor *Selymus* his fleet at ſea. Whereunto the Embaſſador anſwered, That the Venetians had alwaies honored the Maieſty of the Turkiſh Emperors, neither had at any times taken vp armes againſt him, but in their own reaſonable defence, when force was by force to be repulſed, a thing lawfull euen for the wild beaſt in the wild wilderneſſe to do. At the firſt intreaty of the peace, the Baſſa ſeemed to put the Venetian embaſſador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his requeſt ſhould enioy their territories in Dalmatia in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the ſame bounds, whereof they had in theſe wars loſt ſome part about Iadera. But when the matter ſhould haue come to the ſhutting vp, the Turke began to ſhrinke from that he had before promiſed, refuſing not only the reſtitution of the territory they had indeed by treaſon got, but by cautelous expoſitions of his meaning, framing the concluſion of the preſent peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turks had now yeelded to them Maluaſia, and Nauplus, ſo now they ſhould redeliuer vnto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not reſtoring the territory they had taken about Iadera, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their law reſtore vnto the Chriſtians any town or place wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Mahometan religion, as was there: and further, That the ſame territory was already giuen by *Selymus* in reward vnto his ſouldiers, men of deſert, from whom without great iniury it might not be againe taken. Hereupon the French Embaſſador complained, That promiſes were not performed: and the Venetians ſo fretted, that they were euen about to haue returned as men ſhamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks ſtill ſtanding vpon ſuch hard termes) the Embaſſadors by the appointment of the Senate concluded a peace with the Turke; whereof theſe were the chiefe capitulations: firſt, That the Venetians ſhould giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thouſand duckats, one hundred to be preſently paied, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two yeres next following: then, That the merchants goods ſhould be indifferently on both ſides reſtored: and laſtly, That ſuch places of the Venetians as the Turke was already poſſeſſed of, ſhould ſtill remaine vnto the Turks; but that ſuch towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks dominion, ſhould be again forthwith reſtored. For the firſt payment of the mony the Turke were earneſt, thereby as by a fine for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honourable.

1574

The peace proclaimed at Venice.

This peace at Conſtantinople concluded the eleuenth day of February in the yeare 1574, was by the decree of the Senat confirmed, and afterwards the 13 of Aprill following ſolemnly proclaimed at Venice, to the great wonder of the other Confederats. For the better ſatiſfying of whom, the Popes Nuncio, with the Embaſſador of Spain, were ſent for into the Senat houſe. And although there were many things that grieued the Venetians, yet did they forbeare all hard ſpeeches, and of that their moderation receiued ſo much the more honor, as it is more difficulty for an angry man to ouercome himſelfe, than others. The duke with calme and temperat ſpeech, framed to the purpoſe, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counſellors, being ſet apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he was deſirous of the Turks friendſhip, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not onely with loſſe, but euen with death it ſelfe to be maintained. How he had been ſpoiled of the kingdome of Cyprus, he further declared: and that the Venetian ſtate grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continuall wars

A and that therefore, before it were by loſſe vpon loſſe come to the vttermoſt of extremity, they
not able to maintaine ſo heauy a war, were to take ſome better courſe for the preſeruation of
that which was yet left of their Seigniory: for that the ſafety of the Venetian State ſhould at
all times be a ſure fortreſſe and defence of the Chriſtian common-weale againſt all the furi-
ous attempts of the enemy, and vncertaine euents of time.

The fame of this ſudden and vnexpected peace was for the juſt and common hatred of the
Chriſtians againſt the Turks, generally euil taken: and the Venetians for the concluding ther-
of hardly ſpoken of, as if they had betraied the whole Chriſtian common-weale, or at leaſt-
wiſe their Confederates. For men were for the moſt part of opinion, that the Turks peace
would be but feigned and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to ſet things in order, accor-
B ding to his deſire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Chriſtians, come to his
old courſe, and as he had alwaies done, breake the league and take vp armes. Some ſaid, That
the Venetians forſaking of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuiſes periſh;
yet ſo, as that their deſtruction would turne to the generall harme of all Chriſtendome: and
theſe men were of opinion, That in that caſe, and againſt that enemy, a dangerous warre was
to be preferred before an vncertaine and diſhonourable peace. Neuertheleſſe the Venetians
beſides that they for the preſent eaſed themſelues of many an heauy burthen, ſo haue they
thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happy peace, and found the ſame vnto their State
both wholeſome and profitable vntill this day. It was thought by the ſequel of matters, That
Selymus was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that hee might the better
C recouer the kingdom of Tunes and the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta from the Spaniards: who with
the knights of Malta now gaped more after Tripolis and the other port townes holden by the
Turks vpon the coaſt of Barbary, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederats. Thus
with the loſſe of Cuprus and ſome part of the Venetian territory in Dalmatia, ended the mor-
tall and bloudy war betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the courſe whereof is well to be
ſeene, what great matters the vnited forces of the Chriſtian Princes were able to do againſt
this moſt mighty enemy, if all diſcord and contention ſet apart, they would in the quarrell of
the Chriſtian Religion joyne with heart and hand againſt him, and fight the battell of Chriſt
Ieſus.

The peace by experience found profitable vnto the Venetians.

Selymus now at peace with them who before moſt troubled him; to keepe his men of war
D buſied, ſhortly after conuerted his forces againſt *Iohn* Vayuod of Valachia, & ſo at length joy-
ned all that Prouince to his Empire. This country of Valachia was in antient time called Da-
cia: it hath on the Eaſt the Euxine (now called the blacke ſea) on the South the famous riuer
Danubius, on the Weſt Tranſyluania, and on the North Raſſia. It is diuided into two parts, the
one called Tranſalpina, & the other Moldauia (of the riuer Moldavus running thorow the mid-
deſt thereof) but far paſſing the other both in greatneſſe and abundance of paſture. That part
called Tranſalpina, *Mahomet*, ſyrnamed the Great (which won Conſtantinople) made ſubject
to the Turkiſh empire; but vpon Moldauia, the other part he only impoſed a yerely tribute of
two thouſand duckats. After which time the Vayuods of that country, aided ſometime by the
Hungarians, and ſometime by the Polonians, riſe vp oftentimes againſt the Turks, and refuſed
E to do their Homage. It chanced, that *Bogdanus* Vayuod of that country, fauoring the Poloni-
ans, and joyning in league with them, liued much in Raſſia, as purpoſing from thence alſo to
haue taken his wife. Which *Selymus* ſuſpecting, with a great power chaſed him into exile, and
placed in his ſtead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of ſome *Iuonia*) the ſuppoſed
ſon of *Stephanus* ſomtime Vayuod of that country: who with *Ieremias Czarnieuleczius* (a Mol-
dauian, who afterward notably betraied him) hauing of long time liued amongſt the Turks,
to be the more gratious amongſt them, renounced his faith, and being circumciſed, turned
Turke; and following the trade of merchandiſe, became amongſt them a merchant of ſuch
fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Baſſa's of the Court,
and at length with *Selymus* himſelfe. He vnderſtanding by his friends neere about the Turkiſh
F Emperor, of his purpoſe for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Baſ-
ſa's, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to
be Vayuod of Moldauia: ſtill increaſing the ſuſpition *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*,
and telling him, That he ſupported by the Polonians, was like enough in ſhort time to reject
his obedience to his Imperiall Majeſty. *Selymus* at the inſtance of the Baſſa's nominated this

Selymus chaſeth Bogdanus out of Moldauia, and placeth Iohn Vayuod in his ſtead.

Iohn the Vayuod, who with a great power of the Turks horſemen entring into Moldania, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Country, *Bogdanus* being then abſent in Ruſſia, and as then ſuſpecting no ſuch matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Polonians to haue againe recouered his Country; but finding no poſſibility ſo to do, fled afterwards into Muſcouia, where he long time after liued.

Ioh. the Vayuod falleth into ſuſpition with Selymus and the Baſſaes of the Court.

Iohn now quietly poſſeſſed of Moldania, for ſome few yeares held the ſame with the good liking of the Turke, paying him his wonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himſelfe of his wicked reuolt from the Chriſtian Faith, and now eftſoone againe embracing the ſame, and (ignorant of his owne fortune) perſecuting with too much ſeuerity thoſe which withſtood his comming into the Country, eſpecially ſuch great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his returne vnto the Chriſtian faith, not fauouring the Turks as he was wont, but croſſing them in many matters, became ſuſpicious both vnto *Selymus* and the Baſſa's his old friends. Which the Vayuod of the leſſer Valachia (commonly called Valachia Tranſalpina) vnderſtanding, he became a ſuter vnto the great Baſſa's of the Court for his brother *Peter*, and earneſtly trauelled with them, that as *Iohn* ſupported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of Moldauia, ſo *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out alſo. In which his ſute he ſpared for no coſt, neither ceaſed by malitious ſuggeſtions to increaſe the ſuſpition already conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing rejected the Mahometan Religion, and againe embraced the Chriſtian Faith, would (as he ſaid) in ſhort time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne hands with the Polonians, and caſt off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whom he had beene ſo highly promoted. Beſides that, this malitious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for ſuch his preferment, ſhould pay yerely vnto *Selymus* twice ſo much more as did *Iohn*, namely, an hundred and twenty thouſand duckats by the name of a tribute.

The Baſſa's before corrupted, and moued with the greatneſſe of the Tribute, perſuaded *Selymus*, by an Embaſſadour to ſend for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himſelfe in perſon, and to command him to giue place to ſuch a man as he ſhould ſend thither in his ſtead; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his coffers with the loſſe of his fleet in the battell of Lepanto, and the chargeable wars againſt the Venetians, was eaſily induced: and to that purpoſe ſent his Embaſſador to the Vayuod: who hauing audience the one and twentieth of February, at the ſame time that *Henry Valoys* (afterward the French King) was crowned at Cracouia, deliuered his meſſage as followeth:

The commanding ſpeech of the Turks Embaſſador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the Great Emperor of the Turks ſendeth me vnto thee,* Iohn, *Vayuod of Valachia, his Tributary; with this command, (whereunto his pleaſure is, that thou ſhouldeſt without delay ſend him anſwer:) firſt, he chargeth thee to ſend him not ſuch a tribute as he was wont, but twice ſo much more, to wit, an hundred and twenty thouſand duckats. If thou ſhalt refuſe ſo to do, there is another ready to giue it both for himſelfe and his poſterity. But* Selymus *mindefull of thy conſtancy, fidelity, and valour, will not be troubleſome vnto thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith ſend the aforeſaid tribute. Which if thou ſhalt refuſe to do, then his will is that thou ſhouldeſt giue place to another, and thy ſelfe returne with me to Conſtantinople, there to anſwer the matter: otherwiſe, I am in his name to denounce all hoſtility and the calamities of war both vnto thee and thy country.*

This proud meſſage of the Embaſſador ſtrooke farther into the minde of the Vayuod than any would haue thought: yet diſſembling his griefe, he commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of ſo great importance, and ſo much concerning the whole State of his Country, he could not giue him ſo preſent anſwer as he required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his Nobility and Counſell, he would in ſhort time anſwer him accordingly. The Embaſſadour being gone to his Lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deepely to conſider of *Selymus* his demands; and that in the Turks Faith was no aſſurance, which he kept or brake with the Chriſtian Princes as beſt fitted his owne turne: and beſides that, That if he ſhould grant to pay that ſo great and heauy a Tribute in ſo great pouerty of his Kingdome, ſore waſted with ciuile war, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, ſo long as any man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater; and in the end ſuch an one as he with all his ſubjects ſhould not be

A be able to pay, which it ſhould not be ſafe for him at any time to refuſe, ſo long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling together the Nobility and States of his country, he brake with them in this ſort:

The ſpeech of the Vayuod vnto his Nobility and ſubjects.

If euer you were to conſult and deliberate of a moſt important and difficult matter, this verily is that time: for Selymus *the Turkiſh Emperor, enflamed with inſatiable auarice, and I know not by whoſe perſuaſion, not contented with his wonted tribute, exacteth of vs twice ſo much more. If you ſhall grant it, it ſhall not much concerne me, as not to be paied by me your Soueraigne, but by your ſelues and your poſterity: if we deny it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and ſword, with all the calamities of war. And in this bareneſſe of our Kingdome, almoſt ſpoiled by ciuile wars, how ſhall we be able to pay it him?* B *wherefore declare your minds. Verily I foreſee, that if you ſhall in this yeeld vnto* Selymus, *and grant him ſo great a tribute, he will not therewith long hold himſelfe contented, but euery yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better for vs (in mine opinion) to loſe our liues together with our wiues and children, than to ſuffer ſo great an indignity: neither is it mine own eſtate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to pay it and not I. Wherefore if you liſt not to endure this ſo diſhonourable and baſe a ſeruitude, let me forthwith ſo vnderſtand from you: and I will for my part ſo prouide, as that I wil not only not pay vnto the barbarous tyrant the new and heauy tribute he demandeth, but not ſo much as any tribute at all; ſo that you be not wanting both to your ſelues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellows in armes) what I owe both to you and the common-weale, for whoſe good and welfare I am alwaies ready to lay downe my life.*

C

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but that a ſecret ſorrow and vnwonted ſilence had as it were oppreſſed the whole aſſembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauy and dead ſleepe, they murmured among themſelues, that the Turkiſh Emperor ſhould ſo without reaſon oppreſſe them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the Vayuod had not ſo planly as truly ſpoken of the intollerableneſſe thereof: and that therefore they had rather die, than to indure ſo great diſhonor, joyned with ſo foule a ſlauery. And therupon offered vnto the Vayuod to ſerue vpon their own charge, and with him vpon the banke of Danubius to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their liues and liberty, to fight it out vnto the laſt man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelity, and taking of D them an oath for the faithfull performance of that they had ſo reſolutely promiſed, ſent for the Turks Embaſſador, and gaue him this ſhort anſwer:

The anſwere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes Embaſſadour.

I, for the antient fidelity and allegiance which I owe vnto my Lord and dread Soueraigne, the mighty Emperor Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute he requireth, were it not that I know the minds of my people to abhorre the ſame: wiſhing rather to endure all calamities, hap whatſoeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto ſo diſhonourable and ſhamefull ſlauery. Wherefore ſithence I cannot by any meanes extort the ſame from my ſubjects, tell my Lord* Selymus; *That I moſt humbly requeſt him, not to take the ſame in euill part, whoſe amity I wiſh to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than diſgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my ſingular fidelity obtained of him the* E *Vayuodſhip of Moldauia: which my good hope I moſt heartily beſeech him may not deceiue me.*

With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the embaſſador vnrewarded, and with a ſafe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vſage of the Embaſſador, cauſed him not a little to be ſuſpected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embaſſadour ſent away, the Vayuod not ignorant of the ſudden inuaſions of the Turks, forthwith began to raiſe his army: and at the ſame time, ſent Embaſſadors vnto *Henry* King of Polonia his neereſt neighbor, certifying him of the dangerous ſtate of Moldauia, the ſureſt bulwarke of the Polonian kingdom, which once ouerthrown, opened a faire and eaſie way for the common enemy into Polonia: and therefore requeſted him, that as the Kings of Polonia had of antient time, euen for the F ſafety of their owne State, protected that country; ſo it would pleaſe him now in like manner in ſo dangerous a time, to giue him aid, or at leaſtwiſe to giue leaue vnto ſuch of his ſubjects as were willing to ſerue for entertainment, to come vnto him, whom he would with all honour and bounty vſe according to their place and quality. Whereunto the King anſwered

That

The Vayuod entertaineth the Polonian Coſsackes.

that foraſmuch as he and his prediceſſors the kings of Polonia, had for the ſpace of more than an hundred yeres bin in league with the Turkiſh kings and Emperors, he could not either ſend him aide, or yet giue leaue to any of his ſubjects to ſerue againſt the Turke, as he deſired. With this anſwer the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceiued where he moſt hoped for reliefe: yet hearing of certain companies of the Polonian Coſſacks, which hauing long lien in hope of prey vpon the ſide of the great riuer Boryſthenes, were returning empty home, he by fit meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, offered them great entertainment to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Turke; of which his offer, they (as men liuing for moſt part by ſeruice) gladly accepted; and ſo without the knowledge of the King went vnto him, to the number of twelue hundred, with their captains, men of great courage and valor, of whom *Suiercenius* was chiefe: who were by the Vayuod honorably entertained, and did him in theſe wars right worthy ſeruice. Theſe Coſſacks are light horſemen, lying moſt commonly vpon the borders of the Polonian kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardy and valiant kind of men, whoſe beſt liuing is the ſpoile they take from the enemy; and their beſt lands, their horſe and launce. For albeit that the Turks and Tartars are moſt commonly in league with the Polonians, and ſeeme neuer ſo deſirous of peace; yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the ſudden break into the countries of Podolia, and Raſſia, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there do great harme, if they be not in time repreſſed or cut off by the aforeſaid light horſemen, who for that purpoſe lie alwaies in wait for them, as doth the Hawke for the prey.

Selymus ſendeth his forces againſt the Vayuod.

Selymus vnderſtanding the anſwer of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therewith exceedingly enraged, and the more by the bitter complaint of the Embaſſador, who angry with the Vayuod, that he was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, ſpared not to the vttermoſt of his power, to incenſe the angry Emperour againſt him, as if his honor had bin in the perſon of himſelfe contemned and violated. Wherfore without delay, he ſent thirty thouſand Turks, and two thouſand Hungarians vnto the Palatine of Valachia Tranſalpina, that joyning thoſe forces to his owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and ſending him in bonds to Conſtantinople, to place *Peter* his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palataine glad of this command, and hauing raiſed his owne power, together with the Turks and the Hungarians, ſwam ouer the riuer Moldavus, hauing in his army about an hundred and two thouſand fighting men: a power, not only ſufficient to haue driuen the Vayuod out of Moldauia, but alſo to haue ſhaken a right puiſſant king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the midſt of ſo great a ſtrength, little fearing, & leſſe regarding the ſudden comming of the Vayuod, ſuffred his men with their horſes to lie diſorderedly here and there, diſperſed in the large medows and paſtures all along the faire riuer ſide; ſo the better to refreſh themſelues, weary of their long trauel. In the mean time certain ſcouts came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemy with an huge army (the certain number whereof they could not well deſcry) was come ouer the riuer: and now reſting themſelues, had turned off their horſes into the rich medows thereabout, in ſuch diſordered and careleſſe manner, as that they might with a ſmall power be eaſily ouerthrowne. The Vayuod glad of this newes, forthwith ſent before *Suiercenius* with his Coſſacks, and 5000 other light horſemen, more certainly to deſcry what the enemy did, with the manner of his lying; and he himſelfe with the reſt of his army followed faire and ſoftly after. *Suiercenius* with great ſilence approching the enemies camp, ſuddenly light vpon the enemies ſcouts, in number about 500; who encloſed before they were aware, were taken euery man by the Coſſacks, and by them ſtreightly examined of the ſtate of their army and campe. Who for ſafegard of their liues now in their enemies power, frankly confeſſed, how that the Palatine lay ſecurely there by, reſting his army, not ſo much for the refreſhing thereof after his trauell, as with greater ſtrength to ſet vpon the Vayuod with his freſh ſouldiers: and that in the army were about ſeuenty thouſand Valachians, thirty thouſand Turks, and three thouſand Hungarians; who now diſperſed and ſleeping in ſecurity, might eaſily be ouerthrown. Of all theſe things *Suiercenius* aduertiſed the Vayuod; requeſting him with all poſſible ſpeed to haſten his comming, for the obtaining of a moſt notable and aſſured victory; he in the mean time lying cloſe with his men not far from the enemy. The Vayuod certified of all theſe things, came without delay, and forthwith commanded *Suiercenius* with his men to giue the onſet vpon the enemy: purpoſing himſelf with the reſt of his army on the other ſide, to charge the diſordred camp in three places.

The Palatine with the Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod.

A ces. *Suiercenius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, ſuddenly ſet vpon the ſecure enemies: who diſmaid with the ſuddenneſſe of the vnexpected danger, ſtood as men aſtonied, not knowing which way to fly, or how to make reſiſtance. But whiles *Suiercenius* with his light horſemen thus on the one ſide filleth the camp with tumult, terrour, ſlaughter, and feare; behold, euen as a ſudden tempeſt, commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the diſordered camp down before him: neither had the enemies any meanes to fly, hauing put their horſes a great way off from them into the rich paſtures; but there taken vnarmed, were miſerably ſlain. In all the camp was lamentation and mourning, death raging in euery place with ſuch fury, that of ſo great an army as of late paſſed the riuer, few or none eſcaped, more than the Palatine with *Peter* his brother, who by great chance with much ado getting horſes, ſwam ouer B the riuer, and ſo came to the caſtle of Brailouia in Valachia; all the reſt were ſlaine, and left to be of the beaſts of the field, and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſee the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, al ſtained with gore bloud, and their weapons of all ſorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod gaue vnto his ſouldiers, and there ſtaied foure daies to refreſh his wearied men. After that, he with his victorious army entred into Valachia, the Palatines country, where he tooke many caſtles and townes, and put to the ſword all that came in his way, men, women, and children, without reſpect of age or ſex: and burnt all the country townes and villages before him as he went; ſo that all that part of the country of Valachia Tranſalpina, was couered with ſmoke and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in euery place drawne forth to C ſlaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and afterwards ſlaine, and in briefe all the cruelty that could be deuiſed, performed: in the bloudy execution whereof the Vayuod commended his men, perſuading them in like manner ſtill to proſecute the victory, and that the reſt of their labours were all but for prey and booty, for the enriching of themſelues. In this hauocke of all things, it was told him, That the Palatine with his brother *Peter*, the men whom he moſt ſought after, were in the caſtle of Brailouia not far off: whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his army. The city of Brailouia ſtandeth vpon the riuer Danubius, and had in it a caſtle of ſome good ſtrength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a ſtrong garriſon of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the key of the country; not far from this city the Vayuod encamping his arD my, writ vnto the captaine of the caſtle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, his mortall enemies; who neuer wronged by him, had inuaded his country, and ſought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his further harme, conſtrained him by force to yeeld them. Theſe letters he ſent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered vnto the captaine of the caſtle: whereunto he returned anſwer by foure Turks, two of the city, and two of his own ſeruants, by whom he alſo ſent ten great ſhot, and as many ſmall, with two Turkiſh arrowes, and this meſſage.

For that I know thee to be the ſeruant of my dread Soueraigne Selymus, *I regard thee: and will not* E *deny the ſame men to be with me, whom thou ſo much requireſt. But foraſmuch as I vnderſtand, that thou of late haſt ſlaine a great number of the ſeruants of the great Emperour, who by his commandement were bringing* Peter *the brother of the Palatine into Moldauia: I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raiſe thy ſiege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with ſuch diſhes as theſe; whereupon thou and thine army gorged to the full, ſhall all afterwards dangerouſly ſurfet and caſt. Farewell.*

The blunt anſwer of the captaine to the Vayuod.

This rough anſwer ſo much moued the Vayuod, that he commanded hands to be laid vpon the aforeſaid foure meſſengers; and their noſes, lips, and eares, being cut off, both their feet to be with great nailes faſt nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and ſo with their hands hanging downward, to be ſet vp before the city, & ſo left for the captain and the citiſens to gaze vpon. F Signifying withall to the captain that ſent them, that he himſelf with the other fugitiues his gueſts, ſhould in like manner be ſerued, if they fell into his hands. Immediatly after, he aſſaulted the city, and vſing the cheerfulneſſe of his ſoldiers, by plaine force tooke the ſame, the defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great ſlaughter of the Turks,

Barbarous cruelty.

The City of Brailouia taken by the Vayuod & raſed downe to the ground.

whereas no man was taken to mercy ; the very babes were ſlaine, together with their mothers, G
and bloud ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the ſpace of foure daies this bloudy execution indured : no place ſerued for refuge, euen the moſt ſecret and obſcure places were ſearched and the poore creatures there found, drawn forth and ſlaine. The fury was ſo great, that no liuing thing, no not ſo much as the very dogs were ſpared. Much gold, ſiluer, plate, jewels, and other rich ſpoile was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedy ſouldiers : for that city was of all others in thoſe quarters the richeſt, as a place much frequented, and injoying long peace, as after ſuch time the Turks were fully poſſeſſed of Græcia, not being troubled with any wars, vntill now, that it was by the Vayuod firſt ranſackt, and afterwards raſed downe to the ground, and nothing thereof left ſtanding, more than the bare caſtle it ſelfe: which the Vayuod durſt not aduenture vpon, for that it was well fortified, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a H
garriſon, as that it could not without his great loſſe be taken.

The Turkes againe ouerthrown by the Vayuod.

Whiles the Vayuod was thus buſied in the ſpoiſe of Brailouia, news was brought vnto him of the comming of 15000 Turks to the reliefe of the caſtle : againſt whom he forthwith ſent *Suierceuius* with his Coſſackes, and other 8000 Moldauian horſmen; who ſuddenly comming vpon the Turks, diſordered and fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew almoſt 14000 of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the caſtle of Teina. Of this victory *Suiercenius* in all haſt certified the Vayuod, and withall, that there was another great power of the Turks comming, which might eaſily be alſo ouerthrowne, if he leauing the ſiege of the caſtle of Brailouia, would without delay come and joyne his forces with his. He glad of that news, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that ſiege would be vnto him, riſe forthwith with his army, and went to *Suiercenius*, and I
afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid ſiege to Teina: which city taken without much labor, he put to ſword all the people found therein, not leauing one aliue : and by the ſeruice of *Suiercenius* ouerthrew the Turks comming towards Brailouia.

Selymus in doubt to haue bin thruſt out of Valachia by the Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceeding of the Vayuod, and doubting to be quite thruſt out of Valachia Tranſalpina (which he was like enough to haue been, had not the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that ſeruice ; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greateſt diſtreſſe, appointed generall ſupplications and praiers to be made vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better ſucceſſe of his wars ; the vndoubted ſigne of his feare.

The Vayuod after ſo many victories againſt the Turks, purpoſing for a while to breake vp K
his great army, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuiche*, vnto whom, as vnto the man he of all others moſt truſted, he had reſolued to commit the charge, with part of his army, to keepe the Turks from paſſing againe ouer the riuer Danubius into his country: and in deliuering to him his charge, ſpake vnto him as following :

The kind ſpeech of the Vayuod to Czarnieuiche

Sith Fortune hoth hitherto anſwered our deſires (worthy Czarnieuiche) *with moſt rare and perpetuall ſucceſſe againſt the Turks, our moſt cruell enemies, we are thankefully to take the ſame, and to render moſt humble and hearty thanks vnto Almighty God, that it hath pleaſed him, the Author of all Victory, ſo to haue proſpered our endeauours againſt theſe fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the preſent, but to diſband mine army, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my ſouldiers leaue to* L
depart home to reſt themſelues, that ſo I may as occaſion ſhall require againe vſe their freſh forces for our better ſeruice: you in the meane time with thirteene thouſand of my ſelect ſouldiers, ſhall lie vpon the ſide of Danubius, to keep the Turks from paſſing the riuer. Haue good regard I pray you, vnto this your charge, which I vpon an eſpeciall truſt, grounded vpon your antient loue and fidelity, haue at this time impoſed vpon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition vnderſtand from you of euery motion of the enemy, that ſo we may in due time prouide for him accordingly.

And ſo in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kiſſe (as the manner of thoſe people is) gaue leaue vnto the greateſt part of his ſoldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwaies in readineſſe whenſoeuer they ſhould be called vpon. M

Czarnieuiche hauing receiued his charge, & promiſing vnto the Vayuod the vttermoſt of his faithful deuoire, went towards Danubius, & there moſt carefully kept the paſſages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come downe

to

A to the other ſide of the riuer, and moe were ſtill comming, yet none of them was ſo hardy as to aduenture the great riuer; *Czarnieuiche* with his horſemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receiue them on the other ſide. Which the Baſſa whom *Selymus* had ſent with his army, perceiuing, ſent certaine men pickt out for the purpoſe, to *Czarnieuiche*, to ſound him, if he might by any means be drawn to come ouer, in ſecret to talke with him: and the more to moue him, beſide his conduct for his ſafety, ſent him by the ſame meſſengers thirty thouſand Hungarian duckats for a preſent. With which ſo faire a bait *Czarnieuiche* allured, receiued the mony, & faithfully promiſed to come: and ſo ſhortly after, ſecretly paſſing ouer the riuer, had conference with *Peter* the Palatines brother, who then lay on the further ſide of Danubius, with a great power of the Turks. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger B the Vayuod ſtood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributary and vaſſaile ſhould worke the deſtruction of his ſo great armies: which his heauy diſpleaſure he could no otherwiſe ſatiſfie but with his head: and that therefore he ſhould no longer rule in Moldauia, for that gouernment was by the great Emperor giuen vnto him. Wherefore (ſaid he) if thou be wiſe, whileſt it is yet in thy power, gaine the good will of *Selymus* by ſome good deſert: for an eaſie matter it is to begin any war, but an hard matter to end the ſame. Foraſmuch as it is not alwaies in the ſame mans power to begin wars, and at his pleaſure to make an end. Euery foole may when he liſt enter into armes, but muſt lay the ſame downe when it pleaſeth the conqueror. Now you haue a faire opportunity, and it is in your owne power to procure his friendſhip for euer, better ſtanding with your affaires than war. And albeit you may hope well C of the power of the Vayuod, yet wiſedome would not, that you ſhould prefer vncertainties before things certaine: you haue now receiued 30000 duckats, the earneſt of your further deſerts; which ſhall hereafter haue alſo their due rewards in moſt full and bountifull meaſure. Wherefore if you will do your ſelfe good, and prouide both for your ſafety and preferment, confound not your own good fortune, with the broken and deſperat ſtate of the Vayuod, but ſuffer the Turks to paſſe as friends ouer the riuer of Danubius: for I am come (ſaid he) with a great and puiſſant army from the mighty *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of Moldauia, and to ſend the Vayuod in bonds to Conſtantinople: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for ſo great deſert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turks, and withdraw thy ſelfe from the riuer: ſo ſhall we paſſing D ouer the riuer with our populous army, eaſily oppreſſe the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former injuries and diſgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuiche hath ſecret conference with Peter the Palatines brother, who cunningly perſuadeth him to giue the Turks paſſage.

With greedy men what will not the foule deſire of gold worke? *Czarnieuiche* ouercome with the golden promiſes of *Peter*; and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requeſted: and drawing his forces further off from the riuer, as if it had bin for his more ſafety, gaue the Turks free paſſage. There was then in the Turks army two hundred thouſand men, well appointed, and furniſhed with great ordnance and all other things neceſſary both for the field and for ſiege, who by the ſufferance of the falſe traitor paſſed quietly ouer the riuer. *Czarnieuiche* forthwith poſting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turks truſting to their multitude, had paſſed the riuer of Danubius, againſt whom he was not able (as E he ſaid) to make head: and that therefore he ſhould do well, without delay to go againſt them with ſuch forces as he had then in readineſſe; which joyned vnto his, might eaſily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good ſucceſſe, demanded of him what ſtrength the enemy might be of? They are (ſaid he) not much aboue twelue thouſand that be already come ouer, but are ſtill comming more and more, and will before your comming thither be aboue fifteene thouſand.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks leaue quietly to paſſe ouer the riuer of Danubius.

The Vayuod lay then at the ſiege of the caſtle of Teina (hauing before taken the city) but hearing this news, raiſed his ſiege, and ſo in foure daies came and incamped within three miles of the enemy: and forthwith ſent forth *Suierceuius* with his Coſſackes, and *Ieremias* Generall of the horſemen, with ſix thouſand horſe, to take view of the enemies camp, and to vnderſtand F what might be of their deſignes. Theſe two captains marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turks ſcouts, in number about ſix thouſand horſemen, with whom they had a light ſkirmiſh; and in ſhort time put them to flight. Of theſe ſcouts they tooke one, and him grieuouſly wounded, whom being examined of the ſtrength of the enemy, and feeling himſelfe wounded to death, told them diſſemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Coſſacks

doubting of the truth of that report, & probably conjecturing by ſo great a number of ſcouts,
that the enemy was of far greater ſtrength than was ſuppoſed or reported; quickly certified the G
Vayuod thereof, wiſhing him in time to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and his army, and
not too much to truſt *Czarnieniche*, whom they had a good while before ſuſpected. But the
Vayuod nothing doubting of the faith of him whom he had a long time found moſt faithfull
in the time of his hardeſt diſtreſſe, and vſed as a moſt truſty companion in all his trauels, anſwered
nothing, but that he knew whom he truſted; and that it was not now time to ſtand in
doubt, or to be afraid; and that he would ere long come and take view of the enemies campe
himſelfe: for that he was not come ſo far to fly, but to fight in defence of his country and ſubjects,
euen to the laſt gaſpe. And ſo fortifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out
of Danubius (for the more conuenient watering of his army) hee ſet forward with all his H
power againſt the enemy.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had thought to
haue deſcried the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but cumming thither, he
could deſcry nothing but foure companies of ſcouts a far off, one company from another; who
alſo vpon the ſight of the Moldauians withdrew themſelues of purpoſe out of ſight vnto the
army, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be diſcouered vntill a man were almoſt
vpon it. The Vayuod ſuſpecting the enemy to be at hand, diuided his horſemen, in number
30000, into 30 companies, and placing before euery company certain field pieces, ſo marched
ready to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of people,
but vnto him of all others moſt faithfull, and armed with ſuch country weapons as they had, I
he placed by themſelues. So marching on, he came to another hill, from whence he might not
far off eaſily deſcry the huge army of the enemy, and how he had been by the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche*
deceiued: whereupon he preſently ſent for him; who ſent him word backe again, That
he could not now come, the enemy being ſo nigh at hand, but that he ſhould forthwith ſee
him in the field as forward as the forwardeſt againſt the enemy. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder
his command 13000 of his moſt choice ſouldiers in the army: who vpon the ſignall of battell
on both ſides giuing (for the Turks were now alſo ready) firſt according to his promiſe ſet forward,
as if it had bin to haue giuen the onſet: but being come neere vnto the enemy, forthwith
(as he had before agreed) cauſed his enſigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps vpon the
points of their ſpears and ſwords, in token of their voluntary yeelding and ſubmiſſion, to bow K
downe their heads & bodies; whom the Turks with their ſpears and lances holden vp on high,
joyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercy. The reſt of the army almoſt
diſcouraged with this ſo ſudden a reuolt of ſo great a man, retired in haſte to the Vayuod, crying
out vnto him, That all was loſt. But he nothing diſcouraged therwith (as a moſt reſolute
man in the moſt ſudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them vp, willing them as
couragious men to follow him againſt the enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, excepting
number, which alwaies gaue not the victory. The Turks perceiuing the Moldauians lately
reuolted vpon the joyning of the battell (as men in conſciences wounded) to ſhrinke backe,
thruſt them perforce into the head of their battell, making of them no more account, but to
blunt the enemies ſword; and ſuch as hung back, they themſelues ſlew: vpon whom as falſe L
traitors the Vayuod cauſed his field pieces to be moſt furiouſly diſcharged; ſo that moſt part
of theſe trecherous men there ſlaine, ſome by the Turks, ſome by their owne friends, receiued
the juſt reward of their infidelity and treaſon, accompanied with perpetuall infamy. Ouer the
dead bodies of theſe traitors the Turks comming on, were at the firſt notably encountered by
the Moldauians; and after a moſt cruell fight, as if they had been diſcouraged began to retire,
but indeed of puporſe to haue drawne the Chriſtians before they were aware, within the danger
of their great ordnance, and ambuſhes, which they had before aptly & couertly placed for
that purpoſe. Which *Suiercenius* well acquainted with the Turks fineſſe, perceiuing, with
much ado ſtaid their further purſuit, and ſo auoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks
deceiued of their expectation, came on againe afreſh, with no leſſe fury than at the firſt: whom M
the Chriſtian right valiantly receiued, and made with them a moſt cruell and mortall battell;
wherein many both of the Turks and Chriſtians fell, and neuer riſe againe. But what was ſo
ſmal a power againſt ſuch a world of men? after long fight, the Moldauians oppreſſed with the
multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: and ſeeing no other remedy, but either to fly

Czarnieuicke reuolteth vnto the Turks.

Traitors juſtly rewarded.

The battel betwixt the Turks and the Moldauians.

The Moldauians ouerthrown

or

A or to die, betook themſelues to flight, wherein moſt part of them were ſlaine, the furious ene-
mie ſtill hardly purſuing them at the heeles: of the Coſſacks were left only two hundred and
fifty. The horſemen (the chiefeſt ſtrength of the Vayuod) thus by the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche*
ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twenty thouſand footmen, and ſuch horſmen as had now after
the battell ioyned themſelues vnto the footmen, retired into a towne not far off, which he but
a little before had raſed; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himſelfe againſt
the ſudden and furious aſſaults of the Turks: who the ſame night ſo beſet the Vayuods camp
with ſuch a multitude of men, that no man could goe in or out of the camp, or the vttermoſt
part of that hugy army be from any place deſcried.

*The Vayuod hauing forti-
fied himſelfe
within the ru-
ines of an old
town, is beſie-
ged by the
Turks.*

The next day (which was the 11 of Iune) the Turks ſhot diuers great ſhot into the Vayuods
B camp, but to ſmal purpoſe; for the Chriſtians had (for ſo ſhort a time) notably fortified them-
ſelues within the ruines of the old town. Which the Turks wel perceiuing, and withall con-
ſidering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to aſſault the Vayuod in his ſtrength:
they ſent meſſengers vnto him, to perſuade him without delay to yeeld himſelfe, & to repoſe
more truſt in the mercy of the Turks, than in his own broken forces; eſpecially in his ſo hard
diſtreſſe, being ſo beſet, as that he could not poſſibly eſcape; and out of hope of all reliefe; and
therefore ſhould by ſuch voluntary yeelding, ſeeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a
deſperat obſtinacy to caſt himſelfe into a moſt certain deſtruction, where no mercy was to be
expected. Whereunto the Vayuod anſwered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he
was brought, rather by the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche* and his followers, than by the valour of the
C enemy; yet had left with him a ſtrong power of moſt valiant and reſolute men, who would in
his quarrell & defence of themſelues, ſell their liues very deare vnto the Turks: neuertheleſſe,
that to auoid the further effuſion of bloud, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his
hard fortune, ſo that the great Commanders of the Turks army would condiſcend vnto ſuch
reaſonable conditions as he ſhould propound, & for the performance thereof giue him their
faith, not once or twice, but *7* times by ſolemn oth to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks ac-
cepted: willing him to ſet down the conditions: which were, firſt, that the Polonian Coſſacks
might in ſafety depart into their country, with their horſes and armor: then, that they ſhould
without any violence offered to his perſon, ſend him aliue & in good ſafety to the great Em-
peror *Selymus*, before him to anſwer his owne cauſe: as for the Moldauians, he ſaid he needed
D not to couenant any thing, for that the iniury offered vnto them tended alſo to the hurt of the
Emperour himſelfe, and of him whom he ſhould appoint Vayuod, whoſe ſubiects they were.
Theſe conditions (as reaſonable) were well liked of the Turks, and ſo according to his deſire,
confirmed ſeuen times by the ſolemne oath of euery Captaine and Commander in the army,
both for themſelues and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought al his ar-
my out of their trenches wherin they had lien ſtrongly incamped, and there with heauy heart
tooke his laſt leaue of his ſoldiers, to the generall griefe of them all: amongſt whom he diui-
ded ſuch mony & jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindneſſe. And there in the ſight
of them al diſarming himſelfe, accompanied only with *Oſmolius* a Polonian, went in maner of
a ſuppliant to the Turks camp, where he had full foure hours talk with the great commanders
E of the army, vntill that at laſt *Capucius Baſſa* (either offended with his ſpeech, or vnmindfull of
his faith before giuen) with his ſcimitar vpon the ſudden ſtruck him a great blow ouerthwart
the face, and another croſſe the belly: whom ſo wounded, & as yet but halfe dead, the Ianiza-
ries took and cut off his head, which was forthwith ſet vp vpon a lance, for all men to behold.
His dead body they bound by the feet to two cammels, & ſo ſhamefully tore it in pieces; and
happy was he that could get any little piece therof, or imbrue his ſword with the leaſt drop of
his bloud. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *Iohn* the Vayuod of Moldauia, a right va-
liant and worthy man, ſhamefully murdered by the perfidious Turks, who had he been more
conſtant in the Chriſtian faith, had not haply fallen into ſo great miſery. Whoſe wofull fall
may ſerue as a moſt notable example of the vncertainty of theſe worldly things: for as no man
F for a time had of the Turks moe or more glorious victories, ſo in the end, and as it were in de-
monſtration of mans fragility, no man periſhed more miſerably. The Vayuod thus perfidi-
ouſly murthered, the Turks with like trechery forthwith ſet vpon the Moldauians, and ſlew
them down right as beaſts appointed for the ſlaughter. Which the Coſſacks beholding, and
hoping for no beter meaſure, thruſt themſelues into the thickeſt of their enemies, & there va-

*The Vayuod
ſhamefully and
perfidiouſly
murthered by
the Turks.*

liantly fighting were all ſlain,except ſome few of the better ſort reſerued for ranſom, among
whom was *Seiuerceuius* & ſome other captains;who were afterwards for great ſums redeemed, G
when as they could by no means be perſuaded to forſake their religion and turn Turk.

All Valachia and Moldavia ſubdued by the Turks.

After this victory and ſhamefull murther of the Vayuod, the Turkes ouer-ran all Molda-
via,and put to the ſword all the nobility of the country, with many of the country people. Of
whom they alſo,as their maner is in countries new conquered,ſent great numbers in colonies
into the fartheſt part of the Turkiſh Empire: and for the more aſſured poſſeſſion therof pla-
ced ſtrong garriſons in euery Town and caſtle,as they thought it moſt conuenient. Thus all
Valachia,both the higher and lower,fel into the Turks hands in the year 1574,and was by Se-
lymus joined vnto the Turkiſh empire,none of the leaſt things by him don:for beſide the gai-
ning of ſo great a country (the moſt aſſured bulwark of Polonia) he hath therby opened a fair
and eaſie way for his ſucceſſors,either to enter into Podolia or Raſcia, parts of the Polonian H
kingdom,yea and into Polonia it ſelf: which they wil vndoubtedly in time do,if God in mer-
cy bridle not their immoderat deſires,and with his mighty hand protect the dangerous ſtate
of that kingdom.

Selymus at the ſame time not a little grieued with the loſſe of the kingdome of Tunes, and
that *Don Iohn* had there done the year before; began forthwith to caſt in his minde, how hee
might again recouer the ſame,and withal thruſt the Spaniards out of the ſtrong caſtle of Gu-
letta, which they had now almoſt forty yeares kept, euer ſince it was by *Charles* the fift taken
from *Barbaruſſa* in the year 1535. For he wel ſaw it to be a matter of no ſmall moment, vnto
whom that ſtrong fortreſſe(ſtanding ſo commodiouſly in the frontiers of Africk)belonged. I
There was and ſtil is vpon that coaſt diuers of the Turks aduenturers, who liuing altogether
vpon ſpoil,had to that place ſafe recourſe as to a moſt aſſured refuge:and if no booty were to
be met with therabout, then would they run out towards Malta, Sardinia, Sicilia, and other
Iſlands therabouts; yea oftentimes into Italy and Spaine, and from thence carry away with
them great booties both of men and cattel,and whatſoeuer thing els came in their way. For
which cauſe many of the Turkes men of war reſorted thither in hope of purchaſe. But after
Guletta was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, they were not only depriued of that ſo commodious
an harbor,but many times intercepted euen by them of that place,and by the gallies of Mal-
ta:which two places ſerued as two moſt ſure bulwarks againſt the Turks and Moors aduentu-
rers,by whoſe means they many times came ſhort home. For which cauſe the Turks,eſpeci- K
ally theſe pyrats (of whom the Turke makes great account, as not his leaſt ſtrength at ſea)
wonderfully deſired to haue both thoſe ſtrong places gotten out of the Chriſtians hands. In
the caſtle of Guletta was continually a ſtrong garriſon of 1000 Spaniards,who kept them of
Tunes in great ſubiection,and oftentimes cut ſhort theſe pyrats and rouers,who much trou-
bled thoſe ſeas. Wherfore the Turkiſh emperor *Selymus* hauing made great preparation both
for ſea and land ſeruice,commanded *Sinan*,*Pial*, and *VluZales*,his chief Baſſa's, & men of great
experience,with all ſpeed to paſſe ouer with his fleet into Africke,to beſiege Tunes and Gu-
letta: who when they had put all things in readines according as they had in charge, ſet for-
ward,and with 300 ſail of gallies came before Guletta the 13 day of Iuly:whither alſo reſor-
ted vnto them other of the Turks men of war from Alexandria, Algiers, and other places, in L
ſuch number,as that all that coaſt ſeemed to be couered with ſhipping. The Turkes at their
firſt arriual laid ſiege vnto the water-tower, wherin were eight hundred ſoldiers wel prouided
of all things needful for defence; who valiantly maintained the place,vntil ſuch time as that
moſt of them being by the often aſſaults of the enemy ſlain, the reſt by the commandement
of the Captain retyred to him into the caſtle. In taking of this tower the Turkes loſt 3000
of their men.

Guletta beſieged.

After that,they began to beſiege the caſtle of Guletta, againſt which they caſt vp diuers
mounts, and from thence moſt terribly battered the caſtle; from whence the deadly ſhot was
ſent again amongſt them not ſparingly; ſo that in one day 200 great ſhot were reckoned to
haue bin ſhot out of the caſtle among the thickeſt of the enemies. But after many furious aſ- M
ſaults,too tedious to report,& much harm don on both ſides, the Turks to their great aduan-
tage took the Chanel of the lake of Tunes; and fearing leſt ſome reliefe ſhould be ſent to the
beſieged, maintained their aſſault day and night without any intermiſſion. Neuertheleſſe
certain Companies of Spaniards ſent from the new Caſtle by *Serbellio*,got into Guletta,after
which

which, they in the beſieged caſtle ſallied out, and the twentieth of Auguſt repulſed the Turks with an exceeding great ſlaughter: but the Baſſa's fully reſolued vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces, and without ceaſing ſtill bringing on freſh ſoldiers, after they had all the day continued a moſt terrible aſſault, at length about two houres after Sun ſet, they took the caſtle the 23 day of Auguſt, when there was now ſcarcely two hundred ſoldiers left aliue to defend the ſame; who altogether with the other weak people in the caſtle were without mercy cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this caſtle, is hard to ſay; but certain it is, that they had therein great ſtore of victuals, armour, ſhot, and pouder, and foure hundred great pieces of Artillery.

Guletta taken by the Turks.

The new caſtle beſieged.

Guletta thus taken, the Turks forthwith laid ſiege to the new caſtle appointed by *Don Iohn* the yeare before, to haue bin built betwixt Guletta and Tunes, which was not yet altogether finiſhed: wherein the two antient and valiant captains *Serbellio* and *Salazer* (left there of purpoſe for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garriſon of foure thouſand good ſouldiers. The Baſſa's when they gaue the firſt ſummons to the caſtle, the foure & twentieth of Auguſt, required forthwith to haue it deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* ſtoutly anſwered, That he had promiſed the king his maſter, to giue him a better account of the place; & being now alſo very old, could not endure the Turks heauy yoke, but would therfore hold it out vnto the laſt man: which both he and *Salazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; & ſallying out, ſomtime the one, and ſomtime the other, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, giuing them alſo repulſe on repulſe when they came to the aſſault. But the great Baſſa's, little feeling, and leſſe regarding the loſſe of men, ſo that thereby they might gaine the place, after many moſt terrible and deſperat aſſaults, at length (namely the thirteenth day of September) when they had with all their force for the ſpace of ſix houres furiouſly aſſaulted the caſtle, and ſlaine moſt of the defendants, at laſt tooke it. *Serbellio* ſhot in with two bullets, and wiſhing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemie, thruſt himſelfe into the midſt of the Turks, there to haue periſhed: but by the haſty comming in of *Piall Baſſa* both he & *Salazer* were taken aliue, as for all the reſt that followed them, they were put to the ſword. The Baſſa in his rage ſtruck *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him, cauſed his ſon to be cruelly murthered before his face. Neither was this victory by the Turks obtained without bloud, hauing in leſſe than three months ſpace that the ſiege endured, loſt aboue thirty thouſand men.

The notable anſwer of Serbellio.

The new caſtle taken.

Tunes yeilded to the Turks.

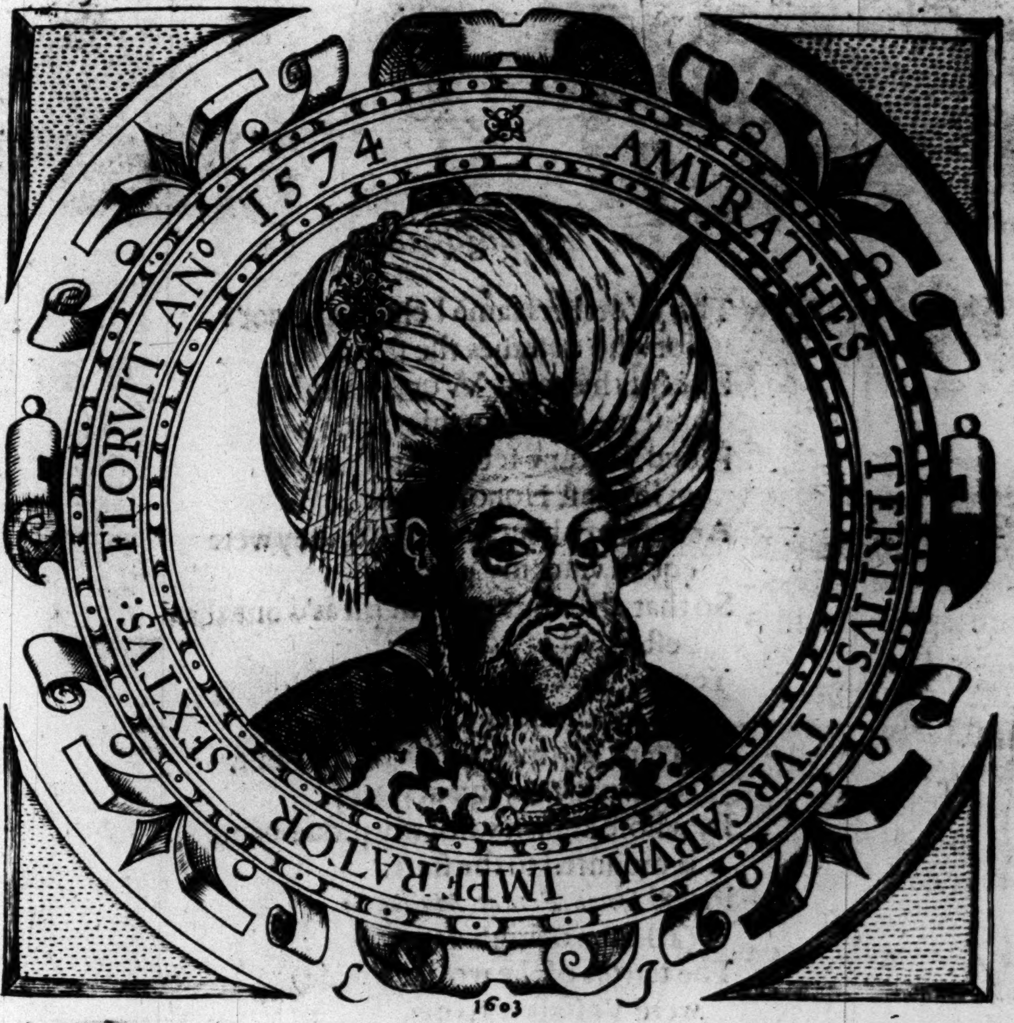
Theſe ſtrong holds (the greateſt ſtrength of that kingdom) thus taken, the Turks marched to Tunes, which they eaſily tooke, and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof, becauſe it ſhould no more rebell. *Mahomet* the yong king, but the yere before placed in that kingdom by *Don Iohn*, was there taken, and in bonds ſet aboord to be carried with *Carrera* Captaine of Guletta, priſoners to Conſtantinople: and thus the kingdome of Tunes, with the ſtrong caſtle of Guletta, fell again into the poſſeſſion of the Turks, to the farther trouble of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt it. The proud Baſſa's hauing (as they thought) beſt diſpoſed of al things at Tunes & Guletta departed thence, and with their fleet of 400 saile, came the fourth of October, within ſight of Malta. But vnderſtanding that they of Malta were prouided for their comming, and remembring what diſhonor their moſt magnificent emperor *Solyman* had not many yeres before there ſuſtained (whereof diuers of them had been eye-witneſſes) they turned thence, and ſailed directly to Conſtantinople.

Selymus dieth.

Shortly after, this great Emperour *Selymus* ſpent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greateſt ſtrength, died the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned eight, and lieth buried at Hadrianople. He was but of a meane ſtature, and of an heauy diſpoſition, his face rather ſwollen, than fat, much reſembling a drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of leſt valour, and therfore leaſt regarded, altogether giuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure: and ſo dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldeſt ſon, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage; who neuertheleſſe by his valiant Baſſa's and men of war, did great matters, eſpecially againſt the Perſians, the mortall and daungerous enemies of the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter in this Hiſtory declared.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Selymus *the ſecond,*	*Emperours of Germany*		*Maximi lian the ſecond,*	1565.	12
	Kings	*Of England*	*Queen Elizabeth,*	1558.	45
		Of France	*Charles the ninth,*	1560.	14
		Of Scotland	*Queen Mary,*	1543.	20
			Iames the ſixth,	1567.	22
	Biſhops of Rome		*Pius the V,*	1566.	6
			Iulius the XIII,	1572.	12


AMVRATHES TERTIVS, TVRCARVM IMPERATOR SEXTVS: FLORVIT ANo 1574
1603

Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generoſa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens evexit in altum;
Et par fortuna mens mea ſemper erat.
Sic quamvis tenero mihi nil niſi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emiſique meos ad fortia facta miniſtros:
Per quos ſublatum eſt, nomen in aſtra meum.
Muſtapha, Ferhates, Sinan, *& ter maximus* Oſman;
Terrores orbis, ſuccubuere mihi.
Armenios domui fortes, Medoſque feroces;
Et mihi paruerat Regia Tauriſij.
Sed mihi quid prodeſt tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si ſubito maxima quaque ruant?
Et nihil eſt tanti, quod non brevis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

RIC. KNOLLEVS

In Engliſh thus:

The Worthies fame I challenge not:
for who deſerues the ſame,
Except the noble Worthies mind
deſerue the Worthies fame?
Proud Fortune ſet me vp aloft
in higheſt Honors grace;
And ſtil my hauty thoughts they were
equall vnto my place.
So that although nought pleas'd but that
beſt fitted my deſire;
Yet to increaſe my fame, I ſtil
did more and more aſpire.
And ſent my mighty Worthies out,
to manage my great wars;
By whoſe known valor my proud name
is mounted to the ſtars.
Proud *Sinan*, *Ferrat*, *Muſtapha*
(all men of high degree,
The terrors of the world ſo wide)
were Vaſſals vnto me.
Th'Armenians ſtout I vanquiſhed,
and fil'd the Medes with fear:
And Regal Tauris ſtately towers
at my commandment were.
But what availes my glorie great,
got with ſuch Worthies pain,
If in the twinkling of an eye
it come to nought again?
And nothing is of ſo great ſtate,
Which time ſhal not caſt down.
Euen ſo with many others moe,
muſt periſh my renown.

Ric. Knolls.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SIXTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

THe death of the late Emperor *Selymus* was for feare of the inſolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Baſſa's, vntill ſuch time as *Amurath* his eldeſt ſon, then in Aſia, C about 12 dayes after arriued at Conſtantinople, & there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke poſſeſſion of the empire the 25 day of December, ſolemn among vs Chriſtians for the natiuity of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus. Hee was about thirty, or as ſome write 27 yeares old when he began to reign, of a manly ſtature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long: in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, beeing indeed himſelf of a peaceable diſpoſition, a louer of juſtice, and in the manner of his ſuperſtition very zealous. The ryot D and exces grown amongſt the Turkes by his fathers euill example, hee reformed by his owne temperance, and the ſeuere puniſhment of notorious drunkards. Yet is it reported, that hee would oftentimes drink plentifully of Wormwood wine. He was moſt ſubiect to the falling ſicknes, and ſore troubled with the ſtone; more ſpare handed than was for the greatnes of his ſtate; and yeelding more to the counſel of his mother, his wife, & ſiſter, than of his great Baſſa's: which was of many imputed to him for ſimplicitie. At his firſt comming to Conſtantinople, to appeaſe the murmuring of the Ianizaries (grieued to ſee themſelues diſappointed of ſpoiling the Chriſtians & Iews, as they were wont to do in the vacancie of the Empire) he beſide the vſual larges which the Turkiſh Emperours at their firſt entrance into the empire beſtow vpon them, augmented alſo their daily wages, and granted them this priuiledge, That E their ſons as ſoon as they were 20 years old, ſhould be inrolled among the number of the yonger Ianizaries, and be partakers alſo of their immunities: wherby he won their fauors exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himſelf of all competitors, he after the vnnatural manner of the Turkiſh policy, cauſed his fiue brethren, *Muſtapha*, *Solyman*, *Abdulla*, *Oſman*, and *Tzihanger*, to be all ſtrangled in his own preſence. The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruel death of her yong ſon, as a woman ouercome with ſorrow, deſperatly ſtrook her ſelf to the heart with a dagger, and ſo died. At which ſo tragical a ſight it is reported that *Amurath* let fall ſome tears, as not delighted in ſuch barbarous cruelty, but that the ſtate and maner of his gouernment ſo required.

The deſcription of Amurath.

He pacifies the Ianizaries & augments their priuiledges.

He ſtrangled fiue of his brethren.

A deſperat woman.

In the beginning of his reign he eſtabliſhed diuers wholeſome Lawes, altered the Coine, F and bountifully relieued the poor. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet becauſe he would not ſeem to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes his Progenitors, hee proſecuted his fathers Wars, and by the Tartars called Præcopenſes, in the moneth of October in the year 1575, entred into Raſcia, part of the Polonian Kingdome, where hee burnt and

1575.

Raſcia inuaded by the Turks.
Leon. Gor. de Bell. Iuonia.

deſtroied 200 noblemens houſes,beſides an infinit number of townes and villages,made very great ſlaughter of the poor country people, and caried away great numbers of cattell and priſoners G bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whilſt they were diuiding the ſpoil with *Peter* the new Vayuod of Valachia, who had before ſolemnly promiſed to giue the Tartars no paſſage that way,the Polonian Coſſacks,who had lien waiting for their return vpon the riuer Boriſthenes,brake into the Tartars country,and there requited them with like harm,bringing back with them a number of old Captiues, who little expected that their ſo ſudden deliuerance.

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themſelues about the election of their new King; *Henry Valoys* their late King being the laſt year(after the death of *Charles* his brother the French King) ſecretly ſtollen from them into France, to take vpon him that Kingdom. H After whoſe departure ſome of the Polonian nobility made choice of *Maximilian* the Emperor: other ſome no leſſe inclining to the choice of the great Duke of Muſcouy; and ſome vnto others alſo. Wherof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, and loth that either of thoſe two great princes his enemies ſhould be inueſted and ſtrengthned with that ſo great a kingdom, and ſo neer vnto him; to hinder that their election,and to bring in another of leſſe power,and ſo leſſe dangerous vnto himſelf,euen in the beginning of his reigne wrot vnto the Polonians to that purpoſe,commending vnto them *Stephen Bator* Vayuod of Tranſylvania for their king, in maner following:

Amurath, god of the earth, Gouernor of the whole World, the Meſſenger of God,and faithfull ſeruant of the great Prophet; Vnto the moſt Honourable Nobility and Counſellors of the Kingdome of Polonia, Greeting. I

Amuraths letters to the Nobility of Polonia.

IT is not vnto the world vnknown (moſt honourable and mighty Senators) our noble progenitours to haue of long time and for many years holden good friendſhip and religious Leagues with the Kingdom of Polonia. For which cauſe it hath ſeemed good and reaſonable vnto vs,to put you in mind of this ſo antient a league and bond of friendſhip: for that we underſtand your kingdom to be of late become deſtitute of a King,by the departure of the noble King Henry *your crowned King (diſcended of the roiall race of the French Kings) our friend: who for the ſmall regard you had of him ſo great and worthy a Prince,* K *and for your diſloyalty,is departed out of your kingdom,without purpoſe of returning any more into Polonia. Wherupon,as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you paſſing ouer your ſaid crowned King* Henry,*are about to make choice of a new King, and eſpecially of* Maximilian *the Emperour,or of the Duke of Muſcouy; both men of running wits,and of vs greatly hated: for why,you may wel know they will be troubleſome and grieuous not vnto euery one of you only, but euen vnto vs alſo. Wherfore beware that you be not deceiued;and take heed that your confederations and leagues canot long by their valor and proweſſe be eſtabliſhed; and withall conſider well the great dangers and loſſes you may thereby fall into, whereof we haue thought good to giue you a taſt; wherfore beware that heauier things befall not your ſtate. We know there are right noble and wiſe men amongſt you,who know better than they how to rule and gouern: and if it pleaſe you not to make choice of any of your own nation,there is not far from you one* L Stephen Bator *Prince of Tranſiluania,a man of great honor and valor,by whoſe labor and dexterity you may eaſily procure the peace and quiet of your kingdom. Wheras if ye ſhall do otherwiſe,we take to witnes your God,and his ſeruant our great Prophet,to deſtroy all your wealth & goods,which together with your ſelues your wiues and children, ſhall be giuen as a prey vnto our ſoldiers,with the chief men of your cities Cracouia and Leperus. Which for all that we ſay not as any thing at all doubting of your fidelity and conſtancy toward vs. As for the reſt,which it pleaſed vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, wee haue giuen charge vnto this our embaſſador and counſellor,vnto whom our deſire is that you giue ful credence.*

From Conſtantinople the laſt of September, in the yeare of our Prophet Mahomet 982, and firſt of our reign.

M

This the great Sultans commendations ſo much preuailed with the Polonians, that notwithſtanding that *Maximilian* the Emperour was by the Archbiſhop of Gneſna and ſome others choſen King, yet was that his election by the greater part of the nobility reuoked,and both

A both he and the great Duke of Muſcouy being paſſed ouer, the noble princeſſe *Anne* (of the moſt honorable *Iagelionian* houſe) choſen Queen of Polonia; yet with this condition, that ſhe ſhould marry *Stephen* the Vayuod of Tranſyluania, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who afterward elected King, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdom, not only defending the ſame in ſuch ſtate as hee found it, but alſo notably extending the bounds therof, inlarging it with ſuch territories as he by force of Armes got from his neighbors, eſpecially the Muſcouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterward boaſt and ſay, That he had giuen the Polonians their King. But of him, and of the league made by him with *Amurath*, more ſhall be ſaid herafter.

Stephen the Vayuod choſen K. of Polonia.

1576.

The yeare following great troubles aroſe in Perſia; whereby the flouriſhing ſtate of that B moſt mighty kingdom was ſore ſhaken, and opportunitie giuen for the Turkiſh Emperor to inuade the ſame: which he laying hold vpon, entred into that bloudy war, which to the great quiet of the Chriſtian commonweal, for long time after exerciſed the forces of thoſe moſt puiſſant princes one vpon another. For the better vnderſtanding wherof it ſhal not be amiſſe compendiouſly to ſet down the ſame troubles of the Perſian kingdom, the very ground of the long and mortal war between thoſe two moſt mighty Monarchs.

Old *Tamas* the Perſian King, ſon to the noble *Hyſmael*, who with glory had more than fifty years worthily gouerned that large kingdom, and mightily withſtood the often inuaſions of the Turkiſh Emperors, now ſpent with years, died the eleuenth of May in the year 1576, leauing behind him eleuen ſons; namely *Mahamet* the eldeſt, of an infirmitie in his eies ſirnamed C *Codabanda*, a man of peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, more delighted with the ſweet pleaſure of a contented life, than the careful honors of ſo great a kingdom. *Iſmael* the ſecond ſon, of a more fierce and troubleſom nature, ſo much abhorring quietnes, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge, vpon a youthful heat break out into the frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and there make great ſpoil. For which his doings, although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commandement (who ſeemed to miſlike of thoſe his youthfull ſports, tending to the breach of the League) reſtrained of his liberty, and ſent to the caſtle Cahaca, betwixt Tauris & Caſbin, where he remained at the time of his fathers death. *Aidere* the third ſon, no leſſe ambi- D tious than was his brother *Iſmahel*, although not altogether of like valour, who was kept by *Zalcan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, and other his kinsfolk, all men of great power and authority. The other eight were *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Muſtapha*, *Emangulis*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahim*, and *Iſmahel* the yonger.

The old King before his death had by his laſt wil and teſtament ſolemnly appointed *Iſmael* his ſecond ſon to ſucceed him in his kingdome, as of all his ſons moſt fit to take vpon him ſo great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder brother ſeemed not much to diſlike, contenting himſelf with ſuch honors as his father had before beſtowed vpon him.

Iſmael appointed by his Father to ſucceed him in the Perſian kingdome.

Tamas thus dead, *Iſmahel* was by the Sultans ſent for to Cahaca, to take vpon his fathers kingdom at Caſbin; when in the mean time there aroſe a great tumult in the City, yea euen E in the Kings palace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greateſt ſicknes had entred the chamber where he lay drawing toward his end, and in his ſight moſt preſumptuouſly ſet the royal Crown vpon his head, to the manifeſting of his ambitious deſires; for which hee was then worthily reprooued: Now after the death of his aged father, carried headlong with the ſame aſpiring humour, and ſupported by *Zalchan* and other his mighty Fauorits, had ſo effectually dealt with the great lady *Periaconcona* his eldeſt ſiſter, and the other Sultans counſellors of eſtate, put in truſt to ſee the wil of the dead King put in execution, as that the ſucceſſion could not be any longer kept from him and reſerued for *Iſmahel*, but by the help of ſome fine ſecret and deceit. This lady *Periaconcona* (elder than all the yong Princes the ſons of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great ſpirit and deep conceit) left in great truſt by her F father, ſeeing the proceedings of her brother *Aidere*, durſt neither openly moue any thing to the Sultans, prejudiciall to his deſignes; nor could ſhe in her heart indure ſo great an injury to be don to her brother *Iſmael*, appointed by her father to ſucceed him. Wherfore in this perplexity ſhe caſt in her wily head, how to ſatisfie her ambitious brother, how to ſaue *Iſmahels* right being abſent, the honor of her dead fathers wil & teſtament, and the ſafety of the kingdome,

Aidere aſpires to the kingdom of Perſia.

dome. For hauing thorowly debated the matter with the Sultans, ſhe reſolued that *Aidere* G inueſted in royall apparell, and ſettled in the great gallery, ſhould attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthroniſed as the very elected king. With which vaine ſhew the vnwiſe youth (blinded with ambition) ſuffered himſelfe to be led: and being ſet in his maieſty, verily perſuaded himſelfe, that he ſhould now be honoured both of his friends and foes, as King. But vnto theſe his ſo haſty and proſperous deſignes, the ſucceſſe that ſprung from the ſubtilty of thoſe Counſellors and his diſſembling ſiſter, were nothing conformable: for that ſhe by their aduice tooke order for the gates of the palace to be preſently locked, leauing at euery paſſage a ſure gard, and only one wicket open, ſafely warded with a companie of moſt faithfull and valorous captaines and ſouldiers, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Iſmahel*: with ſtreight charge, to ſuffer euery man to enter in, ſauing only the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In H this ſort did ſhe thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill ſuch time as *Iſmahel* ſhould arriue at Cahaca, and ſo put in execution what he thought beſt for the honour of himſelfe, and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere?* in conceit a King, repleniſhed with vnwonted joyes, receiuing honor from all men ſauing from his beſt friends. By means wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and mooued alſo with the great ſtir of *Zalcan* his greateſt fauorit (who diſcouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aidere*, threatned the lady, the Sultans, and the reſt that waited vpon the feigned ſucceſſion, indeed ordained but for the ſcorne and deſpight of the ambitious man) ſtriken with great fear, and full of ſorrow, he withdrew himſelf cloſely amongſt certain women of the court, hoping ſo to find ſome way to eſcape with life. I

In the mean time ſo greatly increaſed the cries and threatnings of the friends and fauourits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themſelues for ſome dangerous and pernitious attempt) that the counſellors, with conſent of the Lady his ſiſter, were inforced to take order, that to bereaue this tumultuous and ſeditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* ſhould be depriued of his life. Wherupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers ſide, by the appointment of *Periaconcona* and the Sultans, after long ſearch they at length found him hidden amongſt the women; and without further delay taking him by the locks, ſtrook his head from his ſhoulders, and in the place where *Zalcan* and the reſt of his vnfortunat fauorits ſtood crying and threatning, amongſt the thickeſt preiſe of the proud conſpirators flung the had all bloudy, as it were yet breathing for heat; crying aloud vnto them, *Behold there your King, enioy him at your pleaſure.* At which ſudden and horrible ſpectacle euery K man burned in rage & anger, neither for the preſent wanted there many a raſh head that vainly threatned moſt cruel reuenge. But in the end, when they ſaw the neer ſucceſſion of *Iſmahel* ineuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irreuocable, euery man betook himſelf to his own priuate affairs, and ſo at the laſt diuiding themſelues one from another, departed from the palace, and ſcattered themſelues, ſome one way, ſome another, euery man as he thought beſt for his owne ſafety.

Aider ſlain, and his head caſt amongſt his Fauorits.

Iſmahel ſaluted King.

Shortly after, *Iſmael* the deſired King arriued at Casbin, where he was of his ſiſter and the Sultans joifully receiued as their lawful and vndoubted ſoueraign, and with great acclamation of the people ſaluted King: who as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the royall ſeat, and L his power now anſwerable to his deſires, he after the maner of the Turkiſh policy moſt vnnaturally cauſed the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be ſtriken off; and withall vſed ſuch diligence, that not only all thoſe which were neer vnto them in bloud and affinitie were bereaued of their liues, but alſo all the fauorits of his late brother *Aidere* were deſtroied in that publike ſlaughter: ſo that all the ſtreets of Casbin were defiled with bloud, and all the city reſounded with mourning and complaints. Which vnexpected cruelty, altogether vnworthy ſo worthy a thought king, ſo altred the minds of his ſubiects in general, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new fears, and their ioy into mourning. But much greater and far more lamentable did the miſeries grow as ſoon as it was giuen out, That he would change M the religion of the Perſians (who with great deuotion worſhip their fooliſh prophet *Aly*) into the ſuperſtition of the Turks, who with no leſſe impiety obſerue & maintain the wicked rites of *Ebubekir*, *Hamer*, *Oſman*, and others, by them ſuppoſed to be the moſt true ſucceſſors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*. For by meanes of this vncouth noueltie and vnexpected change, and by force of an edict concerning that matter, publiſhed by this new King, many of his

He murdereth eight of his yonger brethren.

prophane

A prophane prieſts,many of the gouernors of his friendly and ſubiect cities (too much giuen
to their former ſuperſtition) were driuen ſome into exile, ſome clapt vp in priſon, ſome had
their eies put out(amongſt whom was the Calyph of Casbin)and not a few others in ſundry
ſorts depriued of their liues. Yea many Ladies joined in bloud with *Iſmael* himſelf, & diuers
others of his kinsfolk(to whom neither ſex,age,nor innocency could be a ſufficient defence)
indured ſundry torments & ſtrange calamities. So that in Perſia was neuer felt greater troubles,
or a more dangerous change.

In this ſo great innouation,and among theſe troubles,there went abroad withal a general
rumor,not in the cities of Perſia only,but in the regions of the Turks alſo,euen as far as Conſtantinople,
That *Iſmael* with a puiſſant army of ſuch as fauored this new proclaimed vanitie,
B was determined [illegible] perſon himſelf to go to Babylon,now called Bagdat, there to receiue the
crown of the empire at the hands of him whom he ſhould find to be their great Calyphs ſucceſſor,
and in the chief place among their vnclean prieſts : as had *Solyman* himſelfe the great
Emperor of the Turks,and the Perſian kings of antient times. In this world of troubles,when
as the fear of further miſeries daily increaſed,rather than any hope of antient quietneſſe ; he
was when he leaſt feared,by the help of the aforenamed Lady *Periaconcona* ſuddenly bereft of
his life : but whether ouertaken in ſome of his own amorous practiſes,or poiſoned by his ſaid
ſiſter;or that ſhe (as ſome probably conjecture) hauing ſecretly conſpired with *Calil Chan*,
Emir Chan, *Pyry Mahamet*, *Curchi Baſſi* (being all at that time men of great account,and as it
were preſidents of the kingdom)who diſguiſed in womens apparel,& brought in by her,ſtrangled
C him at ſuch time as he had withdrawn himſelf among his paramors,is vncertain. Howſoeuer
it was,ſufficeth it that he by the helpe of the ſaid Lady *Periaconcona* was by vnnaturall
death taken out of this world the four and twentieth day of Nouember,in the yeare of Grace
1577 ; to the exceeding joy of all thoſe Nations, who by his death thought themſelues now
freed of many great and dangerous troubles : when he had reigned one year ſeuen months and
ſix daies.

Iſmael ſuddenly murdered by his ſiſters deuice.

1577.

Iſmael thus taken out of the way, the lady began forthwith to perſuade with the great Sultans,
the miniſters of *Iſmaels* death, that as they had for the generall good of Perſia contriued
the death of the late king,ſo now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great
kingdom, with the preſeruation of the majeſty and liberty therof, vntill ſuch time as it were
D knowne who ſhould worthily ſucceed in that Crowne, which now remained in their hands.
There was at that time many of the greateſt Princes and Gouernors of that kingdom aſſembled
at Casbin, there gaping after ſuch mutations of thoſe troubleſom times, as might beſt
ſerue their priuate deſignes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious deſires,was in hope by means of
a match to be made with a ſiſter of *Periaconcona*(who was already greatly inclining vnto him)
to be exalted to the ſoueraigntie of all Perſia. *Mirize Salmas* the chiefe Sultan hoped on the
other ſide to aduance into the eſtate,either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldeſt brother of the dead
king, or els *Hamze* the eldeſt ſon of the ſaid *Mahamet*,and by beſtowing vpon him his daughter
in marriage(as afterwards he did)ſo to increaſe the glory of his houſe. Others there were
that thought they ſhould be able to draw *Abas Mirize*(the middlemoſt ſon of *Mahamet*) out
E of Heri,and to make him King. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aſpiring friends, whoſe
Tutor waited likewiſe for ſome opportunitie to ſettle him in the kingdome,and ſo by means
of his greatneſſe to make himſelf greateſt among his fellows. A number of others there were,
that ſecretly waited vpon euery occaſion that time ſhould preſent for their preferment. Howbeit
in this ſo great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans anſwered the Lady with one conſent,
and promiſed her in moſt liberall termes all the protection that their forces could affourd,or
their weapons procure ; and yet did euery one of them both in action and word, Clerke-like,
diſſemble their ſeuerall imaginations,whereunto their minds were as prone and ready,as their
hearts were cunning cloſely to conceale them.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor now awakened, firſt at the death of the old renowned *Tamas*,
F and then at the rumor of the deſire *Iſmael* had to paſſe with an Army to Babylon ; as alſo at
the freſh report of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition newly publiſhed in Perſia, and withall throughly
inſtructed what harm this late King had done in Perſia, what diſſentions he had raiſed , and
how hardly the prouinces of the Empire had endured thoſe calamities ; began forthwith to
thinke, that hereby a faire occaſion was offered vnto him to take vp Armes againſt the
Perſians,

Amurath intentiue to the ſtirs of Perſia.

Perſians, and matter ſufficient ſuggeſted for him to put in execution the great deſire he had of ſome new conqueſt. For it is an antient cuſtome, which is growne as it were to be a law among the *Othoman* Kings, That they may not challenge their due honours in their life time, nor their proud monuments after their death, vnleſſe they attempt ſome great and ambitious actions & enterpriſes, and perform ſome exploit conformable to their majeſty. *Amurath* therfore bent vpon theſe great ſtirs in Perſia, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other war in hand, vntill he might firſt ſee what iſſue theſe maruellous innouations in Perſia would bring forth: which in the perſon of *Mahamet* the ſucceeding King, ſeemed to be more pregnant than euer before, and miniſtred vnto *Amurath* new occaſions of victorious & ſtrange hopes. For as ſoon as *Iſmahel* was dead, the afore named *MiriZe Salmas* (in dignity chief man among the Sultans, though in blood & nobility inferior to them all) after many letters diſpatched to and fro, at laſt aſſured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with al quietnes of mind, and ſecurity of perſon, he might come & poſſeſſe himſelfe of the kingdom. He was alſo aduertiſed by the ſaid *Salmas*, of the whole conſpiracy plotted againſt his brother to bring him to his end; and likewiſe made acquainted, how the fraudulent lady, with the Sultans, had capitally conſulted againſt himſelf: and how ſhe, fauouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of Heri her nephew & his ſon, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightful ſucceſſion of him being the eldeſt brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himſelfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and deſiring withall to ſee his eldeſt ſon *Hamze Mirize* aduanced to ſome ſuch ſoueraign dignity as he ſaw was due to the liuely hope euery man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his vertue and prudence for mannaging the common-wealth and matters of war (wherein alſo he ſhewed himſelf vnto his father jealous and ſuſpitious, leſt ſome other man ſhould vſurp vpon him that honour and authority which ſo properly appertained vnto him) reſolued in the end not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuate perſons, nor the lightnes of an vnconſtant woman of ſuſpected modeſty, and a rebellious conſpiratour againſt her own bloud, wherwith ſhe had without any pity or remorſe of conſcience, now twice defiled her ſelfe. And therfore he wrot back againe, That he was minded to take the rightfull ſucceſſion vpon him, and that for the ſame purpoſe he was putting himſelf vpon his journey: with ſtreight charge notwithſtanding, That *MiriZe Salmas* ſhould before his entrance within the gates of Casbin, preſent him with the miſchieuous head of *Periaconcona*; a woman (in reſpect of the ſcorne exerciſed againſt her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Iſmahel*, and of the peruerſe imaginations which ſhe had conceiued to cauſe the ſucceſſion to fall into other mens hands, & of the prodigall familiarity which ſhe had with ſome of the Sultans) wel worthy of a thouſand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution whatſoeuer *Mahamet* had priuatly enioyned him, ſo that by his meanes he was preſently and ſolemnly proclaimed king of Perſia. And afterwards hauing gathered together many ſquadrons of men wholly deuoted to the bloud & name of *Mahamet*, the ſame *MiriZe Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the head of that manlike Virago *Periaconcona* vpon the point of a lance, with her haire diſperſed, and ſome other vncouth ſights to the terror of the beholders. From which nouelties (one miſchief as it were hudling vpon the neck of another) there ſprung vp diuers inward hatreds, ſundry tumultuous ſeditions, and much ciuill wars: this new king by the inſtigation of *Mirize Salmas*, ſeeking on one ſide to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death; & they on the other ſide oppoſing themſelues with all their power againſt him, the State of Perſia began to fal into great inconueniences, and of theſe nouelties to reap new loſſes. *Sahamal* the Georgian fled into his mountain of Brus, fearing the wrath of his new lord. *Leuant Ogli* likewiſe another of the Lords of Georgia, vnderſtanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his neighbour, eſtranged himſelfe ſo far from his old loue and antient deuotion towards the Perſian Kings, that he ſeemed now to deſire ſome new innouation. The nations alſo that were neighbours to the Turks, and the people of Media Antropatia (now called Siruan) diſliked of this new king: and in the end it appeared, That Perſia vnder this king, through many mutations, was in ſhort time fallen into moſt notable miſery, and the ſtate thereof more weakened than it had of long time before.

Mahamet reſolueth to take vpon him the Perſian kingdome.

Mahamet proclaimed King of Perſia. The head of Periaconcona preſented to Mahamet on a Launce.

Of all theſe things had *Amurath* from diuers places intelligence, but more particularly from *Vſtreff* of Van (a city of Armenia the greater, ſcituat vpon the lake of Actamar) who ſent him moſt perfect information of all the ſtirs in Perſia; Diſcourſing vnto him of the death of *Iſmahel*, A *mahiel*, the conſultations of the Sultans, the trecheries & death of *Periaconcona*, the broils between the King and the Sultans, the nature of the new King (beeing diſeaſed in his eies, little eſteemed of his ſubiects, beſotted in affection toward his ſons) the facilitie to ouerrule the chief gouernors of the Georgians, and the people of Sirvan, euil affected toward the new king; and to be brief, whatſoeuer had in truth ſucceeded in Perſia, and might inflame the minde of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces againſt an enemy of ſmall counſell and much confuſion. Adding thereunto, That neuer was there greater opportunitie to ouercome that King, than now was offered: and therfore wiſhed him, not in any caſe to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion, as the *Othoman* Kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of ſo certain and ſo glorious victories.

B *Amurath* of long time wholly bent to mark the euent of the troubles in Perſia, now ſtirred vp with theſe aduertiſements from *Vſtref*, ſetled himſelf more deep in his former conceits to proue his forces in ſubduing the Perſian King, the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors, and his only corriual and odious competitor in the Eaſt. But no one thing did more inflame him therunto, than to thinke, how he ſhould haue to his enemy a King not acquainted with deeds of arms, doting vpon his children, and weakned with the diſſention of his ſubiects: and on the other ſide entring into the conſideration of his own forces, of the infinit number of his men both horſe and foot, of the means he had to find mony; of his Attillery and engins of War, wherein he far ſurpaſſed the Perſians; he did more and more reſolue with himſelfe to take the occaſion that was now offered him to begin the war. For the compaſſing of which C his purpoſe he was greatly fauored by the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, at that time beeing wholly in league and amity with him. So not finding any thing contrary to his deſignments, he reſolued at length to confer with the chief Baſſa's, which had the gouernment of his Empire, Whether it were better vpon this occaſion to begin the prepenſed war, or if they thought not this opportunity to be ſo fit, then to lay it aſide, and to conuert his forces and counſel againſt the Commonwealth of Chriſtendom. For ſuch is the barbarous policy wherby this Empire is mannaged, that it is lawfull for them to break any League, be it by neuer ſo many promiſes or ſolemn oaths confirmed, whenſoeuer any enterpriſe is to be attempted for the aduancing therof. So that although this war could not be moued either againſt the Perſians or Chriſtians, without breach of their promiſed faith; yet among the manifold conſultations D that paſſed among the great Baſſa's, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord without further reſpect, ſought to ſet forward the ambitious deſire of their proud Lord and maſter. At laſt after long conſultation and large diſcourſes, it was at length agreed vpon by the great Baſſa's, *Mahomet*, *Sinan*, and *Muſtapha*, That it would be better and leſſe danger to attempt war againſt the Perſians, than againſt the Chriſtian Princes. *Muſtapha* amongſt the reſt preferring the valour of the Latines, wherof he had made good trial eſpecially at Famaguſta, before the armies and forces of the Georgians and Perſians. Wherby it is apparant to the world, that neither the zeal of their religion, nor any iniury receiued from the Perſian King, but only the ambitious deſire of *Amurath* (to ſubdue a kingdome, both in his own conceit and other mens relations euil gouerned, by an effeminat E and ſottiſh King, and through ciuil diſſention brought into great danger) was the firſt prouocation of making this war.

No aſſurance in the Turks Leagues.

Ambition the cauſe of the Perſian war.

Vpon this reſolution there aroſe new conſultations touching the manner therof, and vpon what coaſt they ſhould begin their iourny for the more honourable ſucceſſe therof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged; proteſting before his chief Counſellors, That he would not enter into that war, except he were in great hope to bear away the victory. Some thought it moſt conuenient to ſend the Army to Babylon, and from thence to Syras, formerly called Perſepolis, the chief city of the country of Perſia. Others there were that gaue aduice, that the army ſhould be ſent directly to Tauris, there to erect ſtrong fortreſſes, and to take poſſeſſion of all the country round about it. And there wanted not ſome (as it is reported) that thought it F better to ſend two ſeueral armies for both the forenamed places; and ſo by bringing the enemy into a ſtreit, to inforce him to yeeld to whatſoeuer ſhould be of him required. But *Amurath* durſt not repoſe ſuch confidence in his forces, as to think that with his battells diuided and ſo weakned, he ſhould be able to conquer that enemy, who had alwaies moſt valiantly fought againſt the monſtrous and puiſſant Armies of his Anceſtors. And therfore firmely reſolued with himſelfe to ſend one only army, and ſo with his vnited forces to ſeek the ouerthrow of the Enemy. G And ſo preferring the ſtrong hope he had conceiued to conquer the country of Sirvan, and the chief cities of Media the great, before the difficulty of making war vpon the coaſt of Scytas, repoſing alſo great hope in the notable help that was promiſed him by the Tartars called Præcopenſes, he confirmed the great Baſſa's his counſellors in the ſame opinion: and withall diſcouered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but eſpecially to *Sinan* ſeemed moſt ſtrange; namely, That he was determined, not to goe himſelfe in perſon with his Army, but to ſend one of his worthieſt Captains in his ſtead. The cauſes why he ſo did, were many; but eſpecially, for that he was troubled with the falling ſicknes, and feared greatly (and that not without good cauſe) leſt his ſon *Mahomet*, being much fauoured of the H people, might peraduenture in his abſence be vntimely aduanced to the Empire. Beſide the dangers which he ſuſpected at the hands of the Chriſtian Potentates. And withal perſuaded it to be vnto himſelf a great honour, to perform thoſe things by his ſeruants, which had formerly in thoſe countries bin vnfortunatly attempted by his moſt noble predeceſſors in their own perſons.

Whilſt they were thus conſulting about the expedition, and the great Baſſa's, *Sinan*, *Muſtapha*, aud others, made means to be ſent as the ſoueraign miniſters of their Lords deſignement, he diſpatched away ſundry poſts and light horſmen, with order to the Baſſa's and Gouernors of Van, Babylon, and Erzitum, in the frontiers of his Dominions, That they ſhould by often inrodes ſpoil the Towns and Caſtles of the Perſians, and by all means to do them what harme I they could. Which they were not ſlack to put in execution, and eſpecially *Vſtref* (or rather *Huſreue*) Baſſa of Van, who with often incurſions did much miſchief, as wel in the countries that were tributary, as ſubiect to the Perſian King. A forcible preparatiue for greater troubles to enſue.

The war begun in Perſia.

Now in this great preparation for the Perſian war (which for many years after notably exerciſed the greateſt part of the Turks forces, to the great quiet of the Chriſtian Commonwealth) *Stephen Bator* the late Vayuod of Tranſylvania, but now by the commaundement of *Amurath* become King of Polonia, in the beginning of his reign, by his Embaſſador the great Lord *Iohn* of Syenna, entred into a ſtrong league and confederation with the great Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath* at Conſtantinople. Which for that it ſheweth in what termes that famous K kingdom then and yet ſtandeth with the Turks great Empire, and withall containeth matter well worth the Chriſtian conſideration; it ſhall not be impertinent to our purpoſe (omitting the great and glorious ſtile of that barbarous Monarch, ſeruing to no other end but to ſhew the greatnes of his power) plainly to ſet it down, as it was on his part at the ſame time by him confirmed.

The League betwixt the moſt puiſſant and mighty Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperor, and *Stephen* King of Polonia: Agreed vpon and concluded at Conſtantinople, in the yeare of our Sauior Chriſt Ieſu, 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985. L

The league between Amurath and King Stephen.

I *Sultan* Amurath, *the ſon of* Selym Chan, *the ſon of* Solyman Chan, *the ſon of* Selym Chan, *the ſon of* Bajazet Chan, *the ſon of the great Emperour* Mahomet Chan, *&c. Prince of theſe preſent times, the only Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole world, the ſhadow of Diuine clemencie and grace. Great Emperor of many Kingdoms, Countries, Prouinces, Cities* M *and Towns, Lord of Mecha, that is to ſay, of the houſe of the glory of God, of the reſplendant city of Medina, and of the moſt bleſſed city of Ieruſalem: Prince of the moſt fruitfull country of Egypt, Iemen, Zenan, Aden, and many other ſuch like: In moſt louing maner declare, That the moſt glorious and renowned*

Stephen

A Stephen *King of Polonia, great Duke of Lithuania, Raſsia, Pruſia, Maſſovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Livonia, and many other countries moe, Prince of the couragious followers of* Ieſus, *Gouernor of all the affairs of the people and family of the Nazarits, the welcommeſt Cloud of rain, and moſt ſweet Fountaine of glory and vertue; eternall Lord and heir of the felicity and honor of the aforeſaid noble Kingdome of Polonia; vnto whom all the diſtreſſed repair for refuge, wiſhing a moſt happy ſucces and bleſſed end to all his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes and eternall praiſes, worthy our perpetuall loue and moſt holy League, and with great deuotion performing theſe and other like honors, as for the diſpatch of his letters to our moſt glorious Court, for the new confirming of the moſt ſacred league and confederation with vs, ſending the honorable Lord* Iohn *of Syenna (his moſt faithfull Counſellor) his Embaſſadour to our Court; declaring his loue and integrity, and purging himſelf of all the ſuſpition of hoſtility, hath* B *requeſted the League and confederation to be renued. At whoſe inſtance we haue giuen theſe our Letters, confirming the ſaid League of peace and confederation. Wherin we command, That none of our Counſellors, Beglerbegs, Sanzacks, Generals of our Armies, Captains, or ſeruants, ſhall do, or on my behalf preſume to do any hurt vnto the Kingdom, Countries, Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Iſlands, or whatſoeuer els to the Kingdom of Polonia belonging. And in like maner, That none of the Nobility, Generals, Captaines, or others whoſoeuer belonging to the king of Polonia, ſhall dare to do any harm vnto my Kingdoms, Cities, Caſtles, or Towns confining vpon the Kingdom of Polonia. In brief, my will is, That he being a mortal enemy vnto myne enemies, and a faſt friend vnto my friends, ſhal do no injury or harm vnto any my ſubiects or things whatſoeuer vnto my juriſdiction belonging. So in like maner commanding alſo, That no hurt by any means or for any occaſion, be don by our people, vnto the ſubiects, or whatſoeuer els vnto the iuriſdiction of the* C *King of Polonia appertaining.*

The creatures, Embaſſadors, Meſſengers, and men of whatſoeuer condition els, ſhall on both ſides freely without let or trouble come and go without any harm receiuing, either in their perſons or goods.

It ſhall be lawfull alſo for the King of Polonia's ſubiects to ſeek throughout our Empire, for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the ſame ſo found (if they haue not receiued the Turkiſh religion, but ſtill remain Chriſtians) to redeem without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatſoeuer ſhall be taken and caried away after the confirmation of this League, ſhall be all again freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and reſtored.

That the Merchants on both parts might freely traffique with all kind of merchandiſe in the black and white ſea, as alſo vpon the Main, and ſo paying their vſuall and lawfull cuſtom, to be in nothing wronged or moleſted.

D *If any of the Polonian Merchants ſhall die in our dominion, the goods of him ſo dead ſhall not be embeſelled, but kept in ſafety vntill his brethren or other his friends ſhall come with the King of Polonia his letters: vpon the ſhewing wherof, hauing alſo our Letters mandatory, the goods ſhall be forthwith reſtored vnto the dead mans heirs. In which ſort alſo my Merchants ſhall be dealt withall, if any of them ſhall chance to die in the kingdom of Polonia.*

If any wrong be don within the limits of myne Empire, vnto any belonging to the kingdom of Polonia, after the date of theſe letters confirming the League; the doer of the wrong ſhall by my commandement be ſought out, and being found out ſhal be puniſhed & the wrong don, without any delay or contradiction be forthwith recompenced. And the like juſtice to be alſo on the behalf of the King of Polonia adminiſtred.

E *If any debtor ſhall depart out of myne Empire into the Polonian territory, wherſoeuer he ſhall chance to be found by his Creditor, he ſhall be brought to the Iudge of that place to be examined, and whatſoeuer it ſhall be proued him of right to owe, the Iudge of that place ſhall according to the equity of the cauſe make the Creditor to be ſatisfied.*

But if the debtor canot himſelf perſonally be found, no other man ſhall by reaſon of another mans debt be taken, detained, or moleſted: neither ſhall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our Kingdoms.

In brief, vpon whatſoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, or grandfather of famous memory, made with the kings of Polonia, vpon the ſame conditions and capitulations be it now made alſo.

Whatſoeuer hurt hath hitherto bin don to either part, by reaſon of the diſagreement of the gouernours F *and captains, ſhall all be on both parts neglected and forgotten.*

Alſo after the time of theſe letters, confirming the league and confederation, Wheras the King of Polonia ſhall in time pay a certain ſum of mony vſed to be paid vnto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan *& his ſon*

Mirzeliby *their Princes ſhall reſtore the ſame again, and not to dare to ſuffer his Armies by any means to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies no harm ſhall be don to the kingdom of Polonia: neither on the part of the Polonians to the territories of the Tartars. And if any harm ſhall by the Tartars be don in the King of Polonia's territories, it ſhall by my commandement be again reſtored. And ſo likewiſe on the part of the Palatine of Moldavia, or the inhabitants of the kingdom of Moldavia, no harm ſhall be don vnto the countries ſubiect vnto the King of Polonia: but if any be done, and certainly known, to be by my commandement again recompenced.* G

On the part alſo of the King of Polonia and his ſubiects, whatſoeuer harm ſhall be don vnto the territory or ſubiects of the Moldavian Palatine, or Tartars, the harm ſo don to be recompenced, and the doers therof puniſhed.

Alſo, That all ſuch fugitiues as hauing done any notorious felonies or villanies in Moldavia, and are fled into Polonia, ſhall at my requeſt, or at the requeſt of the Palatine of Moldavia be reſtored, and in no caſe denied. H

That all the Polonian Captains within my dominions, yet profeßing the Chriſtian religion, may by the King of Polonia's ſubiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and maſters paid: euery ſuch maſter of the ſlaue taking his oath, that he coſt him ſo much. But ſuch captiues as haue receiued the Turkiſh faith, to be forthwith ſet at liberty: and ſo the Turks ſlaues in the kingdom of Polonia to bee likewiſe manumiſed.

That our Embaſſadors on both ſides (ſo long as we are in league and amity) may freely come and go, and not be ſtaid in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleaſure ſo do. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by ſome good and faithfull guid appointed vnto them conducted vnto the places they are to go vnto. And this to be on both ſides kept. I

No man to dare to hurt or ſtay any merchant, hauing paid his thirtieth part or lawful cuſtom.

If any of our ſubiects ſhall haue any ſuit with any of the king of Polonia's ſubiects, the Iudges ſhal without delay be bound to adminiſter juſtice. All theeues and robbers ſhall be diligently ſought out, and being found, to be ſeuerely puniſhed: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be reſtored to the right owners, their heirs, or to the King.

The Sanzacks of Siliſtria and Bolograue, the Cuſtomers and Water-Bailiſes, ſhall not ſuffer any man but Merchants and ſuch as are ſent in our ſeruice, to paſſe ouer the riuer Nyeſter; who paßing ouer, if they ſhall bring with them any ſlaue or bondman out of Polonia, he ſhall be ſent back again. The ſhepheards, if they wil tranſport their ſheep into the iuriſdiction of the King of Polonia, ſhall not ſo do without leaue of the Polonian gouernors, before whom they ſhall alſo number their Sheep: of whom if any ſhall be loſt, the Gouernors ſhall cauſe them to be ſought for, and to be reſtored vnto the Shepheards, as alſo to pay for their hay. K

The Zauzij, Ianizaries, or Poſts, ſhall not dare in any time of peace or war to take any horſes from the Polonian merchants, or other the Kings ſubiects comming into our kingdom.

The Palatines of Moldavia, in whatſoeuer condition they haue bin toward the former Kings of Polonia, they ſhall now alſo ſtil ſo be hereafter. The thirtieths and cuſtoms of both parts ſhall continue in their old maner, and not be increaſed. The Polonian kings ſubiects and merchants, as wel Armenians as of any other nation, whenſoeuer they ſhall enter into Moldavia or any other part of our Empire, ſhall not trauel by vncertain aud vnknown, but by the common or highwaies: wherin if they ſhall ſuffer any loſſe or harm, either in their goods or perſons, the doers of ſuch wrongs ſhal be ſought for, and ſeuerely puniſhed. Which merchants ſhall be ſuffered without any moleſtation quietly to come and go, hauing paid their thirtieths: and no merchant to be troubled for anothers debt. L

If any of the Polonian Kings merchants or ſubiects be willing for ready mony to redeem and cary away any ſlaues taken out of the Polonian kingdom, and yet profeßing the Chriſtian religion, the Iudges ſhal in no caſe withſtand them, neither preſume to take them from them, or again to redeem them. But if any ſuch ſlaues haue receiued the Turkiſh Religion, they ſhall not be again demanded by the King of Polonia.

Such ſlaues as haue not receiued the Turkiſh religion, if after a certain ſpace they ſhall be ſet at liberty by their Maſters, and in the letters teſtimoniall of their liberty, it ſhall be declared that they haue receiued the Turkiſh religion; yet ſhall they not by the Iudges be therfore detained. M

In the city of Buruſa, the Polonian merchants hauing paid their vſuall thirtieths, ſhall not be further preſſed with any other vnuſuall paiment.

My will is alſo, That the territories at this preſent in the poſſeßion of the King of Polonia, or hereafter

A *to be by him taken from the Muſcouite, or any other the Chriſtian Princes, to be compriſed within this League, and ſo to be royally by him poſſeſſed.*

And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in theſe our letters of confederation contained, I ſwear by the power of the moſt mighty God, and of his moſt holy Prophet, and by the moſt clean and pure ſpirits of all the Prophets, That for all the daies of my life, and ſo long as nothing ſhall on the behalf of the King of Polonia be don contrary to the peace and league, nothing ſhal alſo on my part be don contrary to the ſame. Witneſſe the Almighty, the vpright judge and diſcerner of mens actions.

From Conſtantinople, the year of the holy Prophet Mahomet 985, *the* 14 *of the moneth Ziemaſſi Eumel. And of Chriſt* 1577.

B This league betwixt theſe two mighty princes *Amurath* and king *Stephen* thus concluded, and after the death of *Stephen*, by *Sigiſmund* the third renued; as it was to the Polonian Kingdom for the time commodious, ſo did it as it were with an Adamantine band ſo tie that moſt famous kingdom, as that in the hardeſt diſtreſſes of the Chriſtian commonweal, and moſt indeed concerning it ſelf, it afforded no more help than did the members farther of, which (I rue to ſay it) was none at all. As in the inſuing wars betwixt the Chriſtian Emperor and the Turkiſh Sultans plainly appeared: wherin had it in due time giuen but ſuch reaſonable aid as it might wel haue ſpared, much no doubt might haue bin done for the repreſſing of the common Enemy, and the recouery of the greateſt part of Hungary: but thus bound, ſtood as a dead member, ſeruing to no other vſe more than to the more ſpeedy deſtruction of it ſelfe, C together with the reſt of the ſick body. For what aſſurance it had in that long, but euil aſſured peace, was wel ſeen, in that in the great conſultation of this great ſultan *Amurath* with his Baſſa's after the Perſian war, for the inuading of Chriſtendom, the Polonians for al this legue ſo ſolemnly confirmed, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the ſame ballance with the reſt, and preſerued only by the Prouidence that all gouerneth; which leading the Turke againſt the Chriſtian Emperour their neighbour, gaue them that peace they were otherwiſe hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that (hauing to his endleſſe praiſe maintained a long and moſt chargeable war) they lent little or no help, yet lying themſelues ſtill in the Lions mouth, and like enough to be the next (without Gods great goodnes) of him intended to be deuoured.

D But leauing theſe the heauy conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forebodings of that I wiſh not; to return again toward Perſia, *Amuraths* greateſt care. Among many the ambitious competitors for the mannaging of theſe Turkiſh ſo great deſignes, was the great Baſſa *Muſtapha* (euen he who in the reign of the late Emperor *Selymus* conquered Cyprus, carrying thence together with his victory, perpetual infamy for his faithles and cruel dealing with *Bragadine* the worthy and renowned gouernor of Famaguſta) appointed General of the Turks army into Perſia; and authority giuen him to prouide whatſoeuer he ſhould think needfull for ſo great a war. And commandment giuen vnto the Baſſa's and other Commanders of the greateſt part of the Turkiſh Empire Eaſtward, that they ſhould themſelues with their ſoldiers of all ſorts, bound by their perpetual annuities to go to the War, in the beginning of the E Spring this year 1578, repaire to Erzirum, a City of Cappadocia bordering vpon Armenia, there to attend the commaund of their new General. Who hauing his diſpatch from Conſtantinople, & for faſhion ſake conducted by moſt of the court ouer the ſtreit to Scutari, and from thence paſſing through the countries of Amaſia & Siuas, in the very beginning of ſummer arriued at Erzirum, and there ſtayd vntill ſuch time as his people, victuals, Artillery, and other his neceſſary prouiſion was come thither. From whence he departed for Sirvan, hauing firſt taken a diligent ſuruey of his whole Army, muſtring the ſouldiers of euery Nation by themſelues: namely of the Meſopotamians twelue thouſand, of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians fourteen thouſand, of the Syrians two thouſand, of them of the leſſer Aſia (now comprehended vnder the name of Natolia) ten thouſand, of the Iewes and Philiſtims one thouſand, F and of the Cilicians four thouſand. After whom followed the ſoldiers of Grecia, the glory and hope of all the camp, valiant men, to the number of ten thouſand; and after them the familiar and faithful gard of the General, ten thouſand Ianizaries of Conſtantinople, with harquebuſes vpon their ſhoulders, and ſcimiters by their ſides: of the City alſo of Erzirum and the juriſdiction therof, appeared four thouſand, vnder the enſigne of *Beyran Baſſa* their general.

Muſtapha choſen Generall of the Turks army.

1578.

Muſtapha muſters his Army at Erzirum.

All theſe were ſtipendaries vnto the Turkiſh Emperor; vnto whom other voluntary aduenturers joined themſelues, in number not inferior to the reſt, but better furniſhed, and of greater courage. So that in this general furuey of the Army were found about 110000 men, moſt part horſmen: yet was there not any ſtirred out of Arabia, Egypt, Africa, Hungary, or other places alongſt the ſea coaſts; neither were the prouinces from whence theſe ſouldiers were drawn, left deſtitute or vnfurniſhed of their ordinary gariſons. Beſides this multitude of men *Muſtapha* brought with him 500 ſmal pieces of Artillery, with many loads of mony for his ſoldiers pay, with further order for the taking vp of more at Aleppo and other places, if his occaſions ſhould ſo require. He cauſed alſo great quantitie of corn to be tranſported by the great ſea called in antient time Pontus Euxinus, to Trapezond, ſo to be conueyed to Erzirum being but four days journy diſtant thence. To be ſhort, hauing taken order for all things he thought neceſſary for the war, he in ſeemly array departed from Erzirum, and in eight days arriued at the ruins of Chars, and in the fruitful country therabout reſted himſelf. But he was there ſurpriſed with ſuch a violent tempeſt of wind and rain, that it rent in ſunder his Tents, and did great harm; by means wherof many fell ſick, and were therby conſtrained to forſake the Army.

Muſtapha cunningly incamps at Chielder.

Hauing ſtaid three daies at Chars, the bounder of the Turkiſh and Perſian Empire, he departed thence with his army, and that euening lodged vnder the mountains of Chielder, ſuppoſed to be part of the hils Periardo; where hearing the Perſians to be in Arms, he thought it beſt for the ſecurity of his Army, ſo to pitch his tents, as that he might wel diſcouer the comming of the Enemy, and not to be aſſaulted at vnawares. And therfore planting himſelfe in the plain, he gaue order that *Beyran* Baſſa of Erzirum ſhould take poſſeſſion of a certaine hill on the right hand; and *Dervis* the Baſſa of Caramit ſhould keepe another hill that ſtood on the left hand: and with them *Oſman Baſſa*, *Mahamet Baſſa*, *Muſtaſſade Baſſa*, aduenturers, with many others as wel ſtipendary as voluntary men, ſhould likewiſe pitch their tents vpon the ſame hils, in ſuch ſort, as that they making as it were two wings to the Camp, might diſcouer the comming of euery man, and yet he himſelf being ſhadowed with the two hils, might lye vnperceiued of any.

Tocomac General of the Perſians.

Mahamet the new king of Perſia, as yet ſcarſly ſetled in his kingdom, ſtirred vp by the fame of theſe motions, reſolued in himſelf to ſtand vpon the defence of his ſtate, and for a time to diſſemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to ſome of the Sultans of Perſia, & Princes of Georgia, and to make ſome apparant ſhew that he was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promiſe vnto himſelf any form of an army, or defence: wherin (notwithſtanding all the troubled ſtate of his kingdom) he wrought ſo cunningly, that almoſt all the great men of account took vpon them the protection of his ſtate and kingdom. And ſo *Tocomac* a Sultan, the Chan and gouernor of Reivan, a famous man, wel known to the Turks, and of great reputation among the Perſians, was choſen General of this expedition; with charge, that gathering together the greateſt number of men he could, out of Atropatia, Media the greater, and other places neer vnto the Turks, he ſhould by all means poſſible ſtop their paſſage into Georgia and Media Atropatia. And therupon precepts were ſent out into all parts of the kingdom, That all the Chans, Sultans, and ſoldiers whatſoeuer, ſhould come ready preſt to attend vpon their new General. Many obedient to the kings proclamation, came; but many there were that would not ſtir a foot, for their obſtinacie in the broiles begun, and for the ſuſpition they had of vnlooked for miſchiefs. At whoſe diſobedience the king much grieued: but now there was no remedy, but to make the beſt of the matter, and for the ſafety of his honor to make the beſt reſiſtance they could. So with thoſe few who for the loue of their prince and country were met together in thoſe parts, being not aboue 20000, *Tocomac* was diſpatcht about his buſines, if haply he might with theſe ſmal forces oppreſſe the enemy in ſome ſtreit and troubleſome paſſage, where the great multitude ſhould rather ſerue to confound themſelues, than to help one another. Theſe 20000 were all horſmen, armed with ſcimiter & bow, with ſome harquebuſiers among, and furniſhed with very fine and wel tempered armour, but aboue all, couragious they were and reſolute, and wel the more, for the valour and proweſſe of their General. So prouided of all things neceſſary, they ſet forward, and keeping the way of Tauris and Genge, they came to the turning of Chars, where they were aduertiſed that the Enemies army was already paſſed.

They

A They were now come within a days journey of Chielder, when they ſent quick and faithful ſcouts to bring them certain newes of the condition and number of the Turks Army. Who came thither at the very time that *Muſtapha* was incamping his army between the two hills, wherupon the two Baſſa's *Beyran* and *Dervis* with their people had already pitcht their tents. Theſe ſcouts diſcouering the Turkiſh hoſt aloft, perſuaded themſelues that there was no other battel than thoſe they ſaw vpon the hils: Wherof with all ſpeed they returned news to *Tocomac*, who at eaſe had followed theſe his ſcouts afar off. *Tocomac* thus miſ-informed by his ſcouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpoſe to aſſault them; and hauing diſcouered their tents vpon the hils, was throughly confirmed in the opinion hee had before conceiued of the number of his enemies, and the ſcouts relation, and with ſo much the B more confidence ſet forward to aſſail them. But *Beyran* and *Dervis*, who quickly from the hils perceiued the Perſians comming in the plain, although they knew them to be men of great courage, yet repoſing an aſſured confidence in their Generals battell, with all ſpeed mounted vpon their horſes and ran to meet them. So in the aforeſaid plains vnder Chielder, within one hour after noon was ioyned a moſt bloudy battel, wherin at laſt were ſlain 7 of the Turks Sanzacks, with a great number of ſoldiers, without any apparant loſſe amongſt the Perſians, who fighting cloſe together in a great heat, and al bebloudied, vrged their happy and fortunat victory.

But *Muſtapha*, who perceiued all that had paſſed, and ſtaid waiting til the fight was at the hoteſt, and the medly at the thickeſt, that ſo the flight of the enemies might breed the C greater diſorder, and now ſeeing that his people could no longer indure the fury of the Enemies rage (euen as if it had lightned and thundred, and as though the earth had ſhaken) with ſuch cries and acclamations as the Turkes vſe in their aſſaults, for the more terror of the enemies; exciting his army, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduerſaries, and ſo renued a moſt terrible battel. The Perſians wonderful courage induring this vnexpected and dreadful aſſault with incredible ſigns of valor, in that little time of day light that was left (for the night began now to approch) continued their manifold ſlaughters, and at laſt being fauored by the darknes of the night, withdrew themſelues with as little loſſe as poſſibly they could. Neither durſt *Muſtapha* any longer purſue them, but was glad by night to return to his camp. Of the ſucceſſe of this battel the Perſians certified their King; as alſo of the greatnes of the Turkiſh Army with D their further purpoſe for anoying therof. And by the Turks alſo were preſented to *Muſtapha* (who had already ſent news by poſts to *Amurath*) 5000 heads, that by their color, countenance and beards bewraied themſelues to be Perſians, and 3000 Perſians aliue. Of this victory *Muſtapha* greatly rejoiced, and to make it ſeem the greater (ſeeking by all means to conceale his own loſſes, and to raiſe a greater terror by the fame therof amongſt his enemies) cauſed the heads of the 3000 that were brought before him aliue, to be preſently cut from their ſhoulders, and gaue order that of thoſe heads there ſhould be framed a bulwark in thoſe fields, for a moſt horrible and vncoth ſpectacle.

The Perſians defeated.

A Bulwarke made of the heads of the ſlain Perſians.

The ſame day that *Muſtapha* applied himſelf about this barbarous and cruel worke, there came vnto him certain meſſengers from *Manucchiar*, the yonger ſon of the Georgian Widow E *Dedeſinit* (a great prince in that country) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue, *Manucchiar* their Lord and maſter was comming to ſalute him, and to offer himſelf vnto him as his obedient and deuoted ſeruant. At which news *Muſtapha* redoubling his joy, gaue commandment, That all the Baſſa's and captains in the Army, with all ſolemn pomp, with Trumpets, Drums, peals of ordnance, with al other ſignes of munificall and ioyfull entertainment, ſhould go forth to meet the ſaid *Manucchiar*, and to accompany him to his preſence. Which they did accordingly, and ſo incountring him with all ſignes of honor, conducted him to the great pauilion of *Muſtapha*, who there cauſed him again to be ſaluted with like triumph. *Manucchiar* diſmounted from his horſe, and againſt his wil beholding the ſtrange & vncoth pile of heads all pale and filthy to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant, yet not- F withſtanding before all other things, hauing don his due reuerence to the great Baſſa, and according to his degree placed himſelf next to his ſide, after he had preſented him with ſuch gifts as his country yeelded, he gaue him to vnderſtand, That for the honour & eſtimation he bare to the Turkiſh valor, he was alwaies deuoted to the houſe of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes deſired to ſpend his goods and life in their ſeruice, ſo at this preſent time, moued

Manucchiars ſpeech to Muſtapha.

by his antient deſire, allured by the ſtrange fame of his wonderful and victorious Army, and ſtirred vp by a particular fantaſie, to learn the painfull and hard precepts of the art Militarie, G vnder ſuch a General, commander of other commanders, he offered him all deuotion and ſeruice, more than euer he had don to any hertofore; and himſelf hauing nothing in the World dearer to him, conſecrated his own life to his commandements; deſiring that the ſame might be imployd in the conflicts of war vnder his banners, among warriers and ſoldiers of fame and renown: and therfore beſought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whoſe obedient vaſſal he vowed himſelf to remain for euer.

Graciouſly did *Muſtapha* receiue all this diſcourſe from *Manucchiar*, and hauing ſhewed him again the pile of heads, together with his battels, armor, and prouiſion of war, told him, That as all thoſe forces were the gift of God, who euer fauored the righteous counſels of the H *Othoman* Emperors, in ſuch ſort that they lord it ouer all the world, euen to the aſtoniſhment of them that liue in the world at this day; ſo had he for his particular choſen the better part, in comming now to yeeld himſelf, & to ſubmit his obedience vnto his Lord, although it had bin better if he had don it before. And as concerning the deſire he had to be his companion and fellow in theſe warlike affairs, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promiſed him all good entertainment and aſſured ſafety. And ſo in exchange of the preſents which he brought him, he apparelled him in cloth of gold, honoured him with a batel-axe, and targuet wrought with gold and ammel, and neuer permitted him to go from his pauilion without a train of his ſlaues following him.

A terrible rain and tempeſt.

This Georgian Prince thus ſolemnly entertained, the General gaue order thorow the camp, I That they ſhould the next morning remoue from thoſe mountains: and now euery man was putting himſelf in readines, when as there riſe a moſt terrible tempeſt of wind and rain, mixt with thunder and lightning, which continued with ſuch violence for the ſpace of four dayes together, as if the heauens had bin diſſolued into waters. Wherby it came to paſſe, that out of the dead carkaſſes and heads before mentioned iſſued a moſt horrible ſtink: ſo that therby, and by the foulnes of the weather, with other annoiances alwaies attending vpon ſo great a camp, the whole army was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diſeaſes aroſe among the Turks. But at laſt the weather breaking vp, *Muſtapha* riſe with his camp and ſet forwards toward Teflis: and being not able by reaſon of the foulnes of the way to paſſe any farther, that day ſtayd in the plains where the lake Chielder Giol ſtandeth, and there refreſhed his ſick and wearied K ſoldiers. Remouing thence, the next day about noon he came to the Caſtle of Archichelech, ſomtime a caſtle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his wars againſt *Tamas*, and euer ſince holden by the Turks. Here *Muſtapha* ſurueyed his Army, and by diligent account taken, found himſelf to want 40000 of his ſoldiers, wherof ſome were ſlain in the battel, ſome were dead of ſicknes, and many weary of ſo long and perillous a journy, were ſecretly ſtoln out of the camp, and returned to take their reſt at home. From thence the Army remoued, and lodged that night neer the mariſh called of the Turks Peruana Giol, or Lake of ſlaues; and the next day came to Triala, where at this day are to be ſeen the ruins of a great City and of many churches, wherof ſome are yet repaired and maintained by deuout Chriſtians the reliques of thoſe happy and religious forces, that with ſo great and faithful zeal paſt the L the ſeas and mountains through thoſe barbarous nations into the Holy land, men worthy of eternal praiſe. The next day the Turks aſcended the high and craggy mountaine that ſtands vpon Teflis; from the top wherof deſcending the day following, they ſeiſed vpon a Caſtle of the Georgians, called of the Turks Giurgi Chala. Departing thence, and lodging in certain plains, the next day they came neer the riuer that runs by Teflis. But in theſe 4 dayes march from Archichelec, where *Muſtapha* took view of his army, many of the Turks, who in ſeeking victuals for themſelues and their horſes had ſtragled from the army, were cut off by the Georgian captains, who with a number of their own country ſoldiers ſecretly followed the Turks army, and wel acquainted with all the waies of the country, lay in ambuſh vpon ſuch places as the victualers were to paſſe through, and ſo ſuddenly ſetting vpon them ſpoiled them at once M both of life and goods.

Muſtapha ſurveying his Army, lacks forty thouſand men.

Muſtapha comming to Teflis found that caſtle empty; for that *Daut Chan* lord therof, hearing of the comming of the Turks, forſook the ſame and betook himſelf to the fields, prouiding better for himſelf in ſo doing, than by ſtaying in the caſtle, to haue bin there taken priſoner.

A ſoner. This caſtle for the conuenient ſcituation thereof *Muſtapha* cauſed to be repaired and fortified, and planted therin an hundred pieces of artillery, and appointed *Mahamet Baſſa* Generall Gouernor of that place, with a garriſon of ſix thouſand ſouldiers, which done, he departed for Siruan. At which very time thoſe of Soria, which had brought a thouſand loads of rent corn to the camp from Aleppo, being themſelues in number a thouſand perſons, with 500 others of Omps (in antient time called Hus, the city of the patient *Iob*) and other places of Soria, men neither of duty bound, nor of themſelues willing to follow the camp, returned homewards towards their owne country: but vpon the way they were ſet vpon by *Aleſſandro*, *Giuſuf*, and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all ſlain except ſome few, who by the ſwiftnes of their horſes eſcaped with *Naſſardin* their Captain.

Aleſſandro ſends Embaſſadors to Muſtapha.

B Now after that *Muſtapha* had paſſed the diſcent of the ſteep mountaines of Teflis, the next day he incamped in certaine low plains; where the Embaſſadours of *Aleſſandro* ſyrnamed the Great, ſonne of *Leuent*, a Georgian Prince, came vnto him and told him, That their Lord was ready, if it ſo pleaſed him, to come vnto him to do him reuerence, and by word of mouth to promiſe him that deuotion he had alwaies in mind born to the *Othoman* Emperours. With a glad heart and cheerfull countenance did *Muſtapha* receiue theſe Embaſſadors: and preſently ſent them back, to will their Lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendſhip ſhould be vnto him moſt deer and acceptable. And after their departure, tooke order with all the Commanders of his army, to receiue him with all the ſigns of ioy that might be; which at his comming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had preſented to the Generall the C rich gifts he had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Baſſa with moſt liuely ſpeeches he could poſſibly deuiſe, calling *Amurath* his Lord: ſeeming to take it in euill part, that he paſſed not through his territory, where he ſhould (as he ſaid) haue had plenty of all things for the relief of his army; yet hoping that in his return from Siruan he would take it in his way; wheras he ſhould find him moſt ready to beſtow all that he had in the ſeruice of his lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent reſpects go with him into Siruan, yet he would alwaies accompany him in mind, and continually pray to the Creator of all things, for his proſperity & moſt happy ſucceſſe. Courteouſly did *Muſtapha* receiue both his preſents and ſubmiſſion, and in exchange therof beſtowed vpon him certain gifts after the Turkiſh manner, and in magnificall terms gaue him anſwer; promiſing him in his reD turn to paſſe through his country: and ſo diſmiſſed the Perſian Duke with like honour wherewith he was entertained at his comming.

Aleſſandro courteouſly entertained by Muſtapha.

Muſtapha holding on his journy towards Siruan, through mooriſh and troubleſome wayes; in twelue dayes after he departed from Teflis, came into the confines of Siruan, neere to the riuer Canac, and there reſted on this ſide the riuer one day. At which time they of the city of Sechi, bordring vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure days journy from Sumachia, came to offer themſelues to *Muſtapha*, as ſubiects to the Turks. Of whoſe ſubmiſſion the Generall gratiouſly accepted, promiſing to them his aſſured protection.

The Turks army afflicted with hunger.

The Turks army ouerwearied with the continuall trauell of twelue days march, but yet far more afflicted with hunger, not finding in thoſe parts ſo much as one wilde beaſt to aſſuage E their greedy deſire of meat, ſought by all means, euery man for himſelf, to get ſomthing, eſpecially when they vnderſtood their General would paſſe the riuer into a Country vnto them all vnknown, where they were altogether vncertain what to find for their reliefe. So whilſt they were inquiring among themſelues, who was able to conduct them to ſome ſuch place as wher they might ſupply their wants, behold, certain Perſians were taken, who being ſtreitly examined on that point, after much reſiſtance at laſt told them, that not far off, after they had paſſed certain mariſhes, where Canac dischargeth it ſelf into Araxis, they ſhould finde many fields ful of rice and corn in the blade, and a little farther certain fat herds of cattel, ſufficient to relieue the whole army. Of this news was the General certified: who although he greatly doubted the ſubtilty of his enemies, yet to gratifie his ſoldiers, and to make them more willing to F follow him into Sirvan, he licenſed euery man that had a deſire, to go and prouide himſelf victuals, and ſo ſuffered all that would, to go freely. Wherupon there went of themſelues, and were ſent by their Captaines about ten thouſand ſeruile perſons, with Camels, Horſes, and Mules, to fetch away this prouiſion of Corn and Cattell. But the euent anſwered not vnto their deſires. For *Tocomac* with the other Perſian Captaines, and the reſt of the ſoldiers that

were eſcaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plains of Chielder, hauing gathered together G
the remainder of the army,and recouered ſuch places as they thought ſafe and friendly
for them,carefully attended the marching and paſſing of the Turkiſh army. And being certainly
informed by them of Reiuan and Georgia, what way they kept, and that of neceſſity
they muſt ariue at the banks of Canac,they began to deuiſe how they might in ſome meaſure
be reuenged of their former loſſe,and impeach their enemies entrance into Siruan. But wanting
rather ſtrength than courage to aſſail the whole army,they thought it beſt to ſtay in ambuſh
in ſome fit place,vntil ſome part of the Turkiſh army (allured with the prey of the corn
and cattel)ſhould for the relief of their common neceſſities diſcend into thoſe fields. And the
rather to draw them on,ſent out diuers men, who as if they had gon about their own buſines,
and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turks camp, reuealed vnto them, as a great H
ſecret,what a good prey was hard by them. And ſo withdrawing themſelues out of ſight,priuily
awaited the comming of the Turks:when as within the ſpace of three days it ſo fell out,
that the aforeſaid ten thouſand forragers arriued at the wiſhed place;where they had no ſooner
begun to charge themſelues with the prey, but they were ſurpriſed by the Perſians and all
ſlain, ſauing a few,who by haſty flight ſaued themſelues. The noiſe of this hot skirmiſh being
heard into the Turkiſh hoaſt,cauſed *Muſtapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out
euen as indeed it was ; and therfore riſing with his whole army,haſted with all poſſible ſpeed
to haue ſuccored the poor people,who were now all ſlain. And albeit he came not in ſo good
time as to yeeld them reliefe, yet came he very fitly to reuenge their death vpon the Perſians,
ſtaying too long to load themſelues with the ſpoile of their enemies. I

Ten thouſand of the Turks forragers ſlain.

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforeſaid booty, was almoſt in maner
of an Iſland,incloſed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac:wherinto *Muſtapha* entred with
his whole power,*Deruis Baſſa* leading the one wing,as did *Beyran Baſſa* the other,and he himſelf
comming on in the middle with the main battell. The Perſians ſeeing *Muſtapha* with all
his forces haſting toward them, and withall remembring the late ouerthrow by them receiued
in the plains of Chielder ; began to bethink themſelues how much better it had bin for
them to haue contented themſelues with the late ſlaughter of the forragers, and with ſpeed
to haue gone out of that ſtreit, than by ſtaying longer, to be incloſed with the multitude
of their enemies,as that they could now no way eſcape without moſt manifeſt perill. In this
perplexity diſcourſing among themſelues, whether it were better to fly, or with ſo great diſaduantage K
to ioin battell, and ſo rather to die honourably, than to liue with reproach : at laſt
they reſolued to reſerue themſelues to the further ſeruice of their Prince & country,deeming
it rather a point of wiſdome than of diſhonour,not to aduenture vnto moſt deſperat and aſſured
death,ſo many worthy men as might in future time ſtand their country in good ſtead ; yet
did they not ſee how by flight wel to eſcape,for that they were in ſuch ſort ſtrain'd within the
riuers,as that there was no ground left for them to eſcape by,than that which contrary to their
expectation was by the Turks already poſſeſſed. In theſe difficulties euery man began to betake
himſelfe to his own priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan* and other the
great commanders of the army,were the firſt that turned their backs,and by the help of their
couragious horſes got ouer the riuer of Canac:whoſe example moued many others to attempt L
the like,though not with like fortune; for that their horſes being not of ſuch courage,and out
of breath,lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Wherwith others being amaſed,as perceiuing
ineuitable death in flying, preſent before their eies, and repoſing all their hope euen in
diſpaire,ran as it were headlong in a rage and fury vpon their enemies,and in fighting ſhewed
vnſpeakable valour:but what was one againſt an hundred ? for there they were alſo all ſlaine,
though worthy of immortall fame. Thus was the Perſian army quite diſcomfited in this demie
Iſland,being firſt ſtained with the bloud of the enemy, and afterward with the ſlaughter
of the neighbor and proper inhabitant:and ſo became the perpetuall ſepulchre of a moſt couragious
and warlike people. The Turks in this laſt conflict loſt not aboue 3000 men, beſide
the ſlaughter of the 10000 forragers : although *Tocomac* to make his loſſe to ſeem the more M
tollerable,made a report to the King of a great ſlaughter made. The Perſian Captains full of
ſorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licence of their Generall departed euery man
to his ſeuerall gouernment : as *Emangali Chan* to Gengi, *Serap Chan* to Naſſiuan, *Tocomac*
himſelfe to Reiuan,and all the reſt to other Cities, to the gouernment whereof they were before

The Perſiãs fly and in flying are many of them drowned in Canac.

fore

A fore by the King appointed, and ſo remained expecting his further pleaſure from Casbin.

Muſtapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to paſſe ouer into Sirvan. And
therfore made ſtreit proclamation through his whole army, That euery man ſhould be in readines
againſt the next day to paſſe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people ſuddenly
aroſe in a tumult, and with injurious terms euen to his face reproued his folly and inhumanity,
propounding vtter danger vnto himſelf, and an vniuerſal confuſion vnto the whole Army:
and therfore prayd him to ſurceaſe from proceeding any further, vnles he were minded to caſt
them all away. But his reſolute mind was not by their threats or intreaties to be remoued, neither
gaue he them other anſwer than this, *That ſo had* Amurath *commanded; and that if all the
reſt ſhould ſhew themſelues vnwilling to obey their Soueraigne, he himſelf would not nor could not, but*
B *would be the firſt man to attempt and perform that which they all ſo abhorred and reproued. Valiant ſouldiers*
(he ſaid) *were diſcouered and known not in idleneſſe and eaſe, but in pains taking, and difficult enterpriſes;
who neuer ought to be afraid to change this momentary life for euerlaſting honour, or to ſhunne
death, if the ſeruice of their Prince ſo required: And for myne own part* (ſaid he) *I moſt earneſtly requeſt
you, that after I haue attempted the paſſage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwiſe than wel,
yet carry my dead body to the other ſide of the riuer; to the end that if I canot whilſt I yet liue execute the
command of my Soueraign, I may yet at leaſt perform the ſame when I am but a ſpeechles and liueles Carcas:
foraſmuch as the deſire of my Lord is not in any ſort to be fruſtrated, for making too great account
of myne own life.*

A reſolute ſpeech of Muſtapha.

Diuers and ſundry murmurings and wiſperings followed vpon this ſpeech of the General:
C who notwithſtanding the next morning did firſt of all wade ouer the deep and ſwift Riuer
himſelf; after whom preſently followed the Baſſa's with all their ſlaues: by whoſe example
the reſt alſo were induced at laſt to do the like, & ſo continued vntil the darknes of the night
interrupted their paſſage; by which occaſion more than halfe the Army could not then get
ouer. In this paſſage, being with great tumult and diſorder attempted, about 8000 perſons,
caried away with the violence of the riuer, were miſerably drowned, with the great outcry of
all the hoſt. The like hapned alſo to many mules, camels, and ſumpter horſes; Vpon whoſe
backs diuers perſons being mounted, in hope to haue paſſed dry ouer the riuer, were likewiſe
headlong onerwhelmed therin. With great complaints and blaſphemous curſings was the
whole night ſpent, by them that were yet on this ſide the riuer, whoſe fears were not a little
D increaſed by the example of their vnfortunat fellowes before drowned. And like enough it
was, ſome peſtilent ſedition to haue inſued thereupon, had there not a ſhallow foord by great
chance bin diſcouered, which gaue ſafe paſſage to thoſe that were left. For in that paſſage the
people made in following *Muſtapha*, the grauel in the bottom of the riuer being raiſed & remoued
by the heauy hoofs of the cattel, was driuen down the riuer to a place where by great
good hap there was alſo a foord; and there gathered together in a heap, had in ſuch ſort raiſed
the depth of the chanel, that it made as it were a ſhelf for their commodious paſſage; ſo that
the remnant of the Army, cariages, and artillery paſſing ouer the ſame, there was not ſo much
as one man that periſhed. So hauing with much difficulty at length got ouer the riuer of Canac,
they refreſhed themſelues that day and the next, and there ſtaid vntill the whole Army
E was muſtred and again put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they incamped in
certain barren champains where was neither corn nor cattel; neither could they perceiue or
learn, that in thoſe quarters were any Villages at all. By means whereof the hunger of their
beaſts increaſing, they were inforced to giue their horſes and mules leaues and ſtalks of very
dry and withered reeds, and ſuch other like things of little or no ſuſtenance at all: & the men
themſelues were fain to ſatisfie their hunger with thoſe vtmoſt reliques which they were fain
to pick out of ſuch poor victuals as now by corruption were become lothſom to mans nature:
and that which was worſe, they ſaw no end of theſe miſeries they were ſo entred into. Notwithſtanding
there was now no looking back, but needs on they muſt, and follow the fortune
of their leaders, among whom *Muſtapha* before all the reſt ſet forward on his intended journy.
F He had not long marched, but there was diſcouered good ſtore of ſundry plants, and ſhortly
after, a very large plain Countrey all greene and flouriſhing, and garniſhed with many Trees.
By the only ſight whereof euery man was refreſhed with the hope of reliefe, and with more
than ordinary pace haſted, vntill they were entred into thoſe Champaignes, which abounded
with all kind of Corne and fruits that could be of an hungry man deſired. In this place

8000 Turks drowned.

Famin in the Turks hoſt.

The Turks Army refreſhed.

did euery man ſatisfie his appetite,and forgot in part the forepaſſed calamities. Thorow this
fruitful and pleaſant country *Muſtapha* leading his Army,at laſt arriued at Eres,the chief city G
in that coaſt of Sirvan as you trauel from Georgia.

This city of Eres was forſaken of a number of her inhabitants,ſo ſoon as it was known that
the Turks were come to Canac;who all followed their great gouernor *Samir Chan*, who with
Ares Chan gouernor of Sumachia , and other the gouernors of Sechi and other places of Sirvan,
forſook the cities, and altogether withdrew themſelues into the mountains, as places of
more ſurety,attending the euent of theſe ſo great motions. So that as the Turks entred the
city without diſturbance,ſo were they with the prey they found therin nothing inriched: for
in this common danger euery man had caried away with him the beſt things he had. Here
Muſtapha ſtaid with his army 22 days,during which time he erected a fortres in the ſaid City, H
wherupon he placed 200 ſmal pieces of artillery,and for the keeping therof appointed *Caitas*
Baſſa with an gariſon of 5000 ſoldiers. In the mean time alſo he commanded *Oſman Baſſa* (one
of the voluntary captains) with 10000 men to poſſeſſe Sumachia,ſomtime the metropolitical
city of that prouince, with the title of Viſier and gouernor general of Sirvan. Giuing him
further in charge,That in any caſe he ſhould cleer the paſſage to Derbent, and giue preſent
aduertiſements to the Tartarians,of his arriual there;whom he ſuppoſed by that time to bee
come into thoſe quarters,for that they had before ſo faithfully promiſed vnto *Amurath*. *Oſman*
comming to Sumachia,preſently ſeiſed vpon the City, and was friendly entertained by
thoſe that remained there: whom he likewiſe curteouſly intreated, without doing or ſuffring
any outrage to be don vpon them. Of which his curteous vſage they of Derbent vnderſtanding, I
ſent preſently to offer their city to him; beſeeching him to receiue it into his protection,
and to defend them from the Perſians:vnder whom although they had long liued in ſubjection,
yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their Mahometan ſuperſtition,wherin
they better agreed with the Turks.

Muſtapha returnes out of Sirvan.

Muſtapha hauing thus brought the country of Sirvan into the Turkiſh ſubjection,and finiſhed
his fortreſſe at Eres,and put all things in ſuch order as hee thought beſt; importuned
by the Ianizaries and the people of Grecia and ſomwhat inforced by the ſeaſon of the yeare,
which was now far ſpent,departed from Eres , and turned his courſe homeward towards the
country of *Alexander* ſyrnamed the Great, as he had promiſed in his late paſſage to Sirvan.
And hauing trauelled a long iourney, he ſent before him certain Enginiers and pioners to K
make a bridge ouer Canac, ſo without danger to paſſe ouer his Army. Hauing paſſed the River,
he gaue notice to *Sahamal* (one of the Lords of Georgia) of his arriuall: who preſently
came and yeelded himſelf as Vaſſal to the Turkes; and being entertained of the Baſſa with
great pomp,and rewarded after the Turkiſh manner, took his leaue, and ſo returned into his
mountain of Brus.

Muſtapha ſetting again forward,and trauelling by night,becauſe he would not loſe the opportunity
of the fair weather,by the error of his guids loſt his way,and ſo fell into rough and
difficult paſſages,wherby he was inforced to wait and ſtay for day light; which ariſing, did
manifeſt vnto them,that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*: and
therfore he gaue forthwith proclamation thorow all the army,That no man ſhould vpon pain L
of death be ſo hardy to moleſt or diſquiet any of the ſubiects of *Alexander*, but to haue good
reſpect vnto them,and to intreat them with al curteſie. The day following he ſtil trauelled on
in the ſame country; when there arriued from Zaghen certain Embaſſadors of *Alexanders*
with great abundance of cattel,corn,fruits,and other relief ſent for a preſent to the Generall;
with a ſolemn excuſe that he came not himſelf, becauſe the infirmity of his body would not
ſuffer him. Wherwith *Muſtapha* reſted ſatisfied; and leauing the city Zaghen on the right
hand, cauſed the meſſengers of *Alexander* to guid him the way to Teſlis: which they ſo directly
did,that within the ſpace of three daies they conducted him thither with his army,without
the feeling any annoiance whatſoeuer. From whence they returned, being wel rewarded
for their pains by the Generall *Muſtapha*. Who now comming to Teſlis, found the gariſon M
he had left there for the keeping therof,ſo hardly pinched with famin, that they were glad to
eat cats,dogs,ſheep-skins,& ſuch like vnuſual food: for neither durſt they for fear of the Enemy
go out of the caſtle to prouide for themſelues; neither if they had ſo don had it any thing
auailed,ſuch was the carefulnes of the enemy in keeping of his things. But now by the comming

Muſtapha releeues his diſtreſſed gariſon at Teſlis.

A ming of the Generall they were relieued with meat, mony, and plenty of all things. Hauing ſtaied there two daies, he put himſelfe againe vpon his way, and with fire and ſword deſtroied whatſoeuer came in his way in the Champains ſubject to the ſaid city: only the ſepulchres of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that country) were left vntouched by the Turks fury. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountains, full of a thouſand difficulties, which were the more encreaſed by wonderfull great ſnowes that were fallen: by reaſon whereof, many ſouldiers, horſes, camels, and mules periſhed. In which diſtreſſe the army continued two daies; during which time the ſouldiers were fallen into ſuch a diſorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies country wherein they were, euery man without regard tooke vp his ſeuerall lodging apart, ſome here, ſome there, where they might find either ſome thick buſh or ſome ſmall B cottage, or ſome quiet valley to ſhelter themſelues in from the wind, the ſnow, and the ſtorms. Of which diſorder certaine Georgian Lords vnderſtanding by the ſcouts which from time to time waited vpon the Turks army, joyned themſelues together, and in the night ſecretly approched vnto it, expecting the opportunity of performing ſome notable exploit: and hauing obſerued, That *Hoſaine Bey* had withdrawne himſelfe with his regiment from the reſt of the army vnder certaine mountains, to defend himſelfe from the ſtorme and wind; they tooke the occaſion preſented, and ſo aſſailing him, ſlew his ſlaues and all his ſquadrons; took a great booty of many loads of mony and apparell, led away with them all his horſes, and whatſoeuer els they could find, and ſcarce gaue him leiſure to ſaue himſelfe, by flying into the tents of *Beyran Baſſa*. The next morning the Turks remoued, and in the euening came to a caſtle called Chiur-C chala, where they ſtaied a whole day to make prouiſion of victuall: which was attempted by ſending abroad many of their ſlaues into the fields, conducted by them of the caſtle, who were all miſerably cut in pieces by the Georgians. From this place the Turks army departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the Georgians, where they were oftentimes faine to reſt themſelues; and at laſt came to the confines of *Dedeſimi*, other called the widowes countrey. In the entrance whereof, they muſt needs paſſe thorow a narrow ſtreight betweene certaine mountaines, where the riuer Araxis windeth it ſelfe with a thouſand turnings in the low vallies: a dangerous place, and ſo narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once paſſe through it. Betweene this ſtreit and a very thicke and hilly wood, they lodged vpon the banke of the ſaid riuer: and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer very D ſteep mountains and rough forreſts, ouer yce and ſnow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks, in ſuch miſerable ſort, that many camels, mules, and horſes, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miſerably periſhed. Through theſe ruinous crags and diuers other miſeries, they marched all the next day, and after that another day alſo, as miſerable to the army as the former: and ſo at laſt being ſore afflicted with hunger, ſpoiled of the enemy, tormented with the hard ſeaſon of the yeare, and ſcituation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder Altuncala, or Golden Caſtle, the princely widowes palace, where they had all manner of reliefe after all the miſeries they had endured ſince their departure from Chiurchala, by the ſpace of ſix daies: which if it had bin a faire common trauelled way, might haue bin performed in one only daies iourney.

The miſery of the Turks army in paſſing the ſtreits of Georgia.

E The widow, with *Alexander* her eldeſt ſonne, came downe from the caſtle, and went vnto the pauilion of *Muſtapha*, offering him diuers Preſents, and promiſing vnto him all faithfull obedience. Whom *Muſtapha* courteouſly receiued, declaring vnto her what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manucchiar* her yong ſonne there preſent, who had bin with him in all the expedition into Siruan. And for the preſent, diſſembling the priuy diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue bin one of them that ſpoiled the Syrians in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteouſly, and praied her to be content to leaue him alſo there with him: giuing her further to vnderſtand, that he would ſend both her ſonnes to Conſtantinople to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yeelding obedience, for their fauour ſhewed to his army, in giuing it ſo ſecure paſſage, and ſo there hoped and truſty, that F for their good deſerts, they might be of the ſaid great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged Lady, although her minde was hereat therefore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance ſhewed her ſelfe not diſpleaſed, and ſeemed contentedly to yeeld to what ſhe was of neceſſity conſtrained to graunt: as well for that he was already poſſeſſed of one of her ſons, as alſo for that both her ſelfe and her whole ſtate were now in his power, and as it were at his deuo-

The Georgian widow ſubmitteth her ſelfe, with her ſonne Alexander to Muſtapha.

deuotion. And therefore leauing both her ſonnes behind her, ſhe returned her ſelfe heauy to her caſtle. G

Muſtapha commeth to Erzirum, & diſchargeth his army.

In this place *Muſtapha* hauing refreſhed his army two daies, departed thence toward Chars, and after many daies trauell at loſt arriued at Erzirum, to the great rejoycing of the whole army, which was there preſently diſcharged by the Generall, without any muſtering at all, and leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his country.

Muſtapha magnifieth his own exploits to Amurath.

Muſtapha ſetling himſelfe in Erzirum, diſpatched poſts with letters of plentifull aduertiſements to his great lord and maſter, of all things that had paſſed: not forgetting to magnifie his own exploits aboue meaſure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Perſians, the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians, the mutiny of his own ſoldiers, the fortreſſe he had built at Eres, the garriſons left in that city with *Caitas Baſſa*, and in Sumachia with *Oſman Baſſa*: H and in briefe, whatſoeuer elſe had paſſed, and whatſoeuer he had taken from the enemy. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thought conuenient to be attempted the next yeare, for the ſtrengthening of thoſe places he had already conquered, and for preparing the way for new enterpriſes. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at Chars, a place very fit for any paſſage into Georgia or Armenia, by ſcituation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he ſent vnto him the widowes two ſons, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, the Georgian Princes; certifying him of their ſubmiſſion, and that hee had receiued in their countrey all good entertainement and friendly welcome: and withall declaring his opinion, That *Manucchiar* was the meeter man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to do him ſeruice. Greatly did *Amurath* I commend the valor and diligence of *Muſtapha*, and highly pleaſed himſelfe with this conceit, That of theſe beginnings might grow mighty conqueſts, to the enlargement of his Empire, and that by this meanes he ſhould be able to ſurpaſſe the glory of his predeceſſors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about theſe wars, the leſſe he troubled himſelfe with thinking how to annoy Europe with his forces.

It was not long after the departure of *Muſtapha* from Eres, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fens of Meotis, and the vnmountable ſhores of the Blacke ſea, and hauing paſſed ouer the rockes vpon Cholchis, and ſurueyed the frozen crags of the mountaine Caucaſus, were now arriued vpon the confines of Siruan, and there attended the commandment of the Turks. Theſe Tartarians being of them that are called Præcopenſes, to the number of thirty thouſand, K conducted by their lord and captain *Abdilcherai*, a yong man of great valor and fame, and of a comely perſonage, were come according to the faithfull promiſe of *Tartar Chan*, with a full reſolution to attempt whatſoeuer ſhould be commanded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Oſman Baſſa* vnderſtanding of their approch, according to the charge before giuen him by *Muſtapha* the Generall, entited them to enter into Siruan, and by encreaſing of the Turkes forces, to further theſe beginnings of *Amuraths* glory, and theſe his conqueſts (or more truly to ſay, theſe magnifical & ſambuſt termes of victory.) All which was moſt diligently put in execution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where Derbent ſtandeth (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and ſignifyeth the gates of yron) and ſo from thence paſſing into the country of Siruan, there ſtaied, and thereof gaue aduertiſement to *Oſman*, as L was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late Gouernor of Sumachia, who for feare of the great army of the Turks, had abandoned the city, the chiefe place of his charge, and betaken himſelfe to the ſafegard of the mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkiſh Generall, reſolued with the other Gouernours of Eres and Sechi (who following his example, had in like manner fled) now to returne againe to their forſaken country, and to make proofe if he could by any meanes take reuenge of the injury done vnto him by the Turks. So paſſing vnder Sumachia, & hauing put to the ſword certaine of *Oſmans* ſtragling victuallers that were gone out of the city, he encamped with all his people a little from Sumachia, and by good fortune ſurpriſed certaine meſſengers ſent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Oſman Baſſa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleaſure what he ſhould put in execution. Theſe Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after M much torture diſcloſed the letters they carried: which the Perſian captaine read, and conſidering the great number of the Tartarians that were come (for the letters made mention of thirty thouſand) he reſolued not to ſtay any longer in thoſe quarters, but preſently raiſed his campe, and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of thoſe nouelties, and

vpon

A vpon the bankes of the ſaid riuer to attend the kings anſwer. The Tartarian captaine comming to Sumachia, was appointed by the Baſſa to paſſe ouer the riuer Canac, into Genge, the countrey of *Emangoli Chan*, with the ſpoiles thereof to enrich himſelfe, and by all meanes to make his arriuall to the Perſians moſt terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirſting now for nothing more than for the bloud and ſpoile of the enemy: and with poſting iournies came to Canac, where *Ares Chan* was yet incamped, whom he vpon the ſudden moſt furiouſly aſſailed, and like a deuouring flame diſcomfited all the hoaſt. And taking him aliue, ſent him to Sumachia to *Oſman*, who forthwith cauſed him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in the ſame ſtatehouſe where he had not long before ſat as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that, ſwimming ouer the riuer, and courſing a little aboue Genge, found *Emangoli Chan* with his B wife, and all his family, and a great part of the nobility of Genge in a vally hunting the wilde boore; and aſſailing him, put him to flight, took from him his wife, al the ladies, & many ſlaues, and ſlew many of the reſt that were come thither to ſee the ſport: and after that rode on to Genge, which he tooke, and yeelded it wholly to the fury and luſt of his barbarous ſouldiers, who left no maner of inhumane cruelty vnattempted, in ſatisfying their immoderate and barbarous affections. And ſo being loded with the ſpoiles, and weary with the ſlaughter of their enemies, they returned merrily toward Siruan: & paſſing again ouer Canac, came to the higher ſide of Eres into certain low champaigns, enuironed about with hils, & there hauing pitched their tents, without any feare ſetled themſelues to ſleepe and to reſt their wearied bodies.

Ares Chan hanged at Sumachia.

Emangoli Chan taken, & Genge ſacked by the Tartarians.

In the meane time, and long before theſe actions, were newes come to the Perſian court of C all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the Perſian king hauing gathered new forces, had diſpatched *Emir Hamze Mirize* his eldeſt ſonne with 12000 ſouldiers to paſſe into Siruan, to ſee what hurt the enemy had done, and to attempt the reuenge of the forepaſſed iniuries; but aboue al things to puniſh the vallany of them of Sechi, and the other cities of Siruan, that not induced with any neceſſity, had ſo voluntarily yeelded themſelues to follow the obedience and religion of the Turks. The Perſian Prince departing from Casbin, accompanied with his mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued ſon, was on his way towards Siruan, vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirize Salmas*, chiefe of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the countries of Ardouill and Carachch, when he was certified by the aduertiſements come from *Ares Chan*, of the arriual of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tartarians; D and was thereby at the firſt ſtrucken into a great quandary, and almoſt out of comfort: yet prickt forward with an honourable deſire of glory and reuenge, hee proſecuted his intended enterpriſe of Siruan, and haſtening his iourney, came to Eres long before the king his father thought he could haue ſo done. This his notable celerity ſerued him to great purpoſe, for that *Caitas Baſſa* was boldly gone out of the fortreſſe, and went ſpoiling the country, carrying away with him whatſoeuer he met withall, and committing ſuch inſolencies as hungry ſoldiers beyond all honeſty vſe to do in ſtrange and fruitfull countries. But when he was in the midſt of theſe ſpoiles, and leaſt feared the enemy, he was ſuddenly aſſailed by the Prince, and hauing no meanes to eſcape his fury in this extremity, after a fierce and bloudy battell (wherein the Turks although in number few, yet ſhewed many effects of valor) he was there ſlaine with all his ſol- E diers, leauing the fortreſſe, the ſpoiles, and the country committed to his cuſtody, free to the pleaſure of the *victor*: which the Perſian Prince hauing once againe gotten into his poſſeſſion, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillery that were left in the fort by *Muſtapha*, and preſently ſent them to Casbin to his father.

Eres recouered by the Perſians.

The Prince encouraged with ſo happy a beginning, leauing his mother at Eres, followed on his iourney toward Sumachia, but by the way deſcending the hils, he diſcouered where the Tartarians lay incamped. Whereupon he ſtood in great doubt, whether to aduenture vpon ſo mighty an enemy, or to content himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten, and ſo to returne into Perſia: to returne he thought too great a ſhame, and choſe rather to aduenture himſelfe to moſt manifeſt perill. And therefore deſcending the hill, and drawing nigh the enemy, F he perceiued that the army was all laid downe to reſt, and that their horſes were ſome couched, ſome ſtanding, but all vnſadled: whereupon without any ſtay, ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, he pricked forward with all his horſe, and moſt terribly aſſaulted the Tartarians, now buried in their ſpoiles and ſleep; and hauing ſlaine their firſt and ſecond watch, although with ſome loſſe, among the tumultuary ſouldiers he made an vniuerſall confuſion and ſlaughter, putting

ſome to flight, killing others, and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their
Generall *Abdilcherai*, who was taken aliue and ſent to the King. G

Sumachia beſieged by the Perſian Prince.

Sumachia yeelded vnto the Prince.

After theſe victories, the Perſian prince ſcoured to Sumachia, and compaſſed the city round
about, wherein the Turkiſh Baſſa *Oſman* ſat as Gouernour, to the reproach of Perſia; and there
encamping himſelfe, ſent word to *Oſman*, That if he would yeeld himſelfe, he would let him
depart with life and goods: otherwiſe if he would obſtinately hold it out, and not yeeld the city,
which he ſo vniuſtly poſſeſſed, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſurrender it by force, and his life
withall. *Oſman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow, but ſtill hoped of their
returne, thought it beſt to entertaine the Prince with faire words vntill their comming, and
therefore gaue him courteous anſwer, That he was very ready to yeeld vp the city: but withall
intreated him, that he would ſtay but for three daies, and grant him time to put all things in
readineſſe, that ſo he might freely depart, as it had pleaſed him in curteſie to offer. The Prince H
glad of ſuch an anſwer, ſuppoſing it to haue proceeded of a ſincere meaning, expected of the
Turke the performance therof. But *Oſman* meaning nothing leſſe, than to commit himſelfe to
the faith of his enemy, and ſeeing that the Tartarians whom he looked for, appeared not, he
reſolued to ſaue himſelfe by ſecret flight; doubting, as he had good reaſon, that if he ſhould
longer ſtay, to be betraied by the inhabitants of the city themſelues: and therefore ſomewhat
before the aſſigned term of the three daies appointed for the ſurrendring of the city, he by the
help of a dark night, and the couert of the high and rough crags, with great ſilence withdrew
himſelfe out of Sumachia, carrying away with him all his ſubſtance, and ſo in ſafety arriued at
Derbent. The next morning the inhabitants of Sumachia opened the gates of the city to the I
Prince: who ſeeing their infidelity, firſt by giuing of entertainment to *Oſman*, and now by helping
him to eſcape, without giuing him any knowledge therof, did put in execution the effects
of his wrath & indignation, which euen at Casbin he had conceiued in his mind againſt them,
and with great cruelty did puniſh the miſerable and vnfortunate citiſens, laying their houſes
euen with the ground, raſing both the old and new walls of that city, of late ſo deſired a receit
for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he ſtood in doubt, Whether to go on to Derbent,
or to returne to Perſia: the ſtrength of that city, the approch of Winter, and the long
journy he was to take homeward, perſuaded him to lay aſide the enterpriſe for Derbent: whervpon
he reſolued to returne to Casbin; yet firſt to make his returne by them of Eres and Sechi,
and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deſerued puniſhment. So making his preſent K
repaire thither, ſpared neither ſex nor age, nor any condition of perſons, but vpon them all
poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforeſaid
mother *Begum*, and his army, though ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet victorious and triumphant, returned
to Casbin.

Abdilcherai beloued of the Perſian queene.

Young *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept ſafe in the Kings palace at Casbin, but with ſuch
eaſie impriſonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day ſo inlarged, as that
he ſeemed not to liue as a priſoner, but rather as a companion of thoſe of the court, & as it were
in apparant liberty. By which occaſion hauing inſinuated himſelfe into the loue of *Begum* the
kings wife, he ſpent his time in courting her, and ſhe again in entertaining of him in all ſecret
and couert manner. Yet theſe their mutual affections and interchangeable fauors paſſed not ſo L
ſecretly, but that in the court and all ouer the city it was a rife report, That the ſhameleſſe lady,
prodigall of her honor, had participated both her bed and her ſelfe with the Tartarian priſoner.
Howbeit neither the King nor the Prince knew any thing of it. But the King perceiuing
the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely feature,
and withall nobly borne (for he gaue it out that he was the brother of *Tatar Chan*) perſuaded
himſelfe, that it would ſtand with the great good of his ſtate, of a captiue to make him his ſon
in law, by giuing him his daughter in mariage: wherby he was in good hope there might grow
ſuch an amity and vnion between the Tartarian Precopenſes and himſelfe, as that they would
from thenceforth not only refuſe to fauor *Amurath* in thoſe wars, but alſo become enemies
to him, and in the fauor of Perſia turne their arms and affections againſt him. Which his deep M
and conſiderate purpoſe ſo diſpleaſed the Sultans of Casbin, that they ſought by all means
they could poſſibly deuiſe to auert the king from that ſo ſtrange a policy: but all in vaine, for
the king being fully reſolued, and now vpon the point to make a concluſion of the mariage:
the Sultans entering into the palace with their followers, and finding there the vnfortunate

Tartarian,

A Tartarian, ran him through the body, and cutting off his priuy members, ſlapped them vpon his mouth after a moſt barbarous and filthy manner. It is reported that the Queene was then alſo murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore lady after that day neuer ſaw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publike intereſt, is not certainely knowne. Vpon theſe murders ſprung vp many troubles, and much ciuil diſſention, threatning the vtter confuſion of the Perſian kingdome, to the ſingular benefit of *Amurath.* All which tumultuous diſorders the King by bridling his own affections, and the motions of his ſon *Emir Hamze Mirize*, wel appeaſed, procuring at laſt a perfect vnity, as then moſt neceſſary for the defence of his kingdome.

Abdilcherai ſlaine in the court.
The Perſian Queene made away.

Oſman Baſſa being in Derbent (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in Siruan) B ceaſed not with all carefulneſſe to deuiſe what he poſſibly could, for the aſſuring of that country (of late won, and now againe almoſt loſt) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better eſtabliſhing whereof, together with his owne ſafety, he thought it good to enter into friendſhip with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of Brus. With this man did *Oſman* practiſe many tokens of good will; and he again interchangeably towards *Oſman*: whereupon there aroſe great friendſhip betweene them, at leaſtwiſe in outward appearance: whereunto in ſhort time there was added a ſtrait knot of alliance: for that *Oſman* tooke to wife a daughter of the ſaid *Sahamals*, the greateſt ſigne of his ſincere loue towards him. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after *Oſman* vpon ſome reaſonable conjectures began to ſuſpect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire ſhew of friendſhip he made towards him, might for all that receiue ſome C ſecret order from the Perſian king, to betray him, and to free the city from the Turks, and ſo to reduce all that prouince vnto the antient deuotion: in which jealous ſuſpition he was fully confirmed by the ſpeeches of his wife, the daughter of *Samahal*, who rauiſhed with the honor, valor, and riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that ſhe knew deuiſed againſt him, but frankly told him, That her father being ſecretly reconciled to the Perſian king, held friendſhip with him, and that letters went between them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of Siruan. Hereupon the Baſſa perſuaded himſelfe, that all the friendſhip of *Sahamal* was but deep diſſimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuertheles, he made ſhew vnto his wife, as if he had made no ſuch reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in ſtore to his owne ſafety, and the deſtruction of *Samahal*; D whom for all that he ſtill entertained with all honor and kindneſſe due vnto a moſt louing father in law. But to preuent the malicious purpoſe of *Samahal*, hauing inuited him according to the cuſtome of a certain ſolemne feaſt, he acquainted certain companies of his moſt truſty and valiant ſouldiers with his determination, enjoyning them, that as ſoone as *Sahamal* was entred into his court, euen in the very diſmounting from his horſe they ſhould all fall vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the ſword. Which his cruell command was by them accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his horſe being ſlaine, and al his followers murdred, when forthwith was ſent forth by *Oſman* 2000 horſmen to ſpoile and ſacke all the country of the ſaid Georgian Lord, to the great maruell and aſtoniſhment both of far and neere. The Perſian king hearing of theſe news, tooke the matter grieuouſly, as E foreſeeing that the recouery of that country and prouince of Siruan would proue a matter of great difficulty, and fearing greatly that it would ſtill remaine (as indeed it doth) in the poſſeſſion of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks attempts againſt the Perſian in Siruan this yeare 1578, wherein they loſt aboue ſeuenty thouſand men, deuoured partly with the ſword, and partly with famine and the other miſeries of war. And ſo Winter comming on very ſharply, euery man withdrew himſelfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, vntill the comming on of the next Spring.

Sahamal ſlaine by Oſman.

Amurath aduertiſed by letters from *Muſtapha*, of all that had hapned in the late expedition againſt the Perſians, vpon theſe proſperous ſucceſſes (which the Baſſa had for the aduancing of his own credit deſcribed to be far greater than indeed they were) began to caſt many deuiſes in F his head, touching ſuch matters as were to be attempted the next yere. And firſt he thought it neceſſary to ſend his forces again into Sriuan, to recouer ſuch places as were firſt conquered by *Muſtapha*, but afterward againe ſubdued by the Perſian; ſo to eſtabliſh his gouernment in that country. But vpon better conſideration, he ceaſed further to think of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promiſed him by *Tatar Chan*, who had faithfully

The conſultations of Amurath

aſſured both him and *Oſman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters
in furtherance of the Turks deſignes: all which for all that fell out to be but windy words: yet G
in reſpect of this hope he laied Siruan aſide, and committed the defence thereof to the falſe
promiſes of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Oſman*. And placing his ambitious deſires with
more haughty thoughts, he began to deuiſe with himſelfe, for ſending his army directly to
Tauris, there to erect a fortreſſe; which being ſtrongly fortified and furniſhed with a garriſon
of moſt valiant ſoldiers, ſhould neuer be again ſubdued by all the power of Perſia; and by this
meanes to keep in ſubjection all thoſe great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum. Which
his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increaſed by the perſuaſion of
others, very inward with him; euery man being almoſt of opinion, That it was an eaſie matter
for ſo great an hoaſt in few daies to performe that ſeruice, and to pierce, not only into Tauris,
but further to paſſe whitherſoeuer he would eaſily deſire. Yet after he had more deeply con- H
ſidered of an enterpriſe of ſo great importance, and with more indifferent judgement compa-
red his own forces with his enemies, he began to find many difficulties and dangers, which in
the heat of his ambitious deſires he at the firſt ſaw not: for beſide the length and tediouſneſſe
of the journy, he doubted that in ſending his army for Tauris, it might be on the one ſide aſ-
ſailed by the Georgians (of whoſe obedience he had as yet no great aſſurance) & on the other
ſide by the Perſians, and ſo brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare, whenſo-
euer he ſhould haue occaſion to ſend new ſupplies vnto the fortreſſe by him intended at Tau-
ris. Whereupon laying aſide all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he reſolutely
concluded with himſelfe, firſt to make ſure his own borders, and afterwards by little and little
to enter into the enemies country, ſtill fortifying in conuenient places as he went; and ſo ſure- I
ly, although but ſlowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thruſting his army head-
long vpon vncertainties, into places ſtrongly fenced both by nature and the power of moſt
mighty enemies, to be inforced with ſhame to abandon the enterpriſes ſo haſtily begun.

Muſtapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his reſolution he aduertiſed *Muſtapha* by writing; giuing him in charge, againſt the
next Spring to prouide all ſuch things as ſhould be neceſſary for the building of certain forts
vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made thoſe waies ſafe,
and brought the people vnder his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters.
Whereupon *Muſtapha* preſently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damaſco,
Caraemit, & other places of Syria and Meſopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen, K
of pioners, and ſuch like, to the number of 20000: and likewiſe wrote to all the countries, out
of which he had raiſed his army the laſt yeare, That all their ſoldiers, (yea, and in greater num-
ber alſo) ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the next Spring, to returne to the wars. The rumour
whereof he cauſed euen to be ſpread as farre as Ægypt. He commanded alſo the taxes and
tenths of thoſe countries to be collected, and further, vſed the chambers of Aleppo, and other
places, for ſuch maſſes of mony as he thought neceſſary for theſe purpoſes.

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

Alexander conſtant in his Religion.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, ſent (as we haue before
ſaid) by *Muſtapha* to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, in doubtful hope expecting the end for which
they were both ſent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Maho-
metan religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* eaſily yeelded. Whereas on the other ſide *Alexander* L
his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to conſent to ſo infamous and
damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he ſhould therefore be depriued of his
ſtate: but proteſting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother; reque-
ſted only, that he might but as a priuat man go and liue in his countrey, there to be buried
amongſt his anceſtors. Which his requeſt the Turkiſh Emperor referred to the diſcretion of
Manucchiar, to do therin as he ſaw good: who conſented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was
circumciſed, and the name of *Muſtaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Baſſa and Gouernour of
Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had
his brother *Alexander* a Chriſtian, committed vnto him, and ſo both returned into their owne
countries. M

Emanguli Chan taketh vpon him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Perſian court at Caſbin, were many conſultations had for the repreſſing of the
inuaſions of the Turks. And among others carefull of thoſe matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernor
of Genge, doubting to loſe his honourable gouernment, by reaſon of the late ſacke of his city,
and ſpoile of his country by the Tartarian; by thoſe plots that were dayly in contriuing for
the

A the ſending of men into Siruan to impeach the deſignments of *Oſman Baſſa*, & if it were poſſible, to driue him out of Derbent, took occaſion to offer to the King, vpon pain of his head to defend Siruan, and not to ſuffer *Oſman* the Turk to attempt any new fortifications, or further conqueſts in that Prouince. Of which his offer the king accepted, and therupon the gouernment of Genge, & guarding of the country of Siruan againſt the forces of *Oſman*, was frankly committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris, Reiuan, and Naſſiuan, and to diuers other Captaines that were neereſt, to be ready at all times with their power to aſſiſt *Emanguli Chan*, if it ſhould fortune either the Tartarians or Turks, with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order ſo taken, was thought ſufficient for the ſecurity of that Prouince.

B But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euery man being almoſt of opinion, That ſome great power of the Turks ſhould bee ſent thither, for the more aſſurance of the conqueſt therof already begun, and for the ſuccour of the fortreſſe at Teflis, which muſt needs otherwiſe fal againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter ſo troubled the Perſian king, as that he ſeemed to haue bent his whole counſels and thoughts therupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captain (ſomtime priſoner with *Iſmahel* the late King, at Cahaca, and by the familiaritie he had with him, ſeduced from the Chriſtian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, choſen to liue depriued of his liberty and ſtate) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hands ſuch help as he had long deſired, for the recouery of his dominion vſurped by *Dauid*, otherwiſe called C *Daut Chan*, his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Chriſtian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull ſeruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian Country wherein Teflis ſtood (being in right, part of his own inheritance) againſt the Turks: reprouing by way of diſgrace, his younger brother of cowardiſe, and promiſing the performance of great matters in himſelfe, both for the defence of that euill defended country, and further annoying of the enemy. With great content did the Perſian King conſent to the requeſt of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdom which he poſſeſſed before whileſt he was a Chriſtian: and ſent with him *Aliculi Chan* into Georgia, with fiue thouſand horſemen, and certaine pieces of artillery taken at Eres, when *Caietas Baſſa* was ſlaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to Georgia, was ioyfully receiued of his countrymen, D and there preſſed about three thouſand ſoldiers of his owne and of his neighbours; excuſing himſelfe that he was become a Perſian, not becauſe he preferred the Mahometane ſuperſtition before the Chriſtian Religion; but only ſo to be deliuered from his long impriſonment, and by that meanes to maintaine his eſtate. And in this order were the affaires of Georgia aſſured and ſtrengthned in the beſt manner that might then be.

Simon with Aliculi Chan ſent for the defence of Georgia.

1579

The meeting together of the Turks army at Erzirum.

Now began the Spring to approch, and euery man prepared himſelfe to the diſcontinued trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at Erzirum, out of all the wonted prouinces, all the Turks forces; with all things neceſſary for the intended war. With this army, in all things equall with the firſt, *Muſtapha* ſet forward, and in twelue daies came to Chars, not perceiuing in his ſoldiers any ſigne of diſcontentment at all. And foraſmuch as here they E were to ſtay, and to fortifie both with wals and ditches that ruinated City, and that with as great ſpeed as was poſſible; there was no remedy, but that beſide the pioners and enginiers that were brought for that purpoſe, many of the Spaoglani, yea, and of the Ianizaries alſo, muſt be ſet to worke. Whereupon they all ſuddenly in a tumult, began with bitter proteſtations to tell the General, That their ſtipends wherwith it pleaſed the Sultan to fauor them, were not beſtowed vpon them to imploy their forces and vertues in ſuch ſeruile works; but onely with their ſwords and other weapons, to exerciſe that force and hardineſſe for which they were eſteemed worthy of that honour. Whereunto the Generall anſwered in moſt haughty termes, and not yeelding one jot to their inciuility, but vſing all meanes of authority and terrour, brought them to worke ſo much as he deſired. So that within the ſpace of 23 dayes the F towers and wall were erected, the ditches digged, the artillery orderly planted vpon the walls, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences hapned in the army while they were buſie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of Auguſt, when they had almoſt euen finiſhed the whole building, the ſouldiers endured a moſt ſudden cold by reaſon of the ſnow that then fell in great abundance.

Chars fortified in 23 daies ſpace.

Snows at Chars in Auguſt.

Chars thus fortified, the Generall reſolued to ſend ſuccors into Georgia to Teſlis; without which it was moſt certaine that the fortreſſe would be yeelded to the Georgians: but in what ſort to relieue it he remained doubtfull. To ſend part of his army with ſome valiant captaine ſeemed dangerous, and to go himſelfe with all his forces, would ſound (as he thought) to his diſcredit with his great Lord and Maſter; whom he had already made beleeue, that he had ſubdued the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this ambiguity, the deſire he had to preſerue his credit with *Amurath* preuailed: and ſo he made choice of *Haſſan Baſſa* ſon to *Mahomet* principall Viſier of the Court, a gallant gentleman, and of great valour, to whom he deliuered betweene eighteene and twenty thouſand ſoldiers; ioyning vnto him one *Reſuan* Captaine of certaine aduenturers that voluntarily offered themſelues to follow the forces of *Haſſan*; aſſigning vnto him likewiſe forty thouſand duckats, and many loads of rice, meale, and barley, with other things neceſſary both for diet and war, and ſo ſent him away for Teſlis.

Haſſan Baſſa ſent with twenty thouſand to the ſuccoring of Teſlis.

Haſſan with this charge ſet forward, fully reſolued to put theſe ſuccours into Teſlis, or to loſe all: and at length came to the famous ſtreit of Tomanis, where the ouergrowne woods on the one ſide, and the deep vallies & craggy rocks on the other, would aſtoniſh a right conſtant beholder. When vpon the ſudden, the Perſians & the Georgians, vnder the conduct of *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, at vnawares ſet vpon the Turks, and ioyned battell with them. For theſe two valiant captains remaining for the moſt part in the borders of Teſlis and Tomanis with 8000 ſoldiers, waiting for ſome opportunity to annoy either of them of the fort of Teſlis, or elſe ſuch as ſhould come to their ſuccors; vnderſtanding by their eſpials, of the comming of *Haſſan* with this aid, had ſcattered themſelues all alongſt the ſaid ſtreight, in hope there to aſſaile the Turks, and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into the deep valley, and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Haſſan* carefull of nothing more than how to auoid that danger, choſe rather to make his iourney through the thicke woods, and ſo as he might to eſcape the ambuſh that the enemy might lay for him vpon that ſtreight paſſage. And ſo entring with his army into the wood, which he was to haue left vpon his left hand, to diſcouer what might be plotted againſt him, he was hardly charged by the enemy, and conſtrained to fight with a thouſand windings and turnings in & out, thorow a thouſand crooked paths and doubtful cranks, in a moſt confuſed medly, with great ſlaughter of his men: who not accuſtomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the ſcituation of the place, were in the skirmiſh driuen ſo far, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer themſelues, were preſently ſlaine. And thus with much ado he at length paſſed the ſtreit of Tomanis. *Haſſan* deeming himſelfe much diſgraced, by ſuffering his enemies, in number ſo far inferior, to haue don him ſo much harme, and ſo to haue eſcaped his hands; and further, conſidering that in ſuch places ſleights & ſtratagems more auaile than open forces; burning with deſire of reuenge would needs ſtay neere vnto thoſe ſtreits, as if it had beene to refreſh his wearied army, but indeed to try if the Perſians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Reſuan Baſſa* with certain bands of the ſoldiers of Græce, and of his own aduenturers, to lie in ambuſh within the couert of the ſtreight, attentiue to euery ſtir of the enemy. Two daies the Turks army lay thus diuided, and were now reſolued the third day to remoue thence towards Teſlis: when as the Perſian captaines *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainely imagining that this ſtay of the Turks was for feare of the Perſians, fooliſhly returned and gaue a freſh onſet vpon the flanke of *Haſſans* ſquadrons. Who forthwith raiſed all his ſouldiers, and giuing a ſigne to *Reſuan*, with all ſpeed compaſſed in his enemies, and ſtreightening them on both ſides, tooke ſome of them aliue, cut in pieces otherſome, and put all the reſt to flight. Among others that were taken aliue, was *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian Captaine, who ouer raſhly charging vpon the face of *Haſſan*, fell into his hand. The next day following (being the eleuenth day after *Haſſans* departure from Chars) he ioyfully arriued at Teſlis, where he found among the poore beſieged Turks many miſeries; whereof ſome were already dead, and ſome yet ſicke: for they were ſo plagued with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horſes, but euen the very skinnes of the ſame horſes, of ſheepe, and of dogs, and in ſuch moſt miſerable wants had paſſed the time: whom *Haſſan* at his arriuall comforted with gifts and good words; exhorting them to perſiſt conſtant in the ſeruice of their King, whoſe honour (as he ſaid) was neuer more than there to be reſpected. And for as much as the ſouldiers of the Fort did with one voice requeſt *Haſſan* to

The Perſians aſſaile the Turks, and make of thē a great ſlaughter.

The Perſians ouerthrown, and Aliculi Chan taken.

The miſery of the Turks in gariſon at Teſlis.

appoint

A appoint them a new Gouernour, becauſe they did all miſlike *Mahamet Baſſa*, who the laſt yeare was left by the Generall in that fort, *Haſſan* remoued the ſaid *Mahamet*, and put *Amurath Baſſa* in his place: and ſo after he had filled vp the places of the dead ſouldiers with a new ſupply, and ſet all things in order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and cuſtody of the fort to their truſt and valor. *Haſſan* returning from Teflis, and being without any trouble come to the ſtreit of Tomanis, was aduertiſed by his ſcouts, That it was ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the enemy, and ſo ſhut vp with artillery, as that it was not to be paſſed through: for *Simon* thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Haſſan* would returne that way, had ſo belaied that ſtreit, as that the Turks could not without moſt aſſured loſſe paſſe the ſame: which thing much troubled the Baſſa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his iourny ſome other way, B and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtfull what to do, or which way to turne himſelfe, *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian (who to purchaſe his liberty could haue beene content to haue done any thing) offered *Haſſan* to ſhew him a ſhort and ſafe cut, whereby he might without danger paſſe with his army out of that troubleſome country; yet couenanting before, that he ſhould promiſe him to ſet him at liberty for his ſo good ſeruice. Which his requeſt the Baſſa did not ſticke in large maner to promiſe, although he afterwards to his great diſhonor performed not the ſame. So bending his iourny on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through ſtrange and vncouth waies, out of thoſe woods and dangers, not meeting ſo much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Perſian Duke well hoping for his liberty, put the Turke in minde of his promiſe; he with deep and feigned ſighs C proteſted, That he was right ſorry that he could not performe what he had promiſed to do for him, foraſmuch as it lay not in his power to ſet any man at liberty, that was taken in battell by the ſoldiers of his great lord and ſoueraigne: yet gaue him his faith, that ſo far as his intreaties and fauors with the Generall *Muſtapha* could preuaile, he would vſe all the moſt earneſt means he could, to procure his liberty and returne to his own country.

Simon deſtroies the rerewarde of Haſſans Army, & taketh from him his treaſure.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turks were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithfull ſpies, that it was ſo indeed, he ran all headlong, & as it were deſperat, to meet with this ſo happy an army. And al inflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turks, he fel vpon the taile of the Turkiſh hoſt, which with vnmeaſurable fury he wholly deſtroied, leading away with him all the people, all D the horſes, and all the treaſure of *Mahamet Baſſa* which he brought from Teflis, and all the treaſure of *Haſſan Baſſa* likewiſe. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* moſt greedily ſought for, he was ſent away in the front of the army, ſo that he was not to be reſcued. *Haſſan* holding on his way, came to Chars in the ſpace of eight daies after his departure from Teflis, and there preſented vnto *Muſtapha* the Generall, the Perſian captaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the danger he had indured, and whatſoeuer els had happed in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunate Perſian was by the commandement of *Muſtapha* carried to Erzirum, and there in the caſtle committed to priſon. Not long after, *Muſtapha* returned himſelfe alſo to the ſaid city of Erzirum, with his army ſore weakned and diſcontented, which was there preſently by him diſcharged.

Muſtapha returneth to Erzirum, & there diſchargeth his Army.

About the ſame time that theſe things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a ſafer and more eaE ſie paſſage for his forces into Georgia, ſent *Vluzales* his Admirall with a great fleet into the Euxine ſea to Mengrelia, called in antient time Cholchis; who entering the famous riuer of Phaſis (now Faſſa) there fortified, and laid ſuch a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegſhips, although thoſe fortifications ſhortly after the departure of the Admiral, were for the preſent againe by the Mengrelians demoliſhed. And this was the end of the ſtirres of this yeare 1579.

Of all theſe ſucceſſes *Muſtapha* afterwards ſent aduertiſements to the court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of Chars, the deſerts of *Haſſan*, as well for the ſuccouring of Teflis, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Perſian. And becauſe the ſaid general had the yere before perſuaded *Amurath*, That the country of Georgia and the people thereof were brought vnder F his obedience, to the end that he ſhould not maruell at ſo many loſſes and ſo many battels, and therby doubt of ſome falſe informations, he declared vnto him, that al theſe troubles were not raiſed by the natural and homebred Georgians, but by two certain captains *Aliculi* and *Simon* ſent out of Perſia, who had made all theſe ſtirs: of which one of them now remained with him in priſon, for him to determine of at his pleaſure. With great delight did the Turkiſh Empe-

Haſſan Baſſa for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath.

Haſſan Baſſa for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath.

approued all that *Muſtapha* had written, and by two of the Gentlemen of his chamber ſent to *Haſſan* a harquebuſe all gilt and ſet full of ſtones, a targuet of gold and pearle, and a rich garment of G
cloth of gold, in reward of his good ſeruice; for which he greatly commended him, and withall gaue order, That *Aliculi* ſhould be kept where he was in the caſtle of Erzirum, in diligent and ſafe cuſtody.

Theſe inuaſions of the Turks much troubled the Perſian King in his court at Casbin, conſidering, that now they had both throughly acquainted themſelues with all the paſſages into Georgia (in the difficulty and roughneſſe whereof conſiſted the chiefe defence of that prouince) as alſo that diuers of the Georgian Princes were more than inclining vnto the Turks ſeruice; ſo that he could not but juſtly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble cities of Media the greater, yea and peraduenture euen vnto Tauris before any H
of the reſt. Which his care of foreine inuaſion was doubled with domeſticall feares; *Mirize Salman* his chiefe Viſier, and vpon whom he moſt reſted, ſtill filling his head with a jealous ſuſpition, That *Abas Mirize* his ſon (made gouernor of Heri by *Tamas* his grandfather) was about in theſe troubles with the Turks to proclaime himſelfe king of Perſia, to the great ignominy of his father, and prejudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt brother, the worthy and vndoubted heire of that kingdome. This *Mirize Salman* (according to his longing deſire) had married a daughter of his to the ſaid *Emir Hamze*, with the conſent of the king his father: but yet not content with that honour, ceaſed not continually with ambitious deuiſes, to ſeeke out meanes how to bring to paſſe, that the Perſian eſtate might wholly remaine to his ſon in law, vndiuided and entire from the participation of his brethren; & therfore little regarding the perils that might I
happen from the Turks, and blinded with the deſire of his owne greatneſſe, he went about to turne the King (being a man very credulous and inconſiderat) againſt *Abas Mirize*; either to take him and commit him to priſon, or at leaſt to bereaue him of all authority and command.

And the better to perſuade the king thereunto, he diſcouered vnto him how little *Abas Mirize* his ſonne had reſpected him in diuers occaſions; and that in theſe late wars he had not ſo much as ſent forth one man againſt the Turks, but had forbidden ſuch as were of his juriſdiction of Heri, to come to Casbin, at ſuch time as they were ſummoned both by letters and commandement, to haue paſſed with *Emir Hamze* into Siruan; by reaſon whereof not one of them would ſtir a foot, anſwering, That they were enjoyned ſo to do by *Abas Mirize* their lord; who had not only cauſed himſelf to be called king of Heri, but had giuen it out, that he meant K
to claime the ſucceſſion in the whole kingdome. Theſe complaints much preuailed with the king, both in reſpect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt ſon, and alſo of the credit he gaue to the Viſier: eſpecially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the ſaid Viſier; who as he was very cunning in ſuch practiſes of himſelfe, ſo did he make them much more effectuall with the effeminate king, by the meanes of diuers great Ladies, and other deuiſes that were to him very familiar and vſuall. Inſomuch that the King carried away with light beleefe, did continually bethinke himſelf how to find opportunity to repreſſe the boldneſſe of his diſobedient ſon: not forgetting for all that, to make ſuch preparation againſt the Turks, as ſhould be ſufficient to ſtay their paſſage to Tauris, if they had any purpoſe ſo to do. But leauing the L
Perſian King to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks Generall, the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*.

Muſtapha diſcharged of his Generalſhip, & called home to Conſtantinople.

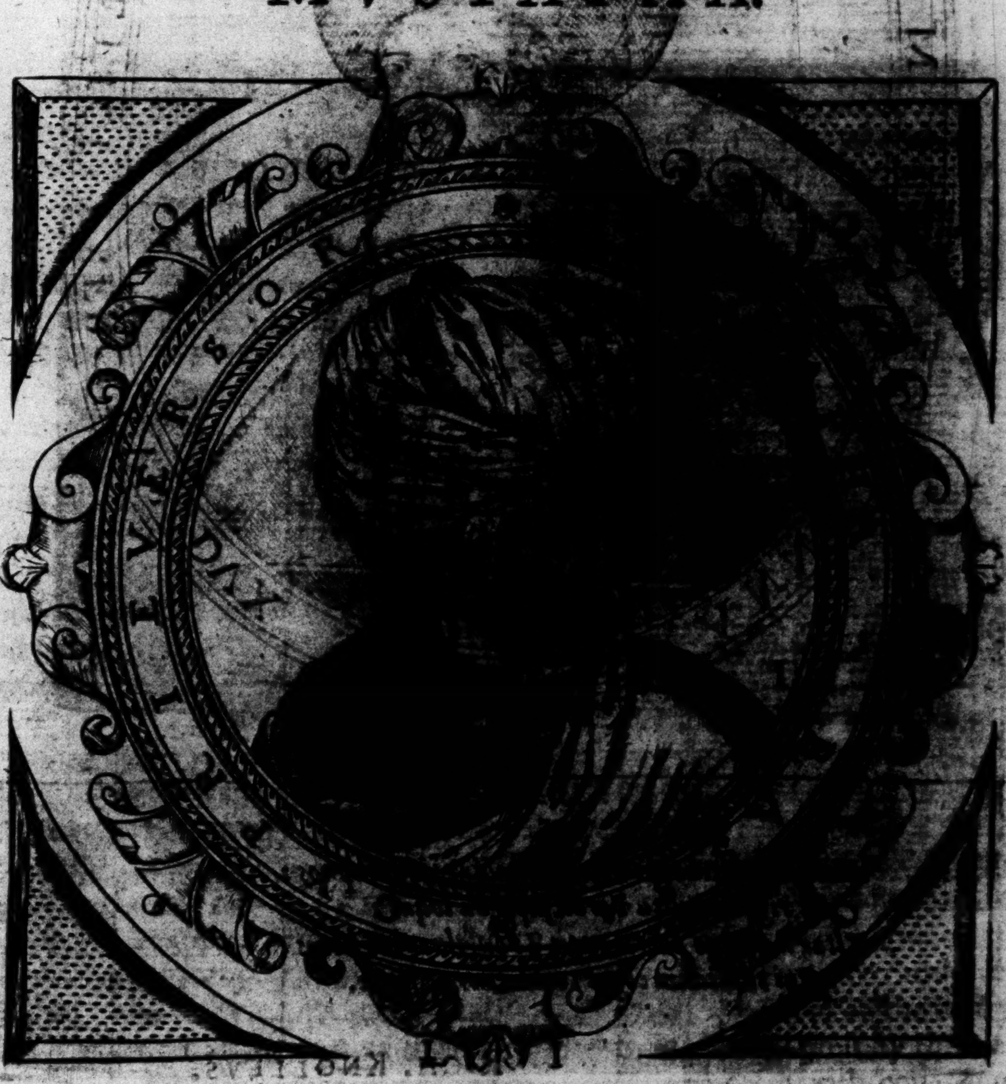
He now lying at Erzirum, after many troubles abroad, was ſurpriſed and almoſt ouerwhelmed with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, whereby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalſhip, and to cal him to the Court to giue account of his actions. Which ſeemed not to be done without cauſe, he hauing before raiſed a great diſcontentment in the minde of *Amurath*, by ſending ſuch a ſtrong power to the ſuccors of Teflis: whereby he conjectured, that the affaires of Georgia were not in ſuch ſecurity as *Muſtapha* had already informed him they were, and alſo generally offended the minds of the ſoldiers of his army, who all in an vprore, accuſed him of improuidency and M
prodigality, for that now this ſecond yeere he had with ſo much ado gathered together ſuch a number of ſoldiers, to the trouble of the whole empire, and infinit charge of their lord, and yet performed nothing worthy the glory of *Amurath*, or anſwerable to ſo great a charge. Which complaints although they were of ſome moment, yet would the Turkiſh emperor for the great fauours he bare vnto him his antient Tutor, neuer haue conſtrued them ſo hardly againſt him,

A as for the ſame to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterate enuy of *Sinan Baſſa* had not miniſtred ſtrength and force to theſe hard accuſations, and ſet (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

A compariſon betwixt Sinan Baſſa and Muſtapha, two ancient enemies both to themſelues and the Chriſtian commonweale.

But foraſmuch as the courſe of time, and proceſſe of the preſent hiſtory, bringeth now forth theſe two mighty champions of the Turks together (the enuious competitors the one of the others honors, who liuing many yeares together, haue left the woſull remembrance of their greatneſſe and valor vnto the World, but eſpecially vnto the afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were yet bleeding) ſtay with me a while, and without griefe, if thou canſt, behold the liuely counterfeits of two ſo great enemies (who both liued within theſe few yeares, and the later of them died but the other day) as they are by the skilfull hand of the cunning workeman moſt perfectly deſcribed, and thus to be ſeene. B

MVSTAPHA.

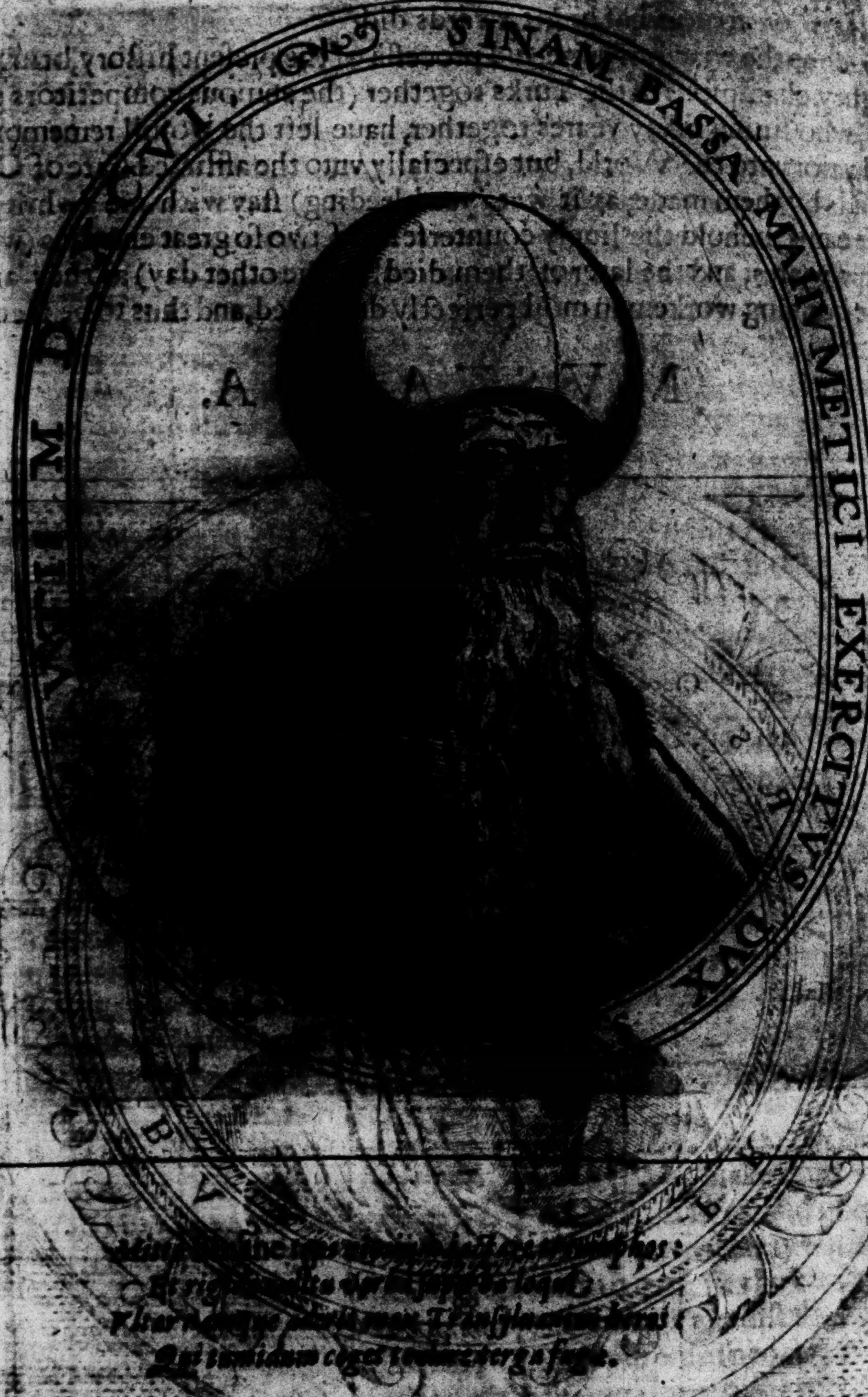


Quid Cyprum iactas? Quid [illegible]
Quid fuſos Perſas? Quid [illegible]
Dum te perfidia damnat Bragadinus, [illegible] *ipſe*
Theupulus *indigna morte peremptus erit.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What do'ſt thou boaſt of Cyprus won? or of the [illegible]
What of the Perſians put to flight? or of thy [illegible]
Whileſt *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of [illegible]
And *Theupulus* to thy diſgrace, a ſhamefull death did die.

SINAN.


SINAM BASSA MAHVMETICI EXERCITVS DVX
M D XCVI

Mitte Sinan tumidos nimium iactare triumphos;
Et rigido vultu [illegible] loqui.
Vltor namque aderit iam Tranſsyluanorum heros,
Qui tumidum coget vertere terga fugæ.

Rich. Knollevs.

Proud *Sinan* ceaſe to vaunt too much of thy great trophies woon,
Or with ſterne looke for to extoll the deeds by thee erſt done:
For why? the Tranſyluanian Prince will take reuenge of thee,
And ſwelling in thy greateſt pride enforce thee for to flee.

R. Knolls.

This *Sinan* was a deadly enemy to *Muſtapha*, and in all things thought himſelfe his match. For if *Muſtapha* had ſubdued Cyprus, he had conquered Tripolis, Guletta, with the kingdome of Tunes in Africke: and if *Muſtapha* were a man of great courage, and feared for his yeares, *Sinan* would be his equall both in the one and the other; yea, and did not ſticke to thinke

A think himſelf the better too, for that in the enterpriſe of Giamen in Arabia he performed
ſuch an exploit as *Muſtapha* neuer durſt, nor yet knew how to put in execution, ſo carying away
the glory of that famous conqueſt: for which euer after there was between them a continuall
heart-burning, one of them enuying at the others glory, and both in word and deed (as occa-
ſions fel out) in all things oppoſing themſelues one againſt another. At laſt happens this op-
portunity for *Sinan*; who taking the occaſion of many complainers againſt *Muſtapha*, cauſed a
great number of them to frame their ſupplications to *Amurath*, which he for his part did in
moſt malignant maner inforce and exaggerate againſt his old aduerſary; accuſing him, That
this ſecond year he had moſt manifeſtly ſhewed himſelſe to haue gon vnto the Wars not as a
worthy General deſirous of noble and honourable enterpriſes, but as a man that would make
B merchandiſe of bloud, and of his ſoldiers payes, imploying the moſt liberal prouiſion of corn
and money not as the rewards of well-deſeruing men, not to the erecting of ſuch fabrickes as
were needful, and might haue bin built therwithal, but onely to his own proper gain, ſo to in-
rich himſelf with his peoples loſſes, to the great ſhame of his Lord, and conſuming of the
publique treaſure: adding herunto, That if the things don by *Muſtapha* were well ſearched, it
would be found that he had neglected many good opportunities, attempted many things in
vain, and not don any good either to the Emperor or his ſoldiers, but only to himſelf. Whom
rather than they would follow again as their General, al his people in an vprore ſhewed them-
ſelues ready and willing to aduenture themſelues to any other far greater labour that by their
Lord and Soueraign ſhould be commanded them.

Sinan accuſeth Muſtapha to Amurath.

C These and ſuch like complaints, with the hard opinion already conceiued againſt him by
Amurath, were the occaſion why he reſolued to put him from his place. Beſides that, he ſuppo-
ſed it a thing dangerous to his ſtate, to ſuffer one and the ſelf ſame General any long time to
command ouer ſo great armies; deeming it not ſo much for his honor, ſtil to imploy one man,
as to ſhew that he had varietie and choice of ſubiects worthy of ſo great a charge. Wherfore
being deſirous to find out the truth of that was reported vnto him concerning *Muſtapha*, hee
ſent the chief of his gentlemen porters with fifteen others, to bring him to the court, with his
Chancellor and Treaſurer, to ſhew the accounts of ſuch monies as he had receiued, & to giue
vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this meſſenger had *Amurath* deliuered three diuers
letters, which he ſhould warily ſhew as occaſion ſerued: one of them was ſo written, of purpoſe
D that *Muſtapha* in the receiuing therof might by the ſame meſſengers be ſtrangled: in the ſe-
cond was the Emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded: and in the
third was contained, That *Muſtapha* ſhould forthwith ſend his Chauncellor and Treaſurer to
the court by theſe meſſengers. *Muſtapha* in the mean time by diuers means, but eſpecially by
the guilt of his own conſcience, venting the emperors diſpleaſure toward him, and ſuſpecting
(as the truth was) his life to be by thoſe meſſengers ſought after; at ſuch time as the Captain
porter came to his camp, found many delaies to put him off, and would not in any caſe be ſpo-
ken withall. But when the meſſenger would endure no longer delay, he was at length admit-
ted to his preſence; hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his companions
might not ſtir, or approch neerer vnto him, the Baſſa's gard ſtanding in arms round about him.
E The meſſenger perceiuing the Baſſa's warines, wilily pluckt forth the third letters, touching
the ſending of his Chancellor and Treaſurer to the court. Then began the crafty old Baſſa to
find many excuſes to haue delaied the matter; but being hardly preſt by the meſſenger, and
ſeeing no other remedy, he with much difficulty deliuered them both; couenanting firſt with
the meſſenger, to haue their liues ſpared. Who comming to Conſtantinople, were forthwith
clapt faſt in the tower called Iadicula, as there to haue bin ſeuerely examined of al the Baſſa's
doings. But *Muſtapha* after long delay comming at length to Conſtantinople the 9 of Aprill
the Spring following, and vſing the mighty and potent mediation of diuers great Ladies and
other his gracious friends in court, preuailed ſo much in that corrupt gouernment, as that hee
was again at length receiued into *Amuraths* fauour, without any further proceeding againſt
F him, his Chancellor or Treaſurer; who by his means were afterwards alſo inlarged & ſet at
liberty: yet was he neuer after admitted to thoſe honors which he perſuaded himſelf were of
right due vnto him, for his good and faithful ſeruice of long time don to the *Othoman* Em-
perours.

Io. Leuncl. in ſuppl. Annal. Turc. p. 79.

Muſtapha reconciled to Amurath.

In this time that *Muſtapha* was General at Erzirum, *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa was trea-

cherouſly ſlaine at Conſtantinople,after whom ſhortly after died alſo *Achmet Baſſa*,who ſuc-
ceeded in his place : ſo that the ſoueraigne dignity, in honour next vnto the Turkiſh Empe- G
rour,was by rightfull ſucceſſion due to *Muſtapha* the next Baſſa ; but that he was not thought
worthy of it by him that might, and of right ought, to haue gratified him therewith, as ſhall
be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefly ſet downe the ſudden and ſtrange death of
the ſaid *Muhamet* the Viſier,worthy in all Hiſtories to be regiſtred,as a mirrour for all ſuch as
adminiſter iuſtice in ſo great place, to look vpon.

The ſtrange death of the great Viſier Baſſa Muhamet.

This Baſſa,a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Othoman* em-
pire,in the time that he all commanded, had for ſome light cauſes depriued a certain ſouldier
of Conſtantinople, of his yearely penſion, which with many labours and dangers he had got-
ten to maintaine himſelfe ; which penſion, the Baſſa beſtowed vpon another ſouldier, ſo that
the other poore ſoule remained in miſery,altogether vnprouided for. Vnto which miſerable H
eſtate ſeeing himſelfe now brought,and not guilty to himſelf of any fault worthy ſo great pu-
niſhment,he determined with himſelf to reuenge the iniury with the bloud of that great Baſ-
ſa,and to bereaue him of life,that had bereft him of liuing:which becauſe he could not by any
fit means put in execution(by reaſon of the guard of ſlaues that keep the perſon of the Viſier,
ſo that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except he could by ſome
means acquaint himſelf in the Viſiers houſe,and ſo inſinuat himſelf into his acquaintance,he
reſolued to take vpon him the rude habit of thoſe religious which the Turks call Deruiſlars,
and after their manner to preſent himſelfe euery morning before the Viſier to aske his almes :
and ſo he did,counterfeiting withall a certain kind of folly and lightnes of mind, as do thoſe I
Deruiſlars, to make the people beleeue, that they contemne all worldly things, as men raui-
ſhed only with heauenly cogitations;which yet was by ſome that knew him, thought to haue
hapned in him,through the griefe he had conceiued for the loſſe of his ſtipend.*Muhamet* not
only the firſt time,but alſo at all other times that this counterfeit hipocrit came before him,
cauſed him to be comforted with his almes,and as it were with a kind of priuat ſtipend,enioi-
ned him euery morning to come to him into the Diuano, and there together with others ap-
pointed for the ſame purpoſe,to ſay his deuout prayers, and in ſinging praiſes to their wicked
Prophet,to intreat God for his ſaluation : for it is a cuſtome of all the noblemen, that at ordi-
nary hours of prayers,all their prieſts aſſemble themſelues in the Diuano,which is made rea-
dy for them,and there all together the Infidell wretches do with their vnclean mouths mum- K
ble vp their ſuperſtitious praiers,or rather moſt abhominable blaſphemies.By this means did
this diſſembling companion ſo inſinuat himſelf into the Viſiers acquaintance,that the coun-
terfet foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleaſure,no man gainſaying either his going
in or comming out,but daily ſat in the preſence of the Viſier,& ſo hauing ſaid his payers,and
taken his almes,with al reuerence quietly departed. At laſt when the crafty hypocrit thought
that the time was come wherin he might moſt fitly execute his purpoſe, hauing vtterly reſol-
ued with himſelfe to die,ſo that he might ſatisfie the deſire he had of reuenge,ſo long couert-
ly foſtred in his heart,hauing conueied a very ſharp dagger ſecretly into one of his ſleeues, he
went according to his cuſtome,to require his almes, with an aſſured reſolution (when hee had
ſaid his praiers,and reached out his hands to receiue his woonted almes) ſpeedily to charge L
vpon the Viſier,and with the dagger to ſtrike him to the heart. According to the accuſtomed
manner was the counterfeit hypocrit (for who would euer haue ſuſpected ſo long and ſo trai-
terous a deſignment)admitted into the Diuano,where *Muhamet* the Viſier ſat in his houſe, to
giue publick audience,and after the vſual maner,before any of the ſutors that attended for an-
ſwers and diſpatch of their buſines ſuſpected any ſuch deceit,he was admitted neer to the Vi-
ſier,and ſitting right againſt him, according to his old wont poured out thoſe vain deuotions
which thoſe hypocritical Barbarians vſe to mumble vp in their praiers:which being finiſhed,
whilſt the Viſier ſimply reacheth vnto him his wonted almes, the traiterous villaine in recei-
uing it,ſuddenly drew out his dagger,and once or twice ſtabbed it into the Viſiers breaſt,out
of which ſo deadly wounds guſhed out his bloud and life together. Wherupon the ſtanders M
by aſtonied with the ſtrangeneſſe of the act,ran in,but lo,the old hoary Viſier lay all ſoiled in
his own bloud,deadly pale,and breathing forth his laſt gaſp.The miſchieuous murderer they
preſently laid hands vpon,& bound him faſt:but the rumor of the ſtrange fact did by & by fly
to the Emperors ears : who ſuſpecting that ſome of the other great Baſſa's deſiring to mount
into

A into that high dignity, had prouoked the traitor to do this deteſtable act, would needs vnderſtand of the traiterous murderer, what occaſion had moued him ſo trecherouſly to kill his Viſier. Who reſolutely anſwered him, That he did it to deliuer the city of Conſtantinople from the tyranny of him, by whom he was vndeſeruedly depriued of his penſion. But when he could get no other anſwer of him, he deliuered him into the hands of the ſlaues of the dead Viſier, who with moſt exquiſit torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him ſucceeded *Achmetes* the next Baſſa, who (as is before ſaid) ſhortly after died alſo, ſo that it was now *Muſtapha* his courſe to ſucceed in that chief room, for that he was the third in the order of the Baſſa's. But when he had vſed al the means that he poſſibly could, to haue obtained that ſo honorable a place by order due vnto him, yet could he not find B ſo much grace in the ſight of *Amurath* his great Lord, as to haue it granted him vnder ſeale, although in effect he made him ſit as Viſier, and all matters of ſtate were brought vnto him as chief Vizier; but in his ſtead the ſeale was ſent to *Sinan Baſſa*, who was now made Generall for the Perſian wars. Which diſgrace not a little diſcontented *Muſtapha*, fearing leſt ſome other ſtrange accident ſhould in ſhort time light vpon him.

After that *Muſtapha* was thus diſplaced from his Generalſhip, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan Baſſa* to be Generall in his ſtead for this expedition againſt the Perſians, and for the preſeruation of Chars and Teflis, giuing him ſoueraign authority to command, and to ſet in order all ſuch preparations as he ſhould think neceſſary for ſuch enterpriſes as he ſhould thinke good to attempt in his firſt yeare: who although by reaſon of his great fauour, he grew haughty and C glorious, yet did he not foreſlow to diſcourſe throughly with himſelfe vpon all his deſignements: and namely, beſide the ſuccouring of Teflis, he determined to build a fort at Tomanis, to aſſure the paſſage thither from Chars; and withall to attempt all the means he could to induce the Perſian king to ſend Embaſſadours for peace, with ſuch conditions as ſhould be acceptable to *Amurath*. With theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes did he buſie himſelfe whilſt he was yet making preparation to ſet forwards toward Erzirum.

1580

Sinan Baſſa choſen General for the Perſian warre.

Of all theſe changes and alterations was the Perſian King aduertiſed, as alſo that this new Turkiſh General *Sinan* was careful, how this long war might by ſome means be appeaſed, and a good peace concluded. Vpon which occaſion, & by the perſuaſion of *Leuent Ogli* the Georgian, and of *Mirize Salmas* the Viſier, he was induced to ſend embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, D to demand peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which reſolution he diſpatched *Maxut Chan* (of ſome called *Maxudes*) his Embaſſadour, with direction that he ſhould go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue guids to conduct him to Conſtantinople with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of all theſe troubles: and in any caſe to conclude vpon it, ſo that he would be content with Chars and Teflis. With theſe inſtructions the Embaſſador departed, and at length arriued at Chars, and ſo came to Erzirum, and was from thence conducted towards Amaſia. But when he came to Siuas, he found *Sinan* the Generall there incamped, gathring together his army for the execution of his deſignments: for *Sinan* vpon the arriual of *Muſtapha*, departing from Conſtantinople the 25 day of April, was now come ſo far on his way. Of the comming of this Embaſſador, the Turks receiued great ioy, and news thereof E was in poſt ſent by *Cicala Baſſa* to the Court. The Perſian Embaſſadour informed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalf of King *Mahamet*; and laboured earneſtly to perſuade him, of the equity of the cauſe, and of his requeſt: declaring to him, That foraſmuch as both the nations were conioined vnder the law of *Mahomet* their common Prophet (though there ſeemed ſome ſmal difference not worth thoſe troubles) it were a very inconuenient thing for them to contend among themſelues, and to ſeek the ouerthrow or vtter deſtruction of one another: and that therfore he was in good hope to obtain of *Amurath* this deſired peace, if he had no other cauſe wherwith he found himſelf agrieued, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he beſought the Generall, that he would with ſafe conuoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were poſſible, theſe bloudy wars might take end, at the very report wherof, the reſt of F the world reioyced, and ſtood attentiuely waiting to ſee what would be the iſſue thereof.

The Perſian King ſendeth Maxut Chan his Embaſſador to Amurath.

This embaſſador, *Sinan* entertained after the beſt manner the rudeneſſe of his nature would afford: and thinking that the very fame of his valor, had wrought in the minds of his enemies this reſolution to come to demand peace, granted vnto the Embaſſador a ſure conuoy to con-

The admonition of Sinan to the Perſian Embaſſadour.

duct him to Conſtantinople, and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, repreſenting to him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now be obtained. But before he diſmiſſed the ſaid Embaſſador, he aduiſed him not to go to *Amurath*, without reſolution to offer vnto him ſome great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him all that countrey which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* very wel, that he was reſolued in himſelf, not to yeeld ſo much as one hand bredth of that ground which he had woon with the ſword. Which motion of the proud Baſſa ſo troubled the Embaſſadour, that fearing he ſhould not be able to conclude any thing, he ſtood in doubt, whether to proceed on his journy to Conſtantinople, or to return back again into Perſia: but conſidering better what belonged to his duty in ſo weighty a buſines, and hoping to receiue more reaſonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himſelf, he gaue large words to *Sinan*, and ſo with a ſafe conuoy departed from Siuas, and by long journies came to Scutari, and ſo paſſing ouer that little ſtreit, the fourth of Auguſt arriued at Conſtantinople.

The preparations of the Perſian king againſt the Turks.

The Perſian King in the mean time, ſtirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations, to cauſe it to be noiſed, that he likewiſe intended ſome important matters, commanded all the Chans and Gouernors of his kingdom, to meet together with all their forces at Tauris, where he himſelfe with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his ſonne met them. And after many conſultations there had for the repreſſing of the Turkiſh inuaſion (for as yet it was not certainly known what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he reſolued to ſend ſoldiers into Georgia towards Teflis, whither of neceſſity, ſuccors muſt be ſent by the Turks to them of the fort: and withall, determined alſo to goe himſelfe with all his army from Tauris, to Caracach, a place very commodious and neer, to guard both Tauris and Siruan, being ſcituat euen in the middeſt between the one and the other, and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*, whoſe ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted, that he to ſurmount *Muſtapha*, would attempt ſome greater enterpriſe; yea peraduenture to run euen vpon Tauris. But when it came to the point, that he ſhould ſend ſome of his Captains into Georgia, he made choice of ſuch as had beſt experience of thoſe Countries, and were neereſt vnto them: with whom he ſent *Tocomac* alſo, and the reſt whoſe ſeruice he had before vſed againſt the Turks; commanding them to ioine their forces with *Simon* the Georgian, and by all meanes poſſible to annoy the enemie: whom if they ſhould perceiue to bend for Tauris, they ſhould not faile to follow him; to the end they might ioine together with him, and ſo encounter the enemies army. All thoſe Captains were reſolute men, and led with them ten thouſand ſouldiers; which being ioined with them of Georgia, amounted to the number of thirteen thouſand: who arriuing at Genge, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their comming, and that in his behalfe they were ready to do great matters.

Now was the Perſian Embaſſador with all due honour receiued at Conſtantinople, where he was honorably entertained by the great Baſſa's of the Court; but eſpecially by *Muſtapha*, who within two days after ſuddenly died; of a ſurfet taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleaſant drink which the Turks vſe made of water and ſugar:) but moſt men thought him to haue poiſoned himſelfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be again inflamed by the new complaints of the Perſian embaſſador againſt him, for that he in the time of his Generalſhip, had diſhonorably ſuppreſſed certain embaſſages ſent from the Perſian king; which he now fearing to be called in queſtion for, the former ſtorms as yet ſcarſe well appeaſed, made himſelfe now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if he had longer liued, he ſhould haue been vndoubtedly ſtrangled: which to preuent, he became the worthy executioner of himſelfe, that had moſt vniuſtly cauſed others to be moſt ſhamefully murdred. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time ſcraped together, was immediatly after his death taken into the Kings treaſuries, ſome ſmal portion thereof being left vnto his nephews: a moſt certain token of *Amuraths* indignation againſt him. The Perſian embaſſador hauing audience the 7 of Auguſt, with many liuely reaſons & much eloquence, perſuaded the Turkiſh Emperor to deſiſt from the war begun, as contrary to the will & pleaſure of their common Prophet *Mohomet*: as alſo to the peace, which was ſo roially, & with ſo many capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his Grandfather; and was not to haue bin broken, and wars raiſed, but vpon ſome great quarrell or injurie don; which the

A Perſians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wiſhed vnto him all happineſſe, as they
had manifeſtly declared, by ſending vnto him an Embaſſage to that purpoſe by Sultan *Tamas*:
wherby he might plainly perceiue the good mind and zeal the Perſian King had for the
maintenance of the peace. And although in the ſhort reign of *Iſmahel* there was a rumour raiſed,
That he meant to go vnto Babylonia, and ſome ſuch other like newes; yet that was but a
youthfull part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to ſuch as beeing kept
long in priſon, canot vſe their liberty with moderation, and had therfore receiued due puniſhment
for it, by ſudden and vnexpected death. But as for the King that now is, he did aboue all
other embrace amity with his Majeſty, and therfore did moſt earneſtly deſire, that it would
pleaſe him to temper his anger conceiued, which had inſenced him to take vp armes againſt
B a King ſo much his friend, being of the ſame religion, and better affected towards him than
all the reſt of the Nations in the world.

This Embaſſador the Turkiſh Emperor diſmiſſed without any reſolution at all, but only
gaue order, That whatſoeuer he had to ſay touching this peace, hee ſhould communicate it
with his Viſier. Many were the diſcourſes that hapned; for that the Turks required all thoſe
cities and countries which til that time he had conquered with the ſword, or (as their proud
maner of phraſe is) wheron his Generals horſe had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the
Embaſſador on the other ſide had no warrant from his King to yeeld more than that part of
Georgia which is on this ſide the riuer of Araxis. Wherupon the ſaid Embaſſador began to
fear leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected for a Spy, and ſo be euil intreated: wherewithall he did finde
C himſelf too manifeſtly charged by the hard ſpeech which the Viſier vſed toward him. Being
thus doubtfull whereupon to reſolue, perceiuing himſelfe ſtrained to the grant of theſe demands,
and receiuing alſo ſome threats withall, he determined with himſelfe to inlarge his
ſpeeches with the Viſier in diuers and ſundry particulars, and to giue him good hope that he
ſhould be able to perſuade his King to yeeld vp ſo much as *Amurath* had and did demand.
Herupon was *Maxut Chan* in friendly maner and without any outrage ſent from Conſtantinople
to Chars, and commiſſion giuen to *Sinan* (then at Chars) That without delay hee ſhould
faithfully cauſe the Embaſſador to be conducted to Van, and from thence into Perſia wherſoeuer
he did deſire. All which was faithfully performed.

But to return again to *Sinan* the Generall, who from Sivas had ſent the ſaid Embaſſadour
D to Conſtantinople (as is before declared) & being departed thence arriued at Erzirum, where
he took a ſuruey of his army and other prouiſion neceſſary for this expedition: and ſo from
thence was now come to Chars, from whence he diſpatched the Perſian Embaſſadour, much
diſcontented that no other concluſion for peace could be wrought.

Sinan muſters his army.

Maxut Chan at laſt arriuing at the Perſian court, reported vnto the king all that had hapned
in this his embaſſage: the ſum wherof was, That *Amurath* would not condiſcend vnto any
condition of peace, vnleſſe the whole countrey of Sirvan were yeelded vnto him, for that hee
had once (as he ſaid) conquered the ſame. Neither did he forbear to tel the King the ſuſpition
Amurath had conceiued of him, to haue bin a ſpie rather than an Embaſſadour, and of the
large promiſes he was fain to make to the Turk, to auoid the manifeſt danger of impriſoment
E or death: all which for all that now lay in his Majeſties power to perform or not. The King
for the preſent remained well ſatisfied with that which *Maxut* had don, and in reward of his
great trauel and expences gaue him the charge of the Chamber at Tauris, naming him the
Chamberlain of that rich and great city. Of which new office (though very honorable and of
great importance) he took ſmal pleaſure, for that *Emir Chan* his antient enemy was chief gouernor
of that city, from whom he feared ſome dangerous trechery. Wherfore he appointed
his deputy for the execution of the office, and withdrew himſelf from Tauris to Caſſangich
a place of his own, there to paſſe away the time vntil it ſhould pleaſe the King otherwiſe to
diſpoſe of him. But *Emir Chan*, who ſtill nouriſhed in his mind the antient hatred hee had
conceiued againſt him, tooke this as a moſt fit occaſion to bring him into diſgrace with the
F King: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the preferment it had pleaſed him to
beſtow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned the city of Tauris, and ſubſtituted
in his place a moſt baſe perſon to repreſent the Kings Majeſty, and to manage his Treaſure:
and that he abſented himſelf far from that City and the court there, hauing withdrawn
himſelf into the confines of Turky, no doubt for ſome miſchieuous intent, either to yeeld

himſelf vnto them, or elſe to haue intelligence with them, and was like enough to be guilty to himſelf of the great error he had committed, by offering Siruan vnto the Turkiſh King, and making promiſe of ſuch large conditions, wherby he had obtained ſuch a ſure and ſafe Conuoy to conduct him, when as he had before diſcouered himſelf to be a fauorer of the Turkes, and a traitor to his owne king: and that therfore it were good to make trial of his inclination, and ſo peraduenture to decline ſome great miſchiefe, tending to the danger of the Perſian ſtate. This malicious accuſation ſlily contriued, ſo wrought in the mind of the jealous king, that he commanded *Emir Chan* ſecretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the court, and if he could not by other means, then by torture to wreſt from him the truth of all thoſe matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemy thus put into his hand, and thought it long til he had brought this ſhame vpon *Maxut*. Who hauing already heard ſome inkling therof, reſolued with himſelf to do any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his fatall enemy. And therfore at ſuch time as fifteen tall fellowes were for that purpoſe ſent vnto him from *Emir Chan*; who in the kings name ſummoned him to the court; hee without making any ſhew that he took the matter otherwiſe than well, entertained them courteouſly, and made them good cheer: but when he perceiued them to be ouercome with ſleep, which crept vpon them by reaſon of the exceſſe wherwith they had ouercharged themſelues, hee cauſed them to be ſtreitly bound, and with long cords hanged them down into a deep wel, and there ſhut them vp, ſecretly couered. Then gathering together the moſt precious things he had in the houſe, & ſetting his wiues, his children, his brethren, and nephews on horſeback, fled with all his family in the euening, and the next day arriued at Salmas, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkiſh Baſſa, and from thence conueyed to Van, where he was alſo curteouſly welcommed by *Cicala Baſſa*, and honorably accompanied ſent to *Sinan* the General; who very glad of his comming, ſent him with all diligence to Conſtantinople to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the firſt interparlance of peace betwixt the Turks and Perſians.

Maxut Chan flieth to the Turks.

Sinan ſtaied at Chars eight daies, and there again ſurueyed his army and prouiſion; and afterward ſet forward toward Tomanis, with reſolution there to build a fort. But beeing come thither, he could by no means put that his deſignement in execution, by reaſon of the immoderat rain, which continually for eight daies together fel in ſuch abundance, as that neither did the Sun appear, nor the sky clear. Beſide that, *Sinan* greatly feared leſt the enemy taking the opportunitie of this rain, of the ſtreit, and of the building, ſhould aſſault his army, & finding it in euil plight, and out of order, greatly indanger it. Wherefore caſting off his former determination for fortifying at Tomanis, he remoued thence to cary ſuccors to Teflis: but ſo ſoon as he was riſen with his Army and paſt the ſtreit, *Tal-Ogli* Captaine of the Ianizaries at Damaſco, and *Homar* Sanzack of Saffeto, hauing receiued ſecret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good ſtore both of corn and cattel, reſolued to go thither to fetch in that booty: and ſo with two thouſand ſoldiers greedy of prey they ſet forward. Now *Simon* the Georgian and the Perſians following the Turks Army afar off, had diuided his ſouldiers into all ſuch places as where there was either corn or water, or any ſuch thing as might allure the Turkes to ſcatter themſelues from the Campe: and perceiuing theſe hungry Turks careleſly to run headlong to lay hold on this deſired booty, he ſuddenly ſet vpon them & cut them in pieces being diſordered; ſo that of thoſe two thouſand eſcaped but *Tal-Ogli* the Captaine of the Ianizaries; *Homar* the aforeſaid Sanzacke and all the reſt beeing left dead vpon the ground.

Sinan holding on his way, in two daies came to Teflis, where preſently calling a Councell of all the chiefe men of his Army, hee tooke order, That euery man ſhould vpon his oath depoſe the truth concerning the greatnes of Teflis: which he did only in reproch of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, who moſt vntruely had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as Damaſco: wheras in truth it was not in any reſpect to be compared to that ſo famous a City. After that, he diuided the treaſures and ſuccors he had brought, among the ſoldiers of the Fortreſſe; cheering them vp with good words, & promiſes of great matters. And becauſe the ſoldiers there in gariſon complained greatly againſt the Baſſa their Captain, he cauſed a bill of complaint to be framed againſt him, & finding him guilty, That he had conuerted the ſoldiers pay to his own vſe, he condemned him to the reſtitution therof, and ſo immediatly diſcharging him of his office, placed in his room *Guiſuf Bey* a Lord of Georgia; who for the an-

tient

A tient enmity betwixt him and *Simon* had yeelded himſelf to the Turks; and was of them ſo
welcommed, that *Sinan* truſted him with the cuſtody of that fort, which with ſo many dangers
had bin maintained vntil that day.

All things thus ſet in order at Teflis, *Sinan* with his army departed thence, and hauing paſſed
the ſtreit of Tomanis, there came vnto him *Muſtaffad Baſſa* (afterward gouernor of Aleppo)
declaring vnto him, That not far off was great ſtore of corn and cattel, and no body but
a few Georgians to keep the ſame, and therfore wiſhed him to ſend forth ſome to fetch it in,
wherof if it had bin much more his army then ſtood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected to
this *Muſtaffad*, and therefore the eaſilier induced by him to ſend for the aforeſaid booty. But
mooued with the freſh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal Ogli* and *Homar*, hee
B gaue order, That to fetch in this prouiſion there ſhould goe out ten thouſand horſemen and
their ſeruants, with *Muſtaffad* as their General. Now ſtood *Totomac*, *Simon*, and the other
Perſian captaines in ſecret ambuſh, waiting when any of the Turkes ſhould come to fetch in
this booty. VVherupon the aforeſaid ſouldiers beeing now come as they deſired, and hauing
almoſt charged all their mules and horſes with that which beſt pleaſed them to make choice
of, the hidden Perſians all on a ſudden iſſued out of their lurking places among them, & with
great ſlaughter put them to flight, and with ſuch fury purſued the victory, that they ſlew of
them 7000, carrying away many priſoners aliue, and the mules and horſes laden with the
ſtolne booty. *Muſtaffad* was the firſt that fled, and the firſt that brought the vnhappy news of
that ouerthrow to *Sinan*; which was forthwith confirmed by ſuch as had by ſpeedy flight eſcaped
C the fury of the enemy. Wherupon *Sinan* diſpatched the Baſſa of Caramania with a
great power, charging him whereſoeuer he ſhould finde the enemy, to ſet vpon him; and preſently
riſing himſelf with his whole army followed the ſaid Baſſa: but all too late; for the
Perſians after the aforeſaid victory, without ſtaying had withdrawn themſelues into their
ſtrong places, known only to ſuch as were wel acquainted with the difficult paſſages of Georgia:
and hauing there diſpoſed of their prey, were now returning to await ſome freſh occaſion
of new ſlaughter. But when they deſcried the whole army of the Turkes vpon the riſing of a
certain hil, they were afraid to meet them, yea and ſtood in ſome doubt alſo, leſt *Sinan* ſhould
deſcend from the hil and ſo aſſault them. For which cauſe they retyred themſelues again into
the ſtrength of the mountains, yet not with ſuch ſpeed, but that the Turks ouertooke ſome
D few of them, and ſlew about fifty or threeſcore of them, whoſe heads in ſigne of triumph they
carried a good part of the way vpon their ſpeares point, and tooke priſoners about threeſcore
and ten more.

Seuē thouſand Turks ſlaine.

At laſt *Sinan* with all his Army, hauing paſſed theſe dangerous places of Georgia, arriued at
Triala, where it was told him, That the Perſian King in perſon himſelfe, being already departed
from Tauris, with an exceeding great Army was comming to bid him battel. At which
newes he cauſed proclamation to be preſently made thorow all his Army, That euerie man
ſhould put himſelfe in readineſſe for the voyage to Tauris, whither he himſelfe meant to goe
to meet with the King his enemy. In the mean time (as is reported) hee diſpatched certaine
Poſts to the Perſian king then at Catachach, to intreat him to ſend another Embaſſador vnto
E *Amurath* for peace; thinking by that means (as ſome do coniecture) to alter the Kings reſolution
for comming to aſſail him, if he had any ſuch meaning. After this proclamation made, he
deſcended into the open and large plains of Chielder, where preſently he muſtered his whole
army, and gaue it out, That before he would ſet forward toward Tauris, hee would make triall
of the readineſſe and nimbleneſſe of his ſoldiers, as if they ſhould preſently join battel with
the enemy. VVhich without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally ranging
his whole army in order of battel, and then ſending out ſome few others to ſhew themſelues
vpon the top of certain hils, as if they had bin enemies that came to ſeiſe vpon his Army,
he cauſed al his artillery to be diſcharged, and commanded euery man to skirmiſh & beſtir
himſelfe altogether after the ſame manner as if the enemy had been there preſent before
F them: where the thundring of great and ſmall ſhot, the thicke ſtormes of arrowes, with the
brightneſſe of the armour and weapons yeelding forth lightnings as if it had bin fiery beams,
and the noiſe of Drummes and Trumpets, and other inſtruments of VVarre, with the enſignes
of blew and yellow flying in the winde, made ſuch a medley of all things, as if it had bin the
turmoile of a very battell indeed. In the end he cauſed the retreit to be ſounded, and then

ſetting all his army in order again, made the like ſhew the ſecond time, and ſo the third time alſo. Which was indeed performed with the great ſcorne and deriſion of his ſouldiers, who G deemed it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Baſſa. Theſe counterfeit ſhewes of war thus finiſhed, yet did he not ſet forward toward Tauris, as hee had giuen it out, but loitred eight daies in thoſe plains of Chielder. At which time there arriued out of Perſia one *Aider* the Aga, as Embaſſador from the King, who was by *Sinan* with great joy entertained. Diuers were the things by this Embaſſadour propounded, ſuch as had *Maxut Chan* before: but the concluſion of all was, That the Perſian King would bee content voluntarily to relinquiſh Chars and Teflis, and ſo remain as he did before in amity with *Amurath*; and ſo deſired *Sinan*, to conclude a peace with his maſter, if it might be; as for himſelfe, this meſſage don, he was preſently to return into Perſia. For this peace *Sinan* promiſed to deale with *Amurath*, ſo that the Perſian King would ſend another Embaſſador to Conſtantinople. Whervpon H the ſaid *Aider* returned into Perſia, and at Tauris declared to the King, what he had ſeen, what promiſes he had receiued from *Sinan*, and withal exhorted him to ſend a new Embaſſadour to the Turkiſh Court. After this, when the publique rumor of the comming of the Perſian king was found to be falſe, *Sinan* in ſtead of going to Tauris, returned to Chars, where he idely ſtaid a whole month, to the general maruelling and murmuring of his whole army, aſtoniſhed to ſee themſelues, to the great charges of the King, and the diſturbance of the whole kingdom, brought forth not for any honorable conqueſt, but as it were only of purpoſe to make a vaine ſhew of war.

Sinan breaks vp his army.

At laſt he departed from Chars, for that Winter was now come on, and the froſt and ſnow I did his army great harm; and ſo comming to Erzirum, there preſently diſmiſſed euery man to go and winter in his owne Countrey, but remained ſtil himſelfe in the ſame City. From whence he by ſpeedy Poſts diligently aduertiſed *Amurath* of the ſuccours he had left at Teflis, of the loſſes he had receiued from the enemy, of all that which was by *Muſtapha* miſreported; of the comming of the Perſian Embaſſador vnto him; of the promiſe made vnto him touching a new Embaſſador; and to be ſhort, of all his whole actions. Beſides all this, hee aduertiſed *Amurath*, That the enterpriſe of Perſia was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and ſuch a one as needed another manner of preparation than had been as yet appointed for it. And that if he deſired to ſubdue the whole kingdom of Perſia, it was then very neceſſary that he ſhould ſpeak with him at large, and diſcourſe of many particularities, which could not ſo K wel without exceeding tediouſneſſe be declared by writing. After that, he ſent other meſſengers alſo, to ſolicit *Amurath* for his returne to Conſtantinople; continually telling him, That it was not poſſible to ſignifie by writing, what he purpoſed to report to him by word of mouth for the better accompliſhing of the enterpriſe begun. Nothing did *Sinan* more abhorre than this War, hauing his mind altogether bent againſt the affaires of the Chriſtians in Europe, and therefore ſought by all means poſſible to diuert thoſe Warres from the Eaſt, into ſome other quarters. At laſt he wrought ſo much, hee entreated ſo much, he writ ſo many Letters, and ſolicited the matter ſo earneſtly, that *Amurath* was perſuaded to ſend for him to Conſtantinople, as ſoon as euer he was certified of the arriual of the new Embaſſador from Perſia, of whom *Sinan* had before aduertiſed him. For he was reſolued either to grow to a peace with L the ſaid Embaſſador, if he came with honourable canditions; or if he came not, or that after his comming they could not agree vpon the peace, then to put in execution thoſe conceits wherof he muſt needs in particular talk with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promiſed Embaſſador called *Ebrahim Chan*, a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in Perſia, came to *Sinan*; wherof *Sinan* gaue preſent intelligence to *Amurath*, beſeeching him again to permit him to come to Conſtantinople. Which *Amurath* then granted. Wherupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court, where he attended the vniuerſall gouernment of the whole Empire. At his firſt comming to the preſence of *Amurath* (wherein hee diſcourſed not with him of any thing but of the comming of the Perſian Embaſſadour) the conditions were ſet down which they were to require for the reducing of the Capitulations of this peace vnto M good end. After which agreement the Embaſſador being now come, and moſt magnificently receiued at Conſtantinople, had audience. At which time he with much glorious ſpeech labored to perſuade *Amurath*, That his king earneſtly deſired a reconciliation, and to joyne his forces with his againſt the Enemies of the Mahometane Religion; and for that very pur-

poſe

A poſe, he was now eſpecially come thither: which his good purpoſe, if it were anſwered with like zeale on his part, there would therof enſue the greateſt vnity and friendſhip that euer was between any Mahometan Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other anſwer, but that he ſhould therof talke with his Viſier, and with him intreat of all matters concerning the peace: and ſo he was by *Amurath* entertained and diſmiſſed both at one time.

1581

Amurath circumciſeth his eldeſt ſon Mahomet.

Now had *Amurath* called to Conſtantinople his eldeſt ſon *Mahomet* (who afterward ſucceeded him in the Empire) being then about ſixteen yeres old, to circumciſe him, according to the cuſtome of the Turks; following therein the inueterate Law of the Hebrews: Vnto which ſolemnitie many Chriſtian Princes were ſolemnly inuited; who accordingly ſent thither their Embaſſadors with great gifts and Preſents, in token of peace & confederacy, namely B *Rodulphus* the Emperour, *Henry*, the third the French King, *Stephen* King of Polonia; the State of Venice, the King of Perſia, the Moore Kings of Morocco and Fez, the Princes of Moldauia, Valachia, and others. With al triumph and ioy was the circumciſion of this yong Prince ſolemniſed by the ſpace of forty days and forty nights, in the great market place of Conſtantinople; where all the Embaſſadours aforeſaid had their ſcaffolds prepared and furniſhed according to their degrees and States, & receiued ſuch entertainment as might be ſhewed at ſuch a kind of barbarous ſpectacle: Only the Perſian embaſſador, who had alſo his ſcaffold ſeuerall to himſelf, but not regarded as the reſt, reioiced not at theſe feaſts and triumphs: for among ſundry other wrongs and ſcorn done by the commandement of *Amurath* vnto the Perſian nation (as by hanging vp certaine counterfeit pictures of Perſians made of laths and C ſticks, and then burning them, and in many ſcornfull ſorts abuſing them) the Turke, for the great diſpleaſure he had conceiued for the harm done to *Oſman Baſſa* and the Turks in Siruan much about that time, and for the diſdain he had taken againſt *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condiſcending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yeelding to any more than the other Embaſſador had done before, ſeeming to haue come as a Spie to mark the Turkiſh affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the minds of the two mighty Princes) commanded the ſtanding before appointed for him, in diſgrace of him to be caſt down, and himſelfe and all his followers to be ſhut vp as cloſe priſoners in the houſe of *Mahamet Baſſa* at Conſtantinople; where he was ſo ſtreightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which ſhortly after began to D wax hot in the city, yet could he not obtain ſo much fauor as to be remoued into ſome other place, but there was inforced to tarry it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he ſhould be carried thence as priſoner to Erzirum. To end theſe ſolemnities, *Mahomet* the yong Prince was circumciſed, not publiquely, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Baſſaes, ſomtime the Emperor *Solymans* Barber.

Io. Leunc. Sup. Annal. Turc. pag. 82.

Now whilſt *Sinan* as great Viſier ſat commanding in Conſtantinople, the garriſons of Chars and Teflis (kept in by the enemie, and hauing receiued none other reliefe than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from Erzirum, had by good hap cauſed to bee ſecretly conueyed vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing leſt thoſe two places which had with ſo much ado been both gained and E maintained, ſhould for want of new ſuccours fall againe into the hand of the enemy: he both boldly and freely counſelled *Amurath* to ſend a new garriſon to Van, for the ſafety of the countrey thereabouts, and then vnder the conduct of ſome valiant captaine, to ſend ſuccours to Teflis: Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himſelfe of ſome fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleaſed him; for why, he was before reſolued, in deſpight of *Sinan* and of his counſel, to beſtow this charge vpon *Mahamet Baſſa* nephew to *Muſtapha* the late Baſſa, and for his ſake hated of *Sinan*. This Baſſa *Mahamet* he ſent to Erzirum, with the title of the Baſſa of that Prouince, honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the army for Teflis. And preſently gaue commandement to *Huſſan* the Baſſa of Caraemit, to *Muſtaffa* ſometime called *Manucchiar* the F Georgian, to all the Sanzacks, the Curdi, and the ſoldiers of Erzirum, that they ſhould reſort to the ſtandard of *Mahamet* their Generall, and ſo to follow him to Teflis. Whereupon there aſſembled together out of all the ſaid places about fiue and twenty thouſand ſouldiers, with all things neceſſarie for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed garriſon which was in Teflis. Commandement was alſo giuen to the Baſſaes of Aleppo and Maras, to repaire to Van with all their ſouldiers,and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did,not moleſted not troubled by any enemy. G

In the end of Auguſt, *Mahamet Baſſa* departed from Erzirum, with the Baſſa of Caraemit, and all his army, carrying with him mony, corn, and all other things needfull for the reliefe of Teflis, and in eight dayes came to Chats, and from thence to Archelec, not troubled by any. At Archelec he found *Muſtaffa* (otherwiſe called *Manucchiar*) the Georgian, with all his ſouldiers, whom the Generall moſt ioyfully entertained, and honoured him with gifts, and withal admoniſhed him to continue his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his army the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way to Teflis: for that ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt to goe by Tomanis; and ſome other, by the way of *Muſtaffa* his countrey: wherin *Muſtaffa* did readily reſolue him, that the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way lay through his owne country, being alſo in his opinion the ſafeſt. This counſell of *Muſtaffa* pleaſed *Mahomet* greatly, ſo that he made choice H of him to be the guid of his army, repoſing himſelfe wholly vpon his good direction: and ſo departed thence towards Teflis, paſſing through Altunchala and Carachala, both belonging to the ſaid Georgian, abounding with all things neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of man, neither were they euer diſturbed by any enemy. Hauing paſſed *Muſtaffa* his countrey, they came to a friendly Caſtle called Gori, from whence they diſcouered in certain fields a great army of the Georgians mingled with Perſians, but apparelled after the manner of Georgia: theſe were thoſe captains of Perſia, ſent from the Perſian King (as in other yeres before) to aid the Georgians; who ſecretly conioyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had changed their apparell, becauſe the treaty of peace ſhould not be diſturbed, and their King acounted vniuſt of his word; I who vnder a colour of a treaty of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended nothing elſe but to ſuccour and defend his conquered countries, without purpoſe to annoy any other places, went about to procure the deſtruction of the Turks. Theſe then as ſoon as they ſaw the Turkiſh army, and perceiued that they alſo themſelues were by them deſcried, ſent Heraulds vnto them with haughty words of defiance, and to offer them battel. With great griefe of mind did the Baſſa receiue this proud defiance: but hauing no other purpoſe but to bring his ſuccors ſafe to Teflis, he diſmiſſed the Heraulds, and ſtudied by all means he could to ſhun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpoſe by the great and continuall rain which then fell, and ſerued for a reaſonable excuſe of his delay: but the next day prouing faire, and the Sunne ſhining bright, both the armies marched in ſight one of the other all day, vntill about four houres and K an halfe before night; at which time the Turks arriued neere to a riuer that ſeparated the one army from the other. There the Baſſa fell in conſultation with *Muſtaffa*, whether they ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer before night, or ſtay on that ſide they were till the next morning. In which caſe *Muſtaffa* aduiſed him to ſtay, as fearing leſt the enemy ſhould ſet vpon the army diſordered in paſſing the riuer, and ſo annoy them. Notwithſtanding the General diſliked this aduice of *Muſtaffa*, hauing taken a ſtrong conceit euen vpon the firſt diſcouery of the enemie, that there was ſome intelligence and compact betwixt *Muſtapha* and the Perſians, and that to that end he had maliciouſly perſuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of Tomanis: and therfore the Baſſa thinking, that if there were any ſuch plot laid between *Muſtaffa* and the enemie, to ſet it in ſome confuſion, would not in any caſe follow the counſell of the L ſuſpected Georgian, to ſtay that night; but commanded, that with the greateſt ſpeed that might be, all his ſouldiers with their treaſure and corn ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer, to the end that before night he might on the other ſide of the riuer incamp his army in ſome good place, to the ſcorn and deriſion of his enemies. *Mahamet* his lieutenant, a bold young man & an hardy, was the firſt that ventured ouer, and after him the carriages of money and of corn, and then the whole army, with ſuch ſpeed, that ſome of the confuſed multitude were drowned in the paſſage, being rather troden downe with the horſes and camels, than brought to their deaths, either by the depth of the channell, or ſwiftneſſe of the riuer.

Mahamet Baſſa refuſeth battel offred by the Georgians and Perſians.

As ſoone as the Georgians perceiued that the Turks had paſſed the riuer, without ſtaying vntil they might ſettle themſelues in any good order, they in great haſt & fury ran vpon them, M and preſently aſſailed them, whiles they were yet all in confuſion and out of order: by reaſon whereof the Turks, although they turned their faces vpon their enemie, and made ſome good reſiſtance, yet in ſhort time you might haue ſeen the banks of the riuer in many places ſtained with the Turkiſh bloud, and many carkaſes of the Turks here & there ſcattered, without any

apparant

A apparant loſſe among the Georgians and Perſians. Amongſt them that fell in this ſlaughter, were a number of Sanzacks, of the Curdi, and Meſopotamians: which the reſt perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne, coniecturing the loſſe of others, turned their backes and fled; the like did the remnant of the Meſopotamians, and after them at laſt the whole army: whom the Georgians preſſed ſo ſore in their flight, that many of the Turks ſeeing no other way to eſcape, caſt themſelues into the riuer, and ſo (though hardly) eſcaped with their liues. Great was the ſhame, great was the confuſion, but greateſt was the loſſe they receiued, for that in the heat of the battel the Kings money and corn was taken by the Georgians and Perſians, euery man ſauing only ſo much for himſelfe as he could ſecretly hide vpon his owne body, or conuey by the means of ſome truſty ſlaue, which by the help of their ſwift horſes was preſerued rather by fortune than by valour.

The Turks diſcomfited, & the treaſure and corne taken by the Georgians and Perſians.

B The Turks thus diſcomfited and ſpoiled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered them-
ſelues together againe, one with another curſing the Heauens, the King, and their aduerſe for-
tune: ſome of them alſo threatning the Georgian Renegate *Muſtaffa*, as though all this miſ-
chiefe had hapned through his trecherie and ſecret intelligence with the enemie. Notwith-
ſtanding, when they found that they had ſtill remaining ſo much money and other eaſements
as might ſuffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the ſoldiers beſieged in the fort, they reſol-
ued to hold on their way towards Teſlis; and in their journy vſed ſuch ſpeed, that the day fol-
lowing they arriued there in the euening. But when they of the Fort ſaw their friends whom
they had ſo long expected, arriued in ſuch bad ſort, and ſo euill furniſhed, they were aſtonied
and wonderfully grieued at this common loſſe, and all in a confuſion proteſted to *Mahamet*,
C That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith neceſſarie prouiſion made for
them. But the Generall after he had with large promiſes mitigated their firſt furies and inſo-
lencies, preſently in the morning cauſed a Diuano or counſell to be called in the caſtle, where
hauing gathered together all the chiefe men in his army, he ſpake vnto them in this manner:

Mahamet with his diſcomfited army commeth to Teſlis.

The Oration of Mahamet Baſſa in the caſtle of Teſlis.

*Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed God, that ſo great and important an occaſion of victorie which was offe-
red vnto vs for the honour and glory of euery one of vs, is now fallen out ſo vnfortunately, that it hath not
only not miniſtred vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies as we ſhould haue done, but rather
hath made them (I know not how) to carry away from vs both the triumph, and alſo our armor, our horſes,
our ſlaues, and our ſpoiles; yea and (the remembrance whereof doth moſt grieuouſly trouble and afflict me)*
D *our Sultans money, and our publique munition and forces ſolemnly deliuered to our conduct, is now become
a booty and a prey vnto them: that the honour which might haue made euery one of vs famous among no-
ble and valorous ſoldiers, is now fallen from our forheads, and to our great detriment doth adorn the heads
of ſtrangers, or rather of our enemies: and that notwithſtanding all this, we are now come to thoſe couragi-
ous ſoldiers, which with their great valor haue defended this Fort euen in the midſt of their enemies wea-
pons and treacheries; and to whom we ſhould yeeld that aid and reliefe which the vertue of euery one of
their minds doth deſerue, and which King* Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them;
there is now no remedie, but to reſolue vpon ſome good means, that we fall not wholly into the vtter diſgrace
of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintain theſe ſouldiers in the cuſtody and defence of this Fort: and
though it had bin with all our wants, and all our owne diſhonours, to comfort theſe that haue ſo long time*
E *looked for vs, and ſo well deſerued all manner of reliefe. We cannot excuſe our ſelues, that our enemies were
better than we either in number or inſtruments of war; for both in the one and the other we were far be-
yond them: neither yet can we ſay, that they ſet vpon vs by night, or at vnawares; for when we ſaw their
number, their weapons, their horſes, and finally their approach, and their manner of aſſault, yet we would
needs paſſe ouer the riuer, and ioyn battell with them. Which we now know hath fallen out very lamenta-
ble vnto vs, becauſe we were more ready to take our flight, than to endure the fight; and to vſe our feet, than
to occupie our hands. And therfore it is very requiſit, as well to ſatisfie the rigor of juſtice, as to performe
the duty of ſoldiers, that we ſuffer not our Lord and King to loſe his mony, which he truſted into our hands,
and which we haue loſt, not by greater ſtrength nor by any trecherous ſtratagem of our enemies, but by our
own too too important feare, and too baſe a regard of our liues, before which, it was the duty of euery one of*
F *vs to haue preferd the care of honor. For if by fighting and couragious ſuſtaining the aſſaults of our ene-
mies, though they had bin ſtronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned vnto vs, and
that we could in any ſort haue repreſented to the King and the world an honorable and bloudy battell, wee*

ſhould not now haue any need to ſeek means how to repay this loſſe, and to tranſport the thing that violently was taken from vs by ſuch as were more mighty than our ſelues, and theſe honourable ſouldiers ſhould more eaſily haue digeſted with vs this lamentable calamity. But we haue loſt that mony, and in very deed hauing as it were willingly beſtowed it vpon the Georgians and Perſians, to redeeme our liues, and to ſaue vs from their fury, are bound to repay it, or elſe for euer hereafter to be challenged by the King as lawfull debtors vnto him for it. And therefore my good friends and companions, if you will take a good courſe, let euery one of vs without further conſultation, put his hand into his priuat purſe (if he haue not fooliſhly caſt that into the hands of the rauonaus enemy) and with our own money let vs ſuccour the neceſſitie of theſe men, and haue regard to the honour of our King. So ſhall we make our flight leſſe blame-worthie, wee ſhall iuſtifie our actions more honeſtly, and that which is of greateſt importance, wee ſhall better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, *which he might moſt iuſtly conceiue againſt vs. I my ſelfe before you all am moſt ready to diſburſe foure thouſand duckats towards it: if it ſhall pleaſe you all to follow me accordingly, we ſhall deliuer theſe ſouldiers from their great neceſſitie, and acquite our ſelues from the intricate bonds of moſt tronbleſome diſpleaſures.*

The Turks out of their owne priuat purſes relieue the Gariſon of Teſlis.

There might a man haue ſeene a thouſand countenances changed a thouſand manner of waies; for one ſoftly whiſpered many a curſe and ſhame vpon the King, vpon *Mahomet*, yea and vpon God himſelf; another denied to disburſe any thing; another determined priuily to ſteal away; and ſome ſaid one thing, and ſome another: but in the end euery man was induced to follow the example of *Mahamet*; and thereupon hauing made a purſe according to euery mans ability, there was collected thirty thouſand Duckats among them. And preſently after, word was ſent to *Leuent Ogli* at Zaghen, to ſend thither grain, muttons, and other neceſſary prouiſion, that they might the better continue the defence of the Fort.

Two dayes onely ſtayed *Mahamet* in Teflis, and hauing changed ſuch ſouldiers as deſired to be diſmiſſed, and alſo appointed *Homar Baſſa* Gouernour of Teflis, in ſtead of *Giuſuf* that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure conſultation was had, Whether they ſhould keep the way of Tomanis, or the way they came through the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian: and in the end they reſolued to keep the way of Tomanis, and thereupon order was taken that they ſhould all paſſe the riuer. The Curdi were the firſt that went ouer, and had alreadie pitched their Tents vpon the farther ſide of the water; when the Generall began to reuoke his former order, and ſent them word, That they ſhould returne, becauſe he was now determined to goe backe the ſame way he came. At which meſſage the Sanzackes were in a rage, and in plain termes ſent him anſwer, That theſe mutabilities beſeemed not them, being men accuſtomed to warre, but to be rather childrens play, than manly reſolution; and that for their parts they were minded not to change their journy, but would go on the ſame way they had begun: and ſo forwards they went (ſay the General what he could) and by the way of Tomanis arriued at Chars long before *Mahamet*; who was much grieued at this their ſo great diſobedience: but ſeeing no other remedy, he with the Baſſa of Caraemit and *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, put themſelues on their journey, euen by the ſame way they came to Teflis. At laſt *Mahamet* arriued at Altunchala, the chiefe Caſtle of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, and burning with the deſire of reuenge of thoſe loſſes, (which he thought himſelf to haue receiued by the treacherie of *Muſtaffa*) or, as ſome thought, ſeeking by this meanes to make *Amurath* beleeue, that in truth all the forepaſſed miſchiefes had hapned not through their cowardiſe, but through the treacherous and malitious deuices of the Georgian, and ſo to make their receiued loſſes ſeem more pardonable: he deuiſed with himſelfe how to finde out ſuch a plot, as that *Muſtaffa* might vpon the ſudden be taken away, as guilty of ſo foule a treaſon. And that he had deuiſed, was in this ſort: To call a Councell into his owne Pauilion, as if hee had receiued ſome commandement from the Court; and hauing cauſed *Muſtaffa* to come into that roome, whileſt the ſaid counterfeit commandment ſhould be in reading, to cauſe his lieutenant with thoſe chief of his band that ſtood about him, to fall vpon him and preſently to cut off his head. This pretended Councell was accordingly called; wherein ſate the Baſſa himſelfe, and with him the Baſſa of Caraemit, certaine Sanzackes ſubiect to the Iuriſdiction of Erzirum, the Capagi Baſſa or chiefe Gentleman Vſher, and the Generals lieutenant, with whom hee had vpon their ſolemne oaths for ſecrecie, communicated his intended deceit. The Georgian *Muſtaffa* was alſo called accordingly: who

Mahamet purpoſeth to betray Muſtaffa.

A both becauſe he was loued of moe than one, and had alſo vſed all diligent circumſpection, but eſpecially hauing heard in the army ſome priuy whiſperings of ſuch a matter, knew full wel of all that was deuiſed againſt him, and therfore prouided alſo for his own defence. But as touching his going to the Councel, he thought he might not deny ſo to do, leſt by his abſence he might ſeem guilty of the fault, wherof he was (peraduenture not without cauſe) ſuſpected; and therby to leaue his cities for a prey to the enemy, now in the heart of his Country. And therfore reſoluing to go, he deuiſed how ſo to do with moſt ſafety; and ſo, as if need ſhould be, he might be able to turn the miſchief intended againſt him, vpon the head of the General himſelf. And therfore hauing choſen out fifty of his moſt faithful and reſolute ſoldiers, he commanded them to follow him to the Councel appointed in the Generals pauilion; B and being come thither, to ſtay there ready and attentiue at his firſt and one only cal, ſuddenly and forcibly to thruſt into the pauilion with their weapons, and rather than any wrong ſhould be don vnto him, to ſhew their valor againſt the Turks, without exception of any perſon whatſoeuer. Theſe men by nature enemies to the Turks, vnderſtanding well his meaning, ſetled themſelues vpon the execution, and taking vnto them ſome other alſo of their faithfull and truſty friends, followed him euen to the pauilion of *Mahamet*: where *Muſtaffa* entring the place of counſel, deſired of the General to know what his pleaſure was. Who preſently cauſed the counterfeit commandement to be read; wherunto *Muſtaffa* gaue an attentiue ear. But when the other Baſſa's and Sanzacks began to ſit down (contrary to the manner of the Turks, who whenſoeuer any commandement from the Emperor is in reading, vſe alwaies to ſtand vp C and not to ſit down vntil it be ful read) the Georgian took his leaue, promiſing to be euer ready to perform not only that order of the Kings, but alſo whatſoeuer els he ſhould command. And being about to depart, the Capigi Baſſi or great Vſher of *Mahamet* came vnto him, and plucking him by the ſleeue, would haue forced him to ſit down. Then *Muſtaffa* crying aloud drew his ſword, wherwith he ſtrook *Mahamets* lieutenant, that was right againſt him; and hauing with his left hand wrought the roll from his pate, with his right hand ſuddenly (to the great aſtoniſhment of all that were there preſent) at one only blow parted his head, his necke, and his breſt in twain euen to his very ſtomack; ſo that he died (a ſtrange ſpectacle to behold) being thus cut in ſunder, with his cleft head and two ſhoulders hanging down vpon their ſeueral ſides. After this firſt he redoubled his ſecond ſtroke, aiming at the head of the Baſſa of D Caraemit: but it being defended with the wrythen rolls of the turbant, it ſlipped down by his ear; yet ſo, that with a piece of the ſaid turbant it carried his ear quite away, with a little alſo of the fleſh of his cheek: and all inraged, eagerly aſſailed *Mahamet Baſſa* the General (who now all in confuſion was riſen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fiue mortal wounds, which were yet afterward by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him euen to deaths door. At the cry of this Georgian al his people ruſht in together vpon whoſe confuſed tumult, and the fear that *Muſtaffa* through his fury had ſtrook into the Turks, the camp was preſently raiſed, and euery man with all ſpeed departing thence, put himſelfe on his way toward Chars; whither alſo were brought the two wounded Baſſa's, and the reſt that were il handled & much ſcared with theſe ſudden and vncoth ſtirs.

Muſtaffa notably reuenged vpon Mahamet

E Of all this treachery intended againſt him, *Muſtaffa* ſent preſent information to the Turkiſh Emperor, finding himſelf greatly agrieued at the falſe ſuſpition that *Mahamet* had vniuſtly conceiued againſt him, to his great diſhonor: and wrought ſo cunningly, that *Amurath* in token of his good liking and contentment, ſent him both cloth of gold, and a battel-ax all gilt. *Mahamet* on the other ſide intermedling here and there with all the art he poſſibly could deuiſe, all hateful and iniurious termes, ſent large aduertiſements of all the misfortunes that had hapned, and aggrauated to the King, both the treacheries of *Muſtaffa*, and alſo the ſlender ſecurity of thoſe waies and countries.

As ſoon as *Amurath* vnderſtood the calamity of his ſouldiers, the loſſe of his money, the great diſhonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherin the fort of Teflis ſtood, when F it was like to be abandoned; all inflamed with rage and anger he called vnto him the Baſſa's of his court (among whom ſate as chief the proud and hauty *Sinan*) and rated them al exceedingly; reprouing their lewd counſel, and recounting the loſſes that he had from time to time receiued, as if they had hapned through their defaults. And eſpecially *Sinan*, as the principall occaſion of all theſe miſchiefs: who like an improuident fool (as he ſaid) would needs relin-

Sinans proud anſwer to Amurath.

quiſh the charge of his army, and like a king ſit idle at Conſtantinople, ſtanding as it were at
ſome publique triumph, to behold and heare the miſeries and miſfortunes of others, hauing G
before in the time that *Muſtapha* was General, vainly boaſted, with the like power that he had,
to fetch the Perſian king out of Casbin, and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*; but had indeed
performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could do no leſſe but make anſwer to
the wrathful King, yet not with ſuch mildneſſe and modeſty as he ſhould in ſuch a caſe peraduenture
haue done, but in proud and peremptory manner, without any reuerence or regard
told him plainly, That as the laſt year a little before his return to Conſtantinople, ſuccours
had bin conueied to Teflis without any loſſe or trouble (as in truth they were) euen ſo had
they bin this year alſo, if he had put his aduice in execution, as much as he deſpiſed and contemned
it; for he did then giue him to vnderſtand, That *Mahamet-Baſſa* could not be a fit man H
for ſo great a charge; and that it was neceſſary to haue choſen in his room ſome other Captain
of valor and diſcretion. But ſeeing he would needs make choice of the ſame vnfit man,
he was not now to blame any other for this errour, but only himſelfe. As for his comming to
Conſtantinople, it was a thing long before thought moſt needful, not only for his aduice, how
the matter of peace might be brought to ſome good pas, but alſo becauſe if that treaty came
not to the deſired iſſue, then he had to talk with him how he might compas the ouerthrow of
his enemy: which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare vnto him, but was now ready to reueal
it, if it were ſo his pleaſure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieued with this ſullen anſwer,
when he conſidered that a ſlaue of his own ſhould ſo arrogantly and manifeſtly reproue him
of folly and improuidence. Notwithſtanding being deſirous to know of him what that ſecret I
and important matter was, which he had to reueal vnto him for the eaſie compaſſing of his
commenced enterpriſe; he diſſembled his diſcontentment conceiued againſt him, and commanded
him to diſcloſe thoſe his deuices which he had to vtter. *Sinan* in brief, of all his aduices
propounded theſe two things: firſt his counſel was, not to proceed in this war as hitherto
they had don, by ſeeking with forts and fortreſſes to hold and keep the enemies countries;
for that their treaſures were not able to yeeld ſuch ſtore of money as were ſufficient to maintain
ſo many and ſo great garriſons; contrary to the opinion of *Muſtapha* (of late dead) who
with great pertinacy had perſuaded that dangerous, chargeable, and difficult manner of War.
His ſecond aduice was, That the true means to bring this war to wiſhed end, conſiſted eſpecially
in the reſolution of *Amurath* himſelf, who if he would go in perſon, & againſt ſo great K
a king oppoſe the perſon of a king, then might he moſt aſſuredly promiſe to himſelf all ſpeedy
and honorable victory, for that at the only name of his comming the Perſians would eaſily
come to any agreement; or if not, he might then proceed in his wars, and ſo obtain moſt glorious
conqueſts. This his aduice ſo little pleaſed the effeminat king, that in ſtead of the great
opinion which he before held of him, he now conceiued an enuious affection againſt him: &
a further ſuſpition (foſtred by the great ladies of the court, eſpecially *Amuraths* mother) That
Sinan had thus counſelled the king, himſelf to go in perſon, not for any good could come of
it, but only that ſo he might finde meanes for the prince his ſon to make himſelf king, and to
driue out his father. Which ſuſpition was in ſuch ſort nouriſhed in *Amuraths* mind, eſpecially
being aſſured of the great affection which the prince caried toward *Sinan*, and he alſo toward L
him, that he reſolued to rid him out of his ſight, and ſo depriuing him of all charge preſently
baniſhed him the court, & out of Conſtantinople to Demotica a city of Thrace; from
whence he afterwards by moſt humble ſupplication obtained to be remoued to Marmara a
little beyond Selymbria. And into his place of Viſierſhip was preferred *Sciaus Baſſa*, who had
maried *Amuraths* ſiſter; an Hungarian born, a goodly perſonage, and of honorable iudgement,
but aboue all men a ſeller of juſtice and preferments, and yet a great friend to the peace with
the Chriſtian princes, which *Sinan* had alwaies moſt wickedly maligned.

Sciaus Baſſa made Viſier in Sinans place.

1582.

The Perſian Captaines in the mean time, with their ſpoyles and diuers of the enemies
Enſignes, were with great ioy and triumph receiued at home in Perſia. But when the diſcord
that fell out between *Mahamet Baſſa* and *Muſtaffa* the Georgian was alſo reported, the former M
ioy was redoubled; euery man in generall being of opinion, That theſe diſcords might bee
great impediments vnto the Turks further attempts into Perſia; which it was much feared
they would the next year attempt, to the great danger of Naſſivan & Tauris. Vpon which occaſions
the Perſian king perceiuing he could not haue a fitter opportunity to imploy himſelf
againſt

Mahomet the Perſian King reſolueth to go to Heri againſt his ſonne Abas Mirize.

A againſt *Abas Mirize* his ſon (then with him in diſgrace) determined with himſelf to leaue the
matters on this ſide of his kingdom in their preſent ſtate, and to march toward Heri. Wherunto
he was earneſtly ſolicited by his eldeſt ſon *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but eſpecially by *Mirize*
Salmas his Viſier. Vpon which reſolution, committing the defence of Reiuan, Naſſiuan, and
that ſide of his kingdom to *Emir Chan* gouernor of Tauris; hee ſet forward himſelf with his
army towards Casbin, and ſo marching thorow diuers prouinces, arriued at length at Saſuar,
being on that ſide the chief of all the cities ſubiect to the juriſdiction of Heri: which city he
took by force, & without delay cauſed the gouernor therof to be beheaded, although he aledged
a thouſand excuſes for himſelf, and obiected a thouſand accuſations more againſt the ſeditious
Viſier. The King after this departing thence, and hauing alſo put to death certaine
B captains and Sultans, that were accuſed by the Viſier to be confederats in the rebellion of his
ſon, he arriued at laſt at the deſired city of Heri. Very ſtrong is this City by ſcituation, compaſſed
about with a good wall, and watered with deep chanels of running ſprings, conueyed
into it by *Tamerlane* their founder or reſtorer. Beſides that, there were in it many valiant captains,
enemies to *Mirize Salmas*, ready to lay down their liues in defence of themſelues and of
Abas their Lord; ſo that the winning therof could not but proue both long and difficult. So
ſoon as the King approched the city, he felt in himſelf many troubled paſſions ariſing of grief
and pitty; it grieued him to think that he ſhould beget ſo graceles a ſon, who in ſtead of maintaining
his ſtate and honour, ſhould ſeek his ruin and deſtruction. It grieued him alſo to remember
the bloud of his ſubjects, before ſpilt vpon ſo ſtrange an occaſion; and ſcarſly durſt
C he enter into the cogitation, thenceforth to ſhed any more of the bloud of his people. Neuertheles
being ſtil more and more ſolicited by his Viſier, he attempted to vnderſtand the mind
of his ſon, and if it might be poſſible, to get him into his hands. But while the king trauelling
with theſe thoughts lay with his army before Heri, *Abas Mirize* in the mean time writ diuers
letters to his father and his brother; wherin he beſought them, That they would make known
vnto him the occaſion of this their ſtir: for if deſire of rule had mooued them to ſeek the depriuation
of him, being their ſon and brother, from the honor he lawfully poſſeſſed, & which
his father himſelf procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*, they ought to abandon their
imagination, for that he was alwaies ready to ſpend his wealth and his bloud, together with
his eſtate, in their ſeruice, and acknowledge his father to be his good father and King. But if
D they were not induced herunto for this cauſe, but by a deſire they had to reuenge ſome treſpaſſes
that he had committed, to the preiudice of the crown of Perſia, or his fathers honor, he
was moſt ready to ſubmit himſelf to any amends, and with all reaſon to yeeld vnto them the
kingdom, yea the whole world, and euen his own life, the rather to ſatisfie their minds with a
more ful contentation. With twice or thrice reading ouer, were theſe affectionat letters conſidered
and digeſted; and at laſt, both the father and brother perceiuing in them ſuch liberality
of words, and ouercome with pitty, or if not with pitty, yet with great admiration and contentment,
they determined to put the matter in practiſe; and moderating their deſire of reuenge,
to attempt to reduce the yong mans mind to ſome good paſſe. Wherupon they wrot
back vnto him, That no greedy deſire to vſurp his gouernment had induced them to make ſo
E great a voyage, to trouble ſo much people, and to ſhed ſuch abundance of bloud; but only his
diſobedience and preſumption, in that he had cauſed himſelf to be called the King of Perſia,
and had not ſent ſo much as one captain to aid them in the late wars againſt the Turks. Glad
was *Abas* the yong prince, when he vnderſtood the accuſations that were laid againſt him; hoping
to make it manifeſt before all men, how the King and his brother were miſ informed in
theſe particularities: and therfore incontinently did write back vnto them, That if they would
faithfully promiſe him, honorably and without any outrage to receiue his Embaſſadours, hee
would ſend them ſuch euident matter, and ſo cleer information touching thoſe his accuſations,
as that they ſhould not onely plainely perceiue that there was neuer any ſuch kinde of
thought in him, but alſo that he had alwaies deſired and labored the contrary; & would moreouer
F open vnto them ſuch matter, as in reſpect of other men, and not of himſelf, might cauſe
their comming to proue profitable & commodious to all the kingdom of Perſia. Which his
requeſt they both ſolemnly promiſed faithfully to performe, beeing very deſirous to vnderſtand
what thoſe ſtrange nouelties ſhould be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* ſent vnto them two
of his chief counſellors, men of great account and reuerence both for their years and wiſdom,

Mahomet commeth to Heri.

Abas Mirize by his Embaſſadors purged of treaſon.

The Embaſſadors of Abas accuſe Mirize Salmas the Viſier.

with full inſtructions, who after many ſpeeches, in the end ſwearing (according to their Cuſtome) by the Creator that ſpread out the aire, that founded the earth vpon the deeps, that adorned the heauen with ſtars, that poured abroad the water, that made the water; and briefly, of nothing, brought forth all things, ſwearing by the head of *Ali*, and by the religion of their Prophet *Mahomet*, that ſuch peruerſe thoughts neuer entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they alledged many teſtimonies and manifeſt proofes, that moſt loyally in all due time, as well when he was aduanced to the kingdome of Perſia, as alſo in his battels againſt the Turks, his ſon had alwaies cauſed deuout prayers and ſupplications to be made to God for his proſperitie; neither euer deſired to heare any other but happy and fortunat ſucceſſe of him. They brought with them 10000 and 1000 precepts and loyall letters, which the young man had cauſed to be written, as occaſions required to the Gouernours that were his ſubiects, for the gouernment of the State, wherin he neuer named himſelfe king of Perſia, but only, Your King and Gouernor of Heri. They prayed the king alſo, to cauſe a diligent proceſſe to be framed againſt his ſon; and if there ſhould be found in him any ſign or ſhadow of ſo wicked a ſuſpition, then to take from him his eſtate and liberty; offring themſelues to remaine as hoſtages for him. But when all this ſhould be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from theſe vniuſt accuſations, then (falling euen to the earth and kiſſing it) they beſought him, and as it were coniured him, not to leaue the matter thus imperfect, to the preiudice of his bloud; but returning to his counſellor, to take information likewiſe, vpon what mind and conſideration he had aduiſed the King, to take vpon him this vnorderly and dangerous voyage; where no doubt hee ſhould find nothing in him but malignant, ambitious, and wicked affections; and ſuch as euen deſerued, that with his bloud there ſhould be reuenged all the bloud of thoſe, which till that hour had bin brought to their vnworthy & vndeſerued deaths. And foraſmuch as nothing remained, wherof the Viſier had informed the king againſt his ſon, but the commandement that was giuen by *Abas Mirize* to the Gouernours vnder him, That they ſhould not go to the wars againſt the Turks: they confeſſed in truth, that ſuch an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traiterous end and purpoſe as was reported to the king by his great counſellor, but onely in reſpect of an inuaſion iuſtly feared in thoſe quarters by the Tartarian *Ieſſelbas*; who by diuers inrodes had alreadie don great harm in the country about Heri, and put young *Abas* and his counſellors in ſuch a feare, that they durſt not diſfurniſh their Cities of their guards and forces: and therfore had commanded the ſaid Gouernours, not to go to war againſt the Turks, but to ſtay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing ſignified vnto the Viſier himſelfe: which he of a malicious mind had concealed, only to try, if in theſe common troubles he could bring to paſſe, that *Abas Mirize* and the king might be taken away, & *Emir Hamze* ſucceed in his place, and ſo he himſelf remain the Superintendent of his ſon in law, and Moderator of that ſo famous kingdom. Of which ſo treacherous a purpoſe, they (for all that) thought *Emir Hamze* the young Prince altogether ignorant (knowing his honourable diſpoſition and loue towards his owne kindred) but imputed it only to the immoderat and ambitious deſire of the wicked traitor *Mirize Salmas*.

Of theſe graue ſpeeches of the Embaſſadors, *Mahamet* the father (by nature credulous) began to make great conſtruction; and deeply to conſider of their ſo earneſt and important requeſts; which ſeemed vnto him ſo vpright and equall, as that he could not chuſe but hearken vnto the ſame. And therefore calling vnto him the Gouernors, the Captaines, the Iudges, and Treaſurers of all the cities that were ſubiect to Heri: he demanded of them, how and in what ſort they eſteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of honour he deſired to be eſteemed of them: and of them all receiued one anſwer, That they held him for their Lord & lieutenant to the king of Caſbin, and that himſelfe had alwaies deſired to be ſo taken and thought of: for proofe whereof, euery one of them brought in diuers letters, precepts, and orders; wherein he neuer cauſed himſelf to be honored with any other title, but only, Your king of Heri. He demanded further, Whether any ſuch warres were attempted by the Tartarian *Ieſſelbas* or not: whereof he receiued a large and ſolemne information, that ſo it was, to the great detriment of all thoſe territories. And thus the king was throughly perſuaded of the innocencie of his ſon; who before was noted vnto him by his Viſier, to be an obſtinat Rebel. Vpon which occaſion only, although he might iuſtly haue put him to death, as author of ſo great troubles & bloodſhed; yet becauſe he would be better inform'd of the truth of the accuſations laid againſt him

by

A by the Embaſſadours, he reſolued to make a curious & diligent inquiſition thereof: and therfore firſt of all in great ſecrecie he examined *Emir Aamze* his eldeſt ſonne, wherefore he had aduiſed this journy againſt his brother *Hbas*, whom he had found guiltles of all thoſe crimes that were obiected againſt him? Whereunto the Prince anſwered, That he had no other certaintie of the pretended euill behauiour of his brother, but only that which proceeded from the great credit that he alwaies gaue to his father in law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom as to a chief Counſellor, his father in law, and protector of the Kingdome, he had alwaies yeelded aſſured credence: and ſo diſcharged the whole tempeſts of all thoſe miſchiefes vpon the Viſier. Touching whom the King made diligent inquiſition, as well among thoſe of the Court, as of the army; and therby found him guilty of all that the Embaſſadors of Heri had accuſed him: and B that being alwaies acquainted with the true occaſions which reſtrained the Gouernours of Heri (ſubiect to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the war againſt the Turks, he had moſt maliciouſly concealed the ſame, of purpoſe to hatch ſuch a ſtrange and dangerous diſcontentment, as had wrought the vnworthy death of many great men, and almoſt defiled the hands of the father with the innocent bloud of his guiltleſſe ſon. For which ſo foule a treaſon the falſe Viſier was worthily condemned to die, and his wily head by commandment of the King, ſtrucke from his carkaſſe. Iuſtly rewarded, with the ſame puniſhment which he vniuſtly ſought to haue conuerted vpon others; and with his own deſtruction pacified the diſſention and battels that were riſen between the two Princes. And ſo the two brethren being reconciled together, and the ſon to the father; after that *Abas* had again promiſed his wiſhed obedience (which he C afterwards moſt dutifully performed) King *Mahamet* returned with the Prince towards Caſbin: where by reaſon of new and vnexpected motions of the Turks, he had now been long looked for and deſired.

Mirize Salmas beheaded for treaſon.

Amurath through the rough ſpeeches of *Sinan*, was more and more ſetled in his purpoſe for the continuing of the Perſian warre; accounting it ſo much the more to his owne glory, as it ſhould in happy ſucceſſe fall out contrary to the opinion of many: and therupon began to bethinke himſelfe, whom he might chuſe for his Generall, to whom he might commit ſo great a charge. Among the Baſſa's of the court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe yeres, but yet fierce of courage, tough of opinion, in counſell as hardy as might beſeeme his age, ready for all ſudden & ſtrange aduentures, but aboue all, a vaſſall moſt deuoted to the king: of this man, at laſt D he was reſolued to make choice to haue the leading of his army: and therefore calling him apart, declared vnto him what he had in himſelf purpoſed; incouraging him to take the charge vpon him, with a firm reſolution to perform all things anſwerable to ſo worthy an enterpriſe, with the opinion he had conceiued of his valor. Very willing did *Ferat* accept of this new office; and thought himſelf (as indeed he was) highly fauored by the King: and thereupon made him a large promiſe, to imploy his ſtrength, his wit, and vttermoſt deuoire, to put in execution whatſoeuer ſhould be offered vnto him, either by occaſion, or by his royall commandement.

Ferat Baſſa choſen Generall in Sinans place

At firſt *Amurath* had no other purpoſe to imploy him any further, but only to aſſure the paſſage to Teflis, and ſo into all Georgia; and to haue deſtroied the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, who had ſo audaciouſly iniured the lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole army E in confuſion: but being certainly aduertiſed of the troubles in Perſia between the king & his ſonne, he changed his purpoſe, and commanded *Ferat* to imploy all his forces to erect a fortreſſe at Reiuan, a place belonging to Tocomac, and to aſſure the paſſage from Chars to Reiuan; for ſo they ſhould be reuenged of many harms they had receiued by him, and lay open the way to the city of Tauris, to the great glory of *Amurath*. As for *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, although he had well deſerued to be chaſtiſed for his raſh attempt againſt *Mahamet Baſſa*, being then his Generall, yet he willed *Ferat* to diſſemble his euill opinion of him; and (if it were poſſible) ſo to work, as to vſe him as an inſtrument to conuey treaſure and ſuccors to Teflis: for by this means the paſſage being made ſafe, all Georgia would without any moe fortreſſes be ſubdued, and then the next yeare they might attempt the enterpriſe for Tauris.

F Highly did *Ferat* commend the deuices of *Amurath* his Lord, and ſhewed himſelfe ready for any attempt. And ſo the time being come wherin it behoued them to ſet on foot their important deſignements, in the beginning of the yeare, 1583, commandements were ſent out to al the cities of the empire, which were wont to make their appearance at theſe wars, that vpon

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freſh ſummons they ſhould be ready to return againſt the Perſians; and to put in execution that ſhould be injoined them by their new General. The fame whereof flew as far as Siria, Iury, Paleſtine, Meſopotamia, Babylon, to Balſara, to Sivas, to Maras, to all Bithynia, Capadocia, Cilicia, Armenia; yea & beyond Conſtantinople to the borders of Hungary and Græce, and in brief, to all the regions that were wont to come to this war: all which ſent their captains and ſoldiers accordingly. And ſo at laſt General *Ferat* departing from Conſtantinople, & paſſing ouer to Scutari, by the way of Amaſia and Sivas came to Erzirum, where he took a view of all his armor & prouiſion; and from thence in eight days ariued at Chars, conducted by the Perſian fugitiue *Maxut Chan*; and from Chars ſet himſelf on his way toward Reivan. Three days before he came to Reivan, of certain ruins of an old caſtle which the Turks cal Aggia Chalaſi (or the caſtle of Strangers) he erected a new fortres, and left in it a Gariſon of 400 ſouldiers, with a Sanzack and certain pieces of Ordnance; and then went to Reivan. This country is diſtant from Tauris eight or nine days journy; betweene which two places is ſcituat Naſſivan, Chiulfal, Marant and Sofian; all inriched with goodly gardens and pleaſant greens. But in the way are many craggy mountains to be climed, and ſundry hard paſſages either for Army or traueller.

Generall Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople

He buildeth a great fort at Reivan.

Here then did *Ferat* incamp himſelf with his Army, and taking aduice of his chiefe Captains, where he ſhould build the fort, they all with one conſent aduiſed him to ſeiſe vpon the houſes and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, incloſing the gardens with ſtrong walls and deep Ditches round about, wherinto he conueyed water from a certain riuer, that comming down from the mountains ran into Araxis. Which worke he performed with ſuch expedition, that within the ſpace of 15 days the fortres was finiſhed, being in circuit ſeuen hundred and fifty yards. It grieued *Tocomac* exceedingly, thus to loſe his country and dwelling, and ſo much the more, for that it hapned ſo ſuddenly, and as it were vnlooked for. He himſelf, as ſoon as he vnderſtood that the Turkiſh army was comming vnto that coaſt, hauing withdrawn himſelf and his men of War out of the City he could not keep, ſought by all means to be reuenged, if not altogether, yet in ſome part, of this ſo great an injury: and therfore he writ to the king at Chorazan, to *Emir Chan* at Tauris, to *Simon* in Georgia; he gathered ſoldiers out of the villages, and vſed all his poſſible indeauor to inable himſelf to anoy the enemies army. But from none of theſe places could he receiue any helpe; the King being ſo far off in wars againſt his ſon, the Georgian being buſied, by hindring any reliefe to be brought to the beſieged in Teflis: as for *Emir Chan* (who by ſolemn promiſe vnto the King before his departure to Heri, had vndertaken the defence of that ſide of the kingdome againſt the Turks) he either would not or could not ſtir, nor ſent ſo much as one ſouldier, hauing (as ſome ſuppoſed) ſecret intelligence with General *Ferat*, not to diſturb him in this his Worke. So *Tocomac* deſtitute of all other help, and not able to do much himſelf againſt ſo mighty an enemy; yet ceaſed not to lay ſuch priuy ambuſhes for the Turks as he could, killing of them ſomtime 100, ſomtime 150, and ſomtimes moe, as they fell into his danger. And to eaſe his ſtomack againſt *Emir Chan* (who ſitting ſtil at Tauris as it were to behold his miſerie, would not ſo much as ſhake a ſword againſt theſe ſpoiling Turks) he ſpared not to diſpatch certain horſmen in haſt to the king at Chorazan, and by eloquent letters to amplifie the cowardiſe of *Emir Chan*; intermedling withall ſome cauſes of ſuſpition that he had intelligence with the Turkiſh General.

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at Reivan, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furniſhed it with artillery and all other things needful for defence therof, appointed *Sinan Baſſa* (the ſon of *Cicala Baſſa* a Renegat of Genoa, whom *Selymus* the late Emperour in the flour of his youth created Aga or Captain of the Ianizaries) with a garriſon of 8000 ſoldiers to keep the ſame. And ſo departing thence by the way of Aggia Chalaſi, in ten days arriued with his Army at Chars.

Ferat had not long ſtayd at Chars, but ſtrange news were brought thither, That *Muſtaffa* the Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had ſent thirty thouſand ducats by two of his Capigi and two of his Chiaus, to haue by him bin conueyed to Teflis for the relief of them in the Fort) was reuolted from the Turkiſh obedience, and being now become a Rebel, had left that fortreſſe in moſt manifeſt danger to yeeld, if by ſome other means it were not relieued. Which ſtrange nouelties exceedingly troubled the General; who to know the certaintie therof, called before him all ſuch as were the meſſengers of this misfortune. By whom he was certainly informed, That *Muſtaffa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themſelues vpon their way toward Teflis with the treaſure, garded with a conuoy of 500 of his ſoldiers, in the mid way had met with his couſin *Simon* the Georgian, by whom he was perſuaded to return to his antient faith and religion (which he had to the great peril of his ſoul ſo prophanely abandoned) and to ſhake off the ſeruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other recompence than an hateful and infamous captiuitie, and in the end ſome fraudulent and treacherous death. And that his perſuaſions had ſo preuailed with *Muſtaffa*, that he cauſed the two Capigi and the Chiaus to be apprehended and preſently beheaded, and diuiding the treaſure with his ſaid couſin, had with him and his other kinſmen vowed a ſolemne and perpetual confederacie: and ſo hauing withdrawn themſelues to their wonted paſſages, lay there in wait for ſuch ſuccours as ſhould by the Turks be brought to Teflis.

When *Ferat* vnderſtood theſe and ſuch other particularities, he all in a fury ſwore, that he would not return to Erzirum til he had put all the Country of *Muſtaffa* to fire and ſword. Yet firſt he thought it needfull to relieue Teflis, which otherwiſe would be in danger to yeeld to the enemy: and for that purpoſe made choice of *Haſſan Baſſa*, who in the laſt year of the Generalſhip of *Muſtapha* had moſt couragiouſly conueied the like ſuccors, and taken *Aliculi Chan*. Vnto him therfore did the Generall aſſigne forty thouſand Ducats, with other prouiſion neceſſary for that ſeruice; and for the more ſecurity appointed him fifteen thouſand of the moſt choice and valiant ſouldiers of his whole Army, to conduct the ſame. In ten dayes ſpace *Haſſan Baſſa* went and came from Teflis, hauing in his journey to and fro had many skirmiſhes with the Georgians, wherin he loſt ſome few of his men, without any further loſſe worth remembrance.

After this, the General ſent one *Reſuan Baſſa* with ſix thouſand ſouldiers to ſpoil the Country of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian the late Renegate, but now become a Rebel to the Turk. Which *Reſuan* without any long ſtay ouer-ran all his territory, burnt his towns, and committed moſt vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the inſencible trees, and caried away with him many captiue ſouls, with much Corn and Cattell, like a raging tempeſt deſtroying whatſoeuer came in his way. Now was the General alſo retyred to Ardachan, whither came *Reſuan* to meet him with his aforeſaid booty. But becauſe they had now performed what they before intended, and the approch of Winter perſuaded their return, they remoued from Ardachan, and by the way of Olti retyred to Erzirum; from whence all the ſouldiers were licenſed to depart to their ſeueral places of abode, and a memorial ſent to *Amurath*, of all the actions had bin performed, and eſpecially of the good ſeruice don by *Haſſan Baſſa*: Who for the ſame was now once again honored by the King with cloath of gold, a battel-ax and Targuet all gilt.

Ferat breaketh vp his Army.

About this time one *Podolovius* a gentleman of Polonia, ſent by *Stephen* king of Polonia to Conſtantinople, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certain horſes in Anatolia; returning homeward with 24 goodly horſes which he had bought, was notwithſtanding the great Turks Paſſe by his commandement ſtaid vpon the way, all his men (in number 34) ſlain, except one boy, who getting into a Wood eſcaped; and *Podolovius* his head ſtruck off. The horſes brought back to Conſtantinople, were by the appointment of *Amurath*, ſome beſtowed into his owne ſtables, and the reſt giuen amongſt the Baſſa's, oftentimes pointed at with the fingers of the Turks, in deriſion of the King of Polonia. This injurie *Amurath* commanded to be don in reuenge of an outrage don by the Polonian Coſſacks againſt the Turks: whereof news was but euen then brought to the court.

The 29 of Nouember, *An.* 1583, died *Hana Chadam*, the widow of the late Emperor *Selymus* the ſecond, and *Amuraths* mother, who lieth buried by her husband *Selymus*, and his fiue ſons, ſtrangled by their brother *Amurath*.

The death of Amuraths mother.

All the reſt of this year 1583 *Ferat* ſpent at Erzirum, and afterwards ſent out his ordinarie commandements to all the accuſtomed cities, to ſummon the ſoldiers againſt the next ſpring in the year 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and enginiers than euer had bin gathered in theſe Wars heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would go to Naſſivan, and there do great matters. At which report the Perſians were much moued, and began

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Ferat raiſeth a new Army.

gan to caſt many things in their heads about it:but aboue al others the King, who vnderſtanding at Casbin of all that had before hapned at Reivan, and of the new preparations of the Turks,began to fear that they would this year paſſe to Tauris,or at leaſtwiſe (as was reported) to Naſſivan,and in thoſe places build new fortreſſes,to the great danger of the Perſian empire. And therfore retaining ſtil ſuch forces as he brought with him from Heri, and commanding as many moe as he could out of all the cities that were ſubiect vnto him, to follow him vnto Tauris,he arriued there with his army not long after the ariual of *Ferat Baſſa* at Erzirum. This vnexpected comming of the Perſian King with ſo great an army to Tauris, filled the World with expectation of great matters to haue bin don by him againſt the Turks: inſomuch that *Ferat* the general,before he would proceed any further,thought it good to aduertiſe *Amurath* of the matter:declaring vnto him,that his deſire was to go to Naſſivan, and there to build a fortreſſe,according to his commandement,and ſo to lay open a paſſage to Tauris. But hauing certain intelligence,that the Perſian king was come to Tauris with a huge army,and ful reſolution to incounter him; he thought it his duty not to put in execution his aforeſaid determination,without his expres commandment. To whom *Amurath* preſently wrot back,that the matter ſo ſtanding,he ſhould not go to Naſſivan,but only imploy his forces to aſſure the paſſages to Tomanis and Lori,that ſo the fort of Teflis might the year following be relieued by ſome ſmall band,without ſending any great army for the conueying of ſuccors thither. This new commandement of his Lord *Ferat* kept ſecret to himſelf, cauſing the rumor of his going to Naſſivan to be more and more increaſed; of purpoſe to nouriſh the opinion that the Perſians had before conceiued of his comming thither: and ſo deluding them, with leſſe danger to build the forts he had intended, for the quieting of thoſe moſt dangerous paſſages of Lori and Tomanis.

The Perſian king at Tauris with a great army.

Vpon this reſolution *Ferat* hauing gathered together his people,with all things neceſſary for his purpoſe,remoued with his army from Erzirum towards Chars,where he ſtaid ten days to take a new ſuruey both of his ſouldiers and prouiſion. And ſo departing thence,ſet forward toward Lori; ſending before him *Haſſan Baſſa* with fiue thouſand light horſemen to ſcour the Country euen to Tomanis, and to learn what he poſſibly could of the enemies purpoſes,and of the ſtate of Georgia. Which thing *Haſſan* dutifully performed,ſpeedily ſcouring ouer all the woods,and diſcloſing all the paſſages from thence to Lori, and ſo to Tomanis,not meeting with any vpon whom to aſſay his valour:only certain Robbers vpon the highway,whom he cauſed to be ſlain,as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and Perſian affairs,and their heads to be ſet vpon the tops of their launces; and ſo returned again to Lori, Where hauing ſtayd one day he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that had hapned in that excurſion. *Ferat* being come to Lori,there incamped his Army. This place did ſomtime belong to *Simon* the Georgian,wel ſtrengthned with an high caſtle, compaſſed about with very deep Ditches,and a thick Wall almoſt a mile in circuit, but was then ſomewhat weakned with time. It is diſtant from Teflis about two daies journy of a Cariers pace. Vpon this Caſtle *Ferat* ſeiſed,and hauing repaired the Walls, and ſtrengthned the breaches, he placed therin *Ali Baſſa* of Greece, with ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers for the defence therof, and planted vpon the Walls two hundred ſmall pieces of Ordnance. And ſo when he had ſet all things there in good order, he departed thence with his Army towards Tomanis, hauing before commanded *Ali Baſſa* at ſome conuenient time to fortifie Saitan Chalaſi (a Caſtle about ten miles diſtant from Lori) and therin to place a conuenient garriſon of ſouldiers and Artillery.

Ferat builds a fort vpon the ſtreit.

Four daies were they going from Lori to Tomanis, being ordinarily but one daies worke from the one place to the other:but now the General would needs ſo make it,to take the ſpoil of thoſe rich fields,abounding with corn,cattel, and fruit, and to leaue to the country people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At laſt being come to Tomanis,(in times paſt a Caſtle of *Symons*, but by reaſon of theſe Wars by him then abandoned) he began to conſult with the other Captains, how and where the Fort ſhould be erected for the aſſurance of that country. But after many diſcourſes,it was at laſt concluded not to fortifie in that caſtle,as being too far from the ſtreit,to make that dangerous paſſage ſafe & ſecure,but to go a little farther, and to build a Fortreſſe vpon the very mouth of the ſtreit. So the Army marching forward a few miles,at the very entrance of the narrow paſſage found the ruins of another caſtle, and

A and neer therunto ſtaid themſelues. This ſteep headlong caſtle was ſo compaſſed round about with a thicke wood, which hindred all diſcouery afar off, that it was not conuenient to ſound ſuch a caſtle there, from whence their Ordnance could neither auaile them to whom the defence thereof ſhould bee committed, neither indamage thoſe that ſhould come to offend it. And therefore the Generall commanded, that euery man with all his endeauors ſhould lay to his hand for the cutting down of that thicke wood, and making way through thicke and thin, to lay it for an open champaign, that was before the receptacle of a thouſand dangerous treacheries. In very ſhort ſpace were the trees laid along on the ground, the place made lightſome and open, and a very commodious ſcituation prepared for the foundation of a caſtle. The plot of the old ruined Caſtle was compaſſed about with a wall of a thouſand and ſeuen hundred B yards, and in the midſt therof was erected a ſtrong Keep, ſundry lodgings and chambers builded, and 200 pieces of Ordnance diſtributed vpon the new wals. After that, the Generall ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* and the Baſſa of Caraemit, with 20000 of his moſt choice ſouldiers, to conuey ſuccors to Teflis: who marching cloſely together in the direct way, in one day arriued at the ſaid Fort; wherein they beſtowed their ſupplies, and changing the Gouernor thereof, ſubſtituted in his room one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occaſion only called a Baſſa. Whileſt *Reſuan* yet lay thus incamped vnder Teflis, *Daut Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of theſe wars, at the comming of *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall into Georgia, had fled out of Teflis, came now with all his family, and offered himſelfe as a ſubiect and deuoted vaſſall to the Turkiſh Emperour: whom *Reſuan* entertained with great promiſes and large aſſurances of all C good ſucceſſe, according to his deſire.

The compaſſe of the caſtle built at Tomanis by Ferat.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* ſtaying at ths ſtreits of Tomanis with his army, had ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* with a far leſſe number than indeed he had, to ſuccor Teflis: Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Reſuan*, and to giue him battell. Vpon which reſolution without further delay, being accompanied but with 4000 Georgians, partly ſubiects of his owne, and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all ſpeed poſſible went againſt *Reſuan*. But whileſt *Simon* was going thitherwards, Generall *Ferat* fearing the worſt, had already by chance diſpatched away the two Baſſa's of Caramania and Maras, with 10000 ſoldiers, to the end that ioyning themſelues with the ſoldiers of *Reſuan*, they ſhould at all aduentures be ſo much the ſtronger. Now *Simon* going reſolutely on, found *Reſuan* incamped D with 6000 ſoldiers only, at the foot of an hill, on the backe ſide whereof lay all the reſt of the army; and preſently gaue a charge vpon him: when the ſoldiers behind the hill being aware of his comming, were ready all at once with their weapons to receiue him. Who now perceiuing his error, repented himſelf to haue ſo raſhly aſſaulted his enemies, ſeeing now no other remedie but to be vtterly vndone. But ſeeing that he had now ſo far ingaged himſelfe, as that hee could not by flight but increaſe his grief, and make the iſſue more lamentable; with theſe few ſouldiers which he had, he endured the fury of the great army of *Reſuan*, ſo that on both ſides there was ioyned a moſt cruell battell: wherein the ſtrange and vnuſuall valour of thoſe few Chriſtians was much to be wondred at: yet in the end the huge number of the Turkiſh ſwords and ſpeares ſo preuailed vpon that ſmall number of the Georgians, as that they were brought E to great extremitie: yea *Simon* himſelfe hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, fel downe headlong to the ground, and in his fal was very neer to haue bin taken priſoner, as was his lieutenant and many other his followers, had he not been relieued by an vnexpected and maruellous chance: for whiles the battell was euen at the greateſt heat betweene them, *Reſuan* diſcouered the two Baſſaes of Caramania and Maras, who (as is before ſaid) were newly ſent by General *Ferat* to ſuccour him; but both by the ſaid *Reſuan*, and alſo by the reſt of his army, were indeed thought to be Perſians: whereupon they were incontinently ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, inſomuch that they now became very doubtfull of the victory, whereof they thought themſelues before aſſured. In this ſuſpence and doubtfulneſſe of mind the battell was alſo intermitted, and the victory by the ſight of thoſe their friends diſturbed: whereby the Georgians, F and eſpecially *Simon*, whoſe eſtate was almoſt deſperate, tooke the opportunitie to eſcape and ſaue themſelues; leauing behind them moſt ſure ſignes of their valour among the Turks, of whom many remained there ſlaine, many wounded. and many filled with great maruell and vnexpected feare. Thus eſcaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his knowne places of refuge, there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his ſubiects. But *Reſuan* after

Simon in danger to haue bin taken, eſcapeth by a ſtrange chance.

after he had diſcouered the Baſſa's approching toward him, to be his known friends and confederats, fretted in himſelf exceedingly, that *Simon* had ſo eſcaped his hands: yet holding on G his way to Tomanis, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the ſtandards of *Simon* al along the ground, and cauſing many of the Georgians heads to be caried vpon his ſoldiers launces, to the great ioy of General *Ferat*, to whom he deliuered all the priſoners taken in the battell, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who hauing in times paſt renounced his firſt faith, was become a Perſian; and now again deſpiſing the vain ſuperſtition of the Perſians, had yeelded himſelf to the vanity of the Turks, and made himſelf a voluntary ſlaue to *Amurath*.

Now was the year ſo far ſpent, that euery man began to fear the winters approch; and therfore the General determined to remoue thence, and to withdraw himſelf into places of more ſafety. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Haſſan* to be Baſſa H of Tomanis, and left with him 8000 ſelect ſoldiers, choſen out of all the army, for the defence of that fort and the country therabout. Deeply had *Ferat* laid vp the outrage committed by *Muſtaffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manucchiar*) in taking away the Kings treaſure, and killing the two Capigi and the Chiaus; and therfore reſolued with himſelf, not to return to Chars or Erzirum, vnles he had firſt paſſed into the Country of the ſayd Georgian, and in moſt cruel maner reuenged thoſe notable injuries before receiued. In three daies he arriued at Triala, and there incamped: but lying there, ſuch an vnwonted dearth and

A wonderfull dearth in the Turks army at Triala.

ſcarcity of all things poſſeſſed the Army, but eſpecially of victuals, that euery fiue buſhels and a half of wheat was ſold at fiue hundred Ducats, to the vniuerſal calamitie of the whole Army. I

From this place the General was minded to go on forward toward the country of *Manucchiar*; but whilſt he was vpon the raiſing of his tents, one *Veis* Baſſa of Aleppo came vnto him and told him, that it was not good now to ſpend the time in wandring about thoſe countries, for that there were three very great enemies confederat together, to make this enterpriſe very difficult, and almoſt impoſſible and deſperat: one was the ſeaſon of the year, being now ful of ſnows, froſt and tempeſt: another was the want and ſcarſnes of all things neceſſary, eſpecially of victuals: the third was the people of Georgia, who by a common vniting of themſelues together, and peraduenture aided by the Perſians, might work ſome notable miſchief againſt the army. This ſpeech of *Veis* ſo much offended the Generall, that he moſt ſharpely rebuked him, and with bitter terms reproued him; telling him flatly, that he well perceiued that K he was brought vp among mountains and villages, and of a villein (as he was) vpon ſome ſuperfluitie of grace, or fooliſh importunity, aduanced to the honour of a Baſſa, and that therefore he ſhould not haue preſumed ſo much as to thinke it lawfull for him, ſo impudently and malapertly to come and giue him ſuch aduertiſements; whereas it had bin his duty rather to haue held his peace, and to haue hearkened to the commandements of his betters and ſuperiours, yeelding himſelfe obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the ſame. With this rebuke the Generall paſſed on to Archelech, burning and in a maner deſtroying the country before him, though indeed it was in amity and confederation with the Turks. But the inhabitants of Archelech vpon the comming of the Turks had abandoned the city, and for feare withdrawn themſelues into the mountains. In Archelech *Ferat* incamped, and ſtaied the ſpace L of foure daies among the rocky crags, and in a barren ſoile yeelding neceſſary ſuſtenance neither for man nor beaſt; ſo that euery man there endured vnſpeakeable miſeries: yet for the ſpace of foure daies the ſouldiers with patience endured this ſo great a calamity. But in the end, the fall of an huge ſnow being added to theſe extremities, did ſo greatly increaſe their griefes, that all the Ianizaries and Spaoglans of Conſtantinople aroſe in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in deſpightfull and contemptuous manner with very haughty and reſolute termes ſaid vnto him:

The inſolent ſpeech of the mutinous ſouldiers againſt Ferat their Generall.

And how long ſhall we endure this thy tedious and inſolent gouernment? Where is the due commiſeration that thou oughteſt to beare toward the Vaſſales of thy Soueraigne, thou ruſticall and vnreaſonable Captaine? Doſt thou thinke haply, that we keep our Harlots as thou doſt vnder thy ſumptuous pauilions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate viands, whilſt others liue in miſerie? Doeſt thou beleeue that we haue as thou haſt, our dainty ſugars, ſpices, and conſerues, whereby to reſtore vs, in the common calamitie of others? And that we haue at command meat and pretious wines, which thou mingleſt with thy cleere and pleaſant water, partly prouided for thee by the art of the cunning M

A *Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured that ſo much people ſhould continue in this famin, afflicted with nakednes and many other inconueniences: and therfore get thy ſelf vp and return toward ErZirum; otherwiſe we ſhall be inforced to do that which will breed more diſpleaſure vnto thee than to any man liuing.*

The General in a great agony preſently called a Councel, wherin it was concluded, That they ſhould all ſend their ſtrong ſumpter horſes to Ardachan, and the reſt to follow him into *Manucchiars* Countrey, whither he had appointed to go only to make an inrode, and with the ſpoil and booty of that country to refreſh the minds of his ſoldiers, afflicted with the miſeries both paſt and preſent. This commandment of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as well B becauſe he promiſed them a ſpeedy voyage, as alſo for that euery man deſired the ſack of Altunchala, with other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journy thorow certain low vallies between the high & craggy mountains, continually accompanied with great famin and ſcarſity, at length brought his army to Cliſca, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for fear of the Turks quite abandoned and forſaken by the inhabitants, who with their wiues and children, and all the beſt ſtuffe they had, were fled into remote and ſafe places, vntil the fury of the enemy was ouerpaſt. In the fields neer to this place (abounding with corn and cattel, and plenty of fruit) the General refreſhed his whole army; and hoping that al the ſoldiers would like it wel to ſtay a while in that ſuch eaſe, determined with himſelf to erect a fort in that place: and with this reſolution gaue commandment to *Reſuan Baſſa* to go vp to the C tower, and in the top therof to ſet vp an Enſigne, with a proclamation and publique report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort, & fortifie it as he had don the other forts before. *Reſuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Baſſa of Caramania, according to the commandement of the general, in the top of the tower ſet vp an enſigne or two, which ſo ſoon as the ſoldiers had eſpied, the forenamed Ianizaries and Spaoglans thinking themſelues too much abuſed by the General, ariſing again al in an vprore, repleniſhed with fury and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take down the enſignes that were ſet vp vpon the tower; and taking them in their hands, rapt the ſaid *Reſuan* once or twice about the pate, diſcharging withal many iniurious and deſpightful words vpon him, and ſharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himſelf to countenance the action of *Reſuan*) with D geſtures ful of deſpight, contempt and diſdain, reuiling him with many ſhameful and ſcorneful terms, they proteſted vnto him,

The mutinous ſoldiers again threaten their Generall.

That they were not come to the wars to exerciſe the occupation of Maſons and daubers, and to bee emploied in ſuch vile and diſhonorable offices; but only to manage their weapons, and therby to demerit their ordinary wages, and to purchaſe to themſelues glory and renown at the Kings hand. And therfore if he loued his head, and would not ſee thoſe arms turned againſt himſelf, which hitherto had bin the reuengers of the enemies injuries, he ſhould reſolue with himſelf to leaue theſe new buildings and vnſeaſonable deſignements, and giuing place to the contrary ſeaſons of the yeare, to haue due care of their common deſires and neceſsity.

E

Whilſt they were yet thus expoſtulating the matter with him, one more bold than the reſt, and more forgetful of his duty, did not ſtick to aſſault the Generall, and to threaten him to wreak his fury vpon him: which in that tumult had haply bin don, had not the Baſſa of Caramania lent the General his own horſe, and ſo conducted him to his pauilion. Yet was hee neuertheles ſtil purſued by the tumultuous ſouldiers, and again ſharply accuſed for the ſtay that he made there, and for not reſoluing preſently to remoue thence: and at laſt after many reprochful ſpeeches, ſaid expreſly, That if he did not the next morning remoue out of thoſe quarters, without all fail he ſhould loſe his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* diſdaining to yeeld to them that ſhould of duty haue bin ready and obedient at euery beck of his, and ſeeking by F all means (notwithſtanding all this ſtir) to ſtay there ſo long time as ſhould bee ſufficient to build a fort, that would ſo much offend *Manucchiar*; anſwered them again,

That he made no account of their threatning him with his life, which he had alwaies offered to lay down

The ſtout anſwer of Ferat.

down for any ſeruice of his King. But if they had no care to ſerue their Soueraign in this new building,
they might go their waies: as for himſelf he was reſolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatſoeuer he had G
commanded him; for the honor of whom euery one of them ought to think their liues very well beſtowed.

Vpon this anſwer there followed diuers railings and curſings againſt the King, againſt the
General, and againſt them all: and in this confuſed tumult euery man betook himſelfe to his
weapon; in euery corner was heard grumlings and whiſperings ful of wrath and indignation,
ſo that there was a great fear of ſome dangerous euent, but greater was the ſuſpition of the
generals life. And now euery man had withdrawn himſelf to the garding of ſuch things as hee
eſteemed moſt; when ſuddenly and in a trice you might haue ſeen the pauilions of the Baſſa's
& captains fal down flat to the ground, all the cords therof being cut in ſunder by the
wrathful ſoldiers; and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattel the Generall & H
Baſſa's led with them for their ordinary vſe, were ſeiſed vpon by the ſame ſoldiers, & garded with
all diligence poſſible. And ſo far was it off, that any man durſt challenge or reuenge this their
inſolencie, that they themſelues turning afreſh vpon their General, being now in a maze and
deadly fear, began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remoue
from thoſe countries, and turn his journy toward Erzirum, thoſe vallies & fields ſhould
without all fail become the ſepulchres of the Baſſa's, and thoſe hils retain the eternall memory of
ſo bloudy a day.

Ferat in danger to be ſlain by the ſoldiers.

With a little liberality might the Generall haue don with his people whatſoeuer hee had
liſted, but being loth to gratifie them in any thing, he was inforced to performe their proud
and arrogant demands, and to his great ſhame to obey them, whom with right vſage he might I
haue made obedient to himſelf: and therfore to auoid their deſpightful threats, to his
exceeding great reproch, he was glad to yeeld to them, in remouing out of thoſe quarters. The firſt
day he arriued at Ardachan, with the great trouble of all his ſouldiers: for wheras the journy
was wont to be two days work ordinarily, as wel in reſpect of the length of the way, as the
difficulty of the paſſage, the General would now needs haue it don in one, the rather thereby to
grieue his ſoldiers. But of this his wilfulnes he receiued euen the ſame day the iuſt reward;
for that the chariots wherin his women rid were conueyed away, together with the Eunuchs
their keepers. Some ſay by the Georgians that lay in wait for ſuch a prey: others ſay by the
Ianizaries, who the more to diſhonor their Generall wrought him this iniury. K

Great was the reproch that *Ferat* receiued in the Army, but far greater at Conſtantinople,
when theſe news were there known. But there was no remedy, he muſt now perforce indure
it, and diſcontented as he was, to keep on his way towards Erzirum. In Ardachan he took a
ſuruey of his Army, and there gaue his ſouldiers leaue to depart: himſelf afterwards arriuing
at Erzirum, hated of all his ſouldiers, envied by his Captains, derided for the loſſe of his
Women, and fallen into diſgrace with euery man. No leſſe than the reſt was the Turkiſh
Emperor diſcontented with him alſo; firſt, for that he had don nothing worth ſpeaking of, in reuenge
of the ſhameful iniury don by *Manucchiar* the Georgian, and yet ſo mightily diſcontented his
ſoldiers. Secondly, for that without any care he had ſuffered *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian
priſoner to eſcape away, about whoſe flight it was thought he could not chuſe but haue ſome L
intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the Court, to diuert his journey from
Naſſiuan, to the ſtreits and narrow paſſages of Georgia; being deſirous to be throughly
informed of thoſe dangerous waies, in this ſecond year when he remoued from Erzirum, tooke
Aliculi Chan out of priſon, of purpoſe to vſe him as his guid in thoſe dangerous ſtreits, and
therfore carried him vnder a gard (whatſoeuer it was afterwards) of his moſt faithful vaſſals;
ſtill intreating him wel, and taking ſuch order as that he wanted nothing. At laſt being come
to the ſtreits of Tomanis in Georgia, where the caſtle (as it is before ſaid) was erected, he from
thence ſecretly eſcaped into Perſia. The manner of his eſcape is diuerſly reported. Some
ſay that *Ferat* in diſcharge of his promiſe, for his good direction had gratified him with his
liberty. Others ſay, That *Ferat* corrupted with mony, gaue him opportunitie to eſcape. Some M
others (with more probability) That his eſcape was made neither for mony, nor diſcharge of
promiſe, but by the only vigilancie of *Aliculi* himſelf, and the ſleepines of his Keepers. And
that watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all eſcapes) he ſtarted away. Howſo-

Ferat breakes vp his army.

euer

A euer it was, in fine he was deliuered from his long captiuity, to the diſcredit of *Ferat*, and returned into Perſia, to performe ſuch enterpriſes againſt the Turks, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

General *Ferat* (before his departure out of Georgia) had commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Græcia (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new caſtle of Lori) to fortifie a certaine caſtle called Saitan Chas (in our language, *The caſtle of the Deuill*) which he with great diligence performed, and left therein fifty pieces of artillery, and a thouſand ſoldiers vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and ſo quieted the paſſages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from Reiuan to Chars, and from Chars to Teflis, were made eaſie and ſafe; and all the meanes taken away whereby the enemy might be able to plot any new treachery vpon thoſe paſſages: which was B no ſmall peece of good ſeruice.

The dangerous paſſage from Reiuan to Teſlis ſecured vnto the Turks.

The Perſian King in the meane time lying at Tauris with his army, vnderſtanding that the Turks had changed their purpoſe from Naſſiuan to Georgia, ſo that there was no further need to imploy his army againſt them for the defence of Tauris or Naſſiuan; at laſt reſolued with himſelfe to licence his ſoldiers to depart, and to apply himſelfe to more priuate reuenges. For calling *Emir Chan* vnto him, whom he had left Gouernor of Tauris, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occaſion, why he had not performed the great promiſes which he had made to him before his departure to Heri, nor done his endeauour to hinder the Turks Fabrick at Reiuan: and why he went not out with other ſoldiers appointed for that purpoſe, and namely, with the Turcomans (as he had promiſed) to reuenge ſo great an injury, C and in beſt maner he could, to haue indamaged the Turkiſh forces? Sundry excuſes did *Emir Chan* alledge for the colouring of his manifeſt default, but none ſufficient to cleare him of the crimes objected againſt him by the king and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the King adjudged to haue his eies burnt out with an hot yron; and ſo depriued of his ſight, to be deſpoiled of all his goods and ſhut vp in cloſe priſon. Which heauy doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the ſpace of a few moneths, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous ſoldier) miſerably died in priſon. Whoſe death ſo highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great eſtimation) that they abſolutely denied their defences for the crowne of Perſia: and the more, when they heard that the King had beſtowed the roome of *Emir Chan* vpon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many reſpects deſerued all preferments, D yet for that he was an antient enemy to certain Turcoman captains, they would not in any wiſe endure that he ſhould be exalted to ſo great an honour. And therefore they waxed more diſdainefull and ill affected towards the King, whereby the Perſian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

Emir Chan hauing his eies put out, dieth miſerably in priſon.

The Turks notwithſtanding the league yet in force betwixt *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor then reigning, did many times make incurſions into the vpper part of Hungary, burning the country villages, and carrying away the people into captiuity: but in their return, they were oftentimes cut off by the Emperors ſoldiers and ſlaine. Which being reported at Conſtantinople, much moued the Turkiſh tyrant: but when he vnderſtood that his men had without any cauſe made thoſe inrodes into the territory of the Chriſtians, and ſo receiued E the foreſaid loſſes, he was againe appeaſed, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the Emperor for eight yeares more.

Ferat from Erzirum aduertiſed *Amurath* of all that had hapned in his late expedition; deſiring him to command what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But beſides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like alſo, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious ſort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the eſcape of *Aliculi Chan*, the ſhameful loſſe of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with *Veis Baſſa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himſelfe, the diſorders of his whole camp for his want of diſcretion; and to be ſhort, the particularities of al ſuch actions as had not altogether ſo honorably bin by him performed that yeare: cauſes of themſelues ſuffi- F cient to induce the king to remoue the ſaid *Ferat* from his Generalſhip. To which occaſions, were alſo added ſundry other ſecret reſpects: for euer ſince the laſt departure of *Ferat* from Erzirum, *Amurath* had ſtill in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterpriſe of Tauris, and thereby to ſtir vp through the World a famous report of his conqueſt correſpondent to his greatneſſe. Now among the captaines whom he eſteemed to be worthy men, to

Amurath ſendeth for Oſman into Siruan.

whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, he bethought himſelfe of *Oſman* G
Baſſa, left at Sumachia in Siruan by Generall *Muſtapha* in the firſt yeare of this war: who
hauing in that prouince remained euer ſince, had without any helpe of the Tartarians, by his
owne induſtry and valor, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large country into
a reaſonable obedience to the Turkiſh Empire: and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Turkiſh
Emperour, had in a country ſo far diſtant, maintained his army, wherewith he had done
all this without any expences at all to his king; hauing now a good while leuied his ſouldiers
ſtipends vpon the lands and territories of that region, and ſtill exerciſed a kind of gouernment
and ſoueraignty ouer thoſe places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had cauſed intelligence
from time to time to be ſent vnto the court: by which means, and other fauorers which
he had about the King, there was foſtered in the minde of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opinion
of him; ſo that now without delay he reſolued to ſend for him to Conſtantinople; and for H
that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arriued at Erzirum, he had diſpatched certain Capigi & Chiaus
to call this famous warriour vnto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meaneſt
ſort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court, & alſo theſe diſignements
of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chiefe Viſier (who rather for the comelineſſe of his perſon
and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high roome)
did greatly feare, leſt *Oſman* whoſe courſe it was to ſit next vnto him in the order of the greateſt
Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of war, and partly for the good affection the
king did beare vnto him, ſhould at his comming to Conſtantinople perſwade the king to what
he liſted, and ſo peraduenture take from him the chiefeſt office, & get into his hands the whole
gouernment of the empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himſelfe I
of theſe feares, he caſt about by all means to keep him from comming to the court; but
becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous,
he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and ſecret meanes. This *Sciaus* in
conſiderttion of many gifts beſtowed vpon him by *Mahamet* the Cuman-Tartar king, had many
times excuſed him to *Amurath* of diuers accuſations which *Oſman* by his letters had laid to
his charge; For not aiding him in the ſubduing of Siruan, as he was both by promiſe and duty
bound: and for all his ouerſights alledged ſuch reaſons in his behalfe, as if they did not altogether
perſuade *Amurath* to be kinde vnto him, yet at the leaſt not to carry a mind of reuenge
againſt him: and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was betwixt K
them confirmed an interchangeable amity and mutuall confederacy. Him *Sciaus* imagined
to find willing and ready by al means poſſible, to hinder the comming of *Oſman* his enemy
to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoone
as he vnderſtood the certain reſolution of *Amurath*, to call *Oſman* to the court, ſecretly wrote
to the Tartar king, who lay incamped neer to the hauen of Caffa vpon the Fens of Meotis; certifying
him, That *Oſman* was to come to the court; and that therefore it were good for him to
call to mind, how great an eneny he had beene to him, and how much he had endeauoured by
letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and diſpleaſure againſt him: and withall, That if he
was able to doe ſo much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with very reaſonable excuſes,
the King had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; hee L
ſhould then imagine with himſelfe, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to do, when he ſhould come in
perſon to the preſence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, betweene themſelues determine
of all matters what they ſhould thinke conuenient. Theſe, and peraduenture worſe Letters
which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, miniſtred matter enough vnto him to reſolue to do what he
might, not to ſuffer ſo pernitious an enemy of his to arriue at Conſtantinople: and eſpecially
perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt he repoſed all his hope and all his protection, did ſo
greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he commanded twelue
thouſand ſoldiers, that changing their weapons and apparell, they ſhould goe and lie in wait
for *Oſman* in the borders betweene Cholchis, and Iberia, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by
which way he was to come; and ſo making an aſſault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. M
Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done, could not, or would not, be imputed to his procurement,
but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to
the Muſcouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to be ſhort, rather to any body elſe,
than to him. This commandement of the Tartar King, was accordingly by the ſouldiers put
in

The Tartar King ſendeth 12000 Tartars to lie in wait for to kill Oſman.

A in practiſe: who without further ſtay joyned themſelues together, and ſo rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the meſſengers ſent from *Amurath*, come to *Oſman*, who preſently put himſelfe on his way towards Conſtantinople, hauing left behind him at Derbent and Sumachia, two Baſſaes, thought to be the moſt ſufficient men in Seruania: hauing alſo appointed very good orders in the ſame, and an aſſured eſtabliſhment of all thoſe countries and places which *Muſtapha* had firſt ſubdued, and he himſelfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of *Amurath*. He had alſo prouided for the ſafety of his own perſon, in paſſing thoſe troubleſome and dangerous paſſages through which he was to trauell, by chuſing out foure thouſand ſouldiers which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his owne diſcipline; through
B whoſe valor, he doubted not ſafely to paſſe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the populous ſquadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from Derbent, and coaſting along the rocks of Caucaſus (that at al times of the yeare are all white and hoary with continuall ſnowes) leauing on his left hand Media, Iberia, and Colchis; and on the right hand, the famous riuer of Tanais and Volga, euen at his firſt entrance vnto the ſhores of the Euxine ſea, he was by the aboue named twelue thouſand Tartarians, being apparelled like theeues that lie vpon thoſe waies, ſuddenly aſſailed & fought withall. But like as a huge rocke lying open to tempeſt and waues, ſtanding faſt and vnmoueable in it ſelfe, reſiſteth the thundrings and ruſhings of the great and fearefull billowes: ſo ſtood *Oſman* faſt & firme, and couragiouſly ſuſtained this treacherous aſſault, turning the bold
C countenances of his reſolute ſouldiers, againſt the rebellious multitude of thoſe traiterous ſquadrons: who, as is their manner in the beginning, vſed great force, but finding ſo ſtout reſiſtance in thoſe few, whom they had thought with their only lookes and ſhoutings to haue put to flight, they began at length to quaile. Which *Oſman* quickly perceiuing, couragiouſly forced vpon them, and in a very ſhort ſpace, and with a very ſmall loſſe of his own, put thoſe Tartarians to flight, killing a number of them, and alſo taking many of them priſoners: by whom *Oſman* was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conceiceiued, leſt when he came to Conſtantinople he would procure his deſtruction from *Amurath*, had ſent this army to ſeeke his death. Of which treaſon *Oſman* cauſed a perfect proceſſe to be made, together with the depoſitions of the Tartarian priſoners, which he ſent the ſhorteſt way
D he could deuiſe to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, with letters declaring all that had paſſed, inflaming him to reuenge ſo dangerous an injury and ſo wicked a practiſe. *Amurath* receiuing theſe aduertiſements from *Oſman*, according to the neceſſity of the matter, tooke order that *Vluzales* his Admirall with certain gallies well appointed, ſhould paſſe ouer to Caffa to fetch *Oſman*; and withall to carry with him *Iſlan*, a brother of the Tartar kings, commanding *Oſman* by letters, that he ſhould (to the terror of others) put to death the treacherous king, and place his brother in his roome.

Oſman aſſaulted by twelue thouſand Tartars.

Oſman ouercommeth the Tartars.

This Tartar King was one of thoſe mighty Princes, who baſely yeelding to the *Othoman* power, led vnder them a moſt vile and troubleſome life, as their tributaries and vaſſals, alwaies at command: whoſe yonger brother *Iſlan* (preſuming of the ſufficiency of himſelfe and the fa-
E uor of the people) going to Conſtantinople, became a ſutor to the Turkiſh Emperor, to haue his eldeſt brother thruſt out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill gouernment hated of his ſubjects, and to be placed himſelfe in his roome. Which his ſuit was ſo croſſed by the Embaſſadors of the king his brother (who ſpared for no coſt in the behalfe of their maſter) that the ambitious youth was ſent from the Turks court to Iconium, and there clapt faſt vp in priſon: where apparelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his miſery, with ſuch a kind of externall innocency, as if he had beene void of all hope or ambitious deſire of a kingdom, but rather like a forlorn and vnhappy wretch with vain affliction & impious deuotion to prepare himſelfe to a laudable and honorable death. But whilſt he thus liued, ſequeſtred from all wordly cogitations, vpon the diſcouery of the king his brothers rebellion, he was in
F more than poſt haſt ſent for to Conſtantinople, and put into the gallies bound for Caffa, with letters to *Oſman* of the tenour aforeſaid. Now in the meane time *Oſman* had by cunning means got into his hands this Tartar king, being as is reported betraied by his owne counſellours, corrupted by the Turks gold: whom with his two ſonnes *Oſman* vpon the receit of the aforeſaid letters from *Amurath*, cauſed to be preſently ſtrangled with a bowſtring, and *Iſlan* his

Oſman ſtrangleth Mahomet the Tartar king with his two ſons, & placeth Iſlan his brother in his ſtead.

yonger brother be ſaluted king in his place, yet as vaſſall to *Amurath*. This ſhamefull death,
the vſuall reward of the Turkiſh friendſhip, was thought juſtly to haue hapned vnto this Tartar G
king, for that he long before, ſupported by *Amurath*, had moſt vnnaturally depoſed his aged
father from that kingdome, juſt reuenge now proſecuting his ſo great diſloyalty.

Amurath demandeth Oſmans opinion concerning the enterpriſe of Tauris.

Oſmans reſolution.

Oſman embarked himſelfe in the forenamed gallies at the Port of Caffa, paſſing ouer the
Euxine ſea, and entering into the Thracian Boſphorus, arriued at Conſtantinople, where he
was receiued with great pompe and ſingular ſignificatons of good loue. But with moſt euident
and expreſſe kinds of joy was he ſaluted by *Amurath* himſelfe, when by his owne ſpeach
and preſence he declared vnto him euery particularitie of the matters that had hapned in his
long and important voiage, and in liuely maner repreſented vnto him the perils & trauels that
he had paſſed, and the conqueſts that he had made in Siruan. After all which diſcourſes *Amurath* H
who longed after nothing more, than to ſee the Perſian king ſomewhat bridled, and the famous
city of Tauris brought vnder his owne ſubjection, began to enter into conference with
Oſman about that enterpriſe, and in the end would needs know throughly of him, what iſſue he
could promiſe him of this his deſire; and in what ſort by his aduice and counſell the forces
ſhould be imploied, and the armies diſpoſed for the ſubduing of that city, which ouer all the
nations of the world was ſo famous, and ſo great an honour to the Perſian kingdome. To all
which demands his anſwer and reſolution was, That foraſmuch as the matters of Georgia
were now well ſetled, the trecherous paſſages by the new built forts aſſured, and the prouince
of Siruan vnder his obedience eſtabliſhed, there was now no cauſe why he ſhould any longer
foreſlow ſo famous an enterpriſe, but by the conqueſt of Tauris, and erecting of a fort in that
proud city, to bring a terrour vpon all Perſia, and to raiſe a glorious renowne of ſo mighty a I
conqueſt among the Nations of Europe: for the accompliſhment whereof, he thought that
either the ſame army, or at the moſt a very little greater would ſuffice, ſo that it were raiſed of
the beſt and choiſeſt ſouldiers.

Oſman Baſſa made chiefe Viſier & Generall of the army.

By reaſon of one of the letters which *Sciaus Baſſa* had written to the late Tartar king, and by
the inſtigation of the yong Sultan *Mahomets* mother (jealous of the neere alliance of the great
Baſſa with her husband, as prejudiciall and dangerous to her ſonne) *Amurath* had in the open
Diuano depriued the ſaid *Sciaus* from the office of the chiefe Viſier, and hardly pardoning him
his life, at the interceſſion of his wife, being his ſiſter, had baniſhed him the Court, ſo that he
liued afterwards about Calcedon, vpon the borders of Aſia, not far from Conſtantinople, in a K
cloſe palace he had there built for his owne pleaſure: in whoſe roome he appointed *Oſman* to
be chiefe Viſier; and to honour him the more, nominated him the Generall of his army againſt
the Perſians. Such power hath Vertue, that euen from the very ſcum of the raſcall ſort, and out
of the ruſticall rout of mountain peaſants (which notwithſtanding cannot be truly juſtified of
this *Oſman*, his father being Beglerbeg of Damaſco, and his mother, the daughter of the Beglerbeg
of Babylon) it doth oftentimes in the courſe of this variable world draw diuers men
into Princes courts, and aduance them to the higheſt dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuat
ſouldier, though well born, he by ſundry degrees grew vp to the higheſt honor of that ſo great
an Empire, and was at one inſtant created the chiefe Counſellor and Generall of the *Othoman*
forces. Great was the joy that *Oſman* conceiued hereat; & great was the deſire he had to make L
himſelfe worthy of ſo honorable fauors; and the greater confidence he perceiued that *Amurath*
had repoſed in him, the more eagerly was he ſpurred on to doe any thing poſſible whereby he
might ſhew himſelfe to haue deſerued the ſame. And therefore aduiſing with himſelfe, that
foraſmuch as the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe required a greater army, than was leuied in former
yeares, ſo was it neceſſary alſo for him the ſooner to ſend out his aduertiſements into all
his ſubject prouinces, and by his own example to ſtir vp the other captaines and ſouldiers euen
in the Winter (though it were as yet ſomewhat troubleſome) to paſſe ouer to Scutari, and
from thence to Angori, to Amaſia, to Siuas; and there in thoſe territories to driue out the
time, vntill his ſouldiers which were ſummoned, were all gathered together. And becauſe vpon
this his great ſpeed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemy miſdoubting his purpoſe M
for Tauris, might prouide a greater army than they would otherwiſe, he cauſed it to be
giuen out, That he muſt goe for Naſſiuan; to the end, that the Perſians ſo beguiled, ſhould not
regard the gathering of ſo mighty an Army as they would haue done if they ſhould haue
heard of the Turks comming to Tauris: and ſo the generall couſening rumor flew, not onely

through

A through all the cities ſubiect to the Turks, but into the countries of the Perſians alſo: who notwithſtanding being very iealous of the city of Tauris, and fearing that the matter would fall out as indeed afterward it did, ceaſed not to make moſt curious and diligent inquiry about it. And although the diſgrace offered to his Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, diſſuaded him from ſending any other for treaty of peace: yet to ſpy out the ſecrets of the Turks, and to vnderſtand the certainty of their purpoſe for Naſſiuan or Tauris, he ſent diuers meſſengers to *Oſman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace; but in very deed for nothing els but to ſound his deſignements: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could vſe poſſibly diſcouer, but ſtill remained doubtfull as at the firſt, the Fame ſtill running for Naſſiuan.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* ſent one *Muſtapha*, one of the meaneſt of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of Polonia, to excuſe the death of *Podolonius* (ſo ſhamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the ſame had hapned by the inſolency of certaine ſoldiers, and not by his commandement: who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two baſe fellowes, as authors of that outrage, for the King to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no ſuch men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for ſome other fact worthy of death, and now ſent thither to ſerue that purpoſe: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatning maner in the name of his Maſter) required to haue preſent reſtitution made of all ſuch goods as the Polonian Coſſackes had not long before taken from the Turks, and the captaine of the ſaid Coſſackes to be deliuered alſo C vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and ſo hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithſtanding the vnworthy death of *Podolonius* and his followers, and the taking away of his horſes) all the goods taken by the Coſſackes were forthwith reſtored: which the Chiaus almoſt in triumphant manner preſented vnto *Amurath* at Conſtantinople.

This Summer alſo, *Amurath* diſporting himſelfe with his Mutes, was almoſt dead. Theſe Mutes are luſty ſtrong fellows, depriued of their ſpeech; who neuertheleſſe by certaine ſignes can both aptly expreſſe their own conceits, and vnderſtand the meaning of others: theſe men for their ſecrecy are the cruell miniſters of the Turkiſh tyrants moſt horrible commands; and therfore of them had in great regard. With theſe Mutes mounted vpon faire and fat, but heauy and vnready horſes, was *Amurath*, vpon a light and ready horſe, ſporting himſelfe (as the maner D of the Turkiſh Emperors is) riding ſometime about one, ſometime about another, and ſtriking now the horſe, now the man, at his pleaſure; when ſuddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling ſickeneſſe his old diſeaſe, and ſo falling from his horſe, was taken vp for dead; inſomuch, that the Ianizaries ſuppoſing him to haue been indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and Iews, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or captain to reſtraine their inſolency, to the terror of the reſt, hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuertheleſſe, *Amurath* ſhortly after recouered againe, and to appeaſe that rumor of his death, openly vpon their Sabbath, (which is the Friday) rid from his palace to the temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others ſaw him (ſaith *Leunclauius*) his countenance yet all pale and diſcoloured.

Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 91.

A moſt barbarous outrage committed by Petrus Emus a Venetian.

E This yeare alſo hapned ſuch a chance as had like to haue raiſed new warres betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: which, foraſmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in ſilence to paſſe ouer. The widow of *Ramadan Baſſa*, late Gouernor of Tripolis in Barbary, with her ſonne, her family, and a great number of ſlaues of both ſorts, being about to depart from Tripolis to Conſtantinople, had rigged vp a faire gally for the tranſporting of her ſelfe and her ſubſtance, reported to be worth eight hundred thouſand duckats: vpon which galley for her more ſafety, ſhe had ioyned two others as conſorts. Thus embarked, ſhe came to the mouth of the Adriaticke; where ſailing by Corfu, ſhe was by force of tempeſt driuen into the gulfe of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies, had the charge for the keeping of that ſea againſt pyrats, and all other ene- F mies whatſoeuer. He hearing of the Turks comming into the gulfe, without delay ſet vpon them, and being too ſtrong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exerciſed moſt barbarous cruelty, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing ſlain the men, in number two hundred and fifty, and the ſonne of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he cauſed the women, being before rauiſhed, to haue their breaſts cut off, and afterwards to be caſt ouer boord

into the ſea, being in number about forty. The brother of *Emus* chancing vpon a beautiful virgin,
was by her moſt earneſtly intreated to haue ſpared her honor; and the rather, for that (as G
ſhe ſaid) ſhe was a Chriſtian, taken about 12 years before in Cyprus, ſince which time ſhe had
liued in moſt miſerable captiuity among the Turks, and being now fallen by good hap into
the hands of a noble Venetian, was in good hope to be ſet at liberty inuiolated. Which ſhee
moſt humbly beſought him for the loue of God to doe, and not to imbrue his hands in her
guiltles bloud, or to diſhonor himſelf by forcing her. But all ſhe could ſay preuailed nothing
with the cruel and vnbridled youth; who after he had at his pleaſure abuſed her, caſt her with
the reſt into the ſea. It is thought that *Emus* ſuffered this ſo great an outrage (and ſo far vnbeſeeming
the honor of the Venetians) to be don, to the intent that none ſhould be left aliue to
bewray the greatnes of the booty, or the villany there committed. Which was neuertheleſſe
(God ſo appointing it) reuealed by one of the Turks, who ſaued by a Surgeon of Crete that H
knew him, and afterwards comming to Conſtantinople, openly declared the ſame. With the
odious report wherof, the Turks were ſo inraged, that in euery corner of the city a man might
haue heard them threatning vnto the Venetians moſt cruell reuenge: yea, they had much ado
to hold their hands from the Bilo or gouernor of the Venetian merchants in Conſtantinople
and to forbear to ſpit in his face as he went in the ſtreets. At that time was one *Iohan. Franciſcus*
Maurocenus (or as they commonly call him *Moreſin*) Bilo at Conſtantinople: who vnderſtanding
that *Amurath* in his rage was about to ſend one of the great gentlemen of his court,
whom the Turks call Zauſij (the great Turks vſual Embaſſadors) to Venice about that matter,
found means to haue him ſtaid at Conſtantinople, and another of leſſe authority ſent to I
expoſtulate the matter with the Senat, and in the name of *Amurath* to require to haue the offendor
puniſhed, and the gallies with the ſlaues and goods reſtored; ſo ſhould the League betwixt
him and them continue firm; wheras otherwiſe hee ſhould be conſtrained by force of
arms to reuenge the wrongs done to his ſubjects. This meſſage being by the ſaid meſſenger
deliuered at Venice, the Senators after diligent examination of the matter, returned this anſwer,
That the widow of *Ramadan* with her family comming to Zacynthus an Iſland of theirs,
was there honorably entertained, and preſented with certain curteous preſents: but departing
thence and comming to Cephalenia another of their Iſlands, her people running on land, contrary
to the conditions of the league, made ſpoil of whatſoeuer they could light vpon, ſparing
neither man nor beaſt. Of which inſolencie their Prouidetor vnderſtanding, and making after K
them, found them in arms within the gulf; & comming neer vnto them, were neither by them
ſaluted, as the maner is at ſea, neither was any top ſail ſtrook, in token that the command of
that ſea belonged to the Venetians; all which they ought by the League to haue done. For
which their outrages and proud contempt their Prouidetor had taken ſuch ſharpe reuenge.
Neuertheleſſe they promiſed in that caſe to do what beſeemed them in reaſon and iuſtice to
do, for the ſatisfying of his deſire. With which ſo reaſonable an anſwer *Amurath* ſeemed to
be wel contented; but being indeed loth to intangle himſelf with Wars againſt that mighty
State at ſea, his wars againſt the Perſians being not as yet finiſhed. Yet ſhortly after, *Emus* was
for his diſhonourable and cruell dealing with the Lady and her family, worthily condemned
and beheaded, and the gallies with all the goods and ſlaues reſtored. This great woman had L
in thoſe gallies four hundred Chriſtian ſlaues, all which vpon the taking of the gallies were,
as the manner is, ſet at liberty, for whom the Venetians made reſtitution of as many other of
the Turks.

The villany diſcouered.

Amurath ſendeth a meſſenger to Venice, to expoſtulate the iniury don vnto his ſubjects.

Petrus Emus beheaded.
Io. Leunc. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag 92.

Ramadan Baſſa the husband of the aforeſaid great Lady was gouernor of Tripolis in Barbary,
and of the country therabouts: who hauing wars with one of the barbarous Kings of the
Moors, went out againſt him with all his forces; wherin were certain companies of Ianizaries
ſent by *Amurath* from Conſtantinople. Now in this country, as in many other places of Affrick,
are great and deſart ſands, ouer which whoſoeuer is to paſſe, muſt prouide himſelf both
of victuals and skilful guids, without which they are not without great danger to bee paſſed.
Ramadan with his Army vnprouided both of the one and the other, hauing entred theſe Deſarts, M
was at length brought to that caſe, that hee could neither goe forward, neither without
loſſe of his men returne. Yet at length he retyred and got home, but not without the loſſe of
ſome of his people, and the manifeſt danger of his whole Army: for which his improuidence
the Ianizaries fel into ſuch a rage, that not reſpecting the honor of the man, or regarding the
diſplea-

Ramadan Baſſa ſlain by the inſolent Ianizaries.

diſpleaſure of their ſoueraigne, they fell vpon him and ſlew him. At which their inſolency if *Amurath* did winke, and paſſe it ouer vnpuniſhed, let no man maruell: for why, the antient obedience of thoſe martial men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more ſeuere diſcipline gouerned; but now growne proud and inſolent (as the manner of men is liuing in continuall pay) with weapons in their hands doubt not to do whatſoeuer ſeemeth vnto themſelues beſt, be it neuer ſo foule or vnreaſonable. Which although it be in many places of this Hiſtory to be ſeene; yet for the more manifeſtation thereof, I thought it not amiſſe here brefely to ſet downe an example or two of their notorious inſolencie.

Not many yeares before, the Ianizaries in Cyprus with like inſolency ſlew *Achmetes Baſſa* gouernor of that Iſland: pretending for the color of ſo foule a fact, that he had defrauded them of their pay, and oppreſſed them of the country with intollerable exactions. *Amurath* highly offended with this their diſloyalty in killing their General, whom they had neuer before complained of; thought it much to concerne the majeſty of himſelfe, and the repreſſing of the like inſolency in others, not to ſuffer it to go vnpuniſhed: and for that purpoſe ſent another new gouernor into Cyprus, with ten gallies furniſhed as well with other neceſſary prouiſion, as with ſuch a conuenient number of ſoldiers as might ſuffice to chaſtiſe the inſolency of the chief offendors. This new gouernor arriued in Cyprus, diſſembling the ſecret commandement he had for the executing of the tranſgreſſors; by certaine truſty men gaue it out among the Ianizaries, That *Amurath* was ſo far from being angry with the death of *Achmetes*, as that he thought him worthily ſlaine by the Ianizaries, for defrauding them of their wages, and oppreſſing of his other ſubjects. Which report the new Gouernor had of purpoſe giuen out, to put them in ſecurity, and without further trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Ianizaries cheerefully and with all due reuerence receiued their new Gouernor: but ſhortly after to be ſure, they by an vnexpected guile when as nothing was leſſe feared, compaſſed in all the new come ſoldiers, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne; and not ſo contented, ſeiſed alſo vpon the gallies that brought them. Which ſecond outrage, though *Amurath* tooke in euill part, as ſeeing his majeſty therein contemned, yet was he content to paſſe it ouer, being loth to adde domeſticall troubles to the great wars he had in hand with the Perſian.

Achmetes Baſſa Gouernour of Cyprus, ſlain by the Ianizaries.

Another inſolency of the Ianizaries.

But to end this matter with the opinion of one of their owne greateſt Baſſaes, concerning theſe maſterfull men. It fortuned that whileſt *Busbequius* (Embaſſador for *Ferdinand* the Emperor, vnto *Solyman*) lay in the Turks campe, at ſuch time as *Solyman* in perſon himſelfe was gon ouer the ſtreit in Aſia, to countenance his eldeſt ſon *Selymus* againſt his younger brother *Bajazet*, That vpon a light quarrell (though heauily taken) betweene the followers of the ſaid Embaſſador, and certain Ianizaries waſhing themſelues at the ſea ſide, the Embaſſador for the quieting thereof was glad to vſe the helpe of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, *Solyman* his ſon in law: who vnderſtanding the matter, by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe aduiſed the Embaſſador to cut off all occaſion of contention with thoſe moſt naughty fellowes: asking him further, if he knew not that it was now the time of war, in which time they ſo reigned, as that *Solyman* himſelf was not able to rule them, but ſtood in feare of them. Which ſpeech fell not raſhly from *Ruſtan*, a man right well acquainted with his Lord and maſters griefe: for that moſt notable prince feared nothing more, than leſt ſome ſecret and dangerous treaſon ſhould lie hidden among the Ianizaries, which breaking out vpon the ſudden, might worke his finall deſtruction: whereof he needed not to ſeeke for any further example, than to his grandfather *Bajazet*. For, as true it is, That great are the commodities of a perpetuall army of a Princes owne; ſo are the incommodities alſo not ſmall, if they be not carefully met withall: but eſpecially for that the Prince is euer in doubt of rebellion; and that it is ſtill in the power of thoſe armed ſouldiers, at their pleaſure to tranſlate the kingdome to whom they liſt. Whereof there haue bin many great examples, although there are many waies for the remedying of the ſame.

Busbeq. Legationis Turcicę Epiſt. 3.

1585 But now that we haue by occaſion of the occurrents of that time a little ſtept out of the way, let vs return again vnto the wars of Perſia, the chiefe object of *Amuraths* hauty deſignes. Now according to the commandements gon out thorow all the cities of the Empire, the ſouldiers of all ſorts began to flocke together: and all thoſe that were either deſirous to be eſtabliſhed in their former charges and gouernments, or ambitiouſly ſought to be now promoted, repaired to *Oſman*, as vnto a king, and the ſoueraigne moderator of the Turkiſh empire, preſenting him very large and liberall gifts, wherby he gathered together a huge heape of infinit treaſure: and ſo entertaining them with all affable curteſie,and promiſing both rewards and honors to ſuch as would follow him in his purpoſed expedition,he leuied a wonderfull great number both of men and monies. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards Erzirum, where he was greatly expected of his huge army there aſſembled together. And notwithſtanding the great dearth of victuall that commonly reineth in thoſe quarters,yet thither he muſt, where he arriued about the latter end of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare 1585 : and there taking a view of his whole army,and of all the prouiſion neceſſary for ſo important and famous an enterpriſe,he dayly labored to haſten his departure. In this city of Erzirum were met together all the ſoldiers of the prouinces that were wont to ſend helpe, but yet in greater number than euer was gathered by any Generall before : for that euery man forſooke his owne priuate buſineſſe, and vpon aſſured hopes of new rewards and vnwonted honours, were all induced to follow the fame of this their new Viſier and General:only the people of Ægypt and Damaſco were buſied with other more priuat quarrels at home,wherof becauſe they were both of great importance, and alſo fell out at this very inſtant (leauing *Oſman* with his army for a while at Erzirum) I will in as few words as I may make a briefe rehearſall.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queenes Eunuch ſent to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Haſſan Baſſa* the Eunuch out of the Seraglio,from the charge he had there to ſerue in the Queenes Court,and at her inſtance ſent him as Baſſa to Caire the great city of Ægypt. Which great office,beſide the honour belonging vnto it,is alſo beneficial to them whoſe good hap it is to be aduanced thereunto : the riches,the multitude of people inhabiting therein being ſo great,that it ſeemeth not to be one city,but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding couetous,and therfore deſirous to handle the matter in ſuch ſort, as that he ſhould little need to ſeeke for any more ſuch grants at the Kings hands ; ſought by all manner of means to oppreſſe the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes,without regard of honeſty or reaſon. By which his ſiniſter and corrupt dealing hee had now made himſelfe ſo odious and intollerable to the people in generall, that they in great number, and many times, began to goe to Conſtantinople, and with humble petitions to requeſt the King to take from them ſuch a cruel and vnjuſt Gouernor : ſo that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and miſchiefes that were reported of the couetous Eunuch. At laſt *Amurath* ſeeing theſe publique exclamations went dayly ſo far,as that he could not for ſhame let them go any further without due puniſhment, he reſolued with himſelfe to call him to the Court: and hauing ſent vnto him certain meſſengers, admoniſhed him ſundry times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue ſo fit an occaſion to enrich himſelfe, did ſtill delay his returne, alledging diuers feigned excuſes for his longer ſtay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderſtood, thinking himſelfe thereby deluded,he determined to prouide for ſo great a diſorder, and by puniſhing of the miſchieuous Eunuch,to ſatisfie in ſome part the diſcontented minds of his oppreſſed ſubjects in Caire.

Ebrain Baſſa in ſpeech to marry Amurath his daughter.

There ſat at that time among the chiefe Baſſa's of the Court,one *Ebrain*(or as ſome cal him, *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian,a young man of the age of 23 yeares, or thereabouts, of very faire conditions, and of a reaſonable judgement ; vpon whom *Amurath* himſelfe had determined to beſtow his owne daughter to wife, and ſo to make him his ſon in law. And therefore being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to ſatisfie the city ; and being alſo willing withall to giue means for his ſaid ſonne in law to enrich himſelfe,he reſolued to ſend him as general Syndic & ſoueraigne Iudge into Ægypt,giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predeceſſor had dealt before him. And ſo this new Baſſa took his journy towards Ægypt,although there ran before him a great rumor of his comming, and of the great authority wherewith he was ſent. At which report, as the Ægyptians reſted content and joyfull,ſo the Eunuch waxed very ſad and ſorrowfull : perſuading himſelfe, that this alteration could not but engender ſome ſtrange iſſue and effect againſt him. Whereupon adviſing himſelfe to prouide better for his owne affaires and the ſafety of his life ; he reſolued not to ſtay the comming of the new Gouernour ; but departing out of Ægypt, hee with great care and circumſpection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, trauelled towards Conſtantinople in hope to appeaſe the Kings wrath, or at leaſt by mediation of bribes, and by the interceſſion of the Queene, to finde him more fauourable than hee ſhould finde *Ebrain*, who without doubt would not haue ſpared any extremity or cruelty, to haue bereft him both of his goods

A goods and life together. *Amurath* aduertiſed from *Ebrain*, of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of Ægypt, & hearing withall, that he kept not the high way from Caire to Conſtantinople, began to feare, leſt when he came into Soria, he ſhould fly into Perſia to the King, and ſo worke him double and treble damage; as one that had already gathered a huge treaſure, and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret affaires thereof, and had learned all the priuy deuices and faſhions of the Seraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence diſpatched his Imbrahur Baſſi (whom we call Maſter of his horſe) with forty of his Capigi (all Gentlemen Vſhers, and officers of moſt ſecret and neereſt roomes about him) with charge and commandement, that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the court, vſing all the aid and aſſiſtance of his people that might be requiſit: and for that purpoſe deliuered vnto him very effectuall B and large letters, after the beſt manner of the Court. This meſſenger with his appointed train departed, and without any extraordinary inquiry, found the Eunuch in Soria, incamped in the plaines neere vnto the city now called Aman, but in times paſt Apamea, the principall city of that country. As ſoone as the Eunuch vnderſtood of the comming of the Imbrahur himſelfe, he gaue order to his guard of ſlaues, which in great number with ſpeares and arcubuſes did ordinarily kept his pauilion, that they ſhould not grant entrance into his tent to any, but only vnto the Imbrahur himſelfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the reſt of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in very good time giuen; for as ſoone as the kings officer had diſcouered the tents of the fugitiue Baſſa, in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, and ſeeking out the greateſt among them, went preſently thither, to haue entred with all his followers: but the C ſlaues being in armor, oppoſed themſelues againſt them, and permitting only the Imbrahur to enter in, entertained the reſt of his traine without. The Imbrahur being come in, read vnto him the commandement which he had from the King to bring him to the court, and moſt inſtantly moued him, that without any further reſiſtance, he would quietly go with him. To whom the wary Eunuch anſwered, *Behold, how without any calling of the King, or conducting by you, I come of my ſelfe, well aſſured to finde not only pardon and pitty, but alſo fauour and grace in the ſight of my Lord, whoſe vpright and milde nature the wicked treacheries of my falſe accuſers cannot abuſe, to the prejudice of me an innocent*. And ſo without more ado they went all to Conſtantinople: the Eunuch ſtill ſtanding vpon his guard.

The warineſſe of the crafty Eunuch.

The politike and crafty Eunuch had in this meane time diſpatched diuers poſts with letters D to the Sultan ladies, certifying them of his comming, & principally beſeeching the queen to protect him, and to appeaſe the kings wrathfull indignation that haply he might haue conceiued againſt him: and ſo at length they arriued at Scutari. As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood of his comming thither, he cauſed all the treaſure which hee had gathered to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his priuat ſubſtance, and the wretch himſelfe to be clapt in priſon in the Iadicula or ſeuen towers. Where after he had languiſhed many daies, ſtill fearing ſome deadly blow, he at length receiued from the Queene, an vnexpected, but moſt welcome aduertiſement, That he ſhould be of good cheare and quiet himſelfe, for that his wealth had already ſaued his life, and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his liberty. Which indeed ſhe brought to paſſe; for ſhe her ſelfe made earneſt petition to *Amurath* her husband, E that foraſmuch as he had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at laſt deliuer him out of priſon, and reſtore him vnto her againe. Which requeſt of the Queenes was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treaſure that he had ſo vnjuſtly ſcraped together in Ægypt, that remained ſtill among the gold and other jewels of the Kings.

The Eunuch caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new commiſſion now arriued in Ægypt, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter means than had the Eunuch before him, ſcrapt together ſuch an infinit heap of riches, as was able only of it ſelfe to make him worthy of his promiſed wife, and therfore he was called home to the court, to accompliſh the intended mariage. With this commandment to returne to Conſtantinople, he receiued alſo in charge, to make his journey through the people of Druſia, and ſuch as he ſhould find loyal, to confirme them in their due obedience, & to make F them pay their antient duties; but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborne and diſobedient he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This commandement *Ebrain* preſently put in execution, and hauing packed vp together all the riches he had gathered in the time of his gouernment, and raiſed good ſtore of ſoldiers in that prouince, he tooke with him thirteen Sanzackes, that were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as aſſiſtants vnder the gouernment of the Baſſa in the ruling of the populous territories of Caire, and ſo ſet forwards towards Gaza, paſſing G ouer thoſe vaſt and huge wilderneſſes of ſand that lie betweene Caire and Gaza. From Gaza, ioyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to Ieruſalem; and from thence, cauſing the Sanzacke there alſo to follow his traine, he turned by Saffetta, by Lezium, by Naplos (called in times paſt Samaria) ſtill taking with him the Sanzacks of all thoſe places, and at laſt turned himſelfe towards Damaſco: ſo that before he ioyned with the band of Damaſco, he had gotten together eighteene Sanzacks, with all their ſquadrons of ſouldiers and ſlaues. Beſides theſe, he had alſo his own priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous, and two hundred Ianizaries of Conſtantinople, whom *Amurath* would needs haue him to take with him at his departure from the Court, ſo that he had in his army almoſt twelue thouſand horſemen. From Damaſco, *Veis* the Baſſa was come as far as Ieruſalem to meet him, with all the ſouldiers vnder H his gouernment, in number about two thouſand perſons. Beſides that, there came vnto him by the way of Sidon, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Cyprus, with all the band of that deſolate and deſtroied Iſland: which captaine with his ſoldiers was tranſported ouer into the maine, in thoſe gallies that by the Kings appointment were ſent to fetch *Ebrain*: who now ſtrengthned with all theſe ſouldiers, had purpoſed the vtter ruine of the diſobedient Druſians, and the raiſing of his own glory by triumphing ouer them.

The Druſian people what they are.

The Countrey which the Druſians inhabit.

Fiue chiefe Rulers or Gouernors among the Druſians.

Theſe Druſians, againſt whom theſe great preparations were now made by this new Captaine, and of whom the Turkiſh Emperor is ſo ſuſpitious and doubtfull, are ſuppoſed to be by diſcent Frenchmen, the relikes of thoſe that with great deuotion did in times paſt fight thoſe memorable and Chriſtian battels in Iury, and recouered the holy city: but being afterwards I brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the fury of the Barbarians, mingled their ſeed with the circumciſed nation, and ſo together with their authority & command, loſt alſo their firſt faith and religion: yet ſo, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, & abhorring the circumciſion of the Iewes, betooke themſelues to a new Prophet of their own called *Iſman*, whoſe doctrine they follow. The right Druſians liue vncircumciſed, neither do they forbeare wine, as do the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (moſt vnlawfully) to marry with their own daughters: the Turkiſh gouernment they haue ſought by all means to eſchue, and notwithſtanding all the endeuors and attempts of the Turkiſh tyrants, but eſpecially of *Selymus* the ſecond, yet haue they alwaies bin ſubject to their own naturall Princes, and would neuer admit any captain or gouernor of the Turks within the countries which they poſſeſſed. K They are a people very warlike, ſtout, reſolute, and religious obſeruers of their own ſuperſtition: in battel they vſe the arcubuſe & ſcimitar, yet ſome of them at this day do ſerue with lances and darts: they are apparelled after the manner of the Eaſterne people, with a turbant on their heads, & breeches they neuer weare, but in ſtead therof they couer thoſe parts with their coat; which reacheth down to their knees, buttoning it vp before: their feeding is groſſe, and of mountaine meats: they inhabit all the countrie that is inuironed within the confines of Ioppa, aboue Cæſarea & Paleſtina, and within the riuers of Orantes & Iordan, ſtretching it ſelf euen to the plaine of Damaſco, neere to the hils that compaſſe it about vpon the coaſt of mount Libanus. They were all in times paſt good friends & confederats, ſo that they were greatly eſteemed: but noow being at variance through greedineſſe and couetouſneſſe, they were diuided L among themſelues, one ſeeking the deſtruction of another. At this time they were gouerned by fiue chiefe captains or gouernors: one of them was called *Ebne-Man*, and of the Turks *Man-Ogli*; another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-Manſur*; the fourth *Ebne-Frec*; and the fifth *Ali-Ebne-Carſus*, by the Turks called *Ali-Carſus-Ogli*. Vnder theſe (who indeed carry the title and authority of an Emir, that is to ſay, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieutenants or deputies whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne Man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the mountains and fields that are contained vnder the iuriſdictions of Cæſarea, of Ptolemaida, of Tyrus, and of Sidon, and had his reſidence for moſt part vpon the hill, in a town called Andera; he was very mighty in men & armour, and ſince the time that by treachery his father was murthered by *Muſtapha* then Baſſa of Damaſco, alwaies a deadly enemy to the name of the Turkes. M *Ebne-Frec, Ebne-Carſus*, and *Ebne-Manſur* were alwaies great friends; but now eſpecially at the comming of *Ebrain Baſſa* they ſhewed themſelues more ſtreightly confederated together. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer oppoſite againſt them: ſo that the one ſide procuring the ouerthrow of the other, they loſt their ſtrength, and left no meanes to defend themſelues againſt the Turks, who had long lien in wait for their liberty. Now as ſoone as the news came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from Caire, was comming into Soria to ſubdue them; the three confederates aboue named reſolued among themſelues to goe and meet this great Baſſa, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, of purpoſe to turne all the intended miſchiefe vpon *Serafadin* and *Man. Ogli* their enemies. And ſo hauing packed vp great ſtore of money, cloath of ſilke, cloath of woollen, and cloath of gold, with many loads of ſilkes, and other things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied, one with ſome two thouſand, another with ſome three thouſand men, they put themſelues vpon their journey towards *Ebrain*, and met him at Ieruſalem, where he was already arriued. This their comming *Ebrain* tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteouſly accepted thoſe their rich and great preſents which they brought him; and by the offers of their fidelity, and the grieuous accuſations they made againſt the other two Druſian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his intended enterpriſe: for why, he ſaw that nothing could more eaſily compaſſe their ouerthrow, than this their diſcord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of Damaſco, to the champaigne of Bocca, and there incamped. This was in the month of Iuly this yeare 4585. The whole army that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning alſo the ſoldiers of the three Druſian lords, was about the number of twenty thouſand horſemen ſtrong. In this place there came people out of all quarters thereabouts, with preſents to honour the Baſſa; to whom he likewiſe yeelded ſuch ſmall fauors as his couetous nature could afford them.

Three of the Druſian lords met Ebrain at Ieruſalem with rich preſents, & a great traine of men.

From this place alſo *Ebrain* preſently ſent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby he inuited them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obedience vnto the Sultan: for that otherwiſe they might aſſure themſelues to be in ſhort time depriued both of their eſtates and liues. For all that, *Man Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in wealth and forces, reſolued to come, in hope by rich preſents to purchaſe his attonement with the great Baſſa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loads of ſilke, great ſtore of money, and many cloaths of good value and beauty, and alſo attended vpon with diuers of his ſubjects, he arriued at laſt at the pauilion of *Ebrain*, with theſe his rich preſents, which were there readily receiued, and he himſelfe with great attention heard: whoſe ſpeech in effect tended to no other thing, but only to perſuade the Baſſa, That he had alwaies beene a deuoted vaſſall vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall deſire to be imployed in any his ſeruice; and that now being led by the ſame affection, and aſſured of his fauour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to ſhew himſelfe vnto him to be the ſame man, and ſo profered him whatſoeuer lay in his ſlender power to performe. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no anſwer at all; but onely asked him the cauſe why he liued continually in diſcord and brawles with the three Emirs (who alſo ſat at that time in the ſame pauilion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* anſwered, That it was not long of him, who as one deſirous of peace, had not at any time taken vp armes, but in the juſt defence of himſelfe, againſt the injuries of thoſe his enemies, who becauſe they were more mighty than he, ſought continually to oppreſſe him. Hereat the three conſpirators aroſe, and with their grim looks bewraying their inward hatred, falſely charged him to haue beene euer the author of thoſe brawles: adding moreouer, That his inſolency was at that time growne ſo great, as that no ſtrange veſſell durſt for feare of him arriue at the ports of Sydon, Tyrus, or Berito; nor any merchant or merchandiſe paſſe ouer the plaines; but that thoſe countries, as though they were a prey and ſpoile to the theeues of Arabia, were generally ſhunned of all trauellers both by ſea and land, to the great hinderance of the Sultans cuſtomes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but preuented by *Ebrain*, and ſurcharged with many injurious words, was committed to the cuſtody of the two hundred Ianizaries of Conſtantinople. And ſo being by them brought into a rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the ſtocks faſt chained, and continually guarded with a truſty gard of the ſame Ianizaries. In the meane time came the anſwere of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Baſſa *Ebrain* as followeth:

Serafadin commeth with preſents to Ebrain.

To the Lords of Lord, Soueraigne aboue the Great Ones, the mighty, the noble Captaine couſin to the grand Lord, and the worthieſt among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, *the noble and famous Lord* Ebraim Baſſa, *God giue good ſucceſſe to his haughty enterpriſes, and proſperity in all his honour. I wiſh (euen*

A letter of Man Oglies, to Ebrain Baſſa.

(euen as thou doeſt louingly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee, and ſerue thee alwaies in any occaſion that it may happen thee to ſtand in need of my helpe. For I know that thou wouldeſt reſt aſſured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy Lord, and of the moſt feruent deſire wherein I liue to ſerue him, and to imploy both my life and my ſubſtance in his ſeruice: whereof I haue alſo giuen ſome teſtimony, though but ſmall, in the managing of his cuſtomes that I haue receiued: wherein I haue alwaies ſo carried my ſelfe, as that I am not his debter of one aſper: a thing I wis that Ebne Manſur *(who is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his comming to meet thee euen as far as Ieruſalem, he would make a ſhew of his fidelity, yet doth hee vſurpe more than two hundred thouſand duckats of the Kings, which he doth moſt vnjuſtly detaine from him of his cuſtomes. But my hard fortune will not grant me the fauour that I may come vnto thee: for there are at thus time preſent with thee three of mine enemies, who (I know well) being not contented to haue alwaies diſquieted and troubled my eſtate, doe now ſeeke to bring me into ſo great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddeſt me in thy hands, thou wouldeſt without any conſideration bereaue me of my life. And I am aſſured, that this ſending for me importeth no other thing but only a deſire thou haſt to impriſon me, and ſo to kill me: for I know how much thou art giuen to great enterpriſes. Beſides this, my comming is alſo hindered by mine antient oath that I tooke: when as being yet but a childe, I ſaw mine owne father ſo villanouſly betraied by the murthering ſword of* Muſtapha, *being at that time the Baſſa of Damaſco, who vnder the colour of vnfeigned friendſhip, got him into his hand, and traiterouſly ſtrucke off his head. For in truth I carry the image of my fathers reuerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my minde, which oftentimes preſenteth it ſelfe vnto me, as well ſleeping in the darkeneſſe of the night, as alſo waking in the light of the day; and talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelity of the murthering Tyrant, and exhorteth me to keep my ſelfe aloofe from the hands of the mighty. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy requeſts, and in that reſpect it grieueth me that I ſhall ſeeme diſobedient vnto thee, being in any other action and in all my cogitations wholly addicted to doe any ſeruice not only to thee, who art moſt worthy to be reuerenced of far greater perſons than I am, but alſo to euery the leaſt vaſſals of* Amurath. *Thou wilt pardon me I hope, and thou ſhalt well perceiue, that if there be any thing neere me that may be acceptable vnto thee, all that I haue whatſoeuer, though in reſpect of thy ſelfe it may ſeeme vile and baſe, yet is it thine, and is now reſerued wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell; and command me, and hold me excuſed vpon theſe juſt cauſes which thou heareſt, for my being ſo backeward in comming to honour thee, as my duty requireth.*

The poore and the leaſt among the ſlaues of the grand Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebrain burneth 24 Townes of Man Oglies.

Ebrain perceiuing by this letter the reſolution of *Man-Ogly*, reſolued alſo in himſelfe to go vpon him with all his army, and either by force or ſleight to get him into his hands; or at leaſt to draw from him ſo many arcubuſes, and as great gifts and tributes as poſſibly he might: and therefore riſing with his campe, and turning himſelfe toward the country of *Man-Ogli*, he burned and deſtroied foure and twenty of his townes, and ſo mounting vp certaine rockes of Libanus, vpon the top of a large hill (that ſtandeth ouer Andara and other places belonging to *Man-Ogli*) he incamped himſelfe. But whiles the army was thus marching forward, *Veis Baſſa* of Damaſco with a great part of his people, and his ſonne the Sanzacke of Ieruſalem, with his ſoldiers likewiſe, to the number of fifteen hundred perſons, hauing ſeparated themſelues from the reſt of the army in manner of a rereward; as they were buſie in raiſing their tents, vpon the ſudden were furiouſly aſſaulted by a great band of Druſians of the faction of *Man-Ogli*, and diſcomfited. Which victory the Druſians ſo proſecuted, that they became lords of the pauilions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horſes and their carriages, put to the ſword fiue hundred perſons, and ſcarce gaue any leiſure of eſcape either to the Baſſa the father, or the Sanzacke his ſonne, who fled ſtreight to Ieruſalem, and neuer returned againe to *Ebrain*; but *Veis* his father ſtill followed the army with thoſe few which he had left, and was thought worthy of all men to be pittied.

Veis Baſſa and his ſon diſcomfited by the Druſians.

Vpon the hill aforeſaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty foure daies together, with abundance of all things neceſſary for victual: during which time he attended nothing els, but to try all deuiſes how he might draw mony and preſents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might traine him into

his

Ebrain ſends for arcubuſes to Man-Ogli.

his hands. For the compaſſing wherof he diſpatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manſuri* Agent) vnto *Man-Ogli* being in Andrea, to tel him, That foraſmuch as he would not giue credit to the promiſe that was made him, nor aduenture himſelfe into the hand of his friend; he ſhould ſend him all the arcubuſes he had; for that the Sultans pleaſure was, that his people that went not to the wars in his ſeruice, ſhould not be furniſhed with ſo great ſtore of weapons, to the danger of their neighbors, and of the ſubiects themſelues. With great griefe of mind did *Man-Ogli* behold the meſſenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the agent of his deadly Enemy: yet in regard of him that ſent him, he forbare to doe him injury, or to giue him any reproch; telling him, That all his people and weapons were diſperſed abroad ouer his territory; ſo that he could not tel what arcubuſes to ſend him: with which cold anſwer *Gomeda* returned. Which thing when *Ali* Baſſa of Aleppo vnderſtood, he offered the Generall to goe himſelfe vnto him, and that to ſome better purpoſe. Many reaſons did *Ali Baſſa* vſe to perſuade the wary Druſian to come and yeeld his obedience to *Ebrain*, ſwearing that no harm ſhould bee don vnto him, and withall promiſing him great and honorable fauors. But neuer could he remoue the reſolute and prouident mind of *Man Ogli*, or win him to yeeld himſelfe into ſuch a mans hands whom he thought to be ſo murderous: yet at laſt with much ado, he ſo far preuailed with the Druſian Lord, that in ſigne of the reuerence he did bear toward the Generall, and his obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to ſend a preſent to *Ebrain*. And therupon he gaue him 320 arcubuſes, 20 packs of Andarine ſilks, and fifty thouſand ducats to carry to the Baſſa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For the better effecting wherof hee ſent his own mother vnto the great Baſſa, who in the behalf of her ſonne performed a very worthy meſſage, excuſing him as wel in reſpect of his enemies that ſate there ſo neer vnto him, as alſo in regard of the oath which he had ſolemnly ſworn, That for the treachery of *Muſtapha*, hee would neuer commit himſelf into the hands of a Turk: and therefore beſought him to accept of the gifts that were ſent him, and withall a mind and heart moſt ready to ſerue and obey the King in all occaſions; and that he would hold him excuſed, for that his excuſes were but iuſt reaſonable. Wherunto the Turk replied, That although ſhe had found ſo foul a fault in *Muſtapha* (who vnder the aſſurance of his promiſe and fidelity had betraied her huſband) yet for all that ſhe ought not to fear any ſuch infamous or wicked act at his hands, who ſtood vpon his honour, and the word of a ſouldier. And ſo by oath proteſting all faithfull and conſtant friendſhip towards him; in token of his ſincere meaning, he caſt a white vail about her neck, and put another vpon himſelf, and the third he gaue her in her hands: Willing her to report vnto her ſon the othes he had made, and to carry that vail, and bring him with her; proteſting no otherwiſe to intreat him than as a friend and a brother. The peaceable old woman went away accordingly, but ſhee neither could nor would go about to alter the purpoſe of her ſon, but returned to *Ebrain* ſuch an anſwer as did not greatly pleaſe him. After which time hee ſought more than euer before to get the wary Druſian into his hands, or at leaſt, without regard of ſhame, to draw from him moe preſents and weapons. And therfore once again he ſent the crafty *Gomeda*, to exhort him, vpon faith and promiſe giuen, to come vnto him: but for all the craft and lying ſpeeches that the treacherous meſſenger could cunningly vſe, he could obtain nothing of the Druſian lord but good words only: yet at laſt after much fineneſſe, he preuailed ſo much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to ſend another preſent to *Ebrain*; with an expreſſe condition notwithſtanding, That hee ſhould cauſe *Ebrain* to depart out of thoſe quarters, and that he ſhould not himſelf return any more to requeſt any thing further of him. Which he very largely promiſed, only deſiring him to ſend a good number of Arcubuſes, therby to content the Baſſa fully: ſo he gaue him fifty thouſand ducats more, and foure hundred and fourſcore arcubuſes, with a thouſand goats, a hundred and fifty Camels, an hundred and fifty Buffles, a thouſand oxen, and two hundred weathers. With this rich Preſent came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring vnto him, that this he had got from him vpon promiſe that he ſhould not moleſt the Druſian any more. For which promiſe ſo made, *Ebrain* ſharply reprooued *Gomeda*, and threatened to make him know what it was to take vpon him ſo dangerous a liberty: and for the greater deſpight both to the one & the other, *Ebrahim* would needs haue *Gomeda* himſelfe to returne again with the like meſſage to trouble the Druſian. Wherefore although he went in great feare of ſome miſchiefe by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was there no remedy, but needs he muſt follow the commaund of him, in whoſe power it was to

The notable diſſembling of Ebrain Baſſa.

take from him both his honor and his life, and therfore on he went. But as ſoon as *Man-Ogli* ſaw *Gomeda*, thinking as the truth was, that he came again about his wonted requeſts, hee was at the very ſight of him ſo far mooued, as that he was euen at the point to haue thrown a dart at him, and ſo to haue diſpatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects ſtaid his fury: yet ſpared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to diſburthen his choler. Notwithſtanding *Gomeda* could doe no leſſe than accompliſh the effect of his fraudulent deſires, and ſo wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burdens of Arcubuſes more, ten ſwords, ten gilt daggers, certain ſiluer belts, ten packes of ſilke, and ſome few pence. Cauſing him withall to proteſt vnto him; Neuer to ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded to come again; for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen after what would of it. With great ioy and triumph did *Ebrain* receiue this preſent, and thinking now with himſelf that he had gotten a ſufficient booty from him, he determined to riſe with his army, and to ſacke all the reſt of *Man-Oglies* country. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir-Ebne-Frec*, burned Andrea, the place of *Man-Ogli* his reſidence; and in two daies burnt and deſtroied 19 of his towns, with vnſpeakable cruelty committing all things to fire and ſword. After all this ſacking and raſing, *Ebrain* ſent diuers meſſengers to *Man-Ogli*, to try whether he would be yet perſuaded to come to him. But nothing could mooue the reſolute Druſian to commit himſelf into his hands, but rather increaſed his conſtancie to auoid a moſt certaine death. Now the great Baſſa ſtil thirſting after bloud and reuenge; vnderſtanding by a ſpy, That the Captain of Andrea (being one of the factors of *Man-Ogli*) with 350 ſouldiers was got vp to a certain hil, into a place of great ſecuritie, he ſent *Emir-Ebne-Frec* to intice him, and to tell him, That ſeeing his Lord *Man-Ogli* would not come and yeeld himſelfe, he ſhould come to him; which if he would doe, he would aſſuredly in deſpight of *Man-Ogli* make him a Sanzacke of ſome place he moſt deſired. The ambitious and vnheedy Macademo ſuffered himſelfe to bee eaſily perſuaded, and being accompanied with his 350 followers, went with the ſaid *Ebne-frec* and came at laſt to the pauilion of *Ebrain*, hauing firſt cauſed his aforeſaid men to ſtay behind in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not ſo much as ſee the Macademo, although both in reſpect of the nimblenes of his perſon, and alſo the fierceneſſe of his lookes, he was worthy to be looked vpon; but commanded him to keep in a ſeueral place from *Serafadin*, and in the mean time deuiſed, how hee might with the leaſt loſſe of his owne men, put to death thoſe three hundred and fifty, the Macademo's followers: which was by training them by means of the ſaid *Ebne-frec*, into a certaine Vineyard, and ſo hauing brought them into a ſtreit, ſuddenly to ſet vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed; for being by the treacherous *Emir* brought into the place appointed for their ſlaughter, fearing nothing leſſe, they were ſuddenly incloſed by the Turks Sanzacks or Ianizaries, and ſlaine euery mothers ſon. This maſſacre thus finiſhed, *Ebrain* commanded the Macademo to be brought before him, and without delay to be ſtript and flaied quick. Who being come, ſtoutly vpbraided *Ebrain* with his promiſe and his oath: and among other ſpeeches which he vttered whilſt they ſtripped him, ſaid, *Cut me off my members, and firſt putting them into the priuities of that infamous* Ebrains *wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himſelf: for ſo I trow he will be contented and ſatisfied with my fleſh.* And to them that were the executioners of his painful death, hee ſaid, *It is your great good fortune indeed, that with ſuch violence, and needleſſe deformity you are now able to ſpill my bloud, and to take my life from me: wheras none of you all had bin able, or once durſt, man to man, to haue drawn one drop of it from me, no nor to haue endured my countenance. But go too, proceed in your wicked & vnſatiable deſire of my bloud, and fulfill the cruell command of your Viſier: for in the end there will alſo light vpon you the iuſt reward of this ſo villanous a fact.* With theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches the miſerable wretch was ſtripped, and three great gaſhes made on his backe, where they began to flea him: he in the mean time not ceaſing to blaſpheme their religion, and to curſe their King and their falſe prophet alſo. But the barbarous ſoldiers proceeding in their cruel action, made other-like gaſhes vpon his breaſt and ſtomack; and ſo drawing the skinne downward, could not bring it to his nauel, before he was with the extremity of the pain dead. After this, *Ebrain* cauſed the followers of *Serafadin* (in number about an hundred and fifty) to be cruelly ſlain, and all his country to be moſt miſerably waſted, he himſelf ſtill remaining in chaines.

Man-Ogli his lieutenant inticed to come to Ebrain, is ſlain quicke.

Whilſt the fire and ſword thus raged in the Druſian Country, *Ebrain* by ſpeedy poſts ſent

A to Sidon, where his gallies lay at rode, commanded, That diſbarking 4000 ſouldiers, they
ſhould ſack all thoſe countries alongſt the ſea coaſt, euen as far as Cæſaria in Paleſtine, ſpa-
ring neither age nor ſex, of what condition ſoeuer. Which his cruel command was preſently
put in execution, and three thouſand ſoules brought away captiues, great booties made of
much rich merchandiſe, many towns burnt, ſundry caſtles raſed & layd euen with the ground;
and to be ſhort, all the whole countrey both of *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* layd vtterly waſte and
deſolate.

Ebrain was now in readineſſe to depart for Conſtantinople, where hee was by *Amurath*
expected, as wel for his gold, as the accompliſhment of the mariage. But bethinking himſelf,
that whatſoeuer he had hitherto don, would bee accounted little or nothing, vnles hee proui-
B ded in ſome ſort for the quieting of thoſe people vnder the Turkiſh obedience, he determined
to nominat one of the three Druſian Emirs that came to him to Ieruſalem, to be Baſſa of all
thoſe regions. And becauſe Emir *Aly Ebne-Carſus* was the richeſt and moſt obedient of them
all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honored him with that dignity, yet
not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thouſand ducats. Wherfore he apparel-
led him in cloath of gold, gaue him a horſmans mace and a ſword all gilt, and deliuered vnto
him the Kings commiſſion, cauſing him withal to ſwear faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And
ſo hauing (at leaſt in ſhew) ſet in order the affairs of thoſe mountaines, which an hundred of
the Turks great Captaines had in former time vainely attempted, hee returned to Damaſco,
where he ſtaied twelue daies, by ſhamefull ſhifts extorting money from diuers perſons. At
C laſt hauing no more to do in thoſe parts, he turned himſelf towards Gazir and Baruto, places
vnder the gouernment of *Ebne-Manſur*, where he arriued with all his army, and found the Gal-
lies which he left in the port of Sidon, now in the hauen of Baruto, as he had before comman-
ded. Now vpon a certain hil aboue Baruto, neer vnto the ſea, *Ebrain* had pitched his own tent
only and no other; and hauing ſent all the reſt of his beſt and goodly things which he meant
to carry with him to Conſtantinople, aboord the gallies, ſhrouded himſelfe onely vnder that
narrow and baſe tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Manſur*, and in pleaſant manner told him, That
now it was time for him to make paiment of the debt of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand
ducats, which he owght the King his Lord for the cuſtom of Tripoli and Baruto; for that he
could not longer ſtay in thoſe quarters, but was to return to Conſtantinople, which hee knew
D not how to do, vnleſſe he caried with him the diſcharge of that debt. Wherunto *Ebne-Manſur*
made anſwer, that it would not be long before his Macademo's would come with his monies,
and that then he would without further delay make paiment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew
to be but an excuſe, and therfore determined with himſelf to thruſt him into the gallies: and
becauſe he could not carry the mony vnto the King, yet at the leaſt to bring him his debtor.
But foraſmuch as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of
ſome inſurrection among the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the ſaid
Ebne-Manſur, as for that he ſaw him to be greatly beloued and fauoured of the other two Dru-
ſian Lords, *Ebne-Frec* and *Ebne-Carſus*; he therefore thought it better policie, by concealing
this his purpoſe, to ſhew him in his outward actions all good countenance, and by ſecret and
E ſubtil means to take him priſoner. Wherupon hee deceitfully told him, That foraſmuch as
he was to ſtay there about his buſineſſe that night, and was reſolued the next day to make a
road into the Country of *Man-Ogli*; he therfore praied him to do him the fauour to be his
guid; and for that purpoſe when he ſhould ſend for him at midnight, that he would come vn-
to him very ſecretly, becauſe he was minded to depart without any ſtirre, only with fiue hun-
dred men in his company. The Druſian Lord verily beleeued the matter, that ſo it was, and
withall was in good hope, by that means to find ſome way to eſcape his hands. Wherupon
being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who preſently charged him
(whom all men thought he had eſpecially affected) with many abhominable and foul terms,
cauſing a chain to be caſt about his neck and his arms, and ſo faſt bound to be caried into the
F Gallies. And yet not ſo contented, took the ſpoil of all his Country, whereby there was le-
uied ſuch a prey as was maruellous to behold: for beſides mony (wherof there was a very huge
ſum) the ſtore of cloaths of ſilk and gold was ſuch, and ſo great, as might better beſeem ſome
great Prince, than ſuch a mountaine ruſtical Lord as he was. When the Baſſa had conueyed
all this into his Gallies, hee ſailed to Tripoli, where hee found *Serafadin* in the cuſtody of

Ebrain notably diſſembleth with Ebne-Manſur.

Ebne-Manſur in chains ſent to the gallies.

Ebrahims rich preſents.

Io. Leun. ſup. An.Turc.p.95

Veis Baſſa and *Ali Baſſa*; and hauing ſtaid there ſome few daies, wherin he committed ſundry villanous and abhominable outrages, hee cauſed the ſaid *Serafadin* to be put into the Gallies, with all his ſilks and other wealth, and ſo departed for Conſtantinople. Where at ſuch time as he entred into the chanel of the city, accompanied with 24 gallies, he was incountred and receiued by a wonderful number of his friends and fauourits, and ſaluted with an honourable peal of artillery out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi*, the beſt reporter of this hiſtory, as alſo of the late wars betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, being then at Conſtantinople, & hauing (as he reporteth of himſelfe) good means to ſee the bountifull & the beautiful preſents which the ſpoiling and rauenous Baſſa gaue the Turkiſh King; reporteth the ſum thereof to haue bin a million of gold, beſides the yearly reuenue of Cair, amounting to 600000 ducats, with 60 horſes moſt richly garniſhed, of ſingular beauty, but eſpecially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffle (which is a beaſt like a Camel and a Panther) two great crocodiles dead, a Chair of maſſie gold richly ſet with pretious ſtones, a Casket alſo beſet with pretious ſtones and gold, many packs of moſt fine cloathes, woollen and ſilkes, certaine other cloaths with fringe of gold & ſiluer, and the Barbarian cut-worke, moſt fine linnen of Alexandria, and all the arcubuſes taken from the Druſians: beſides ſundry rich preſents giuen by the proud Baſſa to the great Ladies of the court, reported by *Leunclavius* to haue bin worth two hundred thouſand Sultanines.

But now foraſmuch as we haue before made mention of the Sanzack of Ieruſalem and his flight, it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to our hiſtory (though ſomwhat out of time) to declare in few words what paſt between him and the Arabians of Paleſtine a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Baſſa into thoſe quarters: by which little the deſirous Reader may eaſily perceiue the woful and troubleſome ſtate of that ſomtime moſt bleſſed and fruitful, but now moſt miſerable and barren land of Iury, and of thoſe places in holy writ ſo much renowned.

Troubles in the land of Iury.

In the confines of Sodom, and in the places that lie not only betwixt the lake Aſphaltites and Damaſco, but alſo in the plains and in the vallies of Iericho and of Samaria, and in other places about Bethlehem, Emaus, Bethany, Bethſage, Capharnaum, Nazareth, Leuir, Bethſaida, Naplos, and other Townes of name thereabouts, there do haunt and liue certain Arabian captains, who ſpreading themſelues euen as far as Rama and Ioppa, ouer-run at their pleaſure al the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages, as wel againſt the ſaid Cities, as alſo vpon the goods and wealth not only of the inhabitants there, but alſo of ſtrangers: yea, and their inſolencie oftentimes groweth ſo great, that they dare to aſſault the fenced cities; beſides the ſpoiling of Trauellers, that by reaſon of their buſineſſe haue occaſion to paſſe from one city to another. They are good horſmen, but they vſe no armour; their horſes are very ſwift to run, and ſpare of diet, and are themſelues bold and aduenturous theeues. Theſe Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforeſaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzack of Ieruſalem, was in mind to raiſe all the Sanzacks thereabout, and joining himſelf with them and his father the Baſſa of Damaſco, to reſtrain their inſolent liberty, & to work their deſtruction; reſolued with themſelues not to ſtay vntill hee and his Confederates were ready, but rather by ſundry inuaſions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of Ieruſalem, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him ſo to do, they compacted with a certaine Subbaſſi of Bethlehem their friend, to incourage and animate the Sanzacke therunto, by promiſing him good ſucces and proſperous euents. The ambitious yong man, ſeduced with the glorious perſuaſions of the falſe Subbaſſi (of whom hee made good reckoning) and prouoked by their inſolencies, reſolued, as they had wiſhed, to iſſue out of the city into the open field; and therupon hauing armed an hundred of his Vaſſals, and raiſed all the horſmen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of ſix hundred, he made a rode toward Iericho, ſending before defiance vnto them. Againſt whom the Arabians came accordingly, and with their arrows and Indian canes ouerwhelming his arcubuſes, as if it had bin a raging floud, wrought him great wo: when as in the very nick, the battel yet being at the hoteſt, the traiterous Subbaſſi fled towards Bethlehem, and left the ſouldiers of Ieruſalem in the hands of the Arabians, who put moſt part of them to the edge of the ſword, and ſcarcely gaue liberty to the Sanzacke to ſaue himſelfe by flight. The Sanzack certainly informed of this fraud of the diſſembling Subbaſſi, to be reuenged vpon him, began alſo in like manner to diſſemble

with

A with him, feining that he would once more try his forces againſt the ſame Arabians; and ſo
vſed the matter, that the Subbaſſi arming himſelfe, came vnto him without any ſuſpition of
the miſchief intended againſt him. But as ſoon as he was come the Sanzacke tooke him, and
preſently cauſed him in moſt cruel maner to be ſlain quick.

The Subbaſſi of Beiblem ſlaine quicke.

Thus hauing paſſed ouer the troubles that ſtayed the people of Egypt and Damaſco, and
the countries therabout, from reſorting to *Oſman* the Turks great Generall at Erzirum, let vs
again return thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations againſt the Perſian,
and proſecute thoſe affaires, which of all others moſt exerciſed the forces of the two mightieſt
Mahometan Monarchs; and with the expectation therof filled the World from the Eaſt
to the Weſt.

B The ſtreit commandement of *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Oſman*
the General, had drawn together ſuch a world of people of all ſorts to Erzirum, as that it ſeemed
not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherfore
Oſman perceiuing that he had gathered together too great a number of people, and too huge
an Army, and that it might ſo fall out that hee might want victualls for ſo many (neither
ſo greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead ſo populous an Army againſt
them) determined to diſcharge a great number of ſuch as he thought moſt weake, and leaſt
able to endure trauel: ſo that out of this great multitude he drew about 40000 perſons, who
liberally according to euery mans ability redeeming the ordinary perils of the wars, returned
home to their own dwellings. And ſo in *Oſmans* army remained 180000 perſons or therabout.

The number of Oſmans army.

C With this multitude the General departed from Erzirum about the 11 of Auguſt this yeare
1585, towards Tauris, continuing for all that the ſpeech for Naſſivan. But he had ſcarce marched
two daies, when diuers ſoldiers of Grecia and Conſtantinople preſenting themſelues before
him, vpbraided him with great improuidencie, telling him, That they began already to
feel the want of victual, by wanting the ſame day their ordinary allowance of Corne for their
horſes: ſo that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of ſo long a iourney, they felt
ſuch want, they could not tell with what iudgement or diſcretion he meant to lead ſo great a
company ſo far as Naſſivan, nor by what cunning conceit he had preſumed to ſuſtain ſo great
an army in the ſeruice of their Lord. *Oſman* quietly heard their complaints, and preſently prouided
for them, by cauſing ſuch ſtore of barly to be diſtributed among them, as they deſired;
D and ſeuerely puniſhed the officers who had the charge for allowance of corn who moſt couetouſly
began to make merchandiſe of the common prouiſion, by conuerting it to their owne
priuat vſes. And hauing thus quieted their troubled minds he proceeded on his iourny, & by
the way of Haſſan Chalaſſi and Chars, arriued vpon the Chalderan plains, famous for the memorable
battels there fought between *Selymus* and *Hyſmael*. In theſe plains he took a general
review of his Army, wherein he wanted a number, that by reaſon of ſicknes beeing not able to
continue the iourny, were inforced to ſtay behind, ſome in one place, ſome in another. Remouing
thence, he took his way not to Naſſivan, as he had ſtil hitherto giuen it out he would, but
now directly to Tauris. Which ſo ſudden an alteration of the iourny, ſo ſoon as the ſouldiers
of Grecia and Conſtantinople heard, they fel into a great rage; and comming againe before
E the General, reuiled with him in this ſort to his face:

*And what are we, thou villain, thou Turk, thou dolt, whom thou handleſt in this ſort? We are not thy
Oxen, nor ſheepe of the mountains, for the leading of whom thou thinkeſt thou art come out: neither can
we brooke theſe thy lies and deceits. If thou haſt publiquely profeſſed to lead vs to Naſſiuan, and by thy
ſpeech haſt trained vs from the fartheſt bounds of Grecia, to what end now, after thou haſt wearied vs ſo
much, doſt thou deceiue vs with ſuch vanities, and prolong our iourney, & ſet before vs ſuch ſtrange and
importunate dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy firſt purpoſe and intent, and
that now, not fooliſhly or by chance, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changeſt thy election, why
didſt thou diſmiſſe ſo many ſouldiers as might haue made the army more terrible and ſtronger for the en-*
F *terpriſe of Tauris? Doſt thou thinke that by ſuffering others to redeeme their liberties, ſo to increaſe thy
riches, thou ſhalt ſet our liues to ſale, and make vs ſlaues to the Perſians?*

The ſoldiers inſolent ſpeech to Oſman.

At theſe proud ſpeeches the General was exceedingly troubled, ſeeing his good meaning,
and the erneſt deſire hee had to aduance the maieſty & glory of his king, taken in ſo euil part,

and thoſe his beſt ſoldiers ſo highly offended. And although hee could indeed haue readily G
vſed the ſharpeſt and hardeſt prouiſions and remedies for it, that in ſuch occaſions are ordinarily applied; yet vpon good aduice he forbare ſo to doe, and in ſtead of rigor and puniſhment reſolued to work by more eaſie means. Wherupon cauſing many of the captains and chiefe men among thoſe ſeditious ſoldiers to come before him, he firſt perſuaded them,

That the former ſpeech for Naſsiuan was not raiſed at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to go for Tauris; but all that was don, he had don to fulfill the commandement of the Sultan, who had charged him ſo to do, to the end to leſſen the Perſian preparations, which they would haue vndoubtedly made farre greater, if the ſpeech had bin giuen out at firſt for Tauris. Which his princely care for their ſafety, they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in ſo doing they ſhould ſtill preſerue that great opinion which both the King and the world had conceiued of their valor and fidelity. Neither needed they to H
fear, that the ſoldiers which were diſmiſſed might weaken the Army; for that they themſelues were not only ſufficient to pierce into Tauris, and to open the way vpon the enemy, but to daunt them euen with their looks: and that thoſe which were diſcharged, had but purged the hoſt of all cowardiſe, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage.

By this mild anſwer of the General the tumultuous ſoldiers were ſufficiently pacified; but much better apaied & contented they were, as ſoon as he put his hand to the common purſe, and beſtowed among them a ſmall quantity of monies; for by this his kind vſage al their ſtomacks were ouercome, and they themſelues became ſo willing and ſo couragious, that now they durſt venture not to Tauris only, but to Caſbin, yea euen to the fartheſt parts of all the Perſian kingdom. I

These important outrages thus appeaſed, the General turned himſelf with all his army towards Coy, a City ſcituat beyond Van, in the midſt betweene Tauris and the Martian Mere, where he refreſhed his Army with all things he could deſire. From Coy hee paſſed to Marant, a city ſubiect to the Perſians, plentiful alſo of all things needful both for man and beaſt. From thence he leaned down toward Soffian, a fruitful place ſubiect alſo to the Perſians: from whence he began to diſcouer Tauris. Great was the ioy of the whole camp, and now the mutinous ſoldiers of Græce and Conſtantinople could highly commend the aduice of the General, or rather of *Amurath* himſelf, in giuing out the rumor of Naſſivan for Tauris, as the only means wherby they were come in quiet ſo far; the Perſians being wholly occupied (as they ſuppoſed) about Naſſivan. Inſomuch that euery man beeing waxen couragious, and replenished with ioy, without any feare at all began proudly to plot vnto themſelues nothing but K
ſackings, pillings, taking of priſoners, rauiſhments, robberies, and all thoſe inſolent and outragious actions that vſe raſhly to proceed from the greedy affections of thoſe barbarous Victors. Eſpecially they of the Vauward, who being deſirous of booty, and to diſcouer the enemies Countrey, deſcended downe toward certaine pleaſant gardens full of all ſorts of trees, ſprings, and fruits; where hauing ſatisfied their appetites, they withdrew themſelues to a certain little riuer, neer to a bridge called *The bridge of ſalt* water, and there ſtayd at pleaſure, attending the comming of the army. But while they were thus injoying the water, the fruits, the ſhade, the green graſſe, and other delights of the place, the Perſian Prince *Emir Hamze*, King *Mahamets* eldeſt ſon, who with ten thouſand good ſoldiers had cloſely couched himſelf, L
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not by any means be brought to defend that city, wherof *Aliculi Chan* their capital Enemie was now Gouernour. And from Gheilan and Heri there came not ſo much as one ſouldior to relieue the neceſſities of Perſia. So that with theſe ſmall forces (in compariſon of the Enemies) the Perſian King had no ſtomacke to meet the Turkiſh Army in plaine battell, but

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The Perſians ouer-run the vauward of the Turkes Army.

A ſought how he might with as little loſſe to himſelf as poſſibly he could, make trial of his forces, and by all politique means to weaken and anoy his ſtrong enemy.

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A bloud conflict betwixt the Turks and Perſians.

The next morning the Turks camp remoued and came within two miles of Tauris, where they incamped. But whilſt they were ſetting vp their tents, *Alicoli Chan* iſſuing out of the city with all his gariſon and ſuch of the city as were fit to bear Armes, ſet vpon the face of the vauward, being now remoued, and with many cunning turnings and windings ſo charged them, that with great loſſe he forced them to retyre euen vnto the main battel, where after hee had C eſpied the great artillery, he without hurt withdrew himſelf again to the city. The confuſion of the Turks in this skirmiſh was notable, for in a very ſmall time the vauward was diſordred, and almoſt 3000 ſlain. But *Alicoli* not ſo contented, in the ſhutting in of the euening ſallied out of the city the ſecond time, and ſwiftly running along that ſide of the army which lay toward Tauris, ſlew the Baſſa of Maras, and did great harm in that quarter. Which don, without any ſtaying he fled to the Kings camp, and forſook the defence of that ſorrowful city which he could not hold. Neuertheles the Tauriſians, as many of them as remained in the City, gathered themſelues to the gates of the City, well armed, prepared to make a bloudy entrance for the Turks whenſoeuer they ſhould come. All the night was ſpent in watching, without reſt on either ſide, and yet nothing attempted. But vpon breake of day, a great multitude of D the ſeruile ſort of the Turks, and of the common raſcall rout, without any order from their captains, armed with corſlets, ſpears and ſwords, went to the city with reſolution to haue ſacked it, and ſo to haue inriched themſelues with the ſpoil and pillage of that wealthy city. But when they came to the garded gates, they found there contrary to their expectation, a terrible reſcue, and were inforced there to ioyn a hard and mortal battel, ſo that the wals, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with bloud, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carkaſſes. And yet for all that, though the Perſians ſtood faſt and firm at the ariuall of this ſeruile rout, at the laſt they were conſtrained to yeeld the entrance, being ouercome by the multitude of them that out of the camp flowed in vpon them like a flood, and retyring into the city now aſſaulted and inuaded on euery ſide, they fortified themſelues in their houſes E vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the ſtreets, from whence with their arrows and ſome few arcubuſes they did the Turks that entred great harm, yet were they not able to kil and deſtroy ſo many of their enemies, but that at the laſt they were too mighty for them, and wrought many grieuous miſchiefs in that woful city. And ſo a great number of this raſcall people that remained aliue, returned to the Turkiſh Campe, carrying with them too manifeſt tokens of the poor oppreſſed city: wherein the miſerable women and impotent ſoule ſtood embracing and ſtraining the doors and poſts of their houſes, and kiſſing their natiue ſoil, with prayers, mournings, and complaints bewailing their preſent miſeries, and yet feared worſe to come. *Oſman* the Generall now made acquainted with theſe calamities, cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to moleſt the Tauri- F ſians; and in the mean time went himſelf about the city, viewing throughly the ſcituation of it, and ſurueying the place wherein hee might both incampe himſelfe ſafely, and with better foundation and greater ſecurity erect a caſtle or Fort, for the more aſſurance of that conquered country.

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The city of Tauris, ſeated at the foot of the hil Orontes, about 8 daies iourny from the Caſpian

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ſpian ſea, and is ſubiect to winds, cold, and ſnow, yet of a very wholſom air, abounding with al
things neceſſary for mans life, and wonderfull rich with perpetual concourſe of merchandiſe G
brought thither out of the Eaſt to be conueyed vnto the Weſt; and alſo of others brought
out of theſe Weſtern parts, to be diſperſed into the Eaſt. It is very populous, ſo that it feeds
almoſt 200000 perſons; but yet open to the fury of euery Army, without walls, and vnforti-
fied. The buildings (after the manner of thoſe of the Eaſt) are of burnt clay, rather low than
high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of the Perſian Kings reſidence,
vntill ſuch time as that the late King *Tamas* remooued his ſeat further into his kingdome to
Casbin. Neuertheleſſe both before and ſince, although it had beene ſundry times moleſted
by the inrodes and fury of the Turkiſh Emperors, yet was it ſtill held in great eſtimation and
renown.

Of this city *Oſman Baſſa* hauing taken diligent view, cauſed his Tents to be pitched on the H
South ſide therof, where was a ſpacious garden all flouriſhing and beutiful, repleniſhe with
ſundry kinds of trees and ſweet ſmelling plants, and a thouſand fountains and brooks deriued
from a pretty riuer, which with his pleaſant ſtream diuided the garden from the city of Tau-
ris, and was of ſo great beauty, that for the delicacie therof is was by the country inhabitants
called *Sechis Genet*, that is to ſay, the eight Paradiſes; and was in times paſt the ſtanding houſe
of their Kings, whileſt they kept their reſidence in this City: and after they had withdrawne
their ſeat from thence to Casbin, became the habitation and place of abode for the gouer-
nors of Tauris. Of theſe gardens and places *Oſman* made choice to build his caſtle in, whereof
he gaue the model himſelf, & commanded that all the whole circuit of thoſe pleaſant greens I
ſhould be inuironed with wals, and trenches digged round about them, to conuey the water
from the aforeſaid riuer. Which was accordingly don with the greateſt care that might bee
poſſible; the foundation of the imbattelled wals layd, the ditches digged fourteen foot broad
and a mans height in depth; and in the ſpace of 36 daies the whole work fully finiſhed, great
ſtore of Artillery mounted vpon the walls, and diuers baths, lodgings, and ſuch other houſes
neceſſarie for the Turkes vſes, built within the Caſtle. The firſt day of this building *Oſman*
fell ſick of a feauer with a bloudy flix alſo; which haply was the cauſe both of the ſlowneſſe
of the building, and of many other loſſes which afterwards happened, as ſhall be in due time
declared.

The caſtle of Tauris built in 36 days.

Fiue daies after the building of the caſtle was begun, news was brought into the Turkiſh K
camp, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaoglans were ſeen ſtrangled in a bath within the ci-
ty of Tauris. Wherupon the Zaini, Spahini, and Ianizaries came preſently to the general, de-
claring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order, That none
ſhould hurt or moleſt the Tauriſians, and that according to his pleaſure, euery man had vſed
modeſty towards them, and obedience to him, yet the Tauriſians themſelues had moſt auda-
ciouſly ſtrangled in one of their baths, eight Ianizaries and certain Spaoglans: which iniury
and inſolencie they ſaid in their iudgment was not to be ſuffered. This outrage ſo moued
the General, that without any further delay he commanded the City to be ſacked, leauing it
wholly to the pleaſure of his ſoldiers; who forthwith ſo vſed the matter, not as if they would
haue reuenged an injury, but forthwith haue brought an vtter deſtruction vpon the whole Ci- L
ty. Euery place was filled with ſlaughter, rauiſhment, rapine and murther; virgins were deflou-
red, men children defiled with horrible and vnſpeakable ſins; younglings ſnatcht out of their
parents arms, houſes laid euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money caried away, and
in brief, all things ruinated and waſted. Neither were theſe miſchiefs committed once only,
but the ſecond followed worſe than the firſt, and the third vpon that worſe than the ſecond.
So that it was a miſerie almoſt inexplicable to behold that city, ſo populous, ſo rich, ſomtime
the court and palace of the Perſian Kings, and honour of that empire, now ſubiect to the fury
of the Turks, plunged in calamitie and vtter deſtruction.

The miſery of the Tauriſians.

The wofull aduertiſement hereof ſore troubled the Perſian King, but the yong prince his
ſonne much more; who moued with the paſſions of moſt inward grief, diſdain, and deſpaire, M
and deſiring nothing more than reuenge, reſolued to attempt any thing, whereby to requite ſo
great a wrong. In which reſolution hauing confirmed his army, he commanded fiue hundred
of his horſmen to preſent themſelues euen to the very ſight of the enemies tents, as it were
to dare them to battel. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant ſhew

A of themſelues. At the diſcouery wherof the Turks imagining that the Perſians were come in great number to aſſail the army, order was giuen by the ſick Generall, That *Cicala Baſſa* and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of Caraemit, with the people of Grecia and all their owne forces, ſhould go to incounter the enemy. Who preſently with their enſignes diſplaied (vnder which there ſtood about 34000 ſtrong, beſides a number of ſeruile people, yet men exerciſed in labours and perils, in all wel neer 40000) ſet forward. Now the 500 Perſians with a maruellous cunning kind of skirmiſhing dallied with the Turkiſh ſouldiers, and drew them forward for the ſpace of eight miles and more: and being brought ſo far on, and now ſorewearied with the skirmiſh, were luſtily aſſailed by the Perſian Prince, who with part of his army, to the number of about 20000 perſons, couragiouſly ſet vpon the two Baſſa's, and joined with them the B deadlieſt and cruelleſt battel that euer was written of. Wherin the Perſians hauing giuen a perillous onſet, and don great harm, it was thought that they would haue contented themſelues with ſo lucky an incounter, and ſo haue retired. Which the Turks minding to preuent, and not to return without a notable victory, hardly preſſed vpon them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and ſo to giue them a bloudy and deadly ouerthrow. But the Perſians hauing quietly and with great aſſurance for a reaſonable ſpace indured the charge, at laſt as if they had bin freſh men made head vpon them afreſh, and began a moſt terrible battell anew, wherin the Baſſa of Caraemit aboue named was put to flight, and being wholly diſmaied and diſcomfited, fled back again to the camp, carrying with him the moſt manifeſt tokens of the vnhappy iſſue of the battel. *Cicala* the other Baſſa notwithſtanding valiantly and with great C cunning ſtil ſuſtained the fury of the Perſians, laboring by all means to incourage his ſouldiers, and to haue reſtored the battel: but when he had don what he might, ouercome at laſt by greater valor, he was inforced to betake himſelf to flight alſo; and ſo altogether diſcomfited, came to the camp without any enſigne, hauing left behind him 8000 of his ſoldiers dead vpon the ground.

Eight thouſand Turkes ſlain.

The Perſian Prince incouraged with this ſo fortunat a victory, by ſpeedy heraulds ſent to the ſick Viſier (whom he thought notwithſtanding to haue bin in health) and gaue him to vnderſtand, That if he were willing to fight, he was ready for him, and in what ſort ſoeuer it pleaſed him to accept of battel, to make him good account of his valor, and to cauſe him to know, not only that *Amurath* his maſter had moſt vniuſtly raiſed this war, but alſo that it had beene D good for himſelf not to haue taken the ſame in hand. Of this offer *Oſman* accepted: but being not able himſelf to anſwer the prince in perſon hand to hand, by reaſon of his ſicknes, which euery hour mortally increaſed, he ſent out all his captains with his army to dare him battel.

The prince lay ten miles or therabouts diſtant from the camp of *Oſman*, toward whom the Turks ſet forward in this manner: The main battel was guided by the Baſſa of Caraemit and *Cicala Baſſa*, with all the ſouldiers of Aſſyria and Babylon: The left wing was led by the Baſſa of Natolia, with the band of Grecia; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath* Baſſa of Caramania, with the people of Soria; to the number of threeſcore thouſand, beſides thoſe that were left behind at Tauris, with the truſty gard of the Ianizaries, and the Artillery, for the ſafegard of the ſick Viſier. In this order they confronted the Perſian prince, who was E himſelf in the midſt of his army, with all his people in very good order, hauing on the one ſide the ſoldiers of Perſia and Hircania, and on the other them of Parthia and Antropatia, in all to the number of forty thouſand. The Turks feared nothing more, than that the Perſians fetching a great compaſſe about, ſhould with all celerity and fury ſet vpon their Tents, and the riches they had layd vp together in their pauilions: and therfore at euery motion of theirs they continually feared this ſudden out-rode. Whereof they had ſo much care, that retyring themſelues as much as they might, and feigning as if they had giuen place to the Perſians, it wanted not much, but that they had brought them euen within the iuſt leuel and mark of their Artillery. Which the Perſians perceiuing, without any further dallying hardly began to aſſaile the maine body of the battell. The Prince himſelfe beeing entred amongſt the F ſouldiers of the Baſſa of Caraemit (who as Generall ſuſtained the place of *Oſman*) and preſſing into the middeſt of the battell, diſpatched euery man that came in his way, and hauing ſingled out the Baſſa from the reſt, ſmote off his head, and gaue it to one of his followers to carry vpon the top of his Launce. The which being openly deſcried, brought a great terrour vpon the Turks,

The Baſſa of Caraemit ſlain, and his head cut off.

Turks, and exceedingly incouraged the Perſians; who imbrued with the bloud of their Enemies, and intermingling themſelues more and more amongſt them, made of them a moſt confuſed and generall ſlaughter; wherein beſide the Baſſa before named, there died the Baſſa of Trabſzonda, the Sanzack of Bruſia, with fiue other Sanzacks, and as it was commonly reported, 20000 Turks more. It hapned *Amurath* Baſſa of Caramania to bee there taken priſoner, with diuers other common ſoldiers. But night comming now on, & the Perſians being come ſomwhat too nigh the Turkiſh artillery, they gaue ouer the fight & retyred themſelues back to the place where the King lay incamped with the reſt of his army.

But now were diuers daies ſpent, wherin the new fortres at Tauris (as we haue before ſayd) was fully finiſhed; when the ſoldiers of Grecia & Conſtantinople, wearied to ſee their friends and fellows thus ſlain before their faces, and hauing alſo ſafely layd vp in their owne cuſtody ſuch preys and booties as they had gotten in the ſack of the City, reſolued with themſelues to procure their own departure; and ſo much the rather, for that the Winter was now faſt comming on. And foraſmuch as the Generall was through the immoderate flux of bloud brought weak, and in deſpair of life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his phyſitians, and therfore not to be ſpoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of ſuch as were their truſty friends about him, to repreſent vnto him the neceſſity of their returne, and withall, after many reuerend intreaties, cauſed it alſo to be ſignified vnto him, That if hee ſtood obſtinate, and would needs ſtay dallying out the time, in thoſe dangerous places where no need was, they ſhould be inforced to withdraw themſelues, and to forſake him. *Oſman*, who had now nothing els to do in thoſe countries, but only to leaue ſome conuenient garriſon in the new fortres at Tauris, liberally promiſed to ſatisfie their requeſts, by departing thence the next morning. So calling vnto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis, a man of a crafty and cruel nature, hee made him gouernor and keeper of the new built fortres at Tauris. And the more to encourage him to take that charge vpon him, he gaue him freely for the ſpace of three whole yeares not only the office & authority, but alſo the rents and reuenue of the Baſſa of Caraemit, lately ſlain by the Perſian Prince, and withall honored him with the title of a Baſſa of the court; ſo that after hee had finiſhed his three yeares office of Caraemit, hee was then to goe and ſit among the ſoueraign ſeats of the Baſſa's of the port. The Baſſa ſeeing ſo fair and ſo nigh a way for him to mount to thoſe high honors (greater than which there is none in the Turkiſh empire) readily accepted the offer, & diſpatching his lieutenant to Caraemit, to gouern thoſe countries in his abſence, with a hundred of his own followers; ſetled himſelf in the ſayd Fort with a garriſon of 12000 ſoldiers, furniſhed with all neceſſary prouiſion vntil the next ſpring. The General hauing thus ſet all things in order, and carefully prouided for the ſafety of the Fortreſſe, departed according to his promiſe, and the ſame morning (which was the 87 day after his departure from Erzirum) came vnto a place called Sancazan, ſeuen miles diſtant from Tauris.

Giaffer vpon Oſmans departure made Gouernor of Tauris.

The Turks were now vpon the point of their incamping, in a confuſed diſorder and burley-burly; when thoſe that were hindermoſt in the army heard the neying of horſes, and the noiſe of drums and trumpets, as if it had bin the comming of an Army. Which when the whole Camp vnderſtood, they ran all headlong and diſordered as they were, to the reſcue, on that ſide where the noiſe of the horſes and warlike inſtruments was heard. But whilſt the Turkes were thus intentiuely buſied on that ſide to expect the comming of the enemy, the Perſian Prince without any ſigne or token of battell, with 28000 horſemen was ready vpon them on the other ſide: Who hauing diſcouered their Camels and other Carriages, wherupon their booty, their ſpoiles, and their riches were laden, which they had taken at Tauris, beſide much of their prouiſion of victuals for the ſuſtenance of the Army, he turned vpon them, and with a prouident and ſafe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteen thouſand of the Camels and Mules well loden with the ſame booties and victuals; which the Prince ſent preſently away with ſix thouſand of his ſouldiers: and he himſelf with his two and twenty thouſand Perſians entred into the Turks army, who now to withſtand his aſſault, had on that ſide alſo made head againſt him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withall, to ſee what a mortall battel was made, what ſingular proweſſe ſhewed euen preſently in the forefront of the battell; for in a moment you might haue ſeen the tents and pauilions turned vpſide down, and their incamping Lodgings

The battell of Sancazan.

reple-

A repleniſhed with dead carkaſſes and bloud,victorious death raging and reigning in euery corner. The Turks themſelues were aſtoniſhed and maruelled, to ſee their enemies (ſo few in number,and intermingled among ſo populous an army of warlike people) more like fatal miniſters of death,than mortal men,to brandiſh their ſwords ouer them as if it had been lightning,and to make ſo generall a ſlaughter;& do to this day with great admiration recount the valor and prowe ſſe of the Perſians. But they al now doubting leſt the enemy in his fury ſhould forcibly haue entred the very lodgings of the ſick Viſier,it was commanded (not by himſelf, for he lay now at the laſt gaſp;but by him who that time commanded in his name) That the artillery ſhould ſpeedily be vnbarred and diſcharged ; which in that medly and confuſion of both armies,without any exception or diſtinction of perſons, ouerthrew both friends & foes, B and did more harm perhaps among the Turks themſelues,than among the Perſians:for at the firſt thundring noiſe therof the prince with all ſpeed retyred;after whom preſently followed al the reſt:ſo that the Turks which remained behind, were more anoyed with the deadly ſhot than were the Perſians,who flying away could not feel the damage, but that the Turkes muſt firſt be wel payd for their labor. The Turks purſuing the flying Perſians,made ſhew as if they would gladly haue ouertaken them ; but night comming on,they feared to proceed any farther than they might without danger returne. In this battel of Sancazan were ſlaine 20000 Turks,without any notable loſſe of the Perſians.

20000 Turks ſlain.

Among the reſt,in the ſame place died the Viſier *Oſman*, General of the late dreadfull, but now deſolat army,not by the hand of the enemy,but conſumed with the vehemencie of an A- C gue and flux of bloud. Whoſe death notwithſtanding was kept ſecret from the whole Army, euery man verily thinking,that it was but only the continuance of his ſickneſſe, becauſe the chariots wherein he lay were ſtill kept cloſe; and in his name *Cicala Baſſa* (for ſo he had commanded in his wil) gaue out anſwers and commandements to the whole army. Neuertheleſſe it was diſcloſed to the Perſians by means of three yong men,who in the life of *Oſman* hauing charge of his jewels and treaſure,were with the beſt thereof and the faireſt of his horſes fled to the Perſian King,to whom they reuealed the Generals death. The Perſians (who before had thought it not poſſible for ſo great cowardiſe and diſhonorable kind of fighting & ordering an army to haue proceeded from the vertue and valor of *Oſman*,of whoſe worth they had too manifeſt a trial and experience in times paſt) now vnderſtanding of his death,were therby D incouraged to attempt the vtter ouerthrow of the Turkiſh remnant, and ſo to giue them an honorable farwel. Wherupon the Perſian Prince with 14000 men followed the Turks, who had now raiſed their camp,and were remoued to a certain riuer of ſalt water,not far from Sancazan,where the prince cauſed a few tents to be pitched,about four or fiue miles diſtant from the Turks camp,the aforeſaid brook running in the midſt between the two armies. Now the Prince had purpoſed to aſſail the Turks in the morning,whilſt they were loding their carriages,hoping in that confuſion to haue wrought them ſome notable miſchiefe : which his deſignement was reuealed to the Turks by one of his ſpies whom they had caught;and therfore did neither riſe ſo early in the morning as their maner was,nor load their ſtuffe vntil ſuch time as they were all armed,and on horſe-back ready to receiue their enemies. By which their wa- E ry and vnuſual manner of riſing the Perſians perceiued that their purpoſe was by ſome means diſcouered. And yet conſidering,that if they ſhould loſe this occaſion,they ſhould finde no other good opportunity to anoy them before the next ſpring,they vtterly reſolued to aduenture the aſſault:and hauing obſerued that the enemies Artillery was on the right ſide of the army,they in the ſight of euery man began to enter on the left : but the Turkes preſently ſo vncouered and vnbarred their artillery againſt the aſſailants,as was to their great loſſe & danger. Howbeit they were ſo nimble and ſo quick to ſhroud themſelues vnder the enemies Army,and to auoid the miſchieuous tempeſt,that being come very neere the Turkes ſquadrons, they muſt needs join battel with them. The Perſians had purpoſed before,as ſoon as they ſaw the Turks begin to ſtir,to retyre,and ſo to draw them on into a very filthy and deepe mariſh; F which being then dry,was not feared or doubted of any, but only by thoſe that were acquainted therwith,or born therabouts. Which their policie the rebel *Maxut Chan*, and with him *Daut Chan* (as being well acquainted with thoſe places) perceiuing, gaue notice therof unto *Cicala Baſſa*,who preſently cauſed a great compaſſing wing to be made, commaunding them to ſet vpon the Perſians,and to charge them home:which was forthwith put in execution, ſo

Generall Oſman dieth.

that their forefront opened it ſelf with very large and ſpacious wings vpon the Prince. Who no ſooner ſaw this their vnwonted order of comming on, but by and by he perceiued that his purpoſe was diſcouered: and therupon without any ſtay he began to retyre, calling his people after him: which could not ſo ſuddenly be don, but that 3000 of them remained behinde, all miſerably ſtifled, ouertrodden in the mire; with very little loſſe to the Turks. And this onely battel, of fiue that were fought vnder Tauris and in thoſe quarters, was leſſe hurtfull to the Turks than to the Perſians.

The Turks army diſcharged at Van.

The Prince returned to the King his fathers camp, recounting vnto him the whole action, together with the departure of the enemy. And ſo the Turks came to Salmas, where the death of the General was publiſhed. From Salmas they went afterwards to Van, where they tooke a ſuruey of their army, and found wanting therin about eighty fiue thouſand perſons, or as ſome ſay more. At Van all the ſoldiers were diſmiſſed; and *Cicala* from thence gaue notice to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, of all that had hapned. Where firſt was publiſhed the death of *Oſman* the General (for whom were made many ſignes of great ſorrow) and together with his death were blazed the bloudy and mortal actions that were in that expedition performed: ſo that the whole city ſeemed to be greatly diſcomforted, and in many places were heard much ſecret railing vpon the king, many curſes of this war, and inſolent maledictions of theſe manifold miſchiefs. After that, was diſperſed the great fame of the new fortres erected at Tauris, of the ſacking of the city, and of all the loſſe that had hapned therin; and a general edict publiſhed in the Kings name, That through all the Cities of his Empire they ſhould make ſolemn feaſts, with other expreſſe tokens of ioy and reioycing: Which was accordingly done both in Conſtantinople and other places. There was alſo word ſent to the Embaſſadours of Hungary, of France, of Venice, and of other Countries, That they ſhould do the like: but they all with one accord anſwered, That it was neuer the cuſtom of Embaſſadors to make any ſuch ſignes of rejoicing, but onely when the King himſelfe in perſon returned from any the like victories.

In the mean time conſultation was held at Van, for the ſending of ſuccours to Teflis in Georgia. Vnto which important ſeruice *Daut Chan* to deſerue ſome reward at the hands of *Amurath*, offered himſelf: Vnto whom *Cicala Baſſa* deliuered thirty thouſand Cecchini to be conueyed to the fort at Teflis. Which piece of ſeruice the Renegat performed, and without any trouble relieued the ſouldiers in the fort. Which was ſo well accepted of *Amurath*, that he for the ſame good ſeruice honored him with the dignity of the Baſſa of Maras. *Maxut Chan* alſo the other Perſian Rebel, that guided the Turkiſh Army to Reivan, and afterward to Tauris, was in like manner by the ſame *Amurath* honoured with the great rich office of the Baſſa of Aleppo.

The miſery of the Turks army at Tauris.

The miſeries the Turkiſh army indured in this expedition for Tauris, beſide the loſſes before rehearſed, were wonderfull: for as the Sanzack of Aman (a city of Soria in antient time called Apamea) preſent in all this action, reporteth in a letter which he wrot vnto *Ali Baſſa* of Aleppo, There was ſuch a dearth in the Turkes Army, that they were inforced to giue their camels bisket and rice, and when that failed they gaue them pack-ſaddles to eat, and after that pieces of wood beaten into pouder, and at laſt the very earth: which dearth indured vntil they arriued at Van. And at Tauris whilſt the fortres was in building they were of neceſſity conſtrained to giue their horſes their dung in very dry pouder. By reaſon whereof there followed a grieuous mortality of horſes, camels, mules, and men; and the ſtink that grew of this mortality was ſo great, that euery man was faine to carry a piece of a ſtrong ſmelling Onion vnder his noſe, to auoid the heauineſſe therof.

The fort ſo lately built in the royal city of Tauris exceedingly grieued the Perſians in generall, but eſpecially the King and the prince his ſon: to let it alone they reckoned it too great a ſhame; and how to demoliſh it they wel knew not, finding themſelues not only deſtitute of artillery, but alſo of ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as was requiſit for performance of ſo great an enterpriſe: yet prickt on with the deſire of glory, & the neceſſity of the cauſe, they determined euen in the depth of Winter to gather new forces, and with trenches of earth to approch the ditch, and to try if they could aduance a countermure as high as their wals, & ſo to attaine to the conqueſt therof. But in the gathering of their men they diſcouered new difficulties; for, to hire any ſouldiors either from Heri or Gheilan, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amet Chan*;

A and their Turcoman nation,which might haue bin the readieſt and the neereſt at ſuch a need, for the late death of *Emir Chan*,and for the ſucceſſion of *Aliculi*, were growne very contumatious: ſo that neither the King,nor the Prince, nor the Preſidents and Gouernours of that kingdome,could tell which way to turne themſelues. At laſt for the common ſafety,they determined to draw the Turcomans to a reconciliation,hoping that by promiſing them any honeſt ſatisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themſelues grieued for the death of their captain, they would become more tractable to do them ſeruice in their common neceſſities. Wherupon the king ſent kind letters to the heads and captains of thoſe nations,and principally to *Mahamet Chan*,and to *Caliſe* the Sultan,declaring plainly vnto them the perils of his ſtate, and of the liberty of the whole kingdome,with the confidence he had in their valor: and that B therefore forgetting all that was paſt,as done not in ſhame or ſcorne of their nation, but only for zeale and loue to the kingdome,they would demand ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired, and that he would be ready to agree to any iuſt requeſt they ſhould make. To which letters they readily anſwered, that they would come vnto him, to put in execution whatſoeuer he ſhould for the common neceſſity or honour of his State command. Now they had craftily amongſt themſelues already concluded not to ſuffer any other to ſit in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor,but only young *Tamas* the kings third ſon. Which concluſion they had plotted to themſelues,with a reſolution in the end,to cauſe him to be accepted for king at Casbin,in deſpight of the King himſelfe and of the Prince *Hamze*: nothing regarding, that by this action far greater troubles would ariſe in Perſia than euer were yet heard of; but only being wholly C bent to reuenge the death of one only *Emir Chan*. With this malitious and fraudulent reſolution,they to the number of ten thouſand(vnder the conduct of two captains,*Mahamet* and *Caliſe*) went to the king,in all reuerence offering themſelues with all readineſſe to be emploied in the enterpriſe whereunto they were called. The old credulous King, not ſuſpecting any miſchiefe plotted by theſe ſecret rebels,was greatly comforted at their comming: and although by ſome of his Sultans that had felt ſome inckling of this conſpiracy,he was aduiſed to deale circumſpectly and warily with them,and not commit any matter of importance to their truſt; yet did he thinke euery houre a thouſand vntill he had offered them ſatisfaction: promiſing them,that what captain ſoeuer they would deſire in the room of *Emir Chan*, if it were poſſible, they ſhould haue him. Wherunto the diſſembling *Mahamet Chan* made anſwer,That their D deſire aboue all things was to do him pleaſure and ſeruice; not doubting but he would appoint them ſuch a chieftain,as ſhould be valorous,noble,and acceptable vnto them. The king could ſtay no longer, but franckly declared vnto them,That to aſſure them of his good will, and to giue them an hoſtage in pawn thereof,he had made choice of young *Tamas* his ſon,to ſucceed in the roome of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor. As ſoone as *Mahamat Chan* heard this reſolution of the king,who beſide all expectation, voluntary of himſelfe yeelded them the means to put in execution what they had maliciouſly before contriued againſt the peace and liberty of the kingdome: he became more iocond than he was wont to be, and outwardly ſhewed himſelfe ready for whatſoeuer the king ſhould command him; and in the names of the reſt,yeelded alſo large promiſes of fidelity and obedience, ſo that the matter might be performed for which E he had now giuen his word.

Ten thouſand Turcomans offer their ſeruice vnto the Perſian King.

The king,who deſired nothing more than to ſee the fort of Tauris raſed(which could hardly be done without the helpe of thoſe Turcomans) contrary to the aduiſe of the wiſeſt of the Sultans,and of the Prince,ſecretly,and as it were by ſtealth, gaue his yong ſon *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*,as chiefe of all the Turcomans. Who to nouriſh the good opinion and credulity of the king,and to ſecure the prince and the Sultans,gaue a luſty beginning by the help of his followers,with trenches and rampiers to approch the fort. Neither was there any great time ſpent therein; for they had now almoſt made their trenches and mounts euen with the enemies wall,and the ditch it ſelfe was almoſt filled vp with earth,ſo that there wanted but little more labour to begin the deſired aſſault: when contrary to all mens expectation, the falſe F and wicked traitor *Mahamet Chan* with all his Turcomans, leading away with them the childe *Tamas*,departed in the night time,and vpon a ſudden, from ſo noble and honourable an enterpriſe:and blinded with deſire to put in execution his ill hatched purpoſe, couertly & without any noiſe remoued from the beſieged wals,and put himſelfe on his way towards Casbin: ſtill tearming *Tamas* by the name of the King of Perſia, and ſundry wayes abuſing and mocking the

The Turcomans forſake the ſiege and fall into rebellion.

the poore old king and the prince. This ſo ſudden and ſo dangerous a rebellion, whereby not G
only ſo honourable and ſo neceſſary an enterpriſe was to be abandoned, bnt the whole ſtate of
the kingdome like to be indangered,exceedingly grieued all good men,but moſt of all the old
King and the Prince his ſon:who no leſſe carefull of his rightfull ſucceſſion, than was the aged
king of his preſent eſtate,both now hazarded by this rebellion;wholly inſenced with griefe and
anguiſh of mind,began to caſt a thouſand deuices in his troubled head,what courſe to take,and
what to reſolue vpon. To abandon the ſiege it grieued him aboue meaſure,and to ſuffer ſo pernicious
a rebellion to go forward,ſeemed too dangerous for the ſtate of Perſia:and to prouide
for both theſe miſchiefes at once,was altogether impoſſible. In theſe huge waues of contrary
thoughts,he reſolued at laſt to turne himſelfe againſt the Turcomans,and to ſuppreſſe that rebellion,
as moſt dangerous to the State. And ſo with twelue thouſand ſoldiers, and a part alſo H
of the kings ordinary guard, all couragious and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious
Turcomans;and marching directly toward Casbin,he ouertooke them at a place called Caliſteza,
a daies journy on this ſide Casbin,and there joyned battell with them. Wherein many
of them being ſorry for that they had done, would not ſo much as draw their ſwords againſt
the Prince: many others fled alſo away for feare, ſo that he eaſily obtained a wiſhed victory
ouer them. The ſeditious *Mahamet Chan* was taken priſoner;and by the Princes commandement
preſently beheaded: ſo was alſo *Caliſe* the Sultan,and diuers other captains of this peſtilent
conſpiracy. Yong *Tamas* was alſo taken,& by the direction of the Prince ſent to the caſtle
of Cabaca. Fiue thouſand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebel *Mahamet*,fled out of
the battell towards Babylon by the way of Siras, and yeelded themſelues to *Solyman Baſſa* of I
that city; who afterwards repenting themſelues of their folly, ſought to returne againe into
the fauor of their king,but all in vaine: ſo that being become rebels to the one, and ſuſpected
to the other,they did at one time loſe their country,their liberty, their honor, and the fauor of
all men as well friends as foes. The Prince after this victory held on his way to Gasbin, and
there ſtaying,laboured to gather the diſperſed Turcomans,eſpecially thoſe that (moued with
the honeſty of the cauſe)would not beare armes in ſo vnjuſt an action;intending afterwards to
returne to Tauris, to attend the beſieging and conqueſt of the fort. This was the end of this
dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cauſe that Tauris was not againe recouered out of the hands
of the Turks,to the great weakening of the Perſian kingdome.

The Turcomans diſcomfited, & Mahamat Chan and Caliſe the Sultan beheaded.

Giaffer Baſſa ſendeth to Cicala Baſſa for aid.

Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa Gouernour of the Caſtle of Tauris, fearing leſt the Perſian K
Prince would with a greater army again return to the ſiege; perceiuing himſelfe to wax euery
day weaker and weaker, by reaſon that many of his men ſecretly fled from him, beſide them
that periſhed with ſickeneſſe,and others ſlain in aduenturing too boldly to go abroad to ſeeke
for victuals;ſent oduertiſement thereof to *Cicala Baſſa* at Van: ſignifying further vnto him by
writing, That if the Prince ſhould again return to aſſault the fort,he ſhould of neceſſity be enforced
to yeeld it:and that therefore as he tendred the honor of his Sultan, he would be carefull
to ſend him ſuccour,whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer,
That now it was moſt eaſily to be done, becauſe there were no forces of the enemies in thoſe
quarters,ſauing onely a few which remained about the King, lying 12 miles off from Tauris.
Cicala moued with the importance of the enterpriſe propounded,and withall deſirous to gaine L
ſome credit of glory and renowne with his king,entertained the aduices of *Giaffer*,and getting
him to horſe with a traine of three thouſand harquebuſiers and good ſtore of munition,ſet forward
toward Tauris. The Perſian king aduertiſed therof,ſent out ſpies to learn what way they
held,meaning to meet them and to ſet vpon them: but theſe ſpies comming neere to Salmas,
were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicala*, and being put to torture, reuealed at laſt,how
that their king was in atms,and on his way towards Sancazan. At which news *Cicala* was greatly
aſtonied,as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with him
were likely to fall,as alſo for that by any loſſe which his troups ſhould ſuſtaine in this expedition,
the city of Van(being indeed the greater and moſt noble frontier town in all thoſe countries)
muſt needs be in hazard to be loſt, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a very few M
ſoldiers. Whereupon he determined to relinquiſh this dangerous enterpriſe,and to withdraw
himſelfe backe to the defence and preſeruation of the city committed to his truſt and gouernment.
But although theſe expected and deſired ſuccours were not conueyed to Tauris
as was intended,yet had *Giaffer* as good fortune as he could wiſh: for the preparations of the

A Prince were ſo long and troubleſome, and his returne ſo much prolonged, that there was time enough yeelded vnto the Turks great Generall now newly choſen (as by and by ſhall be declared) to go with a ſtrong army into thoſe quarters, and ſo to preſerue all that which the only expedition and celerity of the enemy might haue put in great hazard, and almoſt haue brought to a deſperat caſe.

In the mean time, *Amurath* the Turkiſh Emperor was greatly troubled at Conſtantinople in making choice a new Generall: on the one ſide, *Oſman Baſſa* hauing by his laſt will left *Sinan Cicala* to be his ſucceſſor, as a man of approued valor; and the many dangers he had run thorow in the late ſeruice about Tauris, with the great fauours he had in the Court, did not a little encline the King to his election: on the other ſide, he heard of a publike rumor ſpread amongſt B the ſoldiers, that they could by no meanes endure to be commanded by ſo young a captaine; and that ſome in plaine termes ſhould ſay, That they would not obey him: Which cauſed *Amurath* to doubt, that ſome dangerous diſcord might thereof enſue in the army, if he ſhould proceed to make choice of him. Then there was alſo *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man which had already ſuſtained that charge before *Oſman*, who now very ambitiouſly ſought againe for this honour, hauing of late performed ſome good ſeruice to the good liking of the King. Of any other to make better choice he had none, ſo that he ſtood in great doubt what to do. In the end, becauſe he was in good time to prouide for his affaires, he made choice of *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man whom he had before made proofe of: a man of great fidelity, of an honourable carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of ſuch an army; to whom he C granted the ordinary authority, to mannage at his pleaſure ſuch affaires of the empire as concerned his journey. Vpon this reſolution, generall precepts were ſent out to all cities within the kingdome, to the Baſſaes & other Gouernors, with ſpeciall commandement, that all their ſoldiers, together with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armor, artificers, and to be ſhort, all their neceſſary furniture and prouiſion ſhould be ready and in order, vpon the firſt warning ſhould be ſent them the next Spring. Great prouiſion of money was made, and in Soria (beſides the ordinary ſum that is beſtowed vpon the yearely pay of ſouldiers in Reiuan, Erzirum, Lori, Tomanis, Teſlis, and Chars, which ſwallow vp all the reuenue of that country, and of the city of Tripoli, amounting to the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand duckats) there was taken vp in in preſt of priuat merchants in the city of Aleppo only, the ſum of threeſcore thouſand D Cecchini, to be repaied vnto them with the firſt monies that ſhould be receiued by the officers of his cuſtome houſes. A matter that moued an extraordinary grudging among the people, for that it ſeemed to euery man a very ſtrange and intollerable exaction, beſide ſo many grieuances laied vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workemen, to endure this burden alſo of lending their mony, without hope of reſtitution thereof: yea, and indeed euery man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill aduiſed, to make it knowne to the Chriſtian Princes what ſcarcity and want of mony they had. The Generall had alſo with him foure hundred pieces of artillery, and did beſide ſo worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Baſſa of Aleppo) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his army, as he had been of *Oſmans*; and that *Cicala Baſſa* of Van (ſcarce his good friend) was remoued from thence and ſent E farther off out of his way as Baſſa to Babylon.

The returne of Soria ſix hundred thouſand duckats.

And thus hauing put all things in readineſſe, he departed from Conſtantinople in the month of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and paſſing ouer the ſtreit into Aſia, came to Siuas ſomething later than he ſhould haue done, being hindered partly by the Plague which then raged exceedingly in Conſtantinople, and partly by other occaſions incident to ſuch actions. At Siuas he ſtaied ſo long for the comming together of his army, and in muſtering men, that it was the later end of Iuly before he departed thence; ſtaying indeed the longer at Siuas, by reaſon of the exceeding dearth and want of victuals at Erzitum: which dearth was alſo ſo great in Aleppo, that a Venice buſhell of wheat was ſold for twelue Cecchini.

1586

Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople, and commeth to Siuas.

Ferat yet making his abode at Siuas, but ready to depart, was aduertiſed by certaine Poſts F ſent from *Giaffer* the Baſſa of Tauris, how that the Perſian Prince was hourely expected with a great army, and that if he did foreſlow to ſend ſuccours, and to preuent the comming of the Prince, and ſo giue him time & leiſure to aſſault the caſtle, he doubted greatly how he ſhould be able to hold the ſame. Vpon which aduertiſement *Ferat* preſently remoued, and ſo haſted his journey, that about the beginning of Auguſt he was at Erzirum: and ſtill hearing more and more of the Princes comming, ſtaied not there, but haſted to Van: where hauing gathered together all his ſouldiers, and taken a new ſuruey of his army, he departed thence, and being preſently come into the open and large champaignes, to make prooſe of the readineſſe of his ſoldiers, he marſhalled them in ſuch ſort as if he ſhould forthwith haue ioyned battell with the enemy, and ſo in ſeemely order marched on.

The Turkiſh Generall continually feared, leſt the Perſians ſhould come vpon him with ſome ſudden aſſault: beſides that, The conſtant report of the princes comming to Tauris with his army, much increaſed his troubled thoughts. But on the other ſide, he repoſed great confidence in the conſpiracy that was now plotted againſt the life of the Prince, with the priuity of *Aliculi Chan* the protector and champion of *Abas Mirize* of Heri: who vnder colour of accompanying the Prince to aſſiſt his forces, had reſolutely concluded with himſelfe, and abſolutely promiſed *Abas* (hauing alſo giuen intelligence therof to the Turkiſh General) to rid the Prince *Hamze* of his life; or at leaſt (which he thought might more eaſily be brought to paſſe) in the ſundry reuolutions and variable changes of the battell, at ſome time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and ſo to ſettle his lord and maſter *Abas* in his eſtate. Vpon theſe trecheries *Ferat* grounding himſelfe, began with greater confidence to diſpoſe his deſignements, and ſomewhat leſſe to feare the fame of the huge preparations of Perſia againſt him. Which preparations in truth, as by moſt wicked deuiſes and malitious conſpiracies they were turned quite contrary from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them; ſo if they had bin emploied with ſuch faith and fidelity as ſo righteous a cauſe required, without all doubt the writers of our time ſhould haue had matter enough in this 86 yeare to ſhew and repreſent vnto the World ſuch accidents as ſhould be nothing inferior to thoſe of the yeare before going. But foraſmuch as rebellion and diſcord, the two infernall miniſters of the diuell, haue for the vtter vndoing & ouerthrow of the glory of the Perſia, continually fauored the Turks army, no maruell it is that the Perſian nation cannot vaunt of any reuenge taken for the indignities offered them by their enemies; and that our Writers cannot chuſe but write of the true and vndoubted victories of the Turks, and the bare ſhadows of the Perſian exploits; which notwithſtanding many Chriſtians vainly beleeue, becauſe they moſt earneſtly deſire them to be true, although they do ſee to the contrary, by the manifeſt proſpering and euident conqueſts which the Turks haue in diuers their States and countries.

The glory of the Perſian kingdome ouerthrowne by rebellion and diſcord.

The Perſian Prince about the later end of Iuly arriued at Tauris with the greateſt part of his army, where he (contrary to the opinion of all men) ſtaid not, for what cauſe is vncertaine. But vnderſtanding that *Zeinel Baſſa* of Salmas, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the city, who of a Perſian was become a Turke, and had done great harme againſt the State of Perſia; he determined ſuddenly to ſet vpon him, and to chaſtiſe him for his rebellion. According to which reſolution, being accompanied with twelue thouſand ſouldiers, he rode to Salmas, where finding *Zeinel* with all his people encamped as he had beene before informed, he gaue him the aſſault. *Zeinel* more ready to fly than to fight, and his ſoldiers as ready as he, fled preſently, and fell before the Perſians, ſo that the Baſſa himſelfe with a few others had much adoe to eſcape and ſaue themſelues in the cloſeſt corners thereabouts, leauing the city committed to his charge, for a prey vnto the angry enemy: who entering into the ſame, ſacked and ſpoiled it, exerciſing thereon all ſuch cruelty, as partly the naturall deſires of ſouldiers vſe to practiſe, and partly ſuch as the Turks themſelues ſhewed vnto them in that miſerable and moſt lamentable ſacking of Tauris the laſt yeare. The like ſpoiles did the Perſian army in all thoſe quarters round about, and ſo would haue peraduenture returned to Tauris, but that certaine ſpies arriued vpon them with aduertiſement, That the Baſſa of Reiuan being iſſued out of his fortreſſe with fiſten hundred harquebuſiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and fields thereabouts, as the Prince had done about Salmas. With which newes the Prince was greatly moued; and immediatly riſing with his army, and marching towards Reiuan, not far from the city encountered the Baſſa: who diſcouering the enemies forces afar off, began in great diſorder to fly and retire into his fort, leauing the greateſt part of his ſoldiers (making not ſo much ſpeed in flight as himſelfe) to the fury of the Prince, who put them all to the ſword, and did what harme he poſſibly could in all the places thereabouts.

At the very ſame time great troubles aroſe in the Druſian country: for *Man-Ogli* the valiant Druſian (of whom we haue before ſpoken) in reuenge of the iniuries done vnto him and his

people

A ple by *Ebrain Baſſa*, and by a valiant kinde of reſtitution to recompence himſelfe of all thoſe bribes and preſents which by ſo many ſhifts and ſubtilties were by the couetous Baſſa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing waſted and ſacked all the territory of *Ebne-Manſur* and of his other enemies who had yeelded their obedience vnto the Turks, without let forced all that country with ſudden inuaſions and inrodes, euen very neere vnto the cities of Balbecke and Tripoli, and did there exceeding harme. For redreſſe whereof, *Amurath* was glad to diſpatch away from the court *Ali Baſſa* borne at Aleppo, with the title of the Baſſa of Damaſco, and with authority to muſter freſh ſouldiers, and ſo wholly to attend the vtter ſubuerſion of *Man-Ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, ſo that his preſence in that country ſerued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongſt them, B than for the proſecuting of any further warre; which at that time was moſt neceſſary for the Turks to be auoided, as well for want of mony in the common treaſury, as for the exceeding ſcarcity of victuals.

Now the Perſian Prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and ſpoiles before mentioned, retired himſelfe to Tauris, and ſo towards his fathers campe, where the reſt of his army was now arriued, to the number of about forty thouſand: of whom the Prince diſpatched away the ſoldiers of Heri to the number of eight thouſand, vnder the conduct of the traiterous *Aliculi Chan* their Generall: and part alſo of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanguli Chan*; with ſpeciall charge, That they ſhould by the way in places of moſt aduantage, meet and receiue the enemies army; and in thoſe narrow and troubleſome paſſages to do them what miſ- C chiefe they poſſible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this means to weaken the enemies forces, and ſo at their arriuall at Tauris, to come vpon them with all his power, and ſo vtterly to deſtroy them.

Both theſe captains departed accordingly, making ſhew that they would with all affection accompliſh the commandement of their Prince; yet neuer was there heard any ſeruice of moment put in execution by them: for *Aliculi* ful of treaſon, after their departure began to alledge many forced reaſons & excuſes, Why they ſhould ſurceaſe from meeting with the Turks; and *Emanguli* as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purpoſes and miſchieuous trechery of *Aliculi*, ſuffered himſelfe to be miſſe-led by him alſo. By the delaies and negligence of theſe two Perſian captains, the Turkiſh General took leiſure without any loſſe or hinderance at all, to arriue D at Tauris, and to put the deſired ſuccors into the fort: at what time the Perſian prince by good hap had got knowledge of the trechery of *Aliculi*, and of the deſignements which many of the Sultans had lately contriued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall. Of which ſuſpition he being greatly afraid, durſt not only not truſt himſelfe to performe thoſe battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this noble and honorable enterpriſe, wholly emploied all his care and ſtudy for the ſafety of his own perſon, and ſo left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turks. And thus thoſe great hopes and expectations which the Perſians had conceiued of great exploits to haue bin done againſt the enemy, did not only proue vain and come to no good iſſue; but contrariwiſe by this diſcouery were conuerted into moſt ſtrange diſturbances, and all Perſia ther- E by endured ſundry alterations and reuolutions of moſt important conſequencies. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his complices were purſued by the Prince, as rebels and traitors: and alſo *Abas Mirize* of Heri was manifeſtly diſcouered for a wicked and trecherous contriuer of his brothers death: whereby the common miſchiefes were encreaſed more than euer they were before, and the publike calamities yeelded greater hopes vnto the Turks than they had euer before conceiued in all the courſe of theſe wars.

Aliculi and Emanguli Chan performe nothing againſt the Turks, as was by the Prince expected.

Ferat putteth ſuccours into the fort at Tauris.

When *Ferat* had thus relieued them in the caſtle of Tauris, leauing for the cuſtody thereof *Giaffer* the Baſſa with his former companies, hee returned towards Erzirum: hauing firſt cauſed a fort to be erected at Curchiue Tauris, a place neere vnto Tauris; another at Coy; and the third at Cum: in euery one of which forts he left a conuenient number of ſouldiers, with F all things neceſſary and ſufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they were to keepe. He ſent alſo ſuccors to the fort at Teflis in Georgia, which they had long expected, and now moſt ioyfully receiued. But the Perſian Prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of Tauris, thought himſelfe now wholly deliuered from the great feare of treaſon and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therefore in as great haſt as he could, put himſelfe on his journey towards Genge: in which place hauing gathered together a good number of ſouldiers, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the ſuccors that were by the Turks to be brought to Teflis. Now he had alwaies found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithfull and wiſe, and in him he repoſed an aſſured confidence to performe any enterpriſe that he had in hand, and communicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in theſe wars. And therefore he made head and joyned with him; and lodging moſt familiarly in his city, he ſtaid there for the ſetting in order and diſpoſing of his aforeſaid deſignements, being very deſirous not to let ſuch an opportunity to ouerſlip, without ſignification vnto the World of ſome notable nouelty, which might be correſpondent to the fame that of matters paſſed and performed the yeare before, was now ſpread and publiſhed abroad ouer all the World. But when he was euen at the very faireſt to haue put this his deſire in execution, and leaſt of all feared any trechery or treaſon, vpon a ſudden in the night time as he ſlept vpon a pallet he was miſerably ſtrucken through the body, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him: and ſo the moſt reſplendent and bright luſtre that euer ſhined in Perſia, was vtterly extinguiſhed. What was the occaſion thereof, and who procured his death, diuers and ſundry are the opinions of men. Some thinke, that his brother *Abas Mirize* of Heri, who had before conſpired to haue had him betraied into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall, had now by force of money and gifts enduced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue beene done without the priuity of his father, as more deſirous to prefer *Abas Mirize* his other ſon vnto the kingdome. Diuers others do diuerſly reaſon of the matter: ſo that to affirme of a certainty, that thus or thus the death of ſo worthy a Prince was procured, were great raſhneſſe: and therefore we leaue it, with the further proceſſe of the Perſian State, vnto the further diſcouery of time, the antient mother of Truth.

The Perſian prince ſlain by one of his Eunuchs.

Notwithſtanding the league betwixt the Chriſtian Emperour *Rodolph* the ſecond and *Amurath* the great Turke, many ſharp ſkirmiſhes oftentimes fell out betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, eſpecially in Hungary, Croatia, and Stiria: as now in the later end of this yeare 1586 in the month of December, the Turks, after their inſolent manner making an inrode into the borders of Croatia, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Chriſtians being in number much fewer: where amongſt others, the Baſſa of Boſna with his brother was ſlaine; whoſe head with certaine priſoners was ſent to Vienna to *Erneſtus* Archduke of Auſtria, the Emperors brother. This Baſſa of Boſna and his brother, ſlaine in this conflict (as we haue ſaid) are reported to haue beene the ſons of *Muhamet* the late great Viſier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the ſecond, *Amurath* his ſiſter. For diuers yeres following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himſelfe (as it ſhould ſeeme) with that he had already got from the Perſians; and holding his league in ſome reaſonable ſort with the Chriſtians: yet not ſo, but that many a bloudy broile, tending at laſt euen to the breach of the league, paſſed betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians; which for the continuation of the Hiſtory we will briefely ſet downe, as they are vnto vs by the Writers of our time reported.

1587

The Caſtle of Koppan in Hungary ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

In February the yeare following, which was the yeare 1587, the Chriſtians prouoked by the often outrages of the Turks, ſetting vpon the caſtle of Koppan, not far from the lake of Balaton, being then frozen, by good fortune ſurpriſed it. There were at that time in the caſtle three of the Turks Sanzackes, and about a thouſand Turks, of whom an hundred and ninety of the better ſort, with ſeuenty women, beſides diuers of the meaner ſort, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians; the reſt ſauing themſelues by flight, or by creeping into ſecret corners: an hundred horſes for ſeruice were there taken alſo, and ſo much booty as was eſteemed to be worth forty thouſand duckats. Of the three Sanzackes that were there preſent, *Alis* Sanzacke of Koppan was taken, and brought firſt to Vienna, and afterward preſented to the Emperor: Another of them ſtanding vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there ſmothered: the third eſcaped by flight, but was afterwards the ſame yeare taken with diuers others, as ſhall be forthwith declared.

The eight of Auguſt following, foure of the Turks great Commanders in Hungary, *viz.* the Baſſa of Ziget, the Sanzackes of Mohas, of Quinque Eccleſiæ, and the new Sanzacke of Koppan, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers brake into the borders of the Chriſtians, and in moſt cruell manner deſtroyed ſeuenteene countrey villages about Limbach: carrying away with them all the miſerable countrey people, with the ſpoile of the countrey. Whereof *George* County *Serinus* (ſonne to that moſt valiant County *Nicholas Serinus* ſlaine at Ziget) commander of the garriſon of Caniſia, vnderſtanding, with as much ſpeed as was poſſible raiſed ſuch forces as he was able out of his territory betwixt the riuers of Dranus and Mura, and calling vnto his aid the County *Nadaſti*, the Lord *Bathianius*, and ſome other valiant Captaines that had the charge of thoſe frontiers; with ſuch diligence tooke the ſtreits and paſſages whereby the Turks muſt needs returne among the mariſhes, that the Turks comming backe again that way with a very rich prey and many priſoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged by thoſe moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiers, in thoſe ſtreit and troubleſome paſſages about a mile from Caniſia, were at length diſcomfited and put to flight with ſuch a miſerable ſlaughter, that many of them yeelded vp their ſcimitars, pittifully crying for mercy; other ſome fled backe into the woods and forreſts; and many running headlong into the mariſhes, there periſhed, or ſticking faſt in the deepe mud, cried together for mercy and helpe of their enemies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of Quinque-Eccleſiæ (ſon to *Haly Baſſa* ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto) was taken priſoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of Mohaz, thinking to eſcape through the mariſh, ſtucke faſt with his horſe, and was ſhot through the head with a ſmall ſhot and there died. The Baſſa of Ziget, with *Chaſan* the new Sanzacke of Koppan, ſeeing all deſperat and loſt, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of Koppan wandering vp and downe in the woods, was the next night after the battell with others taken: the Baſſa of Ziget almoſt ſpent with hunger and griefe of minde, eſcaped on foot ſeuen daies after to Breſenza. There were taken of the Turks a thouſand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their wounds. In this battell there were ſlain of the Turks, with them that periſhed in the mariſhes and woods, about 2000, and of the Turks horſes were taken aboue 1500. All the prey before taken by the Turks, with the miſerable captiues was againe recouered. The number of them that performed this notable ſeruice, was in all but fifteen hundred foot & fiue hundred horſe, of whom there was but eleuen ſlaine, but moſt of the reſt wounded. Foure hundred heads of the ſlaine Turks were (after the manner of thoſe bordering ſouldiers) carried for ſhew to Caniſia, with fiue hundred priſoners. The Chriſtian ſouldiers with the helpe of the countrey people, ceaſed not for certaine daies to hunt after the Turkes that were fled into the woods, as after wilde beaſts, of whom they found a great number: diuers others alſo ſeeing no meanes to eſcape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themſelues.

Amurath vnderſtanding of all theſe troubles that had ſo happened, commanded *Aly* the Baſſa of Buda to be ſtrangled, for that he had broken the league, and not reſtrained the inſolency of the Sanzackes, whom he might haue commanded: and in his ſtead placed *Sinan Baſſa*, whom before in diſgrace, hee had now at the requeſt of his wife againe receiued into fauour, and reſtored to his former dignity. About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* (the King of Sweden his ſonne) now after the death of King *Stephen* choſen King of Polonia, and *Maximilian* the Emperours brother rejected; euen in the beginning of his reigne ſought to renew the league which *Stephen* his predeceſſor and other the Polonian Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predeceſſors the Turkiſh Sultans. And to that purpoſe writ vnto him as followeth:

Aly Baſſa of Buda ſtrangled by the commandement of Amurath.

Sinan Baſſa againe receiued into fauour.

Sigiſmund the third, King of Polonia, vnto *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turks, ſendeth greeting.

THe Almighty long keepe and preſerue your Majeſty in health and honour. Moſt Mighty Prince, our beſt beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodneſſe of God were choſen to gouerne the kingdome of Polonia, and the Embaſſadours of that kingdome had ſignified ſo much vnto vs; we prouiding vs of neceſſaries, came to Danske the eighteenth of October, from whence we ſent Iohn Zamogil *our Secretary, to giue your Majeſty to vnderſtand of this our comming. For being told by the Polonian Embaſſadors, That we were choſen vnto the gouernment of that kingdome, vpon condition, That according vnto the cuſtome of our predeceſſors the Polonian Kings, we ſhould keepe loue and friendſhip with the moſt Excellent* * Muſſulman *Emperors; we promiſe vnto your Soueraigne Majeſty, That we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amity and friendſhip with your moſt excellent Majeſty and the* Othoman *Emperors your Succeſſors. For confirmation whereof ſo ſoone*

Sigiſmund the Polonian King his letter vnto Amurath.

* *The Turks deſire to be called Muſſulmen, which in their language ſignifieth a true beleeuer.*

as we ſhall come vnto Cracouia the regall city of Polonia, and there be crowned, we will forthwith ſend our great Embaſſador vnto your Majeſty. In the meane time we moſt earneſtly requeſt your Majeſty, that our kingdome may on your Majeſties behalfe reſt in ſafety and peace: which we perſuade our ſelues you will eaſily grant. So wiſhing vnto you all health and happineſſe, we bid you farewell. From Danske the eighteenth of October, in the yeare 1587, *and of our reigne the firſt.*

Vnto which the Kings requeſt and letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this anſwer in writing:

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turks; vnto *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia, greeting.

Amurath his anſwer vnto the letters of Sigiſmund.

I *Take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your Embaſſador* Iohn Samogil *came with your letters vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, the refuge of diſtreſſed Princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to vnderſtand, how that in ſtead of the moſt excellent and famous King* Stephen, *of worthy memory, late King of Polonia; you, diſcended of the ſame noble ſtocke and race of the Polonian Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous kingdome of Polonia and the great Kingdome of Lithuania, choſen King of Polonia: and being ſent for by lawfull Embaſſadors, by the fauour and goodneſſe of God, to be come vnto the city of Danske, and from thence to be about to go vnto Cracouia, the chiefe city of the kingdome of Polonia. And when you are there arriued, to ſend your Embaſſador vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, to confirme, preſerue, and eſtabliſh the league and amity commodious and neceſſary for both our Kingdomes, honoured and kept by your antient predeceſſors, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea, and that with greater zeale and deuotion than any your noble Anceſtors. And therefore your Embaſſadour in your name requeſteth, That no inuaſion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the Kingdome of Polonia, or any harme there done: and that the moſt noble Tartar Prince* Isban Gerai, *(whom God bleſſe) ſhould be warned, that he neither make nor ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the confines of the Kingdome of Polonia. All which things in your letters contained, with the reſt which your Embaſſadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with ſpeed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore, our moſt ſtately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto ſuch as reſort thereunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulſe, neither ſhall hereafter haue: wherefore it beſeemeth you, as ſoone as theſe our letters ſhall be brought vnto you, to open your eies, and to beware that nothing be on your part done againſt the Majeſty of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amity be neither in much or little diſturbed, but as beſt beſeemeth, well and ſincerely kept: and ſo perſuade your ſelfe it ſhall be on our part alſo be moſt inuiolately obſerued. Our Letters are alſo directed vnto the moſt excellent Tartar Prince* Isban Gerai *(whom God bleſſe) ſtreitly charging and commanding him, not to make or ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the borders of Polonia. In briefe, the league and amity ſhall be on our part religiouſly kept: and whoſoeuer ſhall preſume to do any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of Polonia, ſhall therefore without faile receiue from vs due puniſhment. So on your part alſo it is requiſite that the ſame be done, and that in declaration of your loue, you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, ſuch certaine occurrents and newes as ſhall happen in thoſe parts: which ſhall be vnto vs a ſigne of your ſincere loue and friendſhip. So know you and giue credit vnto this our ſeale. From Conſtantinople.*

Neither was King *Sigiſmund* vnmindefull of this his promiſe before made for the ſending of his Embaſſador; but being poſſeſſed of the Polonian kingdome, ſent *Chriſtopher Dziercius* (his ſecretary) Embaſſador vnto *Amurath*, for the confirming of the league: which hee hath euer ſince ſo firmely kept with the Turke, that he could neuer by any entreaty of the Emperor, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in reſpect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowſhip of this long and religious war, ſo hardly maintained by the Emperor and ſome few other Chriſtian Princes his confederats; firſt againſt *Amurath* whileſt he liued, and euer ſince againſt *Mahomet* his ſon, which now reigneth; the iſſue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable.

1588 *Genge taken by Ferat.*

The yeare following, *Ferat* (yet the Turks Generall in Perſia) tooke the city of Genge, being before for feare of the Turks quite abandoned & forſaken by the Inhabitants; who yet vpon his faith giuen for their ſafety, returned againe, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yerely tribute

A but of fiue thouſand ducats. But when he would haue gon farther into the enemies country,
hauing part of his army cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous ſouldiers foulely entreated,
wounded and enforced to retire. *Cicala Baſſa* alſo paſſing ouer the riuer Euphrates, had in
thoſe quarters diuers bloudy skirmiſhes with the Perſians, ſometime carrying away the better,
and ſometime the worſe, as the fortune of the field ſerued. Vntill at length *Amurath* himſelfe
no leſſe weary than his people of that long and chargeable war, and the Perſian King alſo
inclining to peace; he by the perſuaſion of *Sinan Baſſa* (but lately before receiued into fauour)
was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the ſame: moued thereunto as well
by reaſon of new troubles then in other places ariſing, as for the great famine and plague then
raging in Conſtantinople. And conſidering withall what a great Territory he had won from
B the Perſians, and how neceſſary it was for him by peace to confirme himſelfe in thoſe his new
conqueſts, and by the building of certaine ſtrong forts for the ſuccour of one another, and by
the placing of the Timariots therein, to aſſure the ſame vnto him: all which without peace
he could not poſſibly do, as the old Baſſa right wiſely told him. For which reaſon he yeelded
to peace; and ſo Embaſſadours paſſing to and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon betwixt
theſe two great Mahometan Princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto him ſelfe the
places he had already gained; namely, Tauris, Genge, Siruan, and Chars, with all the profits
thereof ariſing, for the maintenance of his garriſons and Timariots there. Whereof it was
thought new ſtirres would eftſoones ariſe; the Turks growne inſolent of their late victories,
being not able to content them ſelues with the conditions of the league; and the Perſians not
C willing to liue in continuall feare of the Turks, eſpecially ſeeing themſelues to be dayly by
them more and more oppreſſed; and withall doubting leſt the Turks after they had taken faſt
footing in thoſe new conquered Countries, and ſo growne ſtrong, and gotten better knowledge
of the paſſages, ſhould (after their ambitious manner) ſeeke to poſſeſſe them ſelues of
the reſt; not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations
of the league. Which was neuertheleſſe (as we ſaid) on both ſides for the ſpace of
ten yeres orderly confirmed with all due circumſtances and ceremonies, in like occurrents by
the great Potentats of the World vſed: and for the more aſſurance thereof, one of the Perſian
Kings ſons, or as ſome others ſay, one of his nephews, giuen vnto the Turke in hoſtage, as *Amurath*
required.

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople.

D These long wars thus ended, ſhortly after a great ſedition was raiſed at Conſtantinople by
the ſouldiers of the court, which returning out of Perſia, with great inſolency demanded their
pay. For the ſatisfying of whom, by the conſent of the great Sultan himſelfe, the value of the
coine was inhaunſed, and a new kinde of ſubſidie for leuying of mony impoſed vpon the ſubjects
in generall, none excepted; who ſtanding vpon their antient liberties and priuiledges, refuſed
to pay it, eſpecially the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court. Wherefore their Aga
or captaine was commanded to appeaſe them, and to perſuade them to pay the demanded tribute:
in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been ſlaine by the inſolent Ianizaries;
and yet neuertheleſſe for preuailing no more with them, was in diſpleaſure thruſt out of his office,
and another placed in his roome that ſhould haue married *Amuraths* daughter; of whom
E for all that, the Ianizaries would not accept in any caſe, but threw ſtones at him, and threatned
to kill him. The next night a great fire aroſe in the city; for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries
were commanded (as their duty was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only
moſt obſtinately refuſed to do, but alſo kept backe others that brought water for the quenching
thereof, and together with the other ſoldiers of the court, did what they might to make
it burne the faſter. With the rage of this fire were conſumed ſeuen of their Temples, 25 great
Innes, fifteene thouſand houſes, with many warehouſes and ſhops. To appeaſe this dangerous
ſtirre, and to preuent further miſchiefe, commandement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of
Grecia and *Dauid Paſſy* a Iew (the firſt authors of this new impoſition) that they ſhould either
gather the aforeſaid tribute by them deuiſed, and pay the ſoldiers, or by ſome other meanes to
F giue them contentment. But here began the Prieſts publikely to diſſuade the people from
paiment of this new tribute, or any other ſuch like; perſuading them in any caſe to defend
their antient liberties and cuſtomes: wherupon the churches were by the Prieſts ſhut vp, publique
praiers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Baſſa's houſes aſſaulted, and all the
city on a new hurley burley. For the appeaſing whereof *Amurath* was glad to yeeld vnto the

Great harme done by fire in Conſtantinople.

Ianizaries, to pay the ſouldiers out of his owne treaſure, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two perſuaders thereof to the pleaſure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the ſtreets at horſes tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in ſcorne toſſed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had bin tenniſe balls.

Sinan Baſſa of Buda inuadeth the vpper part of Hungary.

About the latter end of September, *Sinan Baſſa* of Buda, hauing with the aſſiſtance of the Sanzackes about Fille, raiſed an army of eleuen thouſand ſoldiers, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled all the vpper part of Hungary, came the ſixth of October before the caſtle of Putnoc, and gaue thereunto ſummons: but finding them in the Caſtle better prouided and more reſolute than he had before ſuppoſed, he departed thence, and paſſing the riuer Schayo, came to Sixo, a towne of about fiue hundred houſes, which after a ſore battery he tooke, and burnt it downe to the ground. In the meane time *Claudius Ruſſell* Generall for the wars in that part of Hungary, hauing aſſembled his forces, came vpon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worſe, when he had ſlain of his Turks about two thouſand fiue hundred, beſides three hundred other drowned in the riuer Schayo. Shortly after, the Christians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turks, tooke from them the caſtles of Blaueſtein, Geſtes, with ſome other ſmall forts thereabouts in the vpper part of Hungary.

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589

Sinan for that he had contrary to the league, and without the commandement of *Amurath*, ſo vnfortunatly attempted war in Hungary, was the next yeare in great diſpleaſure ſent for to Conſtantinople, and *Ferat Baſſa* of Boſna (late General of the Turks army againſt the Perſians, and now but newly come home) placed in his roome at Buda.

Amurath before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the King of Spaine had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was termed) by him ſet forth for the inuaſion of England (the fame whereof had of long before filled a great part of the World) as alſo of the euill ſucceſſe thereof the laſt yeare, *viz* 1588; and of the purpoſe her Majeſty of England had for the troubling of his rich trade, eſpecially vnto the Weſt-Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of Portugall: wrot vnto her about this time concerning thoſe and ſuch like matters as had beene moued by her Agent, as followeth:

Nicholaus Reuſnerius Epiſt. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42.

Amuraths Letters vnto the Queen of England.

Amurath the third, Emperor of the Turks, vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, France, and Ireland, greeting.

Moſt honourable Matrone of the Chriſtian Religion, Mirror of chaſtity, adorned with the brightneſſe of ſoueraignty and power amongſt the moſt chaſte women of the people which ſerue Ieſu, Miſtris of great kingdomes, reputed of greateſt Majeſty and praiſe among the Nazarites, Elizabeth *Queene of England, to whom we wiſh a moſt happy and proſperous reigne. You ſhall vnderſtand by our high and Imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator reſiant in our ſtately and magnificent Court, hath preſented vnto the throne of our Majeſty a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares ago you haue made wars vpon the King of Spaine, for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threatned all other Chriſtian Princes, and purpoſeth to make himſelfe the ſole Monarch both of them and all the World beſide. As alſo how that the ſame King of Spaine hath by force taken from* Don Anthonio *(lawfully created King of Portugall) his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ſhips which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be imbarred and ſtrayed from that nauigation: wherein are yearely brought into Spaine, pretious ſtones, ſpices, gold, and ſiluer, eſteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforeſaid King as with a great treaſure enriched, hath meanes to moleſt and trouble all other Chriſtian Princes: which if he ſhall ſtill proceed to do, he will make himſelfe dayly ſtronger and ſtronger, and ſuch an one as may not eaſily be weakened. After that, your aforeſaid Orator requeſted our Highneſſe, in the beginning of the next Spring to ſend out our Imperiall fleet againſt him, being aſſured that the King of Spaine could not be able eaſily to withſtand it, for that he had now already receiued a great ouerthrow by your fleet: and being ſcarce able to withſtand you alone, if he ſhould be on diuers parts inuaded, muſt needs be ouercome, to the great benefit of all the Chriſtian Princes, as alſo of our Imperiall ſtate. Beſides this, that whereas the aforeſaid* Don Anthonio *is by force driuen out and depriued of his kingdome, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitours of happy memory, whoſe graues the Almighty lighten) ſhould alſo giue the aid and ſuccour of our magnificent ſtate, as did they, vnto all ſuch as had recourſe vnto their high Courts and palaces for reliefe. In brieſe, all theſe things, with many*

others

A *others which your aforeſaid Orator hath at large declared vnto our Imperiall throne, we haue well vnderſtood and laid them vp in our deepe remembrance. But foraſmuch as we for many yeares paſt haue made wars in Perſia, with a full reſolution and intent vtterly to conquer and ſubdue the kingdome of that accurſed Perſian heretike, and to joyne the ſame vnto our antient dominions; and now by the grace of God, and helpe of our great Prophet, are vpon the point of the ſatisfying of our deſire: that once done, due prouiſion ſhall be aſsigned vnto all ſuch things as you haue of vs requeſted or deſired. Wherefore if you ſhall ſincerely and purely continue the bond of amity and friendſhip with our high Court, you ſhall not find more ſecure refuge or ſafer harbour of good will or loue. So at length all things ſhall go well and according to your hearts deſire in your wars with Spaine, vnder the ſhadow of our happy throne. And for as much as the King of Spaine hath by fraud and deceit got whatſoeuer he holdeth, without doubt theſe deceitfull deceiuers* B *ſhall by the power of God in ſhort time be diſpatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to loſe any opportunity or time, but to be alwaies vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue notice here to our high Court, of all the new wars which you ſhall vnderſtand of concerning the ſaid King of Spaine, for the behoofe both of your ſelfe and vs. To be briefe, your Embaſſador after he had with all care and diligence diſpatched his Embaſſage, and here left in his place one* Edward Bardon *his Deputy and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull ſeruice he there did, worthy to be of you eſteemed, honoured, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all thoſe his deſerued honours and preferments, let him or ſome other principall Embaſſador without delay be appointed to our Imperiall Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought good to haue you* C *certified of vnder our moſt honourable Seale, whereunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our Imperiall palace at Conſtantinople, the fifteenth of this bleſſed moneth * Ramazan 1589.*

** September.*

Yet for all theſe faire ſhewes, it may ſeeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the ſtate of the Turkiſh affaires at thoſe times, and that which hath enſued ſince, that *Amurath* glad of the diſcord of theſe two ſo great Chriſtian Princes, and not well aſſured of his new conqueſts in Perſia, had no great mind to the inuaſion of Spaine, as too far from the ſtrength of his Empire, an enterpriſe not to be ſo eaſily managed by ſea, as were the wars he ſhortly after vndertooke againſt the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph* by land: wherwith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as did his ſonne *Mahomet* that reigned D after him.

The Polonian Coſſacks inuade the Tartarians and Turks.

About this time alſo the Polonian borderers (whom they call Coſſackes) a rough and warlike kinde of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turks and Tartarians, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Koſlaw a port towne within a daies journey of Caffa, where they had the ſpoile of many rich warehouſes of the Turks merchants, and the rifling of certain ſhips lying there in harbor; and hauing taken their pleaſure, burnt the reſt, and ſo with a great booty returned to their lurking places. With which injury the Tartars prouoked, and ſet on by the Turks, to the number of forty thouſand brake into Podolia and the prouinces neere vnto Polonia, and reſting in no place, but burning the country before them, ſlew the poore country people without mercy, and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, beſides the ſpoile, E carried away with them many thouſands of moſt miſerable captiues: the greateſt part whereof for all that, the Polonians reſcued, with the notable ſlaughter of the enemy, ſurpriſed in their returne. Whereupon ſuch vnkindneſſe riſe between the Turkiſh Emperor and *Sigiſmund* the Polonian King, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open wars, had not the Polonian by his Embaſſadors and the mediation of the Queene of England, wiſely appeaſed the angry Turke, and ſo againe renewed his league.

1590

The reaſons wherewith the Viſier Baſſa's perſuade Amurath to make war.

Amurath now at peace with the World, from which he by nature abhorred not, and ſitting idle and melancholy at home, was perſuaded by the Baſſa's his Counſellors, to take ſome new war in hand: for that great empires (as they ſaid) could not without the continuall vſe of armes long ſtand or continue: as appeared by the Roman ſtate, which ſo long as it was at wars with F Carthage, or their great Captaines and Commanders occupied in armes againſt their neighbour Princes, ſtill remained triumphant, and commanded ouer a great part of the World; but giuing it ſelfe to eaſe and pleaſure, and the martial men not after their wonted manner imploied, it in ſhort time by ciuill diſcord fell, and of the Miſtreſſe of the World, became it ſelfe a prey euen vnto the baſeſt nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wiſedom foreſeeing, cried out in

the Senat, That the ſouldiers and men of warre were to be kept ſtill buſied in armes far from
home, for that in ſo doing, all ſhould go well with the State, and the glory thereof increaſe. G
Whereunto the *Othoman* Emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing reſpect, propounded not
peace as the end of their wars (as do other weake Princes hauing their owne forces in diſtruſt)
but as inuincible conquerors, ſtill ſowed wars vpon wars, making one victory the beginning of
another: whereby they not onely brought that their Empire vnto that greatneſſe it was now
of, but by ſuch continuall imploiment made their ſouldiers more couragious and ready, and
alſo kept them from rebellions and tumults; whereunto in time of peace, and liuing at eaſe,
theſe martiall men are moſt commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing,
to do that is euill and naught. Euery thing (as they ſaid) was by the ſame means to be main-
tained, whereby it was at the firſt increaſed; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by H
wars begun and augmented, ſo were they by continuall wars alſo to be from time to time eſta-
bliſhed; whereas otherwiſe the ſouldiers liuing in peace, and forgetting their martiall prow-
eſſe, would for moſt part grow cowardly, as giuing themſelues ouer to the loue of their owne
dwellings, of their wiues, and of their children, and other pleaſures; or elſe conuerting their
ſtudies to Merchandiſe, or other profitable trades, would in time forget the vſe of armes, and
be thereunto againe hardly drawne: vnto the great weakening of his ſtrength both by ſea and
land, and the diminiſhing of the number of his great commanders and expert captains, not to
be had without the continual vſe of war. With theſe and ſuch like reaſons, the great Baſſa's of
the Court perſuaded *Amurath*, That he muſt of neceſſity take ſome new expedition in hand,
and not to ſuffer his valiant ſouldiers, but now lately returned out of Perſia, to grow lazie or I
inſolent for lacke of imploiment. Which they did not ſo much for the loue of their Prince,
or zeale vnto the State, as for their owne particular profit; eſpecially the two old Baſſa's *Sinan*
and *Ferat*, the enuious competitors the one of the others honour: who although they both,
much and almoſt all commanded both in peace and war, yet was their honours greater, and
their profit far more, in commanding of the Turks great armies abroad, than in ſitting in the
Diuano at home: vnto which no leſſe honourable than profitable preferment they both with
like ambition aſpired, accompanied with the hot deſires of their great and many fauorites both
at home and elſewhere. Theſe perſuaſions well pleaſed *Amurath*; who although hee were
himſelfe no ſouldier, yet was he deſirous of new conqueſts, and to increaſe his name: accoun-
ting it no leſſe honour vnto himſelfe, by his ſeruants at his appointment to performe great K
things, than it was vnto his Anceſtors to do that they did themſelues in perſon. But in this ſo
ſerious a matter, and of ſo great conſequence, *Amurath* at the firſt could not tell what beſt to
reſolue vpon; not for that he was not deſirous of warres, but becauſe as yet he certainely knew
not againſt whom he might with greateſt profit and leaſt difficulty & danger conuert his for-
ces: vpon which point his Counſellors agreed not, but for diuers reaſons were of diuers opi-
nions. Which foraſmuch as they containe matters of greateſt importance of all things then
in the World don, but eſpecially concerning the profit of the Chriſtian commonweale, I ſhall
not thinke it vnworth my labour, to ſet them downe in ſuch order as I finde them credibly re-
ported; hauing moreouer in them many letters and moſt weighty matters not yet come to
all mens knowledge: as alſo opening the deuiſes of the Turkiſh Tyrant againſt the Chriſtian L
Princes; a motiue not only for them to joyne in counſell together how to withſtand him, but
for the common Chriſtian Commonweales ſake to forget and forgiue all their priuat diſplea-
ſures, and with their vnited forces and power honourably and couragiouſly to make war vpon
him, and ſo at length by the mercy of God to ouerthrow him, together with his tyrannicall
Empire, the greateſt terror of our time.

The cauſes why Amurath would not ſuddenly reſolue vpon war.

Eight ſeuerall opinions of the Viſier Baſſaes, concerning the war to be taken in hand.

The great Baſſa's concerning the intended war were of eight ſundry opinions: whereof the
firſt was, That the wars againſt the Perſian ſhould be renewed: the ſecond, for the inuaſion of
the King of Morocco and Fes: the third, for war to be taken in hand againſt the king of Spain:
the fourth for the beſieging againe of Malta: the fift was, to ſet vpon the Venetians: the ſixt,
for the inuading of ſome part of Italy: the ſeuenth, for the King of Polonia: the eighth and M
laſt was, for warre to be made vpon the Emperour and the kingdome of Hungary. With all
the which aforeſaid Princes, except the Spaniard, although the Turke were then in league,
and could not with all or any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his faith
and honour: yet was that neuer made queſtion or ſcruple of, but onely. Which might beſt
ſtand

A ſtand with the profit of his ſtate for him to ſet vpon. His barbarous law allowing him that liberty, for the more aſſuring of his ſtate, and inlarging of his empire, to break all faith & promiſe, eſpecially with the Chriſtians, not more in any thing to be pittied, than in repoſing any credit or confidence in the faith of ſuch a miſcreant.

The firſt opinion and reaſons to haue the Perſia wars renued.

The reaſons the great Baſſa's alledged for the renuing of the Perſian war, were, for that the Perſian King was of himſelfe like to break the league ſo lately with him concluded, ſo ſoone as he ſhould know the Turks intangled in any other war, moued thereunto as well for the recouery of his country, to his great diſhonor loſt, as alſo in reuenge of ſo many and ſo great injuries to him of late don by the Turkiſh Emperors. Beſide that, the Chriſtian princes would perſuade him and prick him forward therunto; eſpecially the Spaniard, who for the neernes of India might without his great charge procure him ſo to do, and alſo conueniently furniſh B him with great Ordnance and Cannoniers, which it was wel known he of late did. The countries alſo but lately conquered, were not yet, as they ſaid, in quietnes or ſafety, and the fortreſſes therin but of late built, together with the garriſons therin, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way, and difficultie of the paſſage, not to be ſtill ſpeedily relieued: inſomuch that if the Perſians did them no other harm, but only to forrage and waſt the countrey about them, they ſhould bring the inhabitants into ſuch diſtres, as that thoſe new conquered countries were again by the defendants to be forſaken, or elſe they muſt themſelues with hunger periſh. True glory, they ſaid, conſiſted not ſo much in conquering, as in the vſe of the conqueſt, and the proſecution of the happy victory: And that therfore *Amurath* ſhould take heed C that he prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the great Prophet *Mahomet* againſt him; who hauing by his good fauour and guid obtained mo victories than any his predeceſſors, againſt the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious and deuout prince ſeuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious Warre *Vibeg Han* the Tartar King, as alſo the Prince of Gheilan, offered their ready help. As for the euent of the victory, now as good as in his hand, he was to iudge by the ſucces of his former Wars. Neither that he need to fear the Perſian horſemen, although they vſed Arabian horſes, beeing by his men many times ſhamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt leſt the Georgians in fauor of the Perſians ſhould take vp arms, for that many of them were already vnder his obeiſance, and ſubiect to the Baſſa of Teflis and other his commanders; the reſt were his vaſſals, or els ſuch D as following the fortune of their princes *Simon* & *Alexander*, ſought after no greater matter, but contenting themſelues with their own countrey, although but ſmall, thought themſelues wel if they might keep and defend the ſame, by nature and ſcituation ſo ſtrong, as that there is ſcarce any way vnto it, by reaſon of the high and broken mountains, the thick woods, and ſtreit paſſages.

The ſecond opinion, for war with the King of Morocco.

The ſecond opinion which was deliuered, was for the tranſportation of his Wars into Africk againſt the King of Morocco, commonly called the Seriphe; and that for theſe cauſes moſt: It would be a great ſhame and reproch (as they ſaid) vnto the *Othoman* Empire, that it was not yet able to ſubdue thoſe Moores and people of Africke, in number but few. Neither was it leſſe ſhame or diſhonour to the *Othoman* Emperours to haue ſo ſmall a territory in A- E frica, being the third part of the world, which by reaſon of the neereneſſe vnto Italy, had a long time held wars with the Romans. Beſides that, Algiers and Tunes could neuer be ſafely kept by the Turks: neither that the ſubiects and pyrats which inhabited thoſe Cities, would euer be content or at quiet, vntil they had again got that kingdome into their hands. The promontory of Aguero, and port of Larace (two ports without the ſtreits) were, as they ſaid, to be taken, as places very commodious for the Turks friends, ſeeking in thoſe ſeas after booty; and for the ſecuring of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himſelfe a Mahometan, and held his kingdom as a Tributary vnto the *Othoman* Empire, yet had hee ſecret intelligence with the Spaniard and the Knights of Malta, whereby they not long ſince had vpon the ſudden almoſt ſurpriſed Tripolis, he in the mean time as it were winking thereat. And that al- F though the Spaniard poſſeſſed in Africke, Maraſchebir, Oran, Pegnon, Tanger, Arzilla, Mazaga, Ceute or Sepes, places whereby he might help and aſſiſt the Moors; yet might his forces and attempts by a ſtrong fleet be eaſily hindered, and Spaine it ſelfe infeſted. Beſides that, The Spaniards had yet in ſuch freſh remembrance the loſſe of Tunes and Guletta (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Baſſa* to his immortall praiſe taken) as that they would not for the Moors ſake eaſily ſeem to attempt any great thing againſt the victorious Turks. G

The third opinion, touching the conqueſt of Malta.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made againſt them of Malta, which was by a ſtrong fleet to be performed; for that the gallies of Malta did daily great hurt as wel to the Turks merchants, as vnto ſuch as for deuotions ſake trauelled by ſea to Mecha. And that therefore the war was thither to be transferred, not only for religions ſake, and to aſſecure the paſſage thither from the incurſions of the Malteſes, but in reuenge of the old & late iniuries by them don; and eſpecially to blot out the infamy and diſgrace which the great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at ſuch time as he had in vain beſieged that Iſland, and to requite the loſſe by him there ſuſtained. Beſide that, they alſo alledged the common complaints of the ſubiects, for that there were many which pittiouſly lamented the miſery and calamitie, ſome of H their friends, ſome their kinsfolk, whom they knew to liue in moſt woful ſeruitude with thoſe Knights, and whom they moſt earneſtly deſired to haue now ſet at liberty: Complaining his ſubiects to haue bin ſo far from ſuffering any ſuch things from thoſe Knights in the time of his anceſtors, as that contrariwiſe they themſelues were by them driuen out of the Iſland of Rhodes, the ſtrongeſt bulwark of the Chriſtian commonweal toward the Eaſt. Beeing moreouer worthy alſo to be chaſtiſed, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moors with all kind of munition, and had themſelues attempted to haue ſurpriſed Modon.

The fourth opinion, for war to be made againſt the Spaniard, and the reaſons why.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, That it were beſt for him to make war vpon the king of Spain. Theſe men alledged it to be impoſſible for the Turkiſh empire to attaine to the monarchy of the whole world (wherunto all the Turks actions and deuiſes I were alwaies as at a certain mark directed) except the Spaniard his great ſtrength and power were firſt weakned, wherin he ſeemed to ſurpaſſe all other the Chriſtian kings and princes: and that there was no fear leſt he ſhould beſiege Algiers, which hee knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fift. And that although the Spaniards without ceaſing beſought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reaſon of the new loſſes and harmes which they daily receiued from the Pyrats of Africk, yet would he not hearken vnto their requeſt, for fear of the danger imminent both to himſelf & his ſubiects from the enemies fleet, which he ſhould in ſo doing draw into the Spaniſh ſeas: neither would the Spaniſh gallies eaſily come into the Turks countries in the Eaſt, for being too far from their own country, which for moſt part ſtood in need of their help. And that the king of K Spain was with the multitude of his buſines and other his vrgent affairs ſtill ſo hindred, that he could not ſuddenly put in execution what his Councell for the Wars ſhould decree: As alſo how much it was to be gathered by that which hapned not long ſince at Preuesa & Nauarinum, that the Spaniard ſhunned the *Othoman* forces: and alſo how warily the king dealt in all his affairs, leſt at length againſt his will he ſhould be inforced to enter into warres with the Turk, was moſt manifeſt, as was to be ſeen when as of late about the end of the Perſian war, he refuſed to aid the Perſian King, whom hee might haue holpen, and was ſo before wont to doe. And in caſe that he would ſtand vpon his gard, and by force ſeek to repel force, yet ſhould he ſcarſe haue ſo much ſtrength, as (beſide thoſe wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake alſo a new war, and to find ſo many ſouldiers, and ſo much coin, & other L things neceſſary for ſo great a war. It ſtood him in hand (they ſaid) to defend the low countries, and to recouer againe the prouinces there loſt, which of themſelues wonderfull ſtrong, both by reaſon of the ſea and the multitude of the Riuers, were alſo with wonderfull courage and pertinacy defended by the inhabitants, for their liberty and religions ſake. Whereunto the Engliſh (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great help, if they ſhould inuade Portugal, or with their ſhips lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incurſions into other his kingdoms, as they did not long ſince at the Groin and Cades, places moſt fit to trouble Spain, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Beſide that, hee was at that time ſo intangled with his wars in France, as that he could ſcarce finde how to diſpatch himſelfe thereof, without the loſſe of his honor and credit. And admit he ſhould make M peace with the aforeſaid Princes, in ſuch ſort that he ſhould not from thenceforth from them receiue any harme; yet were other meanes to bee ſought and taken in hand for his further diſturbance, as by troubling his rich Trade for Spices and other merchandiſe, whereof hee reapeth great profit, as alſo if need were, by driuing his ſhips out of the Perſian gulfe by the help

of

A of thoſe gallies which ſtill lie at rode at Poſſidium, which we now cal Suez. And that the fortreſſes and ſtrong holds he there poſſeſſeth, were to be ſet vpon, and if it might be taken from him; as was once attempted againſt the Portugals at Diu and Ormuz. The like wherof *Alphonſus Albuquercius* (the king of Portugals Viceroy in India) attempted, when as with his light horſmen running thorow that country, he thought vpon the ſudden to haue ſpoiled Mecha, and to haue robbed the ſepulchre of *Mahomet*, as had hapned vnder the empire of the Sultans, and as *Trajan* the Emperor had long ſince in like maner attempted to rage and ſpoile. Thoſe places which he poſſeſſed in Africk were (as they ſaid) to be ſet vpon, and the coaſt of Spain toward the Mediterranian to be infeſted? ſo at length to gratifie the Moors his ſubiects, who ſtil inſtantly requeſted the ſame, that ſo they might more ſafely trafique and trauell; and that
B ſo the Moors might at length be deliuered from the imperious commaund of the Spaniards. Of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in his life time well perſuaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiouſly don, for that the Mooriſh Nation was now greatly increaſed, and much oppreſſed by the Spaniards, and hauing got great wealth by trade of merchandiſe, euen by nature or Religion had conceiued a mortall hatred againſt the Spaniards: wherunto might not a little auaile the ports in Africke, whereinto the Turks fleet might at all times in ſafety retyre. And in briefe, that which was of greateſt importance for the better ſucces of this war, the French King and the Queen of England had of their own accord promiſed the continuation of their wars, & that the French King ſhould inuade Nauar, and by force of arms recouer the right he pretended to that kingdom: whilſt in the mean time
C the Queen of England ſhould not only trouble him in the Weſt Indies, and other places of the Ocean toward the North and Weſt, but might alſo ſtir vp new broils in the kingdome of Portugal, where moſt of the people with great impatience did bear the proud commaund of the Spaniard; as perſuaded (and that truly) all their proſperity and quietnes to haue bin loſt together with their laſt king their true and lawfull ſoueraign. For he at peace with the kings of France and England, exceedingly thereby inriched his ſubiects by trafique; whereas ſince they fel into the hands of the Spaniard, they daily complain of their new loſſes and dangers, by reaſon of his perpetual wars. Moreouer, That there was to bee found great ſtore of exiled Spaniards diſperſed here and there, which being male-content, and weary of the Spaniſh gouernment, were fled not only out of Portugall, but euen out of Aragon and other parts of his
D kingdom: which now liuing in France, England, and Conſtantinople, both ſecretly & openly offered great helps: the like wherof many of the Moors alſo promiſed. All which together ſeemed to promiſe a moſt eaſie expedition and certain victory, if any ſhould vpon the ſudden inuade Spain, for that there was almoſt no vſe of arms, the inhabitants at home ſeldom times exerciſing themſelues therin; neither in places needful hauing any ordinary gariſons, and but few horſes fit for ſeruice. And that in fine it was to be conſidered, Spain to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and couragiouſly to mannage Armes, by the often choice they make of them, which were almoſt daily tranſported into the Indies, Italy, and the Low-Countries. Wherby the ſtrength of his Countrey muſt needs bee exceedingly impaired: ſo that if he ſhould be inuaded with any ſtrong and mighty Army, they might ſeem hardly able
E to be holpen and defended by their owne people, but ſhould need the helpe and aid of other neer Prouinces that were ſubiect to his kingdom. Which if they ſhould be either letted, or ſtay to come in good time, they ſhould then leaue ſo much the more eaſie victory vnto their Enemies.

The third opinion for inuading the Venetians, and the reaſons why.

In the fifth place were they which went about to perſuade *Amurath* to breake his league with the Venetians, vſing reaſons rather probable than true, although they might ſeeme leſſe doubtfull to the Turkes, for that men eaſily and willingly beleeue ſuch things as they themſelues deſire. Theſe men went about to proue no expedition to bee leſſe difficult than this, as iudging of things preſent by the euent of former wars paſſed; wherin the Turks had alwaies taken ſomthing from the Venetians; who to redeem their peace were diuers waies inforced to
F ſatisfie the Turks. That the Venetian Commonweal was afraid of the Turks, and abhorred war, was manifeſt, they ſaid, in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it ſelf peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their anceſtors, neuer entred into wars, but enforced thereunto; and would haply vpon the firſt denouncing of Wars, willingly part with certain places, for feare of greater harme, or to bee vtterly ouercome, as it appeared they did in the

yeelding vp of Cyprus. The power and force therof was not ſo great, as that it could alone G ſtand againſt the great Sultan:and to confederat it ſelf with others would require no ſmal delay,for the great and many difficulties which commonly vſed to ariſe in making of Leagues; not being now ſo conjoined with the Spaniard as in times paſt, of whoſe aid it being of late deſtitute,was conſtrained to make a hard peace with *Selymus*:and if ſo be the Spaniard would needs join himſelf vnto the Venetians againſt the Turks,yet that he could by no means afford vnto them ſuch aid and ſupplies as were of neceſſity to be required vnto ſo great a War, hee himſelf being in his Wars otherwiſe ſo intangled. As for all other confederation they could make without him,to be but weak and to no purpoſe. That which the Pope could do herein to be but little; for albeit he ſhould (according to his duty) exhort other Chriſtian princes to giue aid,and to ſtir them vp vnto this war;yet that beſide ſome little ſupply of mony hardly H drawn out of his own coffers and the Eccleſiaſtical reuenues,he could ſcarſe performe any thing more: or when he had don his vttermoſt deuoir,could but joine fiue gallies of his owne vnto the Venetian fleet,which with the gallies of the duke of Savoy,of the knights of Malta, and of the Florentines,could but make a fleet of ſome 20 gallies, which was but a ſmal matter. Beſides that, the Turkes were perſuaded,that betwixt the Venetian ſtate and the other Chriſtian Princes was no ſuch friendſhip and good agreement, as the greatnes of the imminent danger of that War, and as the neceſſity of the cauſe would require: And that hitherto their treaſures had bin ſo exhauſted in paying the debt they were run into in the laſt war, and in building of fortreſſes,that haply they were not now ſo furniſhed with coin, as was requiſit for defraying ſo great a war. And vnto this War againſt the Venetians conſented almoſt all I the Viſier Baſſa's; differing only in this, Where,or againſt what place of the Venetian Territory this war were to be firſt begun:ſome naming one place, ſome another, for diuers reaſons them therunto leading,which for breuity we paſſe ouer.

The ſixt opiniō for attempting Italy, and the reaſons therof.

Other ſome of the Baſſa's in the ſixth place, rejecting all the former opinions concerning the war to be taken in hand,would haue had all the forces of the *Othoman* Empire, as well by land as ſea, to haue been conuerted againſt Italy, for that otherwiſe the Turks ſhould neuer come vnto the monarchy of the whole world,wherunto as at a mark they had directed al their actions,except they did firſt ſubdue Italy. For that this country, as the centre of the whole world,was wont to giue both counſel and aid vnto the reſt of the limbs, whereby the deuices of others were croſſed:and that the Romans had at length commanded ouer all the World,eſpecially K for that they held in poſſeſſion this country. Herat did the Hunnes,the Alani, and Goths,the Vandals,the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Saraſins direct all their thoughts and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more honourable and profitable than this: for that Italy was a Queene amongſt other prouinces, for commodious ſcituation, the wholſomnes of the aire, the plenty of all things neceſſary for mans life, for great, fair,and rich cities,for the antient glory and majeſty of the Roman Empire,and many other cauſes alſo. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much difficultie, for that Italy was vnder the rule of diuers princes, vnto whoſe command moſt of the ſubjects vnwillingly obeyed. As alſo for that the inhabitants of that country had now for many years liued in continual peace,and were therfore the more effeminat and fearful,and ſo vnfit for the L wars. And that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand, before the corn were full ripe,the Turks in that ſo fruitfull a Country could neuer want neceſſaries for them to liue vpon; wheras the inhabitants in great number wanting the ſame, and ſhut vp within the wals and fortifications of their Cities and ſtrong towns,ſhould be brought into extream wants. Which was the more euidently to be ſeen,for that at this time wherein they were at peace, they had not corn ſufficient in the Countrey for ſo great a multitude of people to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places,eſpecially from Peloponeſus, Conſtantinople,and the Cities vpon the coaſt of the great Ocean. Furthermore,that it was to be conſidered, That moſt part of the Italians liued by no other meanes but by their handy labour or the trade of merchandiſe; of which means if they ſhould be depriued, they M ſhould in ſhort time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of ſuch conditions as the victor ſhould propound vnto them, or as tributaries to ſubmit themſelues vnto the *Othoman* gouernment. Neither that the ſoldiers would vnwillingly be drawn vnto that War,for that they were not to paſſe through barren regions of the enemy, frozen with ice,or deſolate,

either

A neither by rough woods or inacceſſible mountains,but were all the way thither to trauel thorow
their own country;and as it were in the ſight of their own houſes:and if the Turks could
oftentimes enter ſo far,when as they had their confines more remote, and their paſſages more
difficult,that the ſame might now much more eaſily be effected, when as they had a far greater
opportunitie,and their enemies ſo neer at hand.

The 7. opinion, for wars with the Polonian.

The ſeuenth opinion was theirs,which thought it beſt to haue the war transferred into Polonia,
and from thence into Hungary and Germany : for which they alledged theſe reaſons;
firſt,For that they thought it a diſgrace vnto the majeſty and reputation of the *Othoman* Empire,
That the king of Polonia had ſomtime refuſed to pay his tribute due (for ſo the Turkes
account of all ſuch preſents as are vnto their Sultan vſually ſent by their neighbor princes, of
B curteſie)and that therfore he was by force of armes to be compelled therunto. Which they
thought would the more eaſily be obtained, for that there was much ſecret hatred and heartburning
amongſt the Polonian nobility. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous
war to be taken in hand,foraſmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldavia, the Tartars, and
the Sanzack of Acherman,Bendera,and Voſia : and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer
haue any aſſured or full poſſeſſion of Moldauia or Valachia,except the inſolencie of the Polonians
were repreſſed; the Vayuods of which Countries, when they had inriched themſelues
with much wealth,vſed ſtil to fly into the kingdom of Polonia. Beſides that,they ſhould therby
reuenge themſelues for the injuries don them by the Coſſacks;and haue more free & ſafe
traffique into Muſcouy, and bring a terror vpon the Duke of Muſcouy, by reaſon of the nighnes
C of the country:which great Duke was an impediment to the *Othoman* Emperour,that hee
conquered not the whole kingdom of Perſia. And when he had by this means by little & little
drawn vnto Germany,haply it might ſo come to paſſe, that the Chriſtian emperor ſhould
therby receiue ſome notable loſſe,his empire being ſtil more & more expoſed and invironed
with the Turks forces and gariſons. Polonia they ſaid to be a plaine and open countrey,neither
to haue any ſtrong places for to withſtand them;and the inhabitants to haue ſmall skill
in martial affairs,for that they had now long liued in peace. For as for the war that they had
with *Maximilian* the Archduke of Auſtria,it continued not long : and king *Stephen* in the late
wars he had with the Muſcouit,vſed for the moſt part the Hungarian ſoldiers,& ended thoſe
wars rather by beſieging than fighting.

The eight opinion, for war againſt the emperour, and the reaſons thereof.

D They which in the eighth and laſt place deliuered their opinions concerning the intended
war,perſuaded to haue it conuerted vpon the Chriſtian Emperour, whom the Turks call the
King of Vienna. The cauſes they alledged for the beginning of this War were, For that the
Vſcocchi were grown ſo inſolent, as to make good priſe of the Turks both by ſea and land, in
ſuch ſort,as that not onely for the harms they did, but euen for the majeſty and honor of the
Othoman Empire, their inſolencie was not longer to be ſuffered. By whoſe injuries it chiefely
came to paſſe, that the merchants to their great hinderance in priuat,and the Sultans great
loſſe in common,hauing left the town of Narenta or Narona in the Turks dominion,had remoued
their mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a town of the Venetians; and that yet for
al that was not ſo ſufficiently prouided for the ſecurity of the ſaid merchants,although there
E were peace betwixt the Emperor and the Venetians : for that theſe vnruly men for moſt part
liuing vpon the ſpoile, troubled all both by ſea and land with their robberies, driuing away
mens cattel,burning the villages,and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes
and laps. Whereby it was eaſily to be ſeen what mind they were of, and that it was not to be
doubted,but that if occaſion ſhould ſerue for them to ſurpriſe any of the Turks ſtrong holds
vpon the frontiers,they would with all their power attempt the ſame:which what a diſhonor
and infamy(not to ſpeak of the loſſe) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* Empire, euery man
may eaſily gheſſe. Neither that it was vnknown,how little the Chriſtian Emperor had eſteemed
of the Turk,at ſuch time as he was in war with the Perſian,paying his tribute too late at
his pleaſure; an euident ſigne rather of violating than of eſtabliſhing the league. And that
F the good ſucces of this war was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtful; for that the attempt
might be giuen both by Croatia, Hungary, and Auſtria, Countries abounding with
all things neceſſary for the maintenance of a great army; as alſo for that they were almoſt to
trauell all the way in the Turks own territory. Beſide that,the chiefe fortreſſes of Hungarie,
namely Belgrade,Buda,& Alba-Regalis,with many other ſtrong places,were already holden

by the Turks garriſons, whither their Armies in all caſes of extremity might in ſafety retire, or out of the ſame garriſons repair their loſſes, if any ſhould be. The Roman empire (as they G ſaid) was more deſirous of peace than of war; & the princes of nothing more careful, than how to heap vp and preſerue their treaſures: and the people of Germany, for that of long time they had had no wars, to be leſſe fit now to bear armes, and worſe to be commanded by their Captains; alwaies hauing in diſtruſt the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that thoſe nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, beeing not at vnity amongſt themſelues, but diuided, eſpecially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, leſt forrein princes ſhould aid the Emperor in this war: The Polonian and Tranſylvanian to liue now in peace with the Turk, and therfore would by no meanes turn the heat of this War into their own boſoms; as alſo for that the Polonians were afraid, leſt in ſo doing they ſhould be H driuen out of their country, and inforced to remoue themſelues toward the frozen ſea: and the Tranſylvanian hauing receiued his ſoueraignty from the Turke, no leſſe in feare (if he ſhould ſo doe) to be of him again ſtript and ſpoiled of the ſame. As for the king of Spaine, although he were of ſuch power as might afford vnto the houſe of Auſtria great aid, yet that he was in other places now too much buſied: and that the Biſhop of Rome could not bee ready in all places to ſerue his turn: the princes of Italy would not ſpend their ſubiects and treaſures to pleaſure another man: and that the Venetian State would not raſhly ſtir vp the Turkes arms againſt themſelues, but rather at eaſe expect the euent of the war, than to intangle themſelues with other mens dangers.

Theſe were the chief opinions of the great Baſſa's, concerning the war to be taken in hand; I not ſo much proceeding from any ripe or ſound aduice (as commonly they doe) but rather from a certain barbarous inſolencie and contempt of others; wherwith they moued, do ofttimes vainly perſuade them of the eaſie performance of many expeditions, which in proofe they find to be not only moſt difficult, but vnto themſelues alſo moſt pernicious.

Amurath reſolues to make war with the Emperor.

In this ſo great diuerſity of opinions ſtood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to reſolue vpon: deſirous he was in all places to ſhew his power, and if it were poſſible, to exceed the glory of his predeceſſors, as he thought himſelf to haue already don in Perſia; hauing, as he boaſted, by his ſeruants there performed more than they could themſelues in perſon with their mighty armies: wherſore contenting himſelf with that he had already don in the Eaſt, he reſolued now to turn his forces againſt the Chriſtian Emperor toward the Weſt. And that for diuers K reſpects: firſt, it grieued him to ſee the honor of the houſe of Auſtria, and that it durſt make head againſt him. Beſides that, to make war with a country confining vpon his own, would be a thing of far leſſe difficulty than was the Perſian war; where his armies were now ſtill to be led thorow his own peaceable countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatſoeuer els they needed. In which opinion he was alſo confirmed by *Sinan Baſſa*; who hauing in vain perſuaded him to haue made war againſt the Venetians, furthered now this war, in hope therby to recouer his credit and reputation (before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in Perſia; as alſo at Conſtantinople, by the diſcord betwixt him & *Ferat Baſſa*, commonly called the black Serpent) as alſo to increaſe his wealth and riches. Which ſhortly after ſorted to his deſire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* appointed L General for thoſe Wars. But aboue all others, *Haſſan Baſſa* of Boſna furthered this matter, in hope therby to haue gained great riches (as the Turks maner is) together with the greateſt honours of the field, as he was moſt vainly perſuaded by his cold prophets, to whom he gaue no ſmall credit. He therfore daily certified *Amurath* of the harms which the Vſcocchi and other the Archdukes ſubiects and ſeruants did vpon the frontiers of his territories; telling him of their burnings, ſpoilings and robbings, inciting him to begin his war in Croatia, and ſo to continue the ſame either againſt the Emperour or the Venetians, or els vpon the ſudden that way to break into Italy, as had ſomtime the like been done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Bajazet*, and *Solyman*, his noble progenitors: whereby to bring a great terrour vpon all the princes of Italy, and to inrich his ſoldiers with great ſpoiles. By which importunity he (as a M moſt mortal enemy not only to the houſe of Auſtria, but vnto all Chriſtendom) got leaue to begin thoſe ſtirs in the frontiers of the empire, which were firſt fatal vnto himſelf, and did afterwards notably exerciſe the armes of the two *Othoman* Emperors, *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as alſo the Chriſtian Emperour, with others his friends and confederats. Yet vnto this leaue

granted

A granted to the Baſſa, was this condition at the firſt anexed, That he ſhould not ſeem to doe it by *Amuraths* commandement, but of himſelf, vnder colour to reſtraine the Vſocchi; who as well by land as by ſea (as he pretended) ſpoiled both the Chriſtians and Turkes, by the great liberty of the princes of Auſtria, hauing ſmall care to chaſten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Haſſan Baſſa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord & Maſter had commanded, for the diſturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Chriſtian Emperor: the Turks leagues with their neighbor princes being ſeldom ſo religiouſly kept, but that as well their ſouldiers in garriſon vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by ſea, might to keep themſelues doing, vpon a military inſolencie (as the Turks term it) now & then at their pleaſure make incurſions for booty both by ſea and land: which being anſwered with the like B from their neighbors ſo moleſted, there neuer wanted new grieuances, and iuſt cauſes of complaint, to the ſtirring vp of greater troubles euen among the greateſt princes. The Venetians thus wronged at ſea, and their merchants robbed, by their Embaſſadors complained at Conſtantinople, of the injuries don them by the Turks pirats, requiring to haue them called home and juſtice don vpon them. In like maner the Emperor alſo, ſeeing many things both this year and the next, attempted by *Haſſan Baſſa* in Croatia, and the other Turks in Hungary, contrary to the league; to the great diſturbance of his ſubjects in both thoſe countries; by his Embaſſador then lying at Conſtantinople complained of theſe outrages, deſiring to know whether ther they were don by the conſent & knowledge of *Amurath*, or not; and if not, then to require that order might be taken for the reſtraining therof. Which was accordingly don, and thoſe C incurſions for a while ſtaied, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* ſtill making ſhew, as if the league agreed vpon for eight years, ſhould not be in any wiſe on his part infringed. At which time the Perſian Kings ſon (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turks court, where he lay in hoſtage: whoſe dead body *Amurath* cauſed to be honourably ſent home to his father into Perſia, with an apologie in defence of himſelf, againſt the ſuſpition conceiued by ſome, That he ſhould haue bin the cauſe of the vntimely death of the yong prince; ſtil vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the prince had like enough to haue bin broken. Wherof *Amurath* was the more deſirous, for that perſuaded by his Baſſa's (as is aforeſaid) to make wars with the Emperor (although he notably diſſembled the ſame) he was in hope therby to adde vnto his empire the reliques of Hungary, with ſome D good part of the territory of the houſe of Auſtria alſo, and ſo to open himſelfe a way into the heart of Germany. For which purpoſe he now cauſed very great preparation to be made, and a ſtrong army to be raiſed, and at the ſame time put a great fleet of gallies into the Archipelago, for the ſafety of his Iſlands in that ſea.

1591.

The Perſian hoſtage dieth in the Turks Court.

1592.

According to theſe deſignements, the Baſſa of Boſna by the commandement of *Amurath*, with an army of fifty thouſand entred into Croatia, and without reſiſtance burnt and deſtroyed the country before him, ſparing nothing that came in his way. And not ſo contented, laid ſiege to the city of Wihitz, being the metropolitical city of that country, ſtrongly ſcituat as it were in an Iſland, compaſſed about with the riuer Vna. Which city, after he had ſore battered, and twice aſſaulted, was by the diſtreſſed defendants (now diſpairing of reliefe, and not E able longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Baſſa, vpon compoſition, That the German ſouldiers there in garriſon might in ſafety with bag and baggage depart; and that ſuch of the Chriſtian citiſens as would, might there ſtil remaine without hurt from the Turkes either in body or goods. Which conditions the Baſſa faithfully performed vnto the gariſon ſoldiers, whom in number but four hundred, he ſent with ſafe conuoy into their own territory: but afterwards contrary to his faith and promiſe, exerciſed all maner of Turkiſh tyrannie vpon the poor citiſens. The Emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuaſion of the Turkes, ſent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times imployed in embaſſages to the Turk) to craue aid of the German princes againſt the common Enemy. Who according to the greatneſſe of the danger, in large terms promiſed their helpe. The firſt that made head was *Erneſtus* Archduke F of Auſtria the Emperors brother, who with fiue thouſand ſouldiers came from Vienna to Savaria, commonly called Greis, the metropolis of Stiria: to whom repaired daily more ſtrength out of Carinthia.

Wihitz in Croatia yeelded to the Turks.

In the mean time the Turks army daily increaſing in Croatia, incloſed ſix thouſand foot-

men

The Chriſtians ouerthrown.

men and fiue hundred horſmen of the Chriſtians (who had taken the mountaines, woods, and
ſtreit paſſages) and ſo hardly beſet them, that of all that number few eſcaped with life, among G
whom many valiant ſouldiers and expert Captaines were ſlaine, namely *Iames Prants*, *George*
Pleſbach, and *Iohn Weluerdurff*. The Baſſa after the barbarous maner of the Turks, to make his
victory ſeem more famous, laded ſix wagons with the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians.

The Turks thus raging in Croatia, brought a general fear vpon all Hungary, Bavaria, Bohemia,
Stiria, Carinthia, Sileſia, and the reſt of the prouinces therabout. Wherupon the emperor
calling together the States of Sileſia and Moldavia, declared vnto them the iminent danger;
perſuading them to joine their forces with the reſt, for the repulſing of ſo dangerous an
Enemy.

After long delay, *Erneſtus* the Archduke the tenth of Auguſt came to the Emperour his H
brother, with the embaſſadors of Hungary; and the ſeuenth day after were called together the
Embaſſadors of the kingdoms and prouinces of the Empire; where it was throughly debated,
how the Turks were to be reſiſted, and their attempts infringed; as alſo from whence forces,
mony, and other warlike prouiſion was to be raiſed. For now it was manifeſtly ſeen, that longer
to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great Commander
of Grecia, with threeſcore thouſand ſelect ſoldiers both horſe and foot, of long time
exerciſed in the Perſian war, was ere long expected, who joining with the reſt of the Turks army,
might do great matters both in Hungary and the places adjoining. For preuenting of
which ſo great and manifeſt dangers, they ſate daily in councel at Prague, yea oft times euen
from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and eſpecially the Lord *Nadaſti*, a moſt Noble I
and valiant gentleman amongſt them, inſtantly vrged to haue ſuccors ſent into Hungary;
foraſmuch as the Turkiſh Emperor, if he ſhould get into his hands the reſt of the townes and
caſtles yet holden by the Chriſtians in Hungary, it was to be feared leſt he ſhould in a ſhort
time after indanger the whole ſtate of Germany; the ſtrength whereof the Turks feared not
ſo much, as he did thoſe poor reliques of Hungary. Others were no leſſe carefull of the dangers
of Croatia and Styria, as more proper to themſelues, the enemy there now raging. In
theſe ſo great dangers, the Hungarians with the reſt of the diſtreſſed cried vpon the Emperor
for help; and he likewiſe called vpon the Princes of the Empire. Diuers aſſemblies were made
in Bohemia, Hungary, Moravia, Sileſia, and other the Emperors prouinces; and Embaſſadors
ſent from almoſt all the German princes, to the Emperor. All was full of conſultation, but K
as for help, that came in very ſlowly: yet ſuch as was to be had was forthwith ſent into Croatia,
to defend the fortreſſes thereagainſt the further attempts and proceedings of the furious
Enemy.

Certain vain attempts of the Turks.

The 18 of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouiſion vpon the ſudden by night aſſaulted
the ſtrong caſtle of Toccay in the vpper Hungary, in hope to haue ſurpriſed it. But
finding it a matter of more difficulty than they had before imagined, they departed thence;
& attempted the leſſer Comara, which ſtanding in a mariſh ground, was alſo eaſily defended.
At which time alſo the Baſſa of Buda with his power entred into the frontiers of the Chriſtians;
but hauing wel viewed the cities, towns, caſtles, and forts vpon thoſe borders, & finding
nothing for his purpoſe, he without any thing doing returned again to Buda. L

The 26 day of September *Haſſan* the Baſſa of Boſna incamped with his army betweene the
riuers of Kulp and Savus, and in the darkneſſe of the night paſſing ouer part of his army into
Turopolis, with fire and ſword moſt miſerably ſpoiled all that pleaſant and fertile Iſland; the
Lord of Bonny, to whom the keeping therof was committed, labouring in vain to defend the
ſame.

Turopolis ſpoiled by the Turks.

About the end of this moneth, the Baſſa of Ziget, with the Sangackes of Mohas, Koppan,
and Quinque Eccleſiæ, and other Turks of great name, came with a ſtrong Army, and incamped
between Ziget and Rodeſto. And ſhortly after, newes was brought to the Emperours
Court, That Caniſia (a City of Stiria not far from the riuer Zala) was hardly beſieged by
the Enemy; and that the Turkes in comming thither had taken many Chriſtians Captiues, M
whom they had ſent to be ſould at Conſtantinople; and that there was in the Turks Army
about an hundred and ſixty thouſand men. But foraſmuch as the Chriſtian Army daily increaſed
alſo, and was now growne to the number of threeſcore thouſand, men began to hope
well,

A wel,that the enemies rage would be ſtaid from any further proceeding. About the ſame time
Erneſtus the Archduke appointed General of the Army,with the Marquis, ſonne to *Frederick*
the Archduke, his lieutenant,came both vnto the army.

In theſe preparations,about the beginning of October heauy newes was brought vnto the
Emperors court,how that 7000 men,whom he but a little before had ſent into Croatia,vnder
the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Bean*, *George Gleichſpacher*, and *Dionyſius Denke*, to hinder the
courſe of the Turks proceedings,being incamped betwixt Wihitz and Carolſtat,and hauing
the twelfth of September diſcouered from an high hil certain companies of the Turks(which
were indeed of purpoſe come thither to view the Chriſtian army) ſent out fifty horſemen
to diſcouer the Turks army where it lay,and what it attempted. Who finding no moe of the
B Turks than thoſe they had before ſeen from the mountain,returned again vnto the army with
ſuch ſimple intelligence. Wherto the Chriſtians giuing credit,became ſecure in their tents
as men out of fear of the enemy,and ſo kept but negligent watch. But in this ſo great ſecuri-
ty the enemy on a ſudden came vpon them, and with 100000 men brake into their trenches:
where the Chriſtian footmen for all that for the ſpace of foure houres maintained a notable
fight, wherin many were on both ſides ſlain:but the poor Chriſtians being beſet round,& op-
preſſed with the multitude of their enemies, were ſlain almoſt all; yet the Captaines ſeeing
the danger,by ſpeedy flight ſaued their liues: for which their cowardiſe and careleſſe negli-
gence they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almoſt all the common ſouldiers
were there ſlain; yea ſuch as fell aliue into the hands of the enemy, were moſt cruelly cut in
C pieces. The ſpoil alſo of the tents of the Chriſtians fell vnto the enemy; wherein beſides a-
boundance of other things, they found ſixty thouſand Dollars, brought but two daies before
from Lutz for the ſoldiers pay. The Turks after their barbarous maner,in oſtentation of their
victory,laded 14 wagons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, which they ſent into diuers
of their places therabouts. This was indeed a great victory, but gained by the Turkes with
much bloud: for the Chriſtians fighting as men deſperat,ſlew of their enemies aboue twelue
thouſand; and died themſelues as men rather with number oppreſſed, than with true valour
vanquiſhed.

The caſtle of S.George ſurpriſed by the Turks.

The night following, the Turkes vpon the ſudden in the dead time of the night ſurpriſed
the caſtle of S.*George*,and without reſpect of age or ſex,cruelly put to the ſword al that were
D therin, except 150 perſons,whom they caried away captiue:and ſo ſetting the Caſtle on fire,
departed. At the ſame time diuers companies of the Turkes were ſeen about Siſeg,who led
away with them about ſix hundred Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie. And that no-
thing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this ſo miſerable a waſted Countrey; three
hundred Waggons charged with all manner of prouiſion,ſent out of the prouinces there by
for the reliefe of the garriſon ſoldiers in Croatia, were all intercepted by the Turkes; and ſo
carried away.

The Emperour craueth aid againe of the Germã princes

The Emperor conſidering theſe proceedings of the Turkes, and that their ſtrength daily
increaſed,gaue notice by writing to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what incurſions
the Turks had of late made into Croatia and the frontiers of Hungary,with other places neer
E vnto them:and that the Beglerbeg of Grecia,with the Baſſa's of Boſna, Buda,and Temeſwar,
without regard of the league yet in force,had taken diuers Cities,Towns,Caſtles and ſtrong
places,& ſo extended the bounds of their dominion aboue forty German miles, hauing ſlain
or caried away into captiuitie the poor inhabitants of thoſe countries; & now to be grown to
that hight of pride,that except their further proceedings were with like force repreſſed,they
would in ſhort time ſet foot into Germany it ſelf,and poſſeſſing themſelues of Stiria and Ca-
rinthia,would from thence daily more and more incroch vpon the empire. Which to hinder,
was not in his power only,but required their help in generall. Wherfore he requeſted them,
now at length in ſo publike a danger to open their coffers,and to ſend out their forces againſt
the common enemy. Which requeſt of the Emperor,with the due conſideration of ſo great a
F danger,mooued not only the Princes and States of the Empire,but others alſo farther off, to
yeeld liberal contribution to ſo neceſſary and general a Cauſe.

The Turks now hearing of the great preparation of the Chriſtian Princes, beſide the army
which was already in the field, and that they had made a ſtrong bridge ouer the riuer of Dra-
nus, which they had alſo fortified;therby in ſafety at their pleaſure to tranſport their Army;

without further delay furniſhed ſuch places as they had gotten,with ſtrong garriſons, and ſo withdrew themſelues into their own territory:which they did the rather, for that the Plague then raged ſore in Conſtantinople,inſomuch that there died a thouſand a day. Which contagion had alſo taken hold of the Turkiſh Army ; ſo that the Chriſtians for fear of infection ſlew what Turk ſoeuer fel into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this year,beeing as it were an introduction for greater to inſue the year following.

1593.

Diuers incurſions of the Turkes vpon the Chriſtians.

The Turks together with the beginning of the new yeare began alſo their wonted incurſions into the frontiers of the Chriſtians. They of the garriſon of Petrinia (a ſtrong fort but lately and contrary to the League built by the Turkes vpon the Riuer Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuaſion of Croatia) made daily incurſions out of that new fort, and entring into the Iſland Turopolis,ſpoiled and burnt the town and caſtle of Beck-Vocobinam, and hauing made a great ſlaughter,carried away with them 400 priſoners. And in Hungary the Turkiſh gariſons to ſupply their wants, made diuers inrodes vpon the Chriſtians, and did exceeding much harm ; of which aduenturers, 600 paſſing ouer the frozen lake, were all drowned in the midſt therof. In another place three thouſand of them neer to Nuhuſe diuiding themſelues into two companies,the one ſhewed it ſelf in the ſight of the towneſmen,the other ſtill lying cloſe in ambuſh. They of the town vpon the ſight of theſe Turks ſallied out,and cauſing them to retyre,followed them ſo far,that they were paſt the place where the reſt of the Turkes lay ; who preſently ſtarting vp, ran with all ſpeed toward the town in hope to haue ſurpriſed it,and wanted not much of that they deſired ; for there was ſcarce a hundred of the Germans there in gariſon left in the towne,who had ſcarce ſo much time as to draw vp the bridge. Which don,they with the great ordnance from the wals inforced the Turks to retyre and forſake the town. About the ſame time alſo,the Turks in gariſon at Petrinia ſallying out vpon the ſudden,took the town Mattenize,which they ſpoiled ; and hauing ſlain and taken about 700 perſons,ſet fire on the town and ſo returned, hauing loſt in this exploit not paſt a hundred & fifty of their own men. Not long after,the ſame garriſon ſoldiers of Petrinia took another caſtle three miles diſtant from the riuer of Kulp,wherinto the Chriſtians dwelling round about had for fear of the enemy conueyed all their wealth,with great ſtore of victuals:all which the Turks took,and hauing ſlain 600 men in the caſtle,returned with an exceeding rich booty to Petrinia:which they bought with the liues of 500 of their fellowes ſlain in taking the caſtle. With like inſolencie did all the other gariſons of the Turks rage in al the other parts of Hungary. About Saſſouia in the vpper Hungary they caried away about three hundred Chriſtian captiues. And in the nether part of Hungary they took the ſtrong caſtle of S. *Heling* vpon the lake of Balaton,which they ſpoiled and burnt:and ſo likewiſe the Caſtle of Iſna ; but attempting the leſſer Comara, they were by the garriſon ſoldiers valiantly repulſed. They alſo fortified the Caſtle of Stock,which they had but a little before taken, that ſo it might ſerue as a ſafe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages contrary to the league euidently declared the deſire they had to begin that bloudy war which preſently after inſued: and was indeed the more ſuſpected,for that at the ſame time the Emperors Embaſſador *Frederick Corcowitts* was by *Amuraths* commandement ſhut vp cloſe in his houſe at Conſtantinople,and not ſuffered to ſpeak with any man,neither to write or to ſend any meſſenger vnto the Emperor. Which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect ſome great matter to be by the Turks intended,and therfore began to raiſe new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians alſo ſeeing their Townes and Caſtles thus taken, their Prouinces ſpoiled, infinite numbers of people led away into captiuitie,and the enemy daily increaſing in ſtrength ; at length agreed vpon their own charges to maintaine a certaine number both of horſe and foot,far the repreſſing of theſe the Turkiſh incurſions.

Now although the Emperor knew right wel,al theſe outrages of the Turks contrary to the league,could not be don without the knowledge and good liking alſo of *Amurath* (as before informed therof by his Embaſſadour from Conſtantinople) yet to ſhew himſelfe willing to haue the league on his behalf kept,as alſo to make a further proof of *Amuraths* reſolution for peace or war,he wrot vnto him as followeth :

A

Rodolph the ſecond, Emperor of the Romans; Vnto *Amurath* the third, King of the Turks.

The Emperors Letters to Amurath.

*W Hereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted, for the preſeruation and continuance of the
League and amity betwixt your moſt excellent Majeſty and vs, by the renued capitulations of
peace; and that we haue with all ſinceritie and loue performed, and are herafter ready to perform whatſoeuer
is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, ſo for euer herafter alſo make offer
of the ſame: we moſt aſſuredly promiſe vnto our ſelues on your Maieſties behalfe, that you in like manner
will not ſuffer any thing on your part to be wanting, but gladly and willingly to do all things which ſhall
be meet and needfull for the preſeruation and keeping of this mutuall loue and friendſhip. Vpon which good
hope grounding our ſelues, to declare our plain meaning and ſinceritie indeed, we will cauſe our moſt honorable
B preſent (which is now ready) to be brought to your moſt royal Majeſty, at ſuch time as ſhal be agreed
vpon betwixt our Embaſſador and you: vnto whom in all ſuch matters as he by our commandement ſhall
haue to deal with your moſt excellent Maieſty, your Viſiers, or ſeruants, wee requeſt you to giue full credence.
In the mean time your Excellencie ſhall do well to prouide, that as we haue now ſeuerely commanded
our ſubiects to keep the peace vpon our frontiers, ſo that your ſouldiers alſo make no incurſions as Enemies
into our territories, nor to do in them any harm, but to indeauor themſelues alſo to peace and quietnes:
and eſpecially, that all ſuch things as contrary to the capitulations of the league haue bin there of late
taken from our people, or otherwiſe vniuſtly poſſeſſed, may be again reſtored, the loſſes recompenced, the
new fort of Petrinia demoliſhed, and the Baſſa of Boſna and others the authors and breakers of the league
puniſhed and diſplaced: wherby we ſhall gather your royall Maieſties moſt noble and kind affection toward
C vs and our State; which as it ſhall bee a thing moſt iuſt, ſo ſhall it be a ſingular confirmation of our
league. But concerning theſe matters, and others to the ſame belonging, our Embaſſadour is to declare our
mind more at large, that ſo our preſt deſire for the continuance of our league and friendſhip with your Majeſty
may be more plainly known. So wiſh we all health and proſperity vnto your moſt royall Maieſty.*

From Prague the 8 of March, 1593.

The Emperor alſo at the ſame time and to the ſame purpoſe writ to *Sinan Baſſa* in this ſort:

Rodolph the ſecond, Emperor of the Romans; To *Sinan Baſſa* the chiefe Viſier, Greeting.

D

The Emperors Letters to Sinan Baſſa.

*W E write at this preſent vnto your moſt excellent Emperor our moſt honored friend and neighbor,
concerning ſuch matters as we thought fit for the preſeruation of the peace & league between vs,
leſt haply we might ſeem to haue forgotten our duty. Now it ſhall well beſeem your vprightnes and good
will, which we haue at other times proued, for the high place and authority which you hold (and which we
rejoice to be again reſtored vnto you) to giue vnto theſe things ſuch eaſie paſſage before his Maieſty, as that
we may acknowledge you kindnes and fauor, and haue occaſion therfore to ſhew our ſelues vnto you thankfull.
Firſt, we offer our ſelues moſt ready to continue the peace, and to performe whatſoeuer is according to
the conuentions of the renued peace on our part to be performed: as alſo to ſend the honourable preſent,
as yet not ſent, whenas our embaſſador ſhal haue with you appointed any certain time wherin it might be ſent.
E And we alſo aſſuredly hope, ſo to preuail with your Emperor, that on your part the places within our Territory
by your people forcibly poſſeſſed, together with all ſuch things as haue bin wrongfully taken away,
may be again reſtored, and the fort of Petrinia raſed. The Baſſa of Boſna alſo (who as we thinke would haue
bin kept within the compas of duty, if you at that time had held the place of chiefe Viſier) and whoſoeuer
els, guilty of the wicked breach of the league, to be worthily according to their deſerts puniſhed and diſplaced;
and your ſoldiers ſeuerely charged not to make any further incurſion, nor to do any thing that may
tend to the breach of the league. As we likewiſe ſhall with ſtreit commaunds moſt carefully reſtrain our
gariſon ſoldiers vpon our frontiers, from all ſuch incurſions and enemies actions. But of theſe things our
Embaſſador is more fully and at large to intreat with you: vnto whoſe ſpeech wee deſire ſuch credence to
be giuen as vnto our owne, and we will ſo prouide, that you ſhall haue good proof of our great good will toward
F you.*

From Prague the 8 of March, 1593.

Vnto which the Emperors Letters *Sinan* returned anſwer as followeth:

**Sinan Baſſa*, chiefe Viſier to *Amurath* the third; Vnto *Rodolph* the ſecond, Emperour of the Romans, Greeting.

Sinan Baſſa's letters to the Emperor.

BY theſe we giue your Majeſty to vnderſtand, That two of your Majeſties Letters were brought hither before we were choſen and confirmed chief Viſier in this moſt royall Court; wherein your Maieſtie excuſe your ſelfe, and ſhew cauſes why the ſending of the wonted Preſents hath bin ſo long deferred, by laying the fault vpon the inſolencie of our garriſon ſoldiers in Boſna, and the breach of the publick peace. Which your letters being by vs read before our moſt mighty Emperor, his Highnes in choler burſt out into theſe words; And thy ſon the Beglerbeg of Buda hath ſtil hitherto writ, and giuen vs to vnderſtand, That the vſuall Preſents would certainly come, and that the King of Vienna would not in any caſe conſent to the breach of the league, or of the amity betwixt vs and him. And yet for all that, the preſents are not hitherto come: wherfore thy ſons writings and relations are not true. *But now the Baſſa of Boſna hath ſent word to the Court, That your Maieſty will not ſend them, and all your doings to be but meer deceit and fraud. For which cauſe our moſt mighty Emperour hath remoued my ſon from his place in Buda, and rewarded the Baſſa of Boſna with honorable garments; wheras my ſon is for your ſake diſplaced. Now on our behalf nothing is don againſt the peace, but our ſoldiers as with a bridle kept in: wheras on your Maieſties behalfe, excurſions and harms into the territories of our Emperor neuer ceaſe, eſpecially in Boſna; wherinto your ſoldiers haue of late in warlike maner broken, although they were by our gariſons ouercome, their great ordnance taken and brought hither to the Court. Wherfore ſeeing the caſe ſo ſtandeth, your Maieſty is to reſolue vs vpon two points; whereof the firſt is, Whether you be minded to keep friendſhip with vs as beſeemeth, and to ſend hither the two laſt years preſents or not? And the ſecond, Whether you will ſet at liberty our captiue Sanzacks or no. Now if your Maieſty ſhall be content to keep the legue, and within theſe two months next to ſend the two years preſents, as alſo to diſmiſſe our Sanzacks; the league ſhall on our part be likewiſe vndoubtedly kept, your territories ſhal be in no caſe moleſted, ſuch Chriſtian Captiues as your Maieſty ſhall require, be inlarged, and a moſt firm and ſure friendſhip by vs continued. Wheras if you ſhall vpon any cauſe or excuſe longer delay to ſend thoſe honorable preſents, and vnto theſe our demands ſend us nothing but vain and windy anſwers; let God on high be therfore for euer praiſed: for now our moſt mighty and victorious Emperor, who wanteth neither ability nor power, hath commanded, That we our ſelf ſhould in perſon go in this war, and putting our confidence in the Higheſt, with the army of the right beleeuing Turkes to come into theſe parts. And therfore aſſure your Maieſty we will not fail there to incounter you; at which time ſhall appear vnto the world, what is by God our Creator (whoſe holy name be for euer praiſed) in his deep wiſdom preordained and ſet down for vs. Wherfore ſeeing that all which concerneth the League, together with the ſafety and quiet of our people on both ſides, is vnto your Maieſty thus declared, you are to conſider the end, and to follow our good aduice: Wheras if otherwiſe you ſhall be the cauſe of the breach of this ſo wholſom a peace and vnity (which we hitherto haue ſo ſincerely and firmly kept) the excuſe therof both in this world and in the world to come, ſhall lie vpon your ſelf. Now we requeſt of you no more, but forthwith to ſend vs anſwer of theſe our letters. As for the reſt, well may he ſpeed that taketh the right way.*

From Conſtantinople the laſt of the moneth **Giuma Zulcuel*, in the yeare of our holy Prophet *Mahomet* 1001

* which is the 16 of March, An. Dom. 1593

Yet for all theſe fair offers of peace thus by *Sinan Baſſa* made in his letters, was his purpoſe nothing leſſe than to haue performed the ſame: ſeeking onely to haue drawne the two yeares preſents from the Emperor, amounting to a great ſumme of mony, and ſo neuertheleſſe to haue proſecuted the intended war. The Emperor being the only man, of whom *Amurath* his great maſter had amongſt all the Chriſtian princes made choice to exerciſe his force vpon. Of all which things the Emperor was not ignorant, being therof (as we ſaid) fully before by his embaſſador aduertiſed from Conſtantinople.

Theſe troubles of the Spring thus paſt, enſued the Summer much more troubleſome, for *Haſſan* Baſſa of Boſna, chiefe author and deuiſer of theſe broiles, ceaſed not for the increaſe of his credit, to worke what miſchiefe he could againſt the Chriſtians that bordered vpon him.

A This great Baſſa mortally hated the Gouernour, or as ſome call him the Abbot of Siſeg, a
ſtrong caſtle ſcituate vpon the borders of that part of Croatia,yet holden by the Chriſtians,
where the riuer Kulp falleth into the famous riuer of Sauus or Saw (and was indeed the very
bulwarke of that countrey) the cauſe of which his hatred is reported to haue beene this. The
yeare before, the Baſſa had ſent a meſſenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliuer the caſtle
or monaſtery vnto him : which meſſenger for certaine daies the Abbot entertained with many
honourable ſpeeches, learning in the meane time of him ſo much as he poſſibly could of the
Baſſaes intention, with what power, in what place, and with what engines he had determined
to beſiege the caſtle. In the meane time it was diſcouered, that his ſteward had long before
plotted with the Turke to haue betraied the caſtle, and had for certaine yeres paſt receiued of
him a yerely penſion. Vpon which occaſion, the Abbot cauſed both the meſſenger & his own
B ſteward to be apprehended, and ſo faſt bound hand and foot, to be caſt out at a window of the
caſtle into the riuer of Saw. The Baſſa ſeeing his meſſenger not to returne, ſent another to the
Abbot, grieuouſly threatning him, if he did not ſend him back again his meſſenger: wherunto
the Abbot anſwered, that he had diſmiſſed him certaine daies before, and therefore maruelled
if he were not as yet returned : neuertheleſſe concerning his demand, that he was reſolued to
yeeld the monaſtery vnto the Baſſa, againſt whoſe forces he ſaw himſelfe vnable to hold it :
requeſting only, that it would pleaſe him to ſend ſome men of account to receiue it at his hand,
for that it would be no ſmall diſhonour vnto him to deliuer it vp vnto common ſoldiers. The
Baſſa glad of this meſſage, ſent forthwith certain principall men of great account, hoping now
C without any loſſe to haue that ſtrong place yeelded vnto him, which had ſo long time ſtood in
his way. Three daies after, certaine troups of horſemen ſent from the Baſſa, came to the monaſtery
as was appointed, and finding the gates open, entred, firſt the noblemen, and after them
fiue hundred others or thereabouts : who were no ſooner within the gates, but that the portculleis
was let fall, & certain murthering pieces (ſecretly placed in the court for that purpoſe)
diſcharged ; with the violence whereof, the Turks that were already entred, were moſt miſerably
rent in pieces, their heads, armes, and legs, flying in the aire ; when preſently the garriſon
ſouldiers ſtarting out of their lurking places, made a quick diſpatch of all them that had eſcaped
the fury of the great artillery. The reſt of the Turks ſhut out, hearing the noiſe and cry of
them within, turning their horſes, betooke themſelues to ſpeedy flight. The great Baſſa hearing
D of this ſlaughter of his men, and how he had beene deceiued, ſwore in great rage by his
Mahomet, to raſe this monaſtery downe to the ground, and to plucke the Abbots skin ouer his
eares : and ſo by threatning letters gaue him to vnderſtand as followeth :

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna, vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

The threatning letter of Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

*It is not to thee vnknowne, how often wee haue ſent vnto thee our meſſengers with letters, declaring
vnto thee our loue and good will ; requeſting thee in friendly ſort, and without further reſiſtance to
yeeld vp vnto vs thy fortreſſe of Siſeg, not longer to be by thee holden. Vnto which our requeſt thou haſt
hitherto moſt wilfully at thy pleaſure oppoſed thy ſelfe, not without the ſlaughter of our men ; and in ſo doing,
E haſt giuen cauſe vnto the great Sultan to ouerthrow and raſe that thy fortreſſe, whereof thou for the
Emperour wilt needs be the chiefe. Thinkeſt thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou haſt
ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly circumuented and ſlaine our Embaſſadors and ſeruants ſent vnto thee? Nay
aſſure thy ſelfe, that if* Mahomet *grant vs life, we ſhall neuer giue ouer the ſiege of that thy fort wherein
thou ſo much truſteſt, vntill I haue before thy face ouerthrowne it, and (if thy God ſhall giue thee aliue
into my hands) haue pluckt thy skin ouer thine eares, to the great reproch and ſhame of the Chriſtians ;
for I am fully reſolued, not to depart from this place, but to continue the ſiege thereof vntill I haue it. Let
a little time yet paſſe, and thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelfe on euery ſide beſieged, thy fort with moe and greater pieces
of artillery than euer, battered, and our power ſtrong enough to conſtraine thee. Thou haſt hitherto put
thy greateſt hope and comfort in the * Banne* Erodius, *for whom by the help of* Mahomet *we are too
F much ſtrong. In briefe, we are of nothing more carefull than how to get thee into our power : which if
we do, looke not for any mercy at our hands.*

** The Hungarian Bannes are Noblemen in power much like vnto the Turks Baſſaes.*

Haſſan Baſſa inuadeth Croatia.

Neither was the Baſſa vnmindfull of his promiſe, or of the loſſe he had receiued, but now in
the beginning of Iune with an army of thirty thouſand horſe and foot, came and beſieged the

Siſeg beſieged by Haſſan Baſſa

fortreſſe of Trenſchijn, which with continuall battery and often aſſaults he at length tooke, ſacked the towne, ſlew moſt part of the inhabitants, except 800 or thereabouts of the younger ſort, which he carried away with him into captiuity. And being proud of this victory, remouing thence by a bridge which he had made, paſſed ouer the riuer, and ſo the twelfth of Iune came and incamped before the monaſtery of Siſeg: and after vain ſummons giuen to the ſame, the next day cauſed his great ordnance to be planted, and with great fury thundering againſt the wals, in ſhort time ouerthrew the new tower, in the fall whereof two of the Chriſtian canoniers periſhed. This furious battery he maintained by the ſpace of ten daies without intermiſſion, giuing no time of reſt to the beſieged; ſo that it ſeemed not poſſible for the monaſtery to be any long time defended, if it were not with ſpeed relieued. The Biſhop of Zagrabia, and *Rupertus Eggenberg* Generall of the Emperours forces that then were at Zagrabia, gaue knowledge thereof to *Andrew* lord *Auersberg* Gouernor of Carolſtat, crauing his aid and counſell: who calling together his owne forces, raiſed a good number of good horſe and foot, and called alſo vnto him the bordering horſemen of Karnia and Carainia: who the ſeuenteenth day of Iune met all together not far from Inſtawitz, and there tarried that night. The next day paſſing ouer the riuer Savus neere vnto Zagrabia, they joyned themſelues with the Emperors forces, and marched the nineteenth day in good order to Sceline, where they expected the comming of County *Serinus*. The twentieth day *Peter Herdelius* with his Huſſars, and the lord *Stephen Graſwein* came into the campe, with many of thoſe light horſemen whom the Hungarians called Vſcocchi. The one and twentieth day they lodged at Gradium, ſtill expecting the comming of the County *Serinus*, who otherwiſe buſied, could not come. The next day after, a ſouldier ſent out from the beſieged, came into the camp, who gaue the captains to vnderſtand, that except they made haſte that day to relieue the diſtreſſed monaſtery, it would vndoubtedly be loſt, for that the enemy had made it ſaultable, and would that night giue the aſſault; and the defendants doubting how they ſhould be able to maintaine the place, began before his departure thence to think of compoſition with the enemy. Vpon which news the captains forthwith began to conſult among themſelues, what courſe to take in ſo doubtful & dangerous a caſe: where *Auersberg* was of opinion, that it were beſt to march on, and to giue the enemy battell; with whom alſo agreed the lord *Rederen*: the reſt of the captains being of a contrary mind, for that the ſtrength of the Chriſtians compared to the Turks, was too weake; and therefore they thought it better in time to retire whiles they yet might, than to hazard vnto moſt manifeſt perils the liues of ſo many valiant men, at ſo great ods. At which counſel *Auerſberg* was at the firſt much moued, but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainely ſet before them the neceſſity of the cauſe, & with liuely reaſons cheered vp the fearfull Croatians; notably perſuading them all in generall, to put their whole truſt & confidence in God, to whom it was as eaſie to giue victory by few, as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their religion, their country, their liues, their wiues, their children and friends, and whatſoeuer elſe they held deare; againſt that cowardly enemy, whoſe valour neuer brought him into the field, but only the vaine truſt he had in his multitude; and would therfore no doubt eaſily be put to flight, if he ſhould contrary to his expectation find himſelf but a little hardly laid vnto. With theſe and other like reaſons he preuailed ſo much, that they all yeelded to his opinion, & with one conſent reſolued to go againſt the enemy, and to do what they might to relieue their beſieged friends. So vpon a ſigne giuen, the whole army (in number not aboue 4000) forthwith remoued, and with great ſpeed haſted towards the enemy; and being come within a mile of the camp, put themſelues in order of battell. The Turks by their eſpials vnderſtanding of the approch of the Chriſtians, brought all their horſmen ouer the riuer of Kulp, by a bridge which they had made, and hauing put themſelues in order, came to joyne battell with the Chriſtians: who had in their vauntgard placed the Croatians and Huſſars, in the left wing them of Carolſtat, and the Harquebuſiers of Karnia; in the right wing the borderers, of Carainia, all horſemen; in the maine battell the reſt of the ſoldiers, with the horſemen of Sileſia, vnder the conduct of *Sigiſmund Paradiſe*; the rereward was incloſed with three companies of the Emperors ſouldiers. The Croatians and Huſſars in the vantgard gaue the firſt charge vpon the enemy: but hauing for a good ſpace made a great fight, they were about to haue retired, and diſcouraged with the multitude of the enemies, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when *Auersberg* (Generall of the Chriſtian army) came on with his ſquadron, and not only reſtored

A great battell betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

the

A the battel, but ſo reſolutely charged the main battell of the Turks, that the Baſſa was conſtrained at the firſt to retire, and afterwards to fly; after whom all the reſt of the army followed. The Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, purſued them with great ſpeed; and comming to the new made bridge before them, tooke from them that paſſage, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks; who ſeeing the miſerable ſlaughter of themſelues, and no way to eſcape, ran headlong ſome into the riuer Odera, ſome into Kulp, and were there for moſt part drowned; the reſt were all ſlaine by the Chriſtians, before determined not to take any priſoners. In the meane time, the Turks that remained at the ſiege, vnderſtanding of the ouerthrow of their fellows, ſet fire on their powder and other prouiſion, and ſo in great feare betooke themſelues to flight. Whoſe tents the Chriſtians immediatly after tooke, and in them nine great pieces of artillery, and B good ſtore of great ſhot of 44 and 45 pound weight a piece, with the ſumptuous pauilion of the Baſſa, and much other rich ſpoile, which was all carried to the monaſtery of Siſeg. The number of the Turks ſlaine in this battell, and drowned in the riuers, is of diuers diuerſly reported, but moſt agree vpon eighteene thouſand. And amongſt them was *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelfe, found in the riuer neere vnto the bridge, known by his moſt rich and ſumptuous apparell; and neere vnto him *Mahomet-Beg*, and *Achmat-Beg*. In other places were alſo found the dead bodies of *Suffer-Beg* the Baſſaes brother, of *Menibeg*, *Haramuran Beg*, *Curti-Beg*, *Operd-Beg*, and *Goſchus*, the Baſſa's chiefe counſellor, and maſter of his houſhold. But of all others, the vntimely death of *Sinam Beg*, *Amurath* his nephew, his ſiſters only ſonne, ſent thither to haue learned the feats of armes vnder *Haſſan* the great Baſſa, was of the Turks moſt lamented. Of twenty C thouſand Turks that came ouer the riuer Kulp, ſcarcely two thouſand eſcaped. This ſo great a victory obtained, all the army of the Chriſtians went thrice about the Monaſtery, and euery time falling all downe vpon their knees, gaue vnto God moſt hearty thanks for the ſame, as by him miraculouſly giuen, and not by themſelues won; and afterwards made all the ſhew of joy and gladneſſe they could poſſibly deuiſe.

Siſeg relieued.

Eighteen thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

Siſeg thus deliuered, and the Turks army ouerthrowne, the Chriſtians with all ſpeed laied ſiege to Petrinia the ſtrong new fort of the Turks, which they for the ſpace of fiue daies moſt furiouſly battered: but hearing that the great Gouernor of Græcia (whom the Turks call the Beglerbeg of Romania) was with a great power comming to the reliefe of the fort, they raiſed their ſiege, brake vp their army, and returned euery man to his wonted charge.

D Whileſt theſe things were in doing at Petrinia, a Poſt came from Conſtantinople to Buda, who brought thither the firſt newes of the ouerthrow of Siſeg, for the report thereof was not as yet come to Buda; wherfore the Baſſa called vnto him the meſſenger, author of ſo bad news, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof: who told him, that at his departure from Conſtantinople, nothing was there knowne of that loſſe, but that vpon the way as he came, he met with diuers horſemen but lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter, who told him of a certainty, that the Baſſa was ſlain, and his army deſtroied. Wherunto the Baſſa of Buda replied, That he was happy in his death, for that if he had by chance eſcaped, he ſhould for his indiſcretion vndoubtedly haue ſuffered ſome other more ſhamefull death at the court.

Newes of the ouerthrow of the Turkes at Siſeg, brought to Buda.

When newes of the aforeſaid victory was brought to the Emperor at Prague, he comman- E ded publike prayers, with thankſgiuing to almighty God to be made in all churches; and ſent a meſſenger with letters to *Amurath*, to know of him how he vnderſtood theſe inſolent proceedings of his ſouldiers, and eſpecially this late expedition of the Baſſa of Boſna and his complices, contrary to the league yet in force betwixt them. After which meſſenger he ſent alſo the lord *Popelius*, with the yerely Preſent (or rather tribute) he vſed to ſend vnto the Turkiſh Emperor at Conſtantinople; yet with this charge, that when he was come as far a Comara in the borders of Hungary, he ſhould there ſtay vntill the returne of the aforeſaid meſſenger: who if he brought tidings of peace from *Amurath*, then to proceed on his journey to the Turkes Court; otherwiſe to returne againe with his Preſent, as he afterwards did. For *Amurath* enraged with the notable loſſe receiued at Siſeg, and prickt forward with the teares and F prayers of his ſiſter (deſirous of nothing more than to be reuenged for the death of her ſonne) the ſeuenth of Auguſt cauſed open war to be proclaimed againſt the Chriſtian Emperor, both at Conſtantinople and Buda. The mannaging whereof he committed to *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemy of the Chriſtians, his Lieutenant Generall, and perſuader of this war: who departing from Conſtantinople with an army of forty thouſand, wherein were 5600 Ianizaries, was by

Amurath himſelfe and the great men of the court brought a mile on his way: hauing in charge from the great Sultan, by the aſſiſtance of the Beglerbeg of Græce, the Baſſaes of Buda and Temeſware, and other his Sanzacks and commanders in that part of his Empire, to reuenge the death of his nephew, and the diſhonor receiued at Siſeg.

This war *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Chriſtian Emperour and the reſt of the Princes his confederats in this ſort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in Heauen, the only Monarch of the World, a great and mighty god on earth, an inuincible *Cæſar*, King of all Kings, from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt, Sultan of Babylon, Soueraign of the moſt noble Families of Perſia and Armenia, triumphant Victor of Ieruſalem, Lord poſſeſſor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, ſubuertor and ſworne enemy of the Chriſtians, and of all them that call vpon the name of Chriſt.

The proud and blaſphemous denunciation of war giuen out by Amurath againſt Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperour.

WE denounce vnto thee Rodolph *the Emperour, and to all the Germane Nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Biſhop alſo, all the Cardinals and Biſhops, to all your ſonnes and ſubiects: we earneſtly (I ſay) by our crowne and Empire denounce vnto you open war. And giue you to vnderſtand, that our purpoſe is, with the power of thirteene Kingdomes, and certaine hundred thouſands of men, horſe and foot, with our Turks and Turkiſh armes, yea, with all our ſtrength and power (ſuch as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet ſeene or heard of, much leſſe had any proofe of) to beſiege you in your chiefe and metropoliticall cities, and with fire and ſword to perſecute you and all yours, and whoſoeuer ſhall giue you helpe, to burne, deſtroy, and kill, and with moſt exquiſite torments we can deuiſe, to torture vnto death and ſlay ſuch Chriſtian captiues as ſhall fall into our hands, or elſe to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall miſery; to empaile vpon ſtakes your faireſt ſons and daughters: and to the further ſhame and reproch of you and yours, to kill like dogs your women great with childe, and the children in their bellies: for now we are fully reſolued to bring into our ſubiection, you which rule but in a ſmall country, and by ſtrong hand and force of armes to keepe from you your Kingdome, as alſo to oppreſſe, root vp, and deſtroy the keyes and See of Rome, together with the golden ſcepter thereof: and we will proue whether your crucified Ieſus will helpe you and do for you as yours perſuade you. Beleeue him ſtill and truſt in him, and ſee how he hath holpen his meſſengers which hath put their confidence in him: for we neither beleeue, neither can we endure to heare of ſuch incomprehenſible things, that he can helpe, which is dead ſo many Worlds of yeares ago, which could not helpe himſelfe, nor deliuer his owne country and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue ſo long time reigned. Theſe things, ô yee poore and miſerable of the World, we thought good to ſignifie vnto you, that you with your Princes and confederats may know what you haue to do and to looke for. Giuen in our moſt mighty and Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, which our anceſtors by force of armes tooke from yours, and hauing ſlaine or taken priſoners all their citiſens, reſerued ſuch of their wiues and children as they pleaſed, vnto their luſt, to your perpetuall infamy and ſhame.*

Siſeg taken by the Turks.

Sinan with his army thus ſetting forward, kept ſtill on his way towards Buda, but the Beglerbeg of Græcia with a farre greater power marched towards Croatia, as well to relieue the forts diſtreſſed by the Chriſtians, as againe to beſiege the ſtrong caſtle or monaſtery of Siſeg: which he with his huge army at his firſt arriuall compaſſed about without reſiſtance, & with continuall battery ouerthrew the wals thereof, giuing no time of reſt vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, & with reſtleſſe labour notably repaired, the very fearfull women bringing tables, ſtooles, and whatſoeuer els came to hand, that might any wiſe helpe to keepe the enemy out, of whom a great number was in the breaches ſlain: but what was that handfull againſt ſuch a multitude? At length the 3 day of September the Turks by maine force entred the Monaſtery, and put to ſword all the ſoldiers therein: among whom were 200 Germans, of whom the Turks cut ſome in pieces, and the reſt they threw into the riuer Kulp. One religious man there found among the reſt, they did flea quicke in deteſtation of his profeſſion, and afterward cutting him in ſmall pieces, burnt them to aſhes. So taking the ſpoyle of all that was there to be had; and leauing a ſtrong garriſon for the keeping of the place, they paſſed ouer Savus, burning the country before him, and carried away with them about a thouſand poore Chriſtians into perpetuall captiuity. Theſe inuaſions of the Turks cauſed the Emperor to craue aid both of the States of the Empire, and other forreine Princes further off: which was by ſome eaſily granted, but not ſo ſpeedily performed.

About this time *Peter* ſyrnamed *le Huſſar* (for that he commanded ouer thoſe horſemen which the Hungarians call Huſſars) captain of Pappa, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* county *Hardeck* Gouernour of Rab, lay in wait for the Turks Treaſurer in Hungary, who had the command of 5000 Turks: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was muſtering and paying certain companies of his ſoldiers, miſtruſting no ſuch danger, and deſperatly charging him, ſlew him with diuers of his men, and put the reſt to flight, and ſo with the ſpoile and ſome few priſoners he returned againe to his caſtle, carrying with him the Treaſurer.

Sinan Baſſa beſiegeth Veſprinium.

Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his army to Buda, reſolued with himſelfe to begin his wars in that part of Hungary, with the ſiege of Veſprinium. This Epiſcopall city was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Chriſtians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566; ſince which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Chriſtians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his army to Veſprinium, compaſſed the city round, and encamping as he ſaw good, planted his battery, wherewith he continually thundered againſt the city. The Chriſtians there in garriſon eaſily perceiuing that the city was not long to be holden againſt ſo great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpouder in certain mines they had made vnder the wals and bulwarkes of the towne, with traines that ſhould at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed ſecretly out of the city in the dead time of the night, hoping ſo in the darke to haue eſcaped the hand of the enemy: which they did not ſo ſecretly, but that they were by the Turks deſcried, and moſt of them ſlaine. *Ferdinand Samaria* Gouernor of the city, after he had for a ſpace valiantly defended himſelfe, fell at laſt into the enemies hand, and ſo was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a German captain. The Turks entered the city the ſixth of October, ſtriuing who ſhould get firſt in, for greedineſſe of the prey, when ſuddenly the pouder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, ſlew a number of the Turks that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the city.

Palotta yeelded vnto the Turks.

From Veſprinium the Baſſa remoued with his army to Palotta, and gaue ſummons to the caſtle: but receiuing ſuch anſwer as pleaſed him not, he laied ſiege vnto it with all his power. Which at the firſt *Peter Ornand* captaine of the caſtle cheerfully receiued: but being afterward without any great cauſe diſcouraged (the caſtle as yet being but little ſhaken, & but one man ſlaine, and the reſt of the ſoldiers ready to ſpend their liues in defence thereof) he ſent vnto the Baſſa, offering to yeeld the caſtle vnto him, ſo that he with his ſouldiers might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart. Of which his offer the Baſſa accepted, and granted his requeſt. But he was no ſooner come out of the caſtle with his ſouldiers, and ready to depart, but the faithleſſe Turke contrary to his oath and promiſe cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlaine, except only the captaine and two other. After that, the Baſſa without any great labor tooke in all the country thereabouts neere vnto the lake of Balaton.

Now at laſt, though long firſt, about the middle of October the Chriſtians began to muſter their army, in number about 18000, all good and expert ſouldiers; with which power they ſhortly after paſſing ouer Danubius, at the firſt encounter with the Turkes, put them to the worſe, ſlew a great number of them, and reſcued a number of poore Chriſtian captiues.

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

In the later end of this month, county *Hardeck* Gouernor of Rab, and Generall of the Chriſtian army in that part of Hungary, departing from Comara with all his power, came and laid ſiege to the ſtrong city of Alba Regalis, which by the force of his artillery he in ſhort time made ſaultable; but in aſſaulting the breaches, was by the Turks there in garriſon notably repulſed. So hauing made ſufficient proof both of the ſtrength & courage of the defendants, and perceiuing no good could be done without a long ſiege, for which he was not as then prouided; after conſultation had with the reſt of his captaines, he reſolued to raiſe his ſiege: which he did the ſecond of Nouember, remouing that day but halfe a mile from the city, becauſe he would be ſure of all his army. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his eſpials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almoſt in ſight: which proued to be ſo indeed. For the Baſſa of Buda by the commandement of *Sinan Baſſa* the Generall, was come forth with thirteene Sanzacks, and twenty thouſand ſouldiers, thirty field pieces, and fiue hundred waggons laded with victuall and other warlike prouiſion, to raiſe the ſiege, and to relieue the city; and was now euen at hand, comming directly vpon the Chriſtians: whereupon the county, aſſiſted by the county *Serinus*, the lord *Palſi*, the lord *Nadaſti*, *Peter le Huſſar*, and other valiant captains of great experience, with wonderfull celerity put his army in order of battell, and ſo couragiouſly ſet forward to encounter the enemy. The Baſſa ſeeing the Chriſtians marching towards him, tooke the aduantage of the higher ground, and from thence diſcharged his field pieces vpon them; which mounted too high, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Chriſtians for all that deſirous of battell, & nothing regarding the diſaduantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almighty, mounted the hill, and joyning battell with the Turks, by plaine force conſtrained them to fly. In this army of the Turks, being for moſt part horſemen, were about fiue thouſand foot, and many of them Ianizaries, who in flying oftentimes made ſtands, and wounded many, and yet neuertheleſſe were almoſt all there ſlaine, with many others: amongſt whom were three great men, the Sanzackes of Strigonium, Setchine, and Nouigrade; ſeuen Chiaus, & many other men of mark, the moſt valiant captains of the Turks borderers. The lord *Nadaſti* with ſome others taking view of the Turks that were ſlaine and loſt in this battell, deemed them to haue bin at the leaſt in number eight thouſand: few priſoners were ſaued, all being put to the ſword: which cauſed *Sinan* to ſweare by his *Mahomet* neuer more to ſpare any Chriſtian. All the Turks artillery, wagons, and prouiſion became a prey vnto the Chriſtians: many enſignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hardly to be beleeued how much this victory encouraged the Chriſtians, and daunted the Turks. Wherupon the county with great joy brought backe his army to Alba-Regalis, and encamped neere the bulwarke called Stopach, where the Turks moſt feared to be aſſaulted. *Palſi*, *Nadaſti*, and ſome others, earneſtly perſuaded with the county, not to depart from the city before he had won it: but he conſidering the hard time of the yere, the ſtrength of the city (which was now full of ſouldiers, by reaſon of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things neceſſary in the army to maintaine a longer ſiege, and fearing alſo after long lying to be enforced with diſhonour to forſake it, would not hearken to their perſuaſions, but calling a counſell, reſolued to raiſe his ſiege, and to content himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten, which was afterward imputed vnto him for more than an ouerſight. So ſetting fire vpon the ſuburbs of the city, he riſe with his army, and departed thence the fifth of Nouember, and returned to Rab.

Sabatzka taken by the Lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after, *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungary, who lay encamped at Caſſouia, with his army of foureteene thouſand ſouldiers remoued thence, and marching along the country two daies, came and laid ſiege to Sabatzka, one of the Turks ſtrongeſt caſtles in thoſe quarters, out of which they vſually did much harm among the Chriſtians. This caſtle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places; and hauing at length made it ſaultable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the ſword all the Turkes there in garriſon, in number about two hundred and fifty, and in ſtead of them left a ſtrong garriſon of his owne: whereby all the Country thereabouts was reſtored to great quietneſſe.

Filek beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Sabatzka thus taken, the Chriſtian Generall remoued with all ſpeed to Filek a ſtrong city of the higher Hungary, which *Solyman* the Turkiſh Emperor tooke from the Chriſtians in the yere 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the command of the Baſſa of Buda. The Generall incamping before this city, the next day after planted his battery, and in moſt terrible manner without intermiſſion thundered againſt the wals and gates of the city. The Sanzacke Gouernour thereof, conſidering the power of the Chriſtians, got out ſecretly by night with a few ſouldiers, to acquaint the other Turkiſh Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Chriſtians, and the number of their army; and further to conſult with them, how the city might be relieued. The Baſſa of Temeſwarе, with the Sanzacks of Giula, Hadwan, Scantzag, and Scirme, vndertooke the matter: and thereupon the Baſſa ſent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of late left by *Sinan Baſſa* in garriſon at Buda and Alba-Regalis; who all flatly refuſed to goe to this ſeruice; ſaying, That they would not be led as beaſts to the ſlaughter, as were their fellows but a little before at Alba-Regalis: Neuertheleſſe they enforced the Armenians, whom *Sinan* and his ſon had brought thither, to go; but of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Scamboth, were ſent only fifteene hundred common ſouldiers. For all that, the Baſſa with

A the Sanzackes his followers, firme in their former reſolution for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed city, hauing made great preparation, and raiſed an army of 18000 ſtrong, with many field pieces, by night drew neere vnto Filek, and ſtaied within two miles of the city. But the Generall of the Chriſtians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderſtanding of their comming, with 7000 good ſouldiers choſen out of the whole army, went out preſently againſt them, and the one and twentieth of Nouember ſuddenly aſſailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight, whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued with a moſt terrible execution. In this fight and flight there were ſlaine 6000 Turks, and but few or none taken. The Baſſa himſelf, with the Sanzacke of Filek, and many others of great name, were found amongſt the bodies of the ſlaine Turks. This victory gained with little or no loſſe, yeelded vn- B to the Chriſtians a rich prey, many gorgeous tents and faire enſignes, much cattel, and 20 field pieces, with 200 waggons laded with victuall and other prouiſion; all which they carried into the campe at Filek, and ſo more ſtreitly beſieged the city than before. The ſame day the Lord *Palſi* and *Martin Laſla* came to the campe with ſix thouſand ſouldiers; and forthwith three Trumpeters were ſent to them of the city, That if without further reſiſtance they would forthwith yeeld the city, they ſhould haue leaue in ſafety to depart with life and goods, although the Tuks had of late in like caſe broken their faith with the Chriſtians at Palotta: but if they refuſed his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermoſt, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turks nothing diſmaied, refuſed to yeeld: whereupon the battery began afreſh, and in more terrible manner than before; ſo that though the City was moſt C ſtrongly fortified both with walls and rampiers, yet had the Chriſtians in three daies ſpace with continuall battery made a faire breach into it, whereby they in deſpight of the enemy entred without any notable loſſe the foure and twentieth of Nouember, ranſacked the city, and burnt a great part thereof. The ſame day they alſo tooke the vttermoſt caſtle, wherein the Sanzacks palace ſtood. This caſtle ſtandeth vpon a very high hill, ſtrengthened both by art and nature, and had in it a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſoldiers, who ſpared not luſtily to beſtow their ſhot amongſt their enemies, of whom they ſlew a great number. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians after they had for the ſpace of two daies and two nights with a moſt furious battery ſhaken the walls, by plaine force entred the caſtle the 29 of Nouember, and put to ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers, except ſuch as had in good time forſaken this caſtle, and retired themſelues in- D to another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred with their wiues and children, without hope of reliefe, and ſeeing the cannon now bent vpon them, ſet out a white enſigne in token of parly: which granted, it was agreed that they ſhould depart with life, and ſo much of their goods as euery one of them could carry. Vpon which agreement the caſtle was yeelded the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, and the Turks with a ſafe conuoy brought vnto the place they deſired. In this caſtle was found a great booty, many pieces of artillery, and much other warlike prouiſion, but of victuals ſmall ſtore. The Generall with the reſt of the Captaines entring the caſtle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands caſt vp to heauen, thanked God for their victory, and for the recouery of that ſtrong city; but eſpecially for the deliuery of ſo many Chriſtians out of the Turkiſh thraldome: for it is re- E ported, that there were aboue eight hundred country villages ſubject to the juriſdiction of Filek, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkiſh ſeruitude, by the taking of this only city. The Chriſtians forthwith repaired the wals, bulwarkes and trenches, and ſtrongly fortified euery place againſt the enemy: and ſo leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the city and caſtles, departed with their army, now in number about twenty thouſand, towards Sodoch, ſix miles from Filek. But as they were vpon the way, newes was brought vnto the Generall, how that the Turks had for feare abandoned the caſtles of Dijwin and Somoske: whereupon he ſent out certaine companies of ſoldiers to take in both thoſe places: who comming thither, found them indeed forſaken by the enemy, but yet many pieces of artillery and other warlike prouiſion there ſtill left.

Filek taken by the Chriſtians.

F In the later end of Nouember the Generall marched with his army towards Setſchine, a ſtrong towne in the Dioceſſe of Agria; but the Turks in that place had two or three daies before prepared themſelues to fly, and ſent their wiues, their children, and the beſt of their ſubſtance, ſome to Hatwan, ſome to Buda; and now hearing of the approach of the Chriſtian Army, ſet fire on the towne and fled. The Chriſtians immediatly entring, did what they could

Setſchine, Blaneſteine, and Sallek abandoned by the Turks.

to quench the fire, and ſaued a great part of the Towne: ſo leauing there a conuenient garriſon, he haſted with ſpeed to Blaueſtein, which the Turks did alſo ſet on fire, and betooke themſelues to flight. The Chriſtians comming thither the next day after, namely, the fourth of December, found a great part of the towne yet vnburnt, wherein they left a ſtrong garriſon; and from thence marched to Sallek, which towne they alſo tooke, being forſaken by the enemy, and put thereinto a good garriſon. The Generall was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue proſecuted this ſo happy a courſe of victory: but ſuch was the fouleneſſe of the Winter weather, that he could not trauell with his great artillery, without which no great matter was to be done againſt the enemy, ſtill keeping himſelfe in his ſtrong hold. And his Army in that waſted and forſaken country began now to feele the want of victuals; ſo that many had withdrawne themſelues out of the army, vnto their dwelling places.

At the ſame time alſo the Lord *Palſi* going to Dregel and Palanka, and finding them forſaken by the enemy, furniſhed both places with garriſons of his owne men. Certaine other ſtrong places were alſo this moneth recouered from the Turks, as Ainacke, Sollocke, Weſtke, and others, and ſo much territory gained by the Chriſtians, as was in circuit thought equall with the lower Auſtria. The joyfull newes of the aforeſaid victories, with the recouery of ſo much of the country, and ſo many ſtrong towns and caſtles, made great reioycing both at Vienna and Prague: for which cauſe publike praiers with thankeſgiuing to Almighty God were made in both places, with many other tokens of joy & triumph both there, and in diuers other places of the Empire. Yet were not the dead bodies of the Turks ſlaine at Alba Regalis buried, whereof roſe ſuch a loathſome and noiſome ſmell thereabout, that no man could abide to come nigh the place, to the great trouble of the inhabitants thereabout. At length certaine Turks out of Buda and Alba Regalis, to the number of three hundred and fifty, met together to haue buried thoſe loathſome carkaſſes. Vpon whom it chanced a captaine of the Huſſars to light with his horſemen, who fiercely aſſailing them, left moſt of them there dead for others to bury, and carried away the reſt priſoners.

The Turks in burying their dead, ſlain by the Chriſtians.

The Baſſa of Buda had cauſed *Murat* Sanzacke of Palotta to be ſtrangled, for that he ſuſpected him to haue had intelligence with the Chriſtians: in whoſe room he placed another, who comming with 600 Turks to take poſſeſſion of the preferment, was by the way ſet vpon by *Peter le Haſſar* with the garriſon ſoldiers of Pappa & Thurne, and ſlain with moſt part of his followers: thirty fiue of them were taken aliue, with all the Sanzacks rich furniture. To end this yere withall, the Turks in garriſon at Petrinia, Siſeg, Gaſtrowitz, and other places thereabouts, met together in number about 3000; who the 19 of December paſſing ouer the riuer Sauus, began to ſpoile the frontiers of thoſe countries. But before they were gon far, they were ſo incountred by the Lord *Graſwin* and the borderers thereabout, that fiue hundred of them were left dead vpon the ground, diuers of good account taken priſoners, & almoſt all the reſt drowned in the riuer: ſo that of all them that came ouer, few eſcaped with life. In the later end of this moneth great numbers of ſouldiers were taken vp in Saxony and other places of Germany; whereof ſome were ſent to Prague, and ſome to Vienna in Auſtria: and in Hungary the Chriſtians encreaſed their ſtrength with new ſupplies. In Auſtria alſo a new army was raiſed, and two and twenty great pieces of artillery ſent down the riuer of Danubius to Comara, and new preparation made in euery place for the next yeares wars.

1594.

A great tempeſt at Conſtantinople.

Amurath dreameth.

Amurath the Turkiſh Emperor going out of the city of Conſtantinople the 11 of Ianuary, to muſter the army he had prepared againſt the Chriſtians for this yere, was ſuddenly ouertaken with ſuch a tempeſt of wind and raine, that it ouerthrew his tents, his chariots, yea, his horſes and men had much ado to withſtand it. Wherewith he being (as with an ominous prodigy) exceedingly troubled, returned with his army into the city, and oppreſſed with melancholy, caſt himſelfe downe vpon his bed as a man halfe ſicke. Where falling aſleepe, he dreamed he ſaw a man of exceeding ſtature, ſtanding with one of his feet vpon the tower of Conſtantinople, and the other ouer the ſtreit in Aſia, who ſtretching out his armes, held the Sun in one of his armes, and the Moone in the other: whom whiles he wondred at, the Monſter with his foot ſtrucke the tower, which forthwith fell downe, and in falling ouerthrew the great Temple, with the Imperiall Palace. *Amurath* awaked (as he thought) with the noiſe, and much troubled with the dreame (for the Turks are in ſuch vanities very ſuperſtitious) ſent for all his Wiſards and Interpreters of dreames, to know the meaning of this his ſo ſtrange or rather ſo

A melancholy a dreame, Who hypocritically anſwered him, That foraſmuch as he had not with al his forces as a tempeſt impugned the Chriſtians, their great Prophet *Mahomet* threatned by that dreame to ouerthrow the tower, the temple and the Imperiall palace, that is to ſay, the religion and Empire of the Turks. Which vaine and feigned interpretation ſo much moued the ſuperſtitious Tyrant, That he ſwore from thenceforth to turn all his forces vpon the Chriſtians, and not to giue ouer war vntill he had done what he might to ſubdue them. This the Turks dreame, with the interpretation thereof, and the ſolemne vow he had made for the deſtruction of the Chriſtians, was publiquely read in the churches of Tranſyluania, and many godly exhortations made vnto the people, to moue them, by prayer and all other good means to auert that ſo threatned thraldome.

A faire preſent of the ſpoile of the Turkes ſent vnto the Emperour.

B Of the rich ſpoile taken from the Turks in the late victory there vnto Alba-Regalis, the Chriſtian Captaines made a preſent for the Emperor and the Archduke *Mathias* his brother, which they ſent by the Lords *Gall* and *Bran*; and was by them preſented vnto the Emperour and his brother the eleuenth of Ianuary at Vienna, in order as followeth. Firſt went the Maſter of the ordnance of Rab, on both ſides attended vpon with the other officers of the artillery: after them were drawne thirty great pieces of ordnance taken in the battell: After theſe pieces followed three Turkiſh horſes with rich ſaddles and furniture ſtudded with gold, the ſtirrups and bridles being of ſiluer, gilt and moſt curiouſly wrought: after them were carried 22 of the Turks enſignes, three of them were very rich, and the other nineteen faire. Then followed the two Embaſſadours aforeſaid, with each of them a gilt mace in his hand, ſuch as the C Turks Baſſaes vſe to carry: after them were brought many inſtruments of war, gilt ſcimitars, gleaues, bowes and arrowes, targets, and ten of the Ianizaries drums. Two of the aforeſaid horſes were preſented to the Emperour, and the third to the Archduke. The field pieces brought to the caſtle gate, and orderly placed vpon the plaine, were all, at ſuch time as the reſt of the Preſent entred the caſtle, forthwith by the canoniers diſcharged; and there for certaine daies left vpon the plaine for the people to feed their eies vpon. The Embaſſadors diſcharged of their Preſent, and rewarded by the Emperour with chaines of gold and other gifts, returned to the campe. Notwithſtanding that it was now deepe Winter, yet many ſharp skirmiſhes dayly paſſed vpon the borders, betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians. The fifteenth of this preſent month, 2000 of the Turks aſſembled together, were making an inrode into the country about D Filek: whereof the Lord *Teuffenbach* hauing intelligence, lay in wait for them, and ſetting vpon them fearing no ſuch danger, ſlew and tooke of them fifteene hundred.

Mathias Archduke of Auſtria, now Gouernor of Stiria, Carinthia, and the countries thereabout, by the departure of *Erneſtus* his brother (who a little before by *Philip* King of Spaine made Gouernor of the Low countries) was now alſo by the Emperor appointed Generall of the Chriſtian army againſt the Turks: who to be neerer vnto the enemy, and to further the new war, departed the 24 day of February from Vienna to Rab; after whom dayly followed the forces newly raiſed in Sileſia, Morauia, and Hungary, with others alſo ſent from Prague and Vienna. He conſidering to what ſmall purpoſe it would be to haue the laſt yeare taken ſo many ſtrong townes and caſtles, except the ſame were alſo well manned and furniſhed with E all needfull prouiſion, by the perſuaſion of the Lord *Teuffenbach*, ſent County *Serini* with a thouſand horſe to Filek, for the more ſafety of that place and the country thereabout ſo lately gained from the Turks.

It fortuned that about this time, a ſoldier of the Turks taken not far from Dregel, & brought into the campe; among other things whereof he was examined, confeſſed that in Nouigrade (a ſtrong towne and of great importance, but one mile diſtant from Vacia, and three from Buda) was left but a weake garriſon of about eight hundred ſoldiers, who there liued in great feare to be beſieged; and that the Turks doubting ſuch a matter, had brought thither much prouiſion for the better fortifying of the towne. Vpon which intelligence the Chriſtians began to remoue with their army, and being come betwixt Dregel and Nouigrade, vnderſtood F by the country people, that it was true that the Turke had reported: wherefore they reſolued that night to lay ſiege vnto the towne. So forthwith ſome were ſent to Dregel, to fetch thence certaine pieces of Artillery, whom certaine troops of German horſemen went to meet: who vſed ſuch diligence, that the eight of March a little before the riſing of the Sun, the whole army with the great ordnance was come before Nouigrade. That day the Chriſtians ſpent in

Nouigrade beſieged by the Chriſtians.

pitched their Tents, and incamping themſelues: yet before night they had planted certaine great pieces vpon an high hill, from whence they might ſee into the caſtle: whereof the maſter of the ordnance cauſed three of the greateſt about the going downe of the Sun to be diſcharged againſt the caſtle, to giue the Turks to vnderſtand that they wanted nothing for the ſiege. The ſame night alſo the Chriſtians caſt vp a great mount in the vally, from whence they preſently ſent ſix great ſhot into the caſtle: but early in the morning, the Sun being yet ſcarſe vp, and all things now in readineſſe, they began to batter the caſtle, & that day out of ten great pieces diſcharged 300 great ſhot againſt the caſtle: but to ſmall purpoſe; for the Caſtle was built vpon a moſt ſtrong rocke, fortified with high and thicke walls; and a deepe ditch hewed out of the maine rocke, which compaſſed the caſtle round; and for the more ſtrength thereof was ſo fortified with palliſado's made of ſtrong timber, as that there was no acceſſe vnto the wals: yet by the commandement of the Generall, certaine companies of the Chriſtians prepared themſelues to aſſault the breach, ſuch as it was: who beſides their weapons, carying with them dry faggots, and ſetting them on fire, burnt the palliſado in diuers places, and ſo opened the way vnto the walls: and encouraged with the ſucceſſe, approched neerer, and ſlew diuers of the Turks vpon the rampiers. Who diſcouraged with their owne weakeneſſe, and the forwardneſſe of the enemy, faintly defended themſelues, and yet ſlew diuers of them, beating them downe from the wals with ſtones, timber, fire works, and ſuch like. This aſſault giuen in the night, was continued vntill foure a clocke in the morning, and ſo giuen ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with 1000 horſe into the campe, and cauſed the battery to be againe renued, whereby it chanced that the chiefe cannonier in the caſtle (being a renegate Italian) was taken with a great ſhot and ſlaine, whoſe death ſo diſmaied the reſt of the defendants, that they preſently ſet forth three white flags in ſigne of parley: which for all that the Chriſtians ſeemed not to regard, but ſtill continued the battery. The Turks then pitifully crying out, named two captaines, whom they deſired to haue ſent vnto them, with whom they might treat of ſome reaſonable compoſition. So for a while the battery ceaſed, and thoſe Captaines being ſent vnto the Towne, brought two of the beſt of the Turks in the Citie with them vnto the Archduke: who by their Interpreter declared, That they well conſidered the force of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing no reliefe to come from the Baſſa of Buda, as he had promiſed, thought themſelues to haue already diſcharged the parts of good ſouldiers, and ſeeing no other remedy, were contented to yeeld the caſtle, yet ſo, as that with bag and baggage they might in ſafety depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palfi* (taking vpon him the perſon of the Archduke, for that he himſelfe would not be knowne) anſwered, That foraſmuch as they had not yeelded at the firſt ſummons, but holden it out to the loſſe of many of his mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthy any fauour; yet of his owne clemency he would receiue them, if they would abſolutely without any further condition yeeld themſelues to his mercy. This anſwer being reported to the Sanzacke Gouernor of the Towne, pleaſed him not, and therefore ſaid he would ſtill ſtand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Chriſtians were about to haue begun a freſh aſſault. But after a new parley, it was at laſt agreed, That the Turks yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, ſhould in ſafety depart with their apparell and ſcimiters onely. With which agreement two of the Turks were ſent backe into the caſtle, and the reſt detained. Foure houres the Turks in the caſtle delaied the time, as men doubtfull what to do: but being earneſtly called vpon for a reſolute anſwer, and ſeeing the Chriſtians ready againe to aſſault them, they for feare yeelded: and ſo 450 of them came forth, amongſt whom was the Sanzacke Gouernor of the Towne, with his wife and daughter, the Sanzacke of Selendre (ſent thither to haue aided him) and one Chiaus lately come from the Court. Theſe great men brauely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant horſes, and had in their ſteads other bad iades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they paſſed by, as well the women as the men, were ſearched, that they carried with them nothing more than their cloathes: if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the ſouldiers ſhare for good booty. This ſtrong towne of Nouigrade had continued in the poſſeſſion of the Turks about 60 yeares, and ſerued as it were for a bulwarke to Peſth and Buda; which now recouered out of their hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke committed to the Lord *Rebei* a nobleman of Hungary and kinſman to *Palfi*, with a ſtrong garriſon and certaine troups of Huſſars.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the archduke.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade, after he had loſt the towne, comming to Buda, was preſently apprehen-

A apprehended by the Baſſa, and laid in priſon: who although he excuſed himſelfe, by alledging
that the towne was not poſſibly to be holden with ſo ſmall a gariſon againſt ſo great a power;
and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of Buda, for not ſending reliefe in
time; and therefore appealed to the further hearing of *Amurath* himſelfe: yet all ſerued him
not, but was by the Baſſaes commandement in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the
gate of the city, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade hanged at Buda.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, the Emperor ſent his Embaſſadors to the great Duke of
Muſcouia, the King of Polonia, and the Prince of Tranſyluania, to proue how they ſtood af-
fected towards thoſe his wars againſt the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them.
Into Muſcouie was ſent one *Warkutth* a gentleman of Sileſia, who cumming to Muſco, found
B in that Court the Embaſſadors of the Tartar, the Turke, the Perſian, the Polonian, and the
Dane. Of all theſe, the Embaſſadors of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but
were with contumelious words rejected as miſcreants. The Emperours Embaſſador was ho-
norably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, mede,
aquavitæ, fleſh, fiſh, and fowle of ſundry ſorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At
length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great Duke the cauſe of his comming, and in the
name of his Maſter requeſted his aid againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Duke anſwered, That
he would giue the Emperor towards the maintenance of his wars againſt the common enemy,
500000 duckats, and allow him yearely 400000 during the time of that war; requeſting him
not to make any peace with the Turke, and promiſed to ſend him aid alſo of men in this war,
C if he ſhould ſo need. The Perſian Embaſſador alſo honorably feaſted the Emperors Embaſſa-
dor, and had with him great conferance concerning the wars of the Chriſtians with the Turks,
and in his maſters name promiſed the continuation of his wars againſt the Turke, ſo that the
Emperor would likewiſe promiſe not to haue any league with him, ſo to giue him leiſure to
turne all his forces againe into Perſia. This Embaſſador after he had almoſt foure months tar-
ried in Muſcouia, returned to the Emperor. At which time Dr *Wacker* the Emperors Embaſ-
ſador into Polonia, returned alſo with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an army of
eight and twenty thouſand had ſtopped the paſſage of an hundred thouſand Tartars whom
the Turke had ſent for againſt the Emperour; and that if he needed, he ſhould be aided with
the Polonian Coſſacks: but vnto the reſt of his requeſts he could haue no anſwer of the States
D of that Kingdome, for that the King was then abſent in Sweden; and was therefore referred to
be further anſwered at his returne.

At the ſame time, County *Serinus* with three hundred Harquebuſiers and certain troups of
horſemen, and the footmen of Stiria and the countries thereabouts, aſſembling to the number
of ten thouſand, departed from Caniſia, to beſiege Breſenza a caſtle of the Turkes. But they
vnderſtanding before of his comming, conueied away the beſt of their ſubſtance, and ſetting
the caſtle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The Earle comming thither,
tooke the forſaken caſtle, and put therein a garriſon of his owne ſouldiers. In like manner
he tooke alſo Sigeſta, forſaken of the Turks, where he alſo placed a garriſon of the Chriſtians.
And ſo going on to Baboſtcha, beſieged it, which caſtle although it was ſtrongly ſcituated in
E a mariſh, and could not eaſily haue beene woon, was for all that, for feare abandoned by the
Turks, and ſo taken by the County: by recouery of which places, there was a ſafe and eaſie
way laid open euen to Ziget, the Baſſa whereof ſtood in no ſmall doubt to haue bin euen then
beſieged.

Certain caſtles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the County Serinus.

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperor, had determined to ſend his
fleet into the Adriatique, to beſiege Zegna a city of the Emperors ſcituate vpon the ſea coaſt,
in the bay Quernero, called in antient time Flanaticus Sinus. Which the better to effect, he
ſent one of his Chiaus Embaſſador to the Venetians, to requeſt them, That his fleet might by
their leaue paſſe alongſt the Adriaticke, and haue the vſe of their ports and harbours, as need
ſhould require. Which his requeſt the Venetians hearing, refuſed in any caſe to yeeld there-
F unto: fearing (and not without cauſe) the vnfaithfulneſſe and treachery of the Turkes, whoſe
oathes and promiſes are no longer ſtrong, or by them regarded, than ſtandeth with their owne
good and profit: neuertheleſſe they moſt honourably vſed the Embaſſador, and ſo ſent him
away without obtaining of that he was eſpecially ſent for.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

In the vpper part of Hungary *Chriſtopher* Lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes Lieutenant hauing gathered an army of twenty thouſand ſoldiers, the ſixteenth of Aprill laied ſiege to Hatwan a ſtrong towne ſix miles from Buda, fortified with a triple ditch and bulwarkes of exceeding ſtrength. G Againſt which although the Chriſtians could not do much either by mines or mounts, (by reaſon it was ſo inuironed with water) yet they ſo ſhut vp all the paſſages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the town. They of the town ſeeing themſelues thus blockt vp, by ſecret meſſengers certified the Baſſa of Buda in what caſe they ſtood, praying of him aid: who with 10000 choſen ſoldiers, which he had then in readineſſe, and the Sanzacks of Sirnah, Giula, Lippa, Lerwoge, and Tſchangrade, with 5000 moe, forthwith ſet forward toward Hatwan to raiſe the ſiege: and the laſt of Aprill being come within ſight of the Chriſtian army, about one of the clocke in the afternoone encamped on the ſide of the riuer Sagijwa: H but when he could not or els durſt not, for the deepeneſſe of the way, the abundance of water and neereneſſe of the enemy, aduenture to paſſe the riuer, he retyred back againe to paſſe ouer at Iaſperin (otherwiſe called Iasbrin) where the riuer was joyned with a bridge, and not far off a good foord alſo to paſſe ouer at; thinking ſo to haue come vpon the backs of the Chriſtians, and with more ſafety haue relieued the beſieged towne. But *Teuffenbach* perceiuing his purpoſe, forthwith after his departure paſſed the riuer with much difficulty, and ouertaking him with his army the next day, being the firſt of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, betweene Zarcha, and Fuſcaſalua, with his great ordnance diſordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and comming on couragiouſly with his whole army, began a moſt cruell fight: which the Turks a great while endured with wonderfull reſolution; I but now deſtitute of their wonted multitude (their greateſt confidence) and hardly laied vnto by the Chriſtians, they in the end turned their backes and fled; whom ſix thouſand Hungarians and Germans fiercely purſued, and had the killing of them almoſt to Buda. In this battell the Chriſtians tooke all the enemies great Ordnance, with ſeuenteene enſignes, and alſo the caſtle of Iaſperin, which the Turks had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good ſtore of victuals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouiſion. Of this ſo notable a victory *Teuffenbach* by Letters preſently aduertiſed the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the ſiege of Hatwan. Which Letters becauſe they containe many particularities and circumſtances of this battell, I haue thought it not amiſſe here to inſert.

The copy of the leters of the L. Teuffenbach, to Matthias the Archduke, General of the emperours Army againſt the Turks.

K *Although* (ſaid he) *I haue by a ſpeedy meſſenger vpon the very Kalends of May certified your Excellency of the notable victory which God of his great goodneſſe gaue vnto vs the ſame day ouer our hereditary enemy: yet afterward vpon diligent inquiſition we vnderſtood many particularities, as well of the captiues themſelues, as of the inhabitants about Zolnocke, Peſth, and Buda; whereof I thought good to aduertiſe you. The Captiues themſelues confeſſe, That the Baſſa of Buda, with the Sanzackes of Zolnocke, Zarwack, Giula, and Tſchangrad, Cippaio, Genne, and others, had with great celerity raiſed an army of 13000 ſoldiers, amongſt whom were many Tartars, with purpoſe to haue relieued the beſieged Towne of Hatwan, and vpon the ſudden to haue oppreſſed vs in our tents. Filled with which hope, they in great haſte came with all their power the laſt of Aprill towards Hatwan: but foraſmuch as they could not paſſe ouer the riuer Zagijwa by reaſon of the height of the water, they were the next day being the firſt of May, conducted* L *by the Captaine of Iaſperin to a more commodious paſſage, ſo to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue ſurpriſed vs in our tents. But our moſt mercifull God hath auerted this ſo great a miſchiefe from vs, and turned it vpon their own heads. For as it is moſt conſtantly reported from Zolnocke, Peſth and Buda, and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the ſame places, there are 2500 of the Turks ſlaine, and as many wounded, of whom many periſhed, and are found dead vpon the high-wayes leading to Peſth and Zolnocke: of theſe we haue ſent a thouſand heads to Caſſonia, and cauſed many of the Turks to be buried for feare of infection in this ſo great heate. Verily it was a bloudy battell; ſo that the old Souldiers ſay, they haue not remembred or ſeene the Turks (two moe in number) to haue ſtood ſo long in battell, and to haue ſo fought it out without flying. Many men of great name and place there periſhed and fell, amongſt whom are redeemed the Sanzackes of Peſth, Nouigrade, and Temeske; Genne Alauus,* M *Bogſte, Aluſtaſa, Marielaus, and certaine Chiaus lately ſent from the Court, with the Baſſa his guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant ſouldiers, of whom few eſcaped with life. Many fell that would haue yeelded great ranſome; but it was agreed vpon betweene the Germanes and the Hungarians, not*

A *to ſpare any of the enemies,but to put them all to the ſword; and that whoſoeuer did otherwiſe,it ſhould be imputed vnto him for diſhonor. So that more than ſixteen common ſoldiers, none were taken priſoners;of whom we might learn how things went amongſt the Turks,with other circumſtances of the battell. Wee took thirteen field pieces,whereof four were greater than the reſt,which they called Organs,and 24 of the enemies Enſignes. The Baſſa of Buda,beſide other three wounds by him receiued,was grieuouſly wounded in the ſide. Of our men were loſt about a hundred,and many of them moſt expert ſouldiers;and about ſix hundred others grieuouſly wounded,of whom there is ſmall hope,many of them beeing already dead. Neither is the loſſe ſmall we haue receiued in our horſes and armor; for there are few amongſt the Germane horſmen,which haue not loſt one,two,or three of their horſes or ſeruants, whereby our horſemen are wonderfully weakned. Yet was the victory great,to God be the praiſe,to him be the glory and thankes therefore.* B *Let vs in the mean time proſecute the ſiege begun. The laſt night I commaunded the water to be drawn another way, ſo that now our trenches may be aduanced many paces,and bulwarks raiſed within two hundred paces of the wall. We haue already planted fiue great pieces of artillery in one bulwark,and hope the next night to place fiue moe vpon a mount faſt by,and will do what ſhall be needfull for a ſtreit ſiege: and when time ſhall ſerue, vndertake the town with all our power; God grant vs therin good ſucceſſe and victory.*

The Turks in garriſon at Zabola a fort there by, diſcouraged with the ouerthrow of their friends,forſook the fort,which for ſtrength and greatnes was comparable with Tocay or Erla. Which ſtrong place the Chriſtians without any loſſe now recouered.

C Whilſt this valiant captain the Lord *Teuffenbach* thus lay at the ſiege of Hatwan, *Mathias* the Archduke General of the Chriſtian Army in Hungary, incouraged with the good ſucces he had at Nouigrad,came with his Army,being 44000 ſtrong,before Strigonium(ſometime the metropolitical city of Hungary,but now of long a ſure receptacle of the Turks) and the ſixt of May incamped his Army about a quarter of a mile from the Caſtle,in a moſt pleaſant medow,from whence both the city and the caſtle were plainely to be ſeene. Vpon whom the Turks out of the caſtle,and three gallies that lay vpon the riuer,diſcharged certain great pieces without any great harm doing. But after the Chriſtian fleet was a little before night come down the riuer,and with their great ordnance began to anſwer them again,the enemy ceaſed ſhooting,and lay ſtil that night. In the mean time it fortuned, that a Turkiſh youth taken in D a garden there by,and brought into the camp and examined, confeſſed that there was no garriſon in the city more than four hundred Ianizaries,and that a new ſupply was daily expected from Buda. The Chriſtians laboring that night, were by the breake of day come with their trenches to a hil ouer againſt the caſtle,where they placed their battery,and forthwith began to batter the city. The ſame day (being the ſeuenth of May) two and twenty Turkes heads were preſented to the Archduke,and four men taken aliue,newly ſent out of the city to haue viewed the Chriſtian camp. About night certain balls of wilde-fire were ſhot into the City, wherof one fel vpon the tower called S. *Adelbert*,and ſet it on fire; wherwith firſt the church, and afterward a great part of the town fel on fire. The Sanzacks houſe,with all his horſes and armor,and a great quantity of pouder was then burnt,and ineſtimable hurt done in the City. E The next day the Chriſtians had with continual battery made a breach in the caſtle wall:but adjoining vnto the wall was a high and broad ſandy rampier,which could hardly be battered: for all that,the Germans gaue a fierce aſſault to the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruines of the wall: but not being able to get ouer the ſandy rampier,were inforced with loſſe to retyre. The day following they began again the battery with eighteen great pieces: When about eight of clock in the morning,the Raſcians that were in the old city gaue the General to vnderſtand, That if he would at a place by them appointed,aſſault the greater city,to draw the Turks thither,they would in the mean time deliuer vnto the Chriſtians certain little poſterns,and receiue them into the old city; vpon condition that no violence ſhould bee done vnto them or theirs. Which being ſo agreed vpon, the Chriſtians accordingly gaue the aſ- F ſault the eleuenth of May in the euening,and by the help of the Raſcians took the city: who according to promiſe were al taken to mercy,and the Turks ſlain,except ſuch as by good hap recouered the new town. The keeping of this city was committed to the charge of two companies of German footmen, and 600 Hungarians, with 300 Raſcians and other towneſmen,

Strigonium beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians recouer the old city.

Thus was the old city of Strigonium gained by the Chriſtians, the ſuburbs whereof they preſently burnt; neuertheleſſe the new town with the caſtle was ſtil holden by the Turks. Wherfore the Chriſtians hauing caſt vp certain trenches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought moſt conuenient, began again to batter the caſtle, and after they had by the fury of the cannon made it ſaultable, with great courage aſſailed the breach, which the Turks valiantly defended; ſo that the Chriſtians were glad to retire, leauing behind them aboue 130 of their fellows, ſlain in the breach. The Turks a little before the Chriſtians comming had fortified an hil, wherunto the caſtle was ſomewhat ſubiect, called of the Chriſtians S. *Nicolas* his hil. This hil ſo fortified, the Chriſtians with continual battery and aſſault gained the 17 of May, and put all the Turks left aliue therin to the ſword: and turning the ordnance, from thence alſo battered the caſtle. The 22 of May a little before Sun-ſet, certain enſignes of foot were drawn out of the Campe, to haue the next day aſſaulted the lower town, who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entred the towne in the dead time of the night, were notably incountred by the Turks ſallying out of the town vpon them. The Chriſtians for all that hauing inforced them to retyre, proſecuted their former reſolution, and with much adoe got ouer the vtmoſt wall: but finding there contrary to their expectation ſuch a deep & broad countermure as was not poſſible to be paſſed, they ſtood as men diſmaid; neither could they in the darknes of the night wel ſee to get back again ouer the town ditch, but diſorderly retiring, ſtuck faſt many of them in the deep mud, and there periſhed. In this aſſault there were about 1000 of the Chriſtians wounded and ſlain: and albeit that they twice or thrice renued the aſſault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were ſtill repulſed with loſſe. Many alſo of the Turks garriſon were ſlain, and the Sanzacke himſelfe hurt with a great ſhot; and many other wounded men ſent down the riuer to Buda, brought thither true news of the aforeſaid aſſaults and of the ſtate of the beſieged.

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The Raſcians in arms againſt the Turks.

In the mean time news was brought to the Campe, That *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemy of the Chriſtians, and the Turks great Lieutenant, comming towards Hungary with a great Army, and hauing by boats conueyed ouer part therof, was ſet vpon by the Raſcians (theſe are poore oppreſſed Chriſtians dwelling on both ſides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and deſirous of their antient liberty, haue often taken vp arms againſt the Turks, as they now did, incouraged by the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians on the other ſide of Hungary) and that after diuers skirmiſhes they had taken thirteen of the Turkes veſſels, wherein beſides victuals and certain great pieces of Artillery, they found about 2400 weight of pouder, 447 hundred of lead, 46454 bundles of match, 1200 great ſhot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound weight; and of ſmall ſhot for harquebuſiers 48500, with much other warlike prouiſion; a great part wherof was brought into the Camp at Strigonium, and the reſt reſerued to future vſes. This loſſe ſo troubled the great Baſſa, that he altered his purpoſe before intended for Caſſovia.

K

The fourth of Iune, about fiue hundred Turks ſent vp the riuer of Buda, conducted by two Sanzacks vnder two red and white enſignes, landed neer to Gokara on the farther ſide of Danubius ouer againſt Strigonium; where after they had a while refreſhed themſelues, and left ſome few for the more aſſurance of the place, all the reſt were conueyed ouer the riuer into Strigonium; where they had bin long looked for, the old garriſon being now ſore weakened by the former aſſaults. Four daies after, the Turkes incouraged with this ſupply, ſallied out vpon the ſudden, and had entred one of the forts of the Chriſtians, but were forthwith againe repulſed, hauing loſt ſix and twenty of their men, and two of their enſignes. Not far off lay a troup of horſemen, if they had in time come in, not one of the Turkes had eſcaped. Long it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Chriſtians aſſaulted this city; but were by the Turks ſo receiued, that in fiue aſſaults they loſt fiue thouſand of their men; amongſt whome were diuers Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, and others of good account: twenty three Canoniers were alſo ſlain, and ten great pieces of Artillery ſo ſpoiled, as that they were no more ſeruiceable. The garriſon of this city conſiſted for moſt part of the Ianizaries (the Turks beſt ſoldiers) whoſe notable valor in holding out of this ſiege, was both of their owne people and their enemies much commended. Whatſoeuer was beaten down by day, that they againe repaired by night, and ſtill relieued with victual and things neceſſary from Buda, did what was

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A poſſible to be don for defence of the City. About the ſame time certain Turks chancing vpon a troup of German horſmen, in fight ſlew aboue fifty of them, and put the reſt to flight: wherupon an alarm being raiſed in the Campe, many ran out to the reſcue of their fellowes, taking with them certain ſmall field pieces. Which the Turks perceiuing, began to fly; whome the Christians eagerly purſuing, were ſuddenly aſſailed by other Turks ſallying out of a fort faſt by, and inforced ſhamefully to retyre, and to leaue their field pieces behinde them. Which the Turks ſeiſing vpon, cloyed them, brake their Carriages, and made them altogether vnſeruiceable.

All this while the Lord *Teuffenback* lying at the ſiege of Hatwan, about this time requeſted aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other difficulties alwaies attending long ſieges, ſo much weakened, as that hee had ſcarſly 6000 ſound B men in his camp. To whom the Archduke forthwith ſent 1200 footmen, being loth to ſpare any more, for too much weakning his own army.

The Archduke ſends aid to the ſiege of Hatwā.

Amurath diſdaining to ſee the frontiers of his empire in ſo many places impugned by the Christians, and daily to receiue from them ſo great harmes, ſought by all meanes to be reuenged. Wherſore beſide the great power of his own which he was now about to ſend with *Sinan Baſſa* into Hungary, he had alſo procured from the great Tartar a wonderful number of thoſe rough & ſauage people to be ſent into Hungary, there to join with his army. Theſe wild people, to the number of 70000, according to direction giuen, breaking into Podolia, Valachia, and Moldauia, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and Kine, to this end & C purpoſe, that driuing them before them, they might both be aſſured of victuals, and the ſafer trauel thorow a part of Polonia. But when they were come vnto the borders of that country, and there found the power of *Samoſchie* the great Chancellor and the Polonian Coſſackes in arms, they eaſily perceiued that they could not that way paſſe without great loſſe. Wherſore they placed the aforeſaid herds of cattel, ſome before, ſome behinde, and ſome on each ſide of the army, and ſo incloſed round about with thoſe Cattell as with a trench, marched on. But when they were come neer vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice ſerued them to no other purpoſe than the ouerthrow of themſelues; for the Polonians diſcharging their great Ordnance, ſo terrified the Cattel, that they turned vpon the Tartars, & ouerthrowing whomſoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harm. Whom the Polonians immediatly following, and D hardly charging the confuſed Army, armed only with bow and arrowes, after ſome ſmal fight put them at laſt to flight, & obtained of them a notable victory, with an exceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were loſt about eighteene hundred, but of the Tartars were ſlain thirty thouſand. The reſt retyring into Podolia, and paſſing the Riuer Neſter by the way of Tranſſylvania, where they did exceeding much harme, came to Temeſwaro, and ſo afterwards further into Hungary; vnto whom the Turkes ſent ſeuen hundred horſemen to conduct them to the army.

Strigonium aſſaulted.

But to return again to the ſiege of Strigonium. The 24 of Iune, the Christians betweene eight and nine of the clock in the morning, with great fury aſſaulted the town in three places: which aſſault they moſt notably maintained vntil it was almoſt three a Clocke in the afterE noone. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that at laſt the Christians were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retyre. The Archduke from an high place beholding the aſſault, had one of his footmen ſlain faſt by him with a ſmall ſhot. Many of the Turks were alſo ſlain in this aſſault, & among them one of the three Sanzacks that defended the city. The night following there aroſe a moſt horrible tempeſt, with ſuch raging winde, and abundance of rain, that many thought they ſhould neuer haue ſeen day; with the violence wherof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrown, and diuers others blown down or rent in ſunder, were in the air carried from place to place. About the ſame time, the Lord *Palfi* within the ſight of the caſtle caſt vp a notable Fort, with high mounts and ſtrong trenches (euen in the ſelfe ſame place where *Solyman* lay about fifty yeares before, when he beſieged and won StriF gonium) by which fort ſo built, the Enemy was embarred to conuey any thing vp the Riuer for relief of the City, to the great diſcomfiture of the beſieged. To haue hindered which worke, the Enemy oftentimes ſallied out, but to no purpoſe. This Fort beeing brought to perfection, the Christians tooke alſo another fort in an Iland on the further ſide of the riuer, which the Turkes had but a few daies before taken from the Christians, and cloyed the great pieces therin: which fort the Chriſtians now again repaired, furniſhing it with a ſufficient garriſon, and other great ordnance.

Strigonium ſore battered.

Theſe things thus don, the caſtle and the lower town were in fiue diuers places, out of the new built fort, the old town, and the Iſland, ſo battered with continual ſhot, that a man would haue ſaid that one ſtone ſhould not haue bin left vpon another, but that all ſhould haue beene beaten down and layd euen with the ground. The 17 of Iune one of the Chriſtian cannoniers ſo diſmounted one of the great pieces in the Caſtle, that the piece together with the Turkiſh canonier that had the charge therof, fel down out of the caſtle into the ditch. The ſame day a maſon that fled out of the caſtle into the camp, among other things reported, that many of the Turks were ſlain with this continual battery and often aſſaults; and that not paſt an hour before, forty of them were ſlain in one chamber, and now acknowledged themſelues to be indeed beſieged: and to haue reſolued, That when they were brought to the laſt caſt, then deſperatly to ſally out vpon the Chriſtians, and ſo either to returne with victory, or to make ſhift euery man for himſelf as he might. Which his report ſeemed not altogether feigned; for about midnight a thouſand of the Turkes ſallying out of the caſtle vpon the fort newly built vpon the riuer, in hope to haue ſurpriſed it, were by the Chriſtians therein notably repulſed, and inforced to retyre: in which conflict fifty of the Turks were ſlaine, and many moe wounded and taken priſoners. And the ſame day toward euening, eight Turks of good ſort being taken and brought into the camp, confeſſed, That about ſix daies before, they had ſeen ſeuen boats full of wounded and dead men ſent down the riuer from Strigonium to Buda. Whereby it was eaſily to be gathered how bloudy a ſiege this was to the Turks; foraſmuch as all thoſe bodies were the bodies of men of good account and place; for the bodies of ſuch common ſoldiers as were ſlain, they ſtil threw into the riuer running by.

The Turkes aſſault the new Fort.

The fort newly built vpon the banke of Danubius much troubled the beſieged Turkes in Strigonium, becauſe nothing could without danger of it be ſent vp the riuer for their reliefe. Wherfore they by fit meſſengers ſent word out of the caſtle to the Admiral of the Turks gallies lying below in the riuer, That he ſhould at an appointed time come vp with his Gallies as high as the fort, and on that ſide at leaſtwiſe to make ſhew as if they would aſſault it. At which time they of the town would be likewiſe ready to ſally out, and aſſail it indeed on the other ſide by land. The Admiral accordingly came vp the riuer with his gallies, and by diſcharging of certain great pieces, made ſhew as if he would on that ſide haue battered the fort: but was ſo welcommed from it, that he was glad with his rent gallies quickly to fal down the riuer again farther off out of danger. But whilſt the thundring ſhot was thus flying to & fro toward the riuer, they of the town ſallying out, aſſaulted the fort on the other ſide toward the land, and that with ſuch deſperat reſolution, that ſome of them were got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there for the ſpace of two hours maintained a moſt cruel fight, wherein many of them were ſlain and wounded, and the reſt inforced with ſhame to retyre.

The Chriſtians thus ſtil lying at the ſiege, and intentiue to all occaſions, partly by their Eſpials, and partly by ſuch as they had taken priſoners, vnderſtood that a new ſupply both of men and victuals was ſhortly to be put into Strigonium: and therfore ſent out certain Companies of ſouldiers, who lying in two conuenient places, the one vpon the riuer, the other by land, might intercept the ſaid ſupply. Both which places were before by the prouident Enemy poſſeſſed; who ſuddenly aſſailing the Chriſtians comming thither, and fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew ſome of them, and put the reſt to flight: who, neuertheleſſe in their retreit brake the bridge which the Turks had made of boats under the caſtle of Strigonium, ouer Danubius: of which boats ſome were carried away with the violence of the ſtreame, and of the reſt 30 fel into the hands of the Chriſtians, with the loſſe but of fiue, who making too much haſte out of a little boat, fel into the riuer and ſo periſhed. In this time, Fame the fore-runner of all great attempts, had brought news into the Chriſtian camp, That *Sinan Baſſa* the Turks great General was comming to relieue Strigonium; of whoſe power diuers diuerſly reported. But the greater part doubting the worſt, and weary of the long ſiege and of the calamities incident thereto, added ſtil ſomthing to the laſt report, to make the danger of longer ſtay at [illegible] the greater. Certaine it is, that the news of the comming of ſo great and puiſſant an Enemy raiſed many a troubled thought in the mindes of ſo great a multitude. Now were the beſieged Turkes in great wants in Strigonium, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the Sanzack

A zack to the Baſſa of Buda, declaring vnto him the hard eſtate of the beſieged, and humbly crauing his promiſed help, without which the city could not for want of victuals be poſſibly defended by the fainting ſouldiers aboue three daies. Which letters being read in the Camp, cauſed great preparation to be made for the continuing of the ſiege and the withſtanding of the enemy, whoſe comming was euery hour expected. All this while the great ordnance neuer ceaſed on either ſide, whereby many were ſlaine, as well Chriſtians as Turkes, and amongſt others many of the Cannoniers.

But foraſmuch as the rife fame of *Sinan Baſſa's* comming increaſed daily, and the Chriſtian camp poſſeſſed with a general fear, gaue vnto the wiſe iuſt ſuſpition of ſome great miſchiefe like to enſue; *Matthias* the General entred into counſell with County *Ferdinand Hardeck*, the B Lord *Palfi*, the Lord *Vngenade* Preſident of the Councel for the wars, and *Eraſmus Braun* gouernor of Comara, What was beſt to be done in ſo dangerous a time. Who with generall conſent agreed betimes before the comming of *Sinan* to raiſe the ſiege, and to remoue with the army into ſome place of more ſafety. Which their determinat reſolution, the day following, being the 26 of Iune, they made known to the other Princes and great Commaunders in the Army. Who wonderfully diſcontented therwith, eſpecially the Germanes, both openly by word, and ſolemnly by writing, proteſted againſt the ſame, as moſt diſhonourable, and altogether made without their knowledge or good liking. To whom the Preſident of the Councel for their further ſatisfaction declared, That the enemy was comming with a very great army, and euen now at hand, whoſe ſtrength increaſed daily, and with what power he had purpoſed C to aſſail them in their tents was vncertain. Beſides that, it was manifeſtly knowne vnto the world, how that in the former aſſaults they had loſt many of their beſt ſouldiers, beſide others that died in the camp: and that the place wherein they lay incamped was ſubiect vnto many dangers. For which ſo vrgent cauſes the General had reſolued to raiſe his ſiege, & before the the comming of ſo ſtrong an enemy, to remoue his army into a place of more ſafety. Which reaſons for all that did not ſo well ſatisfie the German Princes and Commaunders, but that they ſtill vrged their former proteſtation; requeſting his Excellencie to haue them excuſed before God and the World, if they yeelding to his commaund, as to their Generall, did that which they thought not altogether beſt, and which they would not otherwiſe haue done. For the more euidence wherof, the ſaid German princes and great commanders cauſed their ſayd D Proteſtation to be ſolemnly conceiued in writing, which they firmed with their ſeales, and ſubſcribed with their own hands in order following: *Francis* Duke of Saxony, *Auguſtus* duke of Brunſwick, *Sebaſtian Schlick*, County *Wigand Maltzan*, *Erneſtus* of Alſtan, *Henry Phlugk*, *Iohn Nicolas Raſwormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *Iohn* Oberhauſen, *Henry Rotcirch*, *Melchior* of Nothwith.

But the Archduke with the reſt, conſtant in their former reſolution, firſt ſent away the great ordnance, and raiſing the ſiege the 28 of Iune, followed after with the whole army, paſſing ouer Danubius not far from Gokara, doubtfully expecting what courſe *Sinan* the great Baſſa (being then euen at hand) would take. Yet before their departure they ſet the old town on fire, & raſed *S. Nicolas* fort, before taken from the enemy, which they once purpoſed to haue E kept. This vnexpected departure of the Chriſtians much gladded the beſieged Turks, who for want of victuals had not bin long able to hold out. Yet lay the Lord *Teuffenbach* ſtill before Hatwan, labouring by all means to take from the beſieged Turks their water, and with earth and fagots to fill up their ditches: which work he had now haply brought to ſome good perfection. Wherof they of the town by letters aduertiſed the Baſſa of Buda, and that vnles they were within three daies relieued, they ſhould be inforced to yeeld the towne. Which their diſtreſſe the Baſſa conſidering, with ſpeed aſſembled al his forces, and ſo ſet forward to relieue them, hoping to haue come vpon the Chriſtians before they were aware of his comming. But *Teuffenbach* vnderſtanding thereof, with fiue thouſand choſen horſemen went out of the camp to meet him; and ſuddenly comming vpon him, fearing no ſuch thing, ſlew fiue thouſand F of the Turks, put the Baſſa to flight, and together with the victorie obtained an exceeding rich prey.

The Archduke raiſeth his ſiege and with his army paſſeth the riuer.

Fiue thouſand Turks ſlaine.

Now was there no leſſe expectation and hope of the winning and yeelding vp of Hatwan, than was before of Strigonium. But according to the chance of war it fell out otherwiſe: for *Teuffenbach* hauing with continuall batterie layd the breaches faire open, and made choice of

Hatwan in vain aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

ſuch ſoldiers as he thought meet for the aſſault, was in the performing thereof ſo notably repulſed by the Turks, that he was glad to retyre with the loſſe of his beſt and moſt valiant ſoldiers: which put him out of al hope of taking the town by force. For beſide the loſſe of theſe good men, hee had ſcarſe ſo many ſound men left as might ſuffice to furniſh his garriſons for defence of thoſe territories, by reaſon that the Hungarians were almoſt all ſhrunk home, and of the Germans were ſcarſe left 2000: beſides that, he had often craued new ſupplies of the Archduke, but all in vain: for which cauſes he was glad to abandon two ſtrong forts he had built before Hatwan, and to leaue the town, now brought to great extremitie. Thus two notable cities, which were now as it were in the Chriſtians hands, and by the recouery whereof the broken ſtate of the afflicted Chriſtians in Hungary had beene much ſtrengthned, were as it were againe reſtored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemy. G H

The ſiege of Hatwan giuen ouer.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of Strigonium and Hatwan, the Raſcians (of whom we haue before ſpoken) ſtriuing ſtil more and more to rid themſelues of the Turkiſh thraldom, gathered themſelues together to the number of 15000, betweene Buda & Belgrade vnder a General of their own chuſing. For fear of whom the Baſſa of Temeſware with an Army of fourteen thouſand went to fortifie and victual Lippa, doubting leſt it ſhould by them be ſurpriſed. But hauing done that he went for, in his returne hee was met withall by the ſame Raſcians, and twice fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worſt, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his Army. After which victory the Raſcians tooke [illegible], a ſtrong town ſtanding in a mariſh four miles from Belgrade, and ſlew all the Turks they found therein. After that, they took a caſtle called Ortadt, and dealt with the Turks in like maner. From I thence they went and beſieged Beche, a Caſtle ſtanding vpon the riuer Tibiſcus or Teiſſe, where the towne adjoining vnto it yeelded preſently, but they in the Caſtle ſtanding vpon their gard a while, offered at laſt to yeeld alſo vpon certaine conditions. But the Raſcians knowing that the Turks therabouts had conueied into the caſtle the beſt part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakely manned, would accept of no conditions, but would needs haue it abſolutely deliuered vp to their pleaſure. In the mean time the old Baſſa of Temeſwar and his ſonne, knowing it to tend to their diſhonour, to ſuffer this baſe people ſo to rage at their pleaſure about them, gathered together 11000 Turkes, and ſo in great haſte came to relieue the beſieged Caſtle. Vpon whom the Raſcians turned themſelues, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Baſſa, and ſo purſued the victory, that of thoſe 11000 Turks ſcarcely eſcaped K 1000; the Baſſa himſelfe being there ſlain, and with him three Sanzackes, his ſon eſcaped by flight. In this battel the Raſcians took 18 great pieces of artillery: and not long after tooke alſo Werſetza and Lutz, two ſtrong places. After which ſo happy ſucces they ſent vnto the Archduke *Matthias* for aid, but eſpecially Cannoniers, profeſſing themſelues now vtter Enemies to the Turks. The Raſcians alſo about Temeſware ſent word vnto the other in the camp, That they would come and join with them. And they which inhabit the countrey betweene Danubius and Tibiſcus, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe vnto the Lord *Teuffenbach* (the Arch-Dukes Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungary) offered in ſhort time to ſend him tenne or twelue thouſand men, ſo that he would receiue them and their Countrey into the Emperours protection; which he eaſily granted them, & therof aſſured them in writing. And to the arch- L Duke himſelfe alſo they ſent truſty meſſengers, requeſting him to ſend them a Generall to lead them, promiſing vnto him all obedience. Which meſſengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, ſhortly after returned with ſuch anſwer as was thought moſt conuenient for their preſent eſtate. Thus againſt the comming of *Sinan*, Hungarie was almoſt all on a broile.

An Imperiall diet holden at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turk.

The Emperor long before diſtruſting the Turks purpoſe for war, and wel conſidering what a difficultie it would be for him, with his own forces only to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy as was *Amurath*, had by his Embaſſadors prayed aid of diuers Chriſtian princes, but eſpecially of them of the empire, as thoſe whom this war concerned moſt. Wherfore he after the antient and wonted maner of his State in ſo common and imminent a danger, appointed a gene- M ral aſſembly of the Princes and States of the Empire to be holden at Ratisbone in the later end of February: which for ſundry vrgent cauſes was put off vntil March, and again vntil Aprill, and ſo afterward vntil May. At which time the Emperour in perſon himſelfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the Empire, being met together with great

pompe,

The Emperors ſpeech.

A point at Ratiſbone, and ſolemnly aſſembled in the Biſhops palace, began there to ſit in councel
the ſecond of Iune. Vnto which Princes and States ſo aſſembled, after that the Emperor
had firſt by the mouth of *Philip* Countie Palatine of the Rhine giuen great thanks for their ſo
ready appearance, & briefly declared the cauſe of their aſſembly, he himſelf after ſome complaint
made of the Turkiſh infidelitie, in expreſſe words declared vnto them, how that he by
his Embaſſador then lying at Conſtantinople had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight
yeares with the preſent Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath*; which league *Amurath* himſelfe had approued
and confirmed, and therof ſent him publique and ſolemn inſtruments; wherin it was
prouided, That no hoſtility ſhould on either ſide during that time bee attempted. And yet
notwithſtanding that he, contrary to his faith giuen, as an hereditary enemy of the Chriſtian,
B had violated this league, and by ſundry incurſions barbarouſly ſpoiled and waſted, not
Hungary only, but other of his Imperial prouinces alſo: but eſpecially *Haſſan Baſſa* of Boſna,
who firſt with a ſtrong army beſieged, battered, and took Repitz an antient frontier caſtle, and
after that, Wihitz, Drenik, Craſſowitz, with other places of name, and had in his dominion
and territory built Petrinia a moſt ſtrong fort, hurtfull to all that countrey; out of which he
had done incredible miſchief in Croatia, Windiſmarch, and the moſt fruitfull Iland of Turopolia,
and out of theſe places caried away aboue 35000 Chriſtians into moſt miſerable
captiuity. Of which ſhamefull injuries and breach of faith hee had many times by his Embaſſadors
complained vnto the Turkiſh Sultan at Conſtantinople, and requeſted, That all hoſtility
ſet apart, due reſtitution might haue bin made; but to haue therin preuailed nothing:
C and that the ſame Baſſa in ſtead of condign puniſhment, had bin for the doing therof honoured
by the great Sultan his Lord with honorable gifts, the ſure tokens of his fauor. Wherby
he was ſo confirmed in his barbarous proceedings, that he began to make open war, & hauing
raiſed a full army, and ſtrengthned alſo with certaine Companies of Ianizaries ſent from the
court, had paſſed ouer the riuer of Kulp, and beſieged the caſtle of Siſeg: but by the iuſt iudgment
of God, the Reuenger of wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithles & cruell
dealing, being there ſlain, and almoſt all his army vtterly deſtroyed by his ſmall forces, raiſed
in haſt for his own lawfull defence. Neuertheleſſe the faithleſſe Turk (as if he had bin highly
wronged himſelfe) to make this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to
all the world, by commanding open war to be ſolemnly proclaimed againſt the kingdome of
D Hungary, both in Conſtantinople and Buda; and by the Beglerbeg of Greece to haue beſieged
and taken the ſtrong fortres of Siſeg. Wheras on the other ſide, becauſe nothing ſhould
on his part be wanting, which might make his deſire of peace more knowne, he had again and
oftentimes by his Embaſſador put the Turke in remembrance of his League made and confirmed
by his faith. Who for all that had changed nothing of his purpoſe, but had ſent his
great Viſier *Sinan Baſſa*, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and many inferior Baſſa's & Sanzacks
into Hungary, who with fire and ſword inforced the inhabitants and country people (ſuch as
they left aliue) to ſweare to the Turke obedience, and to become his ſubiects; and at the ſame
time took Veſprinium and Palotta, two famous fortreſſes of that kingdome. And that the
ſame Baſſa by commandement from his Lord and Maſter, had contrary to the Law of Nations,
E imprisoned *Frederick Creckowitz* his Embaſſador, firſt at Conſtantinople, and cauſed the
greater part of his Followers to be thruſt into the Gallies; and afterwards to haue ſent him
with a few of his attendants vnto Belgrade, and there to haue kept him ſo long in priſon vntill
he there miſerably ended his dayes. In reuenge of which ſo great and open wrong, and
for the defence and comfort of his poor afflicted ſubiects ſo neer the Enemy, hee had raiſed a
good ſtrength both of horſe and foot, by whoſe ſtrength, and the aſſiſtance of almighty God,
the Baſſa of Boſna had reaped the fruit of his perfidious dealing; as had alſo the Baſſa of Buda,
with many thouſands of their great Baſſa's, ouerthrowne neer vnto Alba Regalis, beſides
many of their Caſtles and Townes taken or raſed. Yet for all that was it eaſie to bee ſeene,
theſe ſo great victories by the goodneſſe of God had and obtained againſt ſo mighty and
F cruell an enemy, not to ſuffice; but that there was ſtill need of a perſeuerant and continuall
ſupply for the maintenance of a perpetuall War; and that it was daily to be expected, or rather
euen now preſently to be deſcried, That the Turk in his quarrell (which he deemeth alwaies
iuſt againſt the Chriſtians) and in reuenge of theſe ouerthrowes, would draw vp all his
forces, and aduenture his whole ſtrength. For which cauſes he had by the knowledge and con-

ſent of the Princes Electors of the ſacred Empire appointed that preſent Diet of the Empire,
and not for the aforeſaid cauſes only, but for diuers other both neceſſary and weighty alſo, G
as the general peace of the Empire, the pacification of the Low-countries, the reformation of
iuſtice, and amendment of the coin: but eſpecially & aboue all other things to make it known
vnto the world, how much it concerned to haue the Turk on that ſide better withſtood, and ſome effectual
defence for Hungary (now in danger) at length prouided, being the moſt, and beſt defenced
and ſtrongeſt bulwark of that ſide of Chriſtendom. And that whereas his own hereditary prouinces
were not of themſelues alone ſufficient to maintain ſo chargeable a war, he therefore
requeſted the Electors, Princes and States both preſent and abſent, not to grudge to the preſent
with their helps, their counſell, and whatſoeuer els ſhould be needfull againſt ſo puiſſant
and dangerous an enemy. So ending his ſpeech, he cauſed all his demands before contained H
into writing, to be read, and ſo deliuered vnto them. For anſwer whereunto, the Princes Electors
and others there preſent required time. Which granted, after many ſittings and long
conſultations they at laſt with one conſent anſwered, That it was a hard matter, by reaſon of
the late dearth and other like occaſions, for them to grant ſuch helpe and aid as the Emperor
had in writing required: yet hauing before their eies the great and imminent danger wherein
the Chriſtian commonweal then ſtood, they not regarding their own proper and priuate neceſſities,
had in regard of his ſacred and Imperial Maieſtie, for the comfort and defence of the endangered
Chriſtians, and for the repreſſing of the Turkiſh fury, of their own free will and meer
compaſſion, granted beſide their accuſtomed contribution ſuch further relief for the ſpace of
ſix years, as they thought ſufficient for the maintenance of a defenſiue War, both for the preſent I
and for the time to come. What was by them further decreed concerning the Emperors
further demands, as not pertinent to our purpoſe, we willingly paſſe ouer.

Sinan Baſſa with an army of 150000 betweene Buda & Alba Regalis.

Of all theſe things, as alſo whatſoeuer els had happened at Strigonium, Hatwan, or other
places of Hungary, was not *Sinan Baſſa* ignorant: Who now euen vpon the departure of the
Chriſtians from Strigonium, was come with an huge army between Buda and Alba Regalis,
vnto whom 40000 Tartars, that by force had made themſelues way thorow Podolia and the
vpper part of Hungary, had ioined themſelues; ſo that in his Army were reckoned about
150000 fighting men, to the great terror not only of Hungary, Auſtria, Stiria, Croatia, Bohemia,
and the prouinces therabout, but alſo of the whole ſtate of Germany. With this great
army the old Baſſa had purpoſed to haue ouerwhelmed the Chriſtians in their camp at Strigonium: K
but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuer toward Comara,
he reſolued to keepe on his way, and to beſiege the ſtrong City Iaurinum, now called Rab.
And to make all ſure before him, he thought it beſt to take in his way Dotis, a ſtrong towne
of the Chriſtians in the mid way betweene Strigonium and Rab, about fiue Hungarian miles
ſhort of Rab. The Chriſtian army but newly paſſed ouer Danubius, in marching toward Comara,
might ſee the mountaines and fields on the other ſide of the riuer all couered with the
multitude of the Turks army: who though they were indeed many, yet marching diſperſedly
made ſhew of more than in truth they were. So both Armies marching in ſight one of another,
and ſeparated onely with the riuer, held on their way, the Chriſtians to Comara, where
they incamped vnder the very walls of the city, yet in ſuch ſort, as that they might afar off wel L
deſcry one another; and the Turks toward Dotis, where the Baſſa with all his army incamped
the 21 of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his battery, he began in furious manner
to batter the caſtle, the chief ſtrength of the town; the Chriſtian Army looking on, but not
daring at ſo great ods to relieue their diſtreſſed friends. So whilſt the Baſſa granteth no breathing
while vnto the beſieged, but tyreth them out with continuall battery and alarms, they
of the town diſpairing of their own ſtrength, and to bee able for any long time to hold out againſt
ſo mighty an enemy, within three daies after yeelded vp the town, beeing in that ſhort
time ſore battered, and in diuers places vndermined: yet with this condition, That it ſhould
be lawfull for the garriſon ſoldiers and towneſmen with their wiues and children in ſafety to
depart. Which was vnto them by the Baſſa frankly granted, but not ſo faithfully performed: M
for at their departure many of their wiues and children were ſtayd by the Turks, and the lord
Baxi Gouernor of the Towne fouly entreated. Immediately after, the Baſſa without much
ado tooke the Caſtle of S. *Martins* alſo, not far from Dotis, being by the Captaine yeelded
vnto him.

Dotis and S. Martins yeelded vnto the Turks.

A In the mean time the country villages round about forſaken of the poore Chriſtians, were
by the Turks moſt miſerably burnt, and all the Countrey laid waſt: yea ſome of the fore-runners
of the Turks army paſſing ouer the riuer Rabnitz, ran into the Countrey as far as Altenburg,
within fiue miles of Vienna, burning the Country villages as they went, and killing the
poor people, or that worſe was, carrying them away into perpetual captiuity; yet not without
ſome loſſe, 400 of theſe roming foreiners being cut off by the Lord *Nadaſti*. *Palfi* alſo, & *Brun*
gouernor of Comara, following in the tail of the Turkes army, ſet vpon them that had charge
of the victuals, of whom they ſlew a great numbre, tooke 120 of them priſoners, and 150 Camels,
and thirty mules laded with meale and rice, which they carried away with them vnto
Comara.

B Dotis and S. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Baſſa* conſtant in his former determination, ſet forward *Rab.*
again towards Rab, and being come within a mile of the city, there incamped; the Chriſtian
army then lying not far off on the other ſide of the riuer. The city of Rab is a ſtrong and
populous city, honored with a biſhops ſee, and was worthily accounted the ſtrongeſt bulwark
of Vienna, from whence it is diſtant about 12 German miles, ſtanding vpon the South ſide of
Danubius, whence the riuer diuiding it ſelf, maketh a moſt fertile Iſland called Schut, in the
Eaſt point wherof ſtands the ſtrong City of Comara. The defence of this City of Rab was
committed to County *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelity, with a gariſon of 1200
choice ſoldiers: vnto whom a little before the comming of the Baſſa, were certaine Companies
of Italians joined, who together with the citiſens made vp the number of 5000 able men;
C a ſtrength in all mens judgment ſufficient for the long defence of that place. The laſt of Iuly
Matthias the Archduke about Sun-ſet departing out of the city of Rab, ouer the riuer into the
Iſland ouer againſt it, came *Sinan Baſſa* with his hugy army and beſet it round, caſting vp trenches
and mounts, wheron he skilfully placed his gabions and great artillery, and whatſoeuer
els was neceſſary for ſo great a ſiege, and that with ſuch celerity, as was vnto the beholders
thought moſt ſtrange. The ſecond of Auguſt he with great fury battered the city, & brought
his trenches within musket ſhot of the wall. At which time 4000 Tartarian horſemen ſwam
ouer the Danubius between Rab and Comara (after whom followed 6000 Turks, who being
with much ado got ouer to the farther ſide, ſuddenly ſurpriſed a fort of the Chriſtians next
vnto the riuer, and forthwith turning fiue great pieces of ordnance which they found therein,
D diſcharged them vpon the camp of the Chriſtians; who terrified with the ſudden accident,
riſe vp all in arms, and hardly charging thoſe deſperate aduenturers, ſlew many of them, eſpecially
ſuch as ſeeking after booty, had diſperſed themſelues from their fellowes, and forced
the reſt again to take the water, wherin moſt of them periſhed. About fiue daies after, the Tartarians *The Tartars twice ouerthrown.*
(liuing for moſt part vpon prey) ſwam again ouer the riuer, and vpon the ſudden burnt
a village in the Iſland, and ſlew certain Chriſtians in their tents; but being quickly incountered
by the Chriſtian horſmen, they were eaſily ouerthrown and many of them ſlain. The reſt
caſting away their weapons, and forſaking their horſes, ranne headlong into the riuer, truſting
more to their ſwimming than to their fighting; whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, in the
very Riuer ſlew about two thouſand of them; and by this victorie obtained many of the Tartarians
E ſwift horſes, with their ſcimiters, their bows and arrows, and ſuch enſignes as they had.
All this while *Sinan Baſſa* without intermiſſion lay thundering with ſixty great pieces of battery;
but to little or ſmall purpoſe, for as yet he had made no breach wherby to enter, but the
harm that was done was vpon the Towers or high built houſes, or in the Campe, by ſuch randome *Rab battered.*
Shot as flying ouer the Towne, fell by chance amongſt the Tents of the Chriſtians.
And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiouſly and with a moſt
horrible cry (as their manner is) aſſaulted an vtter bulwarke of the Chriſtians, which they for
fear forſooke, and retyred themſelues into the City. Vpon which bulwarke ſo taken, the Ianizaries
had ſet vp three of their Enſignes, when the Chriſtians aſhamed of that which they
had don, and better aduiſed, taking courage vnto them, forthwith ſallied out again, and couragiouſly
F charging the Ianizaries, but now entred, ſlew many of them, and recouered again the
bulwark.

Sinan Baſſa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his deſire for the winning of
the city, was now caſting vp a great mount againſt the city, which whilſt he daily ſurueied he
chanced to fal ſick, and therfore appointed one of the Baſſa's in his owne ſtead to ouerſee the

worke:

work; who whilſt he was walking to and fro, haſtning the worke, and commanding this & that thing to be don, he was taken with a ſhot out of the town and ſlain. G

The 15 of Auguſt certaine Turkes before the riſing of the Sun getting ouer Danubius in boats, aſſailed a fort of the Chriſtians, which the ſoldiers that had the keeping of it preſently forſook, and left it to the enemy. Which *Iohn de Medices*, lately come into the camp with two thouſand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the reſcue of the fort, draue out the Turkes, and hauing ſlaine diuers of them, forced the reſt into the riuer, where they were all drowned. At which time 5000 Tartars in another place paſſing ouer the riuer into the Iſland, were encountred by the Lord *Palſi* & the Huſſars his followers, & without any great reſiſtance put to flight, wherin many of them were ſlain. The reſt taking the riuer, were in good hope to haue got ouer, and ſo to haue ſaued themſelues: but other Turks meeting them in the riuer, would H with their weapons haue beaten them back and ſtaid their flight; againſt whom the Tartars oppoſing themſelues, made with them in the very riuer a moſt cruel fight, but with ſuch loſſe vnto the Tartars, that of the 5000 which aduentured ouer, few returned vnto their fellowes to carry news how they had ſped. Now began great ſcarſity of victuals in the Turks Campe, ſo that the ſoldiers were fain to feed vpon vnripe fruit, and ſuch other vnwholſom things, whereof inſued the bloudy flix and many other dangerous diſeaſes; which raging amongſt them, did wonderfully conſume the Baſſa's army. Beſide that, they of the city with continual ſhot had ſlain many, and amongſt them a ſon in law of the great Baſſa's, whoſe death hee is reported to haue taken ſo impatiently, that he fel ſicke for griefe, but in ſhort time after paſſed it ouer and recouered again. I

The Tartars not yet warned by their often loſſes, but paſſing again ouer the riuer into the Iſland the 10 of this month, were there 3000 of them ſlain. In the mean time certain companies alſo of the Turkes hauing ſecretly paſſed the riuer, in another quarter aſſailed the Chriſtians in their campe. In which hurly burly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuer not farre from Comara, hoping now at length to perform ſome great matter, which they had before to their coſt vainly attempted. But finding the Turks ouerthrowne before their comming, and the Chriſtians (contrary to their expectation) in arms ready to receiue them, they were eaſily diſcomfited, and 2000 of them ſlain. In this conflict the Sanzacke of Strigonium, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turks periſhed. Shortly after, the Chriſtians ſallying out of the city, ſlew a great number of the Turks, and ſo retyred with ſmall loſſe. K Thus was the Turkes army daily diminiſhed, beſides that the want of victuals with the bloudy flix ſo increaſed, that many perſuaded the Baſſa to raiſe the ſiege, and to remoue with his army to ſome other more wholſome place, and of greater plenty: but he reſolutely ſet downe, not to depart, before he had either won the town, or inforced it to yeeld, would not hearken to any perſuaſions to the contrary.

Whilſt *Sinan* thus lay at the ſiege of Rab, *Maximilian* the Emperors brother took Craſtowitz a fortres of the Turks vpon the borders of Croatia, and put to ſword all the Turks there in gariſon. After that, he laid ſiege to Petrinia, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Turks, which they but a few years before contrary to the league had built in the Emperors territory, for the annoying of Croatia, and for the exceeding ſtrength thereof was thought almoſt impregnable. Yet ſuch L was the induſtry of *Maximilian* and his ſoldiers, that what with continual battery and Mines, they ſo terrified the Turks there in garriſon, that they for fear ſet fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made ſhift euery man for himſelf as he might. Which they in the Caſtle of Siſeg hearing, ſet fire alſo vpon it and ſo left it to the Chriſtians. Whoſe example they alſo of Gara followed. By which ſo proſperous and happy ſucces of *Maximilian*, not the Prouince only, but euen the whole country of Croatia was for this time deliuered of a wonderful trouble, and no leſſe danger.

A great skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and Chriſtians.

The eight and twentieth day of Auguſt twelue thouſand of the Chriſtians paſſing ouer the riuer by a bridge into the Iſland, and ioyning with them of the towne, ſallied out vpon the Turks camp. The Hungarian Heidons in the forward, at the firſt onſet took two of the Turks M bulwarkes, and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of the great pieces. But the Turks returning with greater power, inforced the Chriſtians to retire, & recouered again the loſt bulwarkes. In this conflict many were ſlaine, as well Chriſtians as Turks. In the meane while *Thonhauſe* a great Captaine of the Chriſtians, and *Geitzkofler*, County *Hardecks* Lieutenant, A nant, with 1500 Hungarians and German foot came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes, but landing ſomwhat too late, they were by the enemy beaten backe, and enforced with ſuch ſpeed to retire; that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuer, amongſt whom *Geitzhoſler* himſelfe periſhed, and *Thonhauſe* was deadly wounded in his breſt. Yet the Chriſtians not diſcouraged with this loſſe, but gathering themſelues together vnder the very wals of the city, gaue a ſecond aſſault vnto the enemy. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horſemen eaſily repulſed; but by the comming in of the Lord *Rhinsberg* (who was at the firſt onſet ſlaine) the Turks were enforced into their trenches, except ſome few, which diuided from the reſt, hid themſelues in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Chriſtians, were there all ſlaine. In this skirmiſh the Lord *Palſi* was B grieuouſly wounded in his thigh: of the Chriſtians were ſlain 400, and of the Turkes about 2000. Theſe conflicts indured from 7 a clock in the morning, vntill 12; at which time the Chriſtians returning into the city, and ſo into the camp, among other ſpoils caried away with them 17 of the enemies enſignes.

2000 Turkes ſlain, and 17 enſignes taken.

No day now paſſing without ſome skirmiſh, at length the 9 of September, 10000 Turkes, ſome in boats, ſome by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuer Danubius into the Iſland of Schut, ſuddenly ſet vpon the Chriſtians, all ſleeping in ſecurity, and little fearing any ſuch danger; of whom they ſlew about 2000, and after ſome ſmal fight, put the reſt to moſt ſhamefull flight; in ſuch ſort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himſelf, with other Noblemen and Captains had much ado by flight to eſcape. Thus whileſt euery man ſurpriſed with feare, made C what ſhift he could for himſelf, the enemy in the mean time entered the trenches, tooke their tents, their great ordnance, the ſhot and pouder, and all the money which but a little before was brought for the ſoldiers pay; beſides about 1000 wagons and 200 boats well loded with prouiſion for the camp, and ten gallies, wherin were 120 pieces of great ordnance. The loſſe receiued this day was valued at 500000 ducats. And albeit that this victorie coſt the Turks 1500 of their liues, yet therby they gained the maſtery both vpon the riuer and the land. So that now roaming far and neer without reſiſtance, they ſpoiled the country all about, & burnt certaine countrey Villages not far from Vienna: ſo that for many miles ſpace the Countrey Townes were for feare of the enemy forſaken by the inhabitants; of whom ſome were taken and ſlaine, ſome carried into captiuity, and ſome others, reſerued for a better fortune, with D ſuch things as they had got themſelues farther off into places of more ſecurity. And the more to increaſe theſe calamities, the Tartars ſhortly after paſſing ouer Danubius neere to Altenbourg, firſt ſacked Weiſenbourg, and after burnt it, with certaine other townes therabouts. But aduenturing to haue gone farther into the Countrey; they were with loſſe inforced to returne.

A great ſpoyl taken by the Turks.

Whilſt the Turks thus preuaile in Hungary, *Cicala Baſſa* the Turkes Admirall then at ſea with a fleet of Gallies, landing his men in diuers places of Italy did exceeding much harme, but eſpecially in Calabria, where he vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed Rhegium, rifled the town, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his courſe toward Sicilia, he in the ſight of Meſſana landed certain of his men, who aduenturing too far aſhore, were by the countrey people E ouerthrown and put to flight. So the Turks returning again to Rhegium, vtterly raſed what they had before left of that town. In the mean time not far from Meſſana, euen in the ſight of the garriſon of the town, they took a certain ſhip comming out of the Eaſt countries, and three others comming from Apulia. Afterwards chancing vpon certaine gallies of the Eaſt, they changed ſome few ſhot with them, but to no great purpoſe, and ſo turning their courſe, & ſailing alongſt the coaſt of Calabria, they oftentimes landed certain companies, which skirmiſhing with the Calabrians, had ſomtime the better, and ſomtime the worſe; and ſo with ſuch fortune as befel them, were again receiued into their gallies. They of Meſſana, vnto whoſe eies thoſe dangers were daily preſented, both by letters and ſpeedy meſſengers gaue the Viceroy knowledge therof (who then for his pleaſure lay at Palermo) requeſting his preſent aid: but he F dallying off the time, they for the more ſafegard of the city and of the ſea coaſt, of themſelues raiſed fiue hundred horſemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicala*, the Renegat Turkiſh Admirals brother. And beſides ſtored the City with all ſuch things as they thought neceſſarie for the enduring of a ſiege, if it ſhould chance the Turke to haue any ſuch purpoſe. Of all which they certified the King of Spain, as alſo of the negligence of the

Rhegium raſed by the Turks.

Viceroy, requeſting his ſpeedy aid againſt theſe terrors of the Turks. In the mean while the Neapolitans for ſafegard of their coaſt put to ſea 50 gallies: vnto whom the Pope, the Duke of Florence, the Genoa's, and the Knights of Malta joined alſo theirs, in all to the number of about 80 gallies, vnder the conduct of *Auria*. The prouident Venetians alſo, although they were as then in league with the Turk, yet for the ſafety of their ſtate put to ſea a fleet of about 100 ſail, ſome ſhips, ſome gallies, vnder the leading of *Foſcarin* their Admiral. Which two fleets ſailing vp and down thoſe ſeas, deliuered Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, with many prouinces and Iſlands of the Chriſtians, of a great fear.

Rab aſſaulted.

12000 *Turks ſlain.*

Sinan Baſſa hauing before incouraged his ſoldiers with great hope and large promiſes, commanded an aſſault to be giuen to the city of Rab; which was accordingly by them begun the 23 of September, the Sun being yet ſcarſe vp, and furiouſly maintained al that day from morning vntil night. But they of the town ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that at laſt the Turks were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retyre. Neuertheleſſe the next day the aſſault was againe renued, and moſt deſperately maintained by the ſpace of two daies, wherein 12000 of the Turks loſt their liues, the other with ſhame retiring themſelues into their trenches. In few daies after, the Turks by a mine blew vp one of the bulwarks of the town, with the fall wherof the town ditch was in that place ſomwhat filled; wherby the Turks with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were by the valor of the defendants ſtil notably with loſſe repulſed. Yet notwithſtanding all this cheerfulnes and couragiouſnes of them in the towne, the puiſſant enemy ceaſed not with furious battery and continuall aſſaults to attempt the city, till that at length he had gained two of the bulwarks, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbiſh and earth fallen out of the battered bulwarks and rampiers, haue acceſſe vnto the towne, to the great terror of the defendants. Whereupon County *Hardeck* the Gouernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had of purpoſe many times before ſaid that the town could not poſſibly long be defended) now took occaſion to enter into counſel with the other captains of the town; (diuers of whom hee had already framed to his purpoſe) what courſe were beſt to take for the yeelding of it vp. And after a little conſultation, holden more for faſhion ſake, than for that he doubted what to do, reſolued to ſend a meſſenger to the Baſſa, for a truce to be granted for a while, to ſee if haply in the mean time ſome reaſonable compoſition might be agreed vpon. Yet the gouernor conſidering into what ſcorn and danger he might expoſe himſelfe, by yeelding vp ſo ſtrong a town, to colour the matter, and to excuſe his doings to the reſt of the nobility, and gariſons of Hungary, cauſed a publike inſtrument to be made in his and all the reſt of the Captaines names conceiued in writing; wherin they ſolemnly proteſted to the world, That foraſmuch as it was impoſſible, by reaſon of the weaknes of the garriſon, for them longer to defend the town againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, without new ſupplies in ſtead of them that were ſlain (which they had oftentimes in vain requeſted) they were therfore of neceſſity inforced to come to compoſition with the enemy. Which proteſtation ſo made, the gouernor and chiefe Captains confirmed with their hands and ſeals. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both ſides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garriſon ſouldiers, together with the County and other captains, ſhould in arms with enſignes diſplaied, with bag and baggage depart in ſafety, and with a ſafe conuoy be brought to Altenburg. Which agreement though by oth confirmed, was not on the Turks part altogether performed: for when the County had the 29 day of September about ten of the clock in the forenoon deliuered vp the City to the Baſſa, and the Chriſtian garriſon was all come out, the County himſelf with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of Turks ſafely brought to the appointed place: but the Italians and other gariſon ſoldiers that came behind, and ought to haue bin by the gouernor protected, were contrary to the Turks promiſe ſpoild of al that they had, and hardly eſcaping with life, came that night to Hochſtrate, and the next day to Altenburg. Thus was Rab, one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of Chriſtendom, traiterouſly deliuered vnto the moſt mortall enemy of the Chriſtian religion; beeing euen then when it was giuen vp, victualled for a year, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary for defence: all which prouiſion, together with the city, fel into the hands of the faithles enemy. A loſſe neuer to haue bin ſufficiently lamented, had it not bin about four yeares after euen as it were miraculouſly again recouered, to the great rejoicing of all that ſide of Chriſtendom, as in the proces of this hiſtory ſhal appear.

Rab trecherouſly yeelded to Sinan Baſſa.

A *Sinan* glad of this victory, as the greateſt trophy of his maſters glory ouer the Chriſtians, gaue him ſpeedy knowledge thereof both by letters and meſſengers. Of whom he was for that good ſeruice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* already in hope deuoured all Auſtria, with the Prouinces thereabout. The great Baſſa becauſe he would not with too long ſtay hinder the courſe of his victory, without delay repaired the ruines, new fortified the battered bulwarks, enlarged the ditches, and filled the Cathedrall church with earth, in manner of a ſtrong bulwarke, whereupon he planted great ſtore of great ordnance: and with exceeding ſpeed diſpatched all things neceſſary for the holding of the place. In the meane time he ſent certaine Tartars to ſummon the towne and caſtle of Pappa, which caſtle with a little towne ſubiect thereunto, the Chriſtians the night following, B ſet on fire, becauſe it ſhould not ſtand the enemy in any ſtead for the farther troubling of the country, and ſo fled.

Rab repaired by the Turks.

The Baſſa hauing at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things in Rab, and leauing there foure thouſand Ianizaries, and ten thouſand horſmen in garriſon, departed thence with his army & laid ſiege to Comara, a ſtrong towne of that moſt fertile Iſland which the Hungarians call Schut, which ſituated in the very point thereof about foure miles from Rab, is on the Eaſt, South, and North incloſed with the two armes of Danubius. All theſe waies *Sinan* with his fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laied hard ſiege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers aſſaults: and by land the Beglerbeg of Grece ceaſed not both by continuall battery and mines, to ſhake the walls and bulwarks therof. Thus was the city on all ſides both by water and C by land hardly laied vnto. But the Chriſtians within, with no leſſe courage defended themſelues & the city, than did the Turks aſſaile them; ſhewing indeed, that the liberty of their religion and country, was vnto them dearer than their liues. *Matthias* the Archduke in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperor his brother to haue this city defended, hauing after the late ouerthrow gathered together a good army of Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians, reſolued to go and raiſe the ſiege: and ſo marching forward with his army, came and encamped the 28 day of October at Nitria, about fiue miles from Komara. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the camp, with purpoſe to returne home: yea, the Turks themſelues weary of the ſiege, and wanting victuall both for themſelues and their horſes, began alſo as men diſcouraged to ſhrinke away. Which the Baſſa wel conſidering, thought it not D beſt with his heartleſſe ſouldiers and army now ſore weakened, to abide the comming of the Chriſtians: and therefore vpon their approch he forthwith forſooke the city, which he had by the ſpace of three weeks hardly beſieged, and by a bridge made of boats tranſported his army and artillery ouer Danubius to Dotis, where he the next day after brake vp his army. Immediatly after the Turks were thus departed, the Archduke arriued at Komara, where he with great diligence cauſed the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, and new bulwarks and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more ſtrength of the city, leauing the charge thereof ſtill vnto the lord *Braun* the old Gouernor, who in the defence thereof had receiued a grieuous wound in his right knee: of whom alſo this notable fact is reported. The Baſſa in time of the late ſiege at Comara, vnder the color of a parley, had ſent fiue Turks into the city, to the E Gouernor, but indeed to proue if he were by any meanes to be won to yeeld vp the city, and not to hold it out to the laſt. The faithful Gouernor, hauing giuen them the hearing vntil they had diſcharged their whole trechery, preſently cauſed foure of their heads to be ſtrucken off, and to be ſet vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarks for the Baſſa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedy) he ſent backe vnto the Baſſa, to tell him, That although he had found one in Rab to ſerue his turne, he was much deceiued, if in him he thought to finde County *Hardeck*; and that he wiſhed rather to die the Emperors faithfull ſeruant in the bloud of the Turks, than to betray the city committed to his charge.

Komara beſieged by Sinan Baſſa.

He raiſeth his ſiege.

County *Hardeck* late Gouernour of Rab, generally before ſuſpected to haue treacherouſly betraid that ſtrong towne vnto the Baſſa, was therefore ſent for to Vienna, and there by the Em- F perors commandement committed to priſon. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that he ſhould in the beginning of the ſiege negligently haue ſuffered many things to be done by the enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the ſiege, he had cauſed ſome of the canoniers to diſcharge certain great pieces againſt the enemy, with pouder only without ſhot: and that ſeeing one piece among the reſt to do the

enemy much harme, he had cauſed the ſame to be remoued, and ſo placed, as that it ſeemed to
little or no vſe: beſide that, he (as it ſhould ſeeme) making ſmall reckoning of the [illegible] would G
oftentimes ſay, That if the Turks ſhould win it, he ſhould be but one towne the [illegible]
diuers other ſuch things, giuing iuſt cauſe of ſuſpition. The thing that lay moſt [illegible]
him, was the teſtimony of one of *Sinan Baſſa* his chamber, who being a [illegible]
and ſeruing in the Baſſaes chamber, was now fled from the Turks, and comming vnto the Arch-
duke in the time of his ſiege, declared vnto him, that there was treaſon within [illegible]
he but three daies before by the commandement of his maſter, had deliuered [illegible]
duckats vnto two Chriſtians, of whom the one had a note or ſcarre in his face, and was after-
wards knowne to haue bin one of the Counties ſeruants. Vpon this and ſuch like proofe the
County was after many daies hearing, in open court, by the iudgement of [illegible] no-

County Hardeck condemned & executed for betraying of Rab.

blemen and captains of name, condemned of treaſon, and adiudged to be hanged, his dead bo- H
dy to remaine vpon the gallowes by the ſpace of three daies, and all his lands and goods to be
confiſcat: the rigor of which ſentence was afterward by the Emperor ſo mitigated, that he was
by him adiudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen vnto the [illegible]
his faith) and his head ſtrucke off vpon a ſcaffold at Vienna, and ſo buried. Which ſen-
tence was afterwards accordingly put in execution for the tenth of [illegible]
being brought to the ſcaffold built of purpoſe in the high ſtreet of Vienna [illegible]
of his condemnation there ſolemnly read, commending himſelfe vpon his [illegible]
of God, with his eies couered, and his right hand laied vpon a blocke couered [illegible]
both his hand & head ſo ſuddenly ſtrucke off by the executioner, as that the beholders could
hardly iudge which of them was firſt off. His dead body with his head and hand, was preſently I
by his ſeruant wrapped in a blacke cloth, and layed in his coach, which ſtood there of pur-
poſe couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongſt his anceſtors.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinans* campe, paſſing ouer Danubius at Stri-
gonium, had purpoſed through the vpper part of Hungary, and by the borders of Tranſylua-
nia and Moldauia, to haue againe returned into their country: of whom two companies falling
into the hands of the lord *Palfi*, were by him cut off and vtterly defeated: the reſt comming
to the borders of Tranſyluania, and finding the paſſages ſo beſet by the Prince and the Vay-
uod of Valachia, as that they could not without moſt manifeſt danger paſſe that way, retur-
ned againe the ſame way they came: and hauing rifled and burnt certaine townes and villages K
in the vpper Hungary about Tockaie, paſſed the riuer againe at Strigonium, and wintering
at Veſprimium, Palotta, and other places in the Countrey which is about Rab, liued vpon
the ſpoile of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, vpon the frontiers of Auſtria, euen as farre as
Meinerſdorf.

Theſe Tartars (of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) at their firſt comming to the aid of *Sinan*,
by direction from the Turkiſh Sultan, ſtaied vpon the frontiers of Tranſyluania, of purpoſe
to haue ſurpriſed that country, and either to haue thruſt *Sigiſmund Bator* the young Prince out
of the gouernment thereof, or elſe to haue ſent him in bonds to Conſtantinople: for it was
commonly reported, That he weary of the heauy tribute which he yerely paid vnto the Turk,
and had now after their greedy manner beene diuers times inhaunſed, had purpoſed to reuolt L
from the Turkiſh Sultan, & to enter into confederation with the Chriſtian Emperor. Which
innouation and change, certaine of the Nobility and chiefe States of Tranſyluania ſought by
all meanes to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into conſpiracy
with the Tartars, vndertooke to deliuer the whole country into their hands, and to ſend the
Prince priſoner to Huſt, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders encamped. Wherefore
diſſembling their purpoſe, they cunningly perſuaded the prince, that *Samoſcius* the great Chan-
cellor of Polonia, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his com-
ming, to conſult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour this their
trechery, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancellor to the Prince, and
had wrought ſo effectually, that the prince not ſuſpecting any ſuch treaſon, gaue credit to their M
perſuaſions, and ſo put himſelfe vpon his way towards the Chancellor (as he ſuppoſed) but
by the way, he was aduiſed by ſome of his friends which had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter,
not to go any farther, for that his comming was not intended by the Polonians his friends,
(as he was perſuaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, who lay in wait for him at Huſt, to be-
tray

A reaue him of his life & gouernment. The Prince aſtonied with the nouelty of the matter, liſ-
ned vnto their perſuaſion, and retired with his traine to the ſtrong fort of Kehwere; where he
ſtaied foureteene daies, as if it had beene only for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time he
gaue notice to the Nobility and Gouernours of the Country, his friends, of the imminent and
common danger, who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitours proceeding in
their purpoſe, ceaſed not to perſuade *Bornemiſſa*, who had the leading of the Princes army, that
to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no ſmall danger: and that therefore if he wiſhed well
to his country, he ſhould not haue to do with them, but only ſhew himſelfe neere vnto them,
and that he was not vnprouided for them: which was accordingly done; and the Tranſyluani-
an army brought ſo nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noiſe of their drums
B and trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themſelues diſcouered,
and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, as had bin vnto them promiſed for the
betraying of the Prince; they remooued thence, and by another way breaking through the
midſt of Tranſyluania, and ſo into Hungary, rifled and burnt fiue hundred villages, ſlew all the
males that were aboue twelue yeares of age, and carryed away the reſt vnto the Turkiſh army
then lying at the ſiege of Rab. In the mean time the traitors (when as this firſt plot ſerued them
not) conſpired to ſet vp one *Balthazor Bator*, the yong Princes nigh kinſman, and with the good
fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the ſoueraigne gouernment of their Country. Which
their purpoſe the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogether to truſt vnto the fidelity of his
owne ſubjects; writ to his neighbours the Raſcians, and other his confederats, praying their aid
C in this his ſo dangerous and doubtfull eſtate. Which after he had receiued, he apointed a ge-
nerall aſſembly of all his ſtates to be holden at Clauſenburg, and that vpon a great paine to be
inflicted vpon all ſuch as ſhould not there perſonally appeare: ſo at the prefixed day all came,
except the Cardinall *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guilty of ſo foule a treaſon againſt
their owne bloud, were now before fled into Polonia. Being all thus met together, the Prince
commanded the gates of the city to be ſhut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbid-
ding by open proclamation, That any man vpon pain of death ſhould ſo much as ſpeak of any
imagined treaſon. And at the ſame time politickly cauſed to be publiſhed in writing, how that
the Germans had in the farther ſide of Hungary got a notable victory ouer the Turks; for joy
whereof he commanded bonefires to be made, and the great ordnance to be in triumph ſhot
D off, with many other ſignes of joy and gladneſſe: and withall cauſed a notable banquet to be
prepared, whereunto together with others, were inuited alſo all the chiefe of the conſpirators:
of whom, euen as they were at dinner & leaſt feared any ſuch matter, he commanded fourteen
to be apprehended and committed to priſon, and the next morning cauſed fiue of them to be
executed in the open market place. The principal of whom, who had vndertaken to haue him-
ſelfe ſlain the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he cauſed to be drawne in pie-
ces with foure horſes: the other foure, namely, *Alexander*, and *Cabriel Gengi*, *Gregory Diaco*, and
Ladiſlaus Sallentz were beheaded, and their dead bodies all that day left in the market place for
the people to behold: the reſt were alſo afterwards worthily executed: and *Balthazar Bator*,
whom the conſpirators had intended to haue exalted, ſtrangled. Hauing thus reuenged him-
E ſelfe vpon his enemies, he by a publike edict diuulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to
all his ſubjects in generall, of their owne charge to take vp armes againſt the Turks, and what-
ſoeuer they could take from them, to haue it to themſelues, as good priſe gotten from their
lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted liberty, the Tranſyluanians encouraged as with a great
bounty, armed themſelues on all hands, to the number of forty thouſand; who being muſtered
and ſworne to hold together againſt the Turks, made their firſt expedition towards Danubius:
where at their firſt arriuall, by good hap they light vpon certain of the Turks ſhips laded with
prouiſion for the campe, and merchandiſe of all ſorts, and much treaſure: of which rich ſhips,
they at the firſt onſet tooke ſeuen, but the eighth (being indeed the Admirall) eſcaped their
hands. In theſe ſhips they tooke an exceeding rich booty, ſlew many of the Turks, and in to-
F ken of the victory, carried backe vnto the Prince ſeuen of the Turkiſh Enſignes. This victory
cauſed great joy in Tranſyluania, euery man of ſo proſperous a beginning, conceiuing good
hope of moſt happy ſucceſſe. It is reported, that *Sinan Baſſa* hearing of this loſſe, ſhould ſay,
That if this prouiſion had come to him in ſafety, he could with that treaſure more eaſily haue
bought Vienna in Auſtria, than he had Rab in Hungary. After this victory the prince laid ſiege

Great harme done in Tranſyluania by the Tartars.

The conſpirators againſt the Prince, apprehended and executed.

to Temeſwar, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward Tranſyluania (as is before ſaid) he left Temeſwar, to looke to the defence of his owne country.

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople.

Not long after, about the two and twentieth of December a tumult riſe among the Ianizaries of the court at Conſtantinople, which grew to ſuch an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Baſſaes was by them ſlain, with ſome others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* ſons ſore wounded, and with much ado ſaued. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger & griefe fell into a fit of the falling ſickeneſſe (whereunto he was much ſubiect) and was therewith for the ſpace of three daies and three nights ſo grieuouſly vexed, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen vp the ghoſt: ſo that the city was filled with heauineſſe and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen ready to thinke vpon a new Lord. This tumult of the inſolent Ianizaries many ſuppoſed to haue beene the cauſe of *Amurath* his death, which ſhortly after enſued: his griefe and malady encreaſing daily by the euill news ſtill brought vnto him both by meſſengers and letters, eſpecially out of Tranſyluania, where the Prince waiting vpon euery occaſion, was ſtill at hand with the Turks, cutting them ſhort in euery place; and in ſundry rodes which he made vpon them in this month, tooke many of their caſtles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Geſty Ferens*, in the country of Lugaz, neere vnto Temeſwar: another vnder the leading of *Michael Horwat*, on the ſide of Danubius, to intercept the Turks comming to Buda: and the third commanded by *Caſpar Cornoyſe* in the country neere to Giula; vnto whom came ſhortly after fifteene hundred horſemen out of the vpper Hungary.

1595 The Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund Bator* thus lately reuolted from the Turke, for the ſtrengthning of his ſtate thought it beſt betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of Valachia and Moldauia (who moued by his example, ſhortly after in like maner alſo caſt off the ſeruile yoke of the Turke) but eſpecially with the Chriſtian Emperor *Rodolph*. For which purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors honourably accompanied: who comming to Caſſouia in Hungary the fourteenth of December, arriued at Prague the twelfth of Ianuary, with twenty waggons, and an hundred and fifty horſe, where they were by the Emperours appointment moſt honourably receiued and royally entertained: and after a few daies hauing deliuered vnto the Emperor the ſumme of their embaſſage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the Emperor and the Prince: after much graue conſultation and ſerious diſcourſe it was fully concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amiſſe here in briefe to ſet downe, for the ſatisfying of ſuch as deſire to know in what termes that worthy Prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then ſtood with the Chriſtian Emperour.

The capitulations of the league betwixt the Emperor & the Tranſyluanian Prince.

Firſt it was agreed vpon, That the Emperour for himſelfe and for the States of Hungary ſhould promiſe to proceed in his wars begun againſt the common enemy, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the Prince. And that in all concluſions of peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, ſhould be alwaies compriſed: in regard whereof, the Prince likewiſe promiſed for himſelfe and the States of Tranſyluania, to proſecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and conſent of the Emperor and the Nobility of Hungary; and this to be confirmed by ſolemne oath on both ſides.

Secondly, That the Prouince of Tranſyluania with all the parts and confines thereof hitherto poſſeſſed by the Prince of Hungary, ſhould remaine vnto the ſaid Prince *Sigiſmund* and to his heires male, with all the profits ariſing thereof, in ſuch ſort as they had done in the time of *Iohn, Stephen,* and *Chriſtopher,* his predeceſſours, to haue therein a moſt free and abſolute authority, yet ſo, as that they ſhould acknowledge his Imperiall Majeſty and his lawfull ſucceſſors for their lawfull ſoueraignes; vnto whom they ſhould alwaies ſweare their fealty, but without any homage doing: and that to be performed by his ſucceſſours at the time of the change, but by the Prince himſelfe, preſently after the confirming of this league. But that for lacke of heires male, the country of Tranſyluania with all the territories thereunto annexed, ſhould diſcend vnto his ſacred Majeſty and his ſucceſſours the Kings of Hungary, as a true and inſeparable member thereof: whereunto the Prince and all the States of Tranſyluania ſhould bind themſelues by ſolemne oath. But yet that at ſuch time as the heires male ſhould faile in the

line

A line of the preſent Prince, and that the country of Tranſyluania ſhould according to theſe preſent conditions be deuolued to the crowne of Hungary, as well his preſent Imperiall and Royall Majeſty, as his ſucceſſors, ſhould keep inuiolate the antient lawes, priuiledges, aad cuſtoms of that country, and alwaies appoint one of the nobility of Tranſyluania to be Gouernour or Vayuod of the ſame, and no other ſtranger.

Thirdly, That his Majeſty ſhould acknowledge the Prince of Tranſyluania for an abſolute Prince, and by ſpeciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Moſt excellent*.

Fourthly, That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncle, for a wife for the Prince, that as they were now to be joyned in league, ſo they might be joyned in affinity alſo.

B Fifthly, That the Emperor ſhould procure him to be made one of the order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixthly, That the Prince might with more cheerfulneſſe and ſecurity make war againſt the common enemy, his imperiall and royall Majeſty ſhould not at any time, howſoeuer things fel out, forſake the ſaid Prince or any of the countries ſubject vnto him: and euen now preſently to aid him according as the preſent occaſion required, and afterward (if greater need ſhould be) with greater help, whether it was by his Generall of Caſſouia, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both ſides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the neceſſity of the one or other part ſhould require: and that where moſt need was, thither ſhould moſt helpe be conuerted.

Seuenthly, That the ſacred Roman Empire ſhould take vpon it the protection and defence C of the Prince and his territories. And that his Imperiall Majeſty ſhould create the ſaid Prince and the Princes his ſucceſſors, Princes of the Empire: yet ſo, as that they ſhould haue neither voice nor place among the ſaid Princes.

Eightly, That whatſoeuer caſtles, townes, cities, or other places of ſtrength, ſhould by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemy, at ſuch time as his Imperiall Majeſty ſhould ſend into the field a ful army, ſhould be all his Majeſties: but ſuch places as the Prince ſhould by his own forces or policy gaine from the enemy, ſhould remaine vnto the Prince himſelfe. Yet that what places ſoeuer the Prince ſhould recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of Hungary before it was taken by the Turke, thoſe he ſhould forthwith deliuer to his Majeſty, as ſoone as reaſonable recompence were by him therefore D made vnto the Prince.

Ninthly, His ſacred Majeſty ſhould promiſe of his own bounty to giue vnto his Excellency ſufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of ſuch places as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the behoof of the Chriſtians: as again the ſaid Prince ſhould likewiſe promiſe not to ſpare his own cofers or forces, that the ſame places ſhould be throughly fortified and defended for the behoofe of his Majeſty and the common good of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Laſtly, That foraſmuch as the euents of war are vncertain, and many things ſuddenly happen contrary to mens expectation, if ſuch neceſſity ſhould chance vnto his excellency or his ſucceſſors (which miſhap God forbid) that hauing ſpent themſelues, they ſhould not be able longer to defend their ſtate & country, but that the mighty enemy preuailing, they ſhould at laſt E be enforced to forſake the ſame: in this their extremity, his imperiall & royall Majeſty ſhould promiſe both for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors, within the ſpace of one moneth to aſſigne ſome certain place in ſome other of his dominions, where the ſaid prince & his ſucceſſors might honorably liue: and the like regard to be had alſo of other ſuch principall men, as ſhould together with the Prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, & ſolemnly confirmed, the ſame Embaſſadors were with all kindnes, bounty, and magnificence diſmiſſed & ſent back again vnto the Prince: who was not himſelfe in the mean time idle, but labouring by all the means he could to draw vnto him *Michaell* the Vayuod of Valachia (a man of no leſſe worth than himſelfe) and *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia, both of them then the Turks tributaries; & by them to alienat from F the Turke both thoſe countries, that ſo with their combined forces they might the better defend their liberty, and withſtand their common enemy: wherein he did ſo much, and preuailed ſo far with them both, that caſting off the Turks obeiſance, they ſhortly after to the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, and no leſſe hinderance of the Turks proceedings in Hungary, joyned hands both together with him for the recouery of their loſt liberty. Which

reuolt of theſe bordering Princes, for that it ſo much concerned the common good, as that
the ſafegard of Auſtria, and of the remnants of Hungary, with ſome good part of Germany alſo, G
is euen by them that in thoſe matters ſaw much, not without cauſe ſuppoſed to haue reſted
therin; & that this noble Vayuod (of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter) was the ſecond actor
herein, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſee the manner of his reuolt alſo from the Turke, as
we haue already the Tranſyluanians. For the more euidence whereof, as for the honor of the
man (whileſt he liued, a moſt worthy member of the Chriſtian commonweale) we will a little
ſtep backe to ſee how he obtained of the great Turke this ſo honourable a preferment, as was
the Vayuodſhip of Valachia, not without his reuolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppreſſed by the Turks.

Alexander the late Vayuod of Valachia, a Moldauian borne, and by *Amurath* himſelfe promoted
to that dignity; proud aboue meaſure of this his ſo great a preferment, as alſo of his
owne nobility, and the deceitfull fauor of Fortune ſtill fawning vpon him; not only oppreſſed H
his people himſelfe with intollerable impoſitions, but to be in farther fauor with the Turks,
brought into that country (too much before exhauſted) ſuch a company of them, as that they
ſeemed now almoſt wholly to haue poſſeſſed the ſame, oppreſſing the poore Chriſtians (the
naturall inhabitants) with new exactions, and more than tirannicall injuries, euen ſuch as were
not elſwhere by the Turks themſelues vſed; not only breaking at their pleaſure into their houſes,
and diſpoiling them of their goods, but taking tythes alſo of their children, as if it had bin
of their cattell, a thing neuer before there ſeen: and for the ſatisfying of their beaſtly luſt, rauiſhing
their wiues and daughters, euen in the ſight of their husbands and parents, with diuers
other ſuch outragious villanies, not with modeſty to be rehearſed. So that by this meanes he I
had violently taken from his Chriſtian ſubjects all hope of recouery of their antient liberty,
had it not as ſomtime it falleth out in theſe worldly things both vnto men and commonweals,
which brought vnto the laſt caſt, & euen as it were to the bottome of deſpaire, by the goodnes
of God, contrary to all hope, find ſometime ſuch vnexpected helpe and reliefe, as that thereby
they, beyond their hope, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the World, mount vp again vnto a greater
luſtre of their ſtate, than was that from which they before fell: it had euen ſo by the ſingular
mercy of God now hapned vnto the Valachians, not knowing which way to turn themſelues.
There was at Crailowa (a city in the confines of Valachia towards the confines of the Hungarians
and Turks, where the Gouernor of thoſe borders is for the defence thereof with a ſtrong
garriſon alwaies reſiant) a noble gentleman called * *Ion Michael*, ſon to *Peter* the Palatine of that K
country, the aforeſaid *Alexander* his predeceſſor: who as he was vnto the people for the honor
of his father, the prerogatiue of his birth, the comlineſſe of his perſon, and talneſſe of his ſtature,
well knowne; ſo was he for his zeale towards the Chriſtian religion, his loue towards his
country, his kindneſſe towards his equals, his courteſie towards his inferiors, his vpright dealing,
his conſtancy and bounty vnto them, no leſſe gratious; and for other the noble vertues of
his heroicall minde and naturall diſpoſition for the performance of great matters, his deepe
wiſedome and quicke foreſight, his ſweet and pleaſing ſpeech, void of all affectation, vnto all
good men moſt deare: whoſe fame, both for the honor of his houſe, and of his own vertues, ſtill
more and more encreaſing, and riſe in the eares of *Alexander* the Vayuod, was the cauſe that he
commanded him as the ready or rather naturall competitor of his ſtate and honor, to be ſecretly L
apprehended, and ſo taken out of the way; wherof he by good fortune hauing intelligence,
and carefull of his owne health, for ſafegard of himſelfe fled firſt into Hungary, and there not
ſtaying long (God ſo directing him) went to Conſtantinople in the yeare 1591, to ſue for the
Vayuod his place, all the nobility of his country and the prouinces thereunto adjoyning, ſecretly
rejoycing thereat. About which time the chiefe and moſt graue of the Valachian nobility
and counſellors proſtrating themſelues at the feet of *Amurath*, moſt grieuouſly complained
vnto him of the manifold and intollerable injuries they had already ſuſtained, and were
ſtill like to endure, without hope of redreſſe, from *Alexander* their Vayuod, and the followers
of his court; the Turks garriſons and merchants with plentifull teares orderly declaring many
his moſt foule and deteſtable facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his M
rare vertues, as the true heire of their prouince; moſt humbly requeſted *Amurath* either to haue
him appointed the lawfull Gouernor of their country, or els ſome other place by him aſſigned
for them to dwell in, wiſhing any where to liue, rather than vnder the heauy command of ſo
mercileſſe a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their ſute, *Michael* his vncle by

**Ion ſignifieth with the Valachians as much as Chriſtians which ſome miſtaking, cal this Michael alſo by the name of Iohn.*

A the mothers ſide, a Greeke borne, and a man for his exceeding wealth in great fauour in the
Turks Court, ſpared for no coſt. So *Michael* by the goodneſſe of God was by *Amurath* with
great ſolemnity created Vayuod of Valachia, and the oppreſſed and almoſt forlorne ſtate of
that ſometime moſt flouriſhing countrey by little and little well relieued (although not altogether
without moſt ſharpe and violent remedies, ſuch as extremity oft require) began now
againe to lift vp the head, and to aſpire vnto the antient liberty and honour thereof. At the
beginning of whoſe happy ſoueraignty, *Alexander* his predeceſſor in his owne conſcience guilty
of his euill and ſhamefull gouernment of that ſo notable and great a prouince, and now in
feare to be called to account, ſecretly fled. But certaine yeares after remouing to Conſtantinople
with his wife, and there attempting diuers euill meanes for the obtaining of the Palatinat
B of Moldauia, and for thoſe his vnlawfull practiſes accuſed by the Palatine his Agent; he
was by the commandement of *Amurath* taken in his owne houſe, and there in his princely apparell
moſt miſerably ſtrangled vpon Palme Sunday, in the yeare 1597, about ſix yeares after
his departure out of Valachia.

Michael by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia.

Alexander ſtrangled at Conſtantinople.

Michael thus made Vayuod of Valachia, long it was not but that it fortuned the reuerend
Father *Cornelius de Nona*, ſent from Pope *Clement* the eighth vnto the great Duke of Muſcouy,
in his returne conferring with *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince, and *Aaron* Palatine of
Moldauia, enformed them of the great conſent of diuers zealous Chriſtian Princes, for the
maintenance of the war againſt the dangerous and common Enemy; with many graue and effectuall
reaſons perſuading them (but eſpecially for that they were themſelues Chriſtians) in
C that Chriſtian quarrell to joyn vnto them their forces alſo, raiſed in thoſe their countries neer
vnto the great riuers of Danubius and Neſter: but vnto *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, he
could not for diuers his other important buſineſſes then come: whom for all that, the aforeſaid
Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund* his neighbour deſirouſly ſought to draw into the fellowſhip
of this warre, euen for the ſame reaſons almoſt wherewith he had beene himſelfe moued.
Firſt, by diuers great reaſons remouing ſuch doubts as might juſtly ſeeme to hinder him from
giuing thereunto his conſent; and then by declaring the Turkiſh inſolency daily increaſing,
with the infinite grieuances by them deuiſed againſt the miſerable Valachians; when as the
incurſions of the Turks or Tartars, or their paſſages that way (no leſſe troubleſome than their
inrodes) was almoſt euery moneth to be feared, their armies as friends to be in Winter and
D Summer receiued, their ſouldiers to their great charges relieued, and their commanders and
captaines rewarded. Valachia thus impoueriſhed, was not able (as he ſaid) to pay the great
ſums it did already owe, neither was to expect any releaſement of the euils it was wrapped in,
much leſſe was it able to ſuffice vnto the grieuous exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards
impoſed. None of his predeceſſors (as he ſaid, and as truth was) had for many yeares
now paſt, for any long time, or with any ſecurity held their ſtate or gouernment: but that either
by the calumniation of the Enuious, or bribes of their ambitious competitors, brought
into ſuſpition with the Sultan, they were violently thruſt out, or moſt cruelly put to death.
In briefe, he ſaid it was a wiſe mans part, not without moſt manifeſt and weighty reaſons, to
promiſe vnto himſelfe better fortune, or more aſſurance of his ſtate, than had his vnfortunate
E predeceſſors before him; but warned by their harmes, betimes to prouide for his owne ſafety.
By which perſuaſion he ſo preuailed, that the Vaynod (whoſe name, whoſe fame, whoſe wealth
and life, together with his ſubjects was all thereby indangered) although he would not (for the
weightineſſe of the matter) at the firſt yeeld thereunto; yet aſſuredly promiſed, with his
friends and the reſt of the Nobility of his country to conſider thereupon. Hauing it by the
Prince plainly laid downe before him, how a ſufficient number of ſoldiers might at all times
be raiſed, their pay prouided, and aid ſtill ſent him as need ſhould be, from the German Emperor,
or himſelfe out of Tranſyluania; as alſo that *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia would at
all times be ready to combine himſelfe vnto them, that ſo with their vnited forces they might
vpon the banks of Danubius and Neſter eaſily repulſe the incurſions both of the Turks and
F Tartars their enemies: the Chriſtian Emperor in the meane time with leſſe trouble proceeding
in his wars againſt the Turke on the other ſide of Hungary.

Now whileſt this plot was thus in laying, and matters to and fro debating, not altogether
without the Turks ſuſpition; *Sinan Baſſa* comming with a great army into Hungary, had taken
the ſtrong Towne of Rab, as is before declared: with which miſchance ſo much concer-

ning the poore remainders of Hungary, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to conſider of his owne eſtate. And as he was a man of a great ſpirit, and no leſſe zeale toward his countrey, grieuing to ſee his ſubjects committed to his charge, to be ſo daily by the inſolent Turks ſtill more and more oppreſſed: he (as he had before promiſed to the Tranſyluanian) called an aſſembly of all the States of Valachia, to conſult with them what were beſt to be done for the remedy of ſo great euils, as alſo for the preuenting of greater, not without cauſe then to be feared. Where by the generall conſent of them all it was agreed, rather to joyn with the Emperor and other Chriſtian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them requeſted, than longer to endure that heauy yoke of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauery. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thouſand of the Hungarian garriſon ſouldiers, now before for that purpoſe ſecretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon the name of *Chriſt Ieſus*, in one day to begin withall, ſlew about two thouſand of the Ianizaries (who without his leaue had in that country proudly ſeated themſelues) with all the reſt of the Turks (in the midſt of their inſolency) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of them that he could come by aliue in all the open country. And purpoſing to driue them out of their ſtrong holds alſo, and ſo to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes after ſet vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he burnt all ſauing the caſtle, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, and loded with the ſpoyle of the Turks, returned to Buchareſta the chiefe ſeat of his Palatinat.

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The Cadileſker with all the Turks his followers ſlaine.

Phloch ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

Herſowa taken.

Siliſtra burnt.

But whilſt the aforeſaid confederation betwixt the Emperor and the Tranſyluanian prince was yet in hand, and the troubles in Valachia thus ariſing, *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuouſly troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling ſickeneſſe his wonted diſeaſe, and inwardly alſo tormented with the late inſolency of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the Countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, (no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his wars in Hungary) as a man both in ſoule and body tormented, with great impatience and agony of minde departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when E he had liued one and fifty, or as ſome ſay two and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned nineteene. At the time of his death ariſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at Conſtantinople, that many thought the World ſhould euen preſently haue beene diſſolued. His dead body was not long after with great pompe and ſolemnity buried by *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, in a Moſchie which he himſelfe had before built at Conſtantinople.

Amurath dieth.

FINIS.

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all thoſe his enemies now in his power, to be ſlaine euery mothers ſon: of whom his ſouldiers
had a wonderfull rich ſpoile, although much more was loſt in the fire: and ſo giuing thankes
vnto God for the victory, reſted with his people a while at quiet. Yet within leſſe than a
moneth after, he ſent *Albertus Kiral* his Lieutenant with an army to Phloch (a great open vnwalled
towne on the farther ſide of Danubius, equally diſtant from Vroſczok and Nicopolis)
from whence the Turks oftentimes paſſing ouer that frozen riuer into Valachia, had there
done great harme: which towne not inferior vnto a good city, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed, and ſacking
it, put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as were before his comming
C fled. And ſhortly after (the more to annoy the Turks) marching againe ouer the frozen riuer
to haue ſurpriſed Herſowa a walled city but one daies journey from Brailoua, he was by the
way vpon the yce encountred by the Turks, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew, and
hauing ſlaine many of them, and put the reſt to flight, holding on his entended journey, tooke
that rich city, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground all except the caſtle, which
was yet by the Turks valiantly defended: and ſo with the ſpoile of the city returned againe
ouer the riuer, there to refreſh his ſouldiers, wearied with labor and the extremity of the Winter
weather. And yet not ſo contented, within ſix daies after paſſing againe ouer the riuer, and
hauing vpon the ſide thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turks garriſons, tooke Siliſtra
a great city of Macedonia built by *Conſtantine* the Great (being the ſeat of one of the
D Turks Sanzackes, and well inhabited with rich Merchants) which faire city he ranſacked, and
hauing ſlaine moſt part of the Inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the other,
no leſſe terror than griefe vnto the Turks.

The Cadileſker with all the Turks his followers ſlaine.

Phloch ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

Herſowa taken.

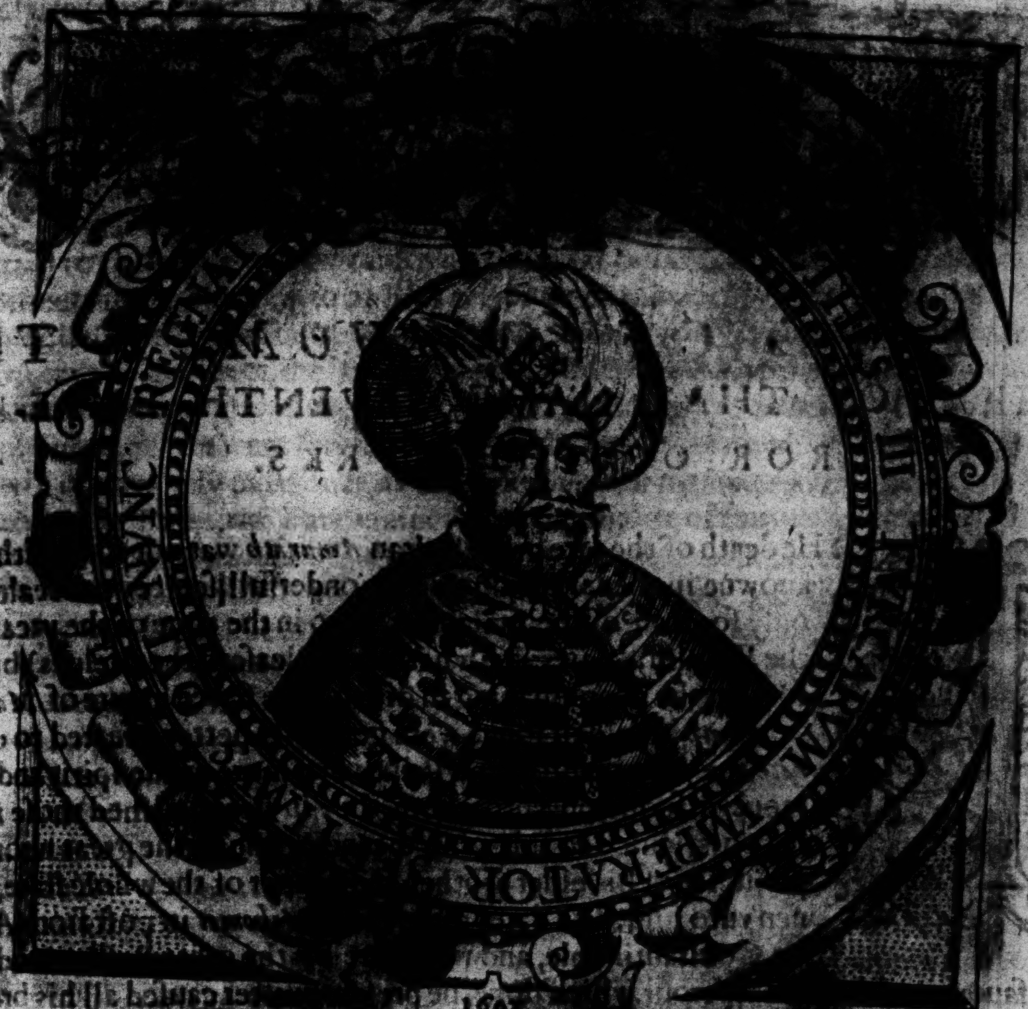
Siliſtra burnt.

But whilſt the aforeſaid confederation betwixt the Emperor and the Tranſyluanian prince
was yet in hand, and the troubles in Valachia thus ariſing, *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuouſly
troubled with the Stone, and attainted with the falling ſickeneſſe his wonted diſeaſe, and
inwardly alſo tormented with the late inſolency of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the Countries
of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, (no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his wars
in Hungary) as a man both in ſoule and body tormented, with great impatience and agony of
minde departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when
E he had liued one and fifty, or as ſome ſay two and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned nineteene.
At the time of his death ariſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at Conſtantinople, that many
thought the World ſhould euen preſently haue beene diſſolued. His dead body was not
long after with great pompe and ſolemnity buried by *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, in a Moſchie
which he himſelfe had before built at Conſtantinople.

Amurath dieth.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the ſame time with Amurath the third.	Emperours of Germany		Maximilian the ſecond,	1567.	12
			Rodolphus the ſecond,	1577	
	Kings	Of England	Queen Elizabeth,	1558.	44
		Of France	Charles the ninth,	1560	14
			Henry the third,	1574.	14
			Henry the fourth.	1589.	
		Of Scotland	James the ſixth, afterward King of England,	1565	
	Biſhops of Rome		Gregorie the XIII,	1572.	12
			Pius the V,	1585.	5
			Vrbin the VII,	1590.	12 dayes
			Gregory the XIV,	1590.	10 months 10 dayes
			Innocent the IX,	1591.	2 months & one day
			Clement the VIII,	1592.	



Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere poſſit:
Quid prohibet magnum nomen ineſſe tuum?
Qui ſubjecta tenes tot diſſita regna, tot urbes:
Et nulli cedens, ſceptra ſuperba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid ſit ſapientia Chriſti,
Omnia quæ jactas ſunt, Mahomete, nihil.

Ric. Knollevs.

In English thus:

If ought there be might make thee great that on the earth is found,
What then ſhould let thy name among the greateſt for to ſound?
That haſt thy kingdomes and thy townes, ſo many and ſo great:
And giving place thy ſelfe to none, doſt ſit on royall ſeat:
Yet ſith thou knoweſt not aright for grace by Chriſt to call,
All that thou boaſts, ô *Mahomet*, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE

THE LIFE OF *MAHOMET*, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME SEVENTH EMPE-ROR OF THE TVRKS.

1595

THe death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was [illegible] made knowne in the Court, but with wonderfull ſecrecie [illegible], not only for feare of the Ianizaries, (who in the [illegible] of the Empire alwaies doe whatſoeuer pleaſe[illegible] for that the people hauing in diſtruſt the [illegible] *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, were generally better [illegible] *Amurath* the younger brother, a Prince of a more [illegible] teous diſpoſition, vnto whom they in [illegible] wiſhed [illegible] honours, which could by no [illegible] the great [illegible] prejudice of his elder brother, and danger of the whole ſtate, be giuen vnto him. Ten daies after [illegible] *Mahomet* in poſt from Amaſia to Conſtantinople, and was there by the great Baſſaes and other his mighty fauourits ſaluted Emperour: which done, he preſently after cauſed all his brethren to be inuited to a ſolemne feaſt in the court: whereunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their father) came cheerefully, as men fearing no harme; but being come, were there all by his commandement moſt miſerably ſtrangled: and at once to rid himſelfe of the feare of all competitors (the greateſt torment of the Mighty) he the ſame day (as is reported) cauſed [illegible] of his fathers wiues and concubines, ſuch as by whom any iſſue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the ſea.

Mahomet ſaluted Emperor of the Turks.

He murthereth his brethren.

The Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court not before acquainted with the death of *Amurath*, neither with the choice that the great Baſſaes had without their priuity made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to ſee themſelues ſo diſappointed of ſuch ſpoiles as they reckoned due vnto them in the time of their vacancy, as men [illegible] riſe vp in a rage, and made ſuch hauock & ſpoile in the Imperiall city, as greater they could not well haue made, had there bin as yet no Emperor choſen at all; and not ſo contented, were now euen vpon the point to haue rifled the new Emperours court, and to haue laid violent hands vpon the perſon of himſelfe, in reuenge of the tyranny by him executed vpon his brethren and fathers wiues (which inhumane cruelty the Turkiſh Emperors eaſily excuſe by the name of the policy of their ſtate) for the appeaſing of which ſo dangerous a tumult, *Mahomet* called vnto him certaine of the chiefe men amongſt theſe ſeditious, ſuch as were thought to be able to do moſt with them, whom he ſought by faire perſuaſions and large promiſes [illegible] the reſt. Which ſerued him to little or no purpoſe vntill ſuch [illegible] came out with their followers: who [illegible] with moſt grieuous threats, and firme promiſe of a generall pardon, [illegible] the more ſafety, kept all the chiefe ſtreetes of the city with [illegible]. [illegible] thus ouerblowne, a new tent was by the commandement of the new Emperor ſet vp [illegible] Temple of *Sophia*: wherein on the right hand was placed the dead body of the [illegible] *Amurath* his father, and on the left hand the bodies of his nineteene ſtrangled brethren [illegible]

The Ianizaries in a tumult.

The tumult appeaſed.

[illegible]

A forth of purpoſe,as an heauy ſpectacle for the people to behold : who all not long after were
together with their father in great ſolemnity after the Turkiſh manner buried, and *Mahomet*
himſelfe (being about nine and twenty yeares old) now openly proclaimed great Emperor of
the Turks,and lord of all,from the riſing of the Sun,vnto the going downe of the ſame. After
that, returning to his palace, he made vnto his Baſſaes and other great men a ſumptuous and
royall feaſt,as the manner was:but whileſt they were in the midſt of their mirth, vpon the ſudden
all the city was againe in an vprore, and the people in armes, in ſuch ſort, as that it was
thought ſcarce one man would haue eſcaped aliue from that banket,had not the chiefe Baſſa
with his grauity and wiſedome and wonderfull labour in good time appeaſed their fury, and
withall to their great terror, cauſed all the great ordnance in the city to be brought forth into
B the ſtreets ready charged,to be ſhot off amongſt them.

The Ianizaries againe in an vprore.

Whileſt theſe troubles thus paſſed at Conſtantinople, vpon the late confederation made
betweene the Emperor,the Tranſyluanian Prince,the Valachians and Moldauians,diuers fortunate
inrodes and ſkirmiſhes were by them made in the frontiers of the Turks dominions,
many ſtrong places were ſurpriſed,many rich booties taken,and notable examples done,which
we will but briefely paſſe ouer, as the precedents of a greater war. The city of Weitze,before
taken by the Turks,was now againe in the beginning of this yeare recouered:and the Chriſtians
about Scuthia,in number about foure thouſand,breaking into the Turks frontiers, carried
away an exceeding rich prey,with diuers noble captiues. The like did alſo the Chriſtians of
Viuaria : at which time alſo the garriſon ſoldiers of Altenburg making a rode into the country
C about Rab,encountered with foure thouſand Turks,of whom they ſlew two hundred,tooke
certaine priſoners,whom they ſent ſome to Presburg,ſome to Altenburg : and *Sinan Baſſa* the
late Generall returning towards Conſtantinople with much treaſure, which he had greedily
ſcraped together in the late wars in Hungary, was by the Valachians ſet vpon by the way not
far from Belgrade,and ſtript of all that he had,hauing much ado to eſcape himſelfe with ſome
few of his followers. The ſame Valachians,together with the Tranſyluanians, vnder the conduct
of their valiant captaine *Geſtius Ferens*,entring further vpon the Turks, tooke from them
diuers of their townes and caſtles, as Pondeſie, Nicopliſe, Killa, and Rebnichi, and meeting
with twelue thouſand Tartars,ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. With
this inſolency of the Valachians his late tributaries,but now his enemies, the Turkiſh Emperour
D was highly offended : and therefore ſent one *Bogdanus* a Valachian borne, deſcended of
the Palatines houſe,with a great power to expulſe the old Vayuod,and to poſſeſſe himſelfe of
that honour,as his tributary;promiſing vnto him all fauour and kindneſſe. *Bogdanus* thus ſupported
and furniſhed, came with his power into Valachia; yet thought it beſt before he attempted
any great matter,to expect the comming of the Tartars left the laſt yeare in Hungary
by *Sinan* : of whoſe comming the Valachians and Tranſyluanians hauing vnderſtanding,
met them by the way,and ioyning battell with them,ſlew eight thouſand of them,put the reſt
to flight, and ſo returned : vnto whom preſently after this victory the Tranſyluanian Prince
ſent fourteene thouſand ſoldiers moe to aid them againſt the Turks. But *Bogdanus* vnderſtanding
both of the ouerthrow of the Tartars and the comming of this new ſupply,durſt not proceed
E any further in his enterpriſe,but kept himſelfe ſtill in his trenches. Not long after,by the
commandement of the Turkiſh Emperour, *Han* the Crim Tartar with a great power of his
Tartarian horſemen entred into Moldauia, with purpoſe to haue by fire and ſword reduced
that country againe vnto the Turks obeiſance : of whoſe comming *Aaron* Vayuod of Moldauia
hauing knowledge, and aided by his neighbour *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, ſo belaied
the Tartars,that he in three diuers battels ouerthrew them,and hauing ſlaine twelue thouſand
of them, enforced the reſt to retire againe out of his countrey: and following the courſe of
this victory, preſently after tooke Bendar, Schinitz, Tigna, Mechnis, with ſome other caſtles
and fortreſſes of the Turks neere vnto the riuer of Danubius, all which he furniſhed with his
owne garriſons ; and withall tooke in the rich countrey of Bobraga, the inhabitants thereof
F willingly ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, as men weary of the Turkiſh thraldome. With
like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Coſſackes, he ouerthrew *Ianicula* the ſonne of *Bogdanus*,
ſometime Vayuod of Moldauia, now ſent by *Mahomet* with a great power, as a moſt
fit inſtrument to trouble the Vayuod,and to recouer againe that countrey : with whom *Aaron*
couragiouſly encountering at Scarpetra, a mile from Danubius, ouerthrew him in plaine

Diuers fortunat rodes made by the Chriſtians vpon the Turks.

battell, and hauing ſlaine eight thouſand of his Turks, put him to flight, and tooke the ſpoile
of his whole campe. Neither yet ſo contented, marched preſently to Neſter Alba, where he G
put the Turks in great feare, and afterwards burnt the ſuburbs of the City, and ſo retired.

The Emperours Embaſſador dieth in priſon at Belgrade.

How *Amurath* the late Sultan in the beginning of theſe troubles, had at Conſtantinople
ſhut vp in priſon *Fredericke Krecowitz* the Emperours Embaſſador, is before declared. This
Embaſſadour *Sinan Baſſa* brought with him the laſt yeare when hee came into Hungary, who
after many indignities by him ſuffered both on the way and at Belgrade, there died: fiue of
whoſe ſeruants the falſe Baſſa cauſed to bee kept in ſtreit priſon, as guilty of their Maſters
death, ſo to auert the infamy thereof from himſelfe. But now lying himſelfe at Belgrade for
the better mannaging of this yeares warres, vpon the comming of a new Treaſurer from the
Court, hee cauſed the fiue poore priſoners to be brought before him, and moſt impudently H
charged them with the death of their Maſter: ſaying, That they ſhould anſwere for the ſame
vnto God and their Emperor; and that his purpoſe in bringing of him from Conſtantinople,
was to no other end, but to haue vſed his helpe in concluding a peace betweene the Great Sultan
and the Emperor, and ſo to haue ſet him with all his at liberty: But now that he was dead,
he would ſend them his treacherous ſeruants vnto the Emperour to be by him examined: and
withall to tell him, That hee was ſent from the Great Sultan, (whoſe power was not by any
but God onely to be withſtood) to beſiege Vienna, which he could (as he ſaid) the laſt yeare
haue taken with leſſe labour than he had done Rab: and that therefore it were beſt for him
betime to ſeeke for peace, before ſo great a power had taken the field: and that for further inſtructions,
he would referre them to his ſonne the Baſſa of Buda, to whom he ſent them from I
Belgrade, together with the new come Treaſurer. Being come to Buda, they were forthwith
brought before the Baſſa, and amongſt them the late Embaſſadours Secretary, vnto whom
after he had ſaid ſomewhat of the hard dealing with the Embaſſador and his followers, he declared
that hee had alwaies diſliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes entreated
his father for their liberty; and now at laſt to haue obtained, That the Embaſſadour beeing
dead, his ſeruants might be ſet free: and ſo put them in good hope, that they ſhould in ſhort
time be reſtored to their wonted liberty. In the meane time, That one of them ſhould go to
the Emperours Court, and there ſpeake with one of his ſecretaries, whom he had before aduiſed
to bethinke himſelfe of peace: vnto whom alſo he afterwards writ, vpon what conditions
he thought peace might be at the Sultans hand obtained. Which were, If all the caſtles and K
ſtrong holds taken by the Emperors forces in theſe wars, as Filek, Setchine, and Nouigrade,
with their territories, ſhould be reſtored, Siſeg in Croatia ſurrendered; if the Emperor ſhould
from thenceforth refuſe to aid or protect the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, & Valachians, and
leaue them to the Great Sultan to be chaſtiſed as rebels; if finally the Emperour would at
once ſend vnto the Turkes Court his wonted tribute for the yeares paſt, and ſo yearely afterwards:
ſo he could be content by the mediation of his father, to attempt to appeaſe the fierce
and inueterate diſpleaſure of the Sultan, and to further the treaty of peace. This he commanded
the Secretary to write, and to ſend it by the young Lord *Perling*, and to require thereof anſwere:
yet that he ſhould go with this condition, That if the ſaid *Perling* within the ſpace of
fiue and twenty daies returned not with anſwere, all the reſt ſhould for his default loſe their L
heads. A ſubtill deuice and full of deceit, wherein the crafty Baſſaes, both the father and the
ſon, ſought for nothing elſe but to ſee what confidence the Chriſtians had in themſelues, and
to breake the confederation made betweene the Emperour, the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians,
and Valachians: and that other Princes whom God had ſtirred vp in defence of ſo juſt a cauſe,
hearing of a rumour of peace, might grow cold, and deferre to ſend their promiſed aid. For
now the Turks had found by experience, how hurtfull and dangerous the reuolt of the three
countries of Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia was vnto them, as they which brought ten
hundred thouſand duckats yearely into the great Sultans Treaſury: beſides that, thoſe people
now become their enemies, were of all others fitteſt to intercept all manner of prouiſion
to be brought by land either to or from Conſtantinople, were it victuall or other warrelike M
prouiſion. Notwithſtanding this motion of peace made by the two Baſſaes, *Sinan* the old Baſſa
in the meane time, with great diligence at Belgrade prepared all things neceſſary for warre,
and cauſed three bridges to be made, whereby he might in diuers places as he thought beſt,
tranſport his army ouer Danubius; and at the ſame time ſent for the garriſons round about,

A and other ſouldiers before billited in the countrey, and put in readineſſe all things neceſſary for a moſt mortall warre.

The Baſſa's ſubtill demands anſwered with like.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperors court with anſwer to the letters written by the Embaſſadours ſecretary, at the commandement of the Baſſa; the effect whereof was, that he had receiued his letters by *Perling*, and did thereby vnderſtand what had paſſed betweene the captiue ſeruants of the late Embaſſador, and *Sinan Baſſa* at Belgrade, and alſo betweene them and *Sinan Baſſa* his ſon at Buda; and that the Emperors minde was neuer other, but that a firme peace might haue been made betweene him and the Sultan, and that the Emperour had done nothing elſe by his Embaſſadour at Conſtantinople, or by others in other places, but that ſuch reaſonable conditions might haue beene found out, as might haue ended B thoſe wars, and haue on both ſides deliuered their innocent ſubiects from their great and daily calamities, which might eaſily haue been done, if *Sinan* the author and fautor of this warre, had with like deſire furthered the peace. But that it was manifeſt vnto the whole World, that all complaints of infinit grieuances, being by the Embaſſador, yea, and by the Emperor himſelfe, by his letters laid open vnto the Sultan and his chiefe Baſſaes, had not only nothing preuailed, but alſo to haue beene with great contempt rejected, and the treaty of peace once begun, to haue by the inſolency of the Baſſa of Boſna been interrupted: That the Emperour because the matter ſhould not breake out into open war, had ſent his double tribute into the confines of Hungary, which was a great while laid vp at Comara vntill the Sultans minde were known. But when all his deſignes tended to war, and the Chriſtian Prouinces were by his robbers C on euery ſide ſpoiled, the inhabitants led away into moſt miſerable captiuity, the townes and villages burnt, yea, whole countries lay deſolate, and all manner of outrages were vpon a meere pride and contempt as it were of the whole World exerciſed: then the Emperour to haue taken his refuge vnto the defence of his juſt cauſe, and to haue vſed ſuch remedies as are both before God and the World to be allowed, and ſo by lawfull war to haue repulſed warre. And that although all had not the laſt yeare proſpered in his hand, but that he had receiued ſome loſſe; yet that *Sinan Baſſa* himſelfe, and the Baſſa of Buda his ſon, with other of the wiſer ſort of the Turks muſt needs confeſſe that to haue chanced, not by their wiſedome, policy or power, but by the ſufferance of God, by a rare misfortune, through the inexcuſable negligence and treaſon of ſuch as he had put in truſt with the confines of his empire, worthy moſt ſeuere D chaſtiſement. And that no man could deny, but that great powers of the Turks, had not once, but oftentimes bin ouerthrowne and diſcomfited, by ſmall handfuls of the Chriſtians: therefore their power not to be ſo inuincible, as they vainly vanted of. But wheras it is written, that the great Viſier *Sinan* and the Baſſa his ſonne are of opinion, that the Emperor is brought to ſo low an ebbe, that he muſt be glad to accept of moſt hard and diſhonorable conditions of peace propounded by them: therein they erre much, and deceiue themſelues far; for by the power of God they ſhould ſhortly by experience know, that his Imperiall Majeſty wanteth neither power nor wealth, to repaire the loſſe receiued through the treaſon of them he truſted, yea, and to recouer whatſoeuer he had loſt elſe: and that it ſhould in ſhort time be witneſſed vnto the whole World, by the help of God and the defence of a moſt juſt cauſe, that the Emperour E was not ſo poore and weake as they ſuppoſed him to be. Yet as he of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemency, with his owne incomparable loſſe and harme, had alwaies ſought for the quiet and profit of his ſubjects, and to the vttermoſt of his power ſtaid the effuſion of innocent bloud; ſo now alſo forgetting all injuries, he could happily be content to thinke of an honorable peace: whereunto he was more enclined than to protract the warre with the vnſpeakable harmes of the ſubjects on both ſides. Yet aboue all things it behooued *Sinan* to know, that he was to reſtore all ſuch caſtles and townes as had in this warre beene taken by the Turks, beginning at Wihitz in Croatia, euen to the laſt innocent ſubject by them caried away into captiuity. And that the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Walachians (people many ages joyned and vnited as inſeparable members to the kingdome of Hungary, as vnto the true body, and F now of late by the practiſe and treachery of certaine rebellious perſons ſeparated from the ſame) were from henceforth to be left vnder the protection and gouernment of his Imperiall Majeſty, and neuer more to be impugned by the Turks. If theſe things were done, and order taken that the injury and diſgrace done vnto the Emperours late Embaſſadour (a fact that all the Princes of the World cried ſhame of) might not remaine vnpuniſhed: and that his ſeruants in durance at Buda and Conſtantinople, might be reſtored vnto their wonted liberty; then ſome good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon: without which conditions, all talke of peace was but vaine: hoping that God the iuſt and mighty protector of ſuch as put their truſt in him, would not faile to helpe his Imperiall Maieſty, with the reſt of the confederat Princes, in their ſo iuſt a quarell, and abate the pride of ſuch as truſt in their owne ſtrength and power.

This anſwer the captiues at Buda were commanded to giue vnto the Baſſa, either by writing or by word of mouth: and withall earneſtly to requeſt him both for their owne liberty and their fellows, wrongfully detained at Conſtantinople. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themſelues with that, that they ſhould in bounteous manner receiue from the Emperour ſuch allowance, as ſhould ſuffice to prouide them things neceſſary: as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might haue iuſtly detained and not ſent him backe againe, but for his oaths ſake, being no lawfull priſoner. Thus were the vnreaſonable conditions of peace craftily by the Baſſa propounded, by others anſwered: but by whom he knew not, no mans name being ſet thereunto.

The Turks Embaſſadours ſent vnto the Polonian King ſlain in Valachia.

The Emperor not ignorant with what an enemy he had to do, and of nothing more carefull than of the kingdome (or more truly to ſay, of the reliques of the kingdome) of Hungary, lying now as it were in the Lyons mouth, ceaſed not to pray aid, not of the Princes electors only, but of others alſo farther off; yea euen as far as Italy and Spaine, but eſpecially of the King of Polonia, as his neere alliance and neighbor. Vnto whom both he and the States of Hungary ſent their Embaſſadours, at ſuch time as he, moued with the daily incurſions of the Turks and Tartars into the countries adioyning vpon his, had for the ſafety of his owne Kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in February laſt, at Cracouia. Whereof *Mahomet* the Great Turke hearing, ſent alſo two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vſual Embaſſadors, vnto the king and his States ſo aſſembled, to craue his aid in his wars in Hungary: which if the King ſhould not refuſe, then to promiſe him to want no coine to pay his ſouldiers, and that *Mahomet* mindfull of ſo great a courteſie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his occaſions ſhould require. Theſe Embaſſadors, hauing obtained ſafe conduct from *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia for their paſſage through his country, comming thither, were by the Vayuod himſelfe honourably entertained and welcommed, and ſo brought into a faire lodging, where they diſcourſed with him of many matters. But the Vayuods followers, grieued to ſee ſo great honor done to theſe his ſworne and mortall enemies, with weapons in their hands brake into the roome where the Embaſſadors were, and without more adoe ſlew them both: and in the ſame fury ſetting vpon the reſt of the Turks their followers, cut them all in pieces, ſo that of them none came into Polooia to do their great Maſters meſſage, either yet returned to Conſtantinople to carry newes of the reſt, but there altogether periſhed. Of which outrage *Mahomet* yet vnderſtanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatening all euils both to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith ſent out other Embaſſadors to the ſame purpoſe, who with better fortune afterwards arriued in Polonia.

The Tartars in many places (as is before declared) ouerthrown, and many ſtrong caſtles and forts taken from the Turks by the Tranſyluanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkiſh affaires going to wracke in thoſe quarters, and ſore ſhaken on that ſide of Hungary; *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour called home to the Court *Sinan Baſſa* his Generall in Hungary, to conferre with him (as it was thought) of ſome great matters. In whoſe place he ſent *Ferat Baſſa*, he who ſometime had the leading of *Amuraths* great armies againſt the Perſians: who now departing from Conſtantinople, came to Belgrade in Aprill, and there tooke the charge vpon him. Where at his firſt comming, in the night time all the ropes and cords of the tents were ſuddenly cut in ſunder, and ſo the tent let fall about his eares: which ſome ſuppoſed to haue beene done to his diſgrace, by the proourement of *Cicala Baſſa*, before by him wronged; or as others thought, by the inſolent Ianizaries, who diſliking of him, did it in deſpight, wiſhing rather to haue beene led by *Mahomet* himſelfe.

The Plague & Famine among the Turks.

Now at his comming, the Famine which the laſt yére began amongſt the Turks, was growne exceeding great, not at Buda and Belgrade only, but euen generally in moſt places of Hungary poſſeſſed by the Turks: inſomuch that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roaſt their owne children and eat them. This Famine was alſo accompanied with a moſt terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the

A the Turks and Tartars died dayly: ſo that of foureſcore fiue thouſand Tartars which came the laſt yeare into Hungary, now remained ſcarce eight thouſand, the reſt being all deuoured with the Sword, famine, and the Peſtilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes ſtill dayly receiued from the late reuolted countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the Chriſtians of thoſe places ſeeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, not contented with that they had already done, but entring into the Turks frontiers, ſurpriſed Scihmele, together with the caſtle; wherin he found fourteene field pieces, amongſt which were two which had vpon them the armes of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Huniades*; which pieces he afterward ſent as a preſent to the Tranſyluanian Prince. After that, he tooke Oroſige, a famous B port towne, the dwelling place of the Turks great purueyor for butter, cheeſe, and hony, and ſuch other prouiſion for the court; wherein he found ſuch ſtore of the aforeſaid prouiſion, as might well haue ſufficed eight thouſand men for a whole yeare: and ſtill proſecuting his good fortune, took from the Turks Gileç and Kalempe, with the ſtrong caſtle of S. *George*, commonly called Grigio, and at length beſieged Laganoc.

Michael Vayuod of Valachia doth the Turks great harme.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Chriſtian army, from the aſſembly of the Nobility of Hungary at Presburg, to Vienna, and ſo from thence to the Emperor his brother at Prague; who appointed him Generall of the lower Hungary; and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper Hungary: giuing them for their Lieutenants, vnto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the County *Charles Manſ*-C *felt*, by him ſent for out of Flanders, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. *Iohn de Medices*, who was yet in Hungary, he made Maſter of the great ordnance, with charge to fortifie Komara; which he ſo well performed, as that it was thought nothing in ſtrength inferiour to Rab. All this while the Emperor ceaſed not by his Embaſſadors and letters to ſolicite the Chriſtian Princes, for the repreſſing of the common enemy, to put too their helping hands: and ſo much preuailed with them, that out of his owne hereditary prouinces, and from other Princes his friends, he had this Spring raiſed a right puiſſant and ſtrong army for the defence of Hungary: which how it was raiſed, and from whom, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to remember, as the chiefe ſtrength vnder God, whereby the Chriſtian commonweale was this yeare moſt notably defended. Out of the higher Saxony came a thouſand two hun-D dred horſemen, and out of the lower Saxony ſix hundred: from Franconia a thouſand horſemen: from Sueuia foure thouſand footmen: out of the County of Tirol as many: from Bauaria three thouſand: out of Bohemia two thouſand men at armes, ſix hundred light horſemen, and ſix thouſand footmen: from Sileſia a thouſand fiue hundred horſemen: from Luſatia fiue hundred horſe and a thouſand foot: from Morauia a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot: out of Auſtria two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot: from Hungary fiue hundred horſemen and a thouſand foot: from the nobility of Sueuia and Francouia foure thouſand foot: from the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries vnder the conduct of *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, two thouſand horſemen and ſix thouſand foot: vnto theſe the Biſhop of Rome added two thouſand horſemen, and eight thouſand foot: the great Duke of Florence ſent fiue hundred E horſe & three thouſand foot: the Duke of Ferrara a thouſand fiue hundred footmen: the Duke of Mantua a thouſand foot: and the Duke *Venturee* fiue hundred horſe. All which being put together, fill vp the number of fifteene thouſand nine hundred horſemen, and fiftie thouſand fiue hundred foot. Which notable army, raiſed from the power of diuers Chriſtian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chiefetains, had by the goodneſſe of God much better ſucceſſe this Summer againſt the antient enemies of Chriſtendome, than had the like army the yeare before: as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtory ſhall appeare.

The notable army of the Chriſtians, and from whence it was raiſed.

Among the worthy Commanders that were in this puiſſant army, *Charles* County *Manſfelt* the ſonne of *Peter Erneſtus* the old County, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the King of Spaine at the requeſt of the Emperor ſent with the aforeſaid forces of two thou-F ſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot out of the Low-countries, as a man for his approued valor and direction, fit to mannage theſe dangerous warres againſt the Turks vnder *Matthias* the Archduke, as his Lieutenant Generall: who hauing raiſed the appointed forces, for moſt part Wallons, departed from Bruxelles about the midſt of February, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at Luxenburg, and trauelling through Germany, came in March to Prague, where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother moſt honourably entertained, G and ſhortly after with great ſolemnity created one of the Princes of the Empire. His forces following after him, were by the way ſtaied, partly by the inundation of waters (the riuers they were to paſſe ouer at that time riſing to an vnwonted height) partly by the jealouſie of ſome of the German Princes, who denied them paſſage through their territories, vntil ſuch time as that the Emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which Princes for all that ſtood vpon their guard, and ſo gaue him paſſage.

Now ran great rumors of wonderfull preparations of the Turks, as alſo of the Chriſtians; Fame after her wonted manner, encreaſing the report of all things aboue meaſure: which cauſed the Turks with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, eſpecially of Rab and Strigonium, as did the Chriſtians to the fortification of Comara and Altenburg. H In the meane time many hot skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the Chriſtians and the Turks, eſpecially in the late reuolted countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia, wherein the Turks were ſtill put to the worſe, to the great diſcontentment of their Emperour. Neere vnto Temeſware the Baſſa of Buda was ouerthrowne, by the valiant Captaine *Geſtius Ferentz*, and the Tranſyluanians. And in Valachia the Turks Generall entering with a great army, was there alſo by the Lord *Nadaſti* and the Valachians, aided with the Tranſyluanians, in a great battell diſcomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thouſand of the Turks heads in token of this victory the Lord *Nadaſti* ſent to Alba-Iulia to the Tranſyluanian Prince, and certaine enſignes, amongſt which was one moſt richly garniſhed with pretious ſtones and pearles, thought to be worth thirty thouſand dollars; which the Prince afterward reſtored againe to *Nadaſti*, I offering him great poſſeſſions in Tranſyluania, if he could haue been content there to haue ſeated himſelfe.

Ferat Baſſa ouerthrown in Valachia.

All this Spring the Turks countenanced their warrs with greater boaſts and threats, than true force; giuing it out, That they would in ſhort time worke wonders both by ſea and land. For the more credit wherof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat, was ſent out with twelue gallies; who landing here and there vpon the coaſts of Italy, did much harme, cauſing it to be reported in euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a wonderfull fleet was to follow him: which raiſed a great feare, as well in other places, as in Italy. Howbeit, no ſuch fleet afterwards appeared: for why, the Turkiſh Emperour, much troubled with the reuolt of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and the great mortality then raging K both among his ſouldiers and their horſes, was not at leiſure to looke into the ſea, hauing his hands full enough with the troubles of Hungary, where his men of war enjoyed little reſt in the frontiers of his territories.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian Prince, had vpon ſome juſt cauſes, of late ſuſpected *Aaron* the Vayuod of Moldauia, to haue intelligence not only with the Polonians, but alſo with the Cardinall, *Bator*, and other his mortall enemies, and ſecretly to haue been about to make his peace with *Mahomet*, and ſo againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: which vehement ſuſpition growing dayly more and more, was about this time manifeſtly confirmed by certain letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the Prince cauſed *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his wife and ſonne to be ſent as priſoners to Prague: in whoſe roome L he by the conſent of the nobility of the country, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wiſe and diſcreet man amongſt them, and ſuch an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in him was, prouiding, that that country ſhould not be rent from him and the vnion of the other. But againſt the ſecret practiſes of the Polonians, he proteſted openly by letters vnto the Emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull ſubjects, to redreſſe thoſe ſo great injuries himſelfe by the ſword.

Mahomet ſendeth Embaſſadours to the prince of Tranſyluania.

In the middeſt of theſe troubles came three Chiaus, Embaſſadors from the Turkiſh Sultan vnto the Prince, to perſuade him againe to put himſelfe into his protection, and to giue him paſſage through his country, as in former time, into Hungary; promiſing him, that all the injuries by him or his people don, ſhould be for euer forgotten and forgiuen: M and that he ſhould haue thoſe three countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, as his owne free inheritance, without paying any tribute, and ſo to be accounted as the Turks moſt louing friend and vaſſall. What the Prince anſwered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterwards it was eaſily to be gathered, that he hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the faithleſſe

A tyrant, truſting more vnto the league he had with the Chriſtian Emperour. Theſe Embaſſadours were ſcarce gone, but that a ſecret meſſenger came with letters from the chiefe of the Chriſtians in Bulgaria to the Prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good ſucceſſe proſecute his wars, they would be ready to ſollow his fortune, and to joyne hands with him againſt the cruell tyrant, and to ſhut vp all the paſſages that way into Valachia, Moldauia and Hungary.

Whileſt theſe troubleſome times thus paſſed in Tranſyluania and Hungary, one of the old Ianizaries called *Waſuode Giezi*, an old ſouldier, but a confident bold ſpoken fellow, moued as ſhould ſeeme with the diſcontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at Conſtantinople, and there openly ſet vpon him with this rough and abrupt ſpeech:

B

How loug at laſt, moſt mighty Emperour, wilt thou endure thy ſelfe to be ſeduced and blinded by the great Baſſaes of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou ſuffer thy ſelfe to be deceiued, to the great danger of thy ſelfe, and hurt of thy ſubjects? Seeſt thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly they, moued only with their owne couetous and ambitious humour, haue hitherto dealt with thee and thy father? eſpecially in that, that perſuaded by them, thou haſt diſhonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes againſt the Chriſtian Emperour. At length open thine eies and ſee their deceit, and how much they abuſe thy power. Sinan Baſſa, *who muſt haue himſelfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by ſtrong hand honourably woon Rab, as hath been the manner of thine Anceſtors, but hath craftily bought it with thy mony, and thereby caſt thee into a moſt dangerous war and infi-*
C *nite troubles. O Rab, Rab, now the cauſe of great triumph and rejoycing, as if thereby all Chriſtendome ſhould in ſhort time be ſubdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceiued; thy barnes, thy ſtorehouſes, as are Tranſyluania, Valachia, Moldauia, Bulgaria, and other prouinces adjoyning, from whence this thy Imperiall City of Conſtantinople, with the country about it, thy Court, yea, thy ſelfe art to be relieued, are by this war ſhut vp; ſo that downe the riuer of Danubius out of the Weſt, or by the Euxine out of the Eaſt, thou art not able to looke for any prouiſion. From whence then ô moſt mighty Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy ſelfe, thy Court, this populous City, and the Country hereabout? Not to ſpeake in the meane time of thy mighty Army now in Hungary, fleſh fiſh, corne, all manner of victuall are now at ſuch a price, that the common ſouldiers cannot buy them. In this extreame dearth all things, not men only, but euen the very beaſts and cattell ſtarue for hunger. Thy horſes go fat perhaps into Hungary, but neither*
D *thou nor thy ſelect ſouldiers can liue by graſſe and weeds, all that is left in that country. This miſery and calamity of thy people thou ſeeſt dayly, and yet thou wilt not with ſound judgement lift vp thine eies, to ſee from whence theſe harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greateſt truſt, ſtudy not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but only how by all meanes to enrich themſelues.*

The preſumptuous ſpeech of one Waſuode an old Ianizary, to Mahomet the great Sultan.

Mahomet much mooued with the confident ſpeech of the old Ianizary, commanded him to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire meanes to be examined, by whoſe ſetting on, and for what cauſe he had ſo boldly vttered this rude ſpeech vnto his Soueraigne, and what further things he had intended: but the reſt of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, riſe preſently in
E a tumult, and by ſtrong hand tooke him out of priſon, and by ſolemne oath combined themſelues to defend him, euen to the ſpending of their owne bloud, whereat *Mahomet* was glad to winke.

The greateſt part of the aid promiſed by the Chriſtian Princes for the maintenance of this yeres wars againſt the Turks being now come to Vienna in Auſtria, County *Mansfelt* Lieutenant General vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a Councell of the Colonels, captains, and other great commanders of the army, to conſult with them what courſe to take for the begining of this great war: as whether they ſhould preſently lay ſiege to ſome towne of the Enemies, or elſe to expect him in the plaine field, and to giue him battell. All things well conſidered, and that reſolued vpon which was thought moſt expedient, he remoued from Vienna to
F Altenburg, where he muſtered his whole army; and departing thence, with ſome few of his followers came to Walkenburg, a village vpon the ſide of Danubius, where he made choice of a place to encampe his army in: which after he had marked out, he returned againe with ſpeed to Altenburg, and by open proclamation thorow the Campe gaue ſtreit commandement, That againſt a certaine houre euery man ſhould be in readineſſe to remoue and ſet forward

The Army of the Chriſtians muſtered at Altenburg.

The vigilant carefulneſſe of County Manſfelt.

Dotis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

ward toward the enemy:but diuers of the ſouldiers, and eſpecially the Germans, began forthwith after their wonted manner to cry out for their pay before they would ſtir any further: ſo that the County was glad by a ſecond proclamation to command them to ariſe, promiſing them their pay within eight days. But they ſtil ſtanding vpon their former reſolution for their pay, refuſed any further to follow their captains, and ſent ſix of the beſt ſort among thoſe mutinous ſoldiers to the County, in the name of all the reſt to demand their pay; whom he forthwith commanded to be all hanged: but three of them hauing reaſonably excuſed themſelues, he let them go, and cauſing the other three to caſt lots for their liues, hanged vp two of them. Which ſeuere execution ſo terrified the reſt, that vpon the ſigne giuen they all riſe, and with the reſt of the army followed the County. The whole army being come to Walkenburg vnto the place where they were to encamp; the County himſelfe with others of the nobility began with ſpades & ſhouels to dig and caſt vp the trenches, and ſo wrought vntill they ſweat again, with whoſe example all the reſt of the army, of what degree ſoeuer, being moued to labor, had in ſhort time caſt vp a very great trench from Danubius vnto the Mariſhes, large enough for 80000 men to incamp in, the great worke with wreſtleſſe labor going forward both night and day vntill it was fully finiſhed. The County lying thus intrenched with his army, was ſtill carefull by his eſpials to vnderſtand where the enemy lay, and what he did. He was ready ſtill to heare all, but to beleeue that which ſeemed moſt like to be true: what he purpoſed, he kept moſt ſecret, ſo that the enemy could neuer diſcouer any of his deſignes (wherein the Generals of late yeares before him had much erred:) and commonly his moſt certaine reſolutions were ſhadowed vnder the open ſhew of ſome other matter nothing meant: ſecurity he much abhorred, as neuer free from danger: and although it was by diuers meſſengers brought vnto him, That the enemy was but of ſmall ſtrength, vnable to meet him, diſorderly incamped, and in great diſtreſſe for want of victuals; yet would he giue little credit thereunto, as knowing ſuch reports to haue oftentimes bin giuen out by the Turks, of purpoſe to lull the Chriſtians in ſecurity, the more eaſily to oppreſſe them. The Chriſtian army thus ſtrongly entrenched, and the trenches planted with great ordnance, the County himſelfe with certain troups of horſemen would oftentimes ſhew himſelfe before Rab, and ſometime before Dotis, viewing ſometime the one place, and ſometime the other, as if he had verily purpoſed to haue beſieged one of them: and to giue the greater ſhew that he had ſo determined, he cauſed the ground to be marked out for his army moſt conueniently to incamp in, and for the caſting vp of his mounts. Which cauſed the Turks of Strigonium, Veſprinium, Palotta, and other places farther off, to ſend part as well of their warlike prouiſion, as of their garriſon ſouldiers, ſome to Rab, ſome to Dotis, for the defence of thoſe places, neereſt as they thought vnto danger. The County in the meane time hauing now put all things in readineſſe, came with his army and ſate downe before Dotis, demanding to haue it yeelded vnto him. And rhe more to confirme the Turks that he would aſſuredly beſiege that place, he began to caſt vp his trenches, and to raiſe his mounts as ſeemed moſt conuenient; ſtreitly commanding euery man of what condition ſoeuer, to put his hand in ſome meaſure to the furtherance of thoſe works: and the more by his own example to encourage others, would oftentimes himſelf carry a faggot or ſome other thing before him vpon his horſe for the raiſing of the mount. For all that, certain Hungarian gentlemen diſdaining ſuch baſe labor (as they deemed it) refuſed to do any thing therein: which the County perceiuing ſtreitly charged one of them by his example, to carry a fagot to the mount: which the Hungarian gentleman refuſing, the County therewith much moued, laid the fagot he was carrying himſelf, before the Hungarian vpon his horſe, charging him to ſee that he caried it to the appointed place. the Hungarian diſdainfully taking it, carried it vntill he thought he was out of the Counties ſight, and then in ſcorn threw it down: which the County (hauing ſtill an eie after him) perceiuing, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid to be preſently hanged vpon the next tree for his obſtinacy. Which wholſome ſeuerity, both then and afterwards cauſed others more diligently to doe what they were commanded by their ſuperiours.

An obſtinate Turke.

It happened about this time, that three Turks being taken priſoners, were brought into the camp: whom the County ſtreitly examined of many matters. But the firſt of the three could neither by faire or foule means be induced to anſwer to any thing that he was asked; and was therefore by the commandement of the County in the ſight of the other two cut into ſmall pieces. Who terrified with his diſmembring, confeſſed many things whereof they were asked:

and

A and among others, That the Turkiſh Sultan had determined to turne his greateſt forces into Tranſyluania, Moldauia, and the vpper part of Hungary; and therefore would this Summer ſend ſmall forces or els none at all into thoſe quarters.

Now was Dotis ſo belaied by the County, as that no man doubted but that he had therein purpoſed to haue gaged his whole forces, when ſuddenly the laſt of Iune, commandement was giuen through the campe, That euery man vpon ſigne giuen, ſhould be in readineſſe to follow his leaders, for that the County had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whether the army was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commanders. As for to go to Strigonium, few there were that ſo much as dreamed thereof, all was kept ſo ſecret: yet was it the Counties purpoſe euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that city, B which the Archduke had in vaine the laſt yere beſieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the County riſe with all his army, and the next day being the firſt of Iuly, came to Strigonium, they of the city not hearing of his comming before they ſaw him vnder their walls. Wherefore the Turks in the ſuburbs called the Raſcian city, and they in the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill, deſpairing of the keeping of thoſe places, ſetting fire on the houſes, and defacing the fort ſo much as in that ſudden feare they poſſibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the County without reſiſtance tooke the aforeſaid places forſaken by the Turks, which he manned with certaine companies of Wallons, and made a bridge of boats ouer Danubius, caſt vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the ſiege. In three daies he had againe repaired the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turks, and therein pla- C ced foure great pieces of artillery, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, and in other places to ſtreit the beſieged more than they had bin the yere before. The Baſſa of Buda not ignorant of the want both of men & munition in the beſieged city, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before ſent part of their gariſon with ſhot & pouder to Rab and Dotis) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the ſiege) to haue by the riuer put new ſupplies both of men and munition into the city: but was ſtil by the diligence of the Chriſtians excluded, and enforced with loſſe to returne. In ſhort time the lower towne, which they call Waſſerſtat, or the Water-towne, was with continuall battery ſore beaten, ſo that ſcarcely any houſe or building was left whole; and a counterſcarſe made the laſt yeare beaten downe. Whereunto certaine Wallons were ſent, onely to haue viewed the bredth and manner of the D ditches: after whom certaine companies of the Hungarian Heidons preſently followed, without any command of their captaines; who with great courage got to the top of another high counterſcarſe, & there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes. Which the Turks beholding, & comming on cloſe together, by plain force enforced them with loſſe to retire. Among theſe Hungarians were diuers alſo of the Wallons ſlaine, with ſome others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the County, being not a little offended with that diſordered ſeruice: yet day & night the battery ceaſed not, & the Chriſtians out of their trenches with their musket ſhot ſlew many of the Turks vpon the wals, receiuing little harme again, the Turks ſtil ſhooting ſparingly, for feare of wanting ſhot and pouder at their greater need; yet that they ſpent they beſtowed ſo well, that amongſt others they had ſlain foure of the Chriſtian canoniers, and one Wallon E captaine. About the midſt of Iuly the County with continuall battery had made the Water-towne (as he thought) ſaultable: and therefore ſent certain companies to begin the aſſault, who hauing paſſed the counterſcarſe, found the ditch full of deep mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the Turks, ſo that it was thought ſcarce poſſible to be paſſed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wal, with ſtrong bulwarks, and within al this was another new caſt ditch, and vpon the very brinke therof a thicke and high parapet: all which for all that, certain companies of Wallons with great labor and danger adventured to paſſe: but ſuch was the valour of the defendants, and the ſmall number of them that came on to the aſſault, with the diſaduantage of the place wherein they ſtood, that at length they were glad to retire with the loſſe of many of their fellows. The Chriſtians in the beginning of this ſiege had taken a little F Iſland in the riuer before the city, which was kept with ſome few companies of the Lord *Palſi* his Heidons; whereof the Turks hauing intelligence at Buda, with three gallies and certaine other veſſels, landed in the Iſland 3000 ſoldiers, which ſlew the Heidons, vnto whom no ſuccor could be ſuddenly ſent, and ſo recouered againe the Iſland: wherein they left a ſufficient garriſon for the keeping thereof, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and ſo departed.

County Mansfield remoueth with the army from Dotis to Strigonium.

The Chriſtians repulſed.

About three daies after the former aſſault, the Chriſtians in hope of better ſucceſſe, the ſecond time aſſailed the Water-towne, in which aſſault the chiefe leaders were the Lord *Grein* and *Anthony Zinne* a famous captaine, had he not ſtained his honour with County *Hardecke* at Rab, but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the reſt appointed to that ſeruice, moſt couragiouſly aſſault the breach, but were againe by the Turks notably repulſed, and enforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault, and ſo to retire with the loſſe of 150 men: among whom *Zinne* himſelfe was ſlaine, with one Captaine *Bager*, and ſome of the Counties owne Guard: the Lord *Greis* was wounded in the head, and the younger Lord *Schwendi* with diuers other Captaines grieuouſly hurt. The next day after, 600 of the mountaine people came into the campe vnto the County, with ſupplications to requeſt him, Not to giue ouer the ſiege vntill he had woon the City; promiſing him in the name of thoſe Townes and Villages from whence they were ſent, Of their own charges to repaire for him what harme ſo euer he ſhould do in the City for the taking thereof, yea, though he ſhould lay it euen with the ground: for why? the harmes they dayly receiued from the gariſon of that City were wonderfull.

Mahomet carefull of Strigonium.

At the ſame time alſo he was aduertiſed, by his eſpials (of whom he maintained many for the diſcouery of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Sultan had writ vnto the Baſſa of Buda, carefully to prouide that his beloued city of Strigonium tooke no harme, and not to ſpare either for men or mony in time to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the aduice and good liking of his old and faithfull ſeruant *Alis-Beg*, who of long time had gouerned and alſo defended that city: and to the intent that nothing ſhould be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had ſent *Alexander*, Aga of the Ianizaries from the Court (whoſe ſeruice he might ill haue ſpared) whoſe approued counſell and helpe he might alſo vſe in all things; for that he had rather loſe ſome other whole kingdome, than that one city: And that therefore he ſhould beware that it were not by the enemy woon, or by any compoſition yeelded; wherein if he failed, he threatened vnto him his heauy diſpleaſure, not to be appeaſed without the price of his head. Which ſo ſeuere a commandement of the great Sultans the Baſſa ſent to them of Strigonium; with moſt grieuous threats from himſelfe, if they, terrified with any battery, vndermining, or aſſault, ſhould yeeld the city, & not hold it out as became valiant ſouldiers vnto the laſt man; ſwearing to impale them al vpon ſtakes that ſhould conſent to the yeelding vp thereof. The old gouernor *Alis-Beg* hauing receiued this ſo ſtreit a command from him that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened; vtterly to deter the ſouldiers from once thinking of yeelding, cauſed diligent enquiry to be made throughout the gariſon, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yeelding vp the city, or otherwiſe murmured againſt their captains or commanders appointing them to any ſeruice: and ſuch as he found to haue ſo done, he to the terror of others cauſed to be preſently executed: and after that went downe himſelfe into the lower towne, to ſee that nothing were there wanting or amiſſe, where moſt danger was. But when he would haue again returned into the vpper town, he was ſtaied by the Ianizaries, who told him, That ſeeing he was of ſo valiant and couragious a mind, and their Gouernor, he ſhould there ſtay with them, and take ſuch part as they did, were it better or worſe: and ſo would he, or would he not, there needs ſtay he muſt.

Now the Baſſaes of Buda and Temeſware, with diuers Sanzackes as well of thoſe parts of Hungary which the Turks poſſeſſed, as other places, were aſſembling their forces for the reliefe of the beſieged in Strigonium: whereof the Tranſyluanian Prince hearing, made ſhew as if he would forthwith haue beſieged Temeſware, ſo that the Baſſa thereof leauing the intended expedition for Strigonium, was glad to returne for the defence of his owne charge. They alſo of Stiria, Carinthia, and Croatia, with the troups of County *Serinus* had ſo ſtopped all the paſſages, that twelue thouſand Turks which were comming from Zigeth and the places thereabout, could by no meanes come to ioyne themſelues with their fellowes for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed city.

The higher city of Strigonium battered by the Christians.

The County leauing nothing vnattempted or vndon that might help for the gaining of Strigonium, had made a notable fort vpon *S. Thomas* hill, and therein placed fiue great culuerins: wherewith he furiouſly battered the higher city, and did therein great harme: and thereby alſo brought to paſſe that no man could goe vp or downe the hill betwixt the vpper towne and the lower, but he was in danger to be ſet off with thoſe pieces, or the musketiers; who defended by thoſe great pieces, lay vpon the ſide of the hil in caues and buſhes, awaiting for ſuch as

A ſhould go vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Chriſtians at one time battered the
vpper towne, the lower towne, and the ſtrong towne and fort of Gokara, ſtanding on the further
ſide of Danubius ouer againſt Strigonium, beſieged by the lord *Palſi*. But of all theſe places,
Gokara was with the fury of the great ordnance moſt ſhaken: which the County perceiuing,
cauſed the battery to be encreaſed, and ſo continued, vntill he had beaten downe the counterſcarſe,
and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Morauians (vnto whoſe
lot it fell) the one and twentieth of Iuly gaue an aſſault in fiue diuers places, whom the Lord
Palſi ſeconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpoſe appointed, beſide their
armes, to bring things with them for the firing of the towne; which they in the time of the aſſault
found meanes ſo well to beſtow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. The
B Turks at firſt made notable reſiſtance, but finding themſelues ouerpreſſed, and ſeeing the town
now on a fire about their eares, which with the wind ſo encreaſed, that it caught hold of the
lower towne on the other ſide of the riuer; they retired to the riuer ſide, where ſome of them
by boats got ouer to Strigonium, other ſome periſhed in the riuer, the reſt falling into the
hands of the Chriſtians, were by them all put to the ſword. Gokara thus taken, and the fire
quenched, the Chriſtians repairing the breaches, and ſtoring it with all warlike prouiſion, left
in it a ſtrong garriſon. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the Turks horſmen
deſcried in a field faſt by, which cauſed an alarme to be raiſed in the campe, as if the whole
army of the Turks had bin at hand: howbeit thoſe horſemen retiring, and no other appearing,
it was afterwards knowne, that they were only ſcouts ſent out by the Turkes to take view of
C the army of the Chriſtians, in what ſort they lay encamped.

Gokara taken by the Chriſtians.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned, that a young country fellow ſecretly ſent out of
the city by the Gouernor, and falling into the hands of *Palſi*, was by him ſent to the County;
by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whether he was going,
and whereabouts? Whereunto the youth frankly anſwered, That he was ſent from the Gouernor
with letters to the Baſſa of Buda; which he preſently drew out of his boſome, and deliuered
them vnto the County: who after he had read them, cauſed them to be cloſed vp againe,
and ſo deliuered to the yong man, with ſome few crownes, commanding him to carry them to
the Baſſa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Baſſaes anſwer, promiſing for his
ſo doing to reward him bountifully: which the yong man vndertooke to do, and ſo departed.
D Now the purport of the Gouernours letters was, That if the Baſſa did not within ſix or ſeuen
daies ſend him aid and relieue him, he ſhould for want of victuals & other things neceſſary for
the holding out of the ſiege, be inforced either to abandon the city, or to yeeld it vp into the
enemies hands. Wherunto the Baſſa returned anſwer by the aforeſaid meſſenger, that he would
within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the meane time to be mindfull of his
wonted valor, and not to be with any thing diſcouraged: appointing him the day, the houre,
the way, the meane, with all the other circumſtances how he would relieue him. Which letters
the yong man according to his promiſe deliuered vnto the County: who thereupon prouided
accordingly for the welcomming of the Baſſa. Within a day after alſo, one of the Turks canoniers
conſidering the danger the city lay in, and fearing that it would be loſt, fled out of it into
E the camp: who beſides that he aptly declared the ſtate of the city, and the wants the beſieged
were in, did alſo afterwards good ſeruice during the time of the ſiege. The Turks had in this
while many times ſallied out to their great loſſe: yet now vpon hope of better ſucceſſe, they
aduentured the 29 of this moneth to ſally out againe, but with like fortune as before, leauing
fourſcore of their men behind them, hauing ſlaine but fiue of the Chriſtians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the ſpace of a moneth right worthily defended Strigonium,
expecting ſtill for reliefe. At length news was brought into the camp, That the Baſſa
of Buda with 20000 men was comming to raiſe the ſiege: who the ſecond of Auguſt came accordingly,
and with his army encamped within foure miles of the Chriſtians: lying ſo nigh,
that certaine of the Turks horſemen ſeeking after booty, came very neere vnto the camp of the
F Chriſtians, and out of the paſtures, euen vnder their noſes, carried away ſome few horſes:
againſt theſe deſperat aduenturers, certaine troups of the Hungarian and German horſemen
iſſuing out, had with them an hot skirmiſh; but the Turks of purpoſe retiring as men ouercharged,
and the Chriſtians ſtill following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place
where diuers other troups of the Turkes lay in ambuſh for them, who now ſtarting forth, on

A skirmiſh betwixt the Turks & the Chriſtians.

A cruell battell betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks before Strigonium.

The Turkes ouerthrown.

euery ſide hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horſemen well acquainted with ſuch
skirmiſhes, ſeeing the danger, preſently fled and left the Germans to themſelues: who for a G
while valiantly encountered their enemies, but oppreſſed with multitude, were glad at laſt to
fly alſo. In this skirmiſh of the Chriſtians were loſt and grieuouſly wounded about 100. The
Turks encouraged with this ſo proſperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their army,
being before reſolued, by plaine force to open themſelues a way into the city, and ſo to
relieue the beſieged. Of all theſe things was not the County ignorant, as thereof forewarned
by the Baſſaes letters before deliuered vnto him; and had therefore with his army ſtrongly
belaied all the waies vnto the city. Neuertheleſſe the enemy came ſtill on betweene the hills
S. *Thomas* and S. *George*, and neere vnto the ſuburbs called the Raſcian city, put themſelues in
order of battell, as did alſo the Chriſtians, giuing the enemy leaue to come euen to their trenches. H
In the mean time the Lord *Palſi* with his Hungarian horſmen fetching a compaſſe about
the hill on the one ſide, and the Lord *Swartzenburg* with his horſemen on the other, had ſo inclosed
the Turks behind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies orderly
ranged, and the ſignall of battell giuen, the Turks hauing before without any great harm
done diſcharged 17 field pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a moſt hideous cry,
and at the firſt onſet, with their Turkiſh arrowes, as with a thick ſhoure darkned the sky: when
on the other ſide the German and Wallon horſmen with their petronels ſent their deadly ſhot
as thicke as haile amongſt them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to
their coſt, how vnfit their light and halfe naked horſemen were in a ſet battell to meet with
them ſo well appointed: in a trice, but not without great ſlaughter, the battell was brought to I
the ſword, and to be tried by true valor: There was to be heard a cry heauens high, the thundering
of artillery both great and ſmal, the clattering of armor, the gliſtering weapons, the neighing
of the horſes, the crying of the wounded, the heauy groanings of the dying, with the noiſe
of the trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, made deafe the ears of the hearers, preſenting
vnto them nothing but horor and euen preſent death. It was a moſt miſerable ſight to
ſee ſo many men in ſo ſhort time ſlain: for the battell had ſcarce endured halfe an houre, when
many thouſands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground, and the reſt ſeeing the victory incline
to the Chriſtians, betooke themſelues to flight, leauing behind them their great ordnance and
whatſoeuer els they brought for the reliefe of the beſieged: whom ſo flying, the lords, *Palſi* and
Swartzenburg (who had before taken the ſtreits wherby they were to paſſe between the mountains) K
ſo receiued with their freſh horſmen, that of them that came that way few eſcaped. The
Baſſa himſelfe, who ſtood vpon the hill, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his men, fled alſo himſelfe:
the Baſſa of Natolia with about 100 of the Turks moe by good fortune got into Strigonium.
The number of the Turks ſlain in this battel was great, & is of diuers diuerſly reported, ſome
ſaying that there were ſlain 14000, and ſome fewer. Beſides them that were ſlaine, many were
alſo taken, and ſome of them men of great name and place. There were alſo taken 27 enſignes,
with a multitude of camels, aſſes, and mules, laded with mony, ſhot, pouder, and other neceſſary
prouiſion: all which, brought thither for the reliefe of the beſieged, became a prey vnto the
Chriſtians. In the heat of this battel they of the city ſallying out, had entred a fort of the Chriſtians L
vpon the riuer ſide, but were againe preſently driuen out, and with loſſe enforced to retire.
After this victory the County ſent certaine companies of the Hungarian and German
horſemen with 500 waggons to the enemies campe not far off in the mountaines: who comming
thither found it vtterly forſaken by the enemy, but well ſtored with all maner of neceſſary
prouiſion, which they carried all away, together with 600 tents, many whereof were lined
with damaske, ſatin, and other ſilke, richly embroidered or layed with gold lace or gold
twiſt. The Baſſaes rich Tent taken by the Colonell of the horſemen, was afterwards by him
giuen vnto the County, as was alſo the plate and money there found, all which hee diuided
among the ſouldiers according to their deſerts. In the Turks campe were alſo found certaine
heads of the Chriſtians, with the dead body of the Lord *Brandenſteine*, ſlaine in the conflict
but the day before, which the Chriſtians carried away with them into the camp, and there honourably M
buried them. Thoſe that remained of the Turks army hid themſelues in the mountains
and woods, and ſo holpen by the darkeneſſe of the night, made beſt ſhift for themſelues
that they could. The Baſſa himſelfe accompanied but with twenty horſe came to Buda about
midnight, and by his comming filled the City with great heauineſſe, euery man lamenting

A his loſt friends. The Hungerian Heidons beſt acquainted with the countrey, pricking vp and down the mountains and by-waies, for certain days after the battel, brought in daily into the camp ſuch priſoners as they tooke, or elſe the heads of ſuch Turks as they ſlew. Of this ſo notable a victory, the County by a ſpeedy meſſenger certified the Archduke at Vienna, who rewarded him for his good newes with a chaine worth fiue hundred duckats: and preſently cauſed the ſong of thankſgiuing to be ſung in the church of the Auguſtine Friers, and afterward in all the Churches of the City. The County alſo to gratifie the Emperour, ſent him by the Lord *Chalon* his nephew, vnto Prague, two of the chiefe priſoners taken in the late battell, with foure horſemens Guidons cunningly made of horſe haires, ſuch as are commonly carried before the greateſt Commanders of the Turks armies, and fourteen other enſigns of the Turks; B with fourteen moſt goodly horſes of the Turks for a Preſent.

The next day after this battell, the County ſent the Lord *Palfi* with an interpretor vnto the City, to demand it to be yeelded; who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turks in what danger they were, that they help they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new reliefe could not but in long time be ſent vnto them; and that therfore it ſhould be good for them, whilſt yet they might, to be well aduiſed, and betimes to bethink themſelues of yeelding vp the city, leſt haply when they would, it then would not be accepted: promiſing to intreat with the Generall, that they might in ſafety depart, and with ſure conuoy be brought vnto ſuch place of ſafety as were conuenient. Whereunto the beſieged Turks anſwered, That the Chriſtians had now fiue weeks lien at the ſiege, and muſt yet lie three weeks longer: and that whereas of late C ſome few of their friends came to haue relieued them, and had failed therein, there was yet an hundred thouſand moe to come after them, who if they ſhould not be able to performe that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliuer or forſake the City, before they were ready to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to reſolue thereupon.

Now had the Chriſtians with long and continuall batterie ſore beaten both the vpper and the lower towne, which battery they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the ſiege, & within the city their wants increaſed daily, hauing nothing left to liue vpon but a little wheat and barley, with ſome horſe fleſh: to whom thus diſtreſſed, the Lord *Palfi* by the commandement of the County (to try what confidence they yet had in D themſelues) the ninth of Auguſt ſent two Gentlemen to the city, to do a meſſage from him to the Gouernor. Who aduertiſed therof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to ſay; where one of the ſaid Gentlemen in few words deliuered him this ſhort meſſage.

My moſt gratious Lord the Lord Palfi, *moſt worthy Gouernor greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to be a Captaine both valiant and wiſe, and one that hath alwaies courteouſly vſed ſuch as haue fallen into thine hands, hath compaſſion of thy deſperate eſtate: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing elſe but preſent death and deſtruction, he as thy neighbor and a louer of thy vertues, aduiſeth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt ſaue thy ſelfe and thine from moſt vndoubted and imminent death and other confuſion, without delay to deliuer vp this city, which thou canſt not longer holde.*

The meſſage ſent by the lord Palfi to the Gouernor of Strigonium.

E Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without any countenance anſwered.

Thy ſpeech my friend, and thy Maſters aduice are vnto me both vaine. Tell the Lord Palfi *thy maſter, that I cannot pleaſure him with the leaſt ſtone in this city. One foot I haue already in the graue, and will with honour carry theſe my gray haires into the ſame; and am yet comforted with a moſt certaine and vndoubted hope, that my moſt dread and mighty Soueraigne, and my Lord* Sinan Baſſa *will not forſake me: yea and that if they ſhould write vnto me, that they could find no meanes or way to relieue me (which I am ſure they will not) yet would I well, and at leiſure conſider, whether it were fit for me to deliuer vp this city or not; ſeeing that of the defence thereof, dependeth all mine honour and credit. Beſides that, what reward they haue on both ſides, that ſo eaſily deliuer ouer the cities they haue in charge, all the world doth ſee.*

The reſolute anſwer of the old Gouernor, to the meſſage ſent him by Palfi.

F With this anſwer he ſent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries ſtanding by, ſpoke not one word, but ſighing in ſilence and grinding his teeth, declared by his countenance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium, in the middeſt of the riuer of Danubius lieth

lieth a little Iſland called Vizze, wherin many rich Clothiers dwelt: this Iſland the Hungarian Heidons ſpoiled, and in returning thence met with 24 wagons laden with Corne, going to Buda, which they took, with 28 priſoners which they brought into the camp. The lower towne being with long and continual battery made ſaultable, was by the Chriſtians the thirteenth of Auguſt, in three diuers places at once aſſaulted. The Bauarians were by lot to giue the firſt charge; who in the performing therof beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulſed by the Turks) but ſeconded by them of Reitnaw and Sueuia, pluckt down a great palliſado, filled the ditches, remoued whatſoeuer ſtood in their way, and ſo long fought with the Turks, that by the comming in of the Marqueſſe of Burgawe with ſixe enſignes of freſh men, they preuailed vpon the Enemy, and ſo altogether brake into the Towne. In the middeſt of this dangerous fight was the Marqueſſe himſelfe, who both with his preſence and cheerefull ſpeech ſo incouraged his ſouldiers, that they as men fearing no perill, ran headlong into all danger, vntill they had entered the Towne. There might a man haue heard a miſerable cry, eſpecially of women and children thorowout the City; when as the Chriſtians breaking in on euery ſide ſlew whomſoeuer came in their way, without reſpect of age or ſexe, ſparing neither women great with child, neither the little children hanging at their mothers breſts. Yet did not all that were entred ſo much attend the preſent execution, as ſome of them did the ſpoile and prey; and eſpecially the Hungarians, vnto whom all was good booty, euen the very hinges of the doors and windows: wherby many eſcaped into the caſtle and vpper towne, with the Baſſa and *Alis Beg* the old Gouernor. The Chriſtians had not many houres poſſeſſed the town, but that diuers fires began to break out at diuers places, but by what meanes was not at the firſt known. At laſt it was found out, that the Turks doubting the loſſe of the town, had before where they thought beſt left gunpouder, which taking fire by matches left burning for that purpoſe, ſhould at a certaine time ſet all on fire. By which meanes many moſt horrible fires were raiſed in the Towne, which conſumed many goodly buildings, and other things which might haue ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead, and could hardly be in a day or two quenched.

The low town taken by the Chriſtians.

G

H

I

This ſo joyfull a victory ſaw not hee, by whoſe good direction next vnder God it was gained, the worthy County: for he a few daies before being fallen ſick of a feuer, taken by drinking too much cold drink in his heat, with immoderat paines taken in the late battell, and ſo afterwards falling into a great flix with a feuer, was by the counſell of his phyſitians (for the better recouering of his health) remoued to Comara, as a place of more quietnes: hauing before his departure ſent for the Archduke to come into the towne, and for *Blankenſtein* into Bauaria to ſupply his own room. But his diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, became at laſt deſperat, ſo that the Phyſitians themſelues now diſpaired of his health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end, he almoſt euery hour inquired how the Army did, and whether the City were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his death, That the lower town was won, hee thereat very greatly reioiced, and the next day being the fourteenth of Auguſt, towards night quietly departed this world, to the great loſſe of the Chriſtian commonweal, and the exceeding griefe of the whole army. A man euen from his childehood brought vp in arms, of ſtature great, but of courage greater, & painful aboue meaſure, not the leaſt cauſe of his vntimely death. All the time of this ſiege hee tooke little reſt either by day or night, ſcarce ſo much as to lie down vpon his bed in two or three nights together. The little meat he did eat, for moſt part he ate in ſtanding or walking, yea ſometimes on horſe-back: he was a moſt ſeuere obſeruer of martial diſcipline, which cauſed him to be of his ſoldiers both beloued and feared. His bowels were with due ſolemnity buried at Comara where he died: but his body was brought back again to Luxemburg, there to be honorably interred with his Anceſtors.

Count Manſfelt dieth.

K

L

About this time *Theodore* the great Duke of Muſcouia hearing of the wars betweene the Emperor and the Turk, ſent two Embaſſadors with letters & preſents to the Emperor: which Embaſſadours comming to Prague the 16 of Auguſt, accompanied with 250 horſe, were by the Emperors appointment honorably receiued and entertained. And afterwards hauing audience, firſt deliuered the Letters of credence from the great Duke, reported to haue beene of this purport.

M

Tour

The great duke his Letters to the Emperor.

A *Your Maieſty hath ſent vnto vs your Embaſſador* Nicolas Warkotſie, *requeſting our brotherly aid againſt the hereditary enemy of all Chriſtianitie, the Turkiſh Sultan. Wherfore we alſo deſiring to liue with you our dear and welbeloued brother, in all perpetuall amity and friendſhip, ſend vnto you by our faithfull Counſellor and ſeruant,* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* Iohn Sohnie, *aid out of our treaſurie againſt the ſaid enemy. Vnto whom wee haue alſo giuen other things in charge to be propounded to your Majeſty, requeſting you to giue vnto them in all things full credit.*

Giuen in the great Court of our power at Muſco, *An. Mundi* 7103. and from Chriſts natiuity 1595. in the moneth of April.

B What things in particular theſe Embaſſadors were ſent for was not commonly known, but among others it is ſaid, That the Muſcovit requeſted the Emperor to ſend an Embaſſador to the Perſian king, to draw him alſo into the league with them againſt the Turk: which Embaſſador ſhould firſt go into Muſcovie, and that way paſſe into Perſia. The preſents which the great Duke ſent the Emperor, were 150000 florins of gold, great ſtore of moſt rich furres and pretious perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Falcons, and three Leopards aliue. *Iwanowitze* the Embaſſador himſelf preſented vnto the Emperor of himſelfe, certaine rich Turky, Perſian, and Babylonian hangings & carpets, certain timbers of ſables, with other rich furres as pretious as ſables, ſo many as eight porters could hardly carry. Theſe Embaſſadors tarried at Prague vntil the 27 of December, and then taking their leaue, returned with C the Emperors anſwer to the Duke.

The gouernour of Strigonium ſlain.

But to return again to Strigonium: The Chriſtians now poſſeſſed of the lower town, bent all their battery vpon the higher town, where it fortuned the 14 of Auguſt, That the old Gouernor *Alu Beg*, whilſt he was carefully walking from place to place, to ſee where moſt danger was, had his arm ſtruck off with a great ſhot, of which hurt he preſently died. He was a man of great grauity, about 80 years old, and had of long time notably both gouerned and defended that famous city, the loſſe wherof was like enough to haue bin vnto him greater grief than was the loſſe of his life there. Much about the ſame time alſo died the Aga of the Ianizaries, beeing before mortally wounded. Both the chief commanders thus ſlain, the Ianizaries with the other ſoldiers and citiſens made choice of the Baſſa of Natolia (who as is afore ſaid, eſcaped D out of the late battel into the city) for their gouernor; who with heauy cheer tooke vpon him that forlorn charge. The Chriſtians not ignorant of the death of theſe two worthy men, in whoſe great and approued valor they ſuppoſed the chiefe defence of the City to haue reſted, were in good hope that now the reſt would more readily hearken to ſome good compoſition: and therfore ſent a meſſenger to demand, if they would yet whilſt there were ſome mercy left yeeld the city. Who though they had loſt their chief Commanders, with the greateſt part of their garriſon, and were in great wants both of victuals and all things els neceſſary for their defence; yet their anſwer was in few words, That they would hold it out euen to the laſt man. The greateſt cauſe of which their obſtinate reſolution was the ſtreight charge the Baſſa of Buda had giuen them for the defence thereof: beſides that, they accounted the City holy, as E won by their magnificent Emperor *Solyman*, whom the Turkes generally had in a deuout remembrance, and therfore thought it great impiety to deliuer it vp vnto the Chriſtians. The next day after came *Matthias* the Archduke into the campe; who after he had wel viewed the whole army, and the maner of the ſiege, he called together into his tent the chiefe Commanders, namely the Marquis of Burgaw his couſin, *Iohn de Medices* the Florentine, and the Lord *Palſi* the Hungarian, to conſult with them, what were further to be don for the winning of the city. Shortly after, he commanded the city to bee at once in two places aſſaulted: which was by the Germans and Wallons couragiouſly performed; but ſuch was the valor of the defendants, that when the Chriſtians had don what they could, they were glad at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault, & with loſſe to retyre. About this time came the Duke of Mantua, with the three F Counties his brethren to the ſiege; and now the Turks began again to draw together neer to Buda, there to make head for the relief of Strigonium, & to be reuenged of the loſſe they had there before receiued. Whereof the Archduke hauing intelligence, ſent out againſt them 8000 choſen ſoldiers out of the campe, who ſuddenly ſetting vpon the Turks in their campe, before Sun riſing, made a great ſlaughter among them, and tooke certain priſoners, of whom the Sanzack of Copan was one; and ſo with victory returned again vnto the ſiege.

The beſieged Turks in Strigonium vnderſtanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from G
whom they expected moſt ſpeedy reliefe, and beſides the terror of the continuall battery, and
the ſtill feared aſſaults, pinched alſo with extream wants of all things, began now to faint.
Wherfore the Baſſa and the other captains, ouercome with the aforeſaid difficulties, and the
general outcry of the fearfull people, reſolued with one conſent to come now to parle, & vp-
on reaſonable conditions to yeeld vp the city. Wherupon a flag of truce was ſet vp, and parle
craued: which granted, the Archduke after Sun ſet came into the lower towne, where nine of
the Turkes attended his comming; who entring into parley, required that they might vnder
ſafe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, and ſo leaue him the city: which the Arch-Duke
would not by any means agree vnto. At length with much intreaty they obtained, That they H
might vpon the ſame conditions depart, that the Chriſtians did at Rab, with their ſcimiters
by their ſides, and ſo much of their goods as they could carry vpon their backs, to ſuch ſhips
as were to be appointed for their cariage to Buda. For performance wherof hoſtages were on
both ſides giuen; and ſo the next day, being the ſecond of September, they began to come out
of the city, moe in number than either the priſoners taken in the time of the ſiege had confeſ-
ſed, or the Chriſtians had thought. Thirty ſhips were appointed for conueying of them down
the riuer to Buda; which not ſufficing, many of them tarried in the City vntil the next day, at
which time the Baſſa with the ſick and wounded ſailed to Buda, the priſoners and pledges on
both ſides beeing before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodnes of God, and the good
conduct of a few valiant Chriſtians, was Strigonium the metropolitical city of Hungary, af- I
ter it had 52 years groaned vnder the miſerable yoke of the Turkiſh ſeruitude, again reſtored
to the Chriſtian commonweal; which the Chriſtians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as
was thought beſt for the defence therof againſt the enemy. All which being done, about the
midſt of this month the Archduke ſent 18000 to beſiege Vicegrade, otherwiſe called Plin-
denburg, a ſtrong caſtle of the Turks vpon the riuer betwixt Strigonium and Buda: which ca-
ſtle they tooke. Which when they of Buda vnderſtood, they were ſtricken with ſuch a fear,
that many of the better ſort were ready to forſake the city; inſomuch that the Baſſa to ſtay
their flight, was glad to command the gates of the city to be ſhut vpon them, and no man ſuf-
fered to paſſe out. This good ſucces of the Chriſtians in theſe wars cauſed great reioycing in
moſt parts of Chriſtendom. K

Strigonium yeelded to the Chriſtians.

Vicegrade taken by the Chriſtians.

All the while the Chriſtians were thus buſied at the ſiege of Strigonium, the Tranſylua-
nian prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harme; ſo that
now his name began to be dreadful vnto them. It fortuned the ſame day that Count *Mansfelt*
departed at Comara, that the Prince at Alba-Iulia with great ſolemnity maried *Maria Chri-
ſtina* the daughter of the late Archduke *Charles*, ſon to the Emperor *Ferdinand*; her other ſiſter
Anna being before maried to *Sigiſmund* King of Polonia. For ſo it was agreed for the more
aſſurance of the league betwixt the Emperour and him, That hee ſhould take his wife out of
the houſe of Auſtria, which he now did. Of this ſolemnity the Turks his euil neighbours ha-
uing intelligence, aſſembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnwelcome gueſts
to haue come vnbidden or vnlooked for thereunto; but the vigilant prince vnderſtanding of L
their comming, prouided for their entertainment accordingly, and ſetting his pleaſures for a
while apart, and comming vpon them when they leaſt looked for him, in a great battell ouer-
threw them and ſlew moſt part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant Victor the
whole ſpoil of his enemies.

About the ſame time the Tranſylvanians alſo beſieged Fagiat, a town holden by the Turks
not far from Temeſware; where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the town diſpairing
to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanting to depart with bag and baggage
began to go out of the town. But in their departure, vnderſtanding that the Baſſa of Temeſ-
ware, with the Sanzacks of Lippa and Ienne were comming to their reliefe, they that were yet
in the town began to find delaies, and they that were already gon out began to return. Wher- M
with the Tranſylvanians much mooued, by plaine force entred the town, and put them all to
the ſword; and afterward turning vpon the Baſſa, who with ten thouſand Turkes and certaine
field pieces was comming to haue relieued the Town, had with them a cruell battell; where-
in moſt part of the Turks fell, with ſmall loſſe vnto the Tranſylvanians: who ſo eagerly pur-

ſued

A ſued the victory, that the Baſſa himſelfe had much adoe with 500 others to eſcape. The two Sanzacks with diuers others of good place were taken and ſent priſoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the later end of Auguſt the Tranſylvanians beſieged Lippa, a famous city of Hungary ſtanding vpon the riuer Maracz, not far from Temeſwan which the Turks being not able longer to hold, fled into the caſtle, where finding themſelues in no great ſafety, after three daies ſiege they came to parley, and ſo yeelded, vpon condition that they might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their goods as they could themſelues carry. About which time alſo the Baſſa of Boſna with 10000 Turks and Tartars went forth to haue again recouered Babotſca, a frontier town before taken by the Chriſtians: which the Stirians and the reſt of the Chriſtians dwelling therabouts, between the two riuers of Sauus and Drauus vnderſtanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenſtein*, *Lencowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of thoſe frontiers, B ouertook the ſaid Turks and Tartars neer vnto Babotſca, fought with them, and in plain field ouerthrew them.

Lippa taken by the Chriſtians.

Mahomet not a little grieued with the good ſucces of the Chriſtians in euery part of Hungary, and aboue meaſure offended with *Ferat Baſſa* his General, through whoſe negligence all or at leaſtwiſe moſt part of this had hapned (as hee was by the enuy of *Sinan Baſſa* perſuaded) ſent for him home, and in his place ſent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultans diſpleaſure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned therof by her that beſt knew, euen the Sultans mother, and aduiſed not to come in ſight vntil his peace were made. Who neuertheles truſting to his own innocencie (the comfortable, but moſt dangerous and weake ſtay of the Great) and doubting C not to anſwer whatſoeuer *Sinan* ſhould be able to charge him with, came to the Court, where he was by *Mahomets* commandement ſhortly after ſtrangled; and his goods to the value of 500000 ducats confiſcated.

Ferat Baſſa ſtrangled.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Chriſtian commonweale was none at this time more cruel than was *Sinan*, an Epirot born, a fiſhers ſonne, of a rough and vnciuill diſpoſition, now about 83 years old, euen from his youth brought vp in the Warres, and yet (as his motto was) breathing nothing but *Bloud and war*. He had many times fortunatly led the huge armies of the Turkiſh Emperors, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now ſent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fitteſt man to reduce the late reuolted countries of Tranſylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia, to their former thraldom, which he before promiſed vnto *Mahomet*, vpon perill of D his head to doe. Hee hauing raiſed a right puiſſant army, by a bridge made of boats (after a months labor ſpent therin) paſſed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into Valachia. Of whoſe comming the Tranſylvanians with the Valachians and Moldavians hauing knowledge, had before ſo ſhut vp the paſſages of the country, as that he could not without much danger haue far entred; and were alſo ready with their vnited forces at once at his firſt enterance to giue him battel. Which he not refuſing, there began a moſt mortall and cruel fight, with much bloudſhed on both ſides. Thrice were the Tranſylvanians inforced to retyre, but ſtil relieued with new ſupplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole country, came on afreſh again, and as hardly charged the Turks, as they had bin by them charged. Thus with doubtfull fortune and great ſlaughter was the battel maintained from morning E vntil night, victory with doubtfull wings howering now ouer the one ſide, now ouer the other. Vntill that at length the Turks ouercome by their valour, their battels being quite diſordered and broken, were now glad to ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight. In this battel (being fought the eleuenth of September) beſides many thouſands of the common ſouldiers, were ſlain alſo diuers of great account amongſt the Turks, and amongſt the reſt, *Haider Baſſa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the ſame place where the battell was fought. *Sinan* himſelfe in making too much haſte to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deepe mud, and in that general confuſion of his army was like enough there to haue periſhed; but as the common prouerb goeth, *Seldome dies the Diuel dead in a dike*, the old Viliard was with much ado drawn out by them of his gard, and ſo eſcaped that miſchief. Neuertheleſſe the dan- F ger was ſo great, that for certain daies it was commonly reported that he was there drowned, moſt of his owne people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the ſpoil of the Turks became a prey vnto the Chriſtians, as did alſo the great ordnance, and many of their enſignes: amongſt which was one green one which they accounted Religious, as ſacred

Sinans great army defeated by the Tranſyluanians.

to the prophet *Mahomet*; wherunto they in time of their greateſt diſtres fly as to their laſt refuge. There was taken alſo all their tents, with great aboundance of victuals and other Warlike prouiſion.

The old Baſſa thus ouerthrown, ful of grief, and euen made for deſpight, poſted himſelf in all haſt to the court; thinking it better himſelfe to make the beſt of that which was indeed naught, than to haue it made worſe than naught by the enuious report of others, and withal to fil the great Sultans mind with deſire of reuenge, which no man ſo much longed after as himſelf. Wherin he ſo diſcreetly vſed the matter, as that the late loſſe was eaſily paſt ouer, as receiued by the common chance of War, or any other occaſion elſe whatſoeuer, rather than by any default of his; and new Commiſſion giuen him for the raiſing of another Army for the ſubduing of the late reuolted countries. In the mean time, to ſhew his hatred vnto the Chriſtians, and to pleaſe the eies of them of the court with the nouelty of the ſight, he cauſed an hundred & twelue Chriſtian captiues whom he had in priſon at Belgrade, to be brought like beaſt in chains to Conſtantinople, and ſo being led thorow the principal ſtreets of the City, to the vain contentment of the citiſens, to brought to the court gate for the Sultan to look vpon, and the Courtiers to deride. From whence they were after many vnſpeakable indignities conueyed to moſt miſerable and loathſome priſons, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation.

The Turkes ouerthrown in Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the command of the Baſſa of Boſna, to the number of almoſt 20000 made a road into Croatia; where they were by the Chriſtians vnder the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Leucowitz* ouerthrown and almoſt all ſlain; the Chriſtians following the chace euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt 15 of their villages, and took the Caſtle of Varuiuar. Immediatly after, their forces increaſing by the comming in of the Lord *Herbenſtein* gouernor of Valeria and Windiſmarch, and certain other troups of horſemen out of Carinthia and the countries therabouts, they returned the 13 of September to beſiege Petrinia, otherwiſe called Petrowina; which becauſe they were in hope to take by aſſault, they euen at their firſt comming couragiouſly aſſailed. But after two hours hard fight, finding both greater reſiſtance and more difficultie than they had before ſuppoſed, and that without great ordnance (which could not in ſhort time be got ouer the mountaines) there was no good to bee don, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with ſuch loſſe as they had receiued, to return to Siſeg, there to conſult further of the matter. But the ſame night a fugitiue horſman fled from the enemy, came to the camp, and told the Chriſtians, That *Ruſtan Beg* gouernor of Petrinia was in the late aſſault wounded in the breſt with a ſmal ſhot and dead; & that the Turks in the town diſcouraged with his death, and the late ouerthrow of their friends in Croatia, would vpon the firſt ſight of them abandon the town, if they would but again return to beſiege it. Vpon which good hope the Chriſtians preſently riſe, and ſet forward again toward Petrinia; which the Turks, hearing of their comming, had before, as the ſoldier reported, for fear abandoned. So the Chriſtians without reſiſtance entring the town, found therin ſome pillage, but better ſtore of ſhot and pouder: and preſently ſending for certain troups of horſemen to purſue the flying Turks, took diuers of them, and amongſt the reſt the late gouernors lieutenant, whom they brought back into the town. Thus was Petrinia again recouered from the Turks, to the great quiet and ſafety of all that ſide of the country.

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian prince not ignorant with what an enemy he had to do, either of the malice of old *Sinan*, (who he knew would not be long before he returned) or yet of the Polonians ſecret practiſe for the drawing of the country of Moldauia from him; ſought now by all means (as it ſtood him vpon) to make himſelfe as ſtrong as he could againſt ſo many ſtormes ariſing. It fortuned that euen at the ſame time the Zacullians (better knowne by the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributary vnto the Turks, bordering vpon the Northeaſt part of Tranſylvania, now weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and ſeeing the good ſucces of the Prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbours, offered vnto the Prince their ſeruice; promiſing of their own charge to maintain forty thouſand men in the field during his Wars with the Turke, and yearly to pay him of euery houſe a Dollar, with a certaine Meaſure of Wheat, Oats, and Barley, after the manner of their own Country; and further, That if God ſhould bleſſe him with a ſon to ſucceed him in his gouernment, euery houſholder

A ſholder ſhould giue vnto him a good fat oxe. For all which ſeruice they craued no more, but that as his ſubiects they might liue vnder his protection; yet ſo, as to bee gouerned by their own antient lawes and cuſtomes. Of which their offer the prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their camp, and all the people ſworn to the performance of the aforeſaid agreement. And hauing at that preſent but 25000 in the field, they without delay ſent out their officers to preſſe vp 15000 moe, for the filling vp of the promiſed number of 40000, wherwith they came to the Prince; who taking a view of his army, found himſelfe to be now 80000 ſtrong, to welcome the Baſſa withall when he ſhould come again into his country.

Now had *Sinan* with great ſpeed raiſed an army of 70000 choice ſoldiers, amongſt whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. With which B power, joined vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for the ſubduing of the Prince. Vnto whom alſo afterward came *Haſſan Baſſa*, ſon to the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks moſt renowned men of War, and *Bogdanus* the late expulſed Vayuod of Valachia, with many others of great name. With this Army the old Baſſa by a bridge which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, paſſed ouer the great riuer Danubius at a town called Zorza or Giorgo (with vs S. *George*) in Valachia, a great way beneath that place where ſomtime the Emperor *Trajan* built his famous bridge of ſtone, worthily accounted amongſt the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. From Zorza hee marched to Tergoviſta, (ſomtime the Vayuods chiefe City, but then in the Turks power) where is a notable Monaſterie, which hee conuerted into a Caſtle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and C ſtrong bulwarkes, and good ſtore of great ordnance; purpoſing to make that the ſeat of his war, vntill he had again reſtored thoſe late reuolted countries vnto the Turkiſh empire, which he vpon pain of his head had vndertaken to perform. The Prince both by meſſengers and Letters vnderſtanding of the Baſſa's arriual there, and hauing his army in good readines, ſet forward to meet him and giue him battel. But being come into Valachia, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle deſcending from an high rocke thereby, called the Kings Rock, and houering ouer the Chriſtian army, flew about the princes tent, and there lighting, was taken and preſented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the preſage of his good fortune, holding on ſtil his way; and the fifteenth of October being come within halfe a daies march of Tergoviſta, he vnderſtood by two Chriſtians lately eſcaped from the Turks, D That two daies before, the Turks hearing of his comming, were ſtrucken with ſuch a general and ſudden feare, that *Sinan* had much ado either by faire meanes or by foule to ſtay the Ianizaries from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certaine companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the truth was, That *Sinan* ſeeing the general feare of his Army, and he himſelfe no leſſe fearfull than the reſt; vpon the Princes approach fled with all his Army, leauing behinde him for haſte his Tents, his great Ordnance, with much victualls and other warlike prouiſion; carrying with him onely ſuch things as were of moſt value. As for the city of Tergoviſta, with the caſtle which he had made of the Monaſtery, hee committed to the keeping of *Haſſan Baſſa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayuod (now become a renegat Turk) with a garriſon of 4000 choſen ſoldiers, promiſing within a few daies, if need ſhould be, to reE lieue them, but fled himſelf in all haſte with his Army to Buchareſta, a daies journey from Tergoviſta. From whence he preſently writ backe againe to *Haſſan Baſſa*, willing him if hee could to defend the caſtle; but if he ſhould think it not poſſible to be kept againſt the power of the Prince, then betimes to forſake it, and to ſhift for himſelfe. But theſe letters being intercepted by the Chriſtians, neuer came to the Baſſa's hands. Not long after the departure of *Sinan*, the Prince comming to Tergoviſta, entred the forſaken Campe, where hee found many tents, with ſome Ordnance, and great ſtore of victuals; and without further delay ſummoned both the city and caſtle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Haſſan* conſidering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the Prince, and withall doubting, if need ſhould be, to be relieued by *Sinan*, whom he not without cauſe ſuſpected not to loue him, was about vpon ſome reaſonable compoſition to haue yeelded vp both the city and the caſtle. To which the gariſon ſoldiers (being moſt of them Ianizaries) would not in any caſe giue their conſent, but ſtood vpon the defence of the place. Wherfore the prince began furiouſly to batter both the city and the caſtle, and after ſome few hours battery, by aſſault took both, and put

Sinan paſſeth ouer Danubius into Valachia by a bridge made of boats.

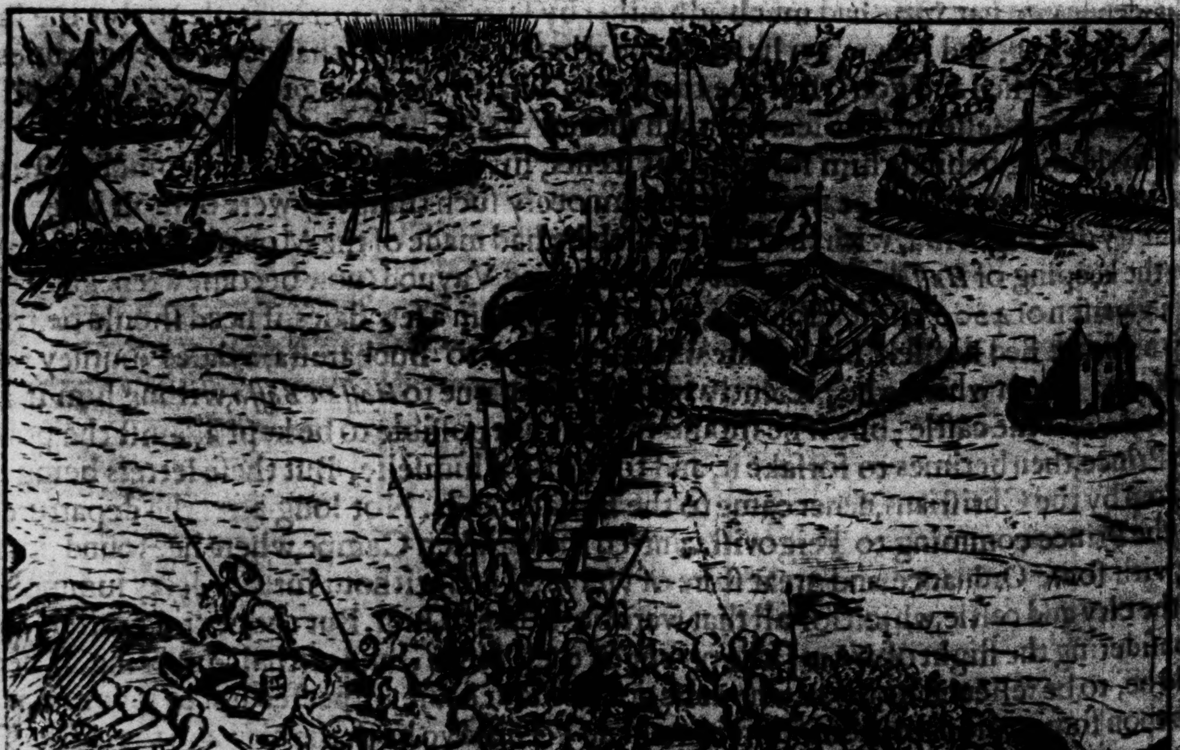
to ſword the whole garriſon; only *Haſſan Baſſa*, as taken with his own hand, he ſpared, and two other Sanzackes. *Bogdanus* the Renegate was there ſlain among the reſt. The Chriſtians had there a rich prey, beſides 42 great pieces of ordnance, and good ſtore of all manner of warlike prouiſion. *Haſſan* thus taken, grieuouſly complained, That *Sinan* had of a milicious purpoſe expoſed him to ſo manifeſt peril, for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Viſier *Mahumet*, vpon whom becauſe he could neuer be reuenged, he now by ſiniſter means had cunningly performed it vpon his ſon: yet he craued of the prince to be wel vſed, offering for his ranſome 100000 Hungarian ducats. Whilſt the Prince yet thus lay at Tergoviſta, came thither 4000 Turks, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence ſent forth to ſpoil the country, & to ſeek after prey, thinking to haue there found him ſtil: who now falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were there all ſlain, and 60000 head of cattell recouered, which theſe Turkes had taken out of Valachia and Moldavia, and ſhould by *Sinans* appointment haue bin ſent to Conſtantinople. For Valachia and Moldavia do ſo abound with corn and cattel, that they plentifully ſerue the Imperial city of Conſtantinople not only with corn and fleſh, but alſo yearely ſend at leaſt 150 ſhips thither by the blacke ſea, laded with other kind of victuals. Of which ſo great commodities the Turks were now depriued, by the reuolt of the ſaid Countries.

The fruitfulnes of Valachia & Moldavia.

The Prince hauing a ſtrong garriſon in Tergoviſta, ſet forward with his army towards Bucareſta, hoping there to haue found *Sinan*: but he hearing of the loſſe of Tergoviſta, and thinking himſelf in no good ſafety at Bucareſta, fled thence alſo to Zorza. The prince comming to Bucareſta, found it abandoned by the Turks, & ſo took it without reſiſtance; yet had therin certain field pieces, with good ſtore of ſhot and pouder left there by *Sinan*. Hauing there ſtaid a while for the maning of the place, hee ſet forward againe towards Zorza, and that with ſuch ſpeed, that he ouertook great numbers of the Turks, whom hee put all to the ſword. So that the fields betwixt Bucareſta & Zorza were in many places couered with the Turks dead bodies. Neuertheles he could not make ſo great haſte, marching ſtil in good order, but that the fearfull Baſſa diſorderly haſting, was about ſome ſix hours or more before come vnto the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer Danubius; the forme whereof you may here ſee.

Bucareſta takē by the Prince.

The Bridge made ouer Danubius by Sinan Baſſa, Anno 1595.



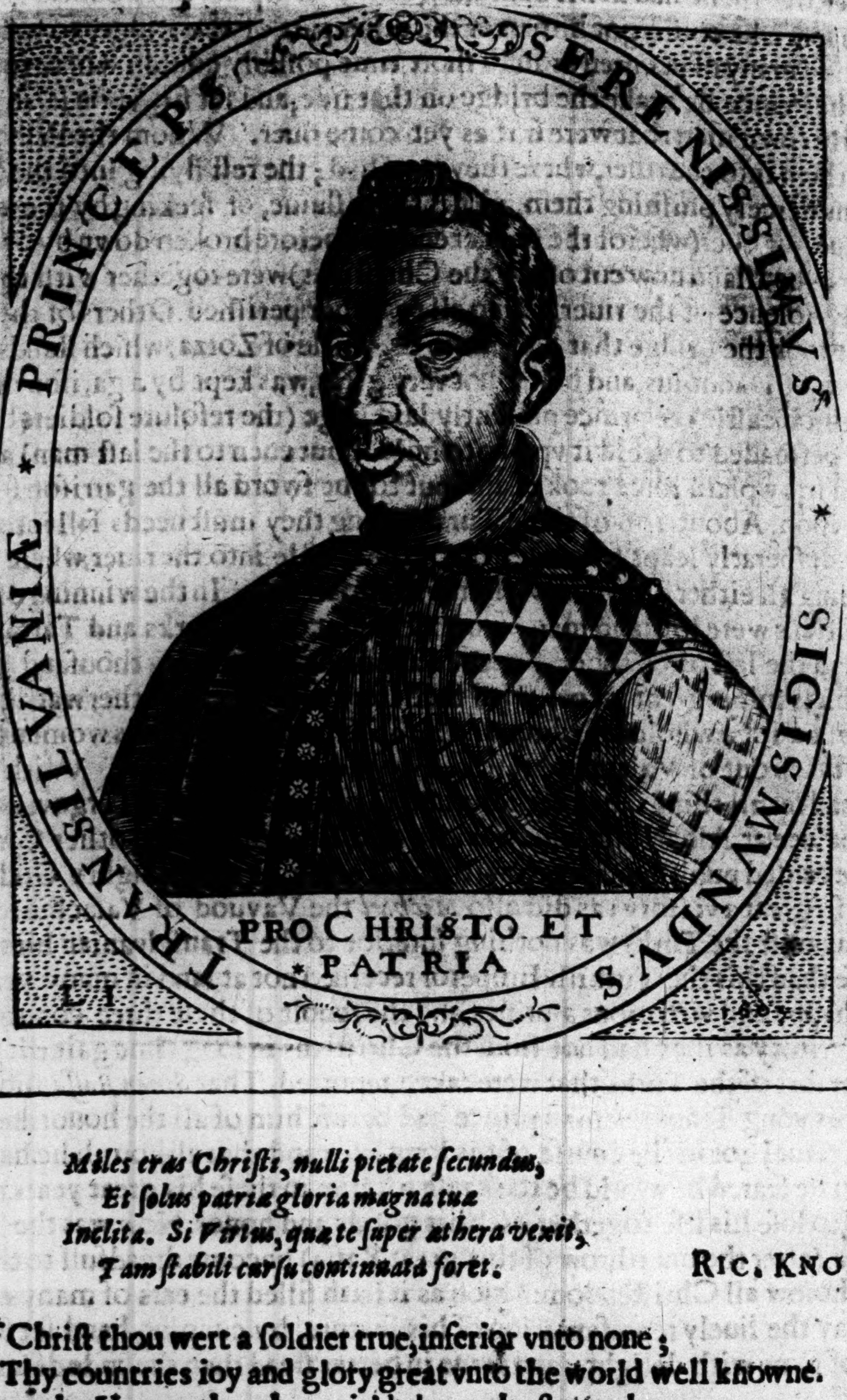
Sinan flieth.

A Ouer the hithermoſt part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the
greateſt part of his Army, before the comming of the Prince, got ouer into an Iſland in the
midſt of the riuer, wherin he had at his comming ouer incamped: but doubting now there to
ſtay, with all the ſpeed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge, to the farther ſide
of the riuer, with ſo many of his men as in ſo ſhort time poſſibly could: where to ſtay the further
purſuit of the Prince, he brake the bridge on that ſide, and ſet fire vpon it; and therby cut
off alſo many of his own men that were not as yet come ouer. Whom the Prince incloſing,
forced many of them into the riuer, where they periſhed; the reſt flying into the Iſland, were
by the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing them, either there ſlaine, or ſeeking by the other part of
the bridge to haue got ouer (wherof the farther end was before broken down by *Sinan*, and the
B hither end toward the Iſland now cut off by the Chriſtians) were together with the bridge caried
away by the violence of the riuer, and ſo all together periſhed. Others of the Chriſtians
in the mean time took the bridge that leadeth to the caſtle of Zorza, which ſtands compaſſed
about with an arm of Danubius, and being not very great, was kept by a gariſon of 700 ſelect
ſoldiers. Vnto which caſtle the prince preſently laid ſiege (the reſolute ſoldiers being not by
any means to be perſuaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen to the laſt man) and after he
had ſore battered it, by plain force took it, and put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers hee
could lay hands vpon. About 100 of theſe Turks ſeeing they muſt needs fall into the power
of their enemies, deſperatly leapt from the top of the Caſtle into the riuer, where not one of
them eſcaped, being all either drowned, or ſlain with ſmall ſhot. In the winning of this caſtle
C 250 of the Chriſtians were loſt, and many wounded: but of the Turks and Tartars betweene
the eighteenth and the laſt of October, periſhed aboue ſix and twenty thouſand. In this Caſtle
were taken thirty ſnine great pieces, with ſuch ſtore of armor and other warlike prouiſion
as might haue ſerued for a whole kingdom, and 4000 Chriſtians, beſides women & children,
whom *Sinan* had taken out of Valachia, reſtored to their former liberty. With whome the
Prince, after he had ſet all things in order, returned in great triumph to Tergoviſta, and ſo afterwards
to his palace at Alba-Iulia, where, as alſo at Claudiopolis and other Cities thorow
his dominions, he cauſed publique prayers, with thankeſgiuing to Almighty God to bee deuoutly
made for ſo great a victory: as did alſo *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, who in all
theſe great wars againſt the Turks was nothing inferior to the Tranſylvanian himſelf.

The Prince returns with victory to Alba-Iulia.

D A greater loſſe than this the Turkiſh Emperor receiued not at land in many years before;
being by this ſo happy and victorious a prince, and the reuolt of theſe three countries, depriued
of ſo much territory as they had not from the Chriſtians in long time gained. It was by
ſome of the better ſort of the Turks that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Baſſa* ſhould oftentimes
ſay, That this yong Tranſylvanian prince had bereft him of all the honor and renowne
he had with great trauel got in the courſe of his long life: and that although he had eſcaped
his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cauſe for him in theſe his great years, euen in the
winding vp of all, to loſe his life together with his goods and honor. Now was the Tranſylvanian
princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Baſſa) become dreadfull to the Turkes,
and alſo famous thorow all Chriſtendom: which as it hath filled the ears of many with admiration,
E ſo haply may the liuely repreſentation of his feature, by cunning hand ſet forth, feed
the longing eies of ſome with delight, and ſerue in better ſtead than the rude deſcription of
his perſon.

SIGISMVND, Prince of Tranſylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia.



Miles eras Chriſti, nulli pietate ſecundus,
Et ſolus patriæ gloria magna tuæ
Inclita. Si Virtus, quæ te ſuper æthera vexit,
Tam ſtabili curſu continuata foret.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Of Chriſt thou wert a ſoldier true, inferior vnto none;
Thy countries ioy and glory great vnto the world well knowne.
If worthy Vertue, that thee rais'd aboue the ſtarry sky,
With ſtedfaſt pace had run the race ſo wel begun by thee.

Jenna yeelded to the Tranſylvanians.

Whilſt this worthy prince was thus buſied in this expedition againſt *Sinan*, hee cauſed the caſtle of Ienna, ſtanding vpon the highway betweene Temeſware and Giula, to be beſieged by certain of his Captains appointed to that ſeruice; in which caſtle lay one of the Turks Sanzacks with a garriſon of 700 Turks, who much troubled ſuch as paſſed that way. They now brought to ſome extremitie, and terrified with the ſucceſſe of the prince, offered to giue vp the Caſtle, ſo that as ſouldiers with their ſcimiters by their ſides they might in ſafety bee brought to Panoda. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horſmen that ſhould haue conducted them, informed that theſe Turks now vnder their charge, had ſecret intelligence with the Turkes in garriſon at Giula and Temeſware, That they ſhould lie in ambuſh for them neer Panoda, and ſo cut them off by the way; M

ſet

A ſet vpon theſe Turks whom they ſhould haue conducted, and cut the throats of four hundred of them: and yet ſtill holding on their way, met with theſe Turks that lay in ambuſh for them, whom they after a ſharp skirmiſh ouerthrew, and hauing ſlain a great number of them, put the reſt to flight. By the taking of Ienna the waies therabout were quieted, eſpecially for them of Waraden. The Sanzack of Ienna reported, That *Mahomet* had but a little before ſent word vnto his Baſſa's and Sanzacks in Hungary, That ſuch caſtles and towns as they thought were not to be defended againſt the Chriſtians, they ſhould betimes as occaſion ſerued yeeld them vp, or forſake them; ſo to ſpare the needleſſe loſſe of his good ſoldiers, of whom he had with ſo many towns and ſtrong holds loſt no ſmall number this year in Hungary. Ienna thus taken, diuers of the richer ſort in Temeſware fearing to be euen preſently beſieged; ſent their wiues B and children with their treaſure and ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, out of the city in wagons, to be conueyed vnto places of more ſafety: of which Wagons ſeuenty were by the Chriſtians lying thereabout in garriſon, intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich booty.

Mahomet hauing this year fully purpoſed the vtter ruine of the Tranſylvanian prince, and the reducing of the countries of Tranſylvania, Moldavia, and Valachia vnto his obeiſance by the great Baſſa *Sinan*; had for the better effecting thereof before prouided, That the Crim-Tartar (ready ſtil at his call) ſhould with his own people (whereof he hath great ſtore) & certain bands of the Turks, at the ſame time inuade Moldauia; & poſſeſſing himſelf of this countrey, to place one *Sidreake* Vayuod, in ſtead of *Stephen* placed by the Prince, and to people the C country with his Tartars, in reward of his good ſeruice, as he ſaid, but indeed to haue them always neer at hand to do his commandements in Hungary, Polonia, Tranſiluania, or the other countries of the Chriſtians thereunto adioining. The Tartar according to his appointment, came with 70000 Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themſelues in the countrey, at the very ſame time that *Sinan* came to Tergouiſta. But being come vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour of Polonia ready with a ſtrong army to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, and to ſtay his farther paſſage. Whereupon ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the Tartars and the Polonians: where the Tartars were ſtill put to the worſe with the loſſe of 3000 of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake* the Vayuod D appointed by the Turke, finding themſelues, though in number moe, yet in ſtrength inferior vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue he could not paſſe; ſent vnto the Chancellor to excuſe that was alreadie paſt, as done without their conſent, by the inſolencie of the ſouldiers; and to tell him, That their comming was not to fight with him, as hauing expreſſe commandement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no caſe to diſturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians, but quietly to paſſe by their frontiers into Moldauia, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributarie, in ſtead of *Stephen* that now vſurped the place by the appointment of the Tranſiluanian, which that they might do, they craued his leaue as friends to paſſe. Wherunto the Chancellor anſwered, That he was come thither by the commandement of the king, to defend thoſe countries from the inuaſion of ſuch as had in them no right: & that there had E of long time bin an antient league betwixt the Polonian Kings and Turkiſh Emperours, vpon certaine conditions, which he would for his part keep inuiolate, with the fauor of the Turkiſh Emperor; yet ſo, as that the kingdome of Polonia tooke no harm therby, and that they might quietly liue by him as their good neighbour; which league he proteſted not to haue been by him, but by them infringed: as for to giue them paſſage, he ſaid he could not. Meſſengers paſſing thus to and fro, and ſome parley had, at laſt certaine articles were agreed vpon, to the reaſonable contentement both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor (though not of *Sidriake*, diſappointed thereby of his Vayuodſhip) as alſo of the Turkiſh Sultan, whoſe pleaſure they both ſeem'd to haue in ſpecial regard. Hereupon the Tartar with his multitude preſently returned, leauing the Chancellor to his owne deſigns. Now was it commonly thought, that the F Chancellor had don the Tranſiluanian Prince great ſeruice by keeping out of the Tartars, & much honour was by many that ſaw leaſt ſpoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the Tranſiluanian therin any ſuch good, at whoſe glory he enuied, and had with the cardinal and his brother, the princes vncles (but moſt deadly enemies) ſecretly conſpired, ſomuch as in them was, his vtter ruine and ouerthrow: wiſhing thoſe Countries rather in the ſubie-

Mahomet calleth in the Tartars to inuade Moldauia.

ction of the Turke, than to ſee them ſo honorably at liberty, gouerned by the Prince: ſuch is the force of malitious enuy, the inſeparable companion of worthy vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwiſe a man of great fame and honour) began now openly to poure forth: for preſently after the departure of the Tartars, hee with all his power paſſing ouer the riuer Nieſter or Tyros, into Moldauia, euen at ſuch time as the prince was going againſt *Sinan* at Tergouiſta, firſt ſeiſed on the caſtle of Chotijm, which he furniſhed with his owne ſouldiers; and from thence marching to Zorona, the metropoliticall City of that Prouince, and ſeat of the Vayuod, had it yeelded vnto him; and ſo proceeding on, had in ſhort time almoſt the whole countrey deliuered to him; *Stephen* the Vayuod placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he leſt feared any ſuch thing, hauing made account of no other enemies but of the Turks and Tartars. *Stephen* the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancellor poſſeſſed of the country, he preſently placed one *Hieremias* Vayuod in ſtead of *Stephen*, to hold that honour of the Polonian King as his Soueraigne. Yet neuertheleſſe to ſatisfie the Turk, he ſent a meſſenger to *Sinan Baſſa*, then but newly come to Tergouiſta, requeſting him not to take it in euill part, that he had entred into Moldauia, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirm this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed; promiſing the country of Moldauia to remaine tributarie ſtill vnto the Sultan, and that this new Vayuod ſhould forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a far greater tribute yerely than had the country of Moldauia before. Whereunto the hauty Baſſa (then fearing nothing leſſe than that which immediatly after happened, to be driuen out of thoſe countries by the Prince) proudly anſwered, That it was not the great Sultans mind, that the Polonians ſhould at all inuade Moldauia, for that beſide he could without their helpe reduce thoſe countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey to the Tartar, in reward of his good ſeruice alreadie don in Hungary and other places; whoſe ſubiects the Tartars would ere long be ready with their wiues and children to take poſſeſſion of. Neuertheleſ the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan* the Turks champion (as is before declared) being preſently after ouerthrown, and driuen quite out of thoſe countries by the Prince. Who if he had not then gained the victory, the Chancellor had not now holden Moldauia, but the Turk, whoſe quarell he ſeemed rather to fauor than the princes. The Chancellor to colour this his inuaſion, pretended that the countrey of Moldauia did of antient right belong vnto the kingdome of Polonia: which the Tranſyluanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This ſuppoſed title, ſuch as it was, the Chancellor had ſo faſhioned out vnto the King and States of that Kingdome, that they referred it to his diſcretion to inuade the countrey, and remouing the Vayuod placed by the Prince, to place another in his ſtead: & the rather to perſuade them, labored by many forced reaſons to ſhew the power of the Tranſiluanian Prince to be ſo far inferior vnto the Turks, that it was to be feared he ſhould at length be thruſt out of all his dominions, and ſo they together with Moldauia become ſubiect to the Turks: which if it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, then ſhould the Polonians haue an vntruſty and troubleſome neighbour. And that therfore it were better that Moldauia were poſſeſſed by them that were better able to defend it than was hee, that ſo the Turke might be kept farther off from Polonia. Which occaſion he ſaid was not longer to be delaied, but now betime to be laid hold vpon: perſuading himſelfe to find ſuch grace and fauor with the Turkiſh Emperor, as that he ſhould be therwith right well contented: which was like enough for a time to be, for that the Tranſiluanian ſhould therby be much weakned. By theſe and ſuch like reaſons, framed to ſerue his owne gaine, the Chancellor ſo preuailed with the King and the States of the kingdom, that he receiued (as I ſaid) ful authoritie to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the Prince, and benefit of the Turk: the late choſen Vayuod not long after opening a way in three places for the Tartars into Tranſiluania, one by the country of Siculi, another by the way that leadeth to Alba Iulia, and the third by Valachia.

The reaſons pretended by the Chancellor for the inuaſion of Moldauia.

The late choſen Vayuod opens three ways vnto the Turks & Tartars into Tranſyluania.

The Tranſyluanian prince ſeeing the country of Moldauia by this practiſe of the Chancellor thus taken from him & diſſeuered from the other ioined prouinces, to the great weakning of his eſtate, after the flight of *Sinan*, ſent certain companies both of horſe & foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians, to proue if haply he could by that meanes driue out the Polonian againe, and recouer his former dignitie. With this aid ſent from

A from the Prince and others that fauoured his quarrel, he joined a bloudy battel with the Polonians: but being therin by them ouercome and taken, and for a ſpace kept (as the prince feared, to haue bin deliuered to the Turks) he was by them, as is reported, cruelly afterward put to death.

This foul dealing of the Polonian in Moldavia much grieued many good Chriſtians, as tending to the general hurt of the Chriſtian commonweal. For which cauſe the Emperor by his Embaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe to the Polonian king, ſought to perſuade him to deſiſt from ſuch inuaſion of the Tranſylvanian Prince by his Chancellour, as not ſtanding with his honor; and that ſome good reconciliation might be made betwixt the prince and the cardinal *Bator* & his brother the Princes vncles, authors of all theſe troubls. To which purpoſe alſo the B Pope ſent a meſſenger with like inſtructions and letters to the king, perſuading him not ſo to proſecute his wars againſt the prince, but to turn his thoughts vnto a more peaceable & Chriſtian-like courſe, eſpecially with him whom he was ſo neer linked to in mariage. To the like effect he writ alſo to Cardinal *Bator*; and after many graue admonitions, peremptorily cited him to Rome. But foraſmuch as the proceedings of the Polonian againſt the prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the King, it ſhall not I hope be miſtaken, if I here ſet them down, as I find them by others reported.

Pope *Clement* the eighth; To our beſt beloued Sonne in Chriſt,

C *Sigiſmund* by the grace of God, King of Polonia, with the Benediction
Apoſtolicall ſendeth greeting.

The Popes letters vnto the Polonian King.

BY how much greater affection of fatherly loue we embrace your Maieſtie in the Lord, ſo much the more feruently wee wiſh all your actions to bee adorned with the greateſt commendation of wiſdome both before God and men. Wherof it proceedeth, that we are ſo much the more vehemently and grieuouſly mooued, if we hear any ſuch thing of you as may ſeem not agreeable to your vertue and approued Zeale toward the Catholike Religion, or tending to the obſcuring of the glory of your name, as is now brought vnto vs concerning the affairs of Moldavia; wherof not without great grief we write vnto you. And to rehearſe things a little before paſt: With what earneſtneſſe dealt I with you, that for Gods cauſe, and D *the defence of the health and liberty of the Chriſtian Commonwealth againſt the tyrannie of the Turkes, you would combine your ſelfe with our moſt dearly beloued ſonne* Rodolph *the Emperour, and many other Chriſtian princes? And that you ſhould not let ſlip ſo notable an occaſion, ſo worthily to deſerue of God, of the Catholique Faith, and of the Chriſtian Commonweale in generall? And albeit we then thought, as well for many your owne priuat reſpects, as alſo of your Kingdomes, That you were to be born withall and excuſed, if you did not now openly deſcend into this confederation of the Chriſtian Princes, againſt the moſt mortall and Common Enemy, neither apertly ioyn your forces, or giue aid for the repreſſing of his inſolencie; yet we alwaies aſſured oor ſelues, That no let ſhould in any caſe proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould be the rather hindred, iuſtly to proſecute their injuries, or to caſt off from their necks the heauy yoke of the moſt cruell Tyrant; whoſe deſire of ſoueraign-* E *tie is not compriſed within the compaſſe of any bounds. But that you ſhould in fauour of the Turkes impugne the Catholique Princes and defenders of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſo joine hands with the Enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, as that by your help their force and fury ſhould be increaſed, and ours not only weakened, but in the very courſe of victorie hindered, and caſt into moſt grieuous perils; this wee haue not only not thought of you, but not ſo much as once ſuſpected: yea and can ſcarſe now be perſuaded to beleeue thoſe things to be done by you, which are reported vnto vs as moſt true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you hauing intelligence with the Turks and Tartars, haue with them conſpired: And namely againſt our well-beloued Sonne* Sigiſmund *Prince of Tranſylvania, who with inuincible courage fighteth the battells of the Lord; and leſt he ſhould be able to abate the force and the attempts of the moſt proud Enemy (which by the ſingular mercy of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power per-* F *formed) but rather be inforced much to fear his owne eſtate, a new Vayuod or Prince as it were, by a triumvirate authority and compact to bee placed in Moldavia, and him by the Turkes, You, and the Tartars together, to be made Gouernour of that Countrey. Which vnto vs ſeemed ſo new and ſo ſtrange,*

and contrary to the good opinion we had alwaies conceiued of you, yea and ſo vnbeſeeming your zeale and
wiſedom, that for griefe and admiration I had almoſt cried out with the Prophet, You heauens be amaſed G
at this, and you gates thereof be you exceeding heauy. For what could be ſuſpected or imagined
further from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that Sigiſmund the
moſt religious King of Polonia and Sweden, who had alwaies profeſſed himſelfe a moſt earneſt defender of
the Catholicke Religion, who was ready euen with his owne bloud to redeem the victory of the Chriſtians,
and glory of the Croſſe, againſt the moſt wicked enemies of the ſame, to be vpon the ſudden become ſo vnlike
vnto himſelfe, and (ſo much as in him was) to cut off the hope and happy ſucceſſe of that Religious
Warre; and to do harme to a Chriſtian and Catholique Prince, not to refuſe to joyne in league and friendſhip
euen with the moſt barbarous Nations and the Tartars, the perpetuall enemies of himſelfe and of the
kingdome of Polonia. For which cauſes our minde is tormented with ſuch bitterneſſe of griefe, that wee H
could not but by ſpeedy meſſengers write vnto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the ſooner
ſee the greatneſſe of our griefe: and we alſo without delay might ſignifie vnto you, what our fatherly
loue towards you requeſteth in ſo important a matter. For haply we will ſend one euen of purpoſe to you
concerning this cauſe, the care wherof grieueth vs more than can be well expreſſed. Wherfore moſt dearly
beloued ſon we exhort you, and in the moſt effectuall maner wee can, aduiſe you and beſeech you in the
Lord more attentiuely to conſider, what great diſpleaſure both of God and man, this your action and reſolution
may incur, what a ſtaine it may bring vnto your Crowne and dignitie. For beleeue vs, that are to
you in ſtead of a father in Chriſt, who loue you not feignedly, but faithfully, and indeed; who wiſh for your
glory in this world, and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleeue vs (I ſay) this doth much
blemiſh your fame with all Chriſtian Kings and Princes; all men take it in euill part, and deteſt it as a I
thing monſtrous, that it ſhould by your means be wrought, that the Chriſtian affairs ſhould not proſper;
that an heroicall Prince, who had vowed himſelfe for Chriſt and his Country, ſhould not haue proſperous
ſucceſſe in this ſo neceſſary and religious a war againſt the Infidels, Turks and Tartars, no leſſe yours, or
peraduenture alſo more yours and other Chriſtian Princes enemies, than his. But what do we ſay? you to
hinder the proceedings of the Tranſylvanian Prince? this were haply but a ſmall matter; nay verily, by
this means not onely a Chriſtian and Catholique Prince, and valiant Champion of the Chriſtian faith
(a vertue both admirable and amiable in the very Enemy) but your owne brother in law, bound vnto you
with ſo many bonds of affinitie, whoſe children ſhall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by this means
brought into great danger, and expoſed vnto the fury of the mercileſſe Turks. What do you then my moſt
dearly beloued ſon? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come, condemne you not of the K
greateſt inhumanity. But beware yet more that you ſeem not ingratefull not onely to your own nigh kinſman
but to God himſelf, who hath bountifully bleſſed you with two great kingdomes, and ſo many good
things; and that you prouoke not him to wrath againſt your ſelfe, that reiecteth and confoundeth all euill
and wicked deuices: and that this miſchiefe that you haue brought vpon your brother, by the iuſt iudgment
of God redound not to the greateſt deſtruction of you and your kingdom, which he in mercy forbid. Doe
you think, that the Tranſylvanian being ouercome, you ſhall in ſafety liue from the trechery of the Turk?
Do you not know him to be a faithleſſe man, which meaſureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth
faith with none, but as ſtands with his own commoditie: who with an inſatiable deſire gapeth after euery
kingdom, nay thirſteth after the deſtruction of all Chriſtendom. Think alſo my ſon, what wrong you ſhall
do vnto the Emperor your couſin, out of whoſe Imperiall bloud you haue begotten ſonnes and heires, and by L
Gods grace ſhall more; but alſo our dignitie, and the dignity of this Apoſtolicall ſeat (which you haue alwaies
ſo deuoutly honored) is therby hurt, and your moſt dear mother (which we know you of all other leaſt
would) the Roman Church is offended, which for maintenance of this ſacred war is at very great charges?
and our forces, which by you ought to haue bin relieued and increaſed, being in ſo vnfit a time by theſe ſtirs
in Moldavia diſſeuered and diminiſhed, and the enemies on the contrary increaſed and ſtrengthned, into
what danger and diſtreſſe may both our armies of the Church and the Emperors fall? And withall, how
greatly all the maner and managing of this whole war is therby confounded, euery man ſeeth. Moreouer,
which no leſſe concerns the dignitie of vs and this learned See, we haue vndertaken and certainly promiſed
to our dearly beloued ſons Rodolph and Sigiſmund, that you ſhould no way hinder or hurt their affairs.
Nor did we herof aſſure them vpon light occaſion; but moued with great reaſon, not only becauſe we M
ought ſo to do in ſo iuſt a cauſe, but alſo for that it was ſo vnto vs plainly and expreſly written by the reuerend
father the Biſhop of S. Seuerus, our apoſtolick Nuntio with you; whom we know to be faithfull to vs,

and

A *and to you dutifull: neither can we by any means doubt thereof, becauſe hee writ vnto vs concerning ſo weighty a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things ſo ſtanding, ſeeing you your ſelf ſee the manifeſt abſurdities of this fact on euery ſide, not to ſpeak of the heinouſnes thereof, we requeſt you again, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the neceſſary remedies to theſe hurts. The Tranſylvanian Prince your brother in law, deuoted to your ſelf, and deſirous of your fauour, either protect with your defence, or at leaſtwiſe hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian Commonwealth, and relieue not by any means the quarrell of the enemies of Chriſt. If you haue any controuerſie with the Prince* Sigiſmund, *or deſire of him any thing, refer it vnto vs, that is to ſay, to your moſt louing father. You know your affairs to be of vs fauored, and we hope by the power of God it may eaſily come to paſſe, that ſome conuenient means may be found, wherby peace and quietnes may be confirmed betwixt you, and good* B *vnitie grow betwixt you two brethren our ſons, and ſo all the root of bitternes and diſpleaſure to be vtterly pluckt out of your minds. This haue I writ vnto you my ſon, frankly and from a ſincere heart, though truly much grieued, becauſe we loue you, and are much carefull of your honor and good. Shew you againe indeed that you take it ſo as written from your father; and that you altogether prefer our fatherly & wholſom exhortations before the ſiniſter perſuaſions of others. Further concerning theſe matters you ſhal vnderſtand by the ſame Biſhop our Nuntio now with you, to whom you may, as you haue done, giue credit in all things, as to our ſelfe.*

These letters dated from Rome the eight day of Nouember, were deliuered to the King in December; with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope ſharply reprooued, C as the authors and contriuers of all theſe miſchiefs.

The Tartar Cham, before ſtirred vp by the Turkiſh Emperor *Mahomet*, for the inuaſion of Moldavia (as is already before declared) about this time ſent his Embaſſadour alſo vnto the Polonian King, for the confirmation of ſuch articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancellor: which becauſe they manifeſtly declare the ground and purpoſe of his intended expedition into Moldavia, with the foul colluſion of the Chancellor with the Turks & Tartars, againſt the Tranſylvanian Prince, I thought it not amiſſe, or from our purpoſe (for the more manifeſtation of that which is already ſaid) here to ſet them down as they are tranſlated out of the Tartar Language.

D

Cham *Kazikieri*, vnto the King of Polonia and Sweden, our Brother, one of the great Lords amongſt the Chriſtians, humbly boweth his head.

The Tartars Letters to the king of Poland

First we ſignifie vnto you, That Aaron *Palatine of Moldavia was a forſworn traitor; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Coſſacks, ſpoiled the teritories of the great Sultan. But afterwards diſſention ariſing amongſt them, the Hungarian Coſſacks liuing in Valachia, ſent* Aaron *in bonds vnto the King of Vienna. After him followed another traitour called* Rozwan, *who alſo hauing raiſed certain companies of ſoldiers, began in like manner to forrage the coun-* E *tries of the Turkiſh Emperor therabout. Which as ſoon as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto me his brother, That I ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed go into Valachia to chaſtiſe theſe rebels, to burn their houſes and towns; and hauing with the edge of the ſword ſlain their men, to carry away with me their wiues & children into captiuity. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territory of the great Lord* Karykterey, *with my brother* Letikerry Galga, *and other my brethren & Counſellors, warlike and valiant Captains and Murzis; mounting myne horſe, came with myne army into Valachia vnto the Riuer Prut, where it meeteth in another Riuer called Cocoza: here we chanced vpon a faithfull ſeruitor of yours our brother the Chancellour, who was alſo come a little before vs into Valachia; with whom after ſome light contention, when we began to be more tractable, hee declared vnto vs, That he was of purpoſe come into Valachia to place there a new Vayuod; which (as he ſaid) of antient right belonged vnto the Poloni-* F *ans, without any wrong or preiudice therin to be don to the couenants and league they had with the Emperor of the Turks: and deſired, That one* Ieremias *whom he had appointed Vayuod, might haue the command of that prouince; and that the antient amity, ſuch as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which when I had on my part faithfully ſworn to do, and he alſo had cauſed the ſame to be done by ſuch of his as he had therfore ſent vnto me; we decreed together, That*

the Coſſacks on the farther ſide of Nieſter (diſordered and rebellious men) ſhould be vtterly rooted out,
that they ſhould not hereafter do any harme in the territories of the great Sultan, and that the Preſents G
vſually ſent vnto vs of long, euen ſince the time of Sultan Solyman, *ſhould no more be detained, nor any*
harms be hereafter done in any part of our dominion. And therfore when the Chancellor had promiſed
vnto vs, That he would take order that theſe Coſſacks ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed; I alſo conſented, That
according to the pleaſure of the royall Maieſty of you my brother, Ieremias *ſhould hold the Vayuodſhip of*
Valachia: which I forthwith by letters ſignified vnto the Turkiſh Emperor. Now if it be ſo, that your
Majeſty ſhall giue your conſent vnto thoſe things which we haue here agreed vpon with your Chancellor,
you ſhall then for euer finde brotherly friendſhip with me, my brother, and all other our captains and Marzies: but if you ſhall not deſtroy theſe Coſſackes, you ſhall not then perform the oath and couenants made.
Theſe things we haue commanded to be declared vnto you by our Embaſſador our brother Gianach Metagra, *whom we requeſt your Maieſty curteouſly to entertain, and by him to ſend the preſents vnto vs: for* H
we will not now this year ſend any other.

Giuen at the riuer Prut, in the year of Mahomet 1004.

After the Tartar Embaſſador had deliuered thoſe letters vnto the King, with a ſpeech in
effect to the ſame purpoſe, hee in the name of the *Cham* gaue vnto him an horſe and an arrow
for a preſent: and afterward being brought to a lodging appointed for him, was commanded
there to expect his anſwer. At length his diſpatch was giuen him in Letters ſealed vp, which
he took much againſt his will; requeſting the king to ſend an Embaſſador vnto the *Cham*, and I
further by word of mouth to tell him what to anſwer vnto his Lord. But other anſwer could
he get none, than was already deliuered him in writing: and ſo rewarded with a gowne furred
with Sables, was diſmiſſed without the preſent requeſted by the *Cham*, or any Embaſſador to
accompany him.

Thus the Tranſylvanian Prince, on the one ſide mightily impugned by the Turk, & on the
other by the ſetting on of the Turke, ready to haue bin no leſſe indangered by the inuaſion of
the Tartar; receiued greater harm from the Polonians being Chriſtians, than from both thoſe
great *Mahometan* Princes: the Polonians in ſome ſort performing for the Turk, what hee had
plotted to haue bin don by the Tartar, & ſo by the taking away of Moldavia from the prince,
not only weakned his ſtrength, but alſo opened a way for the barbarous enemy into his Country. K
Howbeit much it is that the Polonians alledge for the excuſe of themſelues, & defence
of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in Moldavia; which for that it cannot
be better told than by the great Chancellor himſelf, let vs heare how he by his letters anſwereth
the matter euen vnto Pope *Clement* himſelf.

John Zamoſchie, vnto *Clement* the eighth
the great Biſhop.

Zamoſchy his letters to Pope Clement.

MOſt holy and bleſſed Father in Chriſt, and moſt gracious Lord, after the kiſſing of your moſt bleſſed L
feet, and my moſt humble commendations; I haue by your Holineſſe Letters directed both vnto the
Kings Maieſty and my ſelfe, vnderſtood, as well his royall Maieſty and my moſt gracious Lord and Maſter, as alſo my ſelf as his ſeruant, to be both accuſed vnto your Highneſſe; as if by thoſe things by vs don
in Moldauia, the endeauours of the Chriſtians had bin hindred, and the power of the enemy confirmed.
Wherof I am not with many words to purge my ſelf vnto your Holineſſe, foraſmuch as I aſſure my ſelfe
your Holineſſe to haue already fully vnderſtood both what the things were that were done in Moldauia,
and how they were don; partly by the Kings Maieſties Letters, and partly by his principall Secretary, for
that cauſe eſpecially ſent vnto your Holineſſe. Yet doubt I not to requeſt this one thing of your Holineſſe,
That if it hath known me for a man, I will not ſay of any capacity or wit, but euen of the leaſt experience in
the world, or of any religion at all, ſo to perſuade it ſelfe of mee, nothing to haue bin done, eſpecially in this M
matter, either raſhly, or to the hinderance of the Chriſtian commonweal. I will not now repeat what myne
opinion was concerning the league and confederation to be made with the reſt of the Chriſtian princes, for
combining their forces againſt the Common enemy, eſpecially his ſacred Maieſties: as alſo what myne own
labor & indeauor was in the laſt aſſembly of the States in the high court of parlement: which thing after it

was

A was euen by whom it moſt concerned, either delayed or neglected, or vtterly caſt aſide; and yet his Maieſty had ſtil a great deſire to do the Chriſtian commonweal ſome great good, I alſo to the vttermoſt of my power labored to that end; that by the common decree of the kingdom an expedition might be made into Tartary, not ſo much in reuenge of the iniuries don by that enemy in theſe late years paſt, as ſo in the mean time to turn him from the necks of the Chriſtians, as that he ſhould not join his forces with the Turk. Or if it ſo pleaſed God to bleſſe thoſe our indeauors, vtterly at length to root out that ſo great a miſchiefe. But how it came to paſſe that this expedition, ſo much by the King deſired (yet ſcarcely begun or taken in hand) took not effect, it is not for me to declare, for that I ſuppoſe your Holineſſe hath by others, eſpecially your Nuntio, vnderſtood the ſame. In the mean time, by Letters and often meſſengers news was brought, that Sinan Baſſa with a great army was already come ouer Danubius; and I by letters from the Vayuod of the farther Valachia was aduertiſed, how that he, not able to incounter him, had forſaken that prouince, which B at the firſt impreſſion taken and almoſt vtterly waſted by Sinan, hee was now come faſt vpon Tranſylvania: and in Moldavia the Tartar was ſtill expected; inſomuch that Roſwan (who hauing taken priſoner Aaron the Palatine whom he ſerued, in his houſe, and ſo himſelf injoyed the Palatine) began now alſo to quake for fear, and to craue help of me, or rather to ſeek how he might fly away (as not long after hee did) neither hauing any great ſtrength about him, or expecting any greater from the people of that countrey: for why, that prouince was brought ſo low by the miſeries of the former yeares, but eſpecially by ſuch as had euill gouerned the ſame, that at ſuch time as I entred into Moldavia, I aſſure your Holineſſe there were not in it of houſholders aboue 15000, and thoſe alſo for the moſt part poor country people of the baſeſt ſort, in whom there could neither be any great help, neither if they had bin able to haue don any thing, C durſt Roſwan haue truſted himſelfe with them, vpon whom he had with all kinde of cruelty tyranniſed. Chotijm a caſtle in the very confines of this kingdom, was kept with no greater Garriſon than 200 Hungarians, who perceiuing themſelues neither of ſufficient ſtrength to hold the place, nor to withſtand the enemy, they alſo by and by followed after Roſwan. All the reſt of the prouince was not only vnarmed, but without any defence at all; two caſtles only excepted, which ſtanding vpon the confines of Polonia, might haue ſerued better for the enemy, out of them to haue infeſted vs, than for the defence of Moldauia againſt them. So that had the enemy once ſet foot into that prouince, neither could it without a great power haue bin recouered; neither being recouered, could eaſily haue bin defended againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy: and that which worſe was, was not it ſelf alone to haue bin conſumed with that fire, but like enough to haue caried away with it Podolia alſo bordering vpon it, with a great part of Raſcia. Wherefore in this ſtate of D things, when as that prouince was in greateſt danger to haue bin loſt, and ſo many enemies houered not more ouer the heads of all Chriſtendom, than ouer this Kingdom, what was of vs to be done? I know to whom I ſpeak theſe things, euen vnto him, not only whoſe Diuine wiſedome, but ſingular loue alſo toward my natiue countrey is to me moſt known. Verily I entred into Moldavia with no great Army, yet ſuch a one as haply (as in like caſe it often chanceth) Fame had made amongſt the enemies a very great one. So that Sinan fearing, if he ſhould thruſt himſelfe with his Army into the ſtreits whereby he was to breake into Tranſylvania, to be ſhut in by our Army, ſtayd his journy; and the Tartar the more earneſtly he was called vpon by Sinan, by reaſon of the fame of this our Army, reſolued to make himſelf ſo much the ſtronger. So that whilſt he aſſembled the Nogaian Tartars and others farther off, and ſo from all parts raiſeth the greateſt power that he could, the matter was delayed almoſt vnto the end of Nouember: at which time E he with a moſt huge Army, accompanied with Sendziack Iehiuenſe, and a great power of the Turks raiſed out of their prouinces there by, came directly vpon me in the fields of Coroce. Sendziak the Tartar Cham his ſiſters ſon now called himſelf the Baſſa of Moldavia; as did the Tartars eldeſt ſon name himſelf Prince of another part of that prouince alſo. For ſo that Countrey was to haue bin diuided betweene them, that that part which was next vnto the Tartars dominions ſhould be alotted to the Tartar, and the other part confining vpon this kingdom, to be gouerned by Sendziak, as Baſſa thereof, and ſo to make it the ſeat of a perpetuall war, from whence Podolia, Raſcia, and the lower Polonia might be with continuall incurſions waſted euen before our faces. Concerning which matter they now diſperſed their letters, wherein they publiſhed the power and authority giuen them from the grand Seignior, exhorting the people of that country to receiue the ſame. A whole day we fought with this multitude, our men alwaies by the goodnes of God hauing not only the vpper hand, but without any notable loſſe alſo, yet not without great ſlaughter F of theirs: and would to God I had had ſuch ſtrength, as that not onely the conditions of peace, but euen the enemies themſelues might haue bin in my power. But when we were oftentimes come to parle (they ſtill requiring the ſame) and ſo at length to conditions of peace; if ſuch were giuen them, as wherby this only kingdom had without the wrong of any other bin deliuered from ſo great and ſudden a danger, what reaſonable man could finde fault therwith, if we ſhould haue preferred the health of our countrey (wherevnto all good men owe all they haue) before others profits? But now theſe things were ſo don, as that it was no leſſe prouided for the good of the neighbor Chriſtians, yea and haply not the leaſt for theirs, who for the ſame ſlander this kingdom vnto your Holineſſe. The fury of Sinan Baſſa was by this meanes repreſſed; who whilſt he feared to be ſhut vp in the ſtreits by our army now come into Moldauia, and expected the Tartars comming, ſpent almoſt all the reſt of the ſummer idlely, and without doing any thing. The Tartar himſelf was not only turned from the bowels of Chriſtendom, wherinto he had purpoſed (as the yeare before) to haue entred, we hauing with our own breſts receiued his force and fury; but being brought vnto conditions, was expreſly enioyned in a moſt ſhort prefined time, and without any more harm doing, to return again into his country by the ſelf ſame way he came, and by no other: wherby it is come to paſſe, that vntill this day Chriſtendom hath not this year yet felt the fury of the Tartars weapons. But vnto Tranſyluania and Hungary, what a ſpace and power was giuen for them to gather their ſtrength and forces together, and out of the ſame places to oppoſe againſt the enemy, when as our Army kept them ſafe at their backs, and eaſed not only Moldauia, but Valachia and Tranſyluania alſo of that care? Whereas if this cauſe of delay had not bin obiected, to the Turks firſt, and after vnto the Tartars; not to ſay any thing of the Turks, the Tartars at the very ſelf ſame time that the Tranſyluanian army was gon into Valachia againſt Sinan, might haue broken into Tranſyluania before it could haue returned home; or els marching directly towards that army, might haue met with it out of Tranſyluania. As for Moldauia, which together with the memory of the Chriſtian name yet left in it, had vtterly periſhed, it was moſt manifeſtly preſerued by the comming of our army. Which what end it would haue had, if the enemy at his pleaſure might haue raged as he did in the farther Valachia, thoſe moſt bitter remembrances in it, yet at this day ſmoking, do well declare: out of which it is well knowne, more thouſands of Chriſtians haue bin carried away into moſt miſerable captiuity, than almoſt out of any other prouince in all the time of this miſerable wars. Which though it be thus, yet boaſt we not therof, neither ſend we any triumphant letters vnto your Holineſſe, nor brag we of any good ſeruice done for the Chriſtian commonweal; but content our ſelues with the conſcience of the thing it ſelf. In the mean time we are accuſed vnto your Holineſſe. But for what cauſe? If any man complain for the taking of Moldauia, I will not ſay it was by them before willingly forſaken, whilſt I was yet in the frontiers therof, but that this kingdom hath a moſt antient right vnto it, and ſuch a right, as that our Kings buſied in their wars againſt the Muſcouit, the Cruciat Teutonic brethren, or others, ſome others alſo troubling the ſtate therof, it for a time became a prey vnto the Turkiſh Tyrants; yet in all the Leagues made or renued betwixt this kingdom and them, it was ſtill excepted, That all ſuch things as the Palatine of Moldauia was of duty to perform vnto the King, ſhould by him ſtill be performed. Which Kings of Polonia, and namely Auguſtus himſelf, the laſt of the Iagellonian Family, appointed diuers of thoſe Palatines themſelues. Which although they be things moſt manifeſt, yet hauing more regard to the welfare of that prouince, as a Chriſtian country, than of our right, we reſtored it into the ſame ſtate wherein it hath bin for many yeares before theſe * Warres. Wherefore if any man doe thinke any thing done, wherby the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt might be eaſed or ſtrengthned, or the Defenders of the faith hindered; it is ſo far from any ſuch thing to be don, that rather (as is before declared) the enemies forces are repreſſed and auerted, and greater means giuen vnto the Chriſtians a front to impugn them; the enemies being at their backs by vs ſhut from them. But I fear they haue not fully informed your Holineſſe, how theſe things were done, who haue reported vnto your ſaid Holineſſe, not onely the name of the Turks to haue bin proclaimed together with the Polonians in Moldauia, but alſo the name of the Tartars, the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and decrees of them three, as it were confederat together, things to haue bin ordered in Moldauia. Which their complaint if it tend to that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankly confeſſe certain conditions to haue beene giuen them, but ſuch as wherby is prouided not only for the quiet and ſecuritie of this kingdom, but no leſſe alſo for the whole Chriſtian commonweal, as is before declared. All which things for all that, although they were done for the good of this kingdom, and all Chriſtendom in generall; yet were they ſo done, that they were all referred by me vnto the Kings Maieſty, and the States of this kingdom: ſo that at this preſent the King is at free liberty either to ioyn in confederation with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes, or if that cannot vpon certain and indifferent conditions be agreed vpon, yet with no mans injury or hurt to ratifie this, ioyned with the health and good of a great part of the Chriſtian commonweal: only God grant that the Chriſtian Princes may ſeriouſly think both of this ſo Chriſtian a confederation againſt the Common Enemy,

* Viz. tributary vnto the Turks.

1596.

A *Enemy, and ſtrike alſo all together againſt the enemy with their weapons, and not with miſreports and ſlanders one againſt another. They are not to aſſail the enemies feet, but his throat; neither is the ſeat of the war to be placed in the borders of Poland, where it concerneth themſelues much to haue all things there peaceable behind them. But let the war be undertaken with no leſſe charge and preparation, than if the Enemies whole ſtate were to be aſſailed, which ſtanding in an open and plain country, ſhal alwaies without much ado be his that being ſtrongeſt can take it. This haue I written at large, as my purpoſe was, and which I moſt humbly beſeech your Holineſſe with your diuine wiſdom to conſider of, and with your accuſtomed clemency to accept the ſame: and ſo proſtrat at your Holineſſe feet, I moſt humbly commend me to your Clemencie.* From Zamoſchie *the tenth of Ianuary, 1596.*

B Thus much the great Chancellor in defence of himſelfe, and of that he had don in Moldavia: which howſoeuer it contented the Pope, wel I wot it nothing pleaſed the Emperour, and much leſſe the Tranſylvanian Prince, now not a little weakned by the taking away of Moldavia from him.

To end this troubleſome yeare withall, many ſharp and bloudy skirmiſhes yet daily paſſed in diuers places of thoſe frontier countries, the Turks almoſt in euery place ſtil going to the worſe. In the beginning of Nouember, *Lencowitz* gouernor of Caroloſtat the ſecond time ſurpriſed Wihitz in the frontiers of Croatia where theſe wars firſt began; but being not able to take the caſtle, contented himſelf as before with the ſpoil of the city, and afterward ſetting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* alſo attempted Zolnoc: and the Chriſtians in gariſon at Strigonium C and Plindenburg, now become neer neighbors vnto the Turks at Buda, did with continual inrodes not a little moleſt them both all the later end of this year and the beginning of the next. And the Turks in Braila in Valachia vpon the ſide of Danubius; fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be beſieged by the Vayuod, forſook the city, & in ſuch haſt paſſed the riuer, that in that tumultuous paſſage three hundred of them periſhed. *Sinan Baſſa* by the Tranſylvanian prince of late driuen out of Valachia, was not long after ſent for to Conſtantinople: but the crafty old Fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miſerie of *Ferat*, found occaſions to delay the time ſo long vntill that hee was ſent for again, and after that the third time alſo. In the mean while he had ſo wrought by his mighty friends in court, and by rich rewards mightier than they, that at his comming to the court he D was there honorably receiued, as chief Baſſa; and being afterwards offered to be diſcharged of the wars, as a man aboue 80 years old, hee refuſed ſo to bee, ſaying, That hee was borne and brought vp among ſoldiers and martial men, and ſo wiſhed among them to die: as not long after he did, as it was thought of conceit of the euil ſucceſſe he had in his Wars againſt the Tranſylvanian.

The death of Sinan Baſſa.

Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperor exceedingly grieued with the loſſe of ſo many his Cities and ſtrong places loſt this yeare, *viz.* Strigonium, Vicegrade, Siſeg, Petrinia, Lippa, Ienna, Tergoviſta, Buchareſta, Zorza, and many others of leſſe name; and both by letters & meſſengers vnderſtanding daily of the ſlaughter of his people, and waſting of his frontiers, commanded great preparation to be made againſt the next Spring: giuing it out, That he would then E in perſon himſelf come down into Hungary with ſuch a power as neuer had any his warlike predeceſſors, and there take moſt ſharp reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheles theſe his ſo haſty deſignes were by the plague & famin (both which then raged extreamly in thoſe parts of his empire) and by other great occurrents of the ſame time, ſo croſſed, that by that time the Spring came, he ſcarcely wel knew which way to turn himſelf firſt. For beſides theſe troubles of the Weſt, of themſelues enough to haue filled his hands, the Georgians in the Eaſt (a warlike people) moued with the good ſucces of the Chriſtians in Valachia and Hungarie, had taken vp arms againſt him: and the old Perſian King but a little before dead, had left that great kingdom to his ſon, a man of greater ſpirit than was like to endure the manifold iniuries before don vnto his father by the Turks, to the great diſhonor of that kingdome, and prejudice F of himſelf. Of which things the Baſſa of Tauris gaue him ample intelligence, wiſhing him betimes to prouide for that ſtorm: which ioined vnto the reſt, filled his head with many troubled thoughts, whervnto we leaue him vntill the next Spring.

Mahomet perplexed.

The Traſilvanian prince careful of his eſtate, and not a little troubled with the diſſeuering

of Moldavia, thought it not vnfit for his affairs, now after the flight of *Sinan*, and diſcomfiture
of the Turks, to go in perſon himſelf to the Emperor, to declare vnto him the wrong don him G
by the Polonian; and further to conferre with him concerning the mannaging of the Warres
againſt the common enemy. So hauing put al things in readines for his iourny, he ſet forward
1596: in Ianizary, 1596, and by the way of Caſſovia the fourth of February arriued at Prague in Bo-
hemia; where he was by the Emperors appointment moſt honorably entertained. But imme-
diatly after his comming thither he fel ſick of an ague, which grieuouſly vexed him for three
weeks ſpace. In the later end of February hauing ſomwhat recouered his health, he went vnto
the church, where after his deuotions done, he was by the Dean of the Cathedral church wel-
commed with a moſt eloquent oration, ſetting forth his worthy praiſes, and further anima-
ting him vnto the like exploits againſt the common enemy of all Chriſtianitie. Whereunto H
he forthwith anſwered in Latine ſo eloquently and ſo readily, that all men maruelled that
heard him. Proteſting in his ſpeech, That as he and his ſubiects had not hitherto ſpared their
liues or goods in defence of the common Cauſe; ſo would they not afterwards ſpare the ſame,
but aduenture all for the benefit of the Chriſtian commonweal: wel hoping that the Empe-
ror and other Chriſtian princes would not as occaſion required bee wanting vnto him with
their forces, or the Clergy with their prayers. Which done, he doubted not (as he ſaid) by the
power of God, but to obtain more notable victories than he had yet, againſt the Turks the E-
nemies of God.

The Siculi rebell againſt the Prince.

Whilſt he yet thus lay at the Emperors Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi,
offended to haue their liberties in ſome part infringed in the late aſſembly of the States hol- I
den in Tranſylvania in December laſt paſt, riſe vp now in armes in diuers places, refuſing to
yeeld their former obedience vnto the Prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him
much trouble, and ſuppoſed not to haue bin don without the priuity of the Cardinal his Vn-
cle: but by the wiſdom and courage of ſuch as he had in his abſence put in truſt with the go-
uernment of his country, diuers of the ring-leaders of this rebellion were apprehended, and in
diuers ſorts executed; and 300 of their complices, to the terror of others, had their noſes and
ears cut off. By which wholſom ſeuerity all thoſe troubles were appeaſed, and the Country
again quieted.

At the ſame time alſo the Tranſylvanians obtained of the Turks a notable victory, with an
exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Sultan had about this time ſent a new Baſſa for K
for the gouernment of Temeſware: againſt whoſe comming the Baſſa the old gouernor had
in 75 wagons truſſed vp a wonderfull deal of wealth, which hee had there gotten in the time
of his former gouernment; to haue bin together with himſelfe with a ſtrong conuoy condu-
cted to Belgrade. Of this his purpoſe the Hungarian Heidons lying at Lippa and Ienna ha-
uing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his paſſing by ſet vpon him; where
in a ſharp conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and ſlew the Baſſa, whoſe head they ſent as a
present to the Princeſſe at Alba-Iulia, and took the ſpoil of the Baſſa's carriages, wherein was
taken a wonderfull wealth; for in one of thoſe wagons is reported to haue been found 20000
Hungarian ducats.

The Baſſa of Temeſware ſlaine, and a great booty taken.

In this abſence alſo of the Prince, 10000 of the Raſcians reuolting from the Turke, came L
and offered their ſeruice vnto the Princeſſe: wherof ſhe by letters with great ſpeed certified
the Prince her husband: who therupon haſted to diſpatch with the Emperor, and hauing pro-
cured both from him and the Pope the promiſe of ſome aid to be afterwards ſent him, took of
him his leaue, and being honorably accompanied, departed from Prague to Vienna, where he
arriued the 11 of March, ſitting in a princely Chariot drawn with ſix moſt beautifull horſes,
the gift of the Emperor. At his comming thither he was met by the Nobility of the Coun-
try, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who preſented him with three goodly horſes for
ſeruice, richly furniſhed. Him the prince took into his charet, and ſo accompanied entred the
city, where he was with all due honor receiued and ioyfully entertained, and ſo brought vnto
the Emperors palace, where by the learned ſtudents of that Vniuerſitie was for his pleaſure M
acted before him the notable hiſtory of *Ieſua*. Hauing ſtaid there three daies, and purpoſing
to haue in his returne viſited his mother in law at Greics in Croatia; newes was brought
him, That the Turkes and Tartars by the ſetting on of *Stephen Bathor* his Vncle, were about

A to break into Tranſylvania. Wherfore changing his purpoſe, he departed thence to Presburg,
and ſo with all ſpeed kept on his way toward Tranſylvania, where to the great ioy & comfort
of his ſubiects in general he arriued in ſafety in the beginning of April.

In this while many hot ſkirmiſhes paſt betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in the frontiers
of their territories; and now the plague and famin which had long raged in Conſtantinople
and other places of the Turks dominions began to aſſwage. Of which ſo great calamities
as had deuoured many thouſands of his people, the Turkiſh Emperor finding himſelf
ſomwhat eaſed, forthwith cauſed the continuation of his wars againſt the Emperour and the
Tranſylvanian prince to be three daies together proclaimed in Conſtantinople, and a great
army to be raiſed to be ſent into Tranſylvania and Hungary: giuing it out, That he would
B with that ſo puiſſant an army in perſon himſelf paſſe into Hungary. At which time it was alſo
reported, That he had already ſent his tents and other his neceſſary prouiſion before to Hadrianople.
For now was nothing more odious in the Turks court, than the name of the Tranſylvanian
prince.

Of all theſe things was not the Emperor ignorant, as fully therof certified both by letters
and eſpials, as alſo by the vniform confeſſion of ſuch Turks as were daily taken priſoners. For
which cauſe he alſo with as much ſpeed and care as hee could, prouided for the raiſing of his
army, as he had the year before; as alſo for the leuying of mony, and prouiſion of all things neceſſary,
that the enemy at his comming might not find him vnprouided. Neither ſpared he
to pray aid of his neighbour Chriſtian princes, eſpecially the Polonian, whom he had diuers
C times ſought to draw into the confederation with the other Chriſtian princes againſt the
Turk. To which purpoſe he now alſo ſent to him the Biſhop of Preſlaw and the Lord *Poppelius*
his Embaſſadors: as did the Pope alſo ſend vnto him the cardinal *Cajetan* his Legat; and
the Princes Electors alſo their Embaſſadors: vnto whom the Polonian gaue good hearing and
good words, but would not by any means be perſuaded to break his league with the Turke, or
to afford any aid to the Chriſtians; although the Cardinal with many pregnant reaſons ſhewed
him what ſmall aſſurance there was in the Turks leagues, and how dangerous it might bee
to his ſtate, if the Turk making peace with the Emperor, ſhould turn his forces vpon him; as
it was like enough he would, knowing no man longer for friend, than ſtood with his profit:
beſide the immortal blemiſh of his honor, by diſſeuering himſelf from the vnion of the Chriſtian
D princes, to hold friendſhip with the Turks and infidels. But all this & much more was
to no purpoſe, ſo reſolutely was the Polonian ſet down for keeping of the Turks fauor. So that
of al the Chriſtian princes ſo neer vnto the deuouring enemy, none ſtood the Chriſtian commonweal
in leſſe ſtead than he. Which for all that, moſt men imputed not ſo much vnto the
King, as to others about him, eſpecially to *Zamoſchie* the great Chancellour, by whom that
ſtate was moſt ſwayed; who was not only ſuppoſed, but openly reported to haue ſecret intelligence
both with the Turk and the Tartar.

All this while the Lord *Palſi* gouernor of Strigonium ceaſed not with continuall inrodes
to vex the Turks euen to the gates of Buda; as did alſo the other Chriſtian captaines in other
places of the Turks frontiers in Hungary. Neere vnto Buda were two great country villages
E for moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who hauing giuen their oath of obedience vnto the
Turk, liued a miſerable life for the paiment of an exceſſiue tribute yearly. Theſe poor Chriſtians
weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and the continuall ſpoile of their labours by them of
Strigonium; by ſecret meſſengers requeſted the Lord *Palſi*, of mercy to carry them and their
goods and cattell away into ſome other place of the Chriſtian territory, that ſo they might
yet liue amongſt Chriſtians; as he had but a little before done for them of old Buda. Vnto
which their ſo reaſonable a requeſt the Chriſtian gouernor charitably hearkned, willing them
againſt a certain appointed time to put themſelues and all their things in readineſſe. There
was of theſe Chriſtians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, & ſuch traſh
as they had packt vp in fourſcore Wagons drawn with fourteen or ſixteen oxen apiece, at the
F appointed time about midnight committed themſelues with all that they had, vnto the conduct
of them of Strigonium, ſent out of purpoſe for them; by whom they were in ſafetie
brought to Strigonium. Among them were many rich men, who brought with them good
ſtore of coyne, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto theſe new come gueſts *Palſi*
aſſigned certain fields betwixt Strigonium & Vivaria, on the North ſide of Danubius, where

they ſo commodiouſly liued,as was poſſible in ſo troubled an eſtate of a countrey. G

Lippa beſieged by the Turks.

Shortly after, *600* garriſon ſoldiers of Lippa ſeeking after booty,and aduenturing too far
into the enemies territorie,were diſcouered by the Turks ſcouts,& ſo beſet by the Turks and
Tartars bilited in the country about Temeſwar,that there was no way left for them to eſcape.
Which they well perceiuing,reſolued among themſelues (as became valiant men) to fight it
out euen to the laſt man: and with no leſſe reſolution performed what they had before deter-
mined, for being on euery ſide beſet and hardly charged by their enemies, they as men before
reſolued to die, although ſcarce one to twenty, fought moſt deſperatly, ſeeking for nothing
elſe but to ſell their liues as deere as they could vnto their enemies: and ſo fighting were all
ſlain,except ſome few which by great fortune eſcaped,leauing vnto the enemy a right bloudy
victory:yet by this loſſe of ſo great a party was the garriſon of Lippa greatly weakned,which H
the enemy knew right well,and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to beſiege the Towne.
Which *Barbelus* the Gouernour (a moſt valiant man) wiſely foreſeeing, ſent in poſt vnto the
Tranſyluanian Prince, to requeſt him with all ſpeed to ſend him foure or fiue thouſand good
ſoldiers,with which power he doubted not by the help of God,to be able to defend the town
againſt al the forces the enemy was at that time able to bring againſt it. To whom the prince
without delay ſent 8000, who all in ſafety in good time arriued at Lippa: for ſhortly after
their arriual,40000 of the Turks and Tartars came and ſat downe before the towne, incloſing
it on euery ſide,and ſo lay for certaine dayes without any thing doing worth the ſpeaking of;
they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they could with their great
ſhot,which they ſent among them not ſparingly. But they had not ſo long lien,but that news I
was brought into the camp,That the Tranſyluanian Prince was with a great power comming
thither to relieue the towne; whereupon they preſently riſe, and retyred to the place where
they had before incamped about two miles from Lippa; where certainly vnderſtanding that
the Prince neither was, neither could in ſhort time be in ſuch readineſſe as was before repor-
ted,they forthwith returned,and more ſtreitly beſieged the towne than before.They had now
brought with them ſeuenteen pieces of batterie, eight waggons laded with ſhot and pouder,
and forty ſix others laded with ſcaling ladders and other warlike prouiſion: thus appointed
they began to batter the towne,and afterwards gaue thereunto diuers deſperat aſſaults,which
the Chriſtians valiantly receiued, and ſtill with great ſlaughter repulſed their enemies. For
that ſtrong town was with towers and bulwarks flanking one another, ſo fortified, that out of K
them the Chriſtians with their murthering pieces made great ſpoile of their enemies,and ſtil
inforced them with loſſe to retyre,no bullet almoſt flying in vain. In the heat of one of theſe
aſſaults the Gouernor cauſed one of the gates of the town to be ſet open,hauing before with-
in the town placed ſixteene great pieces at the very enterance of the ſame gate,charged with
all kind of murthring ſhot. To which gate as of meer deſperation ſet open by the defendants,
the Turks and Tartars deſirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be,thinking to
haue thereby entred: when ſuddenly,and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with
the aforeſaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a ſithe, and ſo againe, and the third and
fourth time,before they could cleere themſelues of the danger thereof,their heads,armes,and
legs,and other rent limbs,flying in the aire moſt miſerably to behold. Neuertheleſſe the ſiege L
was by them continued,& the often aſſaults ſo reſolutely maintained,as if they had therupon
purpoſed to haue gaged all their liues. But this ſo obſtinat a reſolution was by an vnexpected
accident when they leaſt thought,conuerted into ſuch a deſperat feare and aſtoniſhment, that
they vpon the ſudden, no man forcing them,forſooke their trenches wherein they lay incam-
ped,and leauing behind them their tents,their great Ordnance, and whatſoeuer els they had,
they betook themſelues to a moſt diſordred flight. The Tranſyluanians,who by chance were
euen then comming thither,purſuing them,ſlew diuers of them, & took ſome others of them
priſoners. At this ſiege, the Baſſa of Temeſwar himſelfe was mortally wounded, and *Hamat*
Sanzacke of Giula with diuers others of good place ſlain,and 4000 of the common ſoldiers.
The cauſe of the Turks ſo great and ſudden feare was this; Whilſt the Baſſa of Temeſwar lay M
at the ſiege of Lippa, as is aforeſaid, they that were left in the City fearing no harm,liued in
great ſecuritie; in the meane time the Gouernor of Lugaz ſent out ſix thouſand ſouldiers to-
wards Tameſwar,now in the abſence of the Baſſa to ſeek after booty:who comming to Te-
meſwar with great ſpeed,rifled the ſuburbs of the City, ſlew all the Turkes they could light

A vpon,and ſet at liberty a thouſand captiues:and ſo hauing truſſed vp their booty,ſet on fire all their ſuburbs and departed. Which fire grew ſo great and ſo terrble,that it was plainly ſeen into the camp at Lippa,making a ſhew as if the whole city had bin on a light fire. Which ſo daunted the hearts of the Turks at the ſiege, that they preſently fled (as is before ſaid) leauing all that they had behind them.

Plenia ſackt by the Chriſtians.

The Tranſylvanian all this while buſied in raiſing of his army,and prouiding of all things neceſſary for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of Hungary towards Temeſwar,euen as the Turks fled from Lippa. At which time certaine Hungarian Heidons that ſerued him,getting ouer Danubius not far from Nicopolis,took Plenia a little towne of the Turks,which they ranſacked and burnt; and hauing ſlain in the country therabout aboue B three thouſand Turks,returned with a rich prey vnto the Prince.

Cliſſa regained by the Turks.

Not long before,the Chriſtians had ſurpriſed Cliſſa, a ſtrong frontier town of the Turkes in Dalmatia not far from Spalato: which town the Baſſa of Boſna ſought now again to recouer, and thereto laid hard ſiege. For the reliefe wherof, *Leucowitz* gouernor of Stiria and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria, and the gouernor of Zenge, with a fleet of forty two ſhips,wherin they had imbarqued 4000 ſoldiers wel appointed with all things neceſſarie,ſet forward toward Cliſſa: and by the way lighting vpon a galley of the Venetians bound with certain warlike prouiſion toward the Turkes campe,tooke her as good prize and rifled her. This fleet with a fair wind arriued at Siret,neer vnto Trau,where the gouernor landing his men,marched that night part of his way toward Cliſſa, & all the next day C lay cloſe. The night following they ſet forward againe, and hauing marched fifteen miles, came to the enemies camp before day:where ſetting vpon the Turks in their trenches,fearing no ſuch peril,they brought ſuch a general fear vpon the whole camp,that the Turkes as men amaſed fled,ſome one way,ſome another,euery man (as in ſuch ſudden fear it commonly hapneth) making ſhift for himſelf, leauing whatſoeuer they had in their trenches behind them. The Chriſtians contented ſo to haue put their enemies to flight,fel preſently to the ſpoile,as more deſirous thereof,than by the haſty purſuit of their enemies to put themſelues in poſſeſſion of an aſſured victory. Which the Turks quickly perceiuing,and from the hills with the dawning of the day diſcouering the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and how they were diſordred,they gathered themſelues again together,and comming down,incloſed on euery ſide D the diſordered Chriſtians(greedily hunting after the ſpoil) and ſlew them downright. *Leucowitz* himſelf,with the gouernor of Zeng & ſome others got into Cliſſa,where hauing ſtaid two daies, and doubting to be able to keepe the ſame, they ſecretly by night iſſued out with 600 men,in hope to haue recouered their fleet; but the Turkes ſuſpecting ſuch a matter, had ſo beſet the paſſages,that of all that company, *Leucowitz* had much adoe himſelfe with three others to eſcape. The enemy now again poſſeſſed of his trenches, laid ſtreiter ſiege vnto the town than before:which they of the gariſon perceiuing,and now out of hope of relief,agreed with the Baſſa, that they might with bag and baggage depart, and ſo yeelded vp the towne. Thus Cliſſa one of the ſtrongeſt townes of Dalmatia,through the greedy couetouſnes of the diſordred ſoldiers,fel again into the hands of the Turks.

Sombock taken by the L. Palfi.

E About the ſame time *Palfi* gouernour of Strigonium, vnderſtanding of the meeting together of certain notable aduenturers of the Turks at Sombock, a caſtle almoſt in the mid way betwixt Alba Regalis and Buda,raiſed the greateſt ſtrength he could,and ſo with certain pieces of artillery, and other things neceſſarie for an aſſault, ſet forward from Strigonium the two and twentieth of May,before the riſing of the Sun,and about three a clocke in the afternoon came to the aforeſaid caſtle; wherunto he preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault, which he neuer gaue ouer vntil he had taken it: for after he had by the ſpace of three hours together, with great danger maintained a moſt deſperat aſſault, at length he with much difficulty preuailed,and put to the ſword all the Turks he found therein,man,woman,and childe, and with the reſt,fifty Ianizaries but that day come thither. This caſtle was of great beauty, and moſt F pleaſantly ſcituated, whereunto the Baſſa of Buda oftentimes for his pleaſure repaired: For which cauſe *Palſi* was very deſirous to haue taken it without ſpoiling; but the fire he had already raiſed therein ſo preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great ſtore of victuals and other prouiſion, nothing remaining but what the Chriſtians had ſaued for themſelues.

Temeſware in vaine beſieged by the Tranſylvanian Prince.

The Tranſylvanian Prince hauing raiſed a great army for the reliefe of Lippa,it beeing by great chance a little before his comming relieued,came and laid ſiege to the City of Temeſwar;where he had not long lien,but that the Turks and Tartars,fearing to loſe that ſo famous a city,aſſembled together from all places thereabouts to the number of 40000, and ſo came to raiſe the ſiege. Of whoſe comming the Prince hearing,riſe with his army and went to meet them,and had with them a great and terrible battel,the victory for a great while ſtanding very doubtful,yet ſeeming to incline rather to the Turkes and Tartars than to the Chriſtians; but at length the Turks diſordered with the great artillery, and the Tranſylvanians charging them afreſh,began to giue ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelues to plain flight. In this battel were ſlain of the Turks and Tartars 5000, and of the Chriſtians 1500. The Prince was reported to be ſlain in this battel: which was not ſo,being reſerued to the further plague of the Turks,& comfort of his afflicted country. After this victory he returned again to the ſiege,which he more ſtreightly continued than before, leauing nothing vnattempted that he could poſſibly deuiſe for the winning of the city. Where whilſt he yet thus lay battering the city both night and day,news was brought him, That *Giaffer Baſſa* and the Tartars were comming with a great army to the reliefe of the beſieged. Whereupon he conſidering his owne ſtrength, and the power of his enemies, and that the aid promiſed him both from the Emperor and out of Hungary was not yet ready,with great griefe of minde raiſed his ſiege, and retyred with his army to Lippa,there expecting new ſupplies as well of his owne, as from his friends. Whilſt he yet there lay, hee was certainly informed,That the Baſſa of Natolia (the fore runner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to Belgrade with fourteen thouſand horſe and four thouſand Ianizaries, to ioine with the Baſſa of Buda for the relieuing of Temeſwar; whoſe forces ioined together were in number threeſcore thouſand;and that *Mahomet* himſelf (of whoſe comming had been riſe report all this yeare) was now comming after with a farre greater power. Wherupon he departed from Lippa, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo returning to Alba Iulia, called there an aſſembly of all his States, for the repreſſing of ſo puiſſant an Enemy.

Mahomet for the better ſucceſſe of his wars in Hungary, had drawn forth the Tartar with a mighty power:who although he was at the firſt ſo vnwilling to that ſeruice (conſidering the great loſſes he had therin before receiued) that he would not,as hee ſaid, ſend ſo much as one Aſſe therunto: yet ouercome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had to the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong army vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to meet him in Hungary: vnto whom the late choſen Vayuod ſent certaine preſents, with ſuch ſtore of victuals as hee could poſſibly prouide for him. Yet foraſmuch as hee was not that way to paſſe without the leaue of the Polonian, *Mahomet* had both by letters and diuers Embaſſadours intreated with the Polonian King for his paſſage,as alſo for the confirmation of the antient league hee and the Polonian kings his predeceſſors had to their good of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperors: from which he wel knew the Chriſtian Emperor,with diuers other the Chriſtian princes,to ſeek by all means to draw him. *Mahomet* alſo not ignorant, how hurtfull and dangerous the confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, and the Tranſylvanian, was vnto him and his deſignes; ſent vnto him Embaſſadours,by the ſhew of great danger to deter him from the Tranſylvanian, and by many glorious promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelf again vnto his protection,and in token of his fidelitie to deliuer vnto the Sultan two of his frontier towns ſuch as he ſhould require; in regard whereof he ſhould together with the Sultans fauor receiue golden mountains. Wherunto the Vayuod anſwered,That as yet he was not weary of the friendſhip he held with the Prince:and for the towns he required,that they were not in his power to giue,as belonging to the Prince,vnto whom hee ſaid hee would write,and ſtay the Embaſſador in the mean time vntil he had from him anſwer.

The Emperor on the other ſide had with al carefulneſſe ſo far as in him was,prouided that his army might be ready to take the field with the beginning of the Spring:but as commonly it chanceth,the ſpeedy proceedings of great actions (wherin the hands of many mighty are required) to be much hindred by delaies,ſomtimes of one,and ſometimes of another;ſo fell it out with him now:for albeit that his own forces were in ſome good time ready, yet was the Spring,yea and a good part of Summer alſo far paſt,before the aid promiſed from other princes, met together. At length after long expectance, when ſome conuenient number for an

A army was from diuers places come together at Vienna: they were by the lord *Swartzenburg*
and their other cammanders brought forth into the field, and not far from Altenburg encamped,
within the ſelfe ſame trenches that were the laſt yeare caſt vp by County *Mansfelt* for the
ſafety of his army; there to expect the comming downe of the great ordnance and other prouiſion
by the riuer from Vienna, as alſo the reſt of the Chriſtian forces dayly looked for.
From Altenburg the Chriſtian army remooued to Comara, and not ſtaying there long, the
foure and twentieth of Iuly marched towards Vacia, otherwiſe called Woczen: but before it
came thither, the Turks hearing of the approch of the Chriſtians, forſooke the town, and with
their cattell and beſt part of their ſubſtance fled to Peſth, carrying alſo away with them the
great ordnance; the greateſt whereof they buried by the way, which was neuertheleſſe afterwards
B found out by the Chriſtians. And although the Turks at their departure had ſet fire
both vpon the towne and caſtle, yet the Chriſtians left there did what they might to quench
the ſame: by whoſe diligence and the helpe of two thouſand footmen, and certaine troups of
horſemen ſent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the towne and the caſtle was preſerued:
the whole army of the Chriſtians following after, encamped in the open field, and
with their horſemen braued the Turks euen to the gates of Peſth. This ſo ſudden a comming
of the Chriſtians brought a great feare both vpon them of Peſth and Buda, inſomuch,
that they ſent their wiues and children, with the chiefeſt of their ſubſtance downe the riuer
vnto places of more ſafety, and farther off from danger: which was done ſo diſorderedly (as
it hapneth in ſuch common feares) that many of them for haſt thruſt one another into the riuer,
C and ſo periſhed.

Vacia abandoned of the Turks, is taken by the Chriſtians.

Hitherto in the former wars againſt the Turke, had *Matthias* bin Generall of the Chriſtian
armies: but now of late, *Ferdinand* the Emperors vncle County of Tirol being dead, *Matthias*
was by the Emperor his brother preferred to the gouernment of that rich countrey and the
prouinces thereabouts, not inferior to ſome kingdomes; and *Maximilian* his younger brother
appointed Generall in his ſtead: who departing from Vienna in the later end of Iuly, came into
the campe the fourth of Auguſt, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg* his Lieutenant,
and the Lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great triumph receiued.

Now were the Chriſtians threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, and hauing fortified Vacia, and therin
placed a conuenient garriſon, reſolued by common conſent to beſiege Hatwan, a ſtrong
D towne of the Turks in the vpper Hungary. And thereupon riſing with their army from Vachia
the 13 of Auguſt, came the 15 of the ſame moneth about noone and ſat downe before the
towne, and that with ſuch ſpeed, that they were ſeene of the Turkes in the towne, before
that they heard any thing of their comming: inſomuch, that at the firſt ſhew of them, they of
the towne tooke them to haue been ſome come out to ſeeke after booty; and therefore ſallying
out vpon them, skirmiſhed with them a while, vntill they perceiued the whole battel comming.
The Chriſtians approching the town, encamped themſelues as they thought moſt conuenient,
and began in three places to batter the counterſcarſe. This frontier towne of the
Turks, beſides that it was kept with a ſtrong garriſon, was alſo ſtrengthned with a broad ditch,
and fortified with a broad counterſcarſe and ſtrong paliſadoes. Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay
E at the ſiege, the Turks ſallying out of the towne, brake into their trenches, and there did great
harme; and like enough they were to haue done more, had not the horſemen in good time
come in vpon them and inforced them to retire. In this ſally, amongſt others was one *Greis* a
notable captaine ſlaine, being ſhamefully forſaken of his owne men; who for that their cowardiſe,
were all in the ſight of the whole army diſarmed, and ſo turned out of the campe as men
vnworthy any longer to beare armes. One morning alſo as the Chriſtians were at their deuotions
in their trenches, a Turkiſh prieſt from out of an high tower not far off, railed moſt bitterly
vpon them, curſing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Chriſtian canoniers much moued,
made a ſhot at the tower, which he ſo well beſtowed, that therewith he ſtrucke downe the
tower, together with the idolatrous prieſt, as he was yet rayling and blaſpheming. At length
F the Chriſtians had with exceeding labor & continual battery made the town ſaultable: wherwith
the Turks diſcouraged, offered (but all too late) to yeeld vp the town vpon the ſame conditions
that they of Strigonium had: whereunto they receiued no anſwer; yea, commandement
was giuen throughout the campe, That no man vpon paine of death, ſhould haue any
parley with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readineſſe for the aſſault, the Chriſtians

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

Hatwan won by the Chriſtians.
Extreme cruelty.

ans one a day about fiue a clocke in the afternoone, aſſaulted the town in foure places, and after three houres hard fight, by ſtrong hand tooke it, with the ſcriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearefull people, who now gaue themſelues all loſt and forlorne. Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: women were ſlaine great with childe, and young children hanging at their mothers breaſts; it booted not to cry for mercy, the bloudy ſword deuouring all. The fury of the Wallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had ſlain quicke. Which their cruelty they afterwards excuſed when they were therefore reproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turks hereafter not ſo wickedly to blaſpheme againſt Chriſt, or with ſuch their wonted and barbarous cruelty to torment the Chriſtians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themſelues. In this aſſault and fury periſhed of the Turks about 4000, and of the Chriſtians not paſt 300. In this towne beſide that which the fire deuoured, was found a very rich prey. The firſt that entred the towne was one *Terskie* a notable captaine, with his company: after whom followed *Ruſwurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue ſlaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turks.

Mahomet the great Sultan commeth to Buda with an army of two hundred thouſand men.

Now in the mean time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to Belgrade, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of Hungary, ſending *Cicala Baſſa* before him: and at length after long looking for, the ſecond of September arriued at Buda, hauing in his army about two hudred thouſand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he preſently ſent forty thouſand to Temeſware; but ſtaied there himſelfe with the reſt of his army.

The Chriſtians yet lying at Hatwan, & doubting leſt the Sultan ſuddenly paſſing the riuer ſhould come vpon them not yet ready for battell, departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not far from Vachia. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from Hatwan, had left a conuenient garriſon for the keeping of the towne, yet ſuch was the terrour of the Turks approch, that the next day after, they that were there left in garriſon forſooke the towne, and ſetting it on fire, followed themſelues after the campe. This comming of the Turkiſh Sultan to Buda, brought alſo a great feare vpon them at Vienna, as much doubting leſt he ſhould that way haue turned his forces, which cauſed them both day and night to labor for the better fortification of the city, and for the prouiſion of all things, as if it had bin for a preſent ſiege.

But *Mahomet* not prouided for the vndertaking of ſo ſtrong a place, and not ignorant of the diſgrace his great grandfather the victorious *Solyman* had ſometime receiued vnder the wals thereof, had no purpoſe thereto, as hauing bent his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of Hungary is an antient famous city, well fortified and honored with a Biſhops See, called Agria, not far from Hatwan: vpon this city, as the chiefe fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in thoſe quarters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into Hungary caſt his eies, and began now that way to make head, with purpoſe by taking of that city, and placing therein a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the vniting of the Emperors forces with the Tranſyluanians, for the mutuall ſtrengthning of the one the other by the way of the vpper Hungary. Which the Archduke perceiuing, ſent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terskie* with a notable company of Italians and Germans, and a thouſand other harquebuſiers, who all arriued there in ſafety. At which time alſo the Lord *Teuffenbach* ſent into the city three thouſand footmen, vnder the conduct of County *Turne*, with good ſtore of warlike prouiſion needfull for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Baſſaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Haſſan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, came and encamped betweene the two riuers of Danubius and Tibiſcus, couering a great part of the country with his tents. Approching the city, he with wonderfull celerity caſt vp fiue great mounts, and from them with ſuch fury battered the wals, that the Chriſtians were glad night and day to ſtand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals were ſo great, and in many places ſo weakly fortified as that they were not but by a greater garriſon to be defended againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy; and that therefore the defendants with their honor lawfully might euen the firſt day haue ſet the city on fire, & retired themſelues into the caſtle, which was both faire and ſtrong, and the only place to be truſted vnto; yet for the ſpace of ſix daies they worthily defended the whole city againſt the fury of the enemies; and out of it did

Agria beſieged by Mahomet.

A them great harme. But ſeeing the danger greatly encreaſing, and that the city was not longer to be holden, they ſet it on fire; hauing before conueied all the beſt of their ſubſtance with themſelues into the caſtle: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, brake ſo ſuddenly into the city, as if they would together with the Chriſtians haue entred the caſtle alſo; but in the attempt therof they were notably repulſed & many of them ſlaine. Adioyning to the caſtle was a great and ſtrong bulwarke, againſt which the Turks for certain daies furiouſly thundred with their great ordnance, and that without intermiſſion: and hauing in diuers places ſore ſhaken it, in the ſpace of two daies aſſaulted it 12 times; but not without the wonderfull loſſe of their men: & yet gaue it not ſo ouer; but as men with their loſſe more enraged, came on againe with greater fury than before, and ſo at laſt by plain force took it: and there put to the ſword all them they B found therin, except ſuch as by good hap got betimes into the caſtle. This bulwarke thus loſt, the Chriſtians the next day ſallying out, again recouered; wherin they ſlew a great number of the Turks, with the loſſe of ſome thirty men, and as many moe wounded. The beſieged now diuers times both by letters and meſſengers craued aid of *Maximilian* the General, giuing him to vnderſtand, that they could not long hold out for want of ſhot and pouder, if they were not betimes relieued (whereof the enemy alſo was not ignorant) yet were they reſolued to hold it out euen to the laſt man; although the great Sultan had oftentimes by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promiſe that they ſhould in ſafety with life and goods depart; otherwiſe threatning vnto them greater extremities than was of late ſhewed vnto the Turks at Hatwan, if they ſhould as obſtinate men hold it out vnto the laſt. Wherunto they neuer C anſwered him any thing: for *Terskie* had forbid them all parly with the enemy; and in the midſt of the market place had cauſed a paire of gallowes to be ſet vp, threatning to hang him thereon, whoſoeuer he were, that ſhould once make motion of yeelding vp the city.

A bulwarke twelue times aſſaulted in two daies.

Whileſt the beſieged thus lay in hope of reliefe, the Archduke vpon the comming ouer of the Sultan towards Agria, hauing retired with his army to Strigonium, and there ſtaid ſomewhat too long expecting the comming of more aid; began now at length to ſet forward, and to make ſome ſhew as if he had indeed purpoſed to haue relieued his diſtreſſed friends ſo hardly beſet at Agria. But ſuch was the fouleneſſe of the weather, hindring the paſſage of his great ordnance (not to ſpeake of any thing elſe) that in fourteene daies he marched ſcarcely twelue miles forward. Whereby the enemy tooke occaſion to preuaile as he did in his ſiege: who D now hearing of the comming of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing to how little purpoſe he had ſo long battered the caſtle, conuerted all his indeauors to the filling vp of the ditch of the old caſtle, with fagots, earth, and ſuch like matter: for the haſtening of which worke, *Mahomet* himſelfe ſpared not to ride vp and downe in all places of his army, with his preſence and cheereful ſpeech encouraging his men in that deſperat worke. But whileſt the Turks were thus buſie in fulfilling his command, the Chriſtians ſallying out vpon them made great ſlaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa with ſuch as were about him: after whom they ſo eagerly followed, that he in the flight loſt his tulipant for haſt, & was there very like to haue bin taken. Neuertheleſſe the worke went ſtill forward, and was now at length with the reſtleſſe labour of ſo great a multitude brought to ſuch perfection, that the Turkes thought it now no E great matter by aſſault to enter the caſtle: and thereupon the tenth of October gaue vnto it foure deſperat aſſaults one vpon another, being ſtill with greater ſlaught of his men repulſed. But comming on againe the fifth time with freſh ſupplies, and greater fury than at the firſt, they preuailed; and ſo entring, put to the ſword all they found in the caſtle, in number about eight hundred; foure hundred of whoſe heads one of the Turks captains cauſed to be carried vnto *Mahomet* in the camp, in the beholding wherof, he is ſaid to haue taken great pleaſure, as in the vndoubted ſignes of his victory.

The old caſtle taken.

The old caſtle thus taken, nothing remained but the new caſtle, againſt which the Turks conuerted their whole forces, wherin they repoſed not ſo much hope (although their battery were very terrible, and their power great) as in the ſecret mines wherewith they had in 14 places F vndermined the caſtle, and were now almoſt ready to be blowne vp. Which the beſieged perceiuing, and withall conſidering the ſtate wherein they ſtood, and not hearing any thing of reliefe; reſolued amongſt themſelues (without the conſent of their chiefe Commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yeeld. And thereupon altogether as if it had been but one man, riſe vp in a mutiny againſt their two Gouernours; *Paul Niari*, and *Terskie*; who at the firſt by all

the reaſons they could deuiſe, diſſuaded them from ſuch cowardiſe, putting them in mind of
the oath they had taken: which not preuailing, they afterwards vpon their knees requeſted G
them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of ſpeedy reliefe: yea, *Teskie* with his hands
caſt vp entreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yeeld, then they
ſhould firſt kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to ſee ſo great a diſhonor.
But what auaileth perſuaſion with men poſſeſſed with ſo great feare? And in the meane time
two hundred and fifty of the common ſoldiers, among whom were many Italians, ſecretly eſcaping
out of the caſtle fled into the camp, of whom diuers became runegats & turned Turk;
which added to the former feare, ſo much diſcouraged the minds of the reſt, that they forthwith
required to come to parly with the enemy, and ſo agreed, That they might with bag and
baggage and their ſwords by their ſides in ſafety depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for
the performance thereof, with hoſtages deliuered on either ſide. So the 13 of October about H
noone, the garriſon ſoldiers came out of the caſtle in number about two thouſand: but they
were not gone far, but that they were in a great plaine ſet vpon by the Turks and Tartars, and
there cut in pieces; ſome of them were ſlain quicke, and ſome other of them otherwiſe ſhamefully
diſmembred; the Turks in the meane time vpbraiding them, and ſaying, That faith was
not to be kept with them that had ſo cruelly before dealt with them of Hatwan. This perfidious
dealing much offended diuers of the better ſort of the Turks, inſomuch that ſome of them
complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) cauſed ſome of the chiefe authors
therof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commanded, that if any of the
Turks or Tartars had taken any of them priſoners, they ſhould forthwith ſet them at liberty. I
Thus is the famous city of Agria, of long time a Chriſtian Biſhops ſeat, now become a ſure
receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Agria yeelded vnto the Turks.

Petrinia beſieged by the Turks.

Whileſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the ſiege of Agria, the Baſſa of Boſna with certain other of the
Sanzackes thereabouts, hauing raiſed a great army, came and beſieged Petrinia in the borders
of Croatia: which he at his firſt comming ſo furiouſly battered by the ſpace of ſeuen daies,
that it was of many thought not poſſible for it to hold out two daies longer. In the mean time
the Lord *Herbenſtein* and *Leukowitze*, with all the power they could make out of Croatia and
Windiſmarch, came towards Petrinia: but hauing no meanes in ſo great haſte to make a
bridge ouer the riuer of Kulp, they retired towards Siſeg, there to paſſe ouer. The Turks hearing
of their retire, and ſuppoſing them to haue fled for feare, put ſix thouſand horſemen ouer K
the Riuer to purſue them: Vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, and charging them home,
ouerthrew them; and hauing ſlaine many of them, draue the reſt headlong into the Riuer,
where moſt of them periſhed. The Chriſtians neuertheleſſe keeping on their way to Siſeg,
there the next day by a bridge paſſed ouer the Riuer, and ſo marching towards Petrinia, and
being come neere vnto the Towne, were encountered by eight thouſand Turkes, whom they
alſo put to flight; and by certaine priſoners there taken, vnderſtood that the Baſſa the day
before was riſen from before the Towne and gone: which they at the firſt beleeued not, but
comming thither found it ſo, to their owne good contentment, and the great joy of the late beſieged.

Petrinia reliued.

Maximilian the General marching on faire and ſoftly from Strigonium, at length the ſeuenteenth L
of October came to Caſſouia, foure daies after that Agria was loſt, and there met with
the Tranſyluanian Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thouſand men, and forty field
pieces to aid him: of whom eight thouſand were mercinary horſemen, fifteene hundred were
of the nobility of his country, and the reſt footmen. The next day after, they ſetting forward
from Caſſouia, joyned themſelues with the reſt of the army led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and
Palfi, and ſo of all their vnited forces made one army, conſiſting now of two and thirty thouſand
horſemen and eight and twenty thouſand foot: who drew with them an hundred and
twenty field pieces, and twenty thouſand waggons, wherewith they euery night encloſed their
army as with a moſt ſure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards Agria,
with a full reſolution to giue the Turks battell, whereof the whole army ſeemed to be very M
deſirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad,
where they were to paſſe ouer a certaine riuer, the paſſage whereof *Giaffer Baſſa* had before taken
with twenty thouſand Turks and Tartars, the reſt of the Turks army lying ſtill not farre
from Agria. Now the purpoſe of the Baſſa was, to haue enlarged the paſſage of the riuer, and
ſo

A ſo to haue made way for the whole army, to haue afterwards paſſed to the other ſide, as moſt commodious for many purpoſes, eſpecially for water, wherof they ſo might themſelues haue had plenty, & yet kept the Chriſtians from it. But of this his purpoſe, by the comming of the Chriſtians he was quite diſappointed: for the next day being the 23 of October, they skirmiſhed with him in diuers places, eſpecially at the paſſage of the riuer; where at the firſt incounter he loſt 300 of his men, and in the end ſeeing himſelfe too weake to withſtand the whole power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing loſt two of his enſignes & 20 field pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approch of the night hindered the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who were now become maſters both of the paſſage of the riuer, and of the place where the Baſſa lay: which they finding not ſo commodious for them as they had at B the firſt ſuppoſed (eſpecially for lacke of wood, the weather being then extreme cold, as alſo hearing of the approch of the Sultan with his whole army) they forthwith forſooke the ſame, and retired again ouer the riuer to the place where they lay before, incloſing themſelues with their waggons, as if it had beene a city ſtrongly incloſed with woodden wals. The next day which was the 24 of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his army ſhewed himſelfe vnto the view of the Chriſtians, and ſent 3000 Tartars to paſſe the riuer: of whom the Chriſtians ſlew a great number with their great ſhot, and put the reſt to flight. Both the armies were populous and ſtrong, and couered a great deale of ground, a moſt goodly ſight to behold: both drunke of the ſame riuer, as well the men as their horſes, and therfore kept continuall watch all that night on both ſides of the riuer, eſpecially at the paſſage. In the morning betwixt ſix and C ſeuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his army ranged in order of battell, came within ſight of the Chriſtians, his ſquadrons as it were couering all the country on that ſide of the riuer as far as the Chriſtians could well ſee; and now again ſent part of his army ouer the riuer: with whom the Chriſtians skirmiſhed from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all this while ſtanding faſt, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both ſides well wearied, and many ſlaine, the Turks retired again ouer the riuer to the camp: in the mean time (as if it had bin by conſent) they reſolued on both ſides the next day to try the fortune of a battell; and ſo commandement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man againſt a certaine appointed time to make himſelfe ready. So the next day, being the 26 of October, *Mahomet* brought forth his army again out of his campe, which was not far from the D Chriſtians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the ruines of an old church, where *Mahomet* placed certain companies of Ianizaries, and 24 field pieces, and commanded ten thouſand of his ſelect ſouldiers to paſſe the riuer, which they readily did. The Chriſtians alſo ready for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming ouer of the enemy to begin; with part of their army thereunto appointed, ſo fiercely charged the Turks that were already come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them only, but certain companies of Tartars alſo that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not ſo contented, but following them they had in chaſe, put to flight them alſo that ſtood on the farther ſide of the riuer, of whom they ſlew a great number, and by the comming on of the reſt of the army, tooke from them 190 great pieces of artillery: whereof ſo great a feare riſe in E the enemies campe, that *Mahomet with Ibrahim* the great Baſſa ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the army fled in all haſte towards Agria, ſhedding ſome teares by the way as he went, and wiping his eies with a piece of *Mahomets* garment, which hee for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Tranſyluanian Prince, the Lord *Palſi*, and the reſt, perſuaded him in that ſo great feare of the enemy to proſecute the victory; and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their diſordered battels. Wherefore the Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, charged afreſh the front of the enemies reſtored battell, conſiſting of forty thouſand men, and that with ſuch violence, as that they in ſhort time had ſlaine the moſt part of them, and put the reſt to flight: and with the F like good fortune charging the body of the maine battell, forced the diſcouraged Turks with great ſlaughter into their owne campe. Now commandement was before giuen throughout the Chriſtian army, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould in ſeeking after ſpoile breake his array, or forſake his place, before the victory were aſſuredly gotten. But they in this hot purſute breaking together with the Turks into their tents, and there killing a great number of them,

A great and long skirmiſh betwixt the Turks & the Chriſtians.

Ten thouſand Turks paſſe the riuer, and are together with the Tartars put to flight.

The Chriſtians in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoile, ouerthrowne and diſcomfited.

them,and ſeeing in euery place great ſtore of rich ſpoile, contrary to the aforeſaid commandement, G
left the purſuit of their enemy, and diſorderly fell to the ſpoile of the tents, vntill they
came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the miſchiefe, with a moſt ſudden
change of fortune. For here theſe greedy diſordered men,not now worthy the name of ſoldiers,
light vpon a ſtrong ſquadron of reſolute men, with good ſtore of great ordnance ready
charged, which they diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies, and rent in ſunder a
number of them,and after that came on reſolutely themſelues : when in the meane time *Ciela Baſſa*
with his horſemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them alſo, and with the terrour of his
comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them,that they began amaine to fly,eſpecially the Hungarians
& Germans,moſt buſied in the ſpoile.Neither could they in that feare, by any threats
or intreaty of their commanders be perſuaded to make a ſtand, or ſo much as once to looke H
backe,or to ſhew any token of true valour : which their haſty flight was the ouerthrow not of
themſelues only,but of others alſo that would haue fought ; for whilſt they fled headlong vpon
the ſpur,and could not be ſtaid, they ouerran their own footmen, and ſo furthered the enemies
victory. Thus for want of good order, through the greedy couetouſneſſe of a ſort of diſordered
men,the moſt notable victory that euer the Chriſtians were like to haue had ouer the
Turks,was let ſlip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen & commanders,in ſeeking to ſtay
the flight of their own men,were here ſlaine:& although the enemy followed the chaſe ſcarce
halfe a mile,yet were the Chriſtians poſſeſſed with ſuch a feare,that they fled amaine all ouer
the country with greater ſhame than loſſe,no man purſuing them. The Archduke himſelfe ſeeing
all deſperat fled to Caſſouia. The Tranſyluanian of all others moſt orderly retired himſelfe I
towards Tocaij,hauing not loſt in this battell aboue 200 men, and of them neuer a man
of name. All this loſſe he imputed to the couetouſneſſe of the Hungarians, and cowardiſe of
the German horſemen. The Lord *Brenſtein* hauing charge of the great artillery, fled alſo, and
made ſhift for himſelfe,as did *Palfi*,and in fine all the reſt. Neither was the feare leſſe amongſt
the Turks(a wonderful thing to be ſpoken)than it was among the Chriſtians:for the night following
they for fear of the return of the Chriſtians, truſſing vp the beſt of their things,fled alſo
towards Agria. And it was afterwards known,that the Turks great ordnance, tents,and baggage
ſtood three daies in their trenches,either altogether vngarded,or ſo ſlenderly garded, as
that they might haue bin eaſily taken by the Chriſtians,if they would but haue made head again.
Yea, *Mahomet* himſelfe is reported oftentimes to haue confeſſed the danger and feare he K
was then in to haue bin taken,and al his army deſtroied,if the Chriſtians had(as they ſhould)
purſued the victory, and not ſo baſely run after the ſpoile : by which danger he then warned,
afterwards euer ſhunned to aduenture his perſon to the like perill in the field. In this battel of
Kareſta(for ſo it is of a place thereby called)and at the ſiege of Agria, were loſt of the Chriſtians
about 20000,and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this victory fortified Agria,and for
the keeping thereof left in it 10000 ſoldiers,and ſo returned to Belgrade.

Twentie thouſand Chriſtians ſlain, & threeſcore thouſand Turks.

Vacia beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.

The Baſſa of Buda perſuading himſelfe that the Chriſtians after ſo great an ouerthrow
could not this yere to any purpoſe recouer their ſtrength, came with all the power he was able
to make,and the fourth of Nouember beſieged Vacia,in hope to haue eaſily carried it:but finding
there greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined,& hearing that the diſperſed Chriſtians L
in the vpper part of Hungary were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne,
he more afraid than hurt,brake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned to Buda:for indeed the diſperſed
reliques of the late army of the Chriſtians were drawing together,but vnarmed and vnſeruiceable,
as hauing in the laſt flight ſhamefully caſt away their armes, and therefore could haue
done the Baſſa ſmall harme if he had continued the ſiege.

Mahomet thinking it honor enough for him to haue thus won Agria, and driuen the Chriſtians
out of the field,diuided his army into two parts at Belgrade: whereof the one he billetted
in the countrey thereabout, to be ready for all euents, and with the other he returned to
Conſtantinople:but by the way he was ſet vpon by *Barthelius* [illegible] the Tranſyluanian princes
Lieutenant, and the Vayuod of Valachia, who with a great power both of horſe and foot M
being got ouer the riuer Danubius,and ſecretly fauored by the country people,lay in ambuſh
for him in places of aduantage,and ſtill following in the taile of his army,cut off 7000 of his
men before he could be rid of them:and ſo with much trouble arriued at length at Conſtantinople,
where we will for this yeare leaue him,vntill we heare of him more.

A *Maximilian* with a ſmall retinue arriued at Vienna in the later end of Nouember, where he
found the Viſcont of Burgaw, *Swartzenburg*, and ſome other of the commanders of his late army;
moſt of the reſt, eſpecially the Italians, being ſlaine. The ſmall remainder of this vnfortunat
yere was ſpent with often skirmiſhes and inrodes one into anothers frontiers, as the maner
of war is, without any great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperor, notwithſtanding the late diſcomfiture of his army not farre
from Agria, made choice again of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke for the managing of
his forces for his next yeares wars againſt the Turke. Whereunto the Pope by his legat *Fran.*
Aldobrandino promiſed of his owne charge to ſend him 10000 Italians, vnder the conduct of
the Duke of Mantua; as did alſo the German Princes their wonted aid, with ſome others. All
B which ſlowly at length meeting together neere vnto Poſſonium and Altenburg, in the months
of Iuly and Auguſt; departing thence, marched to Pappa, which after eight daies hard ſiege
they tooke, and ſo again retyred to Altenburg, where they took a generall muſter of the army,
and afterwards in the beginning of September ſhewed themſelues before the ſtrong town of
Rab: where the lord *Bernſtein* approching too neere the walls, was with a ſhot ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe
the reſt there ſtaied, vntill that hearing of the comming of *Mahomet Baſſa* the Turks
Generall with a great army, they left the ſiege, and the 24 day of September paſſing ouer the
riuer Danubius, into the Iſland Schut towards Comara, there on the North ſide of the riuer
encamped. Where they had not lien paſt 8 daies, but that the caſtle of Dotis ſtanding vpon
the South ſide of Danubius, was by the Baſſa before their faces, and as it were euen vnder their
C noſes beſieged and taken; the whole army of the Chriſtians in the meane time as idle beholders
looking on, but not daring to relieue their diſtreſſed friends: but afterwards ariſing, marched
to Vacia; where hearing of the Turks comming againſt them from Peſth, they ſet fire on
the caſtle, and ſo retired alongſt the North ſide of the riuer, vntil they came ouer againſt Vicegrade
a caſtle of their owne on the farther ſide of Danubius; where by the good direction of
the lord *George Baſta* a moſt expert captaine, and lieutenant Generall of the army, they encamped
ſo ſtrongly, as that the Turks after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in
their trenches, were glad with ſome loſſe to depart.

Pappa taken by the Chriſtians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

Neither went things this yere better forward with the Chriſtians in other places than in this
ſide of Hungary: for *Sigiſmund* the Tranſiluanian prince by his Chancelor beſieging the ſtrong
D city of Temeſwar in October, was by the valor of the defendants, and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of
the weather enforced to raiſe his ſiege, and with diſhonor to depart. *Michael* alſo the Vayuod
of Valachia, who moued with the example and perſuaſions of the Tranſyluanian Prince, had
reuolted from the Turks, and don them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied
with their often inuaſions and the ſpoile of his country, almoſt brought to vtter deſolation,
many thouſands of his ſubiects being by the Turks and Tartars carried away captiues, and his
townes and caſtles for moſt part raſed; to giue his people a time of breathing, ſubmitted himſelfe
againe vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance, ſolemnly receiuing at the hands of one of the Turks
Chiaus (for that purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople) an enſigne in token of his ſubmiſſion vnto
the Turkiſh Emperor, as alſo of his fauor towards him. Which the more to aſſure him of, he
E by another honorable meſſenger ſhortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour
more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodſhip of Valachia
by the grand Seignior his ſolemne oath, vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his ſon *Peter*, then
about thirteene yeares old, for the terme of both their liues, without diſturbance, paying but
the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were vpon
any condition to haue reduced that martial man with his country vnto their obeiſance: and in
token of further grace, together with thoſe letters he receiued alſo a goodly horſe, moſt richly
furniſhed, with a faire ſcimiter and an horſemans mace, in ſigne of the martiall power and
gouerment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and
honors the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to accept: neuertheleſſe not daring too far to truſt vnto
F the Turkiſh faith, of the ſmall aſſurance whereof he had before had ſufficient experience, he ſtill
kept ſtrong garriſons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with ſuch other forces alſo as he was
wont, excuſing the ſame to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he alſo excuſed himſelfe,
for not going with the Turks Generall this yeare into Hungary, as he was by ſpeciall
meſſengers from the grand Seignior himſelfe requeſted; telling him that he might not in any

Michael the Vayuod yeeldeth his obeyſance vnto the Turke, and yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the chriſtians.

caſe ſo to do, for feare of the Tartars moſt horrible incurſions, and the ſpoiles of his country: yet knew he right well, how that they were by the great Sultan his expreſſe commandement charged not to do any harme either in Moldauia or Valachia, as they went into Hungary. But this wary Vayuod not greatly truſting either the Sultan or them, as alſo loth himſelfe a Chriſtian to go againſt the Chriſtians his friends and late confederats, excuſed himſelf by the neceſſary care he had of his ſubiects and country, and ſo requeſted that his reaſonable excuſe to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be ſaid hereafter. Thus paſſed this yeare without any great thing done more than is before declared; both theſe great Princes, the Emperor and the Turkiſh Sultan, being warned by the laſt yeres work, what it was to put al to the fortune of a battel: & therfore now contenting themſelues to haue ſhewed their
1598 forces; as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeres wars more in ſhews than deeds.

What great things might by the Chriſtian Princes at vnity amongſt themſelues be done againſt the Turk, is by the conſiderat right eaſily to be gathered: but eſpecially by the notable victory of the famous Tranſyluanian Prince *Sigiſmund*, who confederated but with his poore oppreſſed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians, and ſtrengthened with ſome ſmall aid from the Emperor and the Hungarians, not only deliuered thoſe three countries from the heauy burthen of the Turkiſh thraldom, but vanquiſhed alſo their moſt renowned captains, ouerthrew their mighty armies, burnt and ſpoiled their Countries, raſed their townes and cities; which as it hath been before in part declared, ſo if it ſhould be all particularly ſet downe, beſides that it would be tedious, ſo alſo might it haply ſeem almoſt incredible. Beſide which calamities of war (commonly more felt of the ſubiect than of the Prince) the great Sultan himſelfe found no ſmall wants, as well in his coffers, as other his neceſſary ſupplies for the maintenance of his wars, eſpecially in Hungary; the only countrey of Moldauia before theſe troubles yeelding vnto him yerely a tun of gold, 2000 horſes for ſeruice, 10000 great meaſures of wheat, with as much barly, and a wonderfull proportion of butter, hony, and other victuals; the other two prouinces paying the like or more, as a yerely tribute: whereof he had of late, to his great diſcontentment, by the generall reuolt of theſe three countries bin quite diſappointed. But this ſo wholeſome a confederation (to the great hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale, and benefit of the Turks) now broken, and Moldauia by the Polonians diſſeuered from the reſt, and againe made tributary to the Turke, as is before declared, and now Valachia alſo in a ſort acknowledging the Turks obeiſance, the noble Tranſyluanian prince, who hitherto with great cheerfulneſſe and courage had fought the moſt Chriſtian battels againſt the Turke, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own ſmall forces to be able long to defend his country againſt the Turke and the Polonian, whom he feared not much leſſe than him: leſt the ſame ſhould together with himſelf, fal into the hands of the Turks or ſome other his enemies, by a wonderful change voluntarily reſigned this his countrey of Tranſyluania vnto *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor and his heires for euer: and ſo leauing his wife in Tranſyluania, went himſelf into Sileſia, there to take poſſeſſion of the Dukedomes of Oppel and Ratibor, which together with the yerely penſion of 50000 Ioachims, or the reuenues of the Biſhoprick of Vratiſlauia, he had in lieu thereof receiued of the Emperor: whereupon the poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania, by the generall conſent of all the States of that country was in the beginning of this yere 1598, deliuered vnto the Archbiſhop of Vacia, the County *Nadaſti*, and Dr *Petzi* the Emperors commiſſioners; and a ſolemne oath of obedience and loyalty taken of them all in generall: albeit the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, as alſo the Emperour himſelfe would haue perſuaded the Prince, either not at all, or at leaſtwiſe not ſo ſuddenly to haue forſaken his country, but to haue ſtill kept the gouernment thereof himſelfe yet for a yeare or two; well foreſeeing, that the ſame could not ſo conueniently be gouerned by any other, as by himſelfe, a naturall Prince therein borne, and exceedingly beloued of his ſubiects. The ſame Commiſſioners alſo in Iune following, going into Valachia, there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vayuod and his people: who loathing the Turkiſh ſoueraignty, all willingly yeelded themſelues vnto the Emperors protection. Theſe commiſſioners alſo at the ſame time came to agreement with the Tartars Embaſſadors, offering vnto the Emperor peace and aid for the yearely penſion of 40000 duckats, and as many ſheep-skin-gownes, their vſuall manner of apparell.

A great tribute:

The Prince of Tranſyluania reſigneth his country vnto the Emperor.

Michael the Vayuod ſubmitteth himſelfe with his people vnto the Emperors protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the Empire, begun in December laſt paſt at Ratisbon, *Matthias* the Emperors brother being there his deputy, & in his Maieſties name demanding

A greater aid for the maintenance of his wars againſt the Turks the common enemy, than was by the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where after great and long deliberation, a large proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars, and defence of the Chriſtian commonweale, to be paied in three yeares next, and ſo thereupon was the aſſembly diſſolued. But as they were returning home, behold, contrary to all hope, Rab one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Chriſtendome, three yeares before betraied vnto the Turks by County *Hardeck*, was now by the wiſedome and valor of *Adolphus* Baron of Swartzenburg, the Emperours Lieutenant in the lower Hungary, againe recouered, to the great griefe of the Turks, and wonderfull rejoycing of the Chriſtians, in ſuch ſort as followeth:

Two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab, diſcouer the ſtate of the towne to the Lord Swartzenburg.

This noble gentleman the lord *Swartzenburg*, of no leſſe courage then experience, then lying B at Comara, and ſtill in doubt leſt the Turks ſo neer vnto him at Rab, ſhould attempt ſomthing againſt him and his charge, prouided for his owne defence all that Winter time with a ſtrong garriſon, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemy with any army to keepe the field. So Winter paſſing, and the Spring approching, it fortuned that the 22 day of March, about 7 a clocke in the night, the gates being ſhut, were heard neere vnder the walls of the towne, two men, who by their ſpeech ſeemed to be Italians: with great inſtance requeſting, for the ſafegard of their liues, to be let in, for feare of the enemies purſuit: Which by one of the ſentinels was forthwith reported vnto the Gouernor: who doubting it to be ſome ſubtill practiſe of the enemy, commanded them there to take their fortune vntill the morning: at which time they were receiued into the city, and being brought before the Go- C uernor, proſtrating themſelues forthwith at his feet, pittifully requeſted him to haue compaſſion of their miſery, & to comfort them with his charitable relief, that ſo they might at length returne againe into their country. Who at the firſt asked them, what countrymen they were, and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they anſwered, That they were Italians, and that they had but euen then eſcaped out of the cruell hands of the Turks at Rab. But deſiring to know of them ſome news, they after their manner humbled themſelues, ſhewing by their geſture not to know any: Yet would he needs vnderſtand of them the particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had vſed to eſcape out of that cruell ſeruitude, in all order as had befalne them. Where the yonger of them beginning, told him, that now almoſt two yeres ago, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians were ouerthrown D by the Turks vnder Agria, and euery man in that confuſion then ſeeking the beſt and neereſt way to ſaue themſelues; they hauing by flight now eſcaped the greateſt danger of the enemy, and ſo trauelling ouer the country towards Vienna, were to their great misfortune (by an hundred Turks come out of Rab to ſcoure the country, and to ſeeke after prey) taken priſoners, and as ſlaues committed to the chaine, where they had almoſt two yeres, vntill now, with great patience ſerued. Theſe two fugitiues by their outward appearance ſeemed to be men of good ſpirit and valor, which cauſed the Gouernor the more deſirous to know of them the meanes they had vſed for their eſcape. So the yonger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderſtand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had bin three months before ſtill carefully deuiſing how to recouer their loſt liberty, which now ſeemed to make ſome offer of it ſelfe vnto them: for E that ſince the time that the Emperors army riſe the laſt yere from before the towne, they were not kept ſo ſtreit or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded: which cauſed them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to reſolue either the ſooner to die, or to ſet themſelues at liberty. And that ſo one day as they were carrying certain munition from the palace of *Giaffer Baſſa* for the ſoldiers, they ſecretly conueied three pieces of cord of ſome reaſonable bigneſſe, therwith by night to let themſelues down from the wall, and as as they might to eſcape: which ſtolne cord that it ſhould not be ſeene, and ſo their purpoſe ſuſpected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in, what they had ſo long deſired, and they roming vp and downe in the darke, and ſtill finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to ſtay, and to defer it vntill the night following: F which being come, and choice made of a moſt conuenient place, they made faſt the cord aboue, and ſo thereby ſlid downe, firſt the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing how to ſwimme, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow conducted ouer vnto the farther ſide of the broad and deepe ditch: and that ſo, in the night (ſo darke as that one of them could hardly ſee the other) they were come by chance to Comara, thinking to haue

taken

The notable ſpeech of the Lord Palſi vnto his ſoldiers.

taken the way to Vienna. The Gouernour, thus fully inſtructed of their eſcape, demanded of
them further, how the ſtrong towne of Rab was by the Turks gouerned and garded: who told G
him, very euill, and with ſmall care, eſpecially ſince the departure of the Emperors campe: and
alſo that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open,
would all fal into the town ditch, and ſo further them that would attempt to enter: with diuers
other particularities. Whereof the Gouernor hauing well conſidered, thought with himſelfe,
that if by ſome ingenious deuice he might by night with ſome good ſtrength vpon the ſodden
enter the towne, it haply might be ſo againe recouered. Vpon which ſo great a deſignement
he thought good to conſult further with the Lord *Palſi*, whom he requeſted, in all haſt & with
as much ſecrecy as was poſſible, with 1600 foot, and as many horſe as he could make, to come
vnto him to Comara. Who vpon this aduertiſement ſtaid not, but preſently giuing order vnto
his men, ſet forward by night, and the 26 of March before day, with 1400 foot, and 120 horſe H
arriued at Comara; where they were all joyfully receiued, and the gates after they were ente-
red again faſt ſhut, & ſo kept for feare of the enemies ſecret ſpies; of whom no man can be too
wary, be he neuer ſo wiſe. Now whileſt theſe ſoldiers were refreſhing themſelues, in the meane
time the Gouernor with the Lord *Palſi* diſcourſed to the full concerning the intended enter-
priſe: which reſolued vpon, they found themſelues vpon the view of their men to haue 2600
foot of the garriſon ſoldiers, and 300 horſe all good and couragious men, and well appointed
for the intended ſeruice: who there ſtaying two daies after their comming, and many of them
in the meane time (after the manner of their religion) confeſſing themſelues, and receiuing the
Sacrament, were become ſo couragious, as that they doubted not in the quarrel of the Chriſti- I
an religion to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themſelues. And the more to
ſtir them vp, the Lord *Palſi* at the ſame time deliuered vnto them a notable ſpeech; not for all
that telling them whither they were to go: but, That they were his Chriſtian ſoldiers and bre-
thren, vnder his leading both of long and late time: who neuer by him deceiued of their won-
ted pay at ſuch time as it was due, would not now as he hoped forſake him. And albeit that he
well knew them to haue deſerued at his hands a greater contentment; neuertheles being him-
ſelfe depriued of his reuenue by theſe late warres, and his poſſeſſions ſubiect euery houre vnto
the incurſions of the Turks, could not therfore according to his deſire, and their deſerts, ſhew
vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet now and euen preſently was come the time
wherein they might not only abundantly enrich themſelues, but alſo adorne their heads with K
an immortall crowne of glory, and make themſelues for euer famous, by performing the moſt
happy and glorious exploit that euer was by valiant ſouldiers attempted or atchieued in that
part of the World. And to the intent that they might know how dearely he accounted of the
life and honor of euery one of them, he would therefore himſelfe with the Lord *Swartzenburg*
(of whom proceeded all that faire deuice and new ſtratagem) be preſent with them in the acti-
on: and that therefore they were not to thinke that they were led forth to any priuat danger,
farther than their commanders themſelues; whoſe folly were to be accounted great, if raſhly
and vpon no good ground they ſhould aduenture their liues and honours together: whereof
they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thouſand proofes known, how much they had beene
of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoued them ſo much the more to ſhew their L
valor in this piece of ſeruice, vndertaken for the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale,
and the honour of Chriſt Ieſu, vnto whom they were with one accord to make their praiers,
with his mighty hand to ſtrengthen their hearts, and with glorious victorie to bring to happy
end the intended exploit againſt his enemies, to the honour of his name, and the aduancement
of the Chriſtian religion and faith. At the end of which ſpeech all the ſouldiers cried aloud,
That they were moſt ready to do any their commands, and to follow them whitherſoeuer.
So order was taken, that within three houres they ſhould euery man be preaſt and ready with
their armes according to their places: and ſo hauing well refreſhed themſelues, about eleuen
of clocke the ſeuen and twentieth day of March they in good order began to ſet forwards to-
ward Rab. But for that the multitude of ſouldiers oftentimes giueth the enemy warning of M
that is intended againſt him; *Palſi* gaue order to one *Iohn Stroine* his Sergeant Maior, to follow
faire and ſoftly after him, with 1700 horſe and foot, which he well performed. And ſo vpon
the breake of the day they began to draw towards Rab, and there lay cloſe in ambuſh all that
day vntill night, about ſeuen miles ſhort of the towne, refreſhing themſelues in the meane
time

A time with plenty of victuals, which they had brought with them from Comara. Night (the fauourer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to Rab, and there ſtaied about fiue houres: from whence they ſent before them a French enginer, a man of great judgement, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 duckats) hauing with them 4 petards, engines of force to blow vp into the aire any thing whereunto they be faſtened, be it neuer ſo great and weighty; where by good chance they found the draw-bridge downe, and the portculleis vp: for that the Turks then caſting no perill, expected euery houre for certain waggons with prouiſion from Alba Regalis. By which good hap the Chriſtians vnperceiued comming to the gate, and thereunto faſtning their petards, in good order gaue fire to the ſame, which preſently tooke not hold: yet were they not fargon, but that they were by a ſentinell diſcried, B who demanding what they were, was preſently anſwered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in ſunder the gate, with ſome part of the wall & of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarme, and the Chriſtians in the foreward thruſting preſently in, tooke the gate, none of the Turks yet comming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The firſt that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their wonted cry *Alla, Alla*, in ſuch hidious maner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue ſtaied the Chriſtians for farther entring, but were themſelues ouercharged by 300 which were already entred. At which time alſo the Baſſa came on with more than a thouſand following him, and that with ſuch courage and fury as was neuer greater to be ſeene in any Turke: where after a moſt terrible fight maintained by the ſpace of two houres, the Baſſa C himſelfe being ſlaine, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thouſand Chriſtians moe had leiſure to enter: when ſtreitway after came *Graffer* the great Baſſa with aboue 1000 tall ſoldiers following him, all the inhabitants alſo of Rab running after him, and that with ſuch force, that they conſtrained the Chriſtians to retire vnto the gate whereby they entred. Who reſolued rather honorably to die within the towne, than with diſhonor to be forced out, there with incredible courage ſuſtained the greateſt impreſſion of the furious enemy: where was to be ſeene the true Chriſtian valour for the performance of ſo great an exploit well worthy of eternall memory. But this Baſſa alſo (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountered by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that ſharpe conflict ſhewed great tokens of his valour, was there at length ſlaine alſo: both whoſe heads ſtrucke off, were for a preſent after- D wards ſent to the Emperor at Prague, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turks perceiuing that all their chief commanders were ſlain, retired moſt part of them into the city: ſome 300 of them crept vnderneath one of the bulwarks, where ſtood certain barrels of gunpouder, which they deſperatly ſet on fire, and ſo together with themſelues blew vp 300 Chriſtians that were aboue vpon the bulwarke; the greateſt loſſe the Chriſtians had in all that victory, who were otherwiſe ſuppoſed not to loſe therein aboue 200 of their men. Thus the Turks diſcomfited, and altogether full of feare, loſing both their force and courage, fled in euery place before the Chriſtians, they in euery corner making of them a moſt horrible ſlaughter. The Turkiſh women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceaſed not to caſt downe ſtones, timber, and ſuch like things vpon the heads of the Chriſtians, whom E they thought by all means to annoy, and to helpe the Turks. The bloudy execution continued all that day vntill night, the Chriſtians ſtill finding one or other hidden in the moſt ſecret places of the city, vpon whom to exerciſe their wrath: who ranſacking alſo euery corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But comming to the palace of *Graffer* the great Baſſa, they found ſuch great ſtore of rich furniture, as better beſeemed ſome great Prince than a Turkiſh ſlaue. There they found alſo letters written in characters of gold from the Baſſa of Buda to this Baſſa, greeting him, and promiſing him in his behalfe to deale with the Grand Seignior agaiſt the next Spring, with the firſt that his army ſhould take the field, that he might therin haue ſome honorable place of command, to the end he might in the field ſhew his great valour, and no longer lie idle in that ſtrong towne. So found they there alſo F many things written from the great Sultan himſelfe vnto this Baſſa, with great ſtore of coine, which all fell to the ſouldiers ſhare; inſomuch that by this ſo notable an exploit ſo well performed, the publique State, together with ths ſouldiers priuat was not a little bettered. There amongſt other things were recouered threeſcore and ſix pieces of Artillery, which were knowne to haue been ſometime the Emperors, and foure and twenty others, which the Baſſa had

Rab ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

Two of the Turks Baſſaes ſlaine.

A great booty.

had cauſed to be brought from Buda, with great ſtore of ſhot and pouder and other ſmall pieces, and meale ſufficient to haue ſerued foure thouſand men for a yeare and a halfe, but of wine (little vſed of the Turks) onely foure veſſels. In the Baſſaes palace was alſo found of armour and weapons of all ſorts great ſtore, with aboundance of cloath and apparell, which was all giuen in ſpoile to the ſouldiers. Thus Rab one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Chriſtendome, not full foure yeares before beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa* with an hundred and fifty thouſand men, by the ſpace almoſt of three monoths, and then at length by the treaſon of the gouerner to him betraied; was now in one night by the valour and policy of a few reſolute men, to their immortall glory againe reſtored to the Chriſtian commonwealth the nineteenth day of March in the yeare 1598. Of which ſo notable a victory the Chriſtians rejoyced not a little both in Hungary and elſewhere: the great Sultan with the Turks no leſſe grieuing and ſtorming, as well for the loſſe of the towne, before got with no ſmall charge, as for the death of his people there ſlaine, to the number of about ſix thouſand and moe, with the loſſe of ſcarce ſix hundred Chriſtians.

A great tumult betweene the Ianizaries and the Spahi.

Yet for all this, *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceaſed not to make great prouiſion for his war in Hungary, and that greater than before, and ſo with greater fury alſo to proſecute his wrathfull indignation to be reuenged vpon the Chriſtians. Whereupon order was giuen vnto *Ibraim Baſſa* his brother in law, and Generall of his army, with all conuenient ſpeed to take the field; which for all that fell out far otherwiſe; for that now thinking to haue had all things in good forwardneſſe, a great diſſention riſe betwixt the Ianizaries and the Spahi; the Ianizaries being the beſt footmen, and the Spahi the beſt horſemen of the Turkiſh Empire; both the faithfull keepers of the perſon of their Prince, and the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that in ſetting forward towards the wars, theſe two ſorts of valiant ſoldiers, the one ſtanding vpon their ſtrength, and the other vpon their honor, and both jealous of their reputation and credit, haue no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and eſpecially of late in this corruption of their martiall diſcipline vnder their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds among themſelues, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their affairs, and trouble of their General. Inſomuch that to appeaſe this tumult he was glad to put to death certaine of the inſolent Ianizaries refuſing to ſet forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceeding further, and thinking to haue executed ſome others of them alſo, to the further terrour of the reſt, he was by them and their adherents put in ſuch feare of his life, that to auoid the preſent danger, he was glad to excuſe himſelfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as the cauſe thereof: who was therefore as a ſacrifice deliuered vnto the fury of the Ianizaries, by whom he was there preſently ſlain, with ſome others of the Baſſa's followers. So theſe broiles with much ado ouerpaſt, *Ibrahim* hauing taken a generall review of his army at Sophia, there ſtaied, expecting order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in Hungary or in Tranſyluania; for as yet that was in queſtion: which could not well be before the beginning of Iuly, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of victuals euen then ariſing in the camp; for the ſupplying whereof *Mahomet* himſelfe had no ſmall care. But this long delay was the cauſe that a great number of the Ianizaries comming from Hadrianople, and hearing by the way, that the Generall would not as yet ſet forward; not knowing the cauſe of his ſtay, and doubting to be deceiued of their promiſed entertainment, were about to haue returned backe againe: which known at the court, commandment was preſently ſent thence vnto the General, without longer ſtay to ſet forward toward Hungary, which the more haſtened his departure with his army.

In this the Turks ſo long delay, the Chriſtians had good leiſure to prepare their new forces, being now the latter end of Summer: for well they might thinke that the enemy ſlept not, knowing what prouiſion he had made as well in Conſtantinople as in other places. Wherefore reaſonably doubting, that Summer well ſpent, and Auguſt now at hand, he would not ſo late turne his forces into the lower Hungary, they thought it beſt to prouide for the ſafety of the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enemy approching thoſe frontiers, might there finde forces ready to encounter him, the lord *George Baſta* a man of great experience and valor was appointed Lieutenant Generall for that countrey; to the great contentment of the ſoldiers in generall, all ſhewing themſelues moſt ready at his command. The Lord *Swartzenburg* in the meane time remaining in the lower Hungary at Rab, with eight thouſand good ſoldiers: and the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna for the diſpatch of *George Baſta*, and the haſting

of

A of him forward: for that the vpper Hungary, to the great hurt thereof, began now to feele the
incurſions of the Turks and Tartars. Beſides that, he was afterward to return himſelf to ſpeak
with the Emperor his brother, ſtill expecting a Chiaus of the Turkes by the appointment of
the grand Seignior, ſent by the way of Polonia for Prague, to intreat with the Emperor concerning a peace.

Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

They of Buda in the mean while ſeeing the delay of the Turkes, of whom not one band yet
appeared in thoſe quarters; and on the other ſide perceiuing the great preparation of the Imperials, and the great garriſon at Rab ſo neer at hand; began now to doubt ſome new reſolution of the Chriſtians: wherein they were no whit deceiued; for no army of the Turks being in
field in the lower Hungary, and the country plain and open, the Lord *Palſi* with a conuenient
B power, & certain pieces of battery, ſet forward to attempt the enterpriſe, and the 16 of October with 16 pieces of artillery began to batter the city of Buda, to the great fear and diſcomfiture of them within: hauing firſt taken the fort S. *Gerard*, with hope to haue gained the reſt
alſo. For which cauſe, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the City, moſt inſtantly beſought the Baſſa, not to endure the deſtruction of the ſame, with the inhabitants and wealth
therof altogether; but being not able to hold out againſt ſo furious a battery, in time to hearken to ſome reaſonable compoſition, that ſo they might yet euery man at leaſt with life depart. Whereunto the Baſſa for all that would not hearken, but put them ſtill in hope, that
they ſhould be preſently relieued. Howbeit the batterie ſtill continuing, and they not able
longer to endure the force of the Imperials, nor any relief yet comming, they were glad at
C length to abandon the city with the loſſe of two thouſand of the Ianizaries, and but 300 of
the Chriſtians ſlain, and 800 hurt: the reſt of the Turks at the ſame time retyring themſelues
into the caſtle, where they might for a ſpace deem themſelues ſafe. So the Lord *Palſi* poſſeſſed of the city, with all his forces laid ſiege vnto caſtle, which although it were in ſome places ſhaken with the continuall fury of the cannon, yet were the defendants ſtil ready to make
good the ſame: inſomuch that *Palſi* in good hope of ſucces, giuing thereunto a general aſſault,
was by their valor inforced to retyre, they within in the mean time with great labor and induſtry repairing the breaches made by the artillery. So that *Palſi* conſidering the difficultie of
the aſſault, thought it better by vndermining to ſhake the rocke whereon the caſtle ſtood, than
by a new aſſault to expoſe ſo many worthy men to ſo manifeſt a danger. Which his purpoſe
D by the enemy diſcouered, was by them alſo by countermining diſappointed. Yet for all that
were the Chriſtians ſtill in good hope, by another mine not yet by the enemy perceiued, to attain to the full of their deſire; and the more, for that they ſaw not ſo much brauery or ſhew
of courage in the defendants as before: Who now kept themſelues ſilent and quiet, as if they
had bin conſulting about yeelding vp of the caſtle, as men bereft of all hope of reliefe or ſuccor. The Chriſtians hauing now poſſeſſed of a ſtrong abby and fortreſſe faſt by, and hauing
broken down all the bridges ouer the riuer Danubius; in ſuch ſort as that the beſieged could
receiue no relief either by land or water. But forſomuch as the time of the year began now to
grow tedious, and the winter weather ſharpe, the Chriſtians thought it not beſt there long to
protract the time, and therfore reſolued to preſent vnto the caſtle another general aſſault, and
E at the ſame time to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this aſſault they were againe repulſed,
with the loſſe of 200 men. At which time alſo a number of Turks ſallying out of the Caſtle
couragiouſly incountred the Chriſtians, but not with ſucces anſwerable to their valor, being
there almoſt all cut in pieces. Neither did the mine take the deſired effect, but being blown
vp did little or no harm at all. So the Chriſtians weary of their long ſuffering of the extreamitie of the weather, and withall conſidering the great courage of the defendants, were euen
vpon the point to haue riſen: yet willing to giue a freſh attempt vpon the mine, they began
again to work in the ſame, and hoping to preuail, began to parley with the defendants about
yeelding vp of the caſtle. But all to little or no purpoſe; for that the mine hauing taken no
effect, the ſoldiers could hardly be drawn on through the deep and muddy ditches to giue a
F new aſſault. In fine, ſeeing no hope to preuail, and hearing alſo of the comming of a great
Army of the Turks for the relief of the beſieged, they raiſed the ſiege, and at their departure
burnt their ſuburbs, carrying away with them a great booty; and ſo retyring towards Strigonium, expected further direction in what places to winter. Where ſhortly after order was
taken, that the forces disbanded ſhould be diſperſed, ſome into garriſons, and ſome into

The Chriſtians depart from Buda.

the country therabout;to the intent they might ſo be in the more readineſſe with the firſt of G
the next Spring to take the field,or as occaſion ſhould ſerue,to be otherwiſe imploied.

But *Sigiſmund* the Tranſylvanian prince in the mean time repenting himſelf of the vnequal
change he had made with the Emperour, in diſguiſed apparel haſting in poſt out of Sileſia,
came to Clauſenburg in Tranſylvania, and there was ioyfully receiued of his ſubiects; and
taking of them a new oath of obedience, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe certified *Maximilian*
the Archduke (appointed by the Emperour for the gouernment of Tranſylvania, and now
vpon his way as far as Caſſovia) of the cauſes of his return; perſuading him rather to conuert
his forces againſt the Turks, for the recouery of Agria, than to trouble himſelf to come any
farther for Tranſylvania, now againe by him to the great contentment of his ſubiects repoſſeſſed.
As did alſo the Princeſſe his wife (*Maximilian* his Couſin germane;) wiſhing him H
to conſider, what hurt and diſhonour hee ſhould do vnto the Emperour his Maieſty, himſelfe,
the Roman Empire, and the whole Chriſtian Commonweale in generall, if in ſo dangerous a
time hee ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Prince her husband; and vnto him by her ſo
neerly allyed.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks.

Now the Turks great army being come into the vpper Hungary, lay incamped vnder the
walls of the ſtrong city of Veradinum, where that worthy Captaine *George Baſta* was Lieutenant
General for the Emperor; but not hauing ſufficient ſtrength to go againſt ſo mighty an
enemy, or to relieue the beſieged city, hauing as then but a weak gariſon; he gaue knowledge
therof to *Maximilian* the Archduke, who (as is aforeſaid) with a conuenient power was but a
little before come to Caſſovia, to goe into Tranſylvania, had hee not there by the way been I
ſtayed by Embaſſadors from Prince *Sigiſmund*, but lately before returned out of Sileſia; and
hauing again taken vpon him the gouernment, by theſe his Embaſſadours requeſted him, no
further to trouble himſelf in that journy; offring to giue him aid againſt the Turks whenſoeuer
he ſhould require it. The beſieged neuertheles in the mean time notably defended themſelues,
and with certain braue ſallies did the enemy great harm: ſtil expecting that *Baſta* the
Lieutenant, or the Tranſylvanian prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their
vnited forces, ſhould ſend them relief. Vnto whom they gaue knowledge the 19 of October,
how that the Turks with all the force and fury they had vſed, had as yet little preuailed, beeing
by their valor ſtil repulſed, and with many ſharpe ſallies to their great loſſe incountered,
and ſome of their great ordnance cloied; in ſuch ſort, as that they were in good hope to protract K
the time vntil they might by them their friends be relieued: yet not doubting but that
the Turks according to their wonted maner would do what they might to ſubdue them. According
to whoſe expectation, the Tranſylvanian prince with a great power taking the field
to haue relieued them, was letted ſo to do by the Tartars, to that purpoſe ſtirred vp by the
Turks: ſo that he could by no means join his forces with *Maximilian*, for looking to the ſafety
of his own people and country. Yet in token of forwardnes he ſent certain Companies of
braue ſoldiers vnto the Lieutenant *Baſta*; who vnderſtanding that of two thouſand good ſoldiers
in garriſon in the city in the beginning of the ſiege, there were ſcarce 700 left aliue, all
the reſt being with continuall aſſaults either ſlain or mortally wounded; vſed a notable ſtratagem L
to delude the enemy withall; for hauing put his men in good order, and comming
brauely on, as if he would euen haue preſently joined battel (which the Turkes moſt deſired)
whilſt they likewiſe with great ſtirre were putting themſelues in order of battell, and wholly
buſied therin, he by another way of the Turks leaſt ſuſpected, cunningly thruſt into the City

Veradinum relieued.

800 good ſoldiers; and that don, preſently retyred again into his trenches, wherin he ſtrongly
incamped, feared not all the Turks forces: who thinking euen then to haue come to a day of
battel, and ſtil in vain expecting the ſame, returned deceiued by this fineneſſe. And ſo ſhortly
after, inforced by continual foul weather, raiſed their ſiege, not without great difficultie and
danger (reliefe lying ſo neer at hand, and the defendants ſtrengthned with new ſupplies) to
haue bin longer maintained. So paſſed the troubles of this year with no gain but great loſſe
of the Turks: who at their departure inforced by the vnſeaſonablenes of the weather, & ſome M
together, left behinde them in their trenches many Tents, with ſome great pieces of Artillerie,
being not able to conuey the ſame by water to Buda; and withal fearing greatly to be incountred
by the forces of *Baſta*, ſtrengthned with new ſupplies euen then ſent vnto him from
the Emperor.

A The Archduke *Matthias, Swartzenburg*, and the other commanders of the army in the lower Hungary, being twelue thouſand ſtrong, with the garriſon ſoldiers of Rab, Strigonium, & Komara, in the mean time becauſe they would not ſtand idle, together with the Hungarian horſmen, ouer-ran all the country therabouts euen vnto the gates of Buda; in good hope alſo to haue met with eight thouſand Turks (as they were by their eſpials aduertiſed) comming toward Peſth with victuals for relief of the caſtle of Buda.

Whilſt things thus paſſed in Hungary, *Mahomet* to ſhew his greatnes, as alſo the more to keep the Chriſtian princes in ſuſpence, ſent *Cicala Baſſa* (or as the Turks call him *Cigala*) his Admiral with a great fleet to ſea: wherwith being come vpon the coaſt of Sicilia, he requeſted the Viceroy of that kingdom, to ſend him aboord his fleet the Lady *Lucretia* his mother, B who dwelt in Meſſana, for that he greatly deſired to ſee her, and to do her honor; promiſing ſo quietly to depart without any harm doing. And the Viceroy again conſidering, how that the angry renegat for the like curteſie to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harm all alongſt the ſea coaſt; couenanting with him to ſend her in ſafety back againe, ſent her honorably accompanied aboord the Admiral gally: whom *Cicala* her ſonne receiued with great ioy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be, according to his promiſe ſent her backe againe to Meſſana, and ſo without any harme done for her ſake to any part of Chriſtendom, peaceably returned back again with his Fleet.

Now in the mean time *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia with good forces of his owne, bee-C cauſe he would be doing ſomthing alſo, reſolued to giue an attempt vpon Nicopolis, a City of the Turks in Bulgaria: and ſo giuing order to his people, cauſed a bridge to be made ouer Danubius, to paſſe that great riuer by. Wherof the Baſſa's of Siliſtria and Badoua vnderſtanding, thought it good with al their power to diſturb him in that work: & ſo comming as the ſaid bridge was by the Vayuods ſoldiers layd ouer the riuer vpon boats; without further ſtay attempted to haue broken the ſame, to the intent that the Vayuod ſhould not that way paſſe. Who haſting thither with his army, reſcued his work, and inforced the Baſſa's to forſake the exploit by them begun: where betwixt them for a ſpace was fought a moſt hard conflict, till at length the Turks were with a great ſlaughter ouerthrown, & ſo glad, ſome here, ſome there, by flight as they might to ſaue their liues. After which victorie, he without let paſſing ouer D the riuer with his whole forces, came and incamped vnder the wals of Nicopolis; where they of the city vnderſtanding of the late ſlaughter of the Turkes, and finding themſelues vnable to hold it out againſt the force and valor of the Valachies, and now out of hope of any help or relief to come in time from the Turkes, without further reſiſtance yeelded themſelues into the power of the Vayuod, who hauing ſacked the city and ſet it on fire, carried thence a great ſpoil and booty, with a number of the Bulgarians, chuſing out the beſt and moſt able bodies among them to ſerue him in his wars, and appointing the reſt to inhabit and manure the waſted places of Valachia. The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turks by the Valachian, with the ſacking of Nicopolis, running abroad, brought a general feare vpon the Turkes euen in the Imperial city of Conſtantinople. For the ſtaying wherof, *Mahomet* commaunded E the chief of his Baſſaes, with a great power of tumultuary ſoldiers taken vp in haſt, to go forthwith againſt the Vayuod, to ſtay the courſe of his further proceedings, to the diſmaying of his people, himſelf thundering out moſt horrible threats againſt him. Who incouraged with his late victorie, and wel acquainted with the Turks maners, litle regarded the ſame, as knowing that he was not with words but with arms to be vanquiſhed.

Nicopolis ſackt and burnt by the Vayuod.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor oppreſſed with melancholy, to ſee himſelf at once aſſailed with the plague then raging at Conſtantinople, the bloudy Wars in Hungary, and the horrible mortalitie and loſſe of his people in both places, and withal not ignorant of the euil ſucceſſe of his Army at Veradinum, and of the great harm don at Nicopolis by the Valachian, yet for all that ceaſed not in what he might to prouide for ſo many euills, but gaue order F to *Tuic Baſſa* with all ſpeed to ſet forwards (as wee haue ſaid) from Conſtantinople towards Valachia, as from whence he feared the greateſt danger. Who without delay to make the Vayuod to vnderſtand how highly the great Sultan was diſpleaſed with him, put himſelf vpon the way with ſix hundred Ianizaries towards Hadrianople, with purpoſe there to Winter vntil the next Spring, and ſo to expect the comming of the reſt of the Army, that ſo with the

1599.

ſame, vnited to the forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the laſt year beſieged Veradinum) he might appear the more terrible vnto his enemies. The Chriſtian Emperor alſo at the ſame time reſted much diſcontented, that his people in ſo fair a way for the winning of the caſtle of Buda, had yet failed therof. The Wallons laying the fault vpon the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Palfi*, & the reſt of the commanders, that it was not won; for that when they as valiant men offred to haue don therin the vtmoſt of their deuoir, their leaders had made choice by the ſpade & mattock, rather than by the ſword, to perform the ſame.

The Turkes again ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

But *Michael* the Vayuod ſeeing the Turks not a little diſmaied with the ſacking of Nicopolis, began afreſh to their greater terror and hurt to make new inrodes vpon them, in ſuch ſort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their territory; againſt whom *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in Hungary) comming with his forces, he again retyred, carying away with him the ſpoil of the country by him waſted.

They of Buda in the mean time fearing ſome ſudden aſſault to be giuen vpon them, & ſuffering within great want of victuals, expected long to be relieued both with victuals & other neceſſaries: vnderſtanding yet withall, That the grand Seignior had cauſed it to be giuen out at Conſtantinople, That he was raiſing a great power of his beſt and moſt expert ſoldiers, and had therfore ſent for vnto the court all his old men of war, ſuch as had ſerued in the Wars of Perſia, to be now again imploied in Hungary. Where the Turks in the mean time prouiding to relieue the diſtreſſed city of Buda both with men and many other neceſſaries, certain reſolute Hungarians vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that one of the Turks Baſſa's with 3000 ſoldiers was comming thither to increaſe the garriſon, laid themſelues cloſe in ambuſh in a place wherby the Turks were to paſſe. Where they had not long ſtaied, but that the Turkes without fear diſorderedly paſſing by, were by them with ſuch force and fury aſſailed, that in a moment, when they leaſt thought, they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of many of their horſes, much mony & jewels, and many captiues there taken priſoners: the Baſſa himſelf with much ado hardly eſcaping into the City. But ſhortly after, 400 Chriſtians ſcouring the country about Buda, and hauing taken a good booty of cattel and other pillage, returning loded with the prey, were by the way aſſaulted by the Turkes, and inforced to forſake the ſame, and to fight for their liues: whom for all that they notably repulſed, with the ſlaughter of diuers of them, and ſo again recouering their booty, returned with victory. And about this time or not long after in the vpper Hungary, a great power of the Turks and Tartars hauing forraged a great part of that country, and don the Chriſtians much harme, came before Caſſovia, making ſhew as if they would euen preſently haue beſieged that city. Which put the inhabitants in ſuch a fear, that many of them without further deliberation fled forthwith as faſt as they could into the mountaines, thinking themſelues more ſafe there, than in the city. Neuertheleſſe by the perſuaſion of *George Baſta* the Emperours lieutenant in thoſe parts, 2000 valiant and expert ſoldiers ſtaid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do: who approching the walls, demanded of them in the city a great ſum of money by way of contribution, threatning otherwiſe the vtter ruin and deſtruction therof. Which their proud demand was by *Baſta* ſtoutly rejected, and they with the loſſe of a great many of their liues inforced to get them farther off. Wherfore ſeeing themſelues not able to preuaile againſt a city ſo wel furniſhed, they for feare by night riſe, and departed quite another way than that wherby they came, doing great harm ſtil as they went. The free Haiducks of Valachia alſo, a warlike kind of people liuing for moſt part vpon prey, & willing to ſhew ſome token of their hatred toward the Turks, by certain bridges paſſing ouer the Danubius, encountred with the Baſſa of Natolia with a great power, whome they ouerthrew with much ſlaughter of his people, and the loſſe of his brother there ſlain alſo; and ſo afterwards ouer-running the country, did there exceeding great harm, and took the ſon of the ſame Baſſa priſoner. Thus paſſed the Winter, with many light ſkirmiſhes and incurſions in diuers parts of Hungary and other the frontier countries; which had don great harm, had it not beene before hand well prouided for by the Imperials; who in moſt places ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, ſtayd the fury of their barbarous enemies. *Maximilian* the Archduke in the mean time comming from Prague vnto Vienna, found himſelfe there to haue in his Campe but foure and twenty thouſand Foot and ten thouſand horſe ready againſt the next Spring (diuers of the German Princes this year not ſending thither any aid at all, by reaſon of their troubles neerer home with the Spaniards

A the Spaniards in the lower ſide of Germany) which made him the more to dread the enemies comming, who he knew after his accuſtomed manner would the next ſummer appeare in the field with a far greater number. But to his further hinderance, the great Duke of Muſcouie about this time, by his Embaſſador amongſt other things requeſted leaue of the Polonian, for forty thouſand horſemen to paſſe thorow his country, which horſemen he determined (as he ſaid) to ſend in aid of the Emperor againſt the Turke. Which his requeſt the Polonian would by no means grant, as dangerous to his eſtate. Wherefore the Muſcouit offended with the Polonian, ſent other his Embaſſadors to the Emperor by ſea, who embarqued in an Engliſh ſhip in the port S. *Nicolas*, and ſailing about the kingdoms of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, after long trouble at ſea, at length arriued at Stoad, and ſo from thence by land trauelled to B Hamborow, Lubeck and Maidenborow, & in euery place honorably entertained, came at laſt to the Emperour into Bohemia, then lying at Pilſen, for that the plague was very hot at Prague: where they hauing with great ſtate deliuered their Preſents and letters of credence vnto the Emperor, had audience, and were by him moſt honorably vſed. Yet the Polonian hauing thus denied the Muſcovit paſſage, ſuffered the Turks Embaſſador (who called himſelfe *Gabriel*) a Iew, to paſſe through his countrey vnto the Emperour, to intreat with him of a peace to bee made betwixt him and the Turk. Which *Gabriel* comming to Prague as Embaſſadour from the Great Turke, and hauing no Letters of Credence to ſhew for his Negotiation (for that they were, as he ſaid, vpon the way taken from him by the Polonian Coſſacks, and certaine of his retinue ſlaine) was there taken for a Spie, and ſo ſent to Vienna: where at his firſt arriuall C he was well vſed in a common Inne; but the night following, beeing taken in his chamber by the Marſhal, was ſo clapt faſt in priſon, with as many irons vpon him as he could beare; and all his followers with gyves vpon their legs compelled as Slaues daily to worke in the Towne-Ditch.

About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince (whom hitherto all men admired, as a man euen ſent from heauen, for the benefit of his countrey and of the Chriſtian Commonweal) by a wonderfull change gaue a moſt manifeſt token of a diuers and vnconſtant nature, to the great wonder of the world; for hauing broken the agreement made with the Emperor the laſt yeare, and being ſecretly in poſt returned out of Sileſia into Tranſylvania, and again taken vpon him the gouernment (as is before declared) and hauing withall requeſted D himſelf & the Tranſylvanians his countrymen to be diſcharged of the oath of obedience and loyaltie by them before giuen vnto the Emperor; and the city of Varadinum with the Country therabout, to be again reſtored vnto him; and the Emperor pauſing therupon; did now, (doubting of his own abilitie for the keeping of that country) in the beginning of this yeare 1599, by his Embaſſadors, the Biſhop of Alba-Iulia and *Stephen Paſchas* his Chancellor, ſent of purpoſe vnto the Emperour, requeſt him to haue the firſt agreements again renewed, and the Principalitie of Trebnits in Morauia to be added to the two dukedoms of Oppel and Ratibor in Sileſia, with fifteen thouſand ducats to be yearly paid vnto him out of the Chamber of the Empire; and a generall pardon giuen vnto all the Tranſylvanians, that following him, had of late reuolted from the Emperour, and their antient Liberties to be vnto euery one of E them again confirmed. With all which Conditions obtained at the Emperours hands (as of him who ſaw how needfull it was for him by any meanes to keepe that ſtrong Countrey in his power) the ſame Embaſſadours with their diſpatch returned from Prague the nineteenth of April.

But *Sigiſmund* in the mean time at home, was entred into new conceits with certaine of the Polonian Nobility, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour: and hauing ſent for one of the Turkes Chiaus from Conſtantinople, and for his Couſin *Andrew Bathor* the proud Cardinall out of Boruſia, and ſo meeting with them in an obſcure Village in the Confines of Tranſylvania towards Polonia, accompanied with certaine of the chiefeſt of the States of his Countrey: there in the preſence of the Polonians and of the Turkiſh Embaſſa- F dour, reſigned all the right and title he had in the Countrey of Tranſylvania, vnto the Cardinal his couſin, commanding all the States there preſent, to ſweare vnto him their obedience and fidelity: who ſhortly after together with the Polonian Embaſſadour, ſent one of his eſpeciall Fauourits to Conſtantinople, to deſire ſafe conduct for his Embaſſadours to be ſent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turke. Which meſſenger ſo ſent, together with the

Sigiſmund reſigneth Tranſilvania to his couſin the Cardinall.

Polonian Embaſſador, were both curteouſly intertained in the Turks court, and in token of ſpecial fauor rewarded with ſumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardinall within three months next ſhould ſend thither a ſolemne Embaſſador, with the old accuſtomed tribute by the Turk demanded. Thus through the inconſtancie of the Prince, the ambition of the proud Cardinal, and the foule colluſion of the Polonian, the Countrey of Tranſylvania (one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of that ſide of Chriſtendome) falling from the Emperors obedience, and ſo in a ſort cut off from the Chriſtian commonweal, became again tributary vnto the Turk: moſt good men deteſting the lightnes of the one, the ambition of the other, and the ſlines of the third.

Now the Turks of Buda not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had moſt earneſtly intreated relief from the other Turks their friends in Hungary; who on all hands ran to haue relieued them: but comming neere thereunto, could not put in ſuch prouiſion as they had brought for relief of the ſame, being letted ſo to do by the Imperials, who about a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night ſecretly approching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a petard to haue broken it open, and ſo to haue entred. Which his deuice taking not effect, as did that at Rab (the gate being within ſtrongly fortified by the enemy) he was inforced to depart, being alſo diſcouered by the Turkes from the wall. Now ſhortly after, the Baſſa of Buda with ſix hundred horſe iſſuing out of the city, to haue met with victuals that were comming thither, fel into the hands of the Haiducks, who after their maner fiercely incountering him, put him to flight, and took him priſoner, his horſe in the chaſe falling vnder him: whom his ſouldiers ſeeking to reſcue, there began a new skirmiſh, which increaſed their former ouerthrow, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of them that were left; amongſt whom the Baſſa's ſon, with the Aga of the Ianizaries, there loſt their liues alſo. Which conflict thus ended, the Baſſa was in ſafety brought to the camp, and there with great threats inforced to reueal the ſtate of his city, with other the ſecret deſignes of the Turks. Whereupon the Haiduckes returned back toward Buda, ſeeking by all means to ſtop the comming of victuals thither, ſo in hope at length to haue gained the diſtreſſed city. But whilſt they thus lay vpon the paſſages, behold, news was brought them, That the Baſſa of Boſna, with the Sanzacks of Sigeth, Quinque Eccleſiæ, and Coppan, with 10000 Turks were comming to oppreſſe them, and to open the paſſages by them holden. But they knowing their own ſtrength, and nothing fearing ſo ſmal forces, ſtaid not for their comming, but went to meet them; and in a place of good aduantage waiting for them, vpon their firſt appearance, with great aſſurance and courage charged them, brake their array, and ſlew the moſt part of them, together with the Baſſa himſelf; yet with ſo much ado, as had not the Lord *Palfi* in good time ſent in vnto their aid certain companies of freſh men, it was not without cauſe doubted, but that the Haiducks had bin put to the worſe, about 300 of them hauing there already loſt their liues. The Tartars yet neuertheles in good number held on their way towards Buda, with purpoſe to haue ouerrun the country, and ſo haue withdrawn the Imperials from the city: but foraſmuch as that baſe nation was known to be good for nothing but to rob and ſpoil, the Lord *Swartzenburgs* Regiment onely going againſt them, and incountering them ouerthrew them, in ſuch ſort that part of them beeing there ſlaine in fight, and part for fear driuen into Danubie, the greater number of them there moſt miſerably periſhed.

The Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner.

The Baſſa of Boſna ſlain.

Baſta the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungary, at the ſame time lay at Caſſovia with eighteen thouſand men, doubting leſt the enemies army, which he heard to be at hand, ſhould come to beſiege that City. In the meane time *Ibrahim Baſſa* Generall of the Turkes forces came to Solnoc, with an army of fifty thouſand ſtrong, amongſt whom were ten thouſand Ianizaries. But for all that, vnderſtanding that *Baſta* nothing diſmaied, awaited his comming at Caſſovia, not thinking it good to go any farther (his ſouldiers being already wearyed with long trauell) neither yet ſafe there to ſtay ſo neer vnto his ſtrong enemy, retyred backe againe vnto Belgrade, a place of more ſtrength and ſecurity, expecting a great fleet of ſhips, which charged vpon the Danubius were to bring victuals for the army, as alſo for the relief of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and other ſuch diſtreſſed places, with diuers great pieces for battery, and other leſſe artillery vpon cariages, with a number of wagons and other inſtruments of Warre, declaring their purpoſe for the performance of ſome notable exployt; all guarded with fiue thouſand

ſand

The Turks receiue a great ouerthrow by the Chriſtians.

A ſand Turkes which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderſtanding, the Lord *Palſi* diſpatched his Lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the Captain of the Huſſars with his followers being good and valiant ſoldiers, to cut off this Conuoy: who ſuddenly aſſailing them, and ſo comming to a hand fight, cut them in pieces, & rifled the ſhips, of whom the greater part were there ſunk in the deep riuer, and ſo took an exceeding great booty, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where among other things of great value, there was found aboord 100000 Dollars, which were all diuided among the ſoldiers as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once known at Buda, Alba-Regalis, and the Cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a generall feare, yea, the army of *Ibrahim* grew therby much diſcontented, as being at once diſappointed both of their victuals and their pay. Beſides that, the Imperi- B als ouerran all the country thereabout, ranſacking, ſacking, and deſtroying all the country villages and caſtles without mercy, although the poor inhabitants offered them a large Contribution to haue ſtayd their fury, which would not be accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow alſo, the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his forces to come again to the ſiege of Buda, in hope in ſo great a diſcomfiture and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered to him; and for that purpoſe ſent for certaine great pieces of Artillery to Vienna. But whileſt things went thus wel in the lower Hungary, Colonel *Rodoler* of S. *Andrews* in the vpper country, took occaſion alſo vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes, with 500 horſe and 600 foot to ſhew himſelf with this ſmall company before Agria, hauing yet left the greateſt part of his forces a little off in ſecret ambuſh. Which ſmall company the Baſſa of Agria beholding, preſently put C himſelf in arms, and ſo ſallying out, began a hot and braue skirmiſh, when ſuddenly the other ſoldiers left in ambuſh, ſtarting out, and couragiouſly aſſailing their enemies, brake their order & put them to flight, purſuing them at the heels euen to the gates of the city: & had there bin a greater force of footmen, it was verily thought that the Turks, diſmaid with the flight, and altogether confounded, had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Chriſtians had become maſters of the city, which had bin the cauſe of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheleſſe they with great brauery and ſmal loſſe retyred, hauing ſlain a great number of the Turks, and carying away with them 100 priſoners, with a booty of 500 horſe, and much other cattel.

The free Haiducks alſo ſtrengthned with new ſupplies, had don great harm in the country D about Buda, ſcouring freely all ouer it without any reſiſtance: for which cauſe the poor Chriſtians which yet dwelt in that Country, riſe vp againſt the Turkes, promiſing their obedience vnto the Emperor: and moreouer, to the intent they might be no more moleſted by the Imperials, offered to take vp arms themſelues againſt the enemy, & to the vtmoſt of their power to hinder his paſſage both by land and water. Theſe ſame Haiducks alſo had broken down all the bridges which the Turks had made betwixt Buda & Alba-regalis, to the end they ſhould not that way commodiouſly bring either victuals or munition from the one place vnto the other. And the Lord *Palſi* and *Nadaſti* vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that the Tartars diuided into three companies, had ouerran a great part of the country, and with a great booty were retyring toward Buda; preſently went out againſt them, and inforced them to fight: which E barbarous people better inured to filching, there loſt all their liues, together with that they had before ſtoln. After which victory, theſe valiant men turning their forces againſt certaine other places of the Turks there by, took two of their caſtles, with much rich ſpoil, which Caſtles they ſacked and burnt, together with the great towne of Zolna, breaking downe alſo the bridge vpon the riuer Trava.

Now at this time the Turkes of Buda held themſelues male-content within the City, hauing no Gouernor, their Baſſa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themſelues pinched alſo with great want of victuals. Wherfore doubting ſome ſudden attempt of the Chriſtians, as men diſmaied, for their better ſafety retired themſelues into the Caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, leauing the city to the Imperials, who ready to beſiege it, but doubting of the F Turks great Army, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auauntgard thereof being come to Mohatſch, where *Sartes Baſſa* was alſo looked for, (the report being giuen out, That the Turks hauing relieued Buda, would go to beſiege Caniſia or elſe Strigonium) they ſtayed to goe any farther, as men in doubt what to reſolue vpon. So certaine Colonels and other Captaines were ſent with their ſouldiers, to fortifie certaine paſſages whereby the

Turkes

Turks army was to paſſe. The reſt in the meane time retyring, for that the puiſſant enemy began G now to approch, as alſo for that they knew the great deſire that *Ibrahim Baſſa* had to recouer again Strigonium, and had therfore ſent a great number of Tartars to forrage and waſt the country, and ſo ſuddenly hauing relieued Buda and Agria, there to reſolue whither to turn his forces. The Imperials in the meane time incamping betwixt Hatuan and Zolnoc, to hinder the Turks from victualling of Buda, as they deſired, cut off fiue hundred of them at their first arriual, who to that purpoſe were going toward Buda, and tooke alſo one of the Turks Chiaus priſoner; who ſent from *Ibrahim* the Generall was going to Agria, to put them in hope of their ſpeedy relief. They alſo at the ſame time attempted to haue ſurpriſed Zolnoc, where a good number of them with certain petards approching the gates, in hope ſo to haue broken them open, being diſcouered by the watch were inforced to retyre, leauing forty behind them ſlain, H and carrying away with them many moe of their fellowes wounded: In reuenge whereof the reſt ſhewed their fury vpon the country therabout, deſtroying the villages, & intercepting a great deal of munition, which together with other victuals, they met by the way as it was going toward Buda and Agria.

Summer now almoſt ſpent, *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa in the beginning of September came to Buda, with an Army of an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong; and from thence in the name of his great lord and Maſter gaue the Emperour to vnderſtand, That for the ſauing of further effuſion of innocent bloud, and not for any fear or diſtruſt of his own ſtrength and power, hee could be content to hearken to ſome reaſonable conditions or treaty of peace: Whereunto both theſe great princes (hauing wel wearied themſelues with theſe long wars, and exhauſted I their Treaſures) ſeemed not now vnwilling; expecting, as was thought, nothing more, than for the honour to be firſt entreated. And the rather, for that the old Sultanneſſe *Mahomet* his mother (who by the weakenes of her ſonnes gouernment, ſuch as neuer was in any the *Othoman* Kings or Emperours before, did beare the greateſt ſway in his affaires) did what ſhee might to further the ſame. Wherefore in the later end of September a place was agreed vpon for a parley for peace, which was in an Iſland in the riuer of Danubius, beneath Strigonium. Whither the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Nadaſti*, *Palfi*, and the Biſhop of Vacia being come for the Emperour; and *Amurath* Baſſa of Buda, with the Lieutenant Generall of the Tartars, and ſome others, for the grand Seigniour; The Turkes at the firſt, after their vnreaſonable manner, demaunded to haue Rab, Strigonium, Fileck, Setchin, and all the reſt of the Townes K and Caſtles in fiue years before taken from them by the Christians, to be now againe ſurrendred vnto them, with a certaine yearly tribute by the Emperor to be payd vnto the great Sultan at Conſtantinople; as alſo there to haue his Embaſſadour Lieger continually attending vpon the Turks Court: for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour the city of Agria onely. All which their proud and vnreaſonable demands being by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners on the Emperors behalfe rejected, they were contented to come to ſome more reaſonable talke, offering to leaue vnto the Emperour Rab and Agria (whereof Rab was his own already) onely for Strigonium, exchanging as it were Strigonium for Agria. Which when it could neither be obtained, the parly was ſo broken off and nothing concluded; and ſo the wars again continued, without any memorable thing more this year betwixt them don, either L on the one ſide or on the other; the Chriſtians contenting themſelues to haue diſtreſſed the chief Cities the Turkes held in Hungary; and the Turkes no leſſe apayed to haue relieued the ſame.

A parly for Peace.

Michael the Vayuod inuadeth Tranſilvania.

But whilſt things thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in Hungary, *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, yet the Emperors friend and Confederat, and vnder his protection; certainly informed his life to be ſought after in the Turks Court, by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor* his enuious neighbour, but lately become the Prince of Tranſylvania, as is before declared; by commandement from the Emperor, and to be reuenged of ſo great a wrong, as alſo betimes to prouide for his owne ſafety, with an army of threeſcore thouſand ſtrong ſuddenly entred into Tranſylvania, in moſt horrible manner burning the countrey, and killing the people M before him as he went. Where whileſt the Cardinall (who was thought to haue purpoſed to haue ſerued him in like ſort, had hee not beene by him preuented) was making head againſt him: he in the meane time had the city of Corona (commonly called Braſſo) with the ſtrong caſtle of Fogaras yeelded vnto him: from whence hee marching towards Alba Iulia, A the 26 of October, with all his Army, before diuided into three parts, but now againe vnited, came into the plains neer Temiſon, about 3 leagues from Hermenſtat; where vnderſtanding that his lieutenant, corrupted by *Ibrahim Baſſa*, had promiſed to kil him, and now well aſſured therof, to rid himſelfe of that danger, with his owne hands preſently cut his throat, and ſo diſpatched him. When by and by after came vnto him the Popes Nuntio, ſent by a fineneſſe from the Cardinal, accompanied with another embaſſador, the better to countenance out the matter, telling him, That the ſame Embaſſador had commiſſion from the Emperour, to will him forthwith to deſiſt from armes, and without further delay to depart out of Tranſyluania. Which thing ſeeming vnto the Vayuod very ſtrange and almoſt impoſſible, he deſired to ſee the Commiſſion. Wherunto the Nuntio, before inſtructed, anſwered, that he had left it with B the Cardinal. But I (ſaid the Vayuod) haue another here preſent from the Emperor, of another purport, which I purpoſe fully to put in execution: Yet was he for that day intreated by the Nuntio to ſtay his army. And ſo in the mean time lying both ſtill and in great ſuſpence, the Vayuod deſired to know of the Nuntio, the cauſe why the Cardinal forgetting himſelf, ſo troubled that country by intruding himſelf therinto, to the great prejudice of them to whom it of better right belonged, not attending the gouernment of the Church, better beſeeming his calling than the mannaging of arms, to the diſturbance of the Chriſtian peace. Wherunto he receiued no anſwer. So the 28 of October, a day dedicated to the commemoration of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Iude*, theſe meſſengers were ſent back again vnto the Cardinall: Who preſently returned them back vnto the Vayuod with new inſtructions (being then buſie with C his yong ſon, in ſetting his men in order of battell, preſently to go againſt the Cardinall) of whom they could get no other anſwer, but that he was reſolued forthwith to come vnto the triall of a battell with him. So the two Armies lying incamped not paſt a quarter of a league the one from the other, and the ſame day meeting together, joined a moſt terrible and cruell battell, which for the ſpace of fiue houres was with much deſperat reſolution fought, as if they had euery man vowed to haue caried away the victory ouer his enemy, or there to haue left themſelues dead vpon the ground; vntil the Cardinals people at length ouercome in a long and bloudy fight, were there vtterly ouerthrown: amongſt whom were 30000 Turks & Tartars, ſent vnto him from *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General. The Cardinall himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his army, was by ſome reported to haue ſaued himſelf by flight, but by others D was ſaid to haue bin drowned in paſſing a riuer, as hee fled from the Valachians that had him in chace. But the truth was, That the Vayuod now maſter of the field, ſent out certain troups of horſmen diuers waies fit to purſue him, and himſelf with the reſt of his Army proſecuting the victorie, came to the Cardinals camp, now by the Tranſyluanians & Turks forſaken, wherin he found 45 pieces of artillery, with great ſtore of coin & wealth, beſide a number of tents and horſes, all which became vnto him a prey. From thence he marched to Alba-Iulia, where he was with great ioy receiued of his friends and confederats there: for although the greater part of the Tranſyluanians, eſpecially the Nobilitie, had together with the Cardinal, ſubmitted themſelues to the Turks protection, & followed his enſignes; yet were there diuers others alſo who ſtil fauored the Emperour, and therfore rejoiced not a little at this victory. The Vai-

The Cardinall ouerthrown by the Vayuod, & his head ſent to the Emperor.

E uod after that ſent his Lieutenant to Claudiopolis, to ſee if they would yeeld alſo. Which they willingly did, with many other Cities and Caſtles in diuers parts of that Countrey, which hauing none to reſt vpon, now yeelded alſo; in ſuch ſort that ſhortly after, all Tranſyluania ſubmitted it ſelf againe vnto the Emperours obeyſance and ſwore vnto him obedience; moſt of the Nobility of the Countrey being either ſlaine in that battell, or afterwards put to death by the Vayuod: amongſt whom were fiue, which corrupted by the Cardinall, had before vndertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of Nouember, after diuers reports of the Cardinals eſcape, his vngracious head was for all that preſented vnto the Vayuod. Which to the terror of others being for a while ſet vp in Alba-Iulia, (where hee had but a little before commanded as a Prince) it was afterwards taken downe, and ſent as a Preſent from F the Vayuod vnto the Emperour and the Archdukes his brethren. His headleſſe body being afterwards by the commandement of the Vayuod honourably buried in a Monaſterie at Alba-Iulia, in the ſame Tombe which he had before made for his brother, beheaded by his couſin Prince *Sigiſmund Bathor*. The Cardinalls treaſure alſo fell into his hands, which was ſaid to haue bin valued at three millions of gold. Thus the Countrey of Tranſyluania, lately before by the Cardinal yeelded vnto the obeiſance of the Turke; was againe by this worthy Vayuod recouered and reſtored to the Chriſtian commonweal, the proud Cardinall caſt out and brought to confuſion, hauing not yet poſſeſſed theſe his new honours full eight months. His couſin *Sigiſmund* the late Tranſylvanian Prince, who almoſt all this while had ſtaied at Boruſia, and in diſguiſed apparel ſeen Dansk and diuers other the free cities therabouts, now hearing news of the Cardinals ouerthrow, ſecretly got him away into Polonia, to ſeek againe his new fortunes. The Lord *Swartzenburg* at the ſame time vniting his forces in the lower Hungary with them of Stiria, and now 20000 ſtrong, ſought by all means to reduce ſo many places vpon thoſe frontiers as he could, vnto the Emperours obeiſance, and ſo tooke in aboue 200 villages: but afterwards thinking to haue ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Capiſuar, and by night ſecretly approching one of the gates with a petard, which took not the expected effect, he was diſcouered by the watch, and ſo by the garriſon ſoldiers (now raiſed with the alarme) repulſed, and inforced to retyre with the loſſe of about a hundred men, & diuers others wounded, all men of good account. In reuenge whereof *Swartzenburg* afterwards ſent out diuers troups of horſmen, which ſcouring all ouer the country as far as Sigeth, did great harme, and ſo returning, caried away with them a great booty.

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Ibrahim Baſſa hearing of this ouerthrow of the cardinal, with all the forces he had ſent him, much troubled therwith, ſent poſt news therof to Conſtantinople: the brute wherof brought a general fear vpon the whole city alſo; inſomuch that Commiſſion was forthwith ſent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might bee) to come to ſome honourable peace with the Emperor, and to bring it with him to Conſtantinople, whither he was ſhortly to return, being now no longer time to keep the field with his army, which beſide the cold ſeaſon of the year, ſuffered great want of bread, the plague alſo raging therein, with the death of many his beſt ſoldiers both horſe and foot, beſides the wonderfull mortalitie of their Cattell alſo: in ſuch ſort that the ſoldiers not able longer to endure the famin and wants increaſing, fel to robbing one of another, and ſo at length into mutiny, wherin diuers of them being ſlain and cut in pieces by their fellows, the reſt for the moſt part brake in pieces of themſelues, and ſo by diuers waies returned home, not wel truſting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turks, their Army being diſcomfited with wants and the euil ſucces of their affairs as wel in Hungary as in Tranſylvania. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, for relief of thoſe euils, at his return bring any concluſion of peace vnto his great Lord and Maſter, as was commonly expected.

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The Baſſa of Caramania rebelleth againſt the Sultan.

Now beſide theſe troubles of Tranſylvania and the other reuolted countries, *Cuſabin* (or as ſome call him *Caſſan*) the ſon of one of the Sultaneſſes, brought vp in the Seraglio according to the maner therof, and hauing long ſerued in the wars of Perſia and Hungary, and at length made Baſſa of Caramania, a man of great ſpirit, and not able to endure the imperfections he daily ſaw in the *Othoman* empire, and the cowardiſe of the grand Seigniour, vpon the report of the euill ſucces of the affairs of Hungary on the one ſide, and the deſire hee ſaw in the Perſians to recouer their loſt fortreſſes, on the other, and grieued alſo with more particular wrongs concerning himſelf; as a man altogether diſcontented, reſolued to take vp arms; and calling vnto him his ſoldiers, and (as he was a wel ſpoken man) laying before them the deformities of the preſent ſtate, gallantly perſuaded them, with the promiſe of honor, ſoueraigntie, and rich rewards, what an eaſie thing it were to chaſe the grand Seignior out of Aſia, and to ſet themſelues with all that part of the empire at liberty. And ſo euen at the firſt hauing won vnto him three thouſand harquebuſiers, and 2000 horſmen, took the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of their ſtate; a ſtrange matter in that tyrannicall gouernment. The news wherof comming poſt to the Court, commiſſion was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of Aſia neereſt vnto him, for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of that rebellion, but euen then ariſing. Whereof *Cuſabin* vnderſtanding, and that they with ten thouſand horſe and foot were comming to oppreſſe him; without further ſtay went couragiouſly to meet them, and ſo incountering of them, ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and tooke from them their baggage, with ſix pieces of ordnance: and after with his people ſeiſed vpon all the caſtles therabouts, giuing whatſoeuer he found therin for a prey to his ſoldiers: who alſo much inriched themſelues with the ſpoil of the Iewes, as the people whom they moſt hated, and neuer reſted vntill he had made almoſt all the country of Caramania his owne. After that, hee

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A laid ſiege to Cogna a city in the confines of Natolia, which was forthwith yeelded vnto him.
And yet not ſo contented, gaue it out by open proclamation, That for the reformation of the
diſordered ſtate, he would ere long go to beſiege the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople: And
therfore all ſuch as would follow him ſhould be intreated as his friends and companions;
threatning vnto the reſt moſt cruel death and deſtruction. Of which his proceeding *Mahomet*
(as then diſporting himſelfe in his gardens of pleaſure in the countrey all alongſt the ſide of
Propontis) vnderſtanding, and fearing to be there ſurpriſed, or that ſome ſudden innouation
might be raiſed in the city, haſted with all ſpeed to Conſtantinople, and from thence in haſte
diſpatched *Mehemet* one of the Viſier Baſſa's the ſon of *Sinan*, with al the forces he could raiſe
to go againſt him. Who paſſing ouer into Aſia with a great power, and yet fearing to come
B to the trial of a battel with him,, whom he knew to be a man of himſelf deſperatly ſet, & not
a little fauored of his own ſoldiers; ſo ſecretly wrought by large promiſes, that *Cuſabins* footmen
were euen vpon the point to haue forſaken him. Which hee quickely perceiuing, fled
forthwith thorow Syria into the countrey of Arabia with his horſemen and the horſemen of
Simon the Georgian; purpoſing the next Spring by the help of the Arabians and Perſians, to
appear in field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Baſſa following,
came with his army to Aleppo, there to winter, and to expect the return of the Rebell together
with the Spring. This ſo dangerous a rebellion, with the troubles of Tranſylvania and
Valachia, were the cauſe, that the grand Seignior, ſeeing himſelfe in ſo many places forſaken
of his ſubiects, was the readier to encline vnto peace with the Emperour. Whereunto for all
C that, the Emperor was not haſty to hearken but vpon honorable conditions; as knowing that
the Turke required the ſame, not for that hee had any deſire to liue in quiet, but for that his
troubled affairs both at home and elſwhere abroad ſo required, his Ianizaries and other men
of war in this his ſo weak gouernment being grown ſo inſolent, as that they were hardly to be
by him commanded; openly threatning in their diſcontented humors, not only to depoſe the
chief officers about him, but himſelf alſo, and the baniſhment of the Sultaneſſe his mother;
ſaying, That ſhe had bewitched him, to the end ſhe might her ſelfe rule, as indeed ſhe did in
all his chiefeſt affairs. But the rebel *Cuſabin* the next year grown again very ſtrong, was now
come into the field, and euen ready to haue giuen the Baſſa battell: Who as he was a man of
great wiſedome and experience, well conſidering with what a deſperate enemy he had to doe,
D thought it beſt again to proue, if his rebellious followers might by fair means be drawn from
him: and ſo comming neer vnto him, by open proclamation promiſed a free and general pardon
to all ſuch as had followed the rebel in thoſe Wars, if forſaking him they ſhould forthwith
returne home to their dwellings, and ſo to the obedience of their iuſt and lawfull Prince
and Soueraign. Which general pardon ſo proclaimed was the ruine of *Cuſabin*; for that the
greateſt part of his followers, now inriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now
alſo hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their own Countries, there at eaſe
to liue of their euil gotten goods; leauing their Captaine with ſome few others that ſtayed
with him, with little hope to be ſaued. So that within a few daies after, *Cuſabin* thus forſaken
of his followers, was himſelf taken and brought to Conſtantinople, where ſhortly after he
E was with moſt exquiſit torments tortured to death.

Cuſabin taken and tortured to death at Conſtantinople.

1600.

The Emperor prepares againſt the Turks.

The troubles of this year thus paſt, *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperor with the beginning of
the next (whilſt the ground yet couered with ſnow, and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather
would not ſuffer the ſoldiers to keep the field) cauſed a Diet of the princes of the Empire to
be called, to conſider with him of ſuch helpes as were by them to bee giuen againſt the next
Spring for the maintenance of the wars he yet had againſt the Turk. Who all promiſed to
ſend their ſoldiers, with their pay and ſuch further contribution as might ſerue for the maintenance
of that defenſiue war againſt the common enemy. Whereto alſo *Clement* now biſhop
of Rome (this year of Iubilie) put to his helping hand, as he had often before, by ſending thither
ſuch aid both of men & mony as he had before promiſed: ſo that by this means great preparation
F was made by the Chriſtians for the taking of the field with the firſt of the Spring.
At which time the Turks alſo began to ſtir: who although *Ibrahim Baſſa* their Generall, by
his great lords appointment, was then in ſome ſpeech with the Emperour about a peace; yet
ceaſed not they in the meane time that this treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their
troups diſperſed here and there, to do what harm they could vpon the frontiers of the Emperours

rors territories, the cauſe why he with more ſpeed called vpon his friends for their promiſed G
aid. And for the better mannaging of this yeares wars againſt the Turk, hee appointed Duke
Mercury (who had drawn a great number of Frenchmen both horſe & foot out of France) General
of all his forces, ſending *Ferant GonZaga,* ſyrnamed the Lame (whom for his approoued
valour and experience in martiall affairs, he had ſent for to Mantua) gouernor into the vpper
Hungary. So the ſouldiers now day by day by Companies reſorting from diuers parts into
Auſtria, were from thence ſent to ſuch places as were by the Turks moſt moleſted, ſo to repres
their often incurſions, as in many places they did. For eight thouſand of the Turks going out
vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed Pappa, were by the garriſon ſoldiers of the place incountered
and ouerthrown. And on the other ſide, Whilſt *Ferdinand* the Archduke was aſſembling
his people in Croatia, for the defence of that Country againſt the incurſions of the enemie, H
ſix thouſand Turks without reſiſtance entering the ſame as far as Buccari, and burning the
country villages as they went, had taken many priſoners, with a great booty of cattell: and ſo
merry and out of feare, being about to return, were ſuddenly ſet vpon by County *Berinus* in
certain ſtreit and troubleſome paſſages, where they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, & ouercharged
with their prey, were (I ſay) eaſily by him for the moſt part ouerthrown, and the reſt put
to flight, and ſo the priſoners with all the reſt of the booty again recouered. At the ſame time
alſo one of the Imperial colonels with fifteen hundred horſe making an inrode into the country
about Alba Regalis, and meeting with the Turks and Tartars therabouts, ſlew ſix hundred
of them, and took diuers of their captains priſoners. Six thouſand other Tartars alſo, at this
time returning out of Hungary home towards their own country, were by the Coſſacks neere I
vnto the Black ſea ſet vpon with ſuch force, that many of them being ſlaine, the reſt for feare
ran into the ſea, leauing all the prey they had got in Hungary, vnto their enemies. In the heat
of theſe broiles, the noble Lord *Palſi* gouernor of Strigonium, a man that all his life long had
don great ſeruice for his prince & country, and whom we haue ſo often in this hiſtory remembred,

The death of the lord Palſi.

died the three and twentieth day of May, in his Caſtle of Biberſpurg, to the great grief
of many, but eſpecially the Hungarians his Countreymen. And for that Strigonium (ſo neer
vnto the enemy) required in his ſtead to haue a right valiant and couragious Gouernour, the
Emperour appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* vnto that charge; the fame ſtill running, That
Ibrahim Baſſa would come thither with the great army he was in prouiding, if the peace went
not forward; which was now ſtill leſſe and leſſe hoped for, by reaſon of his proud and inſolent K
demands.

A dangerous mutiny of the garriſon ſoldiers in Pappa.

But whileſt theſe troubles, with others too long to rehearſe, thus paſſed in diuers parts of
this miſerable country of Hungary, 1200 Frenchmen and Wallons in garriſon at Pappa (a
ſtrong frontier town of the Emperors in the lower Hungary) for want of pay began to mutine.
Wherfore it was thought good by the chief commanders, to haue them thence remoued and
others placed in their roome. Which they perceiuing, and knowing themſelues too ſtrong
for the reſt of the garriſon, all Hungarians and Almaines, not partakers of their conſpiracy;
they firſt reſolued to thruſt their own captains out of the town, as leſs vnto their deſires; and
then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the pay-maſter, with other the Hungarian and Dutch L
commanders with their ſoldiers, took from them their weapons, & caſt the ſaid *Marotti*, with
the other captains, and ſome of the better ſort of the ſoldiers into irons, exacting of the reſt, as
well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about a thouſand perſons, a thouſand ducats; threatning
otherwiſe to deliuer them into the hands of the Turks. And albeit that *Marotti* offered
for his liberty eighteen hundred ducats, yet would they not bee ſo contented, but ſpoiling
both him and the reſt of all they had, with their apparell and weapons furniſhed ſuch Turkes
as were there priſoners, and ſo ſent them away to Alba Regalis: and afterwards rifling euery
mans houſe as if they had bin enemies, took from them whatſoeuer pleaſed themſelues: and
that which was worſe, to encreaſe theſe outrages, compaſſed with the Turkes of Alba Regalis
and Buda, for the pay which they ſaid the Emperour ought them, to deliuer vp the towne
vnto them. Certifying them withall, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two daies was M
comming with money to giue them full contentment: promiſing, if he came into the town,
to deliuer him with the ſame into their hands. Or to be the more ſure of him, they might if
they ſo pleaſed, intercept him at the paſſage Zeſnegkh, whereby hee muſt needs come. For
the more aſſurance of which their wicked purpoſe, they ſent an enſigne of the Emperors, as

A token vnto the Turks at Alba-Regalis; who for all that altogether beleeued them not, yet
willing further to try them, ſent them for hoſtages two Chiaus; for whom the rebels ſent
alſo two other of the better ſort of them to Alba-Regalis; with concluſion, that the fiue and
twentieth of Iune at the fartheſt the mony ſhould be paid, and the town deliuered. For the re-
ceiuing whereof, and for feare of ſome hidden treaſon, the Turks and Tartars began to make
themſelues ſtrong: the Imperials alſo doing what they might for the appeaſing of ſo dange-
rous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the Sord *Swartzenburg* with two thouſand horſe and foot
came within two miles of the towne, and from thence ſent 24 horſemen to diſſuade the rebels
from yeelding the towne vnto the Turks, & to tell them that they ſhould ſhortly receiue their
pay: who ſhamefully deriding them, ſent them backe againe as wiſe as they came: ſo that
B *SwartZenburg* perceiuing himſelfe with ſo ſmall forces to be able to do nothing againſt them,
neither yet by faire means to perſuade them, retired again to Rab, vntill ſome greater ſtrength
were come vnto him. Immediatly after, D^{r} *Petzen* Counſellor for the wars, a man of great au-
thority, grauity, and wiſedome, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horſe con-
ducted to Pappa, to ſee if he by his diſcretion could haue diſſuaded them from their ſo vngod-
ly a purpoſe, for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemy: whom they not only refuſed to
heare, although he ſpake vnto them moſt kindly, but alſo bent their muskets and harquebuſies
vpon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When ſhortly after, twenty
of the Hungarians impriſoned in a cellar in the town, brake out, and comming to Rab, brought
newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in Pappa were at variance amongſt them-
C ſelues about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turks (ſome better minded than the reſt,
not willing to conſent thereunto) inſomuch that they in the caſtle ſhot at them in the towne,
and they again at them in the caſtle: and that they had already receiued from the Turks twenty
thouſand duckats, with ſome prouiſion of victuals, and were ſhortly after to receiue from them
the reſt of the mony promiſed them, and ſo deliuer the towne. For preuenting whereof, the
Lold *Swartzenburg* the 22 of Iune ſent the Lord *Sharpſenſtein* a French Colonell, with 3000
ſouldiers, certaine Petards, and a number of ſcaling ladders towards Pappa; whom the falſe
rebels ſuffered peaceably to enter the towne the foure and twentieth of Iune, ſtill encouraging
them to come on, calling them their countrymen and brethren, and in token of friendſhip ſha-
king them by the hands, telling them that hauing aſſurance of their pay, they deſired no more:
D But hauing now receiued in ſo many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they
were well able to deale with, ſhutting the reſt out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards
in deriſion called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of theſe
rebels at the ſame time had laied themſelues in ambuſh by a mill faſt without the town, who
by the Wallons & Haiducks without diſcouered, were alſo by them charged: vpon whom for
all that, by reaſon of the ſhot out of the towne, they could do no good; but hauing loſt three
hundred men, and amongſt them *Hannibal Kralzs* the Lord *Sharpſenſtein* his Lieutenant Gene-
rall, and one *Del la Margoſe* the chiefe enginier, they retired: which loſſe the deſperat rebels (if
it had bin in their choice) had wiſhed rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the
Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of theſe rebels being by chance taken
E priſoners by the Imperials, and brought to Rab, were not only apparelled but alſo trimmed af-
ter the Turkiſh faſhion, as men not deſiring longer to be accounted Chriſtians, the reſt of their
fellows in the town alſo imitating the Turks faſhions, as well in their apparell as in their man-
ner of ſeruice: yet for all that, would not theſe metamorphoſed monſters yeeld the towne vn-
to the Turks, before they had the full ſumme by them agreed vpon, the Baſſa of Boſna being
commanded from the grand Seignior in all haſte to prouide it for them, and ſo to receiue of
them the towne. Neuertheleſſe, for their more ſtrength and their more credit with the Turks,
they receiued into the town one enſigne of the Turks, with certain wagons of victuals, brought
thither with ſo ſtrong a conuoy as that the Imperials durſt not meddle therewith: in which wa-
gons (being diſcharged) they ſent in bonds *600* Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and chil-
F dren, priſoners to Alba-Regalis; being all of them glad to be ſo ſent away, in hope to find more
fauor and curteſie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with theſe renegat Chri-
ſtians. So ſhortly after, theſe rebels ſent out certaine meſſengers vnto the Gouernor of Alba-
Regalis, to know his full reſolution: which meſſengers (conducted by certain Turks of great
account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the meſſengers taken,

A moſt wicked fact.

with 100 Turks mo. In the meane while *Michael Marotti*, before impriſoned by the rebels in
Pappa, by letters ſecretly aduertiſed the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby he G
might (as he ſaid) eaſily enter the towne, and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance
amongſt themſelues. Who thereupon the 12 of Iuly came to Pappa with nine thouſand horſe
and foot; but diſappointed of his purpoſe for entering the towne, hardly neuertheleſſe belaied
the ſame: vpon whom the mutiniers many times deſperatly ſallied out, and right valiantly
encountered them, albeit that they were ſtill, without any notable loſſe, by their enemies (too
ſtrong for them) beaten backe againe into the towne. In one of which ſallies it fortuned one
of their captains to be taken, who to the terror of the reſt was preſently ſlaine quicke, and his
head and skin vpon a pike ſet vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold. But the Lord
Swartzenburg ſtill more & more preuailing vpon them, they ſent ſecretly for aid to the Turks: H
whereof he for all that getting intelligence, ſent alſo for three regiments of ſouldiers moe to
come vnto him to the ſiege: by whoſe comming he well ſtrengthened, and bringing his appro-
ches neerer the towne, tooke from the rebels the mill, a ſtrength which they very vnwillingly
loſt, as in hope therby to haue the more eaſily receiued aid from the Turks; who hauing made
preparation to haue relieued them, were letted ſo to do by the riſing of the water, which had
ſpoiled all the prouiſion for their reliefe at the bridge of Eſſeg, as alſo hindred them from mar-
ching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the towne dit-
ches, out of which they had let all the water: where ſome of the townſmen eſcaping out of
the towne, declared, how that the mutinous ſoldiers within labored both day and night to for-
tifie the towne, but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall aſſaults of the Imperi- I
als: as alſo that they now had neither bread nor wine, nor other victuals left, more than a little
ſalt, and threeſcore horſe, of which they had already begun to eat: and that although they were
not altogether ſo valiant, yet that they had reſolued to die by the hands of the ſouldiers, as
men expecting no other mercy. Yet ſhortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, they de-
ſperatly fell out vpon the trenches of *Marſpurgiſch*, a Dutch captaine; of whoſe ſouldiers they
ſlew many, being drunke, and driuing the reſt out of their trenches, raiſed a great alarme.
Which the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, haſted thither to the reſcue; where with an vnlucky
musket ſhot he was ſtrucke in the head and ſlain. Wherof the rebels got knowledge the ſame
euening, and *Del la Mota* their Generall in reward of that ſeruice gaue vnto them that had
made that ſally a thouſand dollars to be diuided among them. The dead body of that ſo wor- K
thy a man, as had done great ſeruice for the Chriſtian common-weale, was afterwards with
great ſolemnity brought to Rab, and there honourably enterred. The like deſperat ſally they
made againe the next day, and ſlew of the Imperials an hundred and thirty, and tooke certain
priſoners: and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cryed aloud, That when they lacked
meat, rather than they would yeeld the towne, they would eat Chriſtians, whereof *Marotti*
ſhould be the firſt.

The Lord Swartzenburg ſlaine.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus ſlaine, the gouernment of the army was by *Matthias* the Arch-
duke committed to the Lord *Redern*, a noble man both valiant and learned; who although he
were very ſickly, came vnto the camp before Pappa the 8 of Auguſt; where vnderſtanding that
that the rebels now brought vnto extremity, had a purpoſe by night to fly away and ſo be gon, L
he cauſed a more vigilant and ſtrong watch to be kept; when lo, according to his expectation,
the next night after, about two houres before day they began to iſſue out: whereof the watch
giuing knowledge to the Generall, they were indeed ſuffered to goe out as vnperceiued, but
preſently after at their heels were ſent out the Lord *Nadaſti* and the Earle of *Thurn*, with 200
Huſſars, and after them the chiefe Colonell and County *Solms*, with part of their horſmen al-
ſo, who in three diuers places ouertaking them neer vnto a great wood called Packem, ſlew
moſt part of them: *Del la Mota* their chiefe captain or ringleader being ſlain by the chief Co-
lonell, becauſe he would not yeeld, and his head by him afterwards preſented vnto the Gene-
rall in the campe: 200 Wallons the Huſſars vnder the leading of the Lord *Nadaſti*, County
Solmes, and County *Thurn*, found out in the wood; who albeit that they for a ſpace made great M
reſiſtance, yet in the end were enforced to yeeld, and ſo with their two enſignes were brought
into the campe. The Huſſars alſo vpon another paſſage light vpon other 200 moe of theſe re-
bellious Wallons, who becauſe the ſtood ſtrongly vpon their guard, and were more deſperatly
ſet than the reſt, the Generall ſent out other 200 of the Colonels horſemen vpon them, by
whom

Pappa abandoned by the mutiniers.

A whom and the Huſſars they were almoſt all ſlaine: diuers others of them alſo were ſlaine in
comming out of the towne, and in the mariſhes thereabouts. Their Generals Lieutenant with
ſuch other of their principall commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Rederns* comman-
dement deliuered vnto the Prouoſt Martiall; the reſt of the rebellious traitors he at the requeſt
of the ſouldiers diuided into diuers parts of the army, there to the terror of others to be exe-
cuted, from whom the ſouldiers could hardly be perſuaded euen for the preſent to hold their
hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to Rab, & leaue giuen them to do with them their
pleaſure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as they had before in
their outragious dealings, eſpecially the Hungarians and Wallons, notwithſtanding moſt of
them were of the Wallon countries. Some of them they impailed, ſome they brake vpon the
B wheele; ſome of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and ſo poured into
the wounds vineger, ſalt, and pepper; from ſome others they cut off their priuities, ſome they
roſted, and ſome they put into the Tenalia; vpon ſome they dropped molten pitch, and then
caſting gunpouder vpon them, ſo burnt them to death; otherſome they hanged vpon yron
hookes; and ſome they put in the ground vp to the chin, and for their deſport with yron bul-
lets bouled at their heads. In all which torments no ſigne of compaſſion was to be ſeene, the
tormentors to make their pain the greater, doing nothing but deride them: the miſerable wret-
ches in the meane time confeſſing the hainouſneſſe of their offence, and crauing for death as a
fauor. A moſt horrible thing it was to ſee, how whileſt ſome were thus tortured, others were
brought to ſee the ſame miſery they themſelues were by and by to endure. Amongſt the reſt
C of theſe exquiſite torments, one *Peter Orſy* cauſed one of the mutiners to be ſowed vp in the
belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and ſo to be roſted, in which miſerable torment he
liued three houres, and then died: after which he cauſed the loathſome body ſo roſted, to be
giuen to them that lay ſtaruing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutiny at
Pappa with much ado ended, and that ſtrong towne like to haue bin loſt, preſerued: the rebels
themſelues being become a dreadfull example to all poſterity, for all them to looke vpon that
ſhall attempt the like villany.

Now at this ſame time alſo, though neither the Chriſtians nor the Turks had as then any
great army in the field, yet many a hot and bloudy skirmiſh paſſed daily betwixt them in one
place or other of Hungary: all which to recount, as it would be much tedious, ſo in ſilence to
D paſſe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong thoſe worthy perſonages by whom they were not
without their great aduenture done. Amongſt the reſt, one *Nicholas Horbath* County *Serinus* his
Lieutenant, with 150 ſouldiers, and *Andrew Thuſi* another great Commander, going forth to
ſeeke for booty; *Thuſi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the ſurpriſing of certaine Hai-
ducks then gone out, ſtaied faſt in a ſecret place vntill he might heare further newes, *Horbath*
another way ſtill going on. Now it happened that the Baſſa of Sigeth hauing bin abroad, in re-
turning home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him ouerthrew him, and
ſlew moſt of his men, *Horbath* himſelfe by flight hardly eſcaping. But *Thuſi* hearing this skir-
miſh, as lying cloſe not far off, and now haſting thither to haue bin partaker thereof, found the
Baſſa yet in the field on foot, viewing the bodies of the ſlaine: vpon whom he came ſo ſudden-
E ly and with ſuch force, as that the Baſſa with his diſordered men had much ado to take horſe,
and ſo without any great reſiſtance to betake himſelfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians
fiercely following, ſlew many of the Turks, and amongſt the reſt the Baſſa himſelfe, whoſe
head preſently cut off, *Horbath* ſent to the County *Serinus*, who ſhortly after by *Thuſi* him-
ſelfe ſent it to *Matthias* the Archduke. This Baſſa was a man of great ſtrength and courage, a
moſt expert and aduenturous captaine, about 38 yeares old, and for his valour of a common
ſouldier created a Baſſa by the great Sultan. His head being brought to Vienna, and there
ſhewed to the Baſſa of Buda then there priſoner, and he demanded, whether he knew it or not,
ſighing anſwered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Baſſa of Sigeth, a brauer
man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire, earneſtly withal deſiring to know how
F he was ſlaine. And not long after, the aduenturers out of Comara, Strigonium, and other pla-
ces therabout hauing made a great party, and taken a great booty from the Turks at a faire at
Gombat, and by Tra and [illegible], thinking to haue paſſed Danubius in hope of a greater boo-
ty, ſeuen hundred of them being paſſed the riuer, were by the new Baſſa of Sigeth and others,
with fiue thouſand Turks in an hot skirmiſh ouerthrowne; yet not without their great loſſe

Two Baſſaes of Sigeth ſlain one after another.

alſo;

Iula ſurpriſed and burnt by the free Haiduckes.

alſo: the Baſſa himſelfe with two other Sanzackes and fiue hundred Turks being there ſlaine,
and but fifty of the Chriſtian aduenturers left dead in the place, the reſt diſorderedly retiring G
to their boats, being for moſt part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiducks alſo ſurpriſed
Iula and ſet it on fire, in which confuſion the Turks flying into the caſtle, for haſte thruſt one
another from the bridge into the caſtle ditch; wherein ſo many of them were drowned, that a
man might haue gone dry foot ouer vpon the bodies of the dead. They took there alſo ſix hundred
priſoners, with much other booty, and deliuered two hundred Chriſtians which were
there captiues. And albeit that theſe Haiducks after this exploit done were hardly purſued
by the Turks from other places, yet they in ſafety retired with ſuch boty as they had already
gotten.

But now to leaue theſe the troubles of Hungary for a while, as the forerunners of greater
ere long to enſue, let vs againe looke backe into Tranſyluania and Valachia, to ſee how *Michael* H
the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himſelfe there. The Cardinall *Bathor* ouerthrowne
and ſlaine, and the country of Tranſyluania againe brought vnder the Emperors obedience:
the Vayuod by his Embaſſadors gaue him forthwith to vnderſtand of all his proceedings,
with the whole ſucceſſe thereof, as alſo of a purpoſe hee had to inuade Moldauia: for
that it was commonly reported and alſo beleeued, That *Sigiſmund* the late Prince (not a little
moued with the death of the Cardinall his couſin, and the reuolt of his country) aided by the
Turks, the Tartars, the Polonians, and Moldauians, would now attempt ſome great matter for
the recouery of Tranſyluania: All which was ſhortly after the rather thought to be true, for
that diuers of his ſpies being taken, ſome at Clauſenburg, ſome at Neſſen, beſide the Letters I
that were found about them from him vnto the Nobility and States of Tranſyluania (perſuading
them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was ſhortly to come
with a great army out of Polonia for the repulſing of him) they alſo of themſelues confeſſed,
How that *Sigiſmund* in diſguiſed apparell had himſelfe been in Tranſyluania, to conferre with
diuers his ſecret friends concerning that matter. Which his Embaſſadours the Emperour
honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of Tranſyluania,
ſending alſo vnto him diuers honourable Preſents; forbidding him neuertheleſſe to
inuade Moldauia, for feare of raiſing a new and dangerous war againſt the Polonians alſo, vnder
whoſe protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then reſted. According vnto which
command the Vayuod ſtaied his intended expedition; yet ſending ſome good part of his K
forces vnto the frontiers of Moldauia, for feare of *Sigiſmund* whom he heard to be hatching
ſome miſchiefe in Polonia, and euen then to lie vpon the frontiers of that country. Some few
moneths thus paſſing, *Huſraim Aga* (a graue reuerend old man and much employed by the
Turkiſh Sultan) with fiue other Turks of good account, Embaſſadours from the great Sultan,
and a great retinue following him, came to Cronſtat in Tranſyluania where the Vayuod then
lay. Of whoſe comming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thouſand horſemen moſt brauely
mounted, went halfe a mile out of the city to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on
both ſides of the ſtreets ſtanding in good order, from the gate of the city whereby they were
to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging, where ſtood alſo his guard all in red and white ſilke.
So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horſes, with great reuerence ſaluting L
the one the other: when preſently the Embaſſadour embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his ſcimitar,
and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, ſo richly garniſhed with gold
and pretious ſtones, as that no part of the ſcaberd was therefore to be ſeene: beſides this, he
preſented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearnes feathers mixed with ſome white (a right
goodly ornament, in forme of a great buſh) which the Vayuod would not in the field put vpon
his head, although hee was thereunto by the Embaſſadour moſt earneſtly requeſted, but
cauſed it to be carried before him: he alſo preſented him with two very faire red enſignes, in
token of the Turks fauour and protection, the one for himſelfe, and the other for his ſonne
Petraſco: moreouer, he gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horſes richly furniſhed, with foure
others, and a moſt faire Faulcon. The Vayuod himſelfe was moſt brauely mounted, and (after M
the manner of his country) had ten very faire ſpare horſes led before him. At whoſe entrance
into the towne all the great ordnance was diſcharged, with great vollies of ſmall ſhot: and ſo
the Embaſſadour ſtill riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had
ſix of his chiefe followers euery one of them preſented with a rich robe of cloth of gold: in

The gouernment of Tranſyluania by the Emperor confirmed vnto Michael the Vayuod.

A requitall whereof the Embaſſadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euery
one of them with a good ſuit of apparell: with this Embaſſador of the Turks was alſo the Polonian
Embaſſador, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. Theſe Embaſſadors
(as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthy and renowned man,
together with the countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia, from the Emperor vnto the Turks
obeiſance: howbeit he ſeldome or neuer ſpake with them, but that either before or after he
had conference with the Lords *Vngnad* and *Zechel* (the Emperors Commiſſioners) concerning
their requeſts; alwaies proteſting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the Emperors
conſent and good liking. Whereof *Mahomet* aduertiſed, and that he was not by any thing yet
ſaid or done, to be remoued from the Emperour, gaue him by the ſame Embaſſadors to vnderſtand,
B How that he was with ſome ſpeech with the emperor concerning peace (as indeed he then
was by meſſengers from the Baſſaes at Presburg) which if it ſorted to effect, that then it ſhould
be well; but if not, that then it ſhould be good for him whileſt yet he had time, wiſely to conſider
of his owne eſtate, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his protection who was able to defend
him, rather than for the vain praiſe of a certain fooliſh conſtancy, to aduenture himſelf with al
that he had vnto moſt certain danger and deſtruction: promiſing him in recompence of that
his loyalty, to giue vnto him for euer, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia,
and at his need to furniſh him both with men and mony; offering moreouer to make him a
great Commander in his army in Hungary, and the Baſſa of Temeſware as his friend to be at
all times ready with fifty thouſand horſe and foot (as need ſhould be) to aſſiſt him againſt the
C Emperor, reſeruing to himſelfe whatſoeuer he ſhould more win from him: for all which bounty
and kindneſſe, requiring only to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers the
Vayuod little regarding, declared the ſame vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners: yet ſtill proteſting
neuer to ſtart, but to ſtand faſt for the Chriſtian Emperor. Notwithſtanding as a man
deſirous to better his eſtate, he tooke hereupon occaſion to requeſt of the Emperour the country
of Tranſyluania, by him ſo lately taken in, vnto him and his ſonne in inheritance for euer,
with ſuch frontier towns as in former time belonged vnto Tranſyluania: and that whatſoeuer
he ſhould win from the Turks, might be his and his ſonnes: he alſo requeſted, that all the preferments
and dignities in former time granted by his Imperiall Majeſty vnto *Sigiſmund* the
late Prince, might now be beſtowed vpon himſelfe; and for his ſeruice done, to be furniſhed
D with mony for the payment of his ſouldiers: And that the Emperor with the other Princes of
the Empire ſhould aſſure him, That if he were taken by the Turke, they ſhould ranſome him:
but in caſe he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of thoſe countries, then by the
Emperors appointment to haue ſome conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper Hungary
ro liue in, with the yerely penſion of an hundred thouſand dollars. All which his requeſts
if it would pleaſe him to grant, he promiſed this yere to do ſo much againſt the Turke, as had
not in an hundred yeares been done before: with vaunt, That if he had had the imploiment of
the money which was ſpent in the time of this warre, he would not haue doubted but to haue
brought all the countries from the Euxine (or blacke ſea) to Buda, Alba Regalis, and Solnock,
vnder the Emperors obeiſance. A large promiſe indeed, but hardly to haue bin performed by
E a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whileſt things ſtood in diſcourſe after the Cardinals death, *Sigiſmund* the late Prince
in the meane time ſupported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turks, the Tartars, and the
Moldauians, was ready to haue inuaded Tranſyluania: yea, the Tartars (as the forerunners of
his greater power) were already entred the country, and had out of the frontiers thereof carried
away ſome booty. Whereof the Vayuod vnderſtanding, in great haſt aſſembled his forces
out of all places, which in ſhort time was growne to ſome good head, the country people
together with the free Haiducks (an aduenturous and reſolute kind of ſoldiers) in great number
daily reſorting vnto him. So being now eight thouſand ſtrong, and moſt of them braue and
luſty men, he with them and 20 pieces of artillery remoued to Cronſtat the foure and twen-
F tieth day of Aprill, ſending part of his army (which euery day more and more encreaſed) before
him to Neſſen: where all his forces being aſſembled to the number of almoſt fifty thouſand
horſe and foot, he with great celerity paſſed the rough and high mountaines into Moldauia
without reſiſtance, but yet not without ſome trouble, his ſouldiers by the way being
glad ſometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemy hauing of purpoſe before carried away
what-

Michael the Vayuod goeth againſt Sigiſmund Bathor & the Vayuod of Moldauia.

whatſoeuer he could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whoſe ſpeedy comming and great ſtrength, *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias* the Vayuod of Moldauia hearing, and vpon the reaſonable eſtate of their owne forces finding themſelues too weake to encounter him, retired themſelues out of Moldauia into the frontiers of Polonia, there to gather greater ſtrength, and ſo to meet him: for as yet *Ieremias* the Vayuod had not receiued from the Turke ſuch forces as were vnto him promiſed, and as he ſtill expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his enemies thus fled) with fire and ſword entering into Moldauia, tooke in the greateſt part thereof, the feareful country people ſtill yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Ieremias* their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributary vnto the Tnrke) had laid vpon them a moſt grieuous impoſition, as vpon euery man a duckat a month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in Moldauia, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing ſtill in his company one of the Emperors Commiſſioners in Tranſyluania, moſt truſty ſeruants, who might faithfully report vnto them the whole manner of his proceedings) after the departure of *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias* his enemies, ſtaied not long; but hearing that they were retired toward the confines of Polonia, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the caſtle Othune neere vnto the riuer Neſter, being thirty thouſand ſtrong; Polonians, Moldauians, Turks, and Tartars: with whom he joyned a moſt fierce and cruell battell, which begun about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage, but greater obſtinacy on both ſides maintained vntill the enening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuailing, his enemies at laſt betooke themſelues to flight, of whom were there ſlaine eight thouſand, beſide many others of them drowned in the riuer Neſter: where of the Valachians were loſt two thouſand only. Concerning *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthrow giuen out; ſome ſaying that they were ſlaine, and ſome that they were in flying drowned: howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight eſcaped, to the greater trouble of themſelues, as of their afflicted countries alſo. *Michael* after this ſo notable a victory, taking in the reſt of Moldauia, cauſed the people to ſweare their obedience vnto the Emperor, himſelfe, and his ſon, to the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as they tooke it) wronged therin; but eſpecially of the great Chancellor, an old enemy vnto the houſe of Auſtria. Wherof enſued greater troubles in thoſe frontier countries than before, to the further effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud, much better to haue been imploied againſt the fatall enemy, in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the ſureſt bulwarkes of that ſide of Chriſtendome, and moſt expoſed vnto the fury of the common enemy, were now once againe vnited vnder the obeiſance of the Emperour, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Chriſtian commonweale, and hurt of the Turks; if they might haue ſo continued, as God wot they did not long.

G H I K

Sigiſmund and the Moldauian ouerthrown by Michael the Vayuod.

Moldauia ſubdued by Michael.

Now the Vayuod notwithſtanding this ſo great a victory, well conſidering that he of himſelfe could hardly keep this new gained prouince of Moldauia againſt the power of the Turk, (pretended that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleaſed:) as alſo againſt the Polonians (not more deſirous to reſtore *Ieremias* againe into Moldauia, than the Prince *Sigiſmund* into Tranſyluania) without the helpe of ſome other more mighty Prince whom he might reſt vpon; by his Embaſſadors (ſent for that purpoſe) offered the ſoueraignty of al thoſe three countries vnto the Emperor, with condition, that he ſhould appoint him perpetuall Gouernor of the ſame vnder him. The Emperour alſo vnderſtood, how that *Mahomet* the great Turke had not long before againe ſent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commanding him without delay to reſtore the country of Tranſyluania vnto the Prince *Sigiſmund* (vnto whom he was by the mediation of the king of Polonia now before reconciled) threatning otherwiſe with fire and ſword to deſtroy Valachia, and by force of armes to depriue him both of Tranſyluania and his life together. Wherefore the Emperour doubting leſt the Vayuod either for feare or for the better aſſuring of his own eſtate, ſhould to his prejudice fal to ſome agreement with the Turke, yeelding to all that his Embaſſadors had of him requeſted; with condition that he ſhould be bound as need ſhould require to ſerue with his people againſt the Vurke; and that in Tranſyluania neere vnto his owne perſon ſhould be alwaies reſident one of the Emperors counſellors, as ſuperintendent ouer the whole country. Wherewith the Vayuod being contented, The Emperour ſent thither Doctor *Petzen* with ſix thouſand ſouldiers, and a great ſumme of money to pay the Vayuods ſouldiers, as he had before requeſted; and

L M

ſo to take of them an oath, That they ſhould from thenceforth become his Majeſties faithful ſeruants. Which ſuperintendent ſo by the Emperor ſent, the Vayuod receiued with great honor, as vnto him of all others moſt welcome. Neuertheleſſe being againe returned into Tranſyluania, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppreſſe the people of the country, and in ſome ſort to tyranniſe ouer them; vſing great ſeuerity againſt diuers of the nobility alſo, eſpecially ſuch as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigiſmund* his couſin, or any way to haue fauored his quarrel, All which he did without the conſent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his promiſe made, No more to imbrue his hands in the bloud of the nobility of Tranſyluania, without the knowledge or conſent of his imperiall Majeſty or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for all that, if he had not don, he could not poſſibly haue kept them (diſdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeiſance. Neuertheleſſe the Tranſyluanians taking it in euill part to be ſo oppreſſed, and the nobility almoſt extinguiſhed, yea, and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by general conſent as if it had bin but one man, riſe all vp in arms againſt him: inſomuch that he finding himſelfe with his Valachians and other his fauorits too weake for them, retired with all ſuch as would follow him, into the mountains; and from thence ſent preſently for aid vnto the lord *George Baſta* (a worthy captaine, and then the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungary) for the ſubduing of theſe rebellious people, and the reducing of them vnto their former obedience. Who by letters from *Matthias* the Archduke, at the inſtance of the Vayuod commanded ſo to do, with about *6000* horſe and foot and 8 field pieces remoued from Caſſouia in the vpper Hungary the 4 of September. Where by the way came vnto him Embaſſadors alſo from the people of Tranſyluania now vp in armes, and confederat alſo againſt the Vayuod: who in like manner alſo requeſted his aid, pretending themſelues to be the Emperors moſt loyal ſubjects, but not vnder the gouernment of ſuch a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alledging and exaggerating many his moſt cruell actions, and cleerely proteſting, That for the preſent want of a good Gouernor, they were enforced for the ſafegard of their liues to band themſelues together: which if haply it might be in any thing prejudiciall vnto the Emperors claime and intereſt, which he with ſo great toile and coſt had procured in that prouince, it was againſt their wills, as enforced by neceſſity to do that they did in defence of themſelues. Which Embaſſadors ſo ſent from the people, *Baſta* with all ſpeed diſpatched away backe againe, comforting them without further ſtir to expect his arriual in Tranſyluania: yet couenanting withall, That they ſhould before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelity & allegiance vnto his Imperial Majeſty. Now might many and important conſiderations trouble the mind of *Baſta* in ſo doubtfull a caſe. To giue vnto the Vayuod againſt the people, was the expreſſe order from *Matthias* the Archduke the Emperors Lieutenant Generall: but to aid the people confederat againſt him, as they had requeſted, ſeemed now both more profitable and honeſt, eſpecially hauing moſt certaine tokens of the ſmall and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who only by diſpenſation intereſſed in that prouince, was not ſo carefull of another mans, neither ſeeming to haue regard of *Petzen*, or of his owne word giuen for not further embruing his hands in the bloud of the Nobility of Tranſyluania, without the Emperours knowledge and leaue: vpon which promiſe was likewiſe grounded the archdukes order for giuing of them aid: ſo that ſuch breach of his faith, & contempt of *Petzen*, had haſtned the conſpiracy of the people againſt him, deſpairing of all other health than that which by force of arms they could procure vnto themſelues. To ſtand doubtfull himſelfe, or to hold others in ſuſpence, vntill that by currors in this new caſe he might receiue new inſtructions from the Emperor or the Archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leiſure to each party to make ſides, & to increaſe the ſlander of the laſt yeare, That he might ſo eaſily (and eſpecially from the Valachian) haue aſſured that prouince to his Majeſty, had he not bin an heartleſſe man of no reſolution, euen ſuch a one as durſt not looke vpon a cat (as ſome had ſaid) all which might not a little pricke an honourable mind. To take part with the people confederat againſt the Vayuod, if it ſhould not haply fall out at the firſt encounter, might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, either the Turke or the Polonian in fauour of *Bathor*: but if it ſhould ſort to the quite contrary, and ſo himſelfe to loſe the day; then he ſaw himſelfe void of all defence againſt the malitious, eſpecially in that the World commonly meaſureth the wiſedome vſed in any action, according to the ſucceſſe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreaſonable, but aboue all others, in matters of war. In this ſo troubled a tempeſt of contrary winds, of power to haue driuen a G right good mariner out of his courſe, *Baſta* laid hand vpon the helme of good meaning, and ſpread the ſailes of ſuch diſcretion, as taught him in matters of war to be lawfull for a General to depart euen from the inſtructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the means leading to that end; eſpecially when the preſent occaſion ſo requireth, which the Prince could not with reaſon before comprehend, as depending of the moſt mighty fortune of war, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect counſel from far. So in this ambiguity *Baſta* reſolued to joyn himſelſe vnto the confederats, moſt in his judgment concerning his Imperial Majeſty, as being the vttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt and charge, to keep the country of Tranſyluania at his deuotion, which conſiſted in the people, and not in the woods or mountains: the matter being not great by what means ſoeuer it were done, ſo that it were honourable and honeſt. H

Baſta taketh part with the Tranſyluanians, against the Vayuod in whoſe aid he was ſent.

Vpon this deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14 day arriued at Torda, and there joyned himſelſe vnto the confederats, to the great wonder of the Vayuod, in whoſe helpe hee was ſent: where repoſing himſelſe one day, conſulting and conſidering of their forces, about 12000 ſtrong, with foure field pieces, beſides eight of his owne, with the ſix thouſand ſouldiers he brought with him, in all about eighteene thouſand, he determined not to giue leiſure vnto the Vayuod to call vnto him further helpe, hauing now with him about twenty thouſand foot and twelue thouſand horſe, with ſeuen and twenty field pieces: amongſt whom was diuers of the Siculi, in hope of their antient liberty, men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the Coſſackes, Valachians, Raſcians, and Seruians, people of prey ſeruing only to ſpoile: whom *Baſta* knew to be far inferiour in courage to his twelue thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe; I not onely for the valour of his owne men accuſtomed vnto the frontier ſeruice, but alſo for the confederates, who engaged with their goods, liues, and honour, and deſirous to be reuenged of the Vayuod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore hee ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two daies march came within ſight of the Vayuod: who hauing ſent out certaine great troups of horſemen to take view of the enemy, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on Miriſlo a village faſt by, out of which they had before drawne certaine ſmall field pieces into the campe.

Miriſlo is a village two leagues on this ſide of Alba-Iulia, directly vpon the high way ſtretching from the ſide of Maracz a nauigable riuer, vnto the foot of an hil, alongſt which the riuer running, ſomtimes neerer, and ſomtimes farther off, together with the riſing of the hill, maketh K an vnequal liſt of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut vp as it were into a narrow throat, as in the ſelfe ſame place where the aforeſaid village ſtandeth, & where the Vayuod lay incamped in a place of great aduantage, behind a great trench drawn from the riuer, croſſe that little ſpace of ground betwixt the mountaine and the riuer. On this ſide, which from Miriſlo the farther a man gooth the farther the plaine enlargeth, *Baſta* encamping cloſe vnto the village, oppoſed againſt the comming of the enemy 3 great *corps du gard*, two of them Hungarians, towards the hill fauored with a Church, and the third toward the riuer, of the Almane footmen, vnder the charge of County *Tomaſo Caurioli* of Breſcia, Sergeant Major of the field, with all the artillery: who as in a place neere and very open vnto the enemy, there intrenched himſelf, ſtil approching neerer and neerer both on the one ſide and the other. L Towards the euening of the ſelfe ſame 17 day came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio* with Letters from the Vayuod, containing, That hauing vnderſtood of his arriuall in the camp of the Conſpirators, he now further deſired to know whether it were by the conſent and commandement of the Emperor, or not: and how it came to paſſe that he would ſo doe, conſidering the diuers chances of war, the ſword hanging as it were euen ouer his head if he ſhould chance to loſe the battell? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the authority he had from the Emperor (alluding to the Imperiall Standard he carried with him:) and that as concerning the fortune and danger to enſue, he referred that wholly vnto the will and pleaſure of the Almighty, the juſt Iudge of all controuerſies. But in the meane time he exhorted him to leaue that prouince he had ſo euill gouerned, vnto his Imperiall Majeſty, as he M was in duty bound; promiſing him free paſſage into Valachia, and giuing him time to conſider thereupon vntill 8 a clocke the next morning, after which time it ſhould be free for euery man to do for himſelſe what he could. Which anſwer the Vayuod hauing read, inflamed with diſdaine, with many proud words full of threats and diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently cauſed by the ſound of the drum and trumpet the battell to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide *Baſta* after he had aſſured his campe, hauing not only ſent, but gone himſelfe to haue the counſell of his own eies, for his better vnderſtanding how the enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the trench before the front, & in part along the ſide of the enemies camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the plain betwixt the enemies camp and the village was ſubject, thought it beſt to remoue, and to make a ſhort retreat about the ſpace of an Italian mile, according to the commodiouſnes of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an enemy, and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martial ſtratagems, to gain a notable victory. This his purpoſe propounded in counſel, was greatly diſliked of the captains of the confederats: vnto whom it ſeemed more ſafety to aſſault the Vayuod, yet lying in his ſtrength, than to retire before the face of an enemy ſo ſtrong and aduenturous: for that ſuch a retreat according to the maner of that country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight; and to breake his order & ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own people, and to encourage his enemies. But *Baſta* the better to perſuade them, promiſed therin to ſhew to them a more cunning kind of fight than was yet vnto them knowne, and declared the aſſurance that he in his own perſon, with the Almains in the rereward would giue them in that retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not loſe ſo much as a man, much leſſe they needed to feare to fall into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being onely to giue the plaine vnto the enemy, wherein to ſhew himſelfe into the open field. So the retreat being agreed vpon, the morning following beeing the 28 of September, the three *Corps du guard* (before ſpoken of) were betimes called backe, and the baggage ſent away: after which followed the Tranſyluanians and Hungarians, the Almaines in the rereward encloſing the great ordnance.

The battell of Miriſlo betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta the emperors lieutenant.

The Vayuod aware of their departure, ſent forthwith a great troup of horſemen, eſpecially of the Coſſackes, to take view of them, and to skirmiſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by a company of muſketiers in the rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harme, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtill charged, to the great contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his deſignes as might bring them on to their wiſhed effect. But when he ſaw the great artillery vpon the carriages to come out of the village, a certain ſigne that the enemy ſet forward with al his forces, he marched faire & ſoftly to giue him hope to ouertake him: and ſo retired as far as he thought good from the village, hauing before thought of a conuenient place wherein his people might with roome enough vpon aduantage ſtay: when as about halfe a mile from him, and as far from the village, he might ſee the enemy march with his people in order of battell; then began he to march towards him alſo: and perceiuing the enemy to come in one only thicke front, by reaſon of the ſtreitneſſe of the place, hauing on the right hand towards the riuer placed as it were all his horſmen, and towards the mountaine his footmen alone, and 500 foot placed aloft without any artillery, as it ſeemed he would haue done, hauing planted ſome below at the foot of the hill in the way, and in the midſt, euen before the front of the battell, where the horſemen came after the footmen; he alſo placed his ſquadron in one front onely, to the intent not to be incloſed by the enemy on the flanke of his army. The body of his maine battell conſiſted of one great ſquadron of about 3000 Almaine footmen, flanked on each ſide with 150 Rutters of Sileſia: before the ſquadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe wing of three hundred muſketiers: in the right wing toward the hill he placed a company of launces, with two ſquadrons of the country footmen: and in the left wing toward the riuer one ſquadron of Tranſyluanian footmen, & two of launces, for that the enemy was at that time very ſtrong in horſemen: the Coſſackes, archers and harquebuſiers he placed in the rereward: of his great artillery he would make no vſe, for that hauing not much, he would not ſtand vpon the defence thereof, but deſired rather with all ſpeed to come to the ſword with the enemy, vnacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot to foot, and well the leſſe fit, by reaſon of their light armor. And therefore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his ſquadron of Almaines to giue the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of his footmen towards the artillery at the foot of the hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the enemies infantery. And doubting in the performance hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great ſquadron of about 3000 launces, which ſeemed to ſtand vpon that wing to giue the firſt charge; he gaue order vnto *Sodeviz* his Lieutenant, G and Colonell of the Rutters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he ſhould at a certaine ſigne giuen, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great ſquadron. So his people being ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet downe, he putting on his helmet, with cheerefull countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew vnto the Vayuod, that his Truncheon could do more than his Scimitar: And himſelfe ſetting forward betwixt the ſquadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketiers, about two houres after noone, marched faire and ſoftly towards the enemy: who without mouing expected the diſcharging of their artillery; whereunto the neerer that the enemy came vnto it, the leſſe harme it did him, by ſhooting either ouer or ſhort in the field, which eaſily aſcended. The wing of musketiers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillery; and the ſquadron toward the foot of the hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they H might be enforced to ſpend their firſt vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently came in, all afront, juſt vpon the ſigne giuen; and ſo with his Almaine footmen and the Rutters on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of the enemies footmen. At which very inſtant, the Rutters on the left hand alſo ſo couragiouſly charged vpon the three thouſand launces, that better could not haue beene deſired of any band of moſt old and expert ſouldiers. The lances retiring without any hurt, and the firſt volley diſcharged, forced the infantery and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the wings charging, there enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, onely forty of *Baſta* his men being ſlaine, and as many hurt; where of the enemies were loſt in the battell ten thouſand: and I greater had the ſlaughter beene, if the village and appoch of the night had not couered many of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance of the great victory that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlaine of the Romans but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings ſtood for a time doubtfull) there being loſt of the enemies aboue fifty thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the peaſants of the countrey reported) twenty thouſand ſlaine in this battell. By this victory *Baſta* recouered many enſignes and much armour, before ſent by the Emperour vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And preſently after the ouerthrow, there were many troups of horſemen ſent out euery way with proclamation, to ſpare the liues of ſuch of the Siculi as ſhould lay downe their armes: of K whom many were ſent priſoners vnto diuers places, eſpecially to Fogaras, a ſtrong Towne towards Valachia. As for the Vayuod himſelfe, hee with certaine Coſſackes eſcaped by flight.

Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowne.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the County *Caurioli*, to enforme the Emperour of all the particularities of the ſucceſſe of that expedition: who ſeemed to be therewith pleaſed, yet neither gaue reward vnto the County, neither commended *Baſta* in that hee had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although he had in writing before approued of his reſolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederats. Staying that day in that quarter, *Baſta* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to ſend out a thouſand horſemen to purſue the flying Vayuod; who in ſtead of ſo doing, joyning themſelues with other their conſorts, L ſetled themſelues to ranſacke Alba Iulia, vnder the colour, that there was the Vayuods wealth and ſubſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither Merchant nor Citiſen: which worthily ſeemed vnto *Baſta* a great wrong, for, to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guilty to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his campe, and ſo ſtaied one day not far from thence, to haue giuen ſome redreſſe vnto the ſpoils that had happened; yet was all that his labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and chiefeſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more wiſedome as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any tearmes of ſeuerity, without hope of doing any good. So he reſolued in all haſte to march towards Fogaras (whither he heard ſay the Vayuod was come with new forces out of Valachia and Moldauia) and in ſix daies march came to Cibi- M nium, where he receiued certaine newes, That the great Chancellor of Polonia, and Sigiſmund (ſometime the Tranſyluanian Prince) were with a ſtrong army vpon the frontiers of Moldauia; hauing ſent before them *Moyſes* the Siculian, with about eight thouſand of the Siculi (his ſouldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to be ſeene. Which aduertiſement interrupted the

This Chiaki was the chiefe man and as it were the ring-leader of the Tranſyluaniãs into rebellion.

courſe

A course of *Baſta* his victory; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the enemy, and to leaue
behind him a doubt of ſo great importance: and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not
aſſure himſelfe of the aid of the countrey people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old Prince were
once ſeene in Tranſyluania. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to prouide for
all euents as need ſhould be, and ſo reſolued to ſend the Chiaki, and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi*, to parley
with *Moſes*, who made a ſhew of no great moment of his good will towards the confederats.
In the meane time came two meſſengers from the Vayuod, offering in his name, that he
ſhould doe whatſoeuer were in the behalfe of the Emperour to be impoſed vpon him. Vnto
whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Commanders propounded; Firſt,
That he ſhould for euer reſigne all the claime he had or might haue in the countrey of Tranſyluania:
B then, That he altogether with his army, ſhould giue his oath of fidelity vnto his Imperiall
Majeſty: alſo, That he ſhould forthwith through Valachia go with his army vnto the
frontiers of Moldauia, to ſtay the Polonians from farther entrance: and moreouer, to giue his
wife and little ſonne in hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which meſſengers
was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receiue the oath and promiſed hoſtages: vnto whom was appointed
for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops caſtle in Alba-Iulia, the Vayuod hauing
before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in Tranſyluania: although *Baſta* thought
it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper Hungary. This agreement being made,
Baſta kept on his way towards Fogaras, which he found already poſſeſſed by the Chiaki, & ſo
from thence to Corona. After which, the Vayuod diſtruſting of the articles agreed vpon,
C went directly into Valachia, but not at all into Moldauia; not ſo much diſcomfited with the
forces of the Polonians whom he went againſt (not doubting to giue them a great ouerthrow)
as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the Siculian, who in the battell might ſhew himſelfe his
enemy behind him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his own followers, or only
for feare of treaſon by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall forces
were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to
feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the ſtrength of the mountaines, without any
great loſſe of his people, hauing left his baggage behind him, which was aſſailed and taken by
the Haiducks and ſuch other ſharkers enured to prey, who alwaies ready in like occaſion, help
to ſpoile and chaſe them that are already running: although that afterwards in diuers skirmiſhes
D with the Turks (who to cauſe him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polonians,
had preſumptuouſly ſcoured vp and downe the country) he loſt many. In fine, giuing Moldauia
loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold onely Valachia his old gouernment.
Euen he which but a little before commanded aboue an hundred thouſand ſouldiers in field;
he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command Valachia and Moldauia, and happily
the other countries alſo neere vnto him, as hauing receiued the command of Tranſyluania
as Gouernour for the Emperour; he that made Conſtantinople to tremble, and found no
Empire equall to his deſignes. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with birds of prey,
who greedily ſeeking to prey vpon others, become themſelues a prey vnto others greater than
themſelues: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne valour and wiſedome,
E their owne proſperous proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the vnſtable wheele of Fortune:
or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the very children of Folly. So commonly falleth
it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the garboiles of war betwixt their mighty
neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wiſedome, reſt themſelues onely vpon the aduice
of their Counſellours, are by them led they wot not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they
haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the leaſt inſight into politicall gouernment, he
might well haue vnderſtood, that amongſt ſo many mighty Princes he could not much grow,
or yet well root himſelfe, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould alſo
haue knowne within what compaſſe a new Prince ought to haue vſed ſeuerity and rigour;
and that he ought to obſtaine from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way
F procure vnto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his ſubjects. Whereas his Counſellors not ſo
much reſpecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perſuade him ſo
by good meanes to plant himſelfe ſure in Tranſyluania; but ſo both caſt him headlong from
his high eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſſe of Caniſia, a matter of important conſequence.

A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta.

Michael for feare of being betraied vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountaines.

Now lay *Baſta* encamped in the field in Tranſyluania, when a meſſenger came vnto him from the great Chancellour of Polonia, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpoſe to G trouble Tranſyluania, hauing no ſuch order from the King: albeit that he would adviſe the Tranſyluanians, if they wiſhed to liue in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their owne nation, and ſuch a one as the Turke ſhould well like of, whereas otherwiſe they ſhould but ſeeke their owne deſtruction, together with their neighbors. Which his counſell was well marked of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiſer ſort, not ſo much to proceed of any good meaning he had towards the Tranſyluanians, as of an old grudge and inueterate hatred he had alwaies borne againſt the houſe of Auſtria, as alſo, that he euen then countenanced the Prince *Sigiſmund* with his army to no other end, but by him to raiſe vp new ſtirs in that Prouince, and ſo to draw it from the Emperors obeiſance, although thereby it became againe tri- H butary vnto the Turke, who in all theſe matters had a great hand. Yea, ſome ſticked not to ſay, That he couertly aimed at that principality for his ſonne, howſoeuer he masked the ſame vnder the ſhew of *Sigiſmund* the late Prince. But vnto him anſwer was giuen by the Tranſyluanians, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their conſultations they would haue a principall regard of their owne welfare, together with the common. Which anſwer he hauing receiued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of Valachia in ſtead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and ſo leauing a conuenient number of ſouldiers with him, returned himſelfe towards Polonia. Vnto which election ſo made by the Polonians, the Turks craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play the lyons; wiſely for a time comporting the injury: and the old Chancellor as crafty as they, I hauing a ſecret purpoſe by occaſion of theſe preſent troubles, to prefer at length his ſon vnto the principality of Tranſyluania, and thereunto alſo to ioyne the countries of Moldauia and Valachia, had therin of purpoſe placed the aforeſaid *Simon*, a man of no valour, and of a ſmall apprehenſion, whom he might againe at his pleaſure diſplace, and ioyne thoſe prouinces vnto his new purchaſe; which he could not ſo well do if he ſhould haue there placed a man of greater reach and courage. So worke the heads of the Great, and ſo trauell the braines of the ambitious aſpiring.

The Chancellour placeth a new Vayuod in Valachia in ſtead of Michael, by him driuen out.

Baſta vnderſtanding of the retiring of the Polonians, entered into conſultation with the Chiaki and other the principall men of that Prouince (which lodged with the army in the country villages thereabout) for calling together the States and people, to make choice of K ſome ſuch men as they thought meeteſt to be ſent vnto the Emperor, to know his pleaſure for the gouernment of that Prouince. But now in the meane time, whileſt there was no ſuſpicion of the forreine enemy, began to worke certaine malecontents, which thinking with greater liberty to liue vnder a weake Prince, than vnder one of greater power, with one voice cried out, That *Sigiſmund* with a great power was entred into the confines of Tranſyluania, one while towards Valachia, another while by the way of Moldauia, and that the ſtrength of the country and others there by ſtill reſorted vnto him: with other ſuch like inuentions, of purpoſe deuiſed to haue made *Baſta* ſuddenly depart, or at leaſtwiſe to haue troubled the Dyet or aſſembly called, and the conſultation alſo. But he well aduiſed of their purpoſe, moued not out of his quarter, but there lay very priuatly, to declare thereby the great confidence he had L in the thankfulneſſe of the nobility of that country, as by him deliuered from the oppreſſion of the Vayuod: as alſo to make them to vnderſtand, That the gouernment to be appointed was not to be ſetled in the ſole power of a tyrant, but in the fidelity of the ſubjects, protected vnder a moſt gentle, royall, and moſt fatherlike gouernment, not ambitiouſly ſought after, but voluntarily of themſelues offered, and for the common good, by the Emperor accepted. Beſide that, he knew right well, how that *Caſtaldo* (in like caſe before in the yeare 1551, ſent into Tranſyluania with 8000 Almaines) left behind him his army, and without any precedent courteſie went priuatly to Alba Iulia, where Queene *Iſabel* had for her defence aſſembled a Dyet of all the States, and there by well handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperor that kingdome, which he could not by the feare of his forces haue gained: for which doing, Writers M attribute vnto him the name of great wiſedome, notwithſtanding that the yeare following he was forced to abandon his conqueſts, but yet not though any default in himſelfe.

Falſe rumours raiſed to haue terrified Baſta,

But it is truly ſaid, That men pleaſured, according to the occaſion change their manners, as doth the camelion his color according to the place: nothing being by nature ſo ſhort, nothing

of

A of leſſe life than the remembrance of a benefit with the vnthankful, which the greater it is, the
more it is repayd with ingratitude, either by making it to haue bin of little worth, or to haue
proceeded not of curteſie, but from ſome other more priuat and proper conſiderations of the
giuer. The Diet aforeſaid being aſſembled, diuers broiles were there raiſed by the male-Con-
tents; as vſually it commeth to paſſe where the people haue to do with the gouernment, apt to
be moued with euery humor, alwaies ready to change their opinion, as ſtraight glutted ther-
with, headſtrong, faithleſſe, all in words to no end: ſome of them in that aſſembly cried out,
That the Almaines might be payd, diſcharged, and thanked for the paines they had taken for
them as their neighbors, with offering to do them the like pleaſure as their occaſions ſhould
require; others cried to haue them put all to the ſword, ſo much they were deuoid of reaſon:
B others cried out as faſt, That they were not by any means to indure the gouernment of *Maxi-
milian* the Archduke, but by ſome nominated vnto them, would needs haue a prince of their
own country, and ſuch a one as the Turk ſhould wel like of, as the Chancellor had perſuaded
them. *Baſta* for all that not diſmaied with ſo vnexpected an incounter (albeit he began to ſu-
ſpect that he had loſt all his labor, if he were not in ſhort time with greater forces relieued) at
ſuch time as the Chiaki, with other chief men amongſt the people, came as their manner was,
euery other day to viſit him; with couragious ſpeech and vnapalled countenance told them
plainly, That he wel perceiued their drift and purpoſe; and yet doubted not either of their oth
of obedience giuen vnto his Imperiall Majeſty, either of the freſh remembrance of the great
benefit they had from him ſo lately receiued; and in caſe it might happen them, little to e-
C ſteem of thoſe things (greater than which could not happen among men) that yet they ſhould
wel know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully reſolued not to ſtir one
foot thence with his forces, but rather to loſe his life, which he would for all that ſel as dear as
he could. Wherunto auſwer was giuen with much curteous ſpeech, That he ſhould not giue
eare vnto any the ſpeeches of the light vulgar people, but rather to content himſelfe that the
Nobility, in whoſe hands the chief power of that prouince was, had not don any thing not be-
ſeeming themſelues. So after much diſpute, were appointed three perſons according to the
three Eſtates (the Nobility, Commons, and State in generall) to go vnto the Emperour, to re-
queſt of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their gouernor: with ſpecial requeſt alſo, That it
would pleaſe him not to ouercharge with forrein ſoldiers that prouince already ſore impoue-
D riſhed, eſpecially hauing in it ſelf people ſufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble
to incounter with the Turks, than the heauy & ſlow Almains, and they alſo of double charge.
Theſe difficulties with much ado thus appeaſed by ſuch as ſtood faſt for the Emperour, *Baſta*
thought it not good againe to call any ſuch aſſembly; hoping that time, and the Emperours
great wiſdom, would for al theſe matters find conuenient remedy. Yet ſaw he plainly, the peo-
ples mind was, to reſolue to remain for euer free, if they ſhould haue come to a ſecond Con-
ſultation; and rather a princely deſire to command, than to be commanded: yea, in that ſelfe
ſame Diet the Chiaki was declared gouernor on the behalf of the people, with authoritie of
himſelf in many things to determine, without calling together of any aſſembly of the reſt of
the States; which they ſaid they did only, vntil they were by his Imperiall Maieſty prouided
E of a Gouernor. Neuertheles *Baſta* well perceiued more than a Tribunitiall power to be now
ioined by the people vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners; knowing that this Chiaki well ho-
ped to haue bin proclaimed Prince of the Confederats, in caſe they had not bin preſently re-
lieued againſt the Vayuod: and hauing in him yet noted ſtil his great ambition, for that mar-
ching from Torda toward the Vaiuod, he cauſed to be caried before him a ſpear, with an Hun-
garian cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a lance, in token of his chiefe command; albeit that
afterward at the complaint of Baſta, pretending therin a wrong to be done vnto his regiment,
marching vnder the Imperial ſtandard, he took it down: neither was he then a little ſuſpected
to haue ſuffered his ſoldiers to ſack Alba-Iulia, as alſo to haue ſurpriſed Fogaras, and to haue
vſed diuers other means all tending to popularitie and ambitious aſpiring. Wherin he dee-
F med it better to diſſemble, than to proceed further, and then to do it indeed when hee had ſuf-
ficient power.

Baſta his ſtout ſpeech to the Tranſiluanians

The next day following came al the Counſel of that prouince, with the Deputies appointed to haue gon vnto the Emperour, and the people, to the houſe of *Baſta*, requeſting him (although ſuch their manner of comming might ſeem to exceed the bounds of requeſt) that he

The error of Baſta.

would ſend his Germans out of the country,and ſo after ſo many troubles to giue it leaue to breath a little:as for himſelfe, he might ſtay at Alba-Iulia vntill the men deputed to that purpoſe might go vnto his Majeſty with their requeſts. *Baſta* not a little troubled with ſuch an imperious requeſt,and now,but not before, perceiuing the occaſion of this great diſcontentment,ſaw himſelf much deceiued in a moſt material point,and the ground of all this action, by truſting too much to his owne too ſmall forces, too weake for the defence of his perſon, much leſſe to keepe vnder ſo populous a prouince,ſuch as before in the yeare 1552, vnder the leading of *Caſtaldo*,had of it ſelf ſent out 70000 fighting men for the beſieging of Lippa, and now vpon the ſudden 12000 with a few noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed Enemy, where they now held an armed conſultation with him, the Nobility meeting together with their great retinues,& ſo much the greater, by how much the ſuſpition was the more by them feared,for them to be inforced to reſolue vpon any thing contrary to their good liking:whereas he contenting himſelf only with their oath,without any other hoſtages, and ſo giuing ayd vnto the Confederats,had put himſelfe vpon their faith,together with all his people,into the midſt of Tranſylvania;a matter of far greater importance than any pledge they were able to haue giuen him. Beſides that, of the 6000 men which hee had brought with him into that Country,three thouſand fiue hundred of Sileſia now brought to 2000,could not be perſuaded longer to ſtay without their pay before hand,the pay of their Country being ſpent already: and the reſt drawn out of the gariſons in the vpper Hungary,or els there preſſed,were at a certain time to return home. Yet neuertheleſſe he attempted in ſome ſort to ſatisfie their requeſt,for not grieuing of the Countrey,by requeſting them to deliuer vnto him ſome ſtrong place,wherinto he putting his men into gariſon,they might ſo lie without any further charge or trouble to the Countrey,liuing vpon their owne wages. Which when hee could not obtain,and withall conſidering, that if thoſe few of his people which yet remained could bee contented to ſtay with him, the retaining of them might giue occaſion vnto the deſirous of new ſtirs,vpon euery the leaſt diſorder of the ſoldiers to alter the matter at their pleaſure (as had hapned vnto the eight thouſand Almains of *Caſtaldo*, driuen ſomtimes out of that Country vnder the colour of ſome inſolencie by them committed; although others had beene the chief doers therof,namely about ſome twenty Polonians) hee reſolued of all theſe things to giue notice to the Court,and ſo fair and ſoftly to march with his ſouldiers vnto the frontiers of that country,and to ſaue his eight pieces of artillery with other munition in Samos Vivar caſtle,a ſtrong fortres a good way within the confines, which together with the ſtrong caſtle of Kuivar, *Aga Leche* an Albanoiſe,and Generall of the Vayuods horſmen, deliuered to *Zakel* Captain of Zaccomar,one of his Majeſties Commiſſioners,who there prouided for the Gouernor *Baſta* his familiar fauourit: although that the Tranſylvanians had with great promiſes ſought to haue croſſed ſuch deliuery of the aforeſaid Caſtles, and to haue had them in their own power.

Wherfore *Baſta* not deceiued, but by neceſſity inforced, yeelded that hee could not hold; and gaue that he could not ſel,making a vertue of neceſſity; deceiued in the euent of the matter which he had propounded vnto himſelf from the beginning, for aſſuring that Country to the Emperor:by an excuſable error,if it be true that ſome wiſe men ſay,Nothing to bee more vnreaſonable,than by the euent of matters to iudge of their wiſdome by whom they were managed; which conſiſteth not in diuining before of the certainty of the euent,but in the reaſonable coniecture therof by the means leading therunto, than which nothing is more deceitfull,as not depending from their own actions only,but from other mens alſo more groſſe and vnreaſonable:none knowing better how much the wiſdom of man deceiueth it ſelf,than thoſe which are vnto themſelues true witneſſes of the euent of their own conſultations. Neuertheleſſe the matter was afterward ſo wel handled by *Baſta*,*PetZen*, and others the Emperors great fauorits in Tranſylvania, that in a Diet holden among the Tranſylvanians, he was with a conuenient gard again by them receiued as the Emperors lieutenant, vntil further order were by him taken for the gouernment and aſſurance of that countrey:the Chiaki and his Complices faintly conſenting therunto,as not greatly pleaſed therwith. Neither had *Baſta* much cauſe to be proud of ſuch his gouernment, hauing thereof no longer aſſurance than pleaſed that fickle people to afford him:yet ſith no better could be had,he muſt take it as he might,deeming it better in ſome ſort for the preſent to hold it for the Emperor,than not at all. With which his

weak

A weake ſtate amongſt more enemies than friends we will for a while leaue him.

But whilſt things thus paſſed, as we haue ſaid, in Tranſyluania and Hungary, the treaty for
peace betwixt the Emperor & the Turks being vaniſhed into ſmoke, *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turkes
General in Hungary, hauing all the laſt Winter made great preparation for the inuaſion of
the Emperors territories, and the doing of ſome notable enterpriſe for the recouery of his re-
putation, ſomwhat impaired by the euil ſucces of the laſt yeares Wars; and euen in theſe his
preparations of this year, not a little troubled by the mutiny of the Ianizaries and Spahi, for
want of their pay at Conſtantinople, as alſo with the rebellion in Caramania; now at length
in the later end of Auguſt, by order from the grand Seigniour his great Lord and maſter, be-
gan to ſet forward with his army from Belgrade, ſuppoſed to be aboue two hundred thouſand
B men ſtrong. And comming to Babatſca, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in the neather
Hungary, ſate down before it, and hauing planted his artillery furiouſly battered it, with pur-
poſe to haue the next day aſſaulted it: but the captaine of the caſtle conſidering the weaknes
of his garriſon to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy, and that the walls were already ſore ſhaken
with the fury of the great ordnance, came to a reaſonable Compoſition with the great Baſſa,
and ſo deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit don, and the Caſtle to him ſurrendred,
he marched from thence to Caniſia, a ſtrong town in the frontiers of Stiria, of moſt men be-
fore ſuppoſed a place impregnable; for that it was ſcituat in a very deepe mariſh, and furni-
ſhed with a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſoldiers, part Hungarians, and part Almains. After this
ſtrong town *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa eſpecially longed, ſo to free thoſe frontiers of the Turkes
C from the often incurſions that the garriſon ſoldiers of that place made therein; as alſo by the
taking of that ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe from the Chriſtians, to open a more free and ſafe paſſage to
the Turkes for Auſtria, to the indangering of thoſe places of the Empire alſo farther off.
Wherefore incamping his great army on the ſide of the mariſh which compaſſed the Iſland
round wheron the town ſtood, he began with fagots and earth to fil vp the mariſh, ſo to paſſe
ouer his army; they in the town in the mean time not ceaſing with their thundring ſhot to di-
ſturb them, and to do them what harm they might: who for all that proceeding in their work
had brought it now almoſt cloſe to the Iſland; where while they were about to haue landed,
they were by the garriſon ſouldiers ſo incountred, that hauing loſt a number of their men, as
wel Ianizaries as others, with two of their beſt captains alſo, they were by plain valor inforced
D to retyre. But preparing themſelues againſt the next day, with greater force to haue againe
returned vnto the aſſault of the Iſle, they ſaw the Imperial army now at their backs, and come
ſo neer them, that with their artillery they did them great harm; which put them in no ſmall
fear, ſeeing themſelues incloſed betwixt the town and the camp, and both out of the one and
the other to receiue no ſmall hurt, as wel with the ſmall ſhot as the great: beſides that out of
the camp diuers whole bands ſometimes ſallied, diſcharging great vollies of ſhot euen into
their trenches. In the Imperial army were but two and forty thouſand horſe and foot, men of
diuers nations, vnder the leading of Duke *Mercury*, now Generall of the Emperours forces in
Hungary, with whom were the Lords *Nadaſti*, *Eſdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the gouernour of Croatia,
with diuers other famous Captains come thither for the relief of Caniſia (a place of ſo great
E importance for the defence of that ſide of the Country) and to helpe that it fell not into the
power of the barbarous enemy. But *Ibrahim Baſſa* vnderſtanding by his eſpials the ſmal num-
ber of the Chriſtians, and wel knowing how much he was too ſtrong for them, by reaſon of his
great multitude, went out againſt them, and finding them as ready as himſelfe, joined battell
with them, with great ſlaughter of men both on the one ſide and on the other. Which blou-
dy fight (the victory yet ſtanding doubtfull, but in mens iudgements more inclining to the
Chriſtians than to the Turks) was at length by the comming on of the night broken off. At
which time the Chriſtians retyring themſelues into their trenches, the Turkes ſtood all that
night in the camp, with their weapons in their hands, as fearing to haue bin again in the night
by their enemies aſſailed. Mean while the Chriſtian Captaines at variance amongſt them-
F ſelues, and ſo not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercury* their General; at ſuch time as the
Turks preſuming on their multitude, dared them to battell the next day, could by no means
be perſwaded to goe forth againſt them, or once to ſtirre out of their trenches. Inſomuch that
the General of the Tartars thereupon beeing incouraged, made an inrode into the Countrey
thereby, and meeting with two hundred Waggons laded with victuals going vnto the Chri-

Caniſia beſieged by the Turks.

A battell betweene the Chriſtians & Turks before Caniſia.

Caniſia yeelded to the Turks.

Stirla forraged by the Turks.

ſtian camp, ſlew the conuoy that garded them, and ſo caried them quite away. Wherby ſuch want aroſe in the Chriſtian Camp, that hauing not what to eat, and out of hope of any new ſupply of relief in time to come, they were glad by night to diſlodge & retyre. Which could not ſo ſecretly be don, but that it was of the Turks perceiued: who preſently following after them, in the tail of the army cut off about 3000 of them, with certain pieces of great ordnance and moſt part of the baggage; the reſt of the army in the mean time retyring farther off into places of more ſafety. From this victory the Turkes returned again to the ſiege of Caniſia, where after a few daies, the garriſon ſoldiers now out of hope to be in good time relieued, ſuddenly fel into mutiny, refuſing any longer to defend the towne, now hardly layd vnto by the Turks; and the rather, for that diuers of the Hungarians were already fled out of the Towne vnto the Baſſa, hauing, as it was thought, reuealed vnto him the whole eſtate of the beſieged. So that now there was no remedy, but that the Towne muſt be deliuered vnto the enemy: although *Paradiſer* with ſome other of the captains did what they might, as they ſaid afterward, to haue perſuaded the contrary. Wherupon they came to parly with the Baſſa, and couenanting with him, That they might with bag and baggage depart, and with a ſafe Conuoy bee brought ouer the riuer Mur, promiſed to yeeld the town vnto him. All which the Baſſa granted, fearing how to haue bin able to haue kept the field, if they ſhould any long time haue holden out, Winter now ſo faſt approching. So the 22 of October the town was vnto the Baſſa right cowardly deliuered, and the garriſon ſoldiers with their baggage, in 100 waggons lent them by the Turks, ſafely conducted ouer the Mur, as was vnto them promiſed. After the agreement made for the yeelding vp of the towne, the Baſſa in courteſie ſent vnto *Paradiſer* the gouernor a very rich gown of cloath of gold: which albeit hee refuſed, yet was it afterwards layd to his charge, as a preſumption of ſome treacherous colluſion betwixt him and the Baſſa for the betraying of the town, which it was thought he might much longer haue kept. *Ibrahim* now thus poſſeſſed of the town he had ſo much deſired, fortified it more ſtrongly than euer it was before; and for the more aſſurance thereof, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of 4000 foot and 500 horſe, all old expert ſoldiers: and immediatly after without reſiſtance forraged the country round about Caniſia, burning all before him as he went; the poore Chriſtian inhabitants flying as faſt as they could for ſafegard of their liues. But hauing thus with the ſpoile of the country wel pleaſed his ſoldiers; he deſirous to haue the ſame againe in time repeopled, as therby to yeeld vnto the Turks the more profit, ſtaied their further outrage, vpon great paine forbidding the ſame; by open proclamations in euery place ſet vp, inuiting the Chriſtians without fear of farther harm, to return again into the country, where ſubmitting themſelues vnto the great Sultans obedience, they ſhould vnder his protection ſafely dwell, without any tribute to be of them exacted for three years ſpace next following. Which proclamations were in his name thus publiſhed.

Ibrahim Baſſa, to the Inhabitants of the Country about Caniſia, Greeting.

Ibrahims proclamation.

WE Ibrahim Baſſa, *by the grace of God Viſier, and Couſin vnto the moſt puiſſant and inuincible Sultan* Mahomet, *Emperor of the Turks: Vnto all the inhabitants of the marches about Caniſia, and the reſt of the country of Steirmarck, from the greateſt vnto the leaſt,* Greeting. *Wheras we haue willingly heard, that ſome of you willing to ſubmit your ſelues vnto the great Sultan, and to ſweare vnto him fealty, are again returned vnto your old dwellings: We promiſe and aſſure you vpon the faith of the ſaid Emperor, that whoſoeuer ſhall be found neere the fortreſſe of Caniſia, now belonging to the great Sultan, with all reuerence ſubmitting himſelf as his ſubiect vnder his gouernment, acknowledging him for his Soueraign, ſhall enioy more priuiledges than he did before, and alſo be protected in the ſame. And for that we know that your houſes are for the moſt part deſtroyed, as alſo your poſterity; you ſhall therfore for theſe three years next following be exempted and free from all tributes and charges whatſoeuer, to the end you may the better recouer your ſelues. Of which grace if you ſhall willingly accept, we promiſe you, that neither you, your wiues, or children ſhall be in any thing wronged, or your goods in any part impaired, but ſo much as in vs poſſibly is, to be defended: ſo that ſo many of you as pleaſe, may in ſafety return into your old dwellings, giuing before knowledge therof vnto the Gouernor of this our fortreſſe.*

Giuen in our Camp after the conqueſt of Caniſia.

Many

A Many of theſe poor countrey people before fled for feare of the Turks, and not knowing where to beſtow themſelues, now vpon this proclamation returned to their antient dwelling places, there to begin the world again vnder the Turkiſh obeiſance. But for that County *Serinus* was the man whom of all others in that Countrey the great Baſſa ſought after, as him whom he moſt feared after his departure to trouble this his new conqueſt, and to ſeek to be reuenged (hauing in this calamity of Stiria his country loſt twenty villages of his owne, quite burnt by the Turks, and the people moſt ſlain or els taken priſoners) hee many times before hauing ſought to perſuade him to yeeld his obedience vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, and now in hope after ſo great a loſſe to bring him in, before all his fortunes were vtterly ruined (by the loſſe of Caniſia, and the entrance of the Turks into Stiria, not a little indangered) writ to him B as followeth:

Ibrahim Baſſa his letters vnto Count Serinus.

WE Ibrahim Baſſa, *chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, and couſin to the moſt puiſſant Sultan* Mahomet, *to the County* Serinus *ſendeth greeting. We haue oftentimes heretofore written vnto thee concerning the matter thou knoweſt of, but what the cauſe is we receiued no anſwer, we know not. Yet could I not but write vnto thee again, That if thou canſt be content to begin the matter aright, and to ſubmit thy ſelf vnto our protection, we will be ready to receiue thee. Thou ſeeſt, that what we foretold thee is now more than fulfilled both vpon thee and thine, which thou wouldſt neuer beleeue. Neuertheles, for the ſtaying of the further effuſion of the bloud, as well of thy ſubiects as ours, and to come to ſome good attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine hand vpon thyne heart, and to conſider how much more it concerneth thee* C *than vs, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more vnto thine than ours: What our affection is toward thee,* Hieroni *the Vayuod can tell thee. Farewell.*

From our Camp, after the conqueſt of Caniſia, the 7 of Nouember, 1600.

But theſe letters being alſo as the reſt, anſwered with ſilence, the great Baſſa hauing diſpoſed of all as he thought beſt at Caniſia and in the country thereabout, returned with his army to Belgrade, there to winter: hauing before fully certified the great Sultan of all his proceedings, and the ſucces of this war, vaunting after his vain maner, the next year to beſiege Vienna alſo, if he ſo commanded. Of all which *Mahomet* vnderſtanding, ſo not a little pleaſed therwith, D caused great triumphs to be made four daies together at Conſtantinople, and in token of his loue and fauor, ſent a rich robe of cloath of gold, with a leading ſtaffe all ſet with pearl and pretious ſtones, vnto the Baſſa yet lying at Belgrade.

This loſſe of Caniſia much troubled all that ſide of Chriſtendom, eſpecially them of the territories belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, in a ſort diſmaied, to ſee the Turkes ſo eaſily poſſeſſed of a town, before thought almoſt inpregnable, and the ſtrongeſt defence of all that country againſt the furious impreſſions of the Turkes, to whom it was now become a moſt ſafe and ſure receptacle: all men with one voice blaming the diſcord of the captains in the Imperial army, for ſo retyring without any good doing; but aboue all deteſting the cowardiſe of *Paradiſer*, who known to haue in the town a ſtrong garriſon, with good ſtore of munition and E victuals (as was ſuppoſed) had ſo baſely deliuered the ſame vnto the enemy, not doing his vtmoſt deuoir for the defence therof: wheras if he had ſo don, haply in the meane time the cold and vnſeaſonablenes of the weather (though no other relief had bin) winter being now come, might haue inforced the Turks to raiſe their ſiege. Whereupon he was for this ſo foule a fact by the Emperors commandement apprehended and caſt in priſon at Vienna; where after he had long lien, and his cauſe oftentimes examined, he was the next year after condemned of felony and cowardiſe, and ſo the fifteenth day of October executed; hauing firſt his hand at four ſtrokes of the Executioner ſtruck off, and after that his head. With him alſo was in like maner executed his Enſigne-bearer: and after them his lieutenant with the Maior of the ſaid town; who both bound faſt to a ſtake, had firſt their tongues cut out, and afterward their heads F chopt off.

Paradiſer executed for yeelding Caniſia.

Now the rebellion before raiſed in Caramania by *Cuſſabin Baſſa* (as is before ſaid) was not with his death altogether appeaſed; Orfa Alſo a great city of that country (which hauing taſted the ſweetnes of liberty in the time of *Cuſſabin*) yet ſtil holding out againſt *Mahomet* the great Baſſa the Sultans lieutenant General there. At which time alſo a companion of *Cuſſabin* the late rebel, called the *Scriuano*, and one of his chiefe fauorites, ſeeing how hardly not only *Caſabin* himſelfe, but the reſt of his followers had bin handled by the Turks, began to make head, and to call vnto him all ſuch as loued their libertie: vnto the ſweet name whereof ſo many in ſhort time were come about him, that out of them he formed ſuch an army as made him now dreadful vnto the Turks his enemies. Againſt whom *Mahomet Baſſa* going with all his power to haue oppreſſed him, found him with thoſe his rebellious followers ſo couragious (for the deſire they all had to break out of the *Othoman* ſlauerie, and to liue in ſuch liberty as was promiſed them by their Captain and Generall) that ioyning battell with them he receiued a notable ouerthrow, inſomuch that fearing to haue loſt his whole army, he was glad to retire, and to ſend out commiſſions for the raiſing of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the meane time, whether it was for fear of this new rebellion, or for that hee vnderſtood of the Embaſſadours ſent from the Perſian vnto the Chriſtian princes, began to ſuſpect leſt that king ſhould break the league he had made with him, and ſo to his further trouble take vp armes alſo againſt him. Wherfore vpon a Turkiſh pride, he ſent an Embaſſador into Perſia, to certifie the king, That for the more aſſurance of the league betwixt them, he demanded to haue one of his ſons ſent vnto him in hoſtage, as a pledge of his fathers faith. Which his ſo proud demand the Perſian King took ſo diſdainfully, that in his rage he commanded the Embaſſadour to be ſlaine: but that his fury being by his graue Counſellors ſomwhat appeaſed, he remitted the ſeueritie of that his rigorous command, and ſparing his life, was contented, that in deſpight of him that ſent him he ſhould endure the baſtinado onely, and ſo grieuouſly threatned ſent backe againe to his maſter. Who hauing receiued this ſhamefull anſwer, and doubting ſome further matter from that angry King, commanded new and ſtrong garriſons to be put in all his ſtrong Holds confining vpon the Perſian kingdom.

The Turks embaſſadour euill intreated in Perſia.

1601. This troubleſome year of Iubilie thus paſt, the Emperour much troubled with the loſſe of Caniſia, and in doubt of worſe to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Baſſa*, whom for all that he truſted not, did afreſh deale as yet with him concerning peace) and ſeeing alſo the great need hee had of greater aid to withſtand the mighty power of the Turke, with great inſtancie requeſted aid of the Pope, and of other the princes of Italy. Who conſidering alſo how much it concerned the reſt of the Chriſtian common weale to haue the frontiers of Hungary defended, condeſcended vnto the Emperours requeſt, and ſo the Pope with the beginning of the Spring ſent him eight thouſand ſouldiers in pay, vnder the leading of *Io. Franciſco Aldobrandino* his Nephew, their Generall, who in the like charge had ſerued there the yeare 1599. King *Philip* alſo at the inſtance of the Emperour gaue order vnto the Countie *Fuentes* to ſend him certaine [illegible] Millan. The Great Duke of Florence alſo ſent vnto him [illegible] ſouldiers vnder the leading of *Franciſco de Medices* [illegible] *Iohn de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the Archduke [illegible] requeſted to be Marſhall of his Campe. Thither came alſo the Duke of *Mantua* with a braue company both of horſe and foot, being for that by the Archduke made his Lieutenant Generall. And ſo whileſt theſe people aſſembled together into one, the Emperour ſent a great and good Army into Hungary, drawne for moſt part out of Germany, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother, and the Duke *Mercury* his Lieutenant Generall, went into thoſe parts to withſtand the Turk. A third Army he alſo made [illegible] which ſtrengthned with the forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga* Gouernour of the vpper Hungary, ioyned themſelues with *Baſta* for the recouery of the country of Tranſyluania, out of which he had bin of late driuen, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

And ſo whilſt theſe armies were in preparing, many hot ſkirmiſhes paſſed in Hungary betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, the loſſe falling ſometime to the one ſide, and ſometime to the other. But the time being now come that ſouldiers might well take the field, *Ibrahim Baſſa* being before dead at Belgrade, whilſt he was yet intreating of a diſſembled peace, and *Haſſan* one of the Viſier Baſſa's by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in Hungary in his place, yet delaying his comming: the parly for peace layd aſide (as neuer indeed by the Turks intended, but only by them entertained to delay the time to their own more aduantage) Duke *Mercury* General of the Emperours forces taking the offer of ſo fit an opportunitie, came with his army from Comara (where he had lien expecting the euent of the parley) and layd ſiege to Alba

The death of Ibrahim Baſſa

Alba-Regalis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

A Regalis, one of the chiefeſt & ſtrongeſt cities in Hungary, which ſeated in the midſt of a mariſh, was thought almoſt impregnable: beeing hardly to bee approached but by the ſuburbs, which ſtrongly fortified and defended by the mariſh, ſerued the City in ſtead of 3 moſt ſure bulwarks; within which ſtood alſo the city it ſelf, wel defended with a good wall and a ditch. This city the Duke for certain dayes continually battered, as if he had purpoſed at length to haue taken it by aſſault: but in the mean time certainly informed by a fugitiue lately fled out of the city, That the broad lake on the other ſide of the City, ouer againſt the place where he lay, was not ſo deep but that it was to be paſſed (contrary to the opinion both of the Turkes captiues, and of the natural inhabitants, whom he had vpon that point examined) and that the Turks preſuming vpon the ſtrength therof, & thinking themſelues on that ſide ſafe, had bent B almoſt all their care and forces to that ſide of the City now by him battered, not regarding any great peril to be from the other ſide feared; he appointed the Lord *Ruſworm* with his ſoldiers to make prooſe if the Sigeth ſuburbs (for ſo they were called) on the aforeſaid ſide of the city, ſo little regarded by the Turks, were not to be ſurpriſed; for that theſe ſuburbs being taken, the City would not long hold out. For the vndertaking of which enterpriſe *Ruſſworm* was by the captiue Turks and country people thereby dwelling, much diſcouraged; they all with one conſent affirming, That albeit he ſhould find no other difficulties in attempting of it, yet the lake it ſelf was not poſſible to be paſſed. Who neuertheles not altogether truſting them, ſent certain of his owne men ſecretly to try the matter: who hauing ſo done, brought him word, That the lake was vndoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be paſſed. Wher- C fore he with 1000 ſelect ſoldiers, with euery one a good fagot at his back beſide his Arms, to fil vp the deepeſt of the mariſh, by night entred the ſame: wherin he had not gon far, but that almoſt with the danger of his life, hee found it much deeper and more troubleſome than the Spies had vnto him before reported. But carried with an inuincible courage himſelf, and his ſoldiers mooued by his example, he ſtil went on, they alſo following of him. It is a thing almoſt incredible to tel what theſe aduenturous men endured, plunged in the deep mud among the flags and bulruſhes, going ſtil vp euen to the waſt where the mariſh was the ſhalloweſt; where alſo if one miſſed but a ſtep, he was by and by ouer head and ears, and in danger to bee drowned, if he were not by his fellowes preſently holpen. Yet at length by Gods helpe, hauing but with the loſſe of ſix or ſeuen men a little before day got ouer; the Duke by an ap- D pointed ſigne aduertiſed therof, with greater ſtir and tumult than at any time before, aſſailed that ſide of the city were he lay, as if euen then and there he had only meant to haue ingaged his whole forces for the winning therof. When in the mean time the Lord *Ruſſworm* on the other ſide with his reſolute ſoldiers, with ſcaling ladders prouided for the purpoſe, ſcaled the wals of the ſuburbs, and almoſt vnperceiued recouered the top therof (the Turks being at the ſame time wholly bent for the defence of the other ſide of the city, where moſt ſtir and apparant danger was) and ſo beeing got into the ſuburbs, with a great and terrible cry aſſailed the Turks, who ſurpriſed with much feare, and not well knowing which way to turne themſelues, without any great reſiſtance fled into the city, the Chriſtians following them at the heels, and making of them a great ſlaughter. In which ſo great a confuſion, euen where leaſt was feared, E the Duke by other his ſoldiers took the reſt of the ſuburbs, as he had before determined; the Turks there alſo for fear forſaking them, retyring with all the haſt they could to their fellows in the city, there to liue and die together. The Chriſtians in in theſe ſuburbs, beſides other rich prey, tooke alſo 24 great pieces of artillery, with good ſtore of ſhot and pouder. The ſuburbs, the greateſt ſtrength of the city, thus happily taken, the Duke again ſummoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Whereunto the Turks gaue no other anſwer but by their pieces, which they diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians ſo perſwading them to yeeld. Wherwith the Duke much diſpleaſed, ſent them word, That hee would ſend them other manner of meſſengers tomorrow, and by Gods help ſup with them in the city, although he were not vnto them welcome. Neither failed he of that his promiſe, for the next day out of the ſuburbs F hauing with the fury of his artillery made two great breaches in the city, he by the ruins therof with great ſlaughter of the enemy entred the City; albeit that the Turkes did what they might to haue defended the ſame, by caſting downe vpon the Chriſtians as they entered, darts, wild-fire, and ſuch other things, vſually prouided for ſuch purpoſes. But ſeeing now no remedy, but that they muſt needs giue place to the fortune of their enemies, they fled amain

The ſuburbs ſurpriſed.

The city taken.

in their houſes, there to defend themſelues, or els to die: many of which houſes they had before of purpoſe ſo vndermined, as that they could eaſily ouerthrow them, and ſo ouerwhelme as many as ſhould come within the danger of them. Which ſo ſtrange a reſolution was by many of them as deſperatly performed, inſomuch that the goodly Church, the palace, with many other ſumptuous buildings, were left to the Chriſtians all rent & torn, not much better than rude heaps of rubbiſh and ſtones: howbeit the Baſſa vpon promiſe of life, yeelded himſelf, and was by the Duke preſently ſent vnto the camp; the reſt of the ſoldies beeing (as in ſuch caſe it commonly hapneth) all or moſt of them put to the ſword: the greateſt part of the prey fel vnto the Wallons; who by heaps breaking into the richeſt houſes, not only took what themſelues light vpon, but ſtript the Germans alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to their great heart-burning and grief: yea theſe rauenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, opened the tombs of the Hungarian Kings, there long before buried, to ſpoil euen the dead of ſuch things as had for honors ſake bin interred with them. Shewing themſelues therin more barbarous than the Turks, who by the ſpace of ſixty yeares hauing had the City in their poſſeſſion, had yet ſpared thoſe reuerend monuments, and ſuffered the Reliques of thoſe worthy princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of Alba-Regalis, the Baſſa of Buda (not long before taken priſoner, and as then lying at Vienna) hearing, abſtained from meat with his two ſeruants a whole day, proſtrat vpon his face, praying vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this year bin angry with the Turks. Which had the ſiege of Caniſia taken the like effect, had then vndoubtedly bin vnto them moſt vnfortunat: but God in his wiſdom ſtil tempereth the ſweet with the ſour.

Now in the mean while was *Aſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, and General of the Turks Armie, with ſuch ſoldiers as were already aſſembled at Belgrade, comming to haue relieued Alba-regalis, and albeit that he vnderſtood by the way as he marched, that the City was by the Chriſtians won: yet held he on his intended journy, and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of Buda, with the other Sanzacks and commanders of the towns and caſtles therabout, had formed an Army of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and vnexpert ſoldiers; with the which power he ſtil held on his way toward Alba-Regalis, as wel thereby to giue ſome contentment to the angry Sultan his maſter, as in hope alſo to ouerthrow the Chriſtian Army, or at leaſtwiſe to find the city as yet vnrepaired, and ſo to regain it. But vain was that his deſignment, eſpecially for the recouery of the city; for that the Duke had no ſooner taken it, but that he forthwith cauſed the breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of old expert ſoldiers; and being himſelf about twenty thouſand ſtrong and hearing of the Baſſa's comming, ſet forward to meet him; and being come neer vnto him, began an hot and bloudy skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa to proſecute his intended purpoſe for the recouery of Alba-Regalis, the next day ſent away part of his Army, to make proofe if haply the city might yet be again recouered, and himſelfe in the mean time with the reſt of his army offered battel vnto the Chriſtians; ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not be able to trouble them whom they ſent to Alba-Regalis, or to relieue the city, if it ſhould chance to be by them oppreſſed. When as the Duke before informed of the baſeneſſe of the ſouldiers in the Baſſa's army, and that although he were for number of men far aboue him, yet for old hardy and expert ſoldiers he was ſtrong enough for him, valiantly went out and encountered him; and ſo euen at the firſt onſet by plaine valour diſordering the formoſt ſquadrons of the Turks battel, inforced them to retyre with the loſſe of ſix thouſand men; among whom were the Baſſa of Buda, ſix Sanzacks, with diuers other Captains and Commaunders of good place and mark. At which time he alſo took from them diuers pieces of great Artillery, and had vndoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrown all the reſt of the Baſſa's Army, had not a great ſquadron of the Tartars euen at that inſtant ſhewed themſelues at the backes of the Chriſtians, and ſo ſtaying them, giuen leiſure to the Baſſa to reſtore his diſordered battell. Wherupon the Duke contenting himſelfe with the victory he had already gotten, in good order retyred again into his trenches, hauing in this conflict not loſt aboue three hundred of his people. But whileſt both Armies thus lay, and new ſupplies repaired vnto them, expecting but when they ſhould come vnto a generall day of battel; the Ianizaries ſtill muttering, That it was now no fit time of the yeare any longer to keepe the field, by their importunitie inforced the Baſſa to retyre to Buda, and there to his diſ-band his Army. In which his

The Chriſtians ouerthrow the Turks.

The Baſſa of Buda ſlain.

retreit

A retreat many were by the Chriſtians cut off in the tail of his army, and a number of priſoners taken; and among the reſt fifty of the French mutiniers of Pappa, whom the Archduke *Matthias* at the inſtance of Duke *Mercury* afterwards pardoned. Neither ſped they much better, who were ſent by the Baſſa to haue attempted the taking of Alba Regalis; for beeing come neer therunto, they were ſo welcommed with great ſhot out of the city, and charged with often ſallies by the ſtrong garriſon, that ſeeing no hope to preuaile, they were glad to riſe, and to return again to the Baſſa that ſent them.

Caniſia beſieged by the Chriſtians.

About the ſame time that the Duke began to beſiege Alba-Regalis, *Ferdinand* the Archduke hauing receiued great aid from the Pope, with the other Princes of Italy, and the King of Spain, and ſo now 30000 ſtrong, by the aduice of the Duke of Mantua his Lieutenant B general reſolued to beſiege Caniſia: which to haue againe recouered out of the Turkes hands, concerned much not them of Stiria and Auſtria only, but the other prouinces adjoining, yea and Italy it ſelf alſo. Wherupon he with his army in good order came the tenth of September and incamped before it; the Duke of Mantua and *Don Iohn de Medices*, with 2000 Harquebuſiers and two Cornets of horſe being come the day before to take view of the towne, at whom the Turks made diuers ſhot, but without any harm doing. And albeit that the Turkes there in garriſon (in number not paſt a thouſand, accounting likewiſe 300 of the Wallons ſomtime of the garriſon of Pappa) with their often and gallant ſallies greatly troubled the Chriſtians, and that great bands of the other Turks came out of the ſtrong towns and fortreſſes therby, to skirmiſh with them, and to ſee if they could put any moe ſouldiers into the town C for the more aſſurance therof; yet ſuch was the carefulneſſe of the Chriſtian Commanders, and valour of their ſouldiers, that the Turkes both in the one place and in the other were ſtill repulſed and put to flight, with the loſſe alſo of ſome of their ſmall Caſtles and forts thereabout. To approch this ſtrong towne, and to plant a battery againſt it, ſeemed to be a matter of great difficulty, for that it was (as we haue elſwhere ſaid) inuironed round with a mariſh; yet means was found to dry it a little, and to fill it vp on the one ſide, and to come ſo neere the Town, that hauing planted three tyre of artillery againſt it, the Chriſtians began furiouſly to batter it, beating downe both the walls, the houſes, and other buildings therin; yea at length they had brought their approches ſo neer, that they were come with their trenches euen cloſe vnto the Towne ditch, perſuading the Turks, now whileſt they might vpon good conditions, D to ſurrender the Towne, and ſo to ſaue their liues. Whereunto their fierce and inraged mindes were ſo far from hearkening, that brauing the Chriſtians, they ſaid, That they would in deſpight of all their forces keepe the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Archduke and the Duke of Mantua, by the aduice of *Medices* and the reſt of the principall Captaines and Commanders in the Army, reſolued to giue a general aſſault vnto the towne. In the mean time newes was brought into the Campe, of the winning of Alba-Regalis, which there made great rejoicing; in ſigne wherof the Chriſtians (as their manner is) in triumph many times diſcharged their great Ordnance; and by fit men perſuaded the garriſon ſoldiers in Caniſia to yeeld, and not to caſt themſelues into ſuch danger as had their fellows in Alba Regalis; for that in ſo doing they ſhould not only ſaue their liues, but eaſily E alſo obtain ſuch other conditions as they could reaſonably deſire: whereas otherwiſe they ſhould to their coſt find the Chriſtians ſtrong enough to conſtraine them, which muſt needs bring with it their vtter ruine and deſtruction. Whereunto the garriſon ſouldiers (amongſt whom the renegat Wallons were the chiefe) contemptuouſly anſwered, That they little feared ſuch weake aſſailants: and with great cry and ſcorn commaunding the meſſengers to depart, in token of their confidence, as alſo not to ſeeme inferiour vnto the Chriſtians, oftentimes to ſmall purpoſe diſcharged their great Ordnance, as had the Chriſtians the day before. Now although the walls of the towne with continuall battery were ſore ſhaken, and the breaches almoſt laid open; yet was the intended aſſault for a while deferred, vntil the bridges might be made that were to be laid ouer the towne Ditch for the Chriſtians to paſſe F ouer vpon. But all things, as was thought, now in a readineſſe, and the Florentines with ſome other Italians (whoſe lot it was to giue the firſt aſſault) beeing come forward, the bridge by which they were to paſſe the town ditch, was found both too ſhort and too weak for them to get ouer vnto the other ſide by; ſo that ſinking vnder them, not the ſoldiers only, but euen the Commanders themſelues (and namely *Herbenſtein*) were in great danger to haue bin loſt. By which means they hindred, and the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, and their musketiers ſtil playing vpon them afront, they were inforced to retyre, leauing behind them 300 of their men ſlain. Yet were not the Chriſtian commanders any thing therwith diſcouraged, but being generally reſolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand, vntil they had brought it to effect, began to make ſuch prouiſion as they knew to be needfull to preſerue their army vnder, againſt the violence of the winter weather, as alſo to hinder that no victual might be brought vnto the towne, ſo by famin at length to inforce the Turkes and Wallons to yeeld: who although they were already pinched with wants, inſomuch that horſfleſh was dainty cheer with them; yet for all that, they nothing abated of their wonted fierceneſs, but being again required to yeeld, vouchſafed not to anſwer one word, but in ſtead therof ſhook their naked ſwords afar off at them, in token of their vndaunted courage. But yet for al this reſolution of the commanders for the continuance of the ſiege, *Aldobrandino* Generall of the Italians, being now a little before dead of an old infirmitie that he had, the Italians began at the firſt ſome few of them ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of their quarter; but afterwards in great number to depart, and ſo to return again into their country: alledging for their excuſe want both of pay and victuals. But the reſt better minded, vnderſtanding the Turkes were riſen from before Alba-Regalis, and the reſt of the army diſbanded, began to enter into new hope, by ſome deuice or other to paſſe the ditch, and ſo by force to take the town; & the rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue informed both of the weakneſſe and wants of the beſieged. Whereupon they began afreſh to make new engins for the approching of the walls, without danger of the enemies ordnance any more to flank them. At which time alſo, *viz.* the fourth of November, the Lord *Ruſſworm* came vnto the camp, ſent thither from Duke *Mercury* with 8000 ſouldiers, after that *Haſſan Baſſa* had diſſolued his army. By whoſe comming they were alſo the more incouraged to proſecute that they had vndertaken. Neither failed the Turkes in the meane while with often ſallies to trouble the Chriſtians, attempting aboue all things to haue fired their tents, for that lying open in that ſo cold a ſeaſon of the year, they muſt of neceſſity be inforced to raiſe their ſiege and be gon. But the ſucces of theſe their ſo great deſignes was not anſwerable to their hopes, being ſtil beaten back with loſſe into the city by the Chriſtians: whom it behooued to look well about them, for that the beſieged deſperatly ſet, and all reſolued rather to die than to yeeld, aduentured themſelues to all dangers, neuer ceaſing to do what they might to put the Chriſtians out of hope for winning the town. But whilſt the Turks with doubtful & as it were deſperat hope ſo defend the place, and the Chriſtians grown ſtronger by the comming of their friends, lay in hope to winne the ſame; lo, in the later end of Nouember, a North wind accompanied with a deep ſnow ſo furiouſly raged, that it ouerthrew the greateſt part of the tents and pauilions of the Chriſtians, and as it were buried the whole army in froſt and ice; in ſuch wiſe, as that in the Arch-Duke *Ferdinands* camp (being reaſonable wel prouided for) was 1500 men with 300 horſes ſtarued and frozen to death. At which time the ſtate of them that came with the Lord *Ruſſworm* was moſt miſerable; who wearied with the ſiege of Alba-Regalis, and as it were ſpent with the dirty trauell of the deep way, had not brought with them their tents or other prouiſion, and were therfore inforced to lie abroad in ſo cold and vnſeaſonable a time: with whoſe miſeries although their good Generall was much grieued, yet to do the Chriſtian Commonweal ſeruice, he with them right patiently endured. In which ſo great an extreamity, the Archduke with the reſt of the Commanders vpon view taken, well conſidering what ſmall hope there was in good time to take the towne, the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the Winter weather ſtill more and more increaſing, thought it better betimes to riſe, than longer to expoſe their army vnto the moſt certain deſtruction either of the enemy or the cold. Which was don with ſuch haſt and confuſed tumult, as that their riſing rather ſeemed an haſty flight, than honorable departure; leauing behind them for haſt their great ordnance, with their tents and baggage, a common voice ſtill running, That they were well if they might but ſaue themſelues: ſo that the ſoldiers euery man mindful of himſelf, and in feare to be purſued by the enemy (no man chaſing them) fled, but ſtill accompanied with ſuch furious windes, ſnow, and extream cold, that with all the labour they could take, they could get them no heat, but fell down to the earth, many of them frozen, and ſo once falling neuer roſe more, being vnable for want of heate to help themſelues: in which caſe they were not to expect for helpe from others, euery man hauing

The Chriſtians inforced by vnſeaſonable weather to forſake the ſiege of Alba-Regalis.

A uing enough to do to look vnto himſelf: ſo that vpon the way wherby the army went thus diſperſed with the weather, lay aboue 500 dead of cold, beſide 400 others left ſick in the forſaken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the army, were thought to haue bin al ſlain by the gariſon of Caniſia.

But hauing thus paſſed through the troubles of Hungary, it is time now alſo to look back again into the frontier countries of Tranſylvania and Valachia; which to haue kept in the Emperors obedience, and ſo preſerued as a liuely member of the Chriſtian commonweal, no leſſe concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are many. *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, the laſt yeare for his cruelty firſt driuen out of Tranſylvania by *Baſta*, and afterwards out of Valachia by the great Chancellor of Polonia (as is aforeſayd) B and another placed in his ſtead; as a man forſaken euen of his own better fortunes, and not wel knowing which way to turn himſelf, thought it beſt now at laſt to ſubmit himſelf to the Emperour, if ſo happily by his means hee might in ſome ſort repaire his broken eſtate, and ſo at leaſtwiſe recouer his gouernment in Valachia. So reſolued, he ſet forward, and in the beginning of this year, *viz.* the three and twentieth of Ianuary, with fiue and thirty of his followers, and ſix Coaches, arriued at Prague, where he was by the Emperours appointment honourably receiued, and his coſt at the Emperors charge defraied. To whom he excuſed himſelf of the ſeueritie by him vſed in Tranſylvania (the cauſe of thoſe late troubles in that country) as inforced therunto by the ſtubbornneſſe of the Tranſylvanians themſelues, whom he found ſtil inclined to rebellion, and not willing to be commanded by any but themſelues. Which C his excuſe (as true) was wel admitted, and he with all kindnes vſed. Now at this ſame time *Baſta* lying alſo in Tranſylvania, as gouernour for the Emperour, right ſlenderly accompanied (as is before alſo declared) the parliament at Clauſenburg being ended, and all controuerſies as was thought, wel compoſed, now without fear one night, the Watch being ſet, went to bed to take his reſt, where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Tranſilvanian Lords (among whom the Chiaki was chiefe) came with their followers, and ſurpriſing the watch and entring the palace, brake into the chamber where he lay, took him out of his bed, and ſo kept him priſoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles off met with *Sigiſmund Bathor* their late prince, before ſecretly by them called in, whom they honourably conducted vnto Clauſenburg, and there deliuered *Baſta* vnto him (the late Gouernour D for the Emperour) whom he commaunded to be caſt into irons: and ſo going to the Palace, gaue like order for the apprehending and ſafe keeping of the reſt of the Nobility alſo, ſuch as had taken part with *Baſta* in the behalf of the Emperor. For now the Tranſylvanians were diuided into three parts; wherof the one ſtood for the Emperour, the ſecond for *Iſtuan Bathor*, pretending that vnto him belonged the ſoueraignty of that prouince; but the third, & far the greateſt, for *Sigiſmund* their antient Lord and leader, who now by means of the King of Polonia reconciled vnto the Turke, and in this troubleſome time by his fauourits called again into his country, was of them ioyfully receiued at Alba Iulia, Clauſenburg, and the reſt of the chief cities of Tranſylvania. Who now therof again poſſeſſed, for the better aſſuring of his eſtate, forthwith writ vnto the Emperour of all that had happened, requeſting him to content E himſelf, that he was deſirous of his loue and fauour, promiſing to be alwaies his good friend and neighbor, and for euer to keep good amity with him. Giuing *Baſta* alſo (whom hee had now at the interceſſion of certaine great friends inlarged) to vnderſtand, That hee was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging to his principalitie, as alſo to ceaſe from further moleſting of his people, that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto his obedience. Which his requeſt was neither of the one nor the other much regarded or hearkened vnto. For the Emperour vpon the firſt aduertiſement of this ſo great an alteration in Tranſylvania, calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod (not ſo much troubled with the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, as for that his wife and ſonne, whom hee had left as hoſtages with *Baſta*, were now fallen into the hands of the Tranſylvanians his mortall enemies) and ſatiſfying him in many F things that he had before requeſted, tooke order with him, That with all conuenient ſpeed returning home againe into Valachia, where he was now of many much longed for (the people generally diſliking the ſimple Vayuod which the great Chancellor had ſet ouer them) and gathering together ſuch power as hee could, he ſhould ioine himſelfe with *Baſta* his Lieutenant General, vnto whom he had already ſent great companies both of horſe and foot,

Michael reconciled to the emperor.

Baſta impriſoned by the Tranſiluanians.

Sigiſmund recouers Tranſiluania.

for the repulſing of *Sigiſmund* out of Tranſylvania, and the reducing againe of that prouince
vnder his obeiſance. Whereupon the Vayuod forthwith returning into Valachia, and aſſembling G
about ren thouſand of his friends, all good and expert ſoldiers, went to ſeek for *Baſta*, as
he had with the Emperor agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twenty thouſand
foot, and eight thouſand horſe, but newly departed from Veradinum: Where muſtering
their army, they with their vnited forces entred into Tranſylvania, there to put in execution
what the Emperor had commanded. Where the Vayuod in diſdain of the people that loued
him not, with fire and ſword waſted all the Country before him as he went; not without the
great diſcontment of *Baſta*, to whom it ſeemed not good to make deſolat that country, which
he was in good hope ſhould in ſhort time be his Lord and Maſter the Emperors. But *Sigiſmund*
vnderſtanding both of the comming of his enemies, and the harm they did in his country, H
riſe from Solnock where he lay incamped with his army, and ſo to hinder their further
proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come ſo neer vnto them as that he might wel
diſcouer them, he would not come to the trial of a battell with them, as was by them offered;
but fortified himſelf in his trenches, ſo ſeeking but to delay the time vntill the comming of
the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chancellor of Polonia, as alſo of ſix
thouſand Turks to haue bin ſent him from the Baſſa of Belgrade. Where hauing afterwards
vnderſtood, That the paſſage of the Tartars to haue been ſent him, was ſtayed by *Don Ferrant*
Gonzaga the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungary; and that the Turks ſtaying at Giula,
would come no farther, except they had their pay before hand; finding himſelfe too weake
with his owne power to incounter with his enemies, he riſe with his Army, with a purpoſe to I
haue retyred a little back, and to haue taken certain ſtreight paſſages wherby the enemy muſt
needs paſſe, ſo by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his weak ſtrength. But *Baſta* and
the Vayuod perceiuing his riſing (whereunto they were ſtill attentiue) followed him with
ſuch ſpeed, that they ouertooke him before he could get thither, and ſo hardly preſſed him,
that needs he muſt turn his face and join battel, or elſe ſuffer his people altogether like beaſts
to be ſlaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to
be done for the obtaining of a notable victory; yet ſuch was the valour of the ſouldiers of *Baſta*
and the Vayuod, that in a great battel hauing diſordered his footmen, they put them to
flight, and ſo cut them all in pieces. Which the prince beholding, and not able to preuent, betime
fled with his horſmen from the fury of the enemy, and ſo retyred to the vtmoſt confines K
of Tranſylvania, hauing in this conflict loſt ten thouſand of his faithfull ſoldiers. Wherupon
Claudiopolis, with diuers other cities and towns of that country, returned again vnto the Emperors
obeiſance.

Sigiſmund ouerthrown by *Baſta* and the Vayuod.

In the proſecuting of this victory, the Vayuod to ſatisfie the hatred he had of long borne
againſt the Tranſylvanians, did what ſpoil he could, vtterly waſting all the places wherby hee
paſſed. Which *Baſta* not liking, requeſted him to vſe his victory with more modeſty, and to
haue more reſpect to what he did, eſpecially vnto ſuch places or perſons as of themſelues returned
vnto the Emperors obeiſance. Wherunto he proudly anſwered, That hee would doe
what he thought good, without his appointment or the Emperours either, eſpecially in that
country which he had now with his own ſword twice conquered: & that therfore *Baſta* might L
command them that were by him to be commanded; as for himſelfe, he acknowledged no ſoueraignty
that either *Baſta* or the Emperour had ouer him. Vnto which ſo preſumptuous a
ſpeech *Baſta* replied not; but yet much diſcontented therewith, began to enter into a great ſuſpition,
from what ground thoſe his hauty conceits (eaſily by his words to be gathred) might
grow; and ſo from that time better obſeruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelligence
with the Turks, with purpoſe to join hands with them, that ſo by their helpe chacing
the Imperials out of Tranſylvania, he might hold it to himſelfe as tributary vnto the *Othoman*
Emperour, of all others beſt able to defend him. Which to bee true (beſides diuers other
ſtrong preſumptions) he certainely vnderſtood by certaine letters of his written to that purpoſe,
intercepted by his ſoldiers and brought vnto him. Wherupon he became very penſiue M
and heauy, for the great power the Vayuod was of in thoſe Countries, as alſo for the great
ſtrength he had euen then preſent about him, and wherwith he was as it were then garded. So
conſulting with certain of his Colonels and chief commanders of his army, what were beſt to
be don in that ſo dangerous a caſe whereof ſo much depended? A Wallon Captaine offered
himſelfe

A himſelfe to go into the Vayuod his campe,and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitor. Which his offer well liked of, and he as ready to performe as he was to promiſe, going into the Vayuods camp accompanied with ſome threeſcore men,and finding him in his tent,boldly ſtepping to him, willed him to yeeld himſelfe the Emperours priſoner: whereat he being about to lay his hand vpon his ſcimitar, the Wallon captaine with an halbert thruſt him into the breaſt, at which very inſtant another with a ſword at one blow claue his head down to the ſhoulders. An vnworthy death for ſo worthy a captain,had not ambition (the torment of great ſpirits)caried him too high with the wings of immoderat deſire,beyond the bounds of loyalty and reaſon. But there he lyeth now dead among his friends,whom the great Turke ſomtime more feared euen in his palace at Conſtantinople, than he did all the reſt of the Emperours B commamders. Preſently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was raiſed by the ſoldiers in his camp:but *Baſta* forthwith ſhewing himſelfe with all his ſoldiers in arms,and withall producing the letters declaring the treaſon by the Vayuod contriued with the Baſſa of Temeſware againſt the Emperour, all was againe appeaſed: but eſpecially for that his ſouldiers now ſaw themſelues without an head, and too weake alſo for the Imperials there preſent and already in armes. In the Vayuods tent were alſo other letters found, ſo plainely declaring his ſecret colluſion with the Turke,and treaſon againſt the Emperor, that the Valachians who at the firſt were wonderfully moued with his death, and hearing the ſame read, reſted not now only contented, but ſaid moreouer, that he was worthily ſlaine, and that if they had knowne him to haue any ſuch traiterous purpoſe, they would of themſelues long before haue taken of C him deſerued puniſhed. Now vnto his ſouldiers *Baſta* offered, at their choice, either to depart whither they would without danger; or elſe taking the oath of obedience vnto the Emperour, to enter into his pay; which moſt part of them did. The tumult appeaſed, the dead body of the Vayuod was laied out a whole day for the ſouldiers to gaze vpon,and ſo afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had ſo fortunatly ouerthrowne his enemies; vnhappy man himſelfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vnconſtancy.

Michael the Vayuod ſlaine.

Baſta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force, what by agreement,in ſhort time tooke in moſt part of the country: for that the Tranſyluanians ſeeing the ſmall power of *Sigiſmund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod ſo D much of them hated;as alſo to auoid the dangers euen preſently hanging ouer their heads from the Imperials,if they ſhould in any thing ſhew themſelues obſtinate againſt them;ſubmitted themſelues wholly to the courteſie of *Baſta*, ſo that the places were but few that yet held out for the Prince *Sigiſmund:* who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raiſing of a new army(hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith alſo loſt his hope)by the help of the Turks, Tartars, and Polonians, to recouer againe the poſſeſſion of his ſtate, and by force of armes to chaſe out the Imperials. But he being brought to ſo low an ebbe,and almoſt all the country of Tranſyluania poſſeſſed by *Baſta*;who would not haue thought but that now after ſo long trauell it would haue remained wholly at the Emperors deuotion? and ſo many, that thought themſelues to ſee much, ſaid aſſuredly it would. But ſee the change, and what E ſmall aſſurance euen the greateſt haue of the conſtancy of the vain multitude:neuer more like themſelues,than in diſliking to morrow what they beſt liked to day,fooliſh, ſenceleſſe, improuident,raſh,headſtrong,violent,and aboue all things mutable, and vnconſtant. So now for all that *Baſta* had done for the aſſurance of this country vnto the Emperor(being ſo much as moſt men thought to haue bin ſufficient,and indeed as much as was poſſible for him to do) euen in the winding vp of this yeare 1601, the Tranſyluanians vnderſtanding that *Sigiſmund* with a great army of Polonians, Turks,& Tartars,was now comming againſt the Imperials,moſt part of them preſently tooke vp armes in his fauour;ſaying,That their firſt oath voluntarily giuen vnto him as their naturall Prince & Gouernor, was more to be reſpected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a forrein Prince. Inſomuch that *Baſta* perceiuing with F what a tempeſt he was like euen preſently to be ouerwhelmed,to ſaue himſelfe and his people from the rage thereof, withdrew himſelfe and his followers vnto a ſtrong towne in a corner of that country: from whence he with all ſpeed ſent vnto the Emperor for greater aid,as well for the defence of the place he yet held,as for the ſubduing again of that rebellious people. After

The Tranſyluanians ſubmit themſelues vnto Baſta.

The Tranſyluanians reuolt againe vnto Sigiſmund their old Prince.

Baſta flyeth.

whoſe departure *Sigiſmund* without reſiſtance entring the country, was of the people in generall joyfully receiued as their moſt lawfull Prince and ſoueraigne, and all the honor done vnto him that was by them poſſible: in which his ſo Princely, but dangerous eſtate, now twice in leſſe than the ſpace of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit aſſured, we will for a while leaue him to joy therein with his ſubjects.

The Baſſa of Agria ouerthrown by Ferrant Gonzaga.

But whileſt the ſtate thus turneth vpſide downe in Tranſyluania, the Baſſa of Agria going out with ten thouſand Turks in hope to haue ſurpriſed Toccaie (a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians in the vpper Hungary) was encountered by *Ferrat Gonzaga* the Emperours Lieutenant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great ſlaughter of his Turks chaſed to the gates of Agria.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor this yeare alſo no leſſe troubled with the proceedings of the *Scriuano* in Caramania and Natolia, than with the euill ſucceſſe of his affaires in Tranſyluania and Hungary. For the *Scriuano* by his laſt yeares victory growne into great credit with the common people, and ſtill by them more and more ſollowed; to maintaine the reputation of his credit, came now again this yere with a great power into the field, to meet with *Mahomet* the great Baſſa and Generall of the Turks army; who with fifty thouſand good ſouldiers (a power thought ſufficient to haue repreſſed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scriuano* joyning battell, in a great fight cut in ſunder a great part of the Baſſaes army, and ſo become maſter of the field, forraged all the countries adjoyning almoſt as farre as Aleppo; ſtill calling the people vnto liberty, and cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mahometane Faith, and of the liberty of thoſe countries with him combined: in ſuch ſort, as that it now ſtood the great Turke vpon to ſend another great army to the aid of *Mahomet* the diſcomfited Baſſa. With whom alſo the *Scriuano* (preſuming of his former fortune) comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the firſt encounter with his people put to the worſe: but forthwith by his good direction hauing repaired his diſordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting ſouldiers, he with a great ſlaughter diſordered alſo the Baſſaes army. Yet hauing not any other firme ſtate or ſtay to reſt vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with theſe his rebellious followers, of whom he had now loſt a great many, he thought it not beſt to aduenture too far (not knowing how preſently to repaire his loſſes) but contenting himſelfe with what he had already done, retired with his army into the ſtrength of the mountains, there that Winter to liue vpon the ſpoile of the countries adjoyning, and the next yeare to do more harme than euer he had done before.

The Ianizaries in mutiny at Conſtantinople.

Beſide all which former troubles, the plague alſo this yeare ſore raged both in Conſtantinople and many other places of the Turkiſh Empire. At which time alſo the Ianizaries in Conſtantinople hauing receiued ſome diſgrace by ſome of the Great Sultans fauorits, and with great inſolency requiring to haue their heads, cauſed their Aga well accompanied preſumptuouſly to enter into the Seraglio to prefer this their requeſt: whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the reſt, cauſed for his preſumption to be taken into the midſt of the Spahi, and ſo by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great ſlaughter of the Spahi themſelues alſo, ſlaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries ariſing vp in arms alſo, and euen now ready to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wiſedome of *Cicala Baſſa*, beſtowing amongſt them a great ſum of money, againe appeaſed without further harmedoing. Which their ſo great inſolency *Mahomet* imputing vnto their exceſſiue drinking of Wine, contrary to the law of their great Prophet; by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, commanded all ſuch as had any Wine in their houſes in the city of Conſtantinople and Pera, vpon paine of death to bring it out and to ſtaue it, except the Embaſſadors of the Queenes Majeſty of England, the French King, and of the State of Venice: ſo that as ſome report, Wine for a ſpace ran downe the channels of the ſtreets in Conſtantinople, as if it had bin water after a great ſhower of raine.

1602 *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince now of late againe poſſeſſed of Tranſyluania (as is before declared) could not yet well aſſure himſelfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the Tranſyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of *Baſta*; who ſtill ſtrengthened with new ſupplies both of men and all things elſe neceſſary for the wars from the Emperour, was now with a great power already entred into Tranſyluania: the Polonians buſied in the warres of Sueuia, and the Turks with their other greater affaires, neither of them ſending him their promiſed aid, the greateſt hope and ſtay of himſelfe in that newneſſe of his eſtate. Wherefore ſeeing himſelfe euery day to loſe one place or other, and fearing alſo leſt his ſoldiers for want of pay ſhould in ſhort time quite forſake him and goe ouer to *Baſta*; he thought it beſt betimes and whileſt he had yet ſomething left, and was not yet altogether become deſperat, otherwiſe to prouide for his eſtate, eſpecially hauing ſmall truſt in the Turks, to whom he had been before ſo great an enemy. Wherfore he dealt with *Baſta* for a truce or ceſſation from arms, vntill Embaſſadors might be ſent vnto the Emperor, to entreat with him for ſome good attonement. Wherefore *Baſta* being content, and the Embaſſadors ſent, the matter was ſo handled with the Emperor, that *Sigiſmund* to make an end of all theſe troubles, was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall Majeſty, to reſigne vnto *Baſta* his Lieutenant all ſuch places as he yet held in Tranſyluania, vpon much like conditions he had about three yeares before made with him: and ſo in all, and for all, to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his Majeſty. Which intended ſurrender of the Princes being bruted in Tranſyluania, *Zathel Moyſes* his Lieutenant (& now in field with the Princes forces) not able to endure or to heare, that that noble Prouince ſhould again fall into the hands of the Germans; encouraging his ſoldiers, went vpon the ſudden to aſſaile *Baſta*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, & ſo diſcomfiting his army, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of Tranſyluania: but he an old and expert Commander, perceiuing euen the firſt mouing of the Tranſyluanians, with great celerity put his army in good order, and ſo joyned battell with them: wherein he with the loſſe of ſome fiue hundred men ouerthrew *Moyſes*, with his army of Tranſyluanians, Turks, and Tartars hauing ſlaine about three thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight: *Moyſes* himſelfe with ſome few others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turks territories towards Temeſwar. But when *Sigiſmund* vnderſtood what his Lieutenant had without his knowledge done, he in token of his owne innocency went himſelfe vnto the Imperiall camp, accompanied onely with certain of his gentlemen, and there vnto *Baſta* excuſed himſelfe of that which was by his Lieutenant againſt his will, and without his priuity done; frankly offering to performe whatſoeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and him. And ſo preſently calling his garriſons out of all ſuch ſtrong places as were yet for him holden, he ſurrendred them to *Baſta*; and ſo forthwith honorably accompanied, put himſelfe vpon his way towards the Emperor. After whoſe departure out of Tranſyluania, all that Prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Baſta* as to the Emperors Lieutenant: who preſently called an aſſembly of all the Nobility of the country, taking of them an oath for their obedience and loyalty vnto the Emperor. Thus by the wiſedome and prowesse of this worthy commander, is the country of Tranſyluania once againe brought vnder the Emperors obeiſance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the ſtrongeſt city the Turke holdeth in Hungary.

Zachel Moyſes ouerthrowen by Baſta.

But whileſt theſe things thus paſſed in Tranſyluania, great troubles ariſe in Valachia (the country next adjoyning) for that the people of that Prouince not able longer to endure the great inſolency of the Turks (who after the death of *Michael* had by their power made one *Ieremias* Vayuod there) by a generall conſent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radoll* (a fauorit of the Emperors) Vayuod, chaſed *Ieremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of Moldauia, his friend, by his meanes, and the helpe of the Turks, returning into Valachia, draue out thence *Radoll* againe: who being now at this preſent with *Baſta*, with about ten thouſand Valachians his followers, earneſtly requeſted of him (now that hee was ſo quietly poſſeſſed of Tranſylunia) to helpe him with his forces for the recouery of Valachia. And *Baſta* well conſidering how much it concerned the quiet and ſure keeping of the poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania for the Emperour, to haue that ſo neere a Prouince to friend, eaſily yeelded to his requeſt; and gaue him a great Regiment of his old approued ſouldiers, and ſo ſent him away to recouer his eſtate: with whom (at his enterance into Valachia) the Moldauian meeting with a great power both of his owne and of the Turks, come thither in the fauour of *Ieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible and bloody battell, the glory whereof fell vnto *Radoll*, hee carrying away the victory.

Great troubles in Valachia.

victory. In which battell two of the Turks Baſſaes were there ſlaine, with a great number of others both of the Moldauians and Turkes. After which victory *Radoll* recouered againe the Soueraignty of Valachia, for which hee was beholden to *Baſta:* and ſhortly after with the ſame aid cut in pieces a great power of the Tartars, that were comming to haue aided the Moldauian.

Troubles in Hungary.

Now in the meane time in Hungary alſo paſſed many an hot skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, whoſe garriſons at Buda and in other places in the lower Hungary, attempting to haue ſurpriſed Alba-Regalis, and diſcouered by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, County *Serinus* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Turks with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to Caniſia; vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and put to flight the conuoy that garded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And ſhortly after, the free Haiducks of Comata in a great party going out towards Buda to ſeek after booty, & hauing taken threeſcore Turks priſoners, and ſo with them about to haue returned home; vnderſtanding by the way, that *Ali* ſometime the Baſſa of Buda, and now Gouernour of Peſth, was with a ſmall retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from Buda towards Belgrade, there to meet the Viſier Baſſa, but then comming into Hungary; they ſlew all the priſoners, and hauing got two ſmall boats, about fifteene miles beneath Buda lay in wait for the Baſſa: who according to their expectation comming downe the riuer, was by theſe adventurers fiercely aſſailed, and of his thirty followers hauing foureteene ſlaine, being himſelfe alſo ſhot in two places of his body, was there with a great booty taken, and ſo brought to Comata, and ſhortly after preſented vnto *Matthias* the Archduke at Vienna: who amongſt other things, certainely enformed, that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great army by the commandement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* comming to beſiege Alba-Regalis, and that hee was now vpon his way as farre as Belgrade; preſently ſent thither the County *Tſolan* Gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the city, the Turks hauing already taken all the paſſages, to haue hindered the Chriſtians from putting in either men or munition, more than was therein already. Howbeit the County now got in there, and being no leſſe good enginier than a valiant Commander, cauſed all them in the city to labour vpon the rampiers: ſo that beſide the naturall ſcituation thereof, which was very ſtrong, he had in ſhort time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt mens judgment it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Ali Baſſa* was ſometime the great Turks butler, but after the taking of Agria made Baſſa of Buda; which great place he held but three moneths, being by the enuy and ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, remooued thence, and made Gouernor of Peſth: from whence now going downe the riuer to Belgrade, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiduckes, vnto whom he offered for his ranſome three hundred thouſand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken ſeuenty thouſand duckats.

Ali Baſſa taken priſoner.

A great ranſome offered by Ali Baſſa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſſe of Alba-Regalis (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt yeare) and now reſolued for the recouery of the ſame, to ingage if need ſhould be a great part of his forces; had cauſed an army of 150000 ſtrong, to meet at Hadrianople for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of *Haſſan Baſſa* one of the chiefe Viſiers, to be ſent into Hungary. Who by the way of Belgrade comming to Buda, and from thence to Alba-Regalis, there the twelfth of Auguſt incamped (as hee had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his tents couering all the country round about, as if it had been a white ſnow: where hauing well intrenched himſelf, and planted his artillery, he began a moſt terrible and furious battery, in ſuch ſort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach only, but to haue beaten the city euen from the face of the earth, which ſeemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rend with the thundring of the great ordnance: and for that the mariſh and deep ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his pioners to be filled vp (a worke thought almoſt impoſſible) and ſo brought on his men to aſſault the counterſcarfe, which the Gouernor had cauſed to be made before the city for the better defence thereof: which aſſault coſt him much bloud, by reaſon of the wonderfull valor of the defendants: yet in the end the great number of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were inforced to forſake it & retire into the city: but ſhortly after ſallying out again

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Turks.

A they with ſuch forces aſſailed the Turks now got within the counterſcarfe, that hauing ſlaine
moſt part of them that were entred, they forced the other out againe: at the bruite whereof, an
alarm being raiſed throughout the camp, infinite numbers of the barbarous enemies came run-
ning thither with ſuch ſauage fury, that without regard of their liues they as deſperate men
preſſing ſtill on, fell twice as many as before: inſomuch that the Chriſtians weary of that long
and bloudy fight, & on euery ſide charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies ſhot, were
glad againe, but not without great loſſe, to abandon the place. With which skirmiſhes and di-
uers others that they had, the number of the defendants were greatly diminiſhed, to keepe a
weake city, ſhewing as yet the ruines of the late ſiege, when it was by the Chriſtians won; the
breaches thereof being but euill repaired, and the mines yet gaping, requiring great and ſtrong
B fortifications to hold out and endure any long ſiege againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy. Yet was
not the courage of the valiant County *Yſolan* the Italian Gouernor, any whit therewith abated,
but by his letters gaue the Archduke *Matthias* to vnderſtand in what caſe things ſtood with
them in the city, requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him reliefe, for that otherwiſe the city,
ſo weakly both manned and fortified, would be in danger to be loſt; many of the garriſon ſol-
diers being already ſlaine in the defence thereof, and diuers of the Hungarians forſaking the
wals, daily flying vnto the Turks camp; promiſing yet neuertheleſſe himſelfe to do the vtter-
moſt of his deuoir. Vpon the receit of which letters, the Archduke gaue order to the lord *Ruſ-
worm* (maſter of the camp) to to go forthwith to Comara, and there with ſuch forces as were
from diuers places come thither, to go forth and to proue if by any meanes the weake garriſon
C of Alba Regalis might ſo be relieued, by putting in ſome good ſupply of freſh ſoldiers. Ac-
cording to which command, *Ruſſworm* comming thither, without delay tooke the field with
32000 men which he found there, to ſee if he might with them, put into the city the deſired re-
liefe. But whileſt the matter was in the performance thereof too long delaid, by diſcord ariſing
betwixt him and the other colonels, about the maner of relieuing the town, the Baſſa had time
to effect his purpoſe; who the 28 of the ſame moneth of Auguſt, after a long and terrible bat-
tery, caused a generall aſſault to be giuen vnto the city: which the Turks from time to time
renuing, continued all that day and the next night, with ſome part of the day following alſo,
without ceaſing: ſo that the defendants now much weakned, and they alſo that were left, ſo
wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer reſiſtance (and the
D County himſelfe, who gaue as it were life vnto them all, being now alſo carried away dange-
rouſly hurt in the thigh with a musket ſhot) there was a ſigne of parly giuen vnto the enemy:
which the Baſſa granting, and the fury of the aſſault ſtaid, certaine of the chiefe captaines and
commanders in the city, going vnto the Gouernour, put him in mind of the weakeneſſe of the
place, of the force of the enemy, of the number of his moſt valiant men ſlain, of the want of the
defendants. They had (as they ſaid) done enough for their honor, hauing endured ſo many and
ſo great aſſaults, in a place not defencible: and enough to diſcharge their fidelity, hauing hol-
den it out to the vttermoſt of their power. That they could do no more than they had done,
being not relieued; and that the ſame bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the
Emperor alſo to relieue them, ſeeing that otherwiſe it was not in their power to maintaine it.
E That they had, with the loſſe of their liues and bloud, ſhewed their fidelity vnto the Emperor,
no ſufficient army appearing from him (according to his promiſe) for their ſuccor. That to
fight any longer was but to encreaſe the glory of their enemies, and their own loſſes: ſeeing
that after they had done what they poſſibly could, expoſed to a thouſand dangers, they ſhould
neuertheleſſe be vanquiſhed, and the city taken. That the ſame conſideration which carried
valiant minds vnto the effects of honour when they are relieued with hope, diſſuaded them
being out of all hope of an happy end of theſe troubles: and to loſe themſelues to no purpoſe,
was as great a ſigne of folly, as to let ſlip a faire opportunity, was a ſigne of cowardiſe. That
they were to expect nothing but extreame miſery, if the enemy ſhould againe force them, the
breaches being ſo broad, as whereby they might eaſily enter: and their owne beſt men ſlaine,
F that ſhould keep them out. And that therefore he ſhould do well, to come to ſome good com-
poſition with the enemy, whileſt they had yet ſomething to yeeld vp vnto him, and that hee
ſtood in ſome feare of them; and not to expect, whilſt they were ſpoiled of all means, either to
reſiſt him by force, or to bind him by courteſie: nothing remaining for them in the place, but

*A long and ter-
rible aſſault.*

*Reaſons where-
by the beſieged
captaines perſua-
ded the Gouer-
nor to yeeld the
city.*

death, if they ſhould obſtinatly ſtand to the defence thereof; nor no way left to ſaue their liues, G
but by yeelding.

The capitulation betwixt the Baſſa and the County, for the yeelding vp of the city of Alba Regalis.

Alba Regalis taken by the Turks.

The Chriſtians cruelly murdered in Alba Regalis.

With theſe perſuaſions the Gouernor moued, came to a parly with the Baſſa, being right
glad thereof, as well knowing that a towne beſieged comming to a parley, is commonly more
than halfe won: and glad by any means to gaine it, for that thereof depended the aſſurance both
of his head and honour: where after ſome ſhort talke it was agreed, That the County ſhould
yeeld the towne into the hands of the Baſſa, with all the great ordnance, and other warlike munition
therein: and that the County with his gariſon, ſhould with bag & baggage in ſafety depart
with their arms, by the ſuburbs leading toward Rab, and with a good conuoy in ſafety to
be brought halfe way thither: This capitulation agreed vpon, and by the Baſſa and the County
ſigned, euery man aſſured himſelfe of the Baſſaes faith, and thereon reſted. But what faith is to
be expected from a faithleſſe man? Vpon the firſt bruit of this compoſition, yea, and before it H
was altogether well concluded; whileſt the merchants in the towne were ſeeking for wagons
to carry their merchandiſe, and the ſouldiers for horſes to carry their baggage, the ſcarceneſſe
thereof bred a great confuſion and ſtir among the people, as commonly it falleth out in things
done in haſte, but eſpecially where men for ſafegard of their liues, in their flight for haſt fall
into a thouſand errors: ſo whileſt ſome in this hurly burly were quarrelling about their horſes
and carriages, and otherſome were opening the gates to be gone; others were buſie in robbing
and pilfering the baggages of their captains and companions, miſerable men, who all appointed
for a prey vnto the greedy & mercileſſe Turks, yet fel to preying one vpon another. Which
diſorders encouraged all the reſt of the ſouldiers to fall to pillage alſo, ſome loading themſelues I
with ſuch goods as the merchants had for lacke of carriages left behind them, and otherſome
euen with the goods of their owne captaines: which the ſoldiers appointed for defence
of the breaches ſeeing, left their charge, and came thronging into the towne, and thruſt themſelues
in amongſt the pilferers, as if the pillage of the towne had bin vnto them by triumphant
victory aſſured, and that they themſelues had bin victors, and not men vanquiſhed. The Tartars
lodged at the foot of the breach, ſeeing it forſaken, and without any great ſtrength to defend
it, let not this opportunity ſlip, but preſſing in without any great reſiſtance, entred the
ſame; and ſo in a trice full 30000 of them thruſt into the towne, and there ſurpriſed the vanquiſhed
Chriſtians, at once loaded with prey, feare, and deſpaire. After whom, euen by the
ſame breach, the Turks entred alſo, to be partakers of the ſpoile: ſo that in a moment the town K
was full of enemies both of Turks and Tartars. The Turks beſide the booty they tooke themſelues,
fell to quarrelling with the Tartars, for ſome part of theirs; and ſo long as there was any
thing that might pleaſe their eies, or fill their hands, they abſtained from ſlaughter and bloudſhed,
buſying themſelues with that which for the preſent was more for their profit: but the
pillaging ceaſing, by reaſon there was no more to be had, then the perfidious wretches fell to
maſſacring of the miſerable Chriſtians, the ſword deuouring all that they could light vpon, ſo
that all the city flowed with bloud. Neither was there any end thereof, vntill that by the comming
in of the Baſſa the ſlaughter was ſtaied; by which meanes County *Yſolan* the late Gouernor
with ſome other captains and ſoldiers were ſaued, hauing eſcaped the enemies fury.

County Yſolan carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople.

In this maſſacre were ſlaine 3000 Criſtian ſouldiers, beſide others of the citiſens, in number L
not few. The captains that were ſpared, were led priſoners to Conſtantinople, there to be
fed with the bread of tribulation: and with them the County *Yſolan*, for his valor and noble
courage vnworthy of ſo hard a fortune. Howbeit, that he by liuely and pregnant reaſons ſhewed,
both himſelfe & the reſt to be vniuſtly detained, as taken priſoners contrary to the publike
faith vnto him before giuen; within the aſſurance of the capitulations agreed vpon with the
Baſſa, and out of the actions of war. Whereunto it was againe anſwered him, That the towne
when it was taken, was yet ſtill in his power, and he at choice whether he would deliuer it or
no. That if he would by the yeelding vp of the towne challenge his liberty, according to the
articles of the capitulation, he ought then to haue deliuered it as was agreed, and not to haue
ſuffred it to haue bin taken by force, according to the ordinary proceding of war: the lawes M
whereof do iuſtly condemne to death, or to captiuity, ſuch as are by force of arms vanquiſhed.
That euery towne which during the treaty of capitulation, is by force taken, followeth the
courſe of the later condition & ſtate, and not of the former, ſeeing that it is conquered and not

deliuered

A deliuered. That this is the reaſon that they are puniſhed by the rigor of armes, which haue
not bin carefull to preſerue themſelues by the ſweetneſſe of peace: for that a man is not to
expect of his mortall enemy any other courteſie, than that which neceſſity cauſed him to
promiſe, which hee may for his owne good againe violate, as hee for the good of his enemy
againſt his will hath granted. With which quirkes and quillets the County deluded, ſay what
he could, was carried away priſoner to Conſtantinople, where we muſt for a while leaue him.
And ſo the Baſſa hauing in eighteene daies taken Alba Regalis, (now being eleuen moneths
poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians) cauſed the breaches he had made, to be againe repaired, and the
city well prouided for, both of victuals and munition, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon of ſix
thouſand ſoldiers; and with his people hauing ouerrun all the country as far as Strigonium,
B roſe with his army and retired again to Buda: whereas he was making a bridge of boats ouer
the Danubius betwixt Buda and Peſth, for the more eaſie tranſporting of victuall, and better
relieuing of the one the other as need ſhould require, and hauing brought that worke to paſſe,
and about to haue gone to the ſiege of Strigonium; commandement came from the Great
Sultan, That he ſhould with all ſpeed returne to Conſtantinople, for that *Mahomet* accounting
of him as of a moſt valiant man, was now minded to imploy him in his wars againſt his Rebels
in Natolia, where things now went not well, as ſhall be hereafter declared. Vpon which commandement,
the Baſſa gaue leaue to all ſuch in his army as had charge of any place, forthwith
to returne to their ſeuerall places of gouernment: appointing ſome others with thirty thouſand
ſoldiers, in the company of *Zachel Moſes* (but of late Prince *Sigiſmund* his Lieutenant) to
C go with him into Tranſyluania: who after the ouerthrow he had there receiued by *Baſta*, was
come vnto this great Baſſa, offering vnto him, with ſuch an aid as was now appointed for him,
and the helpe of ſuch other his friends as he had in Tranſyluania, to chaſe *Baſta* with his Germans
out from thence, and to reduce that Prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman*
Emperors, as it had in former time beene. And ſo by the way of Belgrade *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelfe
with the reſt of his army haſted towards Conſtantinople. Which he was thought the
more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his ſetting forth had put him in good
hope to marry one of his Aunts (a woman of great wealth and honour) if by the winning again
of Alba Regalis he ſhould make himſelfe worthy ſo honourable a match, after which he now
longed.

D But long it was not after his departure, but that the Imperials now at laſt aſſembled together
at Comara, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelue * Naſſadies and two gallies, ſome
by water, ſome by land, marched downe alongſt the riuer to Strigonium; where were alſo 20
other ſhips ready to receiue them, and ſo all embarked, were by the Lord *Ruſſworm* and other
the Imperiall captaines conducted to Buda, there with ſome notable enterpriſe to redeeme
the diſgrace by them before receiued in not relieuing of Alba Regalis. Whoſe comming
was ſo ſudden and ſo vnlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in
any greater helpe or prouiſion than was already in the city. And for as much as the Chriſtians
knew the good ſucceſſe of this their enterpriſe taken in hand, not ſo much to depend of
their ſtrength, as of their politique proceeding and ſpeedy diſpatch of the matter begun, they
E thought it not good to vſe any long delay, or to ſpare for any labor, but ſo ſoone as they might,
by taking the Water-city (or as ſome call it, the Iewes ſuburbs) ſo to cut off the paſſage of
them of Buda to Peſth, as alſo from thence to trouble them in the caſtle and the vpper city of
Buda. Which their intended exploit they happily attempted & brought to paſſe in this ſort:
The city of Peſth ſtanding right ouer againſt Buda, is (as we haue oftentimes before ſaid) diuided
from the ſame with the great and ſwift riuer of Danubius; ouer which the Turks vpon
boats had with great labor and coſt of late built a moſt eaſie and commodious bridge for paſſage
or carriage of things from the one city to the other. This bridge the Imperials thought
neceſſary firſt to break, the more eaſily to beſiege either the one or the other city; and for that
purpoſe had by a ſtrange deuice built a ſhip, which by the force of the ſtreame carried downe
F the riuer, and reſting vpon the bridge, ſhould by a wonderfull power breake the ſame. Which
ſhip the Turks ſeeing comming downe the riuer with the reſt of the Fleet after her, they ran
by heapes, eſpecially out of the Water City, to the bridge for the defence thereof: where
whilſt they were thus buſied, County *Sultze* on the other ſide by land with a petard blew vp
one

*The Naſſadies are a certaine kinde of boats which the Hungarians uſe vpon the Riuer of Danubius.

The lower city of Buda taken by the Chriſtians.

one of the gates of the city, and ſo entering and killing all ſuch as he light vpon, came vnlooked for vpon the backs of the Turks at the bridge, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he draue into the riuer, who there periſhed; the reſt, in number not many, by ſpeedy flight retiring themſelues into the city: whereupon he had now brought ſuch a generall feare, that they all as well the ſouldiers as the citiſens, with the Chriſtians at their heeles, with as much haſte as they could tooke their refuge into the vpper city of Buda, much ſtronger and better fortified than was the lower city. At which time the bridge was by them vpon the riuer broken alſo, ſo that now the one city could no more relieue the other as before. G

The Water-city thus woon, and the bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to beſiege either the one or the other city. But for that they of Peſth might with their great Ordnance much anoy them in the beſieging of the caſtle and the vpper city of Buda, they thought beſt to begin with it firſt: which they did in much like ſort as they had before don at the lower city of Buda, the ſame deuice againe well proſpering in their hand. For the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the fleet vpon the riuer making a great ſhew as if he would euen preſently on that ſide haue entered, had with the ſtirre by him raiſed, drawne downe moſt part of the garriſon ſouldiers vnto that ſide of the towne, where moſt ſhew of danger was: whileſt in the meane time County *Sultze* with the Gouernor of Althem (before vndiſcouered) vpon the ſudden by land ſcaled the other ſide of the city, and gained the wals, the Turks yet dreaming of no ſuch matter. But hereupon began a terrible outcry, the Turks ſtanding as men aſtonied, eſpecially now feeling the Chriſtians weapons in their bodies, before they knew they were got into the city. In this ſo great an amaſement, ſuch of them as could, fled into the ſtrongeſt towers, the reſt hid themſelues in cellars and other the moſt ſecret corners they could finde, out of which they were afterwards by the Chriſtians drawne and ſlaine. They which were retired alſo into the towers and other ſtronger places of the city, ſeeing the great ordnance bent vpon them, and now out of all hope of reliefe, offered to yeeld; requeſting onely, that they might with their wiues and children with life depart; promiſing for that fauour ſo ſhewed them, to perſuade them of Buda alſo in like manner to yeeld. Vpon which promiſe, that their poore requeſt was granted, and the Lord *Nadaſti* with certaine other Captaines ſent with ſome of theſe citiſens to Peſth, with their wiues and children to Buda: who comming thither, according to their promiſe moſt earneſtly requeſted them of Buda to yeeld, for that they were not now to expect any further helpe, and that by their fooliſh obſtinacy they ſhould be the cauſe of the death of them, their friends, their wiues and children. Vnto whom alſo, to moue them the more, the Lord *Nadaſti* promiſed in the name of the Generall, That they ſhould all excepting ſome of their chiefe commanders in ſafety depart. Howbeit they of Buda would not hearken thereunto, but ſtood ſtill vpon their gard. In this city of Peſth, well inhabited with Turkiſh Merchants, the Chriſtians found great ſtore of wealth, which all became a prey vnto the ſouldiers, with a thouſand horſes for ſeruice, many great pieces of artillery, and much other warlike prouiſion. H I K

The City of Peſth taken by the Chriſtians.

The vpper city and caſtle of Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Peſth thus woon, and a ſtrong garriſon left therein, they returned againe ouer the riuer to beſiege the caſtle and vpper city of Buda, which they attempted by vndermining the ſame, as alſo by battery, hauing placed ſome of their great ordnance ſo high, that they could at their pleaſure ſhoot into the middeſt of the ſtreets of the city; wherewith they much troubled the Turks, not a little before diſcouraged with the loſſe of Peſth; thundering alſo at the ſame time with their other batteries in diuers places of the walls both of the caſtle and of the city. Where vnderſtanding that the Turks garriſons of the frontier Townes and Caſtles thereabouts (hearing of the ſiege) were comming to the reliefe of their diſtreſſed friends, they ſent out their horſemen with ſome part of their footmen againſt them: who meeting with them, gaue them a great ouerthrow, and ſo with victory returned againe vnto the reſt of the Army lying at the ſiege, being ſtill in hope either by force or compoſition to become Maſters of the city. L

But whileſt they lay in this hope, and hauing the twelfth of October brought their approches neerer vnto the walls, had there planted certaine notable pieces of battery, with purpoſe the next day with all their power to haue aſſaulted the City; behold, the Viſier Baſſa hearing (by the way as he was going to Belgrade, and ſo to Conſtantinople) that the city of Peſth M

A was won, and Buda beſieged; changing his mind, returned in haſte with ſuch forces as he had yet left, and ſo vnlooked for came and ſet downe before Peſth, being not then aboue fiue and twenty thouſand ſtrong, but thoſe all for the moſt part old and expert ſouldiers. But whileſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of Peſth on the one ſide of the riuer, and the Imperials at the ſiege of Buda on the other, diuers braue attempts were in both places giuen both on the one ſide and the other. The Chriſtians in Peſth beſieged by the Turks, hauing amongſt them diuers braue captains, and deſirous of honor, one day vnder their conduct ſallied out of the city to skirmiſh with the Turks; and comming with them to the ſword, by plaine valor diſordered them, and enforced them to fly, & ſo allured with the ſweetneſſe of the victory, purſued them euen to the trenches: from whence a great ſquadron of the Turks horſemen and harquebuſiers B at the ſame inſtant iſſuing out, and with their multitude ouercharging the Imperials, conſtrained them of force to retire: in which retreat, County *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of theſe aduenturers) doing what he might both with his valour and direction to haue ſtaied the diſordered retreat of the Chriſtians, was with many others ſlaine: wherewith the reſt diſcouraged, tooke their refuge towards the city. Which they of the garriſon beholding, ſent out certaine companies to relieue them; by whoſe comming out, the fury of the Turks was not onely repreſſed, but they alſo euen vnto their trenches againe repulſed. Shortly after which hot skirmiſhes, the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the other Chriſtian Captaines on the other ſide of the riuer, hauing with continual battery made ſuch a breach into the caſtle, as that the ſame ſeemed to be now ſaultable, in good order came on with certaine companies of their footmen appointed C for that ſeruice, and ſo couragiouſly aſſailed the breach: where the Turks, who before had expected this aſſault, hauing in beſt ſort they could repaired the breach, and on both ſides thereof placed diuers murthering pieces, with great ſtore of dangerous fire-workes; at ſuch time as the firſt companies of the Chriſtians ſought couragiouſly to haue entred the breach, ouerwhelmed them with that deadly fire, and ſo rent them with their murthering ſhot, that they no faſter entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and ſlaine: with the ſight whereof, they which were appointed to ſecond them, nothing diſcouraged, but ſeeking deſperatly to haue entered, and with the taking of the caſtle, and ſlaughter of the Turks, to haue requited the death of their fellowes, were themſelues in like ſort welcommed. So that now a thouſand of them being loſt, the Captaines conſidering how much the loſſe of ſo many braue ſouldiers D concerned the whole enterpriſe taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the loſſe of the greateſt part of them, they cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo the aſſault for that time to be giuen ouer.

A notable skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

But long is was not that the Viſier Baſſa (thus retired as aforeſaid) had lien before Peſth, but that by reaſon of his ſudden returne, great wants began to ariſe in his camp; his ſouldiers for want of food being glad to eat their dead horſes, a pound of bread being ſold for two Hungarian Duckats, and a buſhel of oates for fiue, and yet hardly ſo to be gotten: which wants in that ſo waſted a country ſtill more and more encreaſing, and many of his ſoldiers ſecretly ſtealing away from him, hee had much adoe by all the meanes he could vſe, to perſuade them there to ſtay eight daies longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done, than ſome few weake E attempts giuen, and ſome light skirmiſhes made, rather for faſhions ſake than for any hope of preuailing; and the want of all things ſtill encreaſing: he with the reſt of the Commanders fearing ſome ſudden miſchiefe to be done them by the hungry and diſcontented ſouldiers, the ſecond of Nouember, cauſing his baggage to be truſſed vp in the dead time of the darke and ſilent night, riſe with his army, and ſo in haſte retired directly to Belgrade, leauing behind him in his camp three hundred dead horſes, not yet eaten by his hunger ſtarued ſouldiers. Immediatly after whoſe departure, the Lord *Nadaſti* and ſome other of the commanders in the army, with fiue thouſand ſouldiers and certaine great pieces of artillery, ſome by land, ſome by water, went downe alongſt the riuer to Adom, a faire well built towne vpon the banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from Buda, and ſeruing as it were for a F ſtorehouſe for the garriſon there: Which towne *Nadaſti* ſummoned by his Huſſars ſent before, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Which they of the towne at firſt refuſed to do: but afterwards ſeeing a far greater power come, prouided of great ordnance and all things elſe requiſite for a ſiege, they with the ſight thereof diſcouraged, without more adoe offered

The Viſier Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

to yeeld the towne, ſo that they might with bag and baggage in ſafety depart: which they did, the Chriſtians conducting them as far as Feldwar, which caſtle was alſo at the firſt ſummons, by the perſuaſion of them of Adom deliuered vnto them: for they of the caſtle, by them enformed of the great ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and of the ſtore of great ordnance they had brought with them, and that they ſtaied therewith but faſt by, were eaſily perſuaded to hearken to their friends, and ſo yeelded. Which done, the free Haiducks the ſame night ſurpriſed alſo the caſtle of Pax: from whence the Chriſtians ſtill marching on alongſt the riuer, tooke in alſo the city of Tolna.

But whileſt *Nadaſti* with the reſt were thus buſied in taking theſe caſtles and towns alongſt the South ſide of Danubius, they in the camp at Buda were aduertiſed of the new deſignes of the Turks Lieutenants and Captaines thereabout, for the reliefe of the beſieged: as that the Baſſa of Boſna, with the Gouernours of Caniſia, Sigeth, and others, had aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand for the raiſing of the ſiege. Wherefore the Chriſtians doubting as they lay at the ſiege diſperſed, to be by them oppreſſed; leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered themſelues together into the Water city: which the Turks out of the vpper city quickly perceiuing, as feeling themſelues now at ſome more liberty, preſently ſallying out, took both the trenches and the tents ſo left, with no ſmall ſlaughter of ſuch as were left for the keeping of them: and ſo poſſeſſed of the trenches and the tents, held them by the ſpace of two houres, vntill they were by ſtrong hand by the Chriſtians beaten out, and ſo with ſome loſſe inforced againe to retire into the city. The Lord *Nadaſti* alſo, with the reſt that had taken the aforeſaid caſtles and towns vpon the ſide of Danubius, making a rode towards Alba-Regalis, in their return within a mile of Buda light vpon a thouſand Turks there gathered together, moſt part of whom they ſlew, and hauing put the reſt to flight, took ſome fifty of them priſoners. At which time alſo another of the Imperiall Colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the Turks comming to the reliefe of the beſieged, not far from Buda, ſlew moſt part of them, took an hundred and threeſcore of them priſoners, with a number of horſes and much other rich booty, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the ſiege in the meane time idle, their great artillery ſtill thundering againſt the walls both of the caſtle and the city: ſo that by the fury of the cannon hauing beaten downe a ſtrong tower next vnto the Danubius, not far from the kings ſtable, they were a little before night about to haue there entered, when ſuddenly ſuch a tempeſt of winde and raine ariſe, as that they could not poſſibly vſe their pieces, or well any other weapon: ſo that the heauens as it were then fighting for the enemy, they were enforced for that time to giue ouer the aſſault begun. Which ſtorme was no ſooner ended, but that two thouſand of the Turks both horſe and foot, to keepe the Chriſtians otherwiſe buſied, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the city, charged vpon the Stirian horſemen; who preſently relieued by the men at armes, ſo welcommed them, that hauing loſt an hundred and threeſcore of their men, they were glad with more ſpeed to retire, than they came out. But ſeeing ſome of the Chriſtians that ſo hardly purſued them, ſome ſlaine, and ſome hurt from the wals; taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they ſallied out againe; where albeit that a great number of them were ſlaine, yet fell they out againe the third day alſo, and were againe by the County *Thurne* with great loſſe of their men beaten backe into the city: where in purſuing of them, the Chriſtians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid cloſe for that purpoſe) ſuddenly aſſailed and dangerouſly gauled, the County himſelfe being hurt in his left arme, and ſome other Captaines ſlaine. In all which ſallies, although the Turks were ſtill put to the worſe, yet thereby they gained time in ſome good ſort to repaire againe their breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the ſiege, certainly enformed that a world of the fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themſelues way through Valachia) were comming as far as Temeſwar to relieue Buda; thought it not beſt (eſpecially now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that ſo great a Northerne tempeſt, but betimes whileſt they had yet ſpace, to raiſe their ſiege and be gone: Which they did the fifteenth of Nouember, leauing the Water city, with all that they had got about Buda, againe vnto the enemy: onely Peſth they furniſhed with victuals and all things elſe neceſſary, leauing therin almoſt ten thouſand ſoldiers in garriſon, for the defence therof againſt the barbarous

The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians.

A rous enemy. As for Adom it was ſtrengthened with a garriſon of Hungarians only, with their
wages offred to be paid before hand, which for all that, they refuſed to accept; alledging that
for the great danger this place was expoſed vnto aboue others, they could not ſafely take their
oath for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to do what beſeemed
valiant ſoldiers, in ſuch ſort as that all men ſhould well vnderſtand, that nothing euill
ſhould happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and
gone, the Turks forthwith came downe out of the higher city into the lower, declaring their
joy for the recouery thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordnance, with diuers other
ſignes of triumph. But whileſt in their jolity they ſpared not by the mouth of the cannon to
B ſend commendation to them of Peſth, they from them againe receiued the like; but in ſuch
rude manner, that the Turks wearied with ſuch greetings, requeſted them to ſpare their ſhot
and pouder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbors for that Winter, vntill the next
Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this ſtrife ſhould be ended by their Emperors,
the weaker yeelding vnto the ſtronger either the one or the other city. Yet for all this their
great joy, their cheere in Buda was not great, victuals by this ſiege being become ſo ſcarce,
that it was by the Turks feared, That if the Chriſtians had there longer lien, they ſhould for
very want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the city. Of which their need their friends not
ignorant, and hauing made what prouiſion they were able for their reliefe, were with a great
conuoy bringing the ſame towards Buda: whereof the garriſons of Comara and Strigonium
C hauing intelligence, went preſently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid way betwixt
Alba Regalis and Buda, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouiſion of victuals;
like vnbidden gueſts making themſelues merry with that which was neuer prouided for
them.

Theſe doubtfull wars of Hungary, with the general reuolt of Tranſyluania much troubled
Mahomet the great Sultan; but nothing like vnto the wars he had in Aſia againſt the *Scriuano*
and the rebels his followers; the euill ſucceſſe whereof (as moſt dangerous to his State) ſo
much tormented his haughty minde, as that it would ſcarce ſuffer him to thinke of any thing
els. For the Rebel encouraged with the ſucceſſe of the laſt yeares wars, and ſtil growing ſtronger
and ſtronger, (by reaſon of the great number which, allured with the ſweet name of liberty,
D hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, dayly more and more reſorted vnto
his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Aſia, putting all to
fire and ſword that ſtood in his way, ranſacking alſo diuers walled and fenced cities by the way
as he went. Which he might the more eaſily do, for that the Ianizaries of Aleppo and Damaſco,
with many other their partakers and fauorits, which might greatly haue hindred his proceedings,
were at the ſame time alſo vp in arms, and together by the ears amongſt themſelues,
to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the midſt of the courſe of theſe his deſired fortunes
fell ſicke of a natural diſeaſe, and ſo died. By whoſe death the rebellion was no whit appeaſed,
(as commonly in like caſe it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in ſhort time
grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scriuano* was no ſooner
E dead, but that a yonger brother of his, no leſſe warlike & couragious than himſelf (to the great
contentment of the rebellious) ſtept vp in his place, fiercely proſecuting the wars his brother
had before him taken in hand. Againſt whom *Haſſan Baſſa* by commandement from the grand
Seignior with a great army ſetting forward, with hope in that newneſſe of his command to
haue oppreſſed him, and ſo to haue quenched that ſo ſpreading a fire; at length met with him,
that was eaſie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and
bloudy fight ouerthrowne and ſlaine together with his whole army, except ſuch as by ſpeedy
flight ſaued themſelues from the fury of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan
now enforced to employ his beſt commanders and ſoldiers into thoſe parts for the ſubduing
of him, for that cauſe called *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of Hungary to ſerue againſt
F this new Rebell: who in the meane time following the courſe of his victory, made hauocke of
all as he went, taking vnto his owne vſe all ſuch tribute as was in thoſe Countries and others
alſo farther off, due vnto the great Sultan, hauing of late exacted onely of the city of Ancyra
and

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuano.

The death of the Scriuano.

The Scriuano his yonger brother takes vpon him the leading of the Rebels in his brothers ſtead.

Haſſan Baſſa ſlaine, and his army ouerthrowne by the Rebels.

and the country thereabout, three hundred thouſand duckats: ſo by exacting of great ſummes G of mony from the country people (ſuch as be his enemies) heaping vp great treaſures for the maintenance of his wars,

Diuers incurſions of the Tartars into the frontiers of the Emperours territories, and much harme by them there don.

Now that *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor had called home *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of Hungary, to go againſt the Rebels in Aſia, (as is aforeſaid) yet had he before prouided, that for the better aſſurance of his townes and territories in Hungary, the Tartar *Han* with a great power of his Crim Tartars ſhould euen againſt that time come downe into that countrey. Which rough and needy people dwelling neere vnto the fennes of Mœtis, for pay or prey alwaies ready to do the *Othoman* Emperors ſeruice, ſetting forward vnder the leading of their great *Han* himſelfe, and of his two ſonnes, and by plaine force breaking through Valachia, though not without great loſſe of their men (being fought with by the Valachians and free H Haiducks a whole day) were now in the later end of December with their huge companies come into Hungary; the *Han* himſelfe with forty thouſand to Quinque Eccleſiæ, and his ſons with twenty thouſand moe into Poſſega (a fertile Countrey lying betweene the great riuers Sauus and Drauus) where they ſpoiled all as well the Turks as the other poore Chriſtians, pretending all that frontier country with the whole command thereof to be giuen vnto them by *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperor in reward of their good ſeruice. But long they lay not there quiet, but that to ſhew for what they came, they enforced the Chriſtians thereabout to victual Caniſia for the Turks: and ſo breaking into Stiria, not far from Caramant (the neereſt Fortreſſe of the Chriſtians towards Caniſia) carried away aboue two thouſand Chriſtians captiues: and ſhortly after ſurpriſing Keſchemet a great and populous towne, ſlew moſt part of I the inhabitants, and carried away the reſt priſoners. Other ſome of them alſo at the ſame time making an inrode to Sharuar, and hauing burnt twenty villages downe to the ground, carried away thence about a thouſand ſoules into moſt miſerably captiuity and thraldome. They alſo at their firſt comming relieued them of Buda, the Lord *Nadaſti* with his Huſſars, who before kept them from victuals, not being able for the great number of them, now longer ſo to do. By them alſo the Turks encouraged, tooke and burnt certaine places poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians neere vnto Buda, putting them all to the ſword that they found therin. So that the poore country of Hungary (neuer to be ſufficiently pittied) with the reſt of the countries and prouinces belonging vnto the houſe of Auſtria, and confining vpon the Turke, were not ſo much eaſed by the calling home of the Viſier Baſſa with his army, as they were now annoyed by the com- K ming of theſe roguiſh Tartars, a people wholly euen from their infancy giuen to the ſpoyle. Againſt whom for all that, the Chriſtians beſide their ordinary garriſons, began now euen in the depth of Winter to oppoſe ſome other of their forces alſo: the Palatine of Rhine ſending ten companies of horſemen to Poſſonium, from thence to be ſent to Sharuar for the defence of Stiria: and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the Emperour) for his part raiſing foure hundred horſe, a thouſand Huſſars, and three thouſand of the free Hiaducks for the repreſſing of thoſe Tartars: the Duke of Brunſewicke alſo at that time for the ſame ſeruice ſending thither a thouſand horſe with two thouſand foot, againſt thoſe ſworne Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion.

⁂

1603.

THe troubles of this year thus ouerpaſt, Alba Regalis being by the Chriſtians loſt, Peſth with ſome other places won, Tranſylvania recouered, Buda beſieged, the Viſier Baſſa returned, and the Tartars come into Hungary; Ianuary with a ſharp froſt began to open the next yeare, by force wherof the riuers in many places, but eſpecially in thoſe more Eaſterly countries, were not only frozen ouer, but ſeemed rather euen wholly turned into Ice: Danubius that great riuer, for all his ſwift courſe, being then alſo, as it is often, ſo hard frozen, that men and carts might ſafely paſſe to and fro thereupon. Which ſo hard a ſeaſon for all that, did no whit freeſe but rather increaſe the hot deſires of the greedy Turks, ſtill breathing after the vtter ſpoil and ruin of the Chriſtians dwelling neer vnto them. For which purpoſe they euen in this dead time of the year, and extremity of weather (which commonly affordeth vnto moſt mortal enemies a ceſſation from arms) out of their garriſons of Sigeth, Buda, Caniſia, Alba-Regalis, Babotz, and ſuch other places, raiſed an army of eighteen thouſand ſtrong, to haue forraged and ouer-runne the Chriſtians, with their territories confining vpon them; Quermanie with the Countrey therabout being the places by them aſſigned to haue felt the firſt force of their ſudden rage and fury.

The Turkes in arms againſt the Chriſtians.

Of theſe their deſignes *Collonitz* Gouernor for the Emperor in thoſe parts vnderſtanding, to preuent the ſame, & to meet with their forces, with al ſpeed put into the ſuburbs of Quermanie a thouſand Reiſters, and two thouſand Lanſquenets; and in the burroughs thereabouts laded the regiment of the County *Reingraue* with ſix companies of Coſſacks, four thouſand Haiducks, four hundred Carabins, French, and Wallons, two hundred horſe of the Regiment of *Collonitz*; with whom was *Collonitz* himſelf, commanding ouer all theſe troups: a man for his worth euery way anſwerable vnto his charge. Who for the more aſſurance of this Countrey, ouer which the enemy now houered, commanded all the inhabitants therabout to take vp arms; and withall, with good and ſtrong barricado's to ſtrengthen the waies, and to ſtop vp the paſſages into their country: which they right cheerfully performed, with their weapons in the one hand, and their ſpades and ſhouels in the other. Of which their ſo great reſolution the Turkes vnderſtanding, changed their purpoſe. For they conſidering the aſſured danger they were to vndergo in forcing of theſe troups, ſtanding vpon the walls of their defence, and ſtrong in their reſolution, changed their former deſigne for the inuading of Quermany, where they by the ſpace of fiue weeks together had bin by the Chriſtians expected; and vpon a new reſolution marched along by Roquesbourg, with purpoſe to haue loded themſelues with the ſpoil of the country therabout.

Colonitz prepareth againſt the Turks.

This their new deſigne cauſed *Collonitz* to gather his forces together, to croſſe and fruſtrat them therin. Which he did by fauor of the riuer, which both ſtrengthned him againſt their incurſions, and was wel to be defended. But the Turkes, whoſe purpoſe was not to fight, but to haue robbed and ſpoiled the country at their pleaſure; finding now contrary to their expectation ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, and their deſignes diſturbed, in fine gaue ouer their enterpriſe and ſo again retyred; contenting themſelues to haue gathered a conuoy of victuals to put into Caniſia, which then lay in great extremity for want therof. Which victuals they drew out of the villages therabout, and ſo came to Babotz to march to Caniſia, a town moſt commodious for ſuch an aſſembly, and for the relieuing of Caniſia. Of this their purpoſe *Collonitz* (who ſpared for no coſt) by his eſpials aduertiſed, euen hee which before was appointed as a prey vnto his enemies, began now to plot with himſelfe, that they ſhould become a prey vnto him: their cowardiſe, by many precedent effects declared, had giuen him the mean to aduenture vpon them, and the hope to ouerthrow them. A neceſſary conſideration in martiall affairs, for Commanders to put in execution their deſignes, at what price ſoeuer: for that it is better to loſe in the performance of them, with preſeruation of their reputation, than otherwiſe to gain with the loſſe therof; for that it preſerued, ſtil ſtriketh a fear of their valour into the minds of their enemies, oftentimes ouercome euen with this their apprehenſion thereof: whereas otherwiſe they might haply ouercome, in the aſſurance by them conceiued of their enemies cowardiſe.

Vpon which reſolution this braue Colonell the four and twentieth day of March with his Troupes marched towards the little Comara, being about two leagues from Caniſia, and lay with them cloſe in ambuſh in the woods neer vnto two mariſhes,ouer which the Turkes had made two bridges to paſſe the great artillery and Waggons vpon; the Turks being well neer 20000 ſtrong,and our men but 2200 horſmen,& 6000 foot, a ſmal number in compariſon of their enemies. But whilſt that theſe men lie thus cloſe in ambuſh,with a purpoſe to do ſome notable exploit,let vs for a while return to Peſth, to ſee what things there paſſed in the mean time.

The Turks after the loſſe of Peſth,much grieued to haue this impoſtume ſo neer vnto their hearts,ſought to break it to our hurt,imploying all their treachery to gain our gariſon ſouldiers , and with their forces to diſtreſſe them of victuals. And the Chriſtian Army was no ſooner riſen from before Buda, but that the Turkes came downe again into their baſe towne, which they found much ruinated and in euill eſtate: but the joy of their conqueſt buried in it all the obiect of their ſorrow,and the feeling of their grief;the leſſer paſſions alwaies giuing place vnto the greater,and ſorrow finding no place at all in the midſt of their immoderat joy. Wherof they gaue a number of teſtimonies, by the thundering of their great ordnance, by fires of joy,and vollies of ſmall ſhot; all which in their fury they diſcharged vpon them of Peſth: who with the like curteſie requited them,ſending them back again bullets for bullets. Which now became a common exerciſe among the canoniers,paſſing the time in theſe actions,more vpon a brauery than to any purpoſe, ſmall harm being don therby either on the one ſide or on the other: in ſuch ſort,that in the end the Turks better aduiſed, requeſted our men to ceaſe from ſuch ſhooting, as they on their part would do likewiſe,and to expect the end of the negotiation of peace,of a certain begun(as they ſaid)betwixt their two princes. But purpoſing indeed by this means to ſpare their pouder,ſhot,& pains, and to reſerue them to their better vſes.

Buda diſtreſſed for want of victuals.

The Turks ouerthrown by the Chriſtians.

And yet for all this triumphant ioy, the Turks in Buda were in great want of victuals, the late ſiege hauing deuoured all their prouiſions, and no new ſupply thereof as yet come vnto them: inſomuch that their greateſt care was now how to come by victuals, without which they muſt needs forſake the city. Of which their ſo great neceſſities the other garriſons in the places therabout aduertiſed, aſſembled themſelues to take order therfore; and hauing prouided 200 wagons loden with all maner of neceſſary prouiſions at Alba-Regalis, with a conuoy of ſix thouſand ſoldiers put themſelues vpon the way toward Buda. Of all which their proceedings the garriſon of Strigonium hauing got vnderſtanding, and joining vnto them the garriſon of Comara, met with them vpon the way betwixt Alba-Regalis, and charged them; and ſo with great confidence came on both ſides to handy blowes, the Turkes beeing in number ſtronger, and our men in valour and reſolution; the Waggons in the meane time ſtanding ſtill as the motiue of the charge,and appointed for a prey vnto the Victors. But our horſmen being for moſt part Huſſars, wel acquainted with ſuch charges, with their diuers courſes greatly troubled the enemy; our footmen in the mean time charging them alſo with a number of harquebuſiers. Againſt whom the Turkes with the ſame arms and like courage defending themſelues, but many of them being ſlaine,and their Wagons gained from them, they were forced to giue place,and ſo were almoſt all cut in pieces. The Waggons thus ſurpriſed,were diuided as a rich booty among the Victors; forty wherof were ſent to the gariſon at Peſth,who were wel content that the enemies trauell and wealth had bin gathered for their good,and without any pains of their own,to ſolace themſelues with the fruit of their enemies labours.

But what ſhould we ſay? the moſt ſure reſolutions are ſomtimes by chances croſſed , and tempeſts otherwhiles ouertake vs euen in the very entrance of the deſired port. The Turks of Buda vnderſtanding of the brute of this medley,and that it was for their bread, poſted in all haſte to haue ſuccoured their Troupes,and arriued at the ſame time that our men victoriouſly led alongſt by the riuer of Danubius the Waggons which they had before gained. At the ſight of which obiect they animated with hunger after the victuals, and with deſire to be reuenged vpon them, fiercely charged them. So that our men,who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious and poſſeſſed of their enemies booty, ſeeing theſe new come Enemies ſo furiouſly to charge them,daunted with the preſent peril, and with the conſideration thereof only poſſeſſed, bethought themſelues of nothing elſe but how to ſaue themſelues,

A and to leaue their honour, booty, and the field, all as ſpoiles vnto their enemies. The furious
countenance of the Turkes, and their number ſurmounting ours by 1500, ſo bereft them of
their reſoluton for to fight for their liues and waggons, as that they without more adoe quite
forſook them, accounting themſelues happy enough if they might but ſaue themſelues. And
the Turks without farther purſuing of them, contented to haue recouered their victuals, left
them, and ſo returned homeward, driuing their waggons along the banke of Danubius. But
ſee, the winde which by and by changed, and hauing as it were with a ſudden tempeſt vnderta-
ken euen at the entrance of the port to ſwallow vp both the one and the other, ſent the garri-
ſon of Peſth vpon them of Buda to ſtay them. Great changes of fortune in one moment
of time, which mocketh men with ſhewes, bringing forth effects quite contrary to their ex-
B pectation. Theſe Turks ſtaid vpon their retreat by the comming of theſe new come aduerſa-
ries, did euen as ours had done before. For not willing to prefer their goods before their life,
and more greedy of victuall than of battel, they quitted their prize, and retyred. For our men
in number two thouſand, were ſeized of a forreſt about the midſt of the way whereby the
Turks were to paſſe, & which they could by no means ſhun, and diuided into two companies,
kept themſelues cloſe there in ambuſh, reſolutely attending for the comming of their ene-
mies. Of which their purpoſe the Turks not aware, and ſtil preſſing on forward, found them-
ſelues hardly charged before they could ſee them by whom they were ſo charged; one of our
companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks incloſed betwixt
them, and in ſo great and ſudden a fear not knowing againſt whom to defend themſelues with-
C out any great reſiſtance betooke themſelues to flight, leauing their wagons, and caſting away
their armes: yet ſo, that a number of them were left dead vpon the place, ſome others of them
taken priſoners, and the reſt chaſed euen vnto the gates of the City. But our men being vi-
ctors, with the waggons, and a number of priſoners returned home, and by the mouth of their
great artillerie gaue a thouſand teſtimonies of their victory vnto the ſorrowfull cowards, who
themſelues alſo carried the heauy newes thereof vnto the reſt of their fellowes ſhut vp within
the City of Buda.

But ſee againe the change of Fortune, conſtant only in vnconſtancie, as the ſequell ſhortly
after ſhewed. Danubius that great riuer was then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that men
and carts might now ſafely paſſe too and fro thereupon. In which ſo hard ſeaſon, the Turks
D in garriſon at Buda hauing once vpon the frozen riuer braued the Chriſtians in Peſth, and the
two and twentieth of Ianuary in like brauery comming out the ſecond time, were by the gar-
riſon ſoldiers of Peſth put to flight, and by two hundred of the moſt forward and valiant ſol-
diers hardly purſued, vpon whom, not only they which fled, but others of the Turks alſo out of
Buda in greater number returning, chaſed them likewiſe back againe euen to the bridge, wher-
by they were to haue paſſed into the City: which now drawne vp for feare of greater harme
from ſuch a number of Turks as were now come out, and were ready to haue entred at the
heeles of the flying ſoldiers, the poore ſoules ſo ſhut out, and too weake for ſuch a multitude
as then had them in chaſe, were there euen in their friends ſight euery man ſlaine, the Turks
themſelues with little harme returning to Buda.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Peſth ouerthrowne.

E Neither long laſted the ioy of this victory: for within a few days after, one *Lethner* a Cap-
taine of the Chriſtian garriſon in Peſth, more grieued than the reſt with the loſſe of ſo many
valiant men, and ſome of them his friends and companions alſo, certainly vnderſtanding
that certaine of the chiefe of the Turks of Buda, with two of their greateſt Comman-
ders, and a great traine of gallant Gentlewomen, were for their pleaſure the next day about
to goe vnto the hot Bathes neere vnto Buda; and taking with him threeſcore musketiers,
the night before ſecretly vpon the yce paſſed ouer the River, and ſo not farre from the
Bathes lay cloſe in ambuſh, expecting the comming of their deſired prey. In which ex-
pectance they lay not long, but that theſe Turks fearing no perill, came accordingly as they
could haue wiſhed, and in thoſe pleaſant Bathes merrily bathed and ſolaced themſelues:
F Fooles to ſeeke after the pleaſures of peace amidſt the gulfe of the miſeries of warre, and
euill aduiſed, to aſſure themſelues of faire weather in a ſtorme ſo neere at hand. For in the
midſt of all their delights theſe reſolute men came ſuddenly vpon them, not fearing any

The Turks in bathing themſelues at Buda, by them of Peſth ſurpriſed and ſlaine.

ſuch danger, and ſlew all the men, ſparing none but one boy and the Gentlewomen: who in the G
time of the conflict, naked as they were, ran as faſt as they could into the city; fear hauing in them ouercome as then the modeſty of their ſex. Which exployt done, the Captain leauing the Turks ſlain in the bath (now become red with their blood) returned with his ſouldiers laded with the rich booty, and merrily ſporting at the naked gentlewomen. With whoſe fearfull cry they of Buda ſtirred vp, ſent out certaine of their garriſon after them, but to no purpoſe, for why, they were in ſafety before got home. By continuance of this froſt (by reaſon wherof victuals could not be ſent down the riuer) the garriſon ſouldiers of Peſth were driuen to ſuch wants, as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat among them; the Turks their enemies ſtill roaming about the fields, to keep them from victuals, and to increaſe their neceſſitie.

Great want of victuals in Peſth.

Of theſe neceſſities the Turks of Buda were partakers alſo, hunger-ſtarued like the other, H
but yet euery day in the field to ſeek relief. They knew right wel that hunger was hard to be deceiued, being ſtil in action and vigilant; and therfore they ſought ſome means how to deceiue our men ſtil attending vpon them, & ſo to aſſure themſelues of victuals. To which end they gaue it out, and made ſhew as if they would haue beſieged the fort of *Adom*, diſtant about two leagues from Buda: vnder colour wherof they receiued into their city a Conuoy of fifty wagons laded with victuals and munition; which our men hindred not, as hauing no ſuſpition of any ſuch purpoſe of theirs. With which reliefe the Turks incouraged, gaue knowledge therof vnto their ouerthwart neighbors in Peſth by a thouſand great ſhot, which they in thundering manner ſent ouer the riuer vnto them, as men of courage, and deuoid of feare. I
Howbeit that this action was more vain than profitable vnto the Turks, who for the diſpence of their ſhot and pouder gained not ſo much as the life of one ſouldier, nor one ſtone out of the walls of Peſth. Vpon this jolitie theſe ſame garriſon ſouldiers of Buda ſhortly after thought vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed Palotta, a ſmall caſtle of the Chriſtians by night. But being in good time diſcouered, they were deceiued of their hope, and with the loſſe of an hundred and twenty of their men inforced to retyre: vnto whom *Gaſpar Herwad* captain of the caſtle, by a country peaſant before ſworn to do the errand, ſent a little pot ful of ſalt, & a bottle of wine; willing them in deriſion, with that ſalt to ſeaſon the Veniſon they had taken in their late hunting, and with that bottle to quench their thirſt, and to cheer them vp after their late conqueſt.

Buda victualled.

This jeaſt did more prouoke theſe Enemies, galled ſo to heare of their ſhame and loſſe; in K
ſuch ſort, that in reuenge thereof they diſcharged a thundring ſhoure of great ſhot and ſmall bullets vpon the garriſon of Peſth, which in great aboundance fell out of the cloud of their rage. But all to ſmall purpoſe, for that their Cannons being euill leuelled, ouerſhot the Towne, carrying with their thundering bullets more feare than they did hurt; yea, that which worſe was, the ruine made by their great battery fell vpon their owne City. For whileſt they were thus thundering, fire by the negligence of the Cannoniers fell into one of their barrels of pouder, which taking hold of another, and ſo running along as if it had beene by a traine made of purpoſe, burſt out with ſuch force, that it ouerthrew a long piece in the walls of Buda, which in the fall thereof ouerwhelmed a great number of the ſouldiers that were neere L
vnto it. The noiſe of this thunder-clap was great, and the force thereof terrible, ſo that it reuiued them of Peſth with ſome good hope, by this breach to force the place, the Turkes being from thence retyred. Vpon which occaſion the Gouernour of Peſth reſolued to giue an aſſault vnto the place, and to make vſe of the mean that Fortune, without his paine or trauell had put into his hand. Whereupon taking with him a thouſand Almaines and three hundred Hungarians, he forthwith in hope of good ſucceſſe marched toward the breach, and happily had preuailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a company of Turkes, who gaue an alarm vnto them of the vpper town, who vpon the newes of their approach, manned their walls, and with great ſpeed repaired the breach. Now all that they of Peſth could do, was to reuenge themſelues vpon thoſe Turks they had met withall, who were there all ſlaine except M
ſome few, whom they ſaued and caried priſoners to Peſth, to be by them inſtructed of the enemies affairs.

About

A About this time *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia, aduertiſed that the Turks in garriſon at Sili-
ſtria were gon abroad into the country to ſeek after booty and victuals, with his ſoldiers paſ-
ſed forthwith ouer the riuer Danubius vpon the ice, to ſurpriſe the town bared of the garriſon:
whoſe men for the deſire of the riches of the place, & for fear leſt the garriſon ſoldiers ſhould
return before they had gained the place, with redoubled force & courage ſo aſſailed the town,
that the Turks diſmaied, and deeming the number of the Chriſtians that ſo furiouſly aſſailed
them to be greater than indeed it was, by reaſon of the greatnes of the enterpriſe by them ta-
ken in hand; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, left the way open for them to enter: Who forthwith
ouer the dead bodies of their enemies thruſt into the town, took the whole ſpoil therof, which
was both great & rich, as being a town well peopled; and ſo ſet fire on it, to the intent it ſhould
B no more ſerue as a place for the enemy to retyre vnto. The Vayuod thus victorious and rich,
returned with his ſoldiers laded with ſpoiles of their enemies, before the Turks could gather
themſelues together to hinder their retreit. And vnto *George Baſta* (who was then in Tranſyl-
vania in arms againſt the Turks) for his part of the booty he ſent him thirteen of the enemies
Enſignes.

Siliſtria ſpoild and burnt.

But our troupes are now too long in their ambuſh, where the valiant *Collonitz* holds them
cloſe, attending the comming of the Turkes and of their Conuoy to Caniſia; now we muſt
draw them out of their Sentinels, and ſee what effects their deſignes ſhall bring forth. Theſe
braue ſouldiers had now lien three daies in their ambuſhes without diſcouering of any Ene-
my; vntill that the ſixth day of March three Spies fel into their hands, whom the Turks had
C ſent forth before, to diſcouer what enemies were then abroad in the field. But theſe faithful
Infidels ſo taken, would not by any meanes diſcouer any thing hurtfull vnto their friends, or
profitable for ours. So that in fine, the General mooued with their obſtinacy, commaunded
one of their heads to be ſtrook off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them
what by faire intreaty and perſuaſion they could not. The other two that were yet aliue, diſ-
mayed with this ſpectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at laſt conſtrained to con-
feſſe, That they were the enemies Spies, ſent forth to view the Countrey, to ſee if the Chri-
ſtians had any forces there, able to hinder their Cannons and Wagons for entring into Cani-
ſia. Which not appearing, and they reporting vnto their Companies that the Country was
clear, that then within two daies after, the Conuoy was to paſſe euen by the ſame place where
D they then lay, to be put into Caniſia, ſetting forth from Babotz two houres before day. Our
men thus reſolued of the enemies deſignes, forced their hope to defeat them, and again retired
themſelues into their ambuſcado's, attending for their hoped prey, in ſuch ſort, that our men
in their conceits held the victory now as good as already gained, howbeit that it was yet but
in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two
hours after the taking of theſe ſpies, the Haiducks, layd without the principal ambuſcado, and
hidden within the thickets and buſhes, diſcouered a Cornet of horſemen, with fiue enſignes
of the Turks come out of Caniſia, marching to meet with the Conuoy, in ſafety to conduct
the ſame into the towne. At which ouerture the Hungarians awaked, gaue knowledge vnto
their Generall of the arriuall of the enemy, to the end he might reſolue what was beſt in that
E caſe to be done. Which opportunity *Colonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his
horſmen in good order, to incloſe the Turks betwixt the mariſh & the wood, and to cut them
ſo incloſed, in pieces. The Turks hauing diſcouered nothing but the marſhes & the woods,
held on their way, and ſo as men hauing their hands and feet bound, fell into the power of
their enemies. For being come into the danger, the Chriſtian Carabins charged them in the
head of their companies as they marched, & diſordered them; the Hungarians fel vpon their
flanks, which they opened; and the horſmen preſſed them at their backs. Theſe poor miſera-
ble men ſo incloſed, not knowing againſt whom firſt to defend themſelues, and ſeeing death
vpon euery ſide of them, became as beaſts to bee ſacrificed vnto the fury of the Chriſtians.
The ſmall reſiſtance that they made deſerued not the name of a fight, being all ſlaine, and ha-
F uing themſelues not ſlain one man; layd by heapes one vpon another, not hauing ouerthrown
ſo much as one of their enemies. In ſuch ſort, that of ſix hundred men that were there toge-
ther, there were not foure of them ſaued. Their horſemen which followed them, ſeeing they
were ſurpriſed, in ſtead of relieuing them, ſhameſully fled; and thinking by flight to ſaue
them-

The Turkes ouerthrowen by Collonitz.

themſelues while that their companions were in maſſacting, preferred their liues before their
honour; for if it be a ſhame for ſoldiers in fight to fly with the ſafety of their friends, it muſt G
needs be an irrepairable diſhonour to fly away and leaue them vnto the ſlaughter. But our
Carabins taking the occaſion for their aduantage, no more ſpared their horſes in the purſuit
of theſe Infidels, than they had don their hands in defeating their fellows: but haſtily purſuing
theſe fugitiues, ſlew a number of ſuch of them as were worſt mounted, and followed the
reſt euen to the gates of Caniſia. Thoſe of the town at this tumult raiſed an alarm, ſhot off
their great artillery, and diſcharged many vollies of ſmall ſhot againſt our men, as wel to ſtay
their purſuit & to ſaue their own, as to giue them warning that were to bring the conuoy, that
our men were ready in the field to ſurpriſe them. But during this fight, three of the Turkes
ſtout horſmen paſſing well mounted, aduentured to paſſe by our troups, and vpon the ſpur to
meet with them that were bringing the conuoy, and to giue them warning of the ouerthrow, H
that ſo they might again return to Babotz. Which their ſo braue an attempt fortune fauoured,
as not willing to fruſtrat the deſert of ſo worthy valour. Wherfore vpon this aduertiſement
they returned, and retyred themſelues againe into the Caſtle of Babotz from whence
they came.

Babotz in vain beſieged by Colonitz.

But our men aduertiſed of this their retreit, and as it were deceiued of their hope for intercepting
of the conuoy, vndertook an exploit much more haughty, braue and dangerous: for
forthwith they made head toward Babotz, with a reſolution to carry the place; and although
they were almoſt ſixteen miles from it, yet they reſolued to goe thither, and to make themſelues
maſters therof. And ſo marching cheerfully on, therin vſed ſuch diligence, that about I
nine a clock at night they arriued at the place: whither they were no ſooner come, but that
they did what they might to daunt their enemies, to make their conqueſt the more eaſie. The
greatnes of the attempt it ſelf ſerued well to that purpoſe, but yet the beleef more, if they
could driue into the enemies mind the ſufficiencie of their forces, for the performance of ſo
great an exploit; which cauſed them to ſound their trumpets, to ſtrike vp their drummes, to
remoue their artillery, to ruffle with their arms, to keep a ſtir with their ſoldiers, and to make
the noiſe not of a ſmall, but of a puiſſant and great army. But the Turks in number twice ſo
many as were our men, and within a good and ſtrong place, were not with ſuch a bruit to bee
carried away, but ſtanding faſt vpon their gard and reſolution, prepared themſelues for fight,
and how to receiue our men if they ſhould attempt to aſſail them. Now whileſt the alarmes K
thus ſounded, our companies aduanced, repeating oftentimes the name of *Ieſus*, and making
themſelues ready for to fight. This skirmiſh began with a thouſand cannon ſhot, which the
Turks out of the caſtle deliuered vpon the troups of the Chriſtians, and their muskets ſtill
playing from the curtain of their walls, ſo that the caſtle ſeemed as if it had bin a mountain
of fire. All which terrors no whit ſtaied the hope of our reſolute footmen, who thwarting
theſe flaming ſhowrs, marched along the counterſcarpe of the ditch towards the gate of the
towne, to haue broken open and forced the ſame. The Turkes at the ſame time were come
forth out of the towne, making ſhew as if they would haue ſallied forth vpon our men and
haue fought with them. But at the ſame inſtant that they charged the front of our footmen,
they were by them ſo encountred and beaten backe, that hauing loſt ſome of their men, they L
were glad again to retyre into the town. Where they indeauored to defend themſelues, not
daring afterwards to fight without the fauor of their walls: within which it ſtood them vpon
to haue both courage and power, being ſtill furiouſly aſſailed by our men, who planted vpon
the town ditch, with their muskets and harquebuſes ſo plied the Turkes vpon their walls and
in their holds, as that they durſt not ſhew themſelues or looke out, for the ſhowres of lead
which they thundred vpon them. And aſſuredly, if our men had then had inſtruments wherewith
to haue opened the gates or the wals, as wel as their muskets and harquebuſes had made
a breach into the reſolution of the Turks, the town had vndoubtedly bin ours. But this deſigne
being not before foreſeen, neither intended, wanted the means to put it in execution, ſo that
for want of petards and ſcaling ladders the place remained ſtil the Turkes, and ſaued it ſelfe M
out of our hands. In fine, our men hauing been four houres in fight before it, both doing and
receiuing harm, and finding no means to enter the place, were inforced to ſound a retreit, and
to leaue it.

A In this retreat the Chriſtians burnt certain villages of the enemies, rather to ſhew they had bin there, than for any other valor therin; ſeeing that things inſencible, which follow the order of their nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them, without reaſon. This done, they of purpoſe returned to little Comara; for the long time that they had kept the field, the diuers exploits of them don againſt the enemies, and the common report of the Vanquiſhed, had ſtirred vp the enemies, ſo that they began now on euery ſide by heaps to flock together, to ſwallow them vp, and euen now preſſed vp their retreit. So *Collonitz* in deſpight of the enemy, in ſafety brought back his ſoldiers, and being entred into Comara, cauſed the heads of the chief of the ſlain Turkes to be ſet vpon the pikes of the paliſado's, and vpon a great Pine tree ſtanding before the gate, which for this purpoſe had almoſt all the branches lopped off. B An action learned from the cruelty of the Turkes, and now don by the Chriſtians, more to aſtoniſh and deter them from this their cruel cuſtom, than for any glory or profit inſuing therby; ſeeing that to tyranniſe vpon a dead body, is but a ſigne of cowardiſe, and an action altogether vnprofitable.

This done, our men departed from this Caſtle, as men worne and almoſt ſpent with trauel and wearineſſe, but yet more with famine. For why, they thinking to haue executed but that deſigne which had put them in armes, and that in ſo ſhort a time alſo, had taken no prouiſion of victuals with them; ſo that they were all pined with hunger, ouercome with watching, and halfe dead with labour. Their horſes alſo in like ſort languiſhed, the Countrey beeing alike cruell both to the one and to the other. For beſides that it was vnfruitfull vnto ſuch as kept C the field (all the fruits therof being gathered together and carried into the towns by the men of War) it was not poſſible for our men to forrage, or to ſeeke for victuals there, and to come to an happy end of their deſigne; for that they had raiſed an alarm abroad in the Countrey, and ſo perhaps might themſelues haue become a prey vnto them whom they thought to prey vpon. Which was the cauſe that our ſouldiers had for the ſpace of three days eaten nothing but Crabbes and Acornes which they found in the Woods which couered their ambuſhes; ſo that being now come into this Caſtle, they deuoured a world of victuals, and requeſted euery one of them to returne vnto their owne garriſons; their bodies weakened with hunger, being ſcarce able to beare their Armes. But that was not all; for departing from little Comara, they were aduertiſed, That the Turkes had ſhut vp all the wayes whereby they were to D make their retreit home; in hope eaſily to ouercome men already with hunger brought low, and to kill the bodies which trauell had already ſpent. Howbeit the great courage of our men fruſtrated this the enemies deſigne, and ſaued themſelues. And ſo farre off was it that this aduertiſement diſmayed *Collonitz*, that euen to the contrary it the more increaſed his courage, as appointed for his glory; being glad to haue ſuch an occaſion offered vnto him for the ſhewing of his valour, although it were thorow the middeſt of danger, death, and ſlaughter. So that in ſtead of ſhunning the combat, whereas it was reported, That the Turks with great aſſurance marched neere vnto a Caſtle of the Chriſtians, to make head vpon a paſſage whereby our men were to retyre; he ſuddenly turned head toward the ſame place, with a firm reſolution, with true valour vnexpectedly to encounter the enemy, which had thought to E haue ſurpriſed him by cowardiſe. And the ſouldiers weakened with hunger, although they well apprehended the danger of this deſigne; yet reſting vpon the great reſolution of their worthy Generall, and conſidering the neceſſity they had to go farther for their ſafety, vpon a good courage were content to follow whitherſoeuer their Generall would: who led them directly to the aforeſaid Caſtle, where it was expected that the Turkes ſhould haue charged them. But being come thither there was no body to be ſeene, and yet our men, as hungry as they were, ſtayd there one day in ambuſh, expecting the comming of their enemies; who for all that, hauing no mind to meet them, appeared not, but gaue them time and liberty in ſafety to retyre themſelues euery man into his owne garriſon, to refreſh themſelues, and to recouer their ſtrength.

The great courage of Collonitz.

F But now whileſt our men of Warre after theſe troubles in Tranſylvania and Hungary, repoſe themſelues; let vs in the mean time take our journey to Conſtantinople, and goe to the marriage of *Haſſan Baſſa* one of the Viſiers of the grand Seignior, and the laſt year General of his army in Hungary.

A dangerous mutiny of the Janizaries & Spahi in Conſtantinople.

At ſuch time as he departed from this great city, to go vnto the conqueſt of Alba-Regalis, G
Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperour, reſolued to ſet all vpon the regaining of this city, cauſed to be preſented vnto him a Crowne and a Sword; the one in reward of his valour, if he returned with victory from this exploit; and the other in reuenge of his cowardiſe if he failed in the performance of it: promiſing him indeed his ſiſter in marriage, amongſt other the glorious rewards and trophies of his victory; and threatning death as a puniſhment among the griefs of his diſhonour. But it came to paſſe, that by the cowardiſe of our men he came vnto the effects of his deſire (as is aforeſaid) and tooke the City which promiſed vnto him the glorious triumph in Conſtantinople. And vnder the ſweet influence of this planet he returned vnto Conſtantinople, where he found all things in readineſſe for the ſatisfying of his expectation, and aduancement of his glory. He is magnificently receiued of his Prince, curteouſly ſaluted by all the Nobility, and with greateſt reuerence poſſible honoured of the people. And as H
he had happily diſcharged his charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in readineſſe for the performance of the promiſe of the grand Seignior his Lord and maſter: Who had cauſed them to be in moſt ſumptuous manner prouided for the ſolemniſing of the mariage, and the contentment of the Baſſa. But nothing now wanting that he could haue deſired or wiſhed, more than the very ſolemniſing of the marriage it ſelfe, and that alſo euery day of all men expected; the Ianizaries and Spahi, with the other ſoldiers of the Court, to the number of about fiue and twenty thouſand, euen vpon the ſudden when as no ſuch thing was feared, came in armes, and ſo preſented themſelues before the Divano or high Tribunall, holden for the chiefe adminiſtration of juſtice in the great Turks palace, the firſt foure dayes in euery weeke: and hauing ſet guards at the Court gates, the more ſafely to execute what they I
were reſolued vpon, proudly demanded to haue audience for certaine of the Spahi and Ianizaries, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all to deliuer vnto the great Baſſa's their grieuances, and the cauſes of that their aſſembly. Who as ſoone as they were entred into the Divano before the Baſſa's (of whom the moſt couragious of them was not without feare, as looking for nothing but preſent death) they at the firſt demaunded to haue *Haſſan Baſſa* deliuered vnto them. Who thinking that his head ſhould haue ſerued as a ſacrifice to pacifie this their fury; as a man altogether diſmayed, wan and pale, paſſed thorow this mutinous multitude, to haue gone vnto the great Sultan; proteſting of his owne innocencie, and calling vpon his Prophet *Mahomet* to diſcouer vnto them the truth of all things. But K
they, after a thouſand injuries and reproches by them heaped vpon him, rudely demaunded of him, Whence it proceeded, that whileſt he with a great part of the forces of the Empire was buſied in Hungary for recouery of the City of Alba-Regalis, there was in the mean time no order taken for the repreſſing of the dangerous rebellion in Aſia; which Rebell (as they ſaid) was now grown ſo proud, as with Enſignes diſplaied to come within three or foure dayes journey of Conſtantinople, the Imperiall City of the *Othoman* Emperours. Whereunto hee in no ſmall feare anſwered, That hee for his part had done his duty, as well whilſt he had the charge of the Army in Aſia, as now of late whileſt he had the like charge againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary, as euen his very enemies themſelues could witneſſe. But ſeeing himſelfe L
in great danger of death, he inſtantly requeſted them, That his guiltleſſe death might be vnto the State in generall profitable, and that in diſcharging of his conſcience hee might declare vnto them the cauſes of this contempt and neglect for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebell in Aſia, which they were ſo deſirous to know: It proceedeth (ſaith he) onely from the euill gouernment of the grand Sultans mother (who then all commaunded) and from the negligent careleſneſſe of the Capi-Aga. Which his ſpeech although they with much impatience and ſtorming gaue eare vnto; yet hearing him ſo well to excuſe himſelfe, and to lay the blame there where they were well contented it ſhould reſt, they gaue him leaue to goe to the great Sultan, to requeſt him that they might ſpeake with him; and further to deale with him, that they might haue the heads of them who had been the cauſe of this diſhonourable ſeruice, or otherwiſe cowardly behaued themſelues in the mannaging of the wars againſt the Rebels in M
Aſia. Threatning him withall, That if he failed to performe this his Charge, hee ſhould not fail to feel the heauy effects of their juſt fury. An heauy charge, yet glad was the Baſſa to vndergo the ſame, to be freed out their hands, where he ſaw himſelfe in great danger; amongſt

them

A them, moſt of whom had ſomtime ſerued vnder him, than amongſt ſo many his moſt mortall enemies. But what remedy? he muſt now ſo do or die therfore; for which he was the more to be excuſed. So in great fear comming vnto the great Sultan, almoſt as fearefull as himſelfe; he ſhewed vnto him the great danger like euen preſently to inſue by the mutiny of his beſt ſoldiers, and garders of his perſon: perſuading him betime to appeaſe their fury, before they had imbrued themſelues in bloud, for fear of further danger like enough to inſue, as wel vnto his own perſon, as vnto the reſt of his moſt faithfull and truſty Counſellors, from ſuch furious headſtrong men, vp in tumult with their armes in their hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the greatneſſe of his ſtate to doe any thing as thereunto forced by his ſubiects, leſt in ſo doing he might breed in them a contempt of himſelfe, and increaſe their inſolency; B that yet neuertheleſſe in this action being altogether extraordinary, hee was not to reſt vpon that point, for that theſe mutinous ſouldiers turned not their weapons (as they pretended) againſt his Imperial power and ſoueraignty, but rather to the contrary, againſt the contemners therof, ſeeking to be reuenged vpon them that had don him ſuch euill ſeruice for the maintenance of his honor and majeſty, and for the puniſhment of the inſolent and diſloyall. Wherfore the juſtice of the cauſe requiring and couering the malice of the fact, he was of opinion, that it were beſt for him to yeeld a little vnto the zeal of theſe his beſt ſoldiers, and to ſatisfie their iuſt deſires, although they had by very euill and vnlawful meanes ſought the ſame. And therfore aduiſed his Majeſtie, in ſome ſort to ſatisfie the iuſt complaints of theſe men, armed for reuenge of his honor, and to chaſtiſe the chief commanders of his Aſian forces, ſuch as by C whoſe treachery or cowardiſe his ſeruice being neglected, had armed theſe men againſt them: with the ſame hand puniſhing ſuch as had wronged his Majeſty in honor, and appeaſing the diſcontented for the good of his ſeruice. *Mahomet* thus by the Baſſa perſuaded, as alſo to ſhew himſelf in majeſty vnto theſe his diſcontented ſubiects (one part of their deſire) the neceſſity of the cauſe ſo requiring, in his Imperial ſeat preſented himſelfe vnto them, accompanied by the Mufti (the great Mahometan prieſt) & ſome few others of the reuerend Doctors of their Law, who by the Sultan commanded to ſit down, and the Baſſa's ſtanding vp (ſo great the reſpect is to men of that ſort, euen in a barbarous nation of ſo ſmall reſpect) the chiefe of the ſeditious ſtepping forth, demanded leaue to ſpeak both for himſelf and the reſt. Which being granted, he boldly thus began.

Mahomet ſheweth himſelfe to the mutinous ſoldiers.

D

Moſt happy and mighty Emperor, we the Spahies and Ianizaries thy obedient ſlaues, full of grief and diſcontentment to ſee a great part of thine Empire in danger to be loſt, deſire to know of thee the cauſe why thy Greatneſſe doth not remedie it, and imploy the means which God hath giuen thee. They ſuppoſe the Rebels courſes in Aſia are vnto thee vnknown, ſeeing they haue bin ſo hardy to come in arms ſo neer vnto thy Imperial city, the place of thyne abode, and that without any let or reſiſtance. They deſire to know if all this haue bin made known vnto thee, and whether thou wilt take vpon thy ſelfe the care of the gouernment of thy great monarchy, or no; which through the negligent careleſnes and euill gouernment of ſome by thee put in truſt, is like vnto a body with great & wel proportioned members, but of little or no ſtrength or power. Or elſe, that thou void of care, canſt be content that all ſhould be diſmembred, and ſo E *euery man to take vnto himſelf what he can lay hand of, as the Rebels do in Aſia.*

A proud ſpeech of a ſeditious ſoldier to Sultan Mahomet.

Now let no man maruel at this preſumptuous rude ſpeech of a proud Ianizary to his Soueraign; for why, they are the men which may moſt boldly ſpeak in Turky, they are the ſtay of the Turkiſh Empire, the great Sultans children acknowledging no other father but them: nay rather the great Turke himſelfe is their Creature, for they raiſe him vp and confirm him in the Empire, they are his greateſt ſtrength, and to them he is moſt beholden. If *Mahomet* were with ſo inſolent a ſpeech much moued, he was not iuſtly therfore to be blamed: howbeit being beſet with ſuch a furious multitude with weapons in their hands, and hauing no meanes F to withſtand their fury, he wiſely diſſembled his inward choler, and with a faire countenance and a majeſty full of mildeneſſe, with the beſt and calmeſt words that he could deuiſe, ſought to appeaſe them; imputing the great diſorder and euill ſucceſſe of his affaires vnto the vnfaithfulneſſe of his miniſters, and the concealing of the truth therof from him. Saying more-

ouer, That before this their complaint he had reſolued to reforme theſe matters, and to take
from them all occaſions of diſcontentment, or for them to vſe any ſuch ſpeech as was not beſeeming G
them; whoſe obedience and reſpect of loyall duty vnto him their Soueraign, ſhould
haue been an example vnto the reſt of his ſubiects. Vpon which ſpeech, they fiercely demanded
of *Haſſan Baſſa*, Why hee had not giuen an account vnto his Maieſtie of the Rebels
proceeding in Aſia. Who anſwered, That he had neuer failed of his duty therein, but that
he had been alwaies hindred ſo to do by the Capi-Aga, ſaying, That it was not needfull to
trouble him their Soueraigne therewith, (hauing committed theſe matters to others) but to
reform and amend them as well as they might otherwiſe, without giuing of him any ſuch diſtaſte
concerning theſe matters. And further, That the cauſe of all theſe diſorders proceeded
from the Empreſſe his mother, the Capi-Aga, and ſome few others, vnto whom he had commended
the mannaging of thoſe his affairs. With which his anſwer the mutiniers more moued, H
furiouſly ſaid, That they were come thither to demand the heads of ſuch offenders, being
reſolued to take another courſe if he ſhould refuſe to grant it them: [meaning therby to
make a new Emperor.] Wherunto for all that, the great Sultan anſwered, That it was no reaſon,
neither that he would for their humors put ſuch as they demanded innocently to death;
but willed them to reſt themſelues contented, vntil it might by order of iuſtice be tried whether
they had deſerued death or no, and that then he would giue them euen his own ſon, if he
were found culpable. But the mutiners conſtant in their reſolution, again replied, that he had
not by iuſtice put his brethren to death, but for the preſeruation of the ſtate: and that thoſe
whom they ſo demanded, were ſo guilty of that wherwith they were charged, as that they deſerued I
not to haue an orderly trial: That the lawes, how iuſt ſoeuer, ſhould be vnprofitable,
and iuſtice iniury, if they were not by them to be puniſhed, and that therefore it muſt needs be
ſo, or elſe that they would take therein a courſe themſelues. As for the Empreſſe his mother,
they were contented that ſhe ſhould be confined vnto ſome place farther off, and no more to
meddle in matters of State. A ſtrange thing it was, to ſee ſo great a Prince ſo to be forced by
the ſedition and mutiny of his ſubiects, to deliuer ſo great an Officer of his Court as was the
Capi-Aga, with ſuch others as they required, to be vſed at their diſcretion. But the violent reſolution
of theſe moſt inſolent men ſo vp in mutiny, made the Sultan *Mahomet* wiſely to
yeeld to what they demanded, cauſing the Capi-Aga and the others to be brought forth, who
preſented themſelues vnto their fury as men already halfe dead. *Mahomet* did what he might K
to haue ſaued them, but the mutiners with a great and dreadfull clamor ſtill cried out to haue
them diſpatched; neither could they be appeaſed vntill they ſaw their heads ſtruck from their
bodies. For the loſſe of whom ſo deer vnto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieued, to be in ſome part
reuenged, commanded the executioner to proceed, and to do vnto ſome other of the chiefe
Baſſaes (whom he knew to be much loued and reſpected of the Ianizaries, and whom he could
haue been content to haue been rid of) as he had done vnto the Capi-Agi and the reſt: but
then the murmuring and mutiny of the Ianizaries was in ſuch ſort increaſed, and as it were
redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for feare forced with patience to temper his choler, and by giuing
way, ſo to appeaſe them. The Empreſſe the Sultans mother for all that was not then confined,
but reſerued to the further troubling of the State. L

The Capi-Aga with ſome others executed.

Other bruelties of Sultan Mahomet.

With like tyrannie, and no leſſe injuſtice, *Mahomet* but a few dayes before had cauſed *Capin*
one of his great Baſſaes to be beheaded; but whether it were for the deſire hee had of his
wealth and riches, or for the enuy of his honour and valour, was vncertaine: howbeit the former
cauſe ſeemed vnto many to be more probable, for that *Mahomet* immediatly after his death
tooke the whole ſpoile of his wealth, and ſeiſed vpon all his goods except 400000 duckets,
which *Caly Baſſa* father of the dead Baſſa had detained for himſelfe. Which his purloining
Mahomet hauing diſcouered (as the eie of the couetous man is fixed alwayes vpon his prey)
demanded one day of the Baſſa, If it were true that he had retained to himſelfe thoſe 400000
duckets. Which fact the Baſſa, partly for feare, and partly for couetouſneſſe conſtantly denied,
and ſwore himſelfe to be guiltleſſe from any ſuch crime. Whereupon he was forthwith M
taken, and thinking by lying to haue ſaued his life, was for the truth put to death, without any
further examination of the matter, hauing his head ſtruck off. Such is the final aſſurance euen
of the greateſt that liue in tyrants courts. Neither reſted his greedy mind ſo contented with

A the Baſſa's bloud; for why, that ſerued but for a ſhew, it was his wealth muſt work that cure, which was all forthwith ſeiſed vpon, rifled, and carried away, to ſatisfie in effect the greedy appetite of the hungry tyrant, who changed the dowry and ſucceſſion of the wife & children of the dead Baſſa, into bonds, chains, priſons, and ſlaueries.

Mahomet another Baſſa with theſe cruelties diſmaied, and perceiuing the like euill hap and danger to hang ouer his own head, that had ouerwhelmed *Calil* and his ſon; reſolued to haue prouided for himſelf againſt this miſchiefe, by flying vnto the Rebels in Aſia. But this his purpoſe diſcouered by certain ſpies (which ſerue as means to open a way vnto the Turks cruelty) and he with one of the chief followers of *Capin Baſſa* taken by the Ianizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

The ſucces of the Rebels in Aſia.

B But whileſt theſe things thus paſſed at Conſtantinople, the Rebels with all diligence proſecuted their rebellion in Aſia, and bent their forces againſt the great towns there. Their army was exceeding great, euery man joining himſelfe vnto the firſt forces which were in good eſtate, being not as yet with any greater power oppreſſed, and rich with the ſpoiles that they had taken. Theſe men had beſieged Angore a great and ſtrong town in Aſia, and ſeemed reſolutely ſet down for the carrying therof. Wherof the citiſens being afraid, and out of hope of relief, came to parly, offering them a ſum of money to redeem themſelues and their city; and ſo in fine agreed to giue them 200000 ducats, vpon the ready payment wherof the rebels preſently departed.

Shortly after, the new Captaines of Sultan *Mahomet* arriued there alſo, whom he had placed C in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeaſing of the ſouldiers of the Court, who would needs make it treaſon, and put to death the Citiſens for hauing giuen ſuch mony as is aforeſaid, vnto the rebels, though it were done for the preſeruation of their liues: as if lawes were to be reſpected in the horrors of neceſſity, or that life were to become a ſlaue vnto riches, and riches not made for the vſe of mans life. Well, needs they would for this ſuppoſed treaſon, as they pretended, haue put them to death, and ſacked their City. But indeed all was in their greedy fury to haue carried away that which the Rebels in their mercy had left them. Theſe poor citiſens with this ſo cruel a reſolution diſmaied, and out of all hope of finding fauour at ſuch mercileſſe mens hands, reſolued now to haſard all, and ſo vpon the ſudden taking vp arms, ſtood vpon their own defence. Herupon aroſe a great and cruel D fight betwixt theſe ſoldiers and the citiſens, both the ſubiects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the ſelf ſame ſuperſtition, but the one ſide armed with pride and couetouſneſſe, and the other with neceſſity and deſpair: howbeit at laſt the iuſter cauſe preuailing, the Citiſens ouercame theſe new come ſouldiers, and hauing ſlaine a great number of them, chaſed the reſt out of the City. This euil incounter of theſe few Captaines euen at the firſt entrance into their Charges, giuen them by the ſubiects themſelues, increaſed the Rebels courage, ſo that they being in number forty thouſand, vnder the leading of one of the Tartar Han his brethren, beſieged Butze a great and rich city, being the ſtorehouſe for the warlike prouiſions of Aſia, and the place whereunto the Turkes Cuſtomes, Taxes, and Subſidies of Aſia were brought, and there kept. Theſe men after certaine dayes beſtowed in the ſiege, and great re- E ſiſtance made by the beſieged, at length by force carried the place, ſlew the inhabitants, and ſacked the City. Which exploit gracing their fortune with honour and booty, increaſed alſo their power and reputation; ſo that redoubled on all ſides, and increaſed with courage and ſpoiles, *Mahomet* diſmaied, reſolued by fair means to appeaſe them, and to intreat with them of peace. This good fortune had drawne vnto their part the Gouernour of Babylon, either weary of the ſeruice of the Turke, or deſirous by the ruine of the State in general to increaſe his own power: whoſe reuolt greatly increaſed the Rebels power, and diminiſhed the Grand Seigniors. Beſides theſe miſhaps alſo, the great Shaugh of Perſia (commonly called the Sophy) thruſting himſelf into theſe diſorders, to make his gain, and to fiſh (as they ſay) in a troubled water, had now taken Corbery, a ſtrong towne vpon the borders of the Turkes Em- F pire, and was making himſelf ready for new conqueſts. All which tempeſts ariſing as it were in one together, cauſed *Mahomet* to ſtrike ſail, and mauger his Imperial dignity and honor, to ſeek for peace: which indeed could not be great in ſuch weakneſſe of his nature, neither braue in ſuch his great want of courage. For great dignities and honours without valour to maintaine them, are but like rich garments which couer bodies almoſt rotten, but heale them not.

Mahomet deſirous to come to ſome good agreement with his rebellious ſubiects; at length G (but not without his great diſhonor) obtained the ſame, granting all their demands, diſarming them by yeelding vnto them, and not by true valor: and giuing vnto *Zellaly* one of their chieftains the honorable place of Baſſa of Boſna, to content his ambition, and to binde him therewith to do his ſeruice. The ready way by ſufferance to increaſe the diſloyal ſubiects courage, in ſtead of ſtopping their proceedings by the ſeueritie of iuſtice: for to grace a rebel with offices of authoritie, is but to arm him with lawfull power, the better to vndertake whatſoeuer ſhall beſt fit his appetite and deſire, vpon the hope of his own priuat and certaine profit or aduancement.

Mahomet in danger to be depoſed.

Mahomet his other Captaines and men of War ſeeing this diſhonourable peace of their Prince, and preferment of the Rebels, rewarded with honours and dignities, in ſtead of paines H and puniſhments, which they ſhould of right haue for their rebellion endured; began to enter into great murmuring and diſcontentment againſt their great Sultan. They conſidered his vniuſt dealing and baſe fear, in aduancing the rebels vnto ſuch honors and preferments, as of right belonged vnto his moſt faithfull and loyall Officers and ſeruants; by ſuch vnworthy dignities making them ſlaues vnto his enemies, and vaſſals vnto the rebels: they, to their diſhonor and loſſe, by their inſolencie and treachery injoying the honours and preferments of right due vnto their faithfull and loyal ſeruices. Which dangerous perſuaſions tranſported them ſo far from their allegiance and duty, as to vndertake a greater and more perillous matter againſt his crown and dignity, than had the rebels before by taking vp of arms in the field againſt him; whereunto the aſſured knowledge they had of his cowardiſe incouraged them I alſo. So that their reſolution was to thruſt him out of his Imperiall ſtate, and to ſet vp his eldeſt ſonne called alſo *Mahomet*, in his place. Theſe are the inordinate effects of injuſtice and cowardiſe, the ouerthrow of Princes; their injuſtice through cruelty arming all creatures againſt them; and their cowardiſe through contempt diſpenſing with euery man for his duty: ſo that he muſt be juſt that will keepe his ſubjects in order; and valiant, that muſt hold them in awe.

Vnto theſe diſcontentments thoſe mutiniers joined alſo (as I ſaid) the ſloathfulneſſe, effeminacie, and inſufficiencie of *Mahomet*, vnfit to deal in matters of eſtate, and altogether vnable to manage wars. He was too cowardly (as they thought) to repreſſe their valour by force, and too weak to croſſe their deſignes by wiſdom: which not a little incouraged them in that their K ſo deſperate and dangerous a reſolution. They drew alſo into this their plot the Sultaneſſe *Mahomets* chief wife and the yong princes mother; who blinded with ambition (the bane of great ſpirits) had not the hap to reject their perſuaſions, as dangerous vnto her and her ſon, but ſhutting her eies againſt the due conſideration of loyaltie and duty, caſt both her ſelf and her ſon headlong into the midſt of moſt deſperat dangers.

This project (of no leſſe importance than of the depoſing of one of the greateſt monarchs of the world) reſolued vpon, ſome of theſe men, according to the maner of the Turks, joining ſuperſtition vnto their deſignes, conſulted with an Aſtrologer concerning the ſucceſſe of the actions of the young Prince, whom they were about to inſtall in his fathers Imperiall throne. This man to be excuſed in his trumperies, ſeeing that to deceiue is the chiefe point of his L Art, erected the figure of the Princes natiuity, conſulted with his ſpirits, conſidered the celeſtial bodies, and in fine arriued at the point of his iudgement, for the good and welfare of the Prince: And thereupon diſpatched an Eunuch towards the Sultanneſſe with theſe pleaſing ſpeeches, That ſhe ſhould be of good courage, and in aſſured hope that the yong Prince her ſonne within a few daies ſhould haue the Imperiall Crown ſet vpon his head, and the Royall Scepter put into his hand: his art (as he ſaid) promiſing vnto him theſe honors, by the fauor of the cœleſtial bodies, of whom he had learned theſe news; and by the conference with ſpirits, from whom he had this aſſurance. But ô the vaine and fooliſh knowledge of man againſt God! attributing vnto the ſecond cauſes that which altogether belongeth vnto his owne power; robbing him of his owne prouidence, which extendeth ouer all, to giue it vnto M Creatures, which neither haue their owne beeing, neither are able of themſelues to bring forth or to worke any effects at all without it! and that more is, to giue certaine credit vnto the enemy of all faith and beleefe, euen to the father of leaſing, who taketh as much glory in falſhood, as God himſelf doth in truth, as being the proper mark of his power. For it chanced

Mahomet cauſeth his eldeſt ſon, with diuers others to be ſtrangled.

A ced that theſe letters ſent by the Eunuch to the Sultaneſſe, were intercepted and brought vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan, whom they moſt concerned: whereupon it ſo fell out, that he which tooke vpon him to foretell the long-life and Empire to befall to another man, could not foreſee the end of his owne life, which followed him faſt, euen at the heeles, being himſelfe by the commandement of the great Sultan, with the yong Prince, the Eunuch, and fifty others of the conſpirators, and ſuch as were conſenting vnto the conſpiracy, moſt cruelly ſtrangled, and the Sultaneſſe her ſelfe drowned. Howbeit ſome report this yong Prince to haue bin ſtrangled vpon ſuſpition of conſpiring againſt his father, with the rebels of Aſia: which after his death being found not to be ſo, the Baſſa which put that ſuſpition in *Mahomets* head, to haue bin therefore worthily hanged. But with theſe contentments taken from B the croſſes of our enemies, let vs againe returne vnto Hungary.

The Polonian denies the Tartars paſſage through his country, into Hungary.

The laſt yeare ended with the great bruit of the comming of the Tartar Han, with a great army into Hungary; and now he had diſpatched his Embaſſadors towards the King of Polonia, to demand of him, tribute, and paſſage through his country. Great and proud demands to be, both at once required. But the King of Polonia requited him againe with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly anſwering of his threats. Which ſo reſolute and blunt a refuſall, cauſed the proud tyrant to change his intended courſe, and for feare of being defeated by the Polonians in paſſing through their country (as the Tartars had often beene) before he could come into Hungary, tooke another way, and turned with his Army toward Valachia. Of whoſe comming *Radul* the Vayuod vnderſtanding, and that beſide C the forraging of his country, they had a purpoſe to diſplace him, and to ſet vp another Vayuod in his ſtead; with great diligence gathered together the greateſt power that he could, and ſo marched vnto the borders of his country, there to attend the comming of theſe Tartars, and to ſtay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his deſire, for the barbarous people being arriued, and attempting with all their force to haue entred, were by this little army encountered; which commanding the country, tooke all the aduantages of the ſtreit paſſages, and there notably repulſed the fierce enemy. Two of the firſt encounters fell out fortunately vnto the Valachians, who therein ſlew about 3000 of the Tartars; whoſe auauntgard for all that ſtill came on, and at the third encounter ſo long maintained the fight, that their whole Army was now come in, and hardly charged the Valachians; whoſe forD tune ſurcharged, began then to change, the hardy being conſtrained to bow vnder the multitude, and valour forced to yeeld vnto number. Which was not done without a long and cruell fight, both armies encountering with great courage and fury, the one for the defence of their countrey, and the other for an entrance vnto their conqueſts. Howbeit the ſtrong enemy at length preuailed, and entring into Valachia, brought in with it ruine, death, and deſtruction.

Diuers hard cōflicts betwixt the Tartars, & The Valachians in their paſſage through Valachia.

The Tartars in Hungary.

The Tartars hauing by force thus opened themſelues a way through Valachia, and grieuouſly ſpoyled the countrey, were come with their army to Quinque Eccleſiæ, a towne in Hungary, to ioyne their forces with *Haſſan Baſſa*, now after his marriage returned into this country with a great army to continue his charge: who cauſed the Tartars to be muſtred in E his preſence, and found them to be forty thouſand ſtrong. Men of great courage againſt the weake, but meere cowards before the couragious: who in ſtead of aſſaulting the walls of any ſtrong towne, fell vpon the cottages of poore countrey villages, ranſacking and pilling the poore inhabitants, as well in the villages of the territories ſubiect vnto the Turks, as in the territories of the Chriſtians; conſtraining the poore people, contrary to their conſcience, and the prejudice of their faith, to ſweare to ſerue the Turke: beſides that, they enforced them to furniſh them with all warlike prouiſion and munition, which they put into Caniſia, but a while after that our men had defeated the Garriſon there. Neither were they ſo contented, all the neighbours being thereabouts ſubiect to this tempeſt: for they paſſed into Stiria with their families, and ouerrun a part of that Prouince, ſpoyling it of men, cattell, F and goods; leauing in ſtead of them, deſtruction, miſery, and death; and carried away with them two thouſand poore Chriſtians for ſlaues, whom they ſold vnto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From whence they went into the country of Shauery, embruing themſelues with the bloud of the Chriſtians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them;

Great ſpoyle made by the Tartars in Hungary, Stiria, & Shauarie.

carrying away with them a thouſand Chriſtian captiues into moſt miſerable bondage and ſlauery. Which cruell outrages afterward thruſt the valiant Colonell *Collonits* into the field, G againſt theſe barbarous people, to ſtay their incurſions, and to defeat them if he could.

This worthy Commander had but a few daies before, beene much troubled in appeaſing the French light horſemen in garriſon in the villages about Roqueſburg, riſen vp in mutiny for their pay: whoſe hot and moued ſpirits he by his wiſedome ſo calmed, as that they were content againe to be ſworne to the Emperor, and ſo joyned themſelues vnto the army of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men ſtrong.

In the meane time, the Tartars greedy of prey, and ſtill ſeeking after booty, ranſackt and ſpoiled fiue and twenty countrey villages about Veradin; all which they afterward burned alſo, carrying away with them a great booty both of men and cattell, no man reſiſting them. H At which time other companies of them alſo inuading the County *Serin* his Iland as far as Rackenſpurge, made in it great ſpoile, as had their fellowes elſewhere, and beſide other booty, carried away with them two thouſand Chriſtian captiues. Theſe outrages of the Tartars armed the County on the one ſide, and *Collonits* on the other; who couragiouſly oppoſing themſelues againſt theſe barbarians, for a time ſtaied their incurſions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Army, ſufficient enough for the valour thereof, to haue ouerthrowne that of their enemies, for number dreadful. This made them to turne their courſe another way into Sclauonia, being in number fiue and thirty thouſand men, leauing nothing behind them there but death and deſolation, for the number of priſoners, and great booties which they carried from thence. Amongſt other their ſpoiles, it was their fortune by the way to meet I with ſix hundred of the Chriſtian ſouldiers, of whom not one eſcaped their hands, but were ſlaine euery mothers ſon. At length it ſo fortuned, that certaine of their troups in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the County *Serin*, who with his followers ſtill houered aloofe off, for feare to be of their great multitude ouerwhelmed: a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his ſoldiers ouerthrowne and all cut in pieces, and a number of Chriſtian captiues by them taken, deliuered out of chaines and ſet at liberty. Which exploit was greater for the feare it brought vpon the enemy, than for the ſlaughter there made. For the Tartars, ſtill in doubt to meet againe with the Chriſtian troups (who left not one of them aliue that they could light on) were glad now to keepe themſelues cloſer together, and ſo did a great deale the leſſe harme than when they without feare roamed vp and downe at their pleaſure: K ſo that euen by this little victory the Country receiued ſome comfort, and the Earle greater honour; Small helps being infinite treaſures in time of neceſſity, which out of it would not be to be reckoned of.

The Tartars oppreſſed by county Serin.

The garriſon ſouldiers of Caniſia, of late defeated by *Collonitz* in going to meet the Conuoy comming towards them with victuals, (as is before declared) the reſt of the garriſon deſirous to be reuenged, were conſulting of the meanes how to bring the ſame to paſſe. It fortuned that at the ſame time there was a fugitiue Chriſtian ſouldier in the towne, who made ſhew of a man male-content, deſirous to turne Turke: of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he ſeemed to know much of the deſignes of the Chriſtians, and the meanes how to croſſe them. Whereof he ſo aſſured them, as if the matter had beene now already L done; promiſing to bring them euen into the middeſt of the Chriſtian campe, and to deliuer it into their hands and power. Howbeit his meaning was nothing leſſe; for ſeeing the Turks much buſied with carrying in of victuals into the Caſtle, brought into the Towne after the ouerthrow of their fellowes before ſent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentiue to that buſineſſe; knowing the place in the Caſtle where the pouder and munition lay, he at the ſame time by a traine layd fire thereunto, and afterward, amiddeſt the tumult and the ſtirre, by a loope hole in the wall, got himſelfe out of the Towne, and came vnto *Collonitz*, who with his troups lay neere there by in ambuſh, expecting the opportunity to performe ſome notable exploit vpon the ſucceſſe of ſo dangerous an aduenture, whereunto he had before beene made priuy. Neither fayled the fire any thing of the accuſtomed violence M thereof, but ſeemed rather to redouble the ſame, it had ſo ſuddenly conſumed the Buildings, Munitions, and Perſons. All the place felt the fury thereof; the Cannons, Cannoniers, Souldiers, and whatſoeuer elſe, was ſubject vnto this dreadfull blaſt: all was ſhaken

A notable exployt done by a fugitiue Chriſtian.

and

A and turned vpſide downe, yea, the fire burſt out of the caſtle, and burnt the greateſt part of the towne alſo. There was a confuſion of feare, miſhap and miſery together, the terror whereof cauſed many of the Turks to caſt themſelues ouer the walls, in hope ſo to ſaue their liues: but whileſt they thought ſo to haue eſcaped the danger of the fire, they preſently fell vpon the edge of the ſword: for meeting with the ſouldiers of *Collonitz* (who lying in ambuſh neere thereby, awaited the opportunity in that ſo confuſed a tumult, to haue ſeiſed vpon the place) they were all either taken priſoners or ſlaine. But ſee the hap, how one croſſe chance of fortune ouerthrew this ſo notable a deſigne, as had it beene well followed, might in one moment haue recouered that ſtrong place, which had before for the ſpace of many daies endured the greateſt forces of the *Othoman* Emperour, neither yet was then ſo loſt, but through B the infamous treachery of our men.

A faire opportunity for the recouery of Caniſa ouerſlipped through the diſloyalty of the French & Wallons.

You haue heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by faire perſuaſions, rather than by true effects, appeaſed the French men and Wallons, vp in mutiny for their pay; ſo that by him perſuaded, they had againe giuen their oath of fidelity vnto the Emperour, and to follow his Army. But now when occaſion ſerued, and held out as it were both her armes vnto the Chriſtians, for the regaining and conqueſt of Caniſa, theſe French men and Wallons, the greateſt part of *Collonitz* his ſtrength, iniuriouſly refuſed her ſo faire an offer; and at ſuch time as they ſhould rather haue fought naked, than haue failed in their duty, (it being to haue gained a moſt great and rich conqueſt) for want of pay (as they pretended) turned their backes, and beeing by no entreaty or perſwaſions to be mooued, to the diſcouragement of C the reſt, who were better minded, and their owne eternall infamy, withdrew themſelues from the Army. So that *Collonitz* rather by the wicked vnfaithfulneſſe of his owne diſloyall ſoldiers, than by the valour of his enemies, diſappointed of his purpoſe, was to his great diſcontentment, contrary to that hee hoped, enforced to retyre without any thing more doing.

The Tartars defeated by the Huſſars of the Lord Nadaſti.

While this exploit, ſo well begun, but euill performed, was in hand, the Turks and Tartars aſſembled together, made a cruell ſpoile in the country about Rab, euen almoſt vnto the gates of the Towne, carrying away with them a great number both of men and beaſts. In fine, it chanced that the Huſſars of the Lord *Nadaſti* came that way, who vnderſtanding what had happened, with all ſpeed made after theſe Robbers, ouertooke them in their retreat neer vnto D Alba Regalis, ſlew a great number of them, and inforced the reſt to leaue a great part of their prey behinde them. With which booty recouered euen out of the Lyons mouth, they returned to Rab; of whom the poore inhabitants and country people, with teares ſtanding in their eies, requeſted to haue againe their owne goods. But War, the enemy of Charity, and nurſe of barbarous Cruelty, had ſo hardened the hearts of theſe men of War, as that they were not to be moued to reſtore them their cattell againe, but that they muſt redeeme them for preſent mony, which they did, and ſo receiued them.

Now the noble *Collonitz* ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſhamefully forſaken of his owne Souldiers, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, and the Turks and Tartars in great numbers comming to the reliefe and repairing of this ſo ſore ſhaken towne; and out of hope to do any good there- E on, full of griefe and indignation returned towards Comara. And howbeit that euill hap had cruelly fruſtrated the glory of his enterpriſe, yet the Heauens, in deſpight of Fortunes frowne, left not this noble and valiant Captaine altogether without honour, but as amorous of his vertues and valour, preſented vnto him in this Winter of Fortunes diſpleaſure, ſome trophies of glory. For vpon the way as he was returning home he met with 2000 Turkes, whom after ſome ſmall reſiſtance he cut all in pieces; miſerable ſacrifices, appointed vnto the fury of his wrath. In this fight their enſignes were all taken, and a number of priſoners, the chiefe of whom, together with the Enſignes, he ſent to Prague, as a Preſent for the Emperor, and a token of his good ſeruice.

2000 Turks defeated by Collonitz.

The report then was, That the Turks and Tartars with their vnited forces had forraged F Sclauonia, taken diuers ſtrong holds, burnt a number of villages, and carried away eight thouſand Chriſtian priſoners, beſide a great number more ſlaine with the ſword, or conſumed with fire, and all the Cattell of the Country driuen away: and that being with this booty to come to Quinque Eccleſiæ, they had there receiued command with *Mahomet Baſſa,* to beſiege Comara, and that all the Commanders of the Turks army were thereupon reſolued. All which reports no whit diſmaied the valiant *Collonitz,* or any thing altered his deſignes; but hauing fortified Comara againſt the intended ſiege of the Turks, and taken from thence foure culuerins, according to a former purpoſe by himſelfe intended, reſolued now to take from the Turks the Caſtles of Loqua and Boulonmenia, the garriſons whereof greatly annoyed the territories of the Chriſtians, and hindered the deſignes of this great Captaine. Theſe two Caſtles are ſcituate vpon a great mariſh which ſeparateth Hungary from Raſcia, and are therefore as bounders of Hungary, and ſtrong enough to be defended againſt a ſmall army. G

The Caſtle of Loqua beſieged by Collonitz.

Vpon which reſolution he ſet forward with his ſmall and valiant power, and the fourth day arriued within the ſight of Loqua, a Caſtle well manned: and furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the defence thereof. The army lodged, *Collonitz* with a drum ſummoned the beſieged to yeeld vp the place, with promiſes of courteſie if they ſhould now accept of the ſame whileſt it was offered them: Which they ſtoutly refuſed to do, ſwearing to the contrary, That they would die and liue within thoſe their walls. *Collonitz* ſeeing them ſo reſolued, firſt cauſed a mill to be aſſaulted, which placed ouer againſt the caſtle, and well fortified, ſerued in ſtead of a bulwarke, and ſeemed hard to bee taken: howbeit his men, loth to haue their good fortune euen in the beginning checked, gaue thereunto ſo braue an aſſault, that after the enemy had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became maſters of the place, carried it, and therein lodged: but finding it dangerous to be kept, and to ſtand them in ſmall ſtead, they ſet it on fire, and afterward planted foure Culuerins in battery before the Caſtle. But as they were thus buſied, the Turks couragiouſly ſallied out vpon them, not doubting to aduenture themſelues, for the hope they had to be in ſhort time by their great Army relieued. In this army they met afront with the Haiducks, whom they fiercely charged, and ſo gauled them, that hauing ſlaine thirty of them, they retired without any loſſe; forthwith diſcharging ſo many thundring ſhot and arrowes vpon our men, as that they well knew not how to ſaue themſelues from the danger of them, in ſuch ſort, that all the waies to approch the place being ſtopped, they began to deuiſe how to ſet the caſtle on fire: Which they by certain fire workes attempted, but to ſmall purpoſe, the fire being no ſooner kindled, but that it was forthwith by the Turks quenched. This done and our men diſappointed of their hope, they deuiſed to ſet fire vpon the timber which joyned the paliſado to the Caſtle ſtretching toward the port. Which their attempt ſorted but to ſmall effect alſo, the fire burning but ſlowly to do the enemies any great harme. All which deuiſes failing, they reſolued by plaine force to aſſault the Caſtle, and to ſcale the ſame: which enterpriſe reſolued vpon, the Haiduckes carrying before them certaine ſtrong and thicke plankes of wood, in ſtead of targuets, to defend them from the ſmall ſhot and arrowes of their enemies; by this deuice gained the paliſado placed vpon the ditch: and being there in ſome ſafety, with their muskets and harquebuſies ſo applied the beſieged, that they draue them from their curtaines, and made that they durſt no more ſhew themſelues vpon the walls. And immediately after, two companies of the Haiduckes placed ten ladders againſt one of the towers of the Caſtle, and ſo with their Enſignes in their hands couragiouſly mounted the ladders, in hope to haue gained the place: but the Turks as men reſolued to liue and die in their Caſtle, valiantly repulſed thoſe Haiduckes, and by force drew in vnto them from off the ladders, the two Enſignebearers of the Haiducks, whoſe heads they cut off, and caſt them downe vnto their fellowes, which were yet comming vp the ladders; and the two Enſignes ſo gained vpon the walls, they placed in the middeſt of their owne, as the trophies of the ſpoyles of them who would haue ſpoyled them. With which ſo great courage of the enemies, and death of their fellowes, our men not a little diſmaied, kept themſelues cloſe at the foot of the wall, as afraid any further to force the place, which to their loſſe they ſaw ſtored with ſuch valiant men to defend it. M

Notable reſiſtance made by the beſieged Turks.

Collonitz perceiuing this diſcomfiture of theſe men, and well aſſured that the caſtle was not but by valour to be won, immediatly drew out of euery company of the County *Ringraue,*

certaine

A certaine of the beſt and moſt reſolute Souldiers to renew the aſſault: Which ſo honourable a charge they cheerefully vndertooke, and as men of courage, began forthwith to mount the ladders. Which the Haiduckes beholding, againe tooke courage, and partly aſhamed of themſelues, and partly to bee pertakers of the ſpoile and prey, if they ſhould preuaile, did what they might for the winning of the place, ſtriuing now who ſhould do beſt. Which aſſault was with ſuch fury and preſſe of men maintained, that the Turkes not able longer to withſtand ſo great forces, were conſtrained to yeeld both themſelues and their Caſtle vnto the fury of their angry enemies. Which caſtle indeed coſt much Chriſtian bloud, but yet more of the Turks: for the Haiduckes armed with rage and reuenge, ſlew almoſt all in the caſtle, as well Raſcians as Turkes, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Amongſt others there was an B Hungarian renegate there taken, whom for haſte they beheaded, beeing not at leiſure to empaile him, the ordinary puniſhment of ſuch faithleſſe miſcreants. But during this ſpoile made by men chafed with fury, the winde and fire were on their part exerciſing of their rage alſo. For the fire which they had caſt vpon the paliſado, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increaſed with the wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, hauing burnt the paliſado, got hold of the caſtle alſo; whereunto the Souldiers (loaded with prey and booty, the things they moſt deſired) had no regard at all: ſo that the fire vtterly conſumed the Caſtle, with whatſoeuer elſe had eſcaped their greedy hands.

The Caſtle of Loqua by the Chriſtians, taken and ſacked.

The Turks in garriſon at Boulouuenar (a fortreſſe but a league diſtant from this burnt Caſtle) C ſeeing theſe flames of fire, and doubting what might betide themſelues, began to conſult what courſe were beſt for them to take, as either to attend the comming of the enemy, and ſo to abide the chance of warre, or elſe betimes to prouide for themſelues by flight: the conſideration of their honour and duty perſuaded them to ſtay, but the ruine of their neighbours as ſtrong and valiant as themſelues, perſuaded them otherwiſe. In fine, the care of the preſeruation of their liues preuailed, and the reſolution was, That they ſhould fly. And ſo putting all their houſhold-ſtuffe and goods into certaine boats there ready vpon the Lake, they by the middeſt thereof fled: fooliſhly perſuading themſelues, That our men comming thither, and finding nothing more, would not long there ſtay, but be gone; after whoſe departure they might as they thought returne againe vnto their old dwellings, and in the meane D time hide themſelues in the mariſh, vntill that the enemy were paſt. But our men comming thither, and finding no man in the Caſtle, neither yet any thing elſe that could well be carried away, wondered to ſee that there were any men ſo cowardly; as for feare to abandon ſuch a place, as for the ſtrength thereof might haue beene an example for others to ſtand vpon their guard and defence, they ſought out euery corner thereabout, to finde out whither the Turks were fled. At laſt after much diligent ſearch, they found certaine boats which the Turks had ſunke in the channell neere vnto the Caſtle gate, which cauſed them to thinke that they were fled by water, and happely were in ſome place not far off. Theſe boats were forthwith drawne vp out of the water, and found furniſhed with oares and ſuch other things as belonged vnto them. Which done, *Collonitz* choſe out certaine of the moſt valiant and reſolute of the Haiduckes, E whom he commanded in thoſe boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who accuſtomed to ſuch exploits, and not ignorant of the places and ſecrets of their Countrey, went aboord, and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gone paſt two leagues vpon the Lake, but that they diſcouered a party of theſe fugitiues hid in a little Iſland, awaiting the end of this tempeſt, to recouer againe that which they had forſaken. The Turks diſmaied with the ſight of theſe men, and forced by neceſſity to ſtand vpon their guard, welcommed them with certaine little faulcon ſhot which they brought with them in their boats, thinking to haue hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with ſuch muſicke, to be moued therewith: beſides that, the deſire of the booty, which was by the Turks brought out of the Caſtle into the Iſle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof; ſo that F all feare of danger ſet apart, they landed in the Iſle. Whom ſo landing, the Turks with great courage receiued; ſo that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for ſo ſmall a number on both ſides to bee beleeued, onely valour and not number holding the ballance of the victory. But in the end, the chiefe of the Turks, and he which was their Gouernour in Boulouener, ſlaine, the reſt diſcouraged came to parley, yeelding themſelues with their wiues

The Turks for feare forſake the Caſtle of Boulouuenar.

The Turks fled out of the caſtle of Boulauuenar ſurpriſed and ouerthrowne.

and children, and all that they had, as a prey vnto the victors. The priſoners were brought backe againe vnto the Caſtle, vntill the next day, that our men hauing put a good and ſtrong garriſon of foure hundred Haiduckes, and two hundred Huſſars into Boulowenar, with their priſoners, and their booty, returned toward Comara: where they, notwithſtanding diuers reports of the aſſembly of the Turkes garriſons for the ſuppreſſing of them vpon the way, in ſafety arriued, with a rich booty, and a number of waggons loaded with the ſpoiles of their enemies. The Emperor had for his part thirteene enſignes, beſide the places won; which being nigh vnto Caniſia, much bridled the ſpoilings and incurſions of that garriſon.

Moyſes by Baſta ouerthrown flyeth vnto his ſtrong caſtle of Solomoſe.

But leauing theſe endleſſe troubles of Hungary for a while, let vs now againe looke into Tranſyluania, to ſee what they there do. *Moyſes* the Rebell by *Baſta* the Emperors Lieutenant (as we haue before ſaid) ouerthrowne, and diſappointed of his hope, betooke himſelfe vnto a ſtrong caſtle of his owne, called Solomoſe, there in feare attending the finall ſucceſſe of his affaires. *Baſta* in the meane time being as wiſe to make vſe of his victory, as he was valiant to obtaine the ſame, ſubdued the reſt of the country, repreſſed the Rebels, ſtopped the way of ſedition, and put *Moyſes* in diſpaire of all ſafety. Who ſeeing himſelfe brought vnto ſuch extremity offered to yeeld his Caſtle vnto the Turks, and ſo without farther acquainting of any man with his purpoſe, thruſt himſelfe with his wife and family, and all the reſt of his ſubſtance into Temeſware, a ſtrong City of the Turks not far off: whom the Baſſa in ſhew moſt courteouſly receiued, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a prey of the great wealth of this new-come fugitiue: who had not there long ſtaied, but that he had perſuaded the captaine of Givaſger, a ſtrong frontier Caſtle there by, to deliuer the ſame to the Turks, and that without the priuity of the garriſon ſouldiers, for that hee doubted that they would hardly be thereunto drawne: who yet getting knowledge thereof, put their captain in remembrance of his duty, beſeeching him not to draw ſuch an infamy both vpon himſelfe and them, by committing ſo foule a fact. But afterward finding him reſolutely ſet downe for the betraying of the Caſtle, they ſuddenly laid hands vpon him, and ſtrucke off his head; and ſo with the bloud of their traiterous captaine, hauing auerted the eminent danger, with great honour held the place.

He with his wife and family flyeth vnto the Turks.

Moyſes now as he thought in ſafety at Temeſwar, was yet ſtill plotting how to trouble the ſtate of Tranſyluania, and raiſe new ſtirs therein; and to that end ſent a number of ſpies with letters of credence vnto the principall men of that country, aſſuring them of great and ſufficient aid from the great Turke, if they would but take vp armes for their liberty (as he termed it) and ſhew himſelfe in field againſt the Imperials. Neither was *Baſta* in the meane time careleſſe of him, or negligent in his ſo weighty affaires; but knowing that he as a notorious Rebell had yeelded his caſtle vnto the Turks, and was himſelfe retired vnto Temeſware, forthwith made choice of ſix thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers in his whole army, and ſo ſetting forward to beſiege it: whom at his arriuall the Turks there in garriſon derided, in hope to fruſtrate his deſignes. For why? They thought that their Caſtle ſeated vpon a ſteepe high hill, fortified with good and ſtrong wals, enuironed with a broad and deepe ditch, and not ſubject vnto battery, could not but with much labor, great danger, and long time, be gained out of their hands, it being impoſſible (as they ſuppoſed) for their enemies to make a breach, or finde an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men ſeeing the ſtrength of the place, and the difficulty to force it, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmaied at the foot of the hill where the Caſtle ſtood; yet more diſcouraged with the impregnableneſſe of the place, than with the valour of the defendants. But what cannot induſtry and valor do? in ſeeking about to find ſome meanes to make ſhew of their courage and valour, they diſcouered a little ſharpe ſteepe hill ouer againſt the caſtle, from the top wherof the caſtle was to be battered, and the beſieged diſtreſſed: but to bring the cannon thither & eſpecially with horſes, was impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſteep roughneſſe of the aſcent therunto, with broken and hanging rocks, ouergrowne with trees and buſhes, as if it had bin another Alps, not but with fire and vineger to be opened; yet in fine, our men reſoluing to gaine the place, did themſelues that which their horſes ſhould haue done but could not, and by force of hand drew their cannon vp to the top of the hill, and hauing planted it ouer againſt the midſt of their enemies great ordnance, began to batter the caſtle: which done, they day and night made their approches, fortified their forts and trenches, brought on their warlike munition, and put all things in ſuch order, as if they would

Baſta beſiegeth the Turkes in the caſtle Solomoſe.

euen

A euen by plaine force haue carried the place. But the Turks more admiring the valorous reſolution
of our men, than reſoluing themſelues vpon their reſiſtance, being not many in number
within the place, and ſeeing themſelues to haue to do with men of inuincible courage, laying
aſide both their hope and weapons, craued to come to parley. Which granted, it was at length
agreed, That they ſhould deliuer vp the Caſtle, leauing behinde them their great ordnance,
their munition and enſignes, and ſo with their armes and liues onely ſaued, to depart. A great
and glorious conqueſt got with ſmall charge; only by reſolution gained by our men without
perill: thoſe being indeed the true victories, which neither draw bloud out of the veines, nor
teares out of the eies.

The caſtle of Solomoſe yeelded to Baſta.

This ſtrong place ſo gained, contrary to the common opinion conceiued thereof, led the
B whole prouince as it were by the hand vnto the obeiſance of the Emperour: in ſuch ſort, that
Baſta hauing called together all the principall men of Tranſyluania, declared vnto them the
iuſtice of his cauſe, the right of the Emperour, with the malice and trechery of the Turks and
rebels: how they might liue in aſſurance with the one, and become miſerable with the others:
That the Emperour was alwaies armed for their defence and health, deſiring nothing but
their welfare and preſeruation; whereas their enemies to the contrary ſought altogether their
ruine and decay; That as they were not to expect light flames of fire out of the ſea, no more
they were to looke for aid from thoſe their mortall enemies, whom they knew to haue before
decreed to haue put them all to death, and to haue giuen their country vnto the Tartars their
enemies: That this diſaſter had not now beene to fall vpon them, either euer haue beene by
C them perceiued, without the aid of the Emperour; who oppoſing himſelfe againſt this fire,
had quenched it and put it out; preſeruing them with his great charge, and ſauing them euen
in the middeſt of their greateſt perils and dangers. That they ſhould therefore remember
theſe his ſo great benefits, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publique
faith, which bindeth vs to the reward of good deſerts: and that all the recompence that the
Emperour deſired, was the welfare of the eſtate, as concerning their owne good: inſomuch,
that hee deſired nothing of them but their obeyſance, for being bound to defend them and
preſerue them to his power: whereby it ſhould come to paſſe, that he ſhould be ſatiſfied for
his trauels, and they preſerued from their enemies; the Prince and the ſubiects together iointly
working their mutuall health and welfare, each of them according vnto their proportion,
D for that this mutuall performance of duty preſerued the ſcepter for the good gouernment of
their eſtate. Whereunto their anſwer was, That they beſought him that their country might
be relieued from the croud and cruelty of the men of war, and deliuered from the intollerable
burthen of tributes, which ſo heauily oppreſſed it: that theſe obiects and inconueniences
could not keepe them conſtant in their obedience, ſeeing that they both felt them, and receiued
them from the hand of them, to whom they had yeelded their obedience, in hope to haue
beene by them relieued: That the new feeling of the wound did continually renew in them
the hatred, and the obiect of their armes ſtill kept both their eies and their minds occupied
vpon them who were the cauſes thereof; ſo that they could not well either looke vpon them
or make reckoning of them: That therefore it would pleaſe him to eaſe them of their grieuances,
E in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 Hungarian duckats yearely for
to pay his men of war, and would farther furniſh them with all prouiſions neceſſary: it being
a thing more honourable and profitable alſo vnto a Prince, moderately to vſe his ſubiects
meanes to keepe his ſtate in perpetuity, than through couetouſneſſe to deuoure them in one
day, in their loſſe to vndoe himſelfe for euer. This their offer was by *Baſta* accepted, and the
minds of theſe people by this contentment giuen them, kept in their dutifull allegiance and
loyalty vnto the Emperour.

Baſta his admonition to them of Tranſyluania

The anſwere of the Tranſyluanians vnto the admonitions of Baſta.

But whileſt *Baſta* thus trauelled for the quieting of Tranſyluania, *Moyſes* the rebell in the
meane time was for his part no leſſe buſied for the diſturbing thereof againe; inſomuch, that
hauing by the appointment of the Viſier Baſſa receiued ten thouſand Tartars in his aid, and
F aſſiſted with a great number of Turks, he with enſignes diſplaied, entred into Tranſyluania,
proteſting there to die or to be reuenged of *Baſta*, who had before chaſed him out thence. And
the better to effect this troubleſome deſigne, he now had made choice of a moſt fit time for
the performance thereof. *Baſta* vpon the truſt hee had of the publique faith which he came

New enterpriſes by the Rebell Moyſes in Tranſyluania.

He with enſigns diſplaid entere into Tranſyluania.

to take of the Tranſyluanians, for their allegiance vnto the Emperor, which aſſured him from G all ſtirs and tumults in that prouince, being with a ſmall power come from Claudiopolis in Hungary, and then lying at Wiſcebourg, vpon the confines of Hungary. Which his iourney, and the neceſſity of his preſence in Hungary for the defence thereof, had cauſed the Tranſyluanians to beleeue, that hee ſhould for that yeare ſtay in Hungary as Generall of the Emperours army there. Vpon which perſuaſion of his abſence many of them began againe to hold vp their heads, and to entertaine high conceits of new ſtirs, whereunto *Moyſes* by his eſpials had prepared them, and now by his preſence not a little diſcouraged; inſomuch that many as well of the nobility as others, joyned themſelues to him, and increaſed his army againſt the Imperials.

Moyſes with his power being come into the Prouince, firſt forced a Caſtle, about three H leagues diſtant from Wiſcebourg, and ſlew all the garriſon therein. Which exploit encouraged him farther, full of hope in the abſence of *Baſta*, and ſeeing himſelfe now the abſolute maſter of the field, which hee at his pleaſure without reſiſtance forraged, robbed, and ſpoiled, with his men looded with booty, beſieged Viſcebourg, a little towne of vpon the confine of Hungary and Tranſyluania, neither by art nor by nature ſtrong, but expoſed as a prey vnto him that is in the field ſtrongeſt, if ſuccours be not at hand to relieue it. Howbeit weake as it was, it held out three weekes ſiege, and hauing a breach made in the walls endured two aſſaults againſt all the forces of the Rebell. After which the beſieged thinking themſelues to haue ſufficiently diſcharged their duty, in holding out ſo long, and induring of ſo much, and out of hope to be relieued by the weake forces of *Baſta*, came to parley with the enemy; I and their liues and goods ſaued, yeelded vnto him the towne, and ſo departed themſelues to Varadin.

Wiſcebourg beſieged by Moyſes.

Wiſcebourg yeelded to Moyſes.

Now albeit that there were no great forces of the Emperours on foot in Tranſyluania, yet the hungry Haiduckes for all that failed not to follow theſe warres, euen amidſt the great clouds of their enemies, and were euer taking of ſome prey or booty from the enemy, the chieſeſt and almoſt the only meanes whereby they liue. In which doing, as they benefited themſelues (the chieſe Motiues of their aduentures) ſo they not a little eaſed the country, by repreſſing the excurſions and pillages of the Turks, whereof the countrey had endured the fury. Where, amongſt other priſoners by them taken, it was their fortune to light vpon a Chiaus of the Turkes come from Conſtantinople, going toward the Rebell *Moyſes* from the great K Sultan *Mahomet*. Who by them examined, confeſſed, That *Moyſes* was a man in great grace and reputation with his Lord and Maſter the Grand Seignior: And that he was ſent to aſſure him thereof; as alſo of all the needfull aſſiſtance of his Prince, if hee ſhould faithfully and effectually ſerue him in Tranſyluania, and bring it vnder his ſubjection and power, as he had promiſed and ſworne. In which doing, he ſhould not onely gaine the credit of a noble and faithfull ſeruant towards him, but ſhould farther obtaine thereby the honour to bee the Lieutenant Generall of his army in this Prouince; the Great Sultan (as hee ſaid) hauing meanes as eaſie as words to aduance his faithfull ſeruitours, who might draw more good fortunes in one houre out of this infinite ſource of felicity and greatneſſe, than they could in a thouſand yeares out of the pouerty of the Princes of Europe. He ſaid alſo, That the Great L Sultan had on foot an army of a hundred and fifty thouſand men ſtrong, for the conqueſt of Peſth, and Strigonium, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, which had now already turned head towards Hungary, had it not beene for the rebellion of ſome of his diſloyall ſubjects, whom for all that hee would in ſhort time chaſtiſe, and ſo turne his whole forces vpon the Emperor.

Moyſes in great fauour with Mahomet.

Moyſes proud of his late conqueſt, and hauing found a great deale of great Ordnance in Wiſcebourg, reſolued to proſecute his victory, and to beſiege *Baſta* in Somoſinnar, whereinto he had thruſt himſelfe, with the reſt of his ſmall forces; But *Baſta* better acquainted with martiall affaires than he, and knowing that a Generall departed from his charge, and brought to the mercy of a Wall for his chiefe defence, hath loſt his credit and reputation with his M friends, and they alſo in hope of ſafety from him thought it beſt firſt to take order for the ſtrengthening of the place, ſo to put *Moyſes* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward as he might to prouide for the ſafety of himſelfe and his. Wherefore he in good time

A generall beſieged, looſeth his reputation.

A aduertiſed the Gouernour of Caſſoua (who was neereſt vnto him) of *Moyſes* his deſignes,
and of the neceſſity wherewith he was himſelfe encloſed. Who forthwith conceiuing the
conſequence of ſo great an exploit, as concerned both the loſſe of the place, and of ſo great a
commander as was *Baſta*, a loſſe irreparable; preſently commanded ſix companies of horſemen
to thruſt themſelues into the place, for the better defence thereof. Theſe horſemen either
afraid of the Rebels army, or elſe fauouring his proceedings, without reſpect of that
they had in charge, or of their honour (things deerer vnto men of worth than their liues)
without any attempt at all giuen, returned againe to Caſſoua, hauing with their pilfering
and outrages by the way much offended and prouoked the minds of the country people by
them ſpoyled. But being now better aduiſed, and repenting themſelues of their faults, and
B crauing pardon of their gouernor, who was about with the reſt of his power to haue cut them
in pieces, they offred him for ſatisfaction, ſix of the principal authors of their diſloyalty; who
were all forthwith executed, and their quarters (to the terrour of others) hanged vp vpon
Gibbets by the high way ſide. But *Baſta* by their treachery lay in the meane time without
ſuccour, forſaken by his friends, and the place wherein he lay, in danger to be taken: when
the Tranſyluanians dwelling neere thereby reſolued to relieue him, as well for feare of the
Turks bondage, as for the tyranny of *Moyſes*; one of whoſe ſecretaries with letters of credence
then threatned all the country with fire and ſword, and all kinde of miſeries, if the inhabitants
helped not with all their power to force the place and to win it. Which threats by
Moyſes publiſhed before he had any abſolute power, diſmaied euery man: for why, they could
C not hope for any moderation or kindeneſſe in the proſperity of him, who in the time of his
aduerſity gaue ſuch apparant teſtimonies of his cruelty. So that the people, doubting this
angry man, reſolued to preuent his ſo grieuous threats by relieuing of *Baſta*, who only was
able to ſtop him. Amongſt others, *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia, mindefull of the aid that *Baſta*
had giuen him againſt the Tartars; and willing now as a friend to reach his hand in time of
his ſo hard diſtreſſe, immediately raiſed a power of eight thouſand Valachians, which he preſently
ſent to the reliefe of *Baſta*. *Moyſes* aduertiſed of their comming, and farther vnderſtanding
that *Baſta* hauing well fortified the place, was departed thence, hauing before his departure
aſſuredly promiſed his men there left to relieue them, and that he was now in the midſt
of the field gathering together his army, changing both his reſolution and purpoſe, of himſelf
D raiſed his ſiege, and ſo departed. After which, miſhaps began to fall vpon him by heaps.
The Turks forthwith forſooke him, taking their way to Temeſwar, whither they were by the
Baſſa called backe, to repreſſe the Haiduckes, who were now euery day euen at the gates of
the city. Theſe actiue and couragious men for their profit attending vpon all occaſions,
knowing that the better part of the garriſon of Temeſwar was gone to aid *Moyſes*, vpon the
ſudden had deſperatly aſſailed the ſuburbs of that ſtrong city, ſlaine all they found there, rifled
them and burnt them: and ſo loaded with a great and rich prey both of cattell and other
things, returned to Veradin, no man purſuing of them: And not ſo contented, were euery day
abroad ſeeking after new booty; which was the cauſe that the Baſſa now called backe the
Turks from *Moyſes* againe into their garriſons.

The Vayuod of Valachia ſendeth aid to the reliefe of Baſta.

Moyſes raiſeth his ſiege.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar calleth home his Turks out of Tranſyluania, for the repreſſing of the Haiduckes.

E *Moyſes* notwithſtanding this departure of the garriſon Turks of Temeſwar, was yet maſter
of the field, *Baſta* with his ſmall forces not daring to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, yet
by far too ſtrong for him, the ſuccours from the Vayuod of Valachia being not yet come,
which he dayly expected, howbeit that many hot skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the ſtragling
ſouldiers on both ſides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the country ſeeking
after booty. *Moyſes* ſeeing therefore not any ſufficient enemy to appeare in field able
to ſtay him, laid ſiege to Claudinople, a great, but weake city, and not very well manned, for
that it was thought a place fitter by the weakeneſſe thereof to weaken and deſtroy ſuch as
ſhould vndertake the defence thereof, than ſufficient to be maintained by their valour. Neuertheleſſe,
the garriſon ſouldiers and the inhabitants (more to make a ſhew of their fidelity
F and allegiance toward the Emperor, than for any hope they had to maintaine the place) ſtanding
vpon their gard and defence, *Moyſes* was conſtrained to plant his great ordnance againſt
it, and to batter it: which he did, and in a very ſhort time with the fury of the cannon had beaten
downe the bulwarkes and flankers thereof, and made a faire breach in the wall, ready now
to haue giuen thereunto an aſſault, and to haue entred. Whereupon the beſieged not, igno-

rant

Claudinople beſieged by Moyſes

Claudinople yeelded to Moyſes.

rant of their owne weakeneſſe, came to parley, and agreed to giue vp the city, the citiſens hauing their liues, goods liberty, and religion ſaued, to ſtay there ſtill, and the ſouldiers with their armes and baggage to be in ſafety brought ouer the mountaines into ſome place of ſurety. The taking of this city much encouraged the rebell, reſolued there to make his reſiſtance, and the ſeat of his principality. Full eares of corne draw birds to pecke vpon them, and the good fortunes of Generals, ſouldiers to follow them: they forſake none but ſuch as are before forſaken of their better fortunes; to become ſlaues vnto gaine, and enemies vnto honour. The Turks and Tartars thirſting after theſe commodities, and allured with the ſmell of riches, repaired thither on euery ſide; in ſuch ſort, that the army of *Moyſes* increaſed in number, his mind with hope, and his fortune with power. Armed with theſe aſſurances, he ſent for his wife and family then at Temeſwar, to come vnto him to Claudiople, to be partakers with him of his good hap. And for that purpoſe ſent a conuoy of 400 Turks to conduct them on the way thither. Who being come to Temeſwar, and about to haue led the wife and family of *Moyſes* out of the city, were not ſuffered by the Ianizaries that had the garding of the towne, ſo to do: who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found ſo many diſloialties, trecheries, and treaſons in the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Valachians, to the great hurt and hinderance of his eſtate, that he could no more aſſure himſelfe of them; and that doubting of the fidelity of *Moyſes*, being a Tranſyluanian, he was reſolued to keepe this gage for his more aſſurance; aſſuring him withall, That his wife and family being in his power, ſhould receiue nothing from him but fauour and grace, ſo long as he receiued from him the effects of his loyalty, but that he ſhould neuer hope to inioy them but in Temeſwar, or ſome other ſuch like place aſſured for his ſeruice. *Moyſes* aſtoniſhed at this anſwer, was much moued againſt the great Sultan, complained in his ſoule, that hauing ruinated his faith, his honour, and the welfare of his country, to aſſure him of his fidelity towards him, he yet doubted of his conſtancy, as if all theſe crimes did not binde him to ſerue him with his perſon for euer, were it euen but for feare of puniſhment from them whom he had ſo grieuouſly offended.

The Valachians by Moyſes put to flight.

In the meane time the ſuccours ſent from the Vayuod of Valachia were vpon the borders of Tranſyluania vnder the conduct of *Marſa* the Vayuod his Lieutenant, and *Baſta* was gathering together his forces, to recouer againe his former eſtate; expecting euery houre the comming of two thouſond horſamen out of Sileſia, with which vnited power he was in good hope to diſcomfit the rebell, and to recouer his former loſſes. All which, *Moyſes* by his eſpials right well knew, and for the remedy thereof reſolued to march with thirty thouſand men to meet with the Valachians, and to cut them off, before they could come far into Tranſyluania, or joyne their forces with *Baſta*. For the furthering of which his purpoſe he had learned the place whereby they were to enter, their number, and the way they were to hold, the better to conduct his army againſt them; and being in number more than three to one, already aſſured himſelfe of the victory. All which fell out according to his deſire: for the Valachians comming on, being in number but eight thouſand, fell as it were a prey into his mouth. For needs fight they muſt, or die therefore, although the number were vnequall; for that to fly was more dangerous vnto the Valachians (hauing the Turks and Tartarian horſemen at their backes) than manfully to fight it out. Neceſſity gaue courage vnto the weaker ſide, and feare cauſed them to performe more than they would haue done, had they had liberty to haue fled: yet for all that, the greater number at length preuailed againſt the leſſe; ſo that after a great and mortall fight, wherein a great number of the Turks and Tartars were ſlaine, the Valachians in the end were enforced to leaue their dead companions, their honour, and their tents, with all their baggage in the field, and to betake themſelues to flight; but not all in rout as freſh-water ſouldiers, but with often making ſtands, as men diſdaining by true valour, but only with number oppreſſed, to be ouercome. The rebels proud of their victory, and now fearing no more harme, forthwith gaue themſelues to the riffling of the enemies campe, diuiding the ſpoyle, and filling the heauens with the noiſe of their trumpets, publiſhing thereby the trophies of their victory. Which diſorder the Valachians perceiuing, and thereof conceiuing hope of ſome good to be done, turned head, and ſerued cloſe together, couragiouſly thruſt themſelues into the middeſt of theſe proud and triumphant victors. Which vnexpected thunderclap ſo diſmaied them and troubled their wits,

that

A that ſurpriſed in diſorder, with their hands full of ſpoils in ſtead of weapons, they could neither recouer their courage, nor put themſelues againe in order. Such confuſion maketh men oftentimes to feele the blowes of death, before they be aware of the arme that giueth the ſame: ſo, of theſe men ſo confounded, ſome ſtood as men amazed, otherſome ran away to ſaue themſelues, and otherſome ſtood vpon their defence, but all were alike ſlaine: ſo that in fine, this great army was for the moſt part cut in pieces, and the reſt put to flight. *Moyſes* himſelfe was there among the reſt ſlaine, worthy for his treaſon to haue beene reſerued to a more ſhamefull death.

Moyſes with his army by the Valachians ouerthrowne, and himſelfe ſlaine.

Of this victory the Vayuod by letters certified *Baſta*, to whom he ſent fiue and twenty of the enemies enſignes for an honourable preſent, with this ioyfull news of the death and B ouerthrow of the rebell; whoſe body as the Vayuod writ, was found dead amongſt the middeſt of the dead, ſlaine euen at the firſt charge, wherein his guard was ouerthrowne. And for that it was commonly beleeued, that he was not yet dead, neither preſent at that battell, as ſome had giuen it out; to manifeſt the contrary vnto the World, and by his example to terrifie others, his head was vpon a lance ſet vp at Carolſtad for all men to behold: a preferment well beſeeming ſuch an ambitious head, as had made ſo great troubles, and beene the death of ſo many Chriſtians.

Moyſes his head vpon a lance ſet vp at Carolſtad.

This rebell ſuppreſſed, another by and by ſtart vp, called *Albert Nage*, who gathering together the rebels of Tranſyluania, mingled with certaine Turks, Tartars, Coſſackes, and Moldauians, all together amounting to the number of ſix thouſand, made head towards Lippa. C Againſt whom, *Baſta* with all ſpeed ſent forth three thouſand Haiducks well acquainted with the countrey, which ſometimes ſerued them to better purpoſe than their armes, for that the rebels ſought not ſo much to come to a ſet battell, and to try the matter by true valour, as by taking the aduantages of places, to delay the time and purchaſe gaine, the chiefe end of their rebellion. Theſe rebels the Haiducks ſurpriſed neere vnto a Caſtle called Ferre, where they meant to haue lodged, and charged them. Who ſo vpon the ſudden ouertaken, and ignorant of their enemies power, ſuppoſing them to haue beene more in number than indeed they were, made ſmall reſiſtance, but as a many of raſcals, gathered by villany, and without truſting of one another, by flight prouided euery man for himſelfe as he might. In which flight, the greateſt number of them were ſlaine, and their chiefetaine with much ado ſaued, to be at D another time for his euill deſerts iuſtly executed.

New rebels in Tranſyluania diſcomfited.

Baſta by theſe good haps, and the aid of the Vayuod of Valachia, being again become maſter of the field, in very ſhort time after had reduced all Tranſyluania vnder the Emperours obeyſance, vnto whom, he together with the Vayuod, for an honourable preſent and a teſtimony of their good ſeruice, ſent to Vienna, and from thence to Prague, an hundred enſignes gained from the rebels. All which with ſome other rich ſpoles, the maſter of the Ceremonies in great pompe and triumph led, together with *Moyſes* the late rebels horſe, exceeding richly furniſhed with furniture of pure gold, and was for his paines by the Emperour rewarded with a chaine of gold, ſent vnto him by the County *Fuſtenberg*.

An honourable preſent by the L Baſta ſent vnto the Emperour

The troubles of Tranſyluania thus once againe quieted, *Baſta* reſoluing againe to beſiege E Temeſwar, with his power marched towards Lippa, there to meet with the forces of the Vayuod of Valachia, the better to vndertake and performe the intended exploit. His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men ſtrong, carrying with them fiue and twenty pieces of great ordnance, furniſhed with all things neceſſary. And of the enterpriſe it ſelfe euery man had good hope, as well for the ſufficiency of him the Generall that had vndertaken it, as for the want of reliefe that was not like any way to be brought vnto the beſieged. But while he ſo lay at the ſiege thereof, his ſouldiers too greedily and exceſſiuely feeding vpon fruit (whereof there was that yeare great ſtore) fell ſo into the bloudy flix, and thereof in ſuch number died (although he had giuen moſt ſtreit command, That none ſhould be eaten, or vpon great penalties be brought into the camp) that he was glad to riſe with his army and be gone.

F Whileſt this was in doing, the County *Solmes* lying in garriſon at Carolſtat, tooke vpon him to ſurpriſe Wiſcenbourg; and ſetting forth but with foure hundred ſouldiers of his garriſon, with wonderfull diligence ſurpriſed the place, and without any great reſiſtance became maſters thereof. But the citiſens ouer-grieued with the inſolent outrages of theſe

County Solmes ſurpriſing Wiſcenbourg, is himſelfe taken priſoner.

men of war, opened the gates of their towne vnto the rebels of Tranſyluania, euen then fled
from the late ouerthrow: who full of reuenge, tooke the place, and being too ſtrong for the G
County and his ſoldiers, made ſuch ſlaughter of them in the ſtreets (they of the towne out of
their windowes, and from the tops of their houſes helping them) that of all thoſe which the
County brought with him, there were but ſixty left aliue; who all taken, were together with
the County thruſt into a ſtrong and loathſome priſon.

A great army of the Chriſtians

Now the bruit of the comming of the Turks great army into Hungary had awaked the
Chriſtian forces to aſſemble themſelues together, and to do their endeauor to withſtand the
ſame; ſo that a number of companies were raiſed in Germany, who came into Hungary
marching towards Strigonium, where the army was to be aſſembled. The good ſucceſſe of
things paſt, the opinion men had of the Turks troubles with his rebels, and the great promiſes
of the Emperour, drew many into theſe liſts of honor; in ſuch ſort, that there were come H
together an army of fiue and twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; all good and
braue companies, well appointed and well conducted. Of this braue and gallant army the
Lord *Ruſſworme* was for this yeare appointed Generall; who therewith marched within the
ſight of Strigonium, to aſſure the inhabitants of reliefe, if the enemy ſhould chance to beſiege
them, as the newes then went. About three weekes this army lay there by encamped,
attending the comming of the reſt of the forces, which were to ſtrengthen and make vp the
ſame; during which time the Generall diſpoſed of all things neceſſary for the keeping of
Strigonium, and put into the fort of S. *Andrew* neere vnto it three thouſand Lanſquenets for
reliefe of the city: which done, hee remooued with his army toward Peſth, and encamped I
within a league thereof toward the Weſt, reſoluing ſo to croſſe the deſignes of the enemy if
he ſhould attempt to beſiege this place (as it was doubted he would) and in hope that the
preſeruation thereof might in time be a cauſe for the winning of Buda, and a meane to impeach
the enemies forces.

The Turks army of 100000 men in field.

The ſhamefull flight of certain of the garriſon ſoldiers of Peſth vnto the Turks at Buda.

Peſth victualled

The Turks army within a few daies after vpon a contrary deſigne conducted for the winning
of Peſth (and reſolued to raiſe the Chriſtians campe) in number an hundred thouſand
men, came, and face to face incamped within the ſight of the Chriſtian army on the other
ſide of the riuer Danubius. In the meane time whileſt they ſo lay, certaine cowardly ſoldiers
of Peſth, more in loue with their bellies than with their honour, by ſtealth fled out of their
garriſon in Peſth, to the Turks ouer againſt them in Buda, ſhamefully crauing of them victuals; K
whom the Turks being themſelues almoſt in as great want, yet bounteouſly relieued.
Beſides that, the Baſſa of Buda to corrupt the reſt of their fellowes, cauſed theſe renegate fugitiues
to be entertained with double pay: who therefore gaue the Baſſa a thouſand thanks,
extolling his bounty vnto the heauens, and from the wals inuiting their companions to do as
they had done, and ſo to become partakers of ſuch bounty and pleaſure as they were. Howbeit
theſe fugitiues nothing profited the Baſſa, either by their perſuaſion or example: for
albeit that they from the mouth of the Baſſa promiſed vnto their companions plenty of victuals,
good entertainment, and foure months pay more, yet was there not any of them which
hearkened or gaue eare vnto their allurements; but rather the more to aſſure their commanders
of their fidelity, of themſelues offered to be ſworne againe vnto their allegiance vnto the L
Emperour, and to die in the place rather than to forſake it. Yet was the want of victuals then
in Peſth great, and the garriſon therwith extreamely pinched, fed almoſt as much with hope,
as with that little which was left them. Neither was it long after, but that according to their
deſires the 15 of May a great ſhip arriued there, laded with wine and victuals ſufficient for
the reliefe of their preſent neceſſities. Of the comming of which ſhip, the Turks hauing
heard, attended the paſſage thereof in the Iſle, to haue intercepted it. Of which their purpoſe
the garriſon ſouldiers of Peſth hauing knowledge, and armed with neceſſity, ſallied out
vpon them, and killing a number of them, inforced the reſt to quit the place. This ſhip was
but the forerunner of greater ſuccors; for ſhortly after followed a number of other ſhips:
which arriuing at Peſth, laded with victuals and other neceſſaries, filled the place with as M
great plenty, as there had beene before want. Which ſupply was conducted vnto Peſth by
500 harquebuſiers of Strigonium, the Turks from Buda looking on, but not daring or not
able to ſtay the ſame.

It

A It fortuned at the ſelfe ſame time, that a captain of the Turkes, fled from Alba-Regalis to Rab, ſhewed the Chriſtians there the way and mean how they might come to the ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis, and take the ſpoil of the ſame; yea and haply as things might fal out, finde occaſion to ſurpriſe the town it ſelf alſo, offering himſelf to be their guid in the action. And albeit that this Turk might iuſtly be feared and ſuſpected, yet the Chriſtian ſoldiers, as men deſirous both of honour and prey, and induced alſo by the probability of the attempt, gaue credit vnto him and embraced the ſame. Neither failed he of his promiſe, nor the Chriſtians of their deuoir in performance of the exploit; For the two garriſons of Rab and Strigonium aſſembled together, by this Turks conduct ſurpriſed the ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis, ſlew al them that made reſiſtance, rifled them on all hands, ſet them on fire, and ſo laden with rich ſpoil returned home again in ſafety.

The ſuburbs of Alba-Regalis ſackt & burnt by the Chriſtians.

B At the ſame time alſo the Chriſtians on the other ſide Danubius gathered an head together to conduct another Conuoy of victuals into Peſth, with a reſolution to march with the ſame through the plain field at noone day, euen in the eie of the enemy, ſo to braue him. To which purpoſe the Lord *Nadaſti* was there preſent with a good number of Hungarians, Colonel *Meüberg* with a regiment of Almaines, and the County *Thurn* with a number of Huſſars, all good ſoldiers and men of courage, deſirous to proue the ſame vpon their enemies. This conuoy, with the Trumpets gallantly ſounding, brauely marched ouer the plaine at mid day, the Turkes from the walls of Buda beholding the ſame, but not daring to aduenture vpon it. And ſo Peſth, for want of victuals before diſtreſſed, was now plentifully relieued both by water and by land.

Peſth again victualled.

C The Chriſtians the laſt yeare hauing left the ſiege of Buda for the reaſons before written, in their return tooke the caſtle of Adom, ſeated vpon the banke of Danubius, about 2 leagues from Buda; and for the keeping therof left therin a gariſon of Haiducks. This caſtle was conuenient for the annoying of the Turks in Buda, and for the relief of the Chriſtians in Peſth; for that it impeached the bringing of victuals vnto the one, and fauoured the victualling of the other. The good and faithful defence of this place theſe Haiduckes vndertooke to their vtmoſt power, vpon their honour and credit, as they would be accounted valiant and couragious men; but yet refuſed to be bound by oath to render an account for the place, whatſoeuer might befall; a thing (as they truly ſaid) aboue their forces, and more than they were able to D perform. Theſe men now vpon the bruit of the comming of the Turks great Army, afraid of their ſhadowes, hauing before truſſed vp their baggage, ſet fire on the caſtle and ſo departed, retyring themſelues to Strigonium: where examined by the gouernor *Althem*, of the cauſe of their flight, and what enemies had chaſed them thence; and being not able therfore to make any excuſe, nor to yeeld any reaſon therof, more than their imaginary fear, were by his commandement impriſoned, there to remain vntil order were taken by the Generall of the Army for their further puniſhment.

Sultan *Mahomet* now wallowing in the midſt of his ſenſual delights in Conſtantinople, yet found not therin ſo full contentment, but that his pleaſures had alſo their griefs fully mixed with them. In Conſtantinople, the ſtrong ſeat of his mighty empire, he was amidſt the inſo-E lent mutinies of the proud Baſſa's and tumultuous Ianizaries; and abroad hee was in warres both againſt his rebellious ſubiects in Aſia, and the Chriſtians in Europe. Vnto all which troubles he ſaw not how to giue remedy at once, and therfore reſolued, if it were poſſible, firſt to appeaſe the troubles abroad with his rebellious ſubiects in Aſia; as more deſirous to be at peace with his owne ſubiects, than with ſtrangers: howbeit that the puniſhing of rebellion is more neceſſary in a Prince for the maintenance of his ſtate, than is war againſt a ſtranger for the conquering of a new country or kingdom; the one preuenting the danger hanging ouer his head, the other ſeruing but his vaine and ambitious deſire. So hee preferring peace with the Rebels his ſubiects, before peace with the Chriſtians his enemies, reſolued (as I ſaid) to pacifie the firſt, the more eaſily to ruinat the other. But whether he vpon good faith or policy F entred into this reſolution, and whether indeed he dealt plainly with theſe rebels, or but only to deceiue them, is hard to ſay. Howbeit, as the ſequell of the matter ſhewed, falſhood and treachery was the ground of all this buſineſſe, both on the one ſide & on the other. For theſe men reſpecting only the ſafety and aſſurance of their eſtate, held all other actions as indiffe-

Mahomet in vain offereth peace to the Aſian Rebels.

rent, whether they were good or bad, ſo that they ſerued to that effect; and nouriſhed with G the ſame milke of infidelitie that their Prince was, trained vp in the ſame ſchoole, and foſtred with the ſame air, feared in him againſt them, that which they felt in themſelues againſt him. An hard matter it is to aſſure minds fraight with like craft, ſubtiltie, and deceit, and poſſeſſed with like diſtruſt one of another. Howbeit *Mahomet* ſpared no kinde of cunning to deceiue theſe crafty and ſubtil men; offering vnto them, together with his gracious pardon, great preferments, dignities, and honors, ſo that they would but yeeld to him their due obedience, lay down their arms, and no more take vp the ſame but in his ſeruice. But theſe wily foxes knew right wel, that the promiſes of faithleſſe princes coſt them nothing but words, the honor and credit therof they regarded not, ſo that therby they might attain vnto the height of their deſires, which they eſteemed aboue all other things: ſo that for them to truſt vnto a thing of ſo H ſmall value with him that was ſo prodigal therof, and for the ſame ſo eaſily to yeeld vp their liues and fortunes, which they eſteemed as their chiefeſt treaſures, they thought right worthily to deſerue all ſhame and miſhap that might betide them. So that they not only refuſed to lay down arms, and to yeeld their obedience vnto him, as he deſired, but euen to haue peace with him vpon any conditions whatſoeuer, ſeeing them dangerous vnto themſelues, and good only for him their enemy.

Mahomet finding the rebels ſo reſolutely ſet down, as not by any means but by force to bee appeaſed, thought it now beſt to turn his purpoſe vnto the Chriſtians, and to offer them that which the others had refuſed; in hope that peace made with the one, ſhould be the vtter ruin of the other. Vpon which point he being in himſelf reſolued, ſought now ſome honeſt means I not vnbeſeeming his greatnes, to effect this his purpoſe. For the eaſing him of which care, the French Embaſſador then Lieger at Conſtantinople, was very fitly then intreating with the Viſier Baſſa's for the deliuerance of the County *Yſolan*, taken at Alba-Regalis the laſt yeare, and againſt all law of arms detained priſoner at Conſtantinople. This noble gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit, as wel for the ſufficiencie of himſelf, as with inſtructions to deale with the Emperour concerning an intreaty of peace to be had. Wherupon he commanded him to bee ſet at liberty, with charge, That he ſhould both diſcreetly and faithfully deal with the Emperor concerning this matter of peace; which if he ſhould by his induſtry effect, to his good liking and content, then he ſhould remain free, otherwiſe to return againe into his former captiuity and bondage: for whom the French Embaſſadour gaue his word and became pledge. K Vpon which barbarous conditions the Earle was forthwith deliuered, who by the law of arms ſhould not at all haue bin detained.

Beſides this plot laid for the negotiation of peace, *Achmet Baſſa* to this purpoſe writ to *Colonitz*, then commander of the Emperors army in Hungary; the copy of which letters was as followeth:

Letters of Acmet Baſſa vnto Collonitz concerning peace.

To thee our friend Collonitz *health and greeting. I ſuppoſe you yet remember the propoſitions concerning peace, which our Soueraign and moſt mighty Monarch not long ago cauſed to bee opened and propounded vnto you by certaine of his Baſſa's neere vnto Strigonium; which as then remained not reſolued.* L *But if now it ſhall ſeem vnto you good, that we ſhould aſſemble our ſelues together into ſome place of aſſurance both to the one ſide and the other, we may again confer about that buſines, as hauing on my part full power and commandment from my Prince ſo to do; yet with charge, That before all other things Strigonium ſhould be again deliuered vnto vs. Which being don, wee may eaſily afterward determin the other difficulties, and conclude a good and wholſome peace. God which onely reigneth in the heauens aboue, is witnes of our faithfull and iuſt deſire, to aſſume a quiet and firm peace betwixt vs, and that to auert theſe flouds of war from the poor people, and to giue them ſome repoſe and reſt after ſo great troubles. This is our intent and purpoſe, which God knoweth to be void of all fraud and guile; which we now declare vnto you, in hope to vnderſtand yours alſo. But if you be not reſolued to render to vs Strigonium, before we begin to intreat of other matters, it is not needfull for you to trouble your ſelf to giue any anſwer to theſe our letters.* M *But if you ſhall reſolue to the contrary, to deliuer the ſame, with as much ſpeed as you can, in few words let vs vnderſtand the ſame, with the time & place fit for our aſſembly & meeting to the intent fully to determin of theſe affairs. You know alſo that you haue bin of long time accuſtomed to pay tribute to our Prince; which if you ſhal continually pay for the time to come, and diſcharge the arrerages for ttime paſt, it ſhall* *be commodious for vs, and honourable for you, ſeeing that it is an honour vnto you to be tributaries vnto the Grand Seigniour, it hauing alwaies in times paſt bin for your good and profit. Beſides that, peace ſhall likewiſe be intreated of with the great Cham of Tartarie, who is commanded by our moſt mighty and gratious Emperor vpon iuſt and reaſonable conditions to entertain the ſame, and neuer more but in peaceable manner to come into Hungarie. Now if that you ſhall neglect or reiect this treaty for peace, it is certaine that you ſhall be the authour of the miſery and ruine of the whole countrey, it being impoſsible that the towns and villages conſumed with fire ſhould euer recouer their former beauty or felicity. God which reigneth in heauen is there witneſſe vnto me, and my dead Emperour vpon earth, that I ſpeake franckely with you, and without diſsimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let vs vnderſtand if you haue a deſire to attend vnto this treaty of peace, according to the purport of your Letters: for if you ſhall reſolue to the contrarie, we proteſt vnto you to write no more concerning theſe affaires.*

Collonitz hauing receiued theſe letters, ſent them forthwith vnto the Emperor, requeſting his Majeſtie to conſider what anſwer he would haue giuen vnto them. Whom the Emperor, deſirous of a good peace, commanded to embrace the occaſion, and by proofe to learne whether the Turks deſire were indeed conformable to their words or not. Whereupon *Collonitz* taking vnto him certaine of the beſt commanders of the army, vndertooke the buſineſſe, and entred into the treaty of peace with the Turks: wherein he found the vnreaſonableneſſe of their demands to tend ſo much vnto the hurt and diſhonor of the Emperor, as that they euen at the firſt entrance ſhut vp the way to al further or reaſonable conference, it being altogether impoſsible to bring to any conformitie, minds ſet down vpon reſolutions ſo far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperour would haue been glad of peace vpon any condition) after their proud manner, vnreaſonably demanded to haue Tranſyluania, Strigonium, and Peſth reſtored vnto them; for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour Agria and Caniſia, pebles for pearles. So that vpon propoſitions ſo far different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both ſides as they came, to try by armes that which by talke and conference they could not agree vpon. But as all the Turks treaties of peace with the Chriſtians are indeed but falſe ſhewes to abuſe the facilitie of the Chriſtians by, euen ſo now alſo it was knowne, that they in the meane time, whileſt this treaty of peace was in hand, gathered together great ſtore both of men and munition at Belgrade, wherewith to arme a great conuoy of victuals, which they had thought during this interparley for peace to haue put into Buda. But *Collonitz* vnderſtanding thereof, ceaſed further to intreat of peace, which with the falſe ſhew thereof did but hurt and deceiue the Chriſtians, and betooke himſelfe againe to his arms (his and their ſafeſt and ſureſt refuge) reſoluing with the other Captains & Commanders of the army to do what they might for the croſſing and hindring of the Turkes in their purpoſe for the putting of victuals into Buda: whereof there was now ſuch want, that the Turks in garriſon there hauing alreadie eaten all their horſes, and for victuals rifled the Gouernours houſe, were reſolued to abandon the city, if they ſhould not be within ſome few daies relieued.

The Turks vnreaſonable demands breake off all the treaty of peace.

Now vpon this reſolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of Buda, the Chriſtians for the more aſſurance of their purpoſe, prepared therefore both by water and by land, embarking their footmen vpon the riuer, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one the Gouernour of Strigonium, and the other of Peſth; whileſt that *Collonitz* with the horſemen ſcouting alongſt the banks of the riuer of Danubius, took the charge by land. And ſo it fortuned, that vpon the 22 day of Auguſt he with his horſemen neere vnto the village of Mohatſch (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell vpon the head of the Turks army, led by the Baſſa *Murat*, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Turkes, two thouſand of them being Ianizaries: who altogether lay encamped vpon an euen plaine, very commodious for our horſemen, who let ſlip neither the time nor the opportunitie of ſo great an aduantage offered them, but forthwith charged them: where after a number of notable charges both giuen and receiued, which ſtill abated both the number and courage of the Turks, they at laſt retired toward the body of their army, and that in ſuch haſt, as that their retreat little differed from a ſpeedy flight. After whom *Collonitz* followed with like hate as hee had charged them; but euill followed by his friends, who euill performed their charge, ſeeking after

A notable enterpriſe of Collonitz vpon the auantgard of the Turks army.

the ſpoil, in ſtead of purſuing their enemies; the Turks perceiuing the ſmall number that purſued them, turned vpon them, and ſo began again not only to make ſtrong reſiſtance, but euen right hardly to charge them. Who ſo by them preſſed with no leſſe courage than power, were now glad themſelues to retyre, in ſtead of purſuing the victory; but yet ſo, as that the retreit was made without any great loſſe therin receiued. Howbeit, the Turkes not a little incouraged with this change of fortune, and perceiuing themſelues too ſtrong for their enemies that charged them, came on ſo faſt and ſo couragiouſly, as that in fine they had defeated the Chriſtians, had not the Haiducks out of their boats from the riuer in good time come reſolutely to their relief. Which cloud the Turks perceiuing, ready to pour forth a great tempeſt vpon their heads, and not daring to abide the ſame, againe retyred, leauing the Chriſtians Victors both in the firſt and laſt charge: who not content with the retreit of the Turks, furiouſly charged and purſued them euen vnto their great campe, and ſo returned, carrying backe with them both the glory of the field, and the ſpoil of their enemies. G H

Collonitz in good time relieued by the Haiducks.

In this conflict, the red cornet of *Murat Baſſa*, the cogniſance of his great commaund, was taken, with two field pieces; ſeuen hundred Turks were left dead vpon the place, and ſix ſcore more taken priſoners: amongſt whom was *Saxar Beg*, who being a man of vnderſtanding, & by the Chriſtians examined, confeſſed, That *Haſſan Baſſa* the day before this conflict came into the Campe, and there honourably dined with the great Cham; with whom after their great cheer, he entring into diſcourſe of many great matters, and among the reſt, concerning his return into his country; was much againſt the ſame, vntill ſuch time as they had new victualled Buda, wherunto he was (as he ſaid) both in honour and duty bound to giue his aſſiſtance, the loſſe of this place being of ſo great importance vnto the grand Seignior. That otherwiſe his aid had been to him rather hurtfull than profitable, his people hauing deuoured ſo much victuals and performed nothing, if he ſhould now at this time faile to doe his Prince ſeruice; who could neuer thinke either valour or credit to be in him, if he ſhould fail in ſuch actions as wherin his valour and fidelitie ſhould appear; all things hauing no other credit and reputation but according vnto their effects. And that therefore hee ſhould reſolue to ſee the end of this exploit, which required euery mans helping hand for the performance therof, conſidering the forces of the enemy in readineſſe to hinder the ſame. Moreouer hee aſſured them, That the Baſſa's purpoſe was to new fortifie Haſwar, Pax, and Kaletſch, frontier Caſtles, and neceſſarie for this action, and ſo to goe to the ſiege of Peſth: and that done, to beſiege Strigonium, which for all that, he doubted to win this year, as well by reaſon of the approach of winter, as for that a great part of his forces were far off, and not eaſily in a little time to be aſſembled together. That the Tartars were yet a great way from the camp, where the Baſſa's of Aſia and Caramania were within a few daies expected, the one of them leading with him the reconciled rebels of Aſia, and the other ſix thouſand Ianizaries. Which his confeſſion although it were not altogether true, yet caried it ſhew of ſome probabilitie, as time by prooſe afterward declared. I K

The Turkes affaires reuealed to the Chriſtiãs

Some of our men were in this charge ſlaine alſo, but few in compariſon of the Turks, who there loſt ſome of their beſt men. It was noted, that tn this conflict the ſoldiers of Colonell *Sultze* had euil behaued themſelues, refuſing to purſue the enemy being in flight; whether it were for that they feared ſome ambuſh layd for them, or for that they diſdained to follow Generall *Collonitz*: the reaſons perhaps for which their Colonell ſtaied them from the purſuit of the enemy. But to euill purpoſe: for being out of order at ſuch time as the Turkes turning back renewed the fight, they had beene all ſlain and cut in pieces, had nor the Haiduckes in good time (as we ſaid) come on to their reſcue. As for *Collonitz*, hee moſt brauely bare himſelf in this conflict, ſo much as in him was vrging his good fortune for the obtaining of a ful victory; ſometime performing the part of a good Captaine, and ſometime of a moſt valiant ſouldier; ſometime forcing the charge, and again ſtaying his men in the retreit: inſomuch that oftentimes loſt amongſt his enemies, and again returning by the grace of God, he eſcaped death as it were by miracle, and from being taken priſoner, by chance. Into neither of which dangers hee could haue fallen without the great danger of the whole Army, which next vnto God, was for the ſafety thereof chiefely beholding vnto the valour of him their ſo braue a Leader. But God in his wiſedome createth not ſuch worthy men, but by his pro- L M

A uidence alſo to preſerue them: Wonder it were otherwiſe, that euer ſuch worthy men ſhould
return from among the midſt of ſo many deſperat dangers, Death as it were enuying at their
liues, and their enemies for their glory chuſing them out to triumph of their ſpoils and ouer-
throw. And without doubt, had the reſt of the Chriſtians after his example proſecuted their
good fortune, and don what good ſoldiers ſhould of duty haue done, their enemies had beene
quite ouerthrown, and they themſelues had bin both victorious and rich: where now for lacke
of good reſolution, the victory was almoſt equall; for beſides the ſpoils by them gotten, they
might haue carried away with them a whole years pay due to the garriſon of Buda, which the
Turks, put into a fear, and only carefull of their liues, had left in their camp, which they afterward
again recouered, vpon recouery of their force and courage. This mony, with much more,
B was all appointed as a prey vnto the good fortune of our men, had they bin ſo valorous as to
fetch it; but failing of their indeauor in ſo glorious an action, Fortune failed them alſo of
her bounty.

Now at length the Chriſtian army was met together, about the fourth of September, wherin
the lord *Ruſſworm* commanded as General; who deſirous to vnderſtand of the Turks affairs
and deſignes, ſent forth two of his moſt truſty and expert ſouldiers to performe that piece of
ſeruice: who in Turks apparel being got into the Turks army, were there eight daies vndiſcouered
or ſuſpected of any. Where after that they roaming vp and down had taken a full view
of the Turks army, and in what they might diſcouered their deſignes, they returned back, declaring
vnto their General what they had both there heard and ſeen; as, That the Turks army
C was very great, but yet not ſuch as that which the laſt year beſieged Peſth: That the Turks lay
incamped at large, and not all together, which cauſed their Army to ſeem the greater, taking
vp half a league for the lodging therof, being wel prouided of cannon and other field pieces.
That *Haſſan Baſſa* commanded therin as Generall, hauing brought with him twelue thouſand
Ianizaries, beſide his horſmen and the reconciled rebels of Aſia, which were daily lookt for;
the leader of whom was not known, ſome thinking it to be him who had alwaies commanded
them, being a moſt valiant captain and expert commandor; but others deemed him to be but
one of his Captains that had forſaken him (as indeed he was) a right valiant man alſo, but not
of ſo great experience as he. That the great Tartar Han, come to aid the Turks in their wars
in Hungary, was to the great diſcontentment of *Haſſan Baſſa*, now already returned toward his
D own country (with ſuch booty and priſoners as he had got from the poor Chriſtians) to appeaſe
a rebellion there raiſed by a yong Tartar prince his nephew, who by his vncle the great
Han giuen in hoſtage to *Mahomet*, and kept at Conſtantinople as in priſon, hauing got means
to make an eſcape and to return into Tartary, was about to trouble his vncles affaires, in hope
now in his abſence to mount vnto the throne of his eſtate: and that the Tartar being come to
the banke of the riuer Danubius, and by the Turks denied boats to paſſe ouer in, and with
many railing and opprobrious ſpeeches by them charged for his departure, as a Coward, had
found meanes to make a floting bridge of great faggots, whereby he paſſed his footmen ouer
the riuer, his horſemen ſwimming ouer the ſame; and ſo was by great journies returning toward
his owne territory, boaſting by the way as he went, That hee had rejected and trodden
E vnder foot all the prayers and requeſts of *Haſſan Baſſa*, entreating him yet to ſtay a while in
Hungary for the ſeruice of the great Sultan his maſter. Beſides that, That they had ſeene ſix
great Veſſels vpon the riuer of Danubius, with ten leſſer Veſſels following after them, garded
with three thouſand ſouldiers well armed, and men of good ſort, three hundred of them being
Ianizaries, appointed to ſafe conduct the munition to be brought vp the riuer, and to ſerue as
a conuoy to the other Veſſels that went to follow them with victuals, if haply the Chriſtians
ſhould attempt any thing againſt them. And in fine, That the Turks army could not poſſibly
be great this year, by reaſon of many great lets wherwith the great Sultan was this year troubled:
which much abated the courage and hope of his Captaines, who hanging their heads,
came vnwillingly to theſe Wars, accounting themſelues happy if they might in this expedi-
F tion but take Peſth, that they might not returne ſo much diſhonoured as they came daunted
and diſcouraged. With which newes the Chriſtians were ſo much encouraged to incounter
with the Turkes, as if they had beene aſſured to fight with men already diſcouraged and out
of heart.

The Lord Ruſſworm informed of the Turks deſignes.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the garriſon of Strigonium.

The Turks defeated by Colonell Sultze.

In the mean time the Huſſars of Strigonium, alwaies ready for fight, by good fortune going forth, G met with 400 Turkes ſeeking for forrage; who incountering together, at the firſt made a moſt braue and gallant fight, euery one of them wiſhing, That their priuate ſucceſſe might be the beginning of their general victory. But the Huſſars being both more ſkilfull in that manner of ſkirmiſhing and ſudden incounter, and alſo of greater courage, at length brake the Turks rankes, of whom ſix ſcore lay dead vpon the ground, moſt of the reſt being taken priſoners, with an hundred and thirty good and ſeruiceable horſes, wherewith both the glory and the profit of their victory was increaſed. Colonel *Sultze* alſo with 300 men marching out from the Campe, chanced to diſcouer an hundred of thoſe braue horſemen which but newly came out of Aſia with *Zellaly* the Rebell; who hauing neuer ſeen the army of the Chriſtians, nor yet felt their forces, were with three hundred Ianizaries vpon a brauery come ouer the Riuer Danubius, H to take a view of the Chriſtian Camp: for the drawing on of whom, the wary Colonel had ſent forth fifty of his horſmen a great way from the reſt of his troup, as it were to diſcouer the country therabouts. Theſe fore-runners failed not to meet with the Turkes, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to haue had a great hand ouer that ſo ſmall a number; when vpon the ſudden Colonell *Sultze* with the reſt of his company comming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his owne men, and diſcouraged the Turks: who ſurpriſed with feare, thinking the Chriſtians to be more in number than indeed they were, hauing left ſome fifty of their men dead vpon the place, as men diſmaied and voyd of vnderſtanding fled: in which their flight, ſuch as were not by the Chriſtians ſlaine, were in the riuer of Danubius drowned, whereinto they for feare all headlong plunged them- I ſelues.

All theſe little conflicts ſerued but as ſparkes, to kindle the great fire by the Baſſa intended; his firſt purpoſe being to put a Conuoy of victuals into Buda, which the Chriſtians purpoſed by all means to hinder: which ſo contrary intentions were not but by force and policie to be decided. The Chriſtian General wiſely doubting leſt the Baſſa ſhould come and lodge his Army betwixt Vicegrade and Buda, and ſo victual the city at his pleaſure, raiſed a ſtrong fort of an old church, betwixt the ſaid two places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lanſquenets. Beſide which fort, called the fort of Saint *Andrew*, hee built another at the head therof in the Iſle of Vicegrade, in ſuch order and proportion, that theſe two forts might one of them defend the other, and annoy them that ſhould attempt to force either of them. K Together with this commodiouſnes, the fort in the Iſle kept the paſſage vpon Danubius free and open for the bringing of victuals and other neceſſaries to the Campe of the Chriſtians; and was but a league and an half from Buda. Into which fort was put a Regiment of foure thouſand Italians, being all very wel armed. Which don, he made a bridge of boats vpon the Riuer, which began in the camp and ended at the Iſle, for the releiuing of the fort; & ſo from thence paſſed quite ouer the riuer to Vacia, a little town, which it was needfull for the Chriſtians to keep.

A great Ambuſh laid for the intercepting of the Turks.

Theſe Forts finiſhed according to the neceſſity of the time, it was not long after, but that the Baſſa ſent ten thouſand Turkes both horſe and foot to take the firſt of them, which they ſuppoſed to haue beene but weakely fortified. L Who comming thither, were with ſuch courage receiued by the Lanſquenets with their harquebuſes, as that the whole Fort ſeemed to haue beene on fire. Wherewith the Turkes diſmayed, as men in their expectation deceiued, and in approching of the ſame hauing ſome of their men ſlain and moe hurt, they ſoone after ſounded a retreit, and hauing done nothing but loſt a number of their men, returned to their Campe from whence they came. In which enterpriſe failing, they reſolued vpon another, and began to make a bridge ouer the Danubius, in hope thereby to paſſe ouer, and to annoy the Chriſtians on the other ſide of the Riuer. Wherof the General of the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, ſuffered them without any interruption to ſpend the time in performing of the ſame. But certainly informed by his eſpials, both of the day and houre wherein they were about to paſſe ouer, he layd an ambuſh of foure thouſand Lanſquenets and two thouſand Reiſters for M them, in ſuch place as from whence they might without danger do great harm vnto the Enemy, and aſſure the body of the Chriſtian Army. The riuer of Danubius had growing vpon the bankes thereof, and eſpecially in the deſolate and vnfrequented places, great ſtore of flags and

A and reeds,which were now thicke,& high enough to couer the footmen in,hauing with them
four culuerins ready charged. Behind this ambuſh lay Colonell *Collonitz* with his regiment,
and in the head of it the prince *Ioinville* with a certain number of French gentlemen,who vpon
a braue courage,and a deſire they had to ſee ſeruice,had followed him into thoſe wars. There
was alſo the Lord of Baſſomperre another Frenchman,with his own priuat followers,in number
few,but in valor great. Vpon the flanks lay four troups of French Carabins,Loranoiſes,
and Wallons,moſt expert and reſolute ſoldiers.

The Turks hauing made their bridge,began now to paſſe ouer the ſame, being charged by
ſome few ſtragling and looſe fore-runners of the Chriſtians, ſent before for that purpoſe:
whom the Turks not much regarding, ſtill preſſed on, in hope to ouertake them and to cut
B them in pieces,not aware of the ambuſh laid for them,nor of their enemies counter-deſignes.
The footmen in the mean time lying ſtil cloſe in the reeds in ambuſh, beholding how and in
what order they paſſed,and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But
hauing perceiued ten thouſand Turks to be now come ouer, and making head toward them;
the Wallons vpon the banke of the riuer (as was before appointed) firſt diſcharged their pieces
vpon them, and ſlew ſome of them. Neuertheleſſe the Turkes ſtill paſſing on by them,
ſlew of them alſo about foure and twenty,and ſo keeping their way, marched directly toward
the Chriſtians. But this their forwardneſſe was quickly ſtayed, and their courage abated;
for in paſſing by, they were vpon the ſudden aſſailed by the Lanſquenets and Reiſters, now
riſen out of ambuſh, and by them hardly layed vnto on euery ſide; as alſo by the horſemen,
C who now come in,had put them into ſome diſorder before they were wel aware of them. The
Wallons alſo at the firſt by the Turks ſcattered, but now again rallied,& deſirous to reuenge
the death of their friends and fellows, played their parts, and on another ſide right furiouſly
charged their enemies. During al which fight,the Culuerins ceaſed not to open the flanks of
the Turks battell, with the loſſe of a number of their men,by the fury therof rent in pieces.
Neither did the valiant *Collonitz* foreſlow ſo fair an opportunitie,but afront charging this diſmaied
company,by plaine force cauſed them to giue ground: the Carabins in the mean time
charging them vpon their flanks,and the Wallons behinde. Who thus on euery ſide beſet
and hardly layd vnto, as men diſcouraged,and out of hope to be relieued,turned their backes
and fled amaine, to haue recouered the bridge whereby they came ouer. In which fight and
D flight two thouſand of them being ſlaine, and the reſt not able to recouer the bridge, driuen
headlong into the riuer, were therein drowned and ſlaine to the number of fiue thouſand of
them, thoſe which remained aliue beeing all taken priſoners. Amongſt the reſt one of the
Baſſa's,a man of great account amongſt the Turkes, was ſlain,with many other Captains and
commanders of great note,and fifteen hundred Ianizaries. There were alſo foure field pieces
taken,with thirty enſignes and two Cornets, beſide a very rich prey of braue and couragious
horſes,with much fair armor,rich apparell,and good ſcimiters, weapons of no ſmall account
and price amongſt the Turks. This ouerthrow much abated the courage and hope of the
reſt of the Turkes for comming to the effect of their deſignes, and increaſed the courage and
hope of the Chriſtians,reaſonably wel hereby aſſured of the good ſucces of their affaires for
E this year in Hungary.

The Turks falling into the ambuſh laied for them by the Chriſtians, receiue a notable ouerthrow.

About this time Sultan *Mahomet* hauing put a fleet of Gallies to ſea, to haue gone againſt
the king of Fez, was certainly informed,how that the ſame with tempeſt ſore beaten, to auoid
ſhipwrecke, was againe returned vnto the ſame port from whence it looſed, bringing backe
with it nothing for all his great charges, but ſickneſſe and great loſſes at ſea receiued. The
like euil hap or worſe hauing at the ſame time alſo betided another Fleet by him ſet out into
the Euxine or blacke ſea, to defend thoſe ſea coaſts from being rifled and ſpoyled by the Rebels
in Aſia, who with their daily incurſions did there ſtill great harme. For albeit that *Zellaly*
one of the Captaines of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet* his faire promiſes, was by
the ſtreit of the Dardanelli (called in antient time the ſtreit of Helleſpont) come with twelue
F thouſand good ſouldiers out of Aſia into Europe, and ſo marching through Macedonia,
was come into Hungarie, there to doe his Lord and Maſter good ſeruice; yet the chiefe
Rebell held ſtill out,and both now and for diuers yeres after maintained a moſt cruel & dangerous
warre, to the great trouble of the Grand Seignior, and the hindring of his affaires.
And euen now the crafty rebell hauing made ſhew as if he would haue ſubmitted himſelfe,
and

The doings of the Rebels in Aſia.

and come ouer into Europ as *Zellaly* did; and had therfore certain gallies ſent vnto him from G *Mahomet*, to haue tranſported him and his ſoldiers in: he now of them poſſeſſed, ſlew all that were ſent therin, and kept the gallies to himſelf. So that ſo far from was it, that the rebellion was extinguiſhed in Aſia, and the rebels ſuppreſſed, as that they were now vp in greater number than euer, and ſo did alſo more harm. Wherunto they were alſo the more incouraged by the example of *Haſſan Baſſa* (not him the Generall in Hungary, but another Baſſa of the ſame name) who by the great Sultan ſent againſt theſe rebels, had for a time kept them vnder, and ſomwhat repreſſed their inſolencie; but now by *Mahomet* diſplaced, and another being ſent to ſucceed him; he therwith diſcontented, ſo animated and inſenced his ſoldiers againſt him, as that comming to haue taken vpon him his charge, he found moſt part of the ſoldiers ready to turn their weapons vpon him: ſo that at length they fel together by the ears about the matter, H ſome taking part with the old General, and ſome with the new. In which tumultuous quarel a number of ſoldiers were ſlain, all they of the richer ſort ſpoiled, and the Sultans ſeruice and authority neglected. But the new General armed with his princes authority, and ſome of the old ſoldiers alſo taking his part, at laſt preuailing, *Haſſan* the old Generall with his partakers were glad to flie and ſhift for themſelues; who for all that, hauing afterward gathered together the diſperſed ſoldiers, and joining with the reſt of the rebels, held ſtil the body of a good army on foot: by his example ſtirring vp the people to rebellion, croſſing the ſeruice of his Soueraign, and doing what harm he could, ſo to ſeem vnto his followers the more valiant.

Tauris recouered by the Perſians.

The Perſian king on the other ſide taking aduantage of theſe the Turks troubles at home, as alſo of his wars with the Chriſtians, at the ſame time with a great army beſieged the great I city of Tauris, as then kept by the Turks with a moſt ſtrong gariſon. In which ſiege hee for battery vſed the help of the cannon, an engin of long time by the Perſians skorned, as not beſeeming valiant men, vntil that by the irown harms taught, he was now content to vſe it, beeing with the ſame, as alſo with skilful canoniers furniſhed by the Portugals. By which means he in ſhort time after again recouered this great City from the Turkes, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the Perſian King, but now againe reſtored vnto the Perſian Kingdom.

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on euery ſide beſet with troubles, and not wel knowing which way to turn himſelf for remedy, being much perplexed in mind, began to enter into conſideration of the vanity of theſe earthly things, and of the frailty of his eſtate; and ſo ſtruck as it were with K remorſe of conſcience, and a firm beleefe that God did thus chaſtiſe and puniſh him for his offences, conſidering that his anceſtors had neuer bin troubled with any ſuch attaints or diſgraces; he conuerted all his thoughts vnto prayers towards God, and therefore commaunded publique prayers to be continually ſaid in all the Moſchies or churches thorowout his dominions; giuing himſelf wholly alſo vnto ſuch deuout exerciſes and works of charity: & withal ſent two of his moſt reuerend prieſts bare headed and bare footed on pilgrimage to Mecha (where the chief temple of their great Prophet is, and where they vainly beleeue their ſuperſtitious prayers are of him moſt ſpeedily heard) there to pray vnto him for the health & proſperity of him their prince and Soueraign.

A great fight of a Flemiſh ſhip with the Turks gallies.

At the ſame time *Amurat Rais* an old pyrat the Turkes Admirall for the Weſt part of the L Mediterranian, roaming there vp and down, and doing what harme he could, chanced to light vpon a great Flemiſh ſhip, which he with his gallies forthwith incloſed, the calmneſſe of the weather then fauoring him, & hindring the Flemings, their ſhip being able to make no way. Who ſo beſet, and hauing made a great fight againſt the whole fleet, and ſlaine a number of the Turks, and ſore rent diuers of their gallies, though not without loſſe of many of their own men alſo; being not able longer to fight, and now ſeeing themſelues borded by as many Turks as could wel ſtand vpon the hatches of the ſhip, & their gallies hanging round about her; as men of inuincible courage reſolued to die, and yet to ſel their liues as dear as they could, laid all the pouder they had left in the ſhip, on an heape together, and thereunto vpon the ſudden M put fire, by force whereof the Turkes with the hatches were all blown vp, the Flemings with their ſhip rent in pieces, together with diuers of the Gallies that were faſtened vnto her, and an incredible harme done vnto ſuch other of the Gallies as were neere vnto her. Men worthy alwaies to vanquiſh, ſeeing that they feared nothing more than to be themſelues vanquiſhed: and more worthy to haue liued for the glory of men, than by their crueltie to

haue

A haue periſhed to the diſhonor of men. The old pyrat aſtonied at ſo great and deſperat a reſolution, hauing in this exploit loſt much, and gained nothing, haſted to the ſhore to repaire his rent gallies, and ſo to put to ſea againe: Where he had not long been, but that he by chance (and that full ſore againſt his will) met with the great Duke of Florence his gallies, accounted the beſt gallies in the world, and ſuch as now at this preſent moſt troubled the Turks deſignes. At which meeting, after many a thundering connon ſhot on both ſides diſcharged, not without the apparant loſſe on the Turks behalfe, when they ſhould haue come to haue grapled together, and to haue fought hand to hand, a thing which the Florentines moſt deſired, as in hope to haue made the famous pyrat the prize of their victory; he not willing ſo to do, ſuddenly turned about and fled; after whom the Florentines followed amaine, and in the chaſe B ſunke ſome of his gallies, and took otherſome full of great riches: and ſo brake the credit of this old and renowned pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Chriſtians feared vpon that coaſt. But leauing *Mahomet* to his deuotions, and the old pyrat to bewaile his loſſes, let vs again returne to ſee what the great armies of the Turks and of the Chriſtians did more in Hungarie.

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians.

While theſe armies lay encamped the one attending vpon the other, many an hot skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them, moſt wherof ſorted vnto the hurt and loſſe of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a troupe of aduentures going out of the Chriſtian army to ſeeke after booty, fell vpon a like troup of the Turks, come out for the like purpoſe: where after a ſharp encounter on both ſides giuen & receiued, the Turks at length put to the worſe and defeated, betook C themſelues to flight, hauing left a number of their fellows dead vpon the place, and loſt two of their enſignes, with an hundred and thirty horſes of ſeruice. In which chaſe the Chriſtians hardly purſuing them, draue a number moe of them into the Danubius, wherin they moſt miſerably periſhed; and tooke a great many moe priſoners, amongſt whom were found about fourescore Italian renegates, who brought into the camp, were as enemies vnto God, in a martiall court all condemned to be hanged, and ſo accordingly executed, ſauing the captain himſelfe, who for the regard of his place was beheaded.

Eighty Italian renegats hangd

Shortly after, the great Baſſa ariſing with his army, came in the beginning of October, and incamped neere Buda, both for the preſeruation of the place, and the ſafety of his army, now greatly diminiſhed both in number and courage. For it was certainly knowne by diuers fugitiues D from the Turks, that in theſe many conflicts they had loſt a number of their beſt ſouldiers, but eſpecially of their Ianizaries. So that the Baſſa for ſupplying of that defect, was glad to make choice of 600 of his beſt ſoldiers, whom armed with muskets and ſcimiters, the proper armes of the Ianizaries, he entertained into the rooms and pay of the Ianizaries that were dead and ſlaine: the reſt of his army for the moſt part conſiſting of bare and feeble baſe raw ſouldiers. Beſides this, that all the army was full of mourning and lamentation, the ſoldiers in all places bewailing the loſſe of their brethren, their friends, and companions: ſo that in ſtead of their wonted threats and brauery, nothing was to be heard but ſighing & complaining: and moreouer, that the generall opinion conceiued of the greatneſſe of the Chriſtian army (imagined to bee much greater and ſtronger than indeed it was) had ſtrucke ſuch a feare into the E minds of the Turks, as that they were reſolued, Buda being once victualled, to returne home, all their other proud deſignes for this yeare ſet apart: which was the cauſe that they had diſlodged with their army, and drawne neere vnto the city, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and ſo to be gone; accounting themſelues right happy, if they might but performe that good piece of ſeruice and ſaue themſelues.

The Chriſtians before in doubt leſt the Turks ſhould haue beſieged Peſth, as they had before giuen it forth they would, and ſeeing them now to bee riſen with their army, and incamped neere vnto Buda, reſolued to follow them, and in what they might to croſſe their deſignes: and thereupon leauing Peſth, as now out of danger, they roſe alſo, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Iſle of Vicegrade, betwixt the ſaid Fort and Vacia; where F they ſtayed foure daies, and then by a bridge which they made vpon the Danubie, whereby to paſſe from the Iſle where the Italians lay in garriſon, vnto the Fort of S. *Andrew*, kept by the Lanſquenets, they with the whole army paſſed the riuer, and ſo came and incamped before the Fort of S. *Andrew*, in the face of the enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two armies was plaine and open, without woods, buſhes, or riuers, to hinder the ioining of a ſet battell. In which ſo fit a place, the Chriſtians encouraged with the feare of their enemies, and the diminiſhing of their number and courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous riſing, as by other aduertiſements) were deſirous in ſo fauourable occaſions, to haue giuen them battell; and for the deſire they had thereof, were come thither to ſeeke it: which the Turks on the other ſide ſought as much to ſhun, not daring to aduenture themſelues vnto the fortune of a generall battell, for all the bragges they had made. Neuertheleſſe very ſhame arming them with ſome reſolution, they put forth into the field a battalion of fiue thouſand men, fiue daies after that the Chriſtians were incamped on that ſide of the Riuer. This battell of the Turks came marching on, within halfe a quarter of a league of the Chriſtians, which they would not haue done but vpon the confidence of a greater number following of them, hauing behind them ten thouſand men both horſe and foot layd as cloſe as they poſſibly could a little out of the way. Now the Chriſtians thinking of no other forces ready to fight, but thoſe which appeared in their ſight, ſent forth twelue hundred men againſt theſe fiue thouſand Turks, to skirmiſh with them, vntill the whole army were put into order, euen for a generall battell that day to haue been fought, if the Turks ſhould accept thereof, whereunto the Generall, the Colonels, Captaines, and ſouldiers in generall, were fully enclined, the whole army with great cheerfulneſſe marching on foot, at this loud alarme of their common deſire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewiſe diſpoſed for the producing of the ſame. But they be the extraordinarie fauours of Fortune, when fit occaſions ioyne themſelues with braue reſolutions and ſuch reſolutions with meanes to effect the ſame. This is the let of many moſt noble trophies, which moſt commonly faile, either for lacke of fit occaſion, or for lacke of good reſolution for the performance of them. But as moſt men iudge of other mens conceits by their owne inclination, ſo the Chriſtians themſelues reſolued to giue battell, thought the Turks their enemies to haue been of the ſame reſolution: and thoſe fiue thouſand men to haue been the head of the auauntguard, followed with the whole army, comming to draw them out to skirmiſh vntill the comming on of the reſt of their forces. Howbeit their deſigne was quite contrary to this the Chriſtians hope; for their purpoſe was onely to traine them out into their ambuſhes, ſo without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpoſe they gaue ſufficient teſtimonie, and cauſe of ſuſpect; for that the skirmiſh hauing continued three houres, with ſome loſſe on both ſides, the Turks army appeared not: and theſe fiue thouſand Turks now in skirmiſh, by little and little retyring, ſought ſo to haue drawne the Chriſtians into the danger of their ambuſh. Which their manner of fight cauſed the Chriſtians to ſuſpect the matter: for it was not like, that fiue thouſand men ſhould giue ground to twelue hundred, if they had not had ſome ſecret meaning therein, which they ſought to effect to their more aduantage: which cauſed the Chriſtian Carabins which followed them, not to be too earneſt in purſuing of them, and more cloſely to ſerre themſelues together, the better to endure the ſhocke of their enemies, if they ſhould charge them. Neither were they in that their prouident feare deceiued: for the Turks ſeeing their purpoſe diſcouered, and themſelues now out of hope to effect the ſame, vpon the ſudden made a ſtand, and ſo preſently comming on, hardly charged the foremoſt of our Carabins, who as men halfe ſurpriſed, to ſee themſelues ſo readily and reſolutely charged, by men who but now made ſhew as if they would haue fled, were not able ſo valiantly to receiue the charge (conſidering the great number of them by whom they were charged) but that ſome few of them were ouerthrowne and ſlaine, with ſome of the Hungarians amongſt them. Howbeit they made good reſiſtance, and right valiantly repulſed their enemies, of whom they ſlew a great number alſo. The preaſe in this conflict was great, euery one deſiring to ſhew himſelfe braue and couragious in the head of his owne army. But new ſupplies ſtill comming in, the Turks in fine ſhrunke backe and retired, hauing left three hundred of their fellowes dead vpon the place, accompanied with an hundred of the Chriſtians there ſlaine likewiſe. Now vpon the retreat on both ſides, euery man in his conceit appointed the next day for the generall day of battell: the bragging ſpeeches of the Turks giuing the Chriſtians occaſion ſo to thinke; for why, they ſeldome or neuer refuſe battell being offered them by the Chriſtians, as wel for the confidence they commonly haue in their multitude, as for the fooliſh opinion they haue of the ineuitable predeſtination of men to life or death: accounting it amongſt them an eternall infamie,

A conflict betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

A famy to refuſe any combat againſt the Chriſtians, which howſoeuer it fall out, ſhould ſort to their aduantage, by vanquiſhing gaining the fruits of their victory, and by loſing their liues in battell, to gain the joyes of heauen; being vainly perſuaded, no mens ſouls to go more readily to heauen, that the ſouls of ſuch as die in battell againſt the Chriſtians. Such effects old ſuperſtitious opinions are able to work in the minds of men, euen to the deſperat aduenture and ſpending of their liues. Howbeit that this effect at this time witneſſeth, that theſe men with all theſe aduantages, as much feared the danger as any other poore faint hearted men; and that a ſtrong apprehenſion of fear is able to preuail againſt all cuſtomes and perſuaſions, be they neuer ſo old, as alſo againſt all other accidents whatſoeuer. For why, the Turks contenting themſelues with their great brags and vain threats, came not forth according to their B promiſe, neither could by any means be drawn to aduenture themſelues vnto the hazard of a generall battel. The loſſe of their great and choiceſt men diſcouraged & deterred them from aduenturing all to the hazard of ſo great a peril: for (as I haue ſaid) almoſt all the Ianizaries and moſt valiant ſoldiers were dead or ſlain; and the reſt, men of ſmal ſpirit or courage, reſerued that little which was in them, for the ſafegard of themſelues, and not for the gaining of any notable victory. They had alſo in theſe often conflicts loſt all their Erasbles, which are a deſperat kind of ſoldiers fighting on horſeback without ſaddles, hauing onely a little piece of tapeſtry vpon their horſes backs, and by the readineſſe of their horſes do for a long time in one ſort maintain their fight. They carry light darts made of ſtrait and faire Canes, excellently well made, and ſtrongly armed; and their handy weapons are good ſables, or broad and C ſharp curtle-axes. Theſe men a great while fought moſt valiantly in the laſt combats, but in fine were all ſlaine, except ſome few which caſt themſelues into Danubius, and were there drowned. The loſſe of which men much diſcouraged the Turks; for why, their ſeruice ſtood them in great ſtead in receiuing the enemies charges, and with their bodies couering of the Turks ſquadrons in their greateſt perils & combats. Howbeit the Turks receiued not theſe loſſes without returning ſome part therof to vs again. For *Collonitz* had but a little before fallen into great danger of his perſon, & loſt ſome of his followers in an enterpriſe of great moment, had the effect anſwered vnto the project therof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Iſle of Vicegrade, he cauſed eight great field pieces to be ſo placed, as that therewith he ſo much annoyed the Turkes, that they were about to haue forſaken the place: and the more to force D them ſo to doe, the ſecond of October he imbarqued himſelfe with 600 Haiduckes vpon the Danubius, and ſo by night with great ſilence landed neer vnto the enemies, thinking ſo vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed them. Which for all that could not ſo ſecretly be don, by reaſon of the appearing of the day, but that the Turks were therof aware; who therupon with great preiſe iſſued out of their trenches, and with al their force and power charged him. Againſt whom he made head, rather vpon a braue and conſtant reſolution, than any confidence he had in his own forces, not hauing men ynow to withſtand the leaſt part of his enemies. Which his ſo great reſolution ſo abated the Turks fury, as that they ſtood a good while in doubt to charge men ſo reſolued. The field pieces which he had brought ouer with him into the Iſle then ſerued him to good purpoſe, beating them backe with their murthering bullets, who E with their number thought to haue ouerwhelmed him. Which good help oppoſed againſt the number of the enemies, for a time ballanced the victory, and wrought the death of many on both ſides. This maner of fight endured the ſpace of two hours, maintained more by reſolution than by ſtrengh and power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number preuailing, the Chriſtians therwith rather oppreſſed than vanquiſhed, forſaking their field pieces, diſorderly retyred towards their boats: but the Turks eagerly purſuing them, ſlew 400 of the Haiducks; the reſt recouering their boats, carryed with them their Generall, by them hardly defended from the fury of the enemy. Which loſſe hapned not ſo vnto the Chriſtians, but that it was mingled with ſome loſſe of the Turkes alſo, of whom the moſt forward and couragious were in that fight ſlain, as was afterwards knowne by certaine priſoners of theirs which F were afterwards taken, who made report of the loſſes by them there receiued. The Turkes by this ſo deſperate and dangerous an attempt warned to preuent the like for the time to come, caſt vp great trenches in the Iſle alongſt the bank of Danubius, therin placing certain Ianizaries and other their beſt ſouldiers, who there lay vntill the Campe diſlodging went to lie before Buda.

Collonitz in ſurpriſing the Turks is himſelf ſurpriſed.

The Turks had before built a bridge of boats at Lamaſcin, which gaue them paſſage into G Stiria, where they did great harm; for the ſtrengthning wherof they had built at both ends a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed both with men and munition. This bridge ſo commodious to the Turks, and hurtful to the Chriſtians, *Trantmeſtorf* gouernor of Stiria, and a great commander in thoſe parts, with his Stirian troupes, and ſome good aid brought vnto him by the County *Serin*, vndertook to break. Vpon which reſolution he vpon the ſudden approched one of the aforeſaid forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame before they were well aware of his comming. In which doing, he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtir that was poſſible to be made with trumpets, drummes, and clattering of armour, as if it had bin ſome great army imploied in that action, the more to terrifie the defendants. Which ſo great and dreadful a noiſe, joined vnto ſo braue an attempt, with ſo great courage begun, ſtrook ſuch a terror into the minds of H the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled ouer the bridge to the other fort. Of which forſaken fort the Chriſtians became maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good fortune, preſently drew out therof two Cannons, and therewith battered the other fort: in which the Turks, hauing no other place of refuge to flie vnto, nor hope of ſafety but in their laſt valour, ſo wel behaued themſelues, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them; howbeit a breach being made by the fury of the cannon, and ſcaling ladders ſet vp, the fort was on euery ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks ſo valiantly endured by the ſpace of fiue hours, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould preuail or haue the better. In this aſſault were many on both ſides ſlain; the Turks not being to be ouercome but with the loſſe both of their liues and honour; and the Chriſtians not able to retyre, without the loſſe of I that ſo great and rich an enterpriſe. So that the aſſault was with great reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turks fighting for their liues, and the Chriſtians for their honour; vntill that at laſt the Turks with much ſlaughter ouercome, the fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken priſoners, both the forts were forthwith raſed, and the bridge broken, which before had ſerued for an ordinary paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoil the Chriſtian territory by. The boats wherof the bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great Ordnance therein found, broken in pieces and caſt into the riuer.

Lugaze a ſtrōg place yeelded to Baſta.

At the ſame time Lugaze, a place of great importance for the ſeruice of the Emperour, and ſo neer vnto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing theerabouts, but that it K might from thence be diſcouered and knowne, was by the Tranſyluanians deliuered to *Baſta*, the Emperors Lieutenant in that countrey. From which place he ſending out certain ſcouts toward Belgrade, they brought in with them certain priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa* in Hungary, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa* the gouernor of Temeſwar, That he ſhould only attend to the preſeruation of his own, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their affairs ſo requiring. And that hauing re-victualled Buda, his purpoſe was for this year to return, in hope of ſome good peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor.

The two armies of the Turks and the Chriſtians lay ſtil neer the one of them to the other, the Turkes carefull for the re-victualling of Buda, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentiue to their L doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which becauſe they could no way better do than by offering of them battell, they thereupon generally reſolued, vpon a Friday being the ſeuenteenth of October, the day by them aſſigned for the battell (hauing by the ſhooting off of three great cannons giuen warning vnto the ſouldiors thorowout the camp, for the preparing of themſelues firſt towards God, and then to the ſeruice of their Prince) after they had wel refreſhed themſelues, in good order tooke the field, and ſo ſtood ready ranged there, either to giue or accept of battell. Before whom the County *Rhingraue* was ſent forth with his Regiment, about halfe the way betwixt the two Armies, to diſcouer the mouing of the Enemy, and to receiue his firſt charge, if occaſion ſhould ſo require. M Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about noone diſcouered a troupe of horſemen come out of the Turkes Camp, about ſome buſineſſe they had to do, but to them vnknowne. Whom the Scouts ſuppoſing to haue been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retyred back again, and by their haſty retreit put the whole army in an alarme; which came brauely marching on, in hope now to haue come to try the matter by true valor

A lour, and by the fortune of a generall battell to haue made that day for euer famous by their victory and the ouerthrow of their proud enemies. And in the heat of their ſo great courage like enough it was for them to haue performed the ſame, had the Turks had but ſo much courage in them as to haue met them in the field, as was well hoped they now would. But they with their former loſſes diſcouraged, and reſolued only vpon the ſafegard of themſelues, and the victualling of Buda, had no minde to enter into theſe honourable liſts, but kept themſelues cloſe within the couert of their tents and the ſtrength of their trenches. And ſo the Chriſtians with a falſe alarme moued, and hauing for the moſt part of the day in vaine expected the comming forth of their enemies, returned into their campe deceiued of their expectation.

The Turkes refuſe to accept of battell offered them by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day there was an eſpie taken, whom they which tooke him thought to haue been B a Turke, howbeit he was found to be one of their owne men; by whom they were better enformed of the cowardiſe of the Turks, of their purpoſe for the ſhunning of battell, and of their reſolution for the keeping of themſelues within the ſafegard of their trenches; and that they ſo did, as well for the loſſes they had before receiued, as for diuers other vnlucky accidents, which cauſed them to miſdoubt ſome euil ſucceſſe in the end and winding vp of this their expedition. Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians not greatly truſting to theſe reports, ſtill kept their army in readines, to giue their enemies battell vpon the leaſt occaſion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cauſe of feare, the Turks hauing no deſire at all to come to a generall battell: ſo that in ſtead of great effects that were expected, the time paſſed by in light skirmiſhes and vaine alarmes betwixt the two armies; vntill that at length the Turks hauing by the C riuer ſufficiently ſtored the city of Buda with victuals, the great Baſſa ſecretly by night roſe with his army, and ſo retired toward Belgrade. Which ſo baſe a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with ſuch ſilence made vnder the darke couert of the night, as that the Chriſtians had thereof no perceiuing vntill that they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of Buda and of ſome other few places of the Turks in Hungary, was all that the great Baſſa did this yeare with his great army; whereas at his firſt comming it was giuen out, that he would therewith take both Strigonium and Peſth from the Chriſtians.

The great Baſſa hauing victualled Buda, ſecretly by night riſeth with his army, and ſo retireth out of Hungary.

The next day the haſty and ſudden departure of the enemy being perceiued, the Generall of the Chriſtians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the army, to conſult with them, what were beſt to be done in ſo vnexpected an occurrent? Of whom, ſome D were of opinion, That it was beſt forthwith in all haſte to purſue their fearfull enemies: otherſome for many reaſons diſſuading the ſame, and otherſome withall propounding ſome other notable exploits to be taken in hand. But in concluſion, the ſafeſt point was reſolued vpon, which was, not to hazard any their troups in purſuing of their flying enemies, who were hardly to be ouertaken; but now immediatly after their departure to attempt the taking in of ſome one of their ſtrong holds: where, amongſt others that were propounded, Hatwan was thought to be the moſt neceſſary place, being ſo ſeated, as that beſide the great harme it did to the Chriſtians thereabout, it much hindered both aduertiſements and victuals to be brought vnto Peſth. Which exploit reſolued vpon, they forthwith raſed the Fort of S. *Andrew*, and the fort by them built in the Iſle of Vicegrade, becauſe they ſhould not ſtand the Turks in any E ſtead after their departure, and ſo with all their power ſet forward toward Hatwan. This town is ſeated beyond the riuer of Danubius toward the North, about eight leagues from Buda, croſſing the way to Tranſyluania and Coſſoua, vpon a faire and euen plaine, neere vnto a great and deepe mariſh, and was ſometime defended with good and ſtrong walls, with a caſtle, and three large and deepe ditches, for a long time in the power of the Turks, and which without loſſe a great while held out againſt the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was moſt ſtreitly in vaine beſieged: vntill that afterward it was againe beſieged by *Maximilian* the Archduke, the Emperours brother, then Generall of his army in Hungary in the yeare 1594, vnto whom it was by compoſition ſurrendered, after it had for a certaine ſpace beene by the Turks notably defended: who conſidering the harme this place did vnto the Emperours terF ritories, by reaſon of the ſcituation thereof, wherein a great and ſtrong garriſon of the Turks alwaies lying, forraged all the Chriſtian territories as far as the riuer Vague, yea, and oftentimes tooke booties as far as Strigontum, and by ſpoiling of all that ſide of Hungary, cauſed the Countrey to pay contribution as farre as Ternauie, ſtanding within foure leagues of the mountaines which ſeperat Hungary and Morauia: all irreparable loſſes to the Chriſtians, and hardly to be auoided: for which reaſons he cauſed it then to be diſmantled, and to be made vnſeruiceable for the wars. G After which time for all that, the Turks for the commodiouſneſſe of the place, had with great labour againe new fortified the ſame, with wals made with great piles of wood and faggots, with earth rammed in betwixt them; a ſtronger kind of fortification, and better able to withſtand the fury of the cannon, than are wals of ſtone: in which ſort the Turks vſe moſt commonly to fortifie ſuch places as they meane to defend, and which oftentimes coſt much for the Chriſtians to gaine the ſame from them.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

This place thus fortified, and both with men and munition well furniſhed, and with all things needfull ſtored, was able to endure a great and long ſiege; whereunto the garriſon therein was as reſolutely ſet downe, as were the Chriſtians to attempt it: where now, at their firſt comming vnto it, a part of the Italian Regiment, aſſiſted with 300 Lanſquenets, vnder the leading of County *Sultze*, and *Graſold* Generall of the Italians, H were appointed to go before the reſt of the army, and to begin to make their approches: which they did by forcing of a water-mill, driuen by the water of the mariſh, not paſt a musket ſhot from the towne. Wherin while they were buſied, the Turks ſallying out of the towne, came to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians, and had with them a ſharpe combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the place and of their liues, and the Chriſtians for the gaining of the ſame, and for their honour. Which ſo contrary a reſolution in that conflict coſt the liues of many; and among others, the life of *Graſold*, Generall of the Italians, there ſlaine with a harquebuſe ſhot, vnto the great hurt of the whole army, but eſpecially of the Italians, now depriued of ſo great and expert a Commander. At laſt for all that, the Turks were enforced confuſedly to retire again into the town, I hauing in this ſally loſt a number of their men alſo. The Chriſtians neuertheleſſe hauing driuen the Turks backe into the towne, went forward with their buſineſſe in making their approches, and placing their gabions to couer their cannon: wherein the Turks with their great and ſmall ſhot did them great harme, but eſpecially with their murthering pieces, charged with nailes and other ſmall pieces of yron. Howbeit, by the comming of the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the reſt of the army, the approches were the next day brought on, and the battery planted ſo neere vnto the towne, as that the Turks could not without moſt manifeſt danger and loſſe, any more ſally out to trouble the Chriſtians in their workes. The firſt inconuenience the beſieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was ſoone taken from them, the cannon right furiouſly battering the wals in the mean ſpace. Wherewith the Turks K diſcouraged, and now out of hope to be relieued, thought it not beſt for them to expect either whileſt a breach were made, or an aſſault giuen, but by parly to preuent theſe dangers, in hope ſo to come to ſome eaſier compoſition, while yet they ſtood in their whole ſtrength.

The Turkes in Hatwan craue parley.

And ſo parley by the Turks demanded, and by the Chriſtians granted, and hoſtages for the ſurety thereof on both ſides giuen, they ſent two of the chiefe men amongſt them to entreat of the ſame: who at the firſt demanded, That their liues and liberty ſaued, they might with bag and baggage depart. Whereunto anſwer was giuen them, That they ſhould only with their liues and liberty be gone, with ſome few hundreds of their worſt horſes of courteſie giuen them, to carry them to ſuch a place as they meant to retire themſelues vnto, and to deliuer into the hands of the Chriſtians all ſuch renegats as were in the towne. L

Now the beſieged Turks carrying yet the markes of the cruelty by the Wallons exerciſed vpon them in the former ſiege, when as the ſame town was by force taken, and filled with dead bodies of all ages & ſex, and doubting now this ſecond ſhipwreck, with like miſery threatned vnto them by the Chriſtian Generall, if they ſhould expect the dreadfull euent of a generall aſſault; accepted of theſe hard conditions, ſeeing no better could be obtained; and ſo couenanting, that they with their families, their liues and liberties ſaued, might with a ſafe conuoy be conducted vnto ſome place of ſurety within their owne territory, they promiſed to giue vp the town.

Hatwan yeelded vnto the Chriſtians.

Which agreement on both parts reſolued vpon, they full of ſorrow and heauineſſe, with their families departing out of the towne the 29 of Nouember, were by Colonell *Andaſſ* with certain Huſſars ſafely conducted to Solnoc. The Chriſtians entring the town, found therein M great ſtore of victuals & munition, the houſes full of corne and other neceſſaries, and the ſhops ſtored with weapons, ſhot and pouder, with 24 pieces of great ordnance ready mounted, which might haue well ſufficed for the defence of the place. But all theſe things are but acceſſories vnto one principall, that is to ſay, to reſolution, without which they are but of ſmall force, and

with-

A with which they are able to do much. Beſide that, the place it ſelfe thus furniſhed well conſidered, ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to haue bin forced; but eſpecially now that Winter was come on, which might haue brought a thouſand ſtormes and difficulties, by the Chriſtians not to haue been endured: ſo that euery man beholding the ſame, with his eies caſt vp towards heauen, gaue God the praiſe, for taking away the Turks courages in their ſo great aduantages, and encreaſing of the Chriſtians in their no leſſe difficulties: vnto whom the glory of this victory was wholly attributed, ſeeing that contrary to all apparance and mans forces, he had giuen to the Chriſtians the victory, no way able by their owne forces to haue been gained. But God, which in his prouidence from heauen beholdeth all things vpon earth, diſpoſeth of the ſame as he ſeeth beſt for his glory, and the welfare of his: ſo that in this action he was the only pilot B which brought this our ſhip into the hauen of health; for the haires of our head are of him numbred, and euen the leaſt creatures vpon earth are of him regatded.

Into this new gained town the Chriſtian Generall put a good and ſtrong garriſon of a thouſand Lanſquenets and fiue hundred Hungarians, part horſemen, and part footmen, for the keeping of the place and of the country thereabout: which done, he retired with his army toward Peſth, which he relieued with victuals, and ſtrengthened with the troups of the Colonels, *Collonitz*, *Geiſberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there bilited to paſſe that Winter, and to preſerue the place againſt the deuiſes and enterpriſes of the Turks at Buda, who were ſtill deuiſing and practiſing for the regaining thereof.

The time of the yeare for ſoldiers any longer to keep the field now paſt, and the great army of the Turks riſen and gone, the Lord *Ruſſworm* breaking vp his army neere vnto Strigonium, C cauſed all the Enſignes by him this yeare gained from the Turks, euen 64 in number, to be gathered together all very braue and gallant; all which he ſent with great pomp and triumph to Vienna, for a Preſent to the Archduke *Matthias*; who receiued them with great thanks giuen both vnto the Generall that ſent them, and the ſouldiers that had gained them; and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of Vienna at the ſame time highly commending the Generall, and not a little rejoycing to ſee thoſe ſame Enſignes now in their power within the city, which not long before had proudly braued them in the field.

The Lord Ruſworm breakes vp his army, & ſendeth the Enſignes gained from the Turks for a preſent to the Archduke Matthias.

Now after the breaking vp of the Chriſtian army, a great number of inſolent and ſeditious ſouldiers, eſpecially of the Regiment of Colonell *Altmein*, roming vp and downe the country, D to ſeeke for booty, moſt cruelly rifled and ſpoiled the country villages, with the inhabitants therein, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, ſparing no more the one than the other: whoſe outrage not otherwiſe to be ſtaied, they were by commandement from the Emperor, by force charged at Widhof, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in priſoners to Vienna, foure and thirty of them were there for example hanged, and the reſt as men not worthy of entertainment caſhiered.

The time of the yeare hauing (as we ſaid) broken vp the army of the Chriſtians, the Regiment of the County *Reingraue* was put in garriſon into the villages of Chiante and Ternauie, alwaies at hand with the enemies, as fitteſt to repulſe them. Theſe ſouldiers were alwaies kept in doings, ſtill fighting while others were at peace, and mannaging their armes, whilſt others E hanged theirs by the wals. For beſide the troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh, but bad neighbours, the very inhabitants of the countrey (who held all that might hurt them, for enemies, were they neuer ſo much their friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occaſion at al, tooke vp arms, and right furiouſly charged them as their mortall enemies. Of which combats there was no end, the country peaſants ſtill ſtriuing to rid themſelues of ſuch gheſts. So that theſe valiant men ſtill enforced to buy their bread with the price of their bloud, as men become deſperat, vſed the Chriſtians as they did the Turks, diuiding all things with them by the ſword. But in theſe ſmall and often fights mo men were ſlain and loſt than would haue bin in a generall battell, ſome good number either of the one ſide or the other being euery day ſlain: which daily inconueniences cauſed theſe ſouldiers to reſolue to go to ſeeke their liuing elſe- F where, rather than in the midſt of the graues of their fellows. Whereunto they were the rather enduced, for that but a little before, the troupe of Captaine *Clinchampe*, the beſt and braueſt of the whole Regiment, was one night right furiouſly aſſailed, and almoſt ſurpriſed by the country peaſants. Wherfore they departed out of Hungary into Auſtria without victuals, apparell, or money, their pay due vnto them for 17 months being kept from them. A cruelty full of

The ſoldiers of the regiment of the Reingraue euill bilited, by extremities driuen to prouide for themſelues.

couetouſneſſe, and a couetouſneſſe full of cruelty, by wrong and hard dealing to leaue thoſe men to the deſperat extremity of hunger, who for our ſafety had expoſed themſelues to all manner of danger. For if the Prince (as he may of right) demand the liues of his ſubjects in his ſeruice, as bound vnto their loyalty; they may alſo of right require due prouiſion for their maintenance: of which two offices where one faileth, the whole ſtate muſt needs fall. For prouiding whereof, great was the wiſedome of *Auguſtus*, who laid vp the publique reuenue apart by it ſelfe, to defray the publique charge; and that which was his owne priuat, to ſerue his owne priuat vſes.

The peſants of Auſtria ſeek by force to ſtay the paſſage of the ſouldiers of the Reingraues regiment into their country.

Theſe poore ſouldiers thus reſolued, craued leaue of the Biſhop of Presburg to paſſe by the ſuburbs of his towne, without doing therein any harme: which their requeſt he courteouſly granted; and ſo according to their word they indeed paſſed, not ſo much as once wiſhing for that they durſt not once touch. Which their ſo quiet paſſage cauſed the Biſhop to furniſh them with boats, whereby to paſſe ouer the riuer which diuideth Hungary from Auſtria. Which once knowne vnto the peaſants of Auſtria, they aſſembled themſelues together, to the number of 1500 men, and caſt vp a fort vpon the banke of the riuer, with three faulconers in it, reſolutely ſet downe to keepe them from comming ouer into their country. Which their ſo forward a reſolution for a while ſtaied theſe men of war: who to auoid further trouble, courteouſly requeſted paſſage of theſe men, promiſing all their good behauiour in paſſing quietly through their country: which the churles in moſt churliſh maner refuſed to grant, with proud threats of the danger of their liues, if they ſhould by force attempt the paſſage, and not with quietneſſe returne. With which brauadoes of the country churles theſe troups of martiall men prouoked, reſolued by force to remoue theſe lets, and by the ſword to open themſelues a way: ſo turning the head of their baggages toward the fort, as if they would haue there paſſed; while the peaſants ſtood gazing vpon them, *Camgaillard* with his troupe of horſemen vnperceiued of them tooke the riuer a little higher vp, and by ſwimming gained the farther banke: after whom captaine *Clinchamp* with his troups immediatly followed alſo. In which paſſage they were much troubled with great flakes of yce, with the great deepeneſſe of the riuer, with the ſteepneſſe of the bankes where they were to land, and many other difficulties: all which they regarded not to be reuenged of their enemies. Theſe valiant men being got ouer, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſing theſe rude country churles, and furiouſly charging of them, quickely ouerthrew them, and cut them in pieces: of whom 300 were left dead vpon the place, as many moe hurt, and the reſt put to flight. Which was no ſooner done, but that the reſt of the troups of the Regiment without let paſſed the riuer, and ſo joyned themſelues vnto their victorious companions. Seuen weekes this Regiment ſtaied in Auſtria; and ſo longer had, but that vpon the complaint and requeſt of the Nobility and of the people of the country, they hauing for 17 months pay due vnto them receiued nine months pay, were licenſed to depart. Which was a great ouerſight in them that had to doe therewith, at once to disband ſo many good men, as had not their like amongſt all the reſt of the Emperours garriſons, and who being ſtaid with a little mony, might with their good ſeruice haue ſtood the Emperour in great ſtead: as by proofe afterward appeared; when as the Emperour by neceſſity forced to call them together againe, could not of all that ſtrong Regiment raiſe but three companies; the reſt being ſome of them returned into their own countries, other-ſome of them gone to ſerue in other places, or elſe otherwiſe diſperſed. Of which three companies, the firſt was giuen to *Camgaillard*, the ſecond to *Baltazar Marades* a Spaniard, and the laſt to *Iohn Paul* an Italian: Which three captaines had before commanded in the Reingraues Regiment, and done the Emperour good ſeruice, as they did afterward alſo.

Diuers happy conflicts of the Chriſtians with the Turks and Tartars.

The reſt of this yeare ended in Hungary, with diuers other encounters and combats, Fortune therein ſtill fauouring the Chriſtians. As 300 Haiducks, going forth to ſeeke for booty, by good hap chanced to meet with a company of the Turkes being very rich, and diuers of them men of good account; amongſt whom, the Gouernour of Mohatz was one: all whom theſe Haiducks cut in pieces; to be borne withall, for ſhewing no fauor vnto them, who moſt cruelly had before ſpoiled them of their parents, lands and goods. Beſides that, they tooke the Gouernor of Copan, with his ſonne, and 24 other very rich Turks, with 170 horſes of ſeruice, and eight fat Oxen prepared for their prouiſion. Which fat booties drew forth other ſouldiers alſo to ſeeke out for the like: of whom, certain troups of the Chriſtians going forth

toward

A toward Batſwar, a towne of the enemies, met the Gouernor of the towne and of the territory thereabout come out with his garriſon againſt them; where betwixt them was made a right hot and ſharpe fight: wherein at the firſt encounter the Turks ſeemed to haue the better, but in the end the Chriſtians taking courage, ouerthrew them and cut them in pieces. In this conflict diuers priſoners were taken, with three Enſignes, and many other rich ſpoiles. This happy exploit was ſeconded with newes agreeable thereunto out of Moldauia, whereof the Vayuod by a Curror ſent of purpoſe, gaue our men to vnderſtand, which was, of the generall ouerthrow of the Tartars: who hauing with all manner of cruelty waſted the country, had in the end made the inhabitants ſo deſperat, that repoſing more comfort in a ſpeedy death (the end of all miſeries) than in a lingring life, turmoiled with ſo many intollerable calamities, they generally B arming themſelues, joyned themſelues with their Vayuod, ſo to try their laſt fortune. With which reſolution they in battell encountering with the Tartars, gaue them a great ouerthrow, a number of them being left dead vpon the field, and the reſt put to flight, and chaſed out of the country, the Moldauians notably reuenging their former loſſes, and in their owne territories burying their enemies.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the yeare on their part idle, but ſtill plotting of their great and notable deſignes, euen through the middeſt of the froſt and ſnow to haue beene performed. The Baſſa *Beged* hearing that the Lord *Baſta* lay with his troupes diſperſed in the country about Lippa, in great ſecurity by reaſon of the extremity of the time, altogether vnfit for men to keepe the field: and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, C now amidſt the froſt and the ſnow to ſurpriſe him; acquainted three other of the Turks Captains and Commanders thereabout with the matter: who liking well thereof, with 5000 men all together ſet forward, in hope to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed him. But he an old expert Captaine, and not ſo careleſſe as they ſuppoſed, had his ſecret ſpies ſtill abroad among them: by whom he aduertiſed both of their purpoſe and of their comming, reſolued in both to preuent them; and to that end hauing called together his forces, ſet forward to meet them in the mid way, and ſo before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpoſe: for meeting with the Turks fearing no ſuch matter in place of diſaduantage, and vpon the ſudden charging them round, they, deceiued of their expectation for the eaſineſſe of the victory promſed them, as men diſmaied, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance fled; aboue eleuen hundred D of them being in this conflict ſlaine, and the reſt put in rout, and driuen into the riuer Maruze, there periſhed; ſome few onely by ſpeedy flight with the Baſſa eſcaping. Twenty of the Turkes Captaines were here taken, with ſome few other priſoners, and a great and rich booty.

Beged Baſſa thinking to haue ſurpriſed the Lord Baſta, is himſelfe by him ſurpriſed & ouerthrown.

Much about the ſame time *George Barbell*, one of the chiefe of the Rebels in Tranſyluania, acknowledging his fault, came to Claudionople, to take the oath for his allegiance vnto the Emperor: by whoſe example a great number of others moued, came in and ſubmitted themſelues alſo: and happily he being a good and valiant Captaine, had done much more for the ſeruice of the Emperor, had he not bin by death preuented; for ſhortly after he ſuddenly died. The other Rebels moued neither by his example, nor by the comming in of ſome others of E their companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a moſt renowned Captaine, and of great reputation amongſt the ſouldiers) for their Chiefetaine: who proud of ſuch a choice, immediatly after ſent an Herauld vnto *Baſta*, to will him forthwith to deliuer vnto him all the country of Tranſyluania, as to him that was of late choſen Prince thereof, or elſe to denounce vnto him moſt cruell war: and to tell him further, That if he refuſed ſo to do, he was in good hope by his owne forces, without any aid from the Turke, to driue him out, being well aſſured of the faithfull deuoire of the Tranſyluanians. At whoſe proud threats *Baſta* ſmiling, only ſhewed him his open hand in ſigne that he accepted of his proud threats, not vouchſafing him any other anſwer at all. This glorious boaſter bare himſelfe the higher, for that he had married the widow of *Moyſes* the chiefe Rebell, whereby he had gained both great riches, and much credit F and reputation among the common people: both which he enjoyed but a while; for the fourth day after that he was married, he died, and ſo was buried. *Baſta* neuertheleſſe, for the better aſſuring of the ſtrong places of Tranſyluania, put into them garriſons of his moſt faithfull Germanes, and diſpatched *Crauſenich* away toward the Emperour, to requeſt of him a ſupply of a thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, without which he thought it impoſſible to

Bethlin Habor choſen chiefe of the Rebels in Tranſyluania.

Baſta his ſcornfull anſwere to the meſſenger of Bethlin.

Baſſa ſendeth for new ſupplies vnto the Emperour for the keeping of Tranſyluania.

preſerue and keepe the Prouince troubled with ſo great factions, and ſo earneſtly ſought after by the Turks: and further to certifie him, That the little forces he had left was not ſufficient for the keeping of the places beſet with ſo many enemies, and all lying as it were in their mouthes: That the Prouince ſwarmed with ſeditious people, one thruſting another forward in miſchiefe and rebellion, as the eares of wheat driuen with the winde do one another in the field: That the Turks were alwaies making of new incurſions, which hee was not able to repreſſe without greater forces, which he expected from his Majeſty with all ſpeed poſſible: proteſting, for want of ſuch ſupply to be in time ſent vnto him, to lay the loſſe of the Prouince vpon the negligence of them which might and ought to haue ſent the ſame; acquitting himſelfe for the loſſe thereof, ſeeing that he durſt not to repoſe any truſt or confidence in the faith of the citiſens and inhabitants of the townes, although they were diſarmed, for hauing ſo often falſified their faith, and put their Prouince in danger of vtter ruine and deſtruction. But leauing theſe troubles of Tranſyluania and Hungary, let vs a little ſtep backe to ſee what happened among the Turks themſelues, after the departure of the great Baſſa with his army out of Hungary.

Zellaly comes into Boſna.

By policy ouerthrowes Zeffer Baſſa the Gouernour, and poſſeſſeth it himſelfe.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great promiſes made vnto his Rebels, ſought to appeaſe the rebellion in Aſia, and by that meanes drew *Zellaly*, one of the chiefe Rebels, with twelue thouſand good ſouldiers out of Aſia into Europe, and ſo into his warres in Hungary, vpon an aſſured promiſe made vnto him of the gouernment of Boſna: the hope whereof, as it had drawne him vnto theſe late warres, ſo had it alſo encouraged him with his gallant troups of moſt braue horſemen to doe the beſt ſeruice he could, ſo to ſhew himſelfe worthy of ſo honourable a preferment: which he right notably performed during all the time of the Baſſaes abode in Hungary, to his owne great commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Maſters ſeruice. But the Baſſa with his weake army retired out of Hungary, and the Baſſa himſelfe returned toward Conſtantinople; *Zellaly* with three thouſand horſe withdrew himſelfe into his promiſed gouernment of Boſna, to poſſeſſe himſelfe thereof: and being come neere to Bagualue, the chiefe Towne of that Prouince, he there encamped in a faire large medow, within ſight of the city. Now *Zeffer Baſſa*, then Gouernour of the Prouince, and not as yet thereof diſcharged, ſeeing this Rebell thus to encroach vpon his charge, as if he would euen by force intrude himſelfe thereinto; with all ſpeed called together his garriſons and men of war (euer ready at his becke) and ſo went forth againſt *Zellaly*, with a purpoſe to haue quickely, and without any great trouble, cut him with his ſo ſmall a company all in pieces. But the old Rebell not ignorant either of his owne weakeneſſe, or of the Baſſaes ſtrength, hauing himſelfe loſt the beſt part of his forces before in Hungary; as he was a man of no leſſe wiſedome than courage, reſolued now to attempt by policy that which he well knew he could not by force effect. Wherefore he as a great Prince, vpon ſome braue reſolution, began to encampe himſelfe as if he had meant there to haue lien, when as immediatly after vpon a faire night hauing cauſed diuers great fires to be made in his tents, as if it had been to beguile the enemy with, he ſuddenly roſe and departed. Of whoſe flight (for ſo it was like) the Baſſa vnderſtanding, and that he had forſaken his campe, haſted thither with all ſpeed with his ſouldiers to take and pillage the ſame; not making any other account of him that was ſo fled and gone, but as of a baſe and faint-hearted coward, who for feare and want of courage had left both his campe and honour as a prey vnto his enemies; the ſpoyle whereof the Baſſa (being poſſeſſed of the campe) gaue vnto his ſouldiers; who glad of ſuch a morſell, greedily ſwallowed it vp, which by and by after became their bane and vtter deſtruction: for whileſt that they were charging themſelues with booties, and euery man was thinking of his prey, nothing carefull of their common ſafety, *Zellaly* with his three thouſand horſe, all valiant and reſolute men, ſuddenly the ſame night returning, ſurpriſed the Turks being faſt on ſleepe, as buried in ſecurity, and cut them in pieces. Some of greater courage than the reſt, began to make head, and to giue ſome ſhew of their valour, but ouercome with the generall feare, out of order, and not reſolued what to do, they were quickly with the reſt forced, ouerthrowne, and ſlaine. In this ſurpriſe there were of the Baſſaes men ſix thouſand found dead vpon the place: a very great ſlaughter to be made by ſo few men. But what cannot valiant reſolution do againſt careleſneſſe, lulled aſleep in the lap of ſecurity? The Baſſa himſelfe eſcaped by flight, with ſuch as could get out of the campe to follow him.

A Now *Zellaly* well knowing how to vſe his victory, marched in haſte to all the chiefe places of that Prouince, and with his forces, more feared for their victory than for their number, cauſed all the inhabitants of thoſe places, with moſt part of the reſt of the people of that country, to ſweare vnto him their obedience and fidelity. In which doing he gathered together great ſtore of wealth, with a great number of braue horſemen for ſeruice: all which he put into Balnaluc, a ſtrong towne, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a crowne of laurell vpon his head, and his ſoldiers ſinging his praiſes amiddeſt the ſmoke of a thouſand pieces of great ordnance, which he cauſed inceſſantly to be ſhot off for the ſpace of two daies together: giuing it out withall (amongſt all the ioyfull feaſts and triumphs, made for the magnifying and ſetting forth of his praiſe and glory) That his reſolution was, to take part with the B Chriſtian Emperor, if the great Baſſaes, or other his enemies in great place in court, ſhould ſeeke to croſſe his deſires, or to formalize his actions or proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his gouernment.

Mahomet ſends for Zellaly to come to Conſtantinople.

Now *Mahomet* doubting what this man, ſo well acquainted with rebellion, would do, had by diuers meſſengers ſent for him to Conſtantinople, after the breaking vp of the army in Hungary, there of his Imperiall and infinite bounty, to receiue the honourable rewards of his good ſeruice and valour, the greatneſſe whereof he had (as he ſaid) already vnderſtood by *Haſſan Baſſa* the Generall: which ſo bound him to the reward thereof, as that his deſire and pleaſure was, to grace him in Court with his owne hands, for the greater teſtimony of the loue he bare him, and of the eſteeme he had of him. But the crafty and miſtruſtfull Rebell, doubting that theſe C faire words were all but baits to draw him into his power, and the endangering of aſſured loſſe both of his life and liberty, ſhut his eares againſt theſe ſo ſweet charmes, and as a man well aduiſed, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince iuſtly offended, is alwaies open for to puniſh his rebellious ſubiect, being once in his power, with as great iuſtice in puniſhing him, as he with wrong and diſloyalty offended him; would in no wiſe accept of the offer: but ciuilly anſwered, That he moſt humbly thanked the great Sultan, for his ſo great and honourable offers) and that he was ſo mindefull of him: but that he for his part deſired not any greater reward for the ſeruices by him done, more than the gouernment which his Maieſty had before promiſed him, whereof (according to which promiſe, which he could not thinke, but to be agreeable to his good liking) hee was now poſſeſſed, with a reſolution to hold and keep D the ſame for his Maieſties ſeruice. Which was as much in effect, as for a diſloyall ſubiect to talke with his angry ſouereigne, with his hand vpon his ſword: but with this ſly anſwer, ſuch as it was, Sultan *Mahomet* for all his greatneſſe, muſt as yet content himſelfe, for feare leſt if he ſhould haue ſought to haue by force remoued him, he might ſo haue raiſed a more dangerous rebellion in Europe, than was already in Aſia. *Zellaly* ſo politique and reſolute a man, and not to ſeeke what to doe in ſuch matters, being poſſeſſed of ſo great a gouernment, and the Chriſtian Emperour at hand ready to haue backed him, if he ſhould vpon any diſcontentment haue reuolted.

He refuſeth to come.

1604

The troubles of this yeare 1603 thus ouerpaſt, the beginning of the next was like vnto a faire blooming tree, which promiſing great ſtore of fruit, but afterward blaſted with the E extremity of the weather, proueth in effect as barren, as it before ſeemed in hope fruitfull. For beginning with the ſweet Weſterne winds of peace, it ended with the ſterne Northern blaſts of warre. The Turks had oftentimes the laſt yeare made motions of peace, but eſpecially toward the end thereof; outwardly making ſhew of a great deſire and forwardneſſe in themſelues thereunto. Which buſineſſe the laſt yeare begun, was euen with the beginning of this yeare alſo effectually continued, and Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to conferre and conclude vpon the ſame. Amongſt theſe Commiſſioners, Colonell *Althem* was one; who to performe his charge, hauing taken with him the other Commiſſioners deputed with him for this purpoſe, with certaine other Captaines, embarqued himſelfe with them in thirteene ſhips from Strigonium, and from thence ſailing downe the Riuer, landed with his F traine in the Iſland betwixt Budy and Peſth. Of whoſe arriuall there, the Turks of Buda aduertiſed, and on their part ready, came forthwith thither alſo, with all the outward ſhewes that might be, of their moſt earneſt deſire for the concluding of peace: whereas our men, who by a thouſand effects were aſſured of the vnfaithfulneſſe of the Turks, and that neceſſity and not the deſire of any quietneſſe, had drawne them to ſeeke for peace, to the contrary ſhewed them-

A treaty of peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

themſelues very backeward in this buſineſſe. For why, they knew right well, that the Turks had not taken this matter in hand but to ouertake them, and by this time of peace to gaine a time of war more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruell deſignes. They had the yere before made ſufficient proofe of our forces, accompanied with good fortune, which cauſed them to deſpaire by ſtrong hand to vanquiſh and ouercome vs: beſides that, they ſtill euery houre in one place or other receiued a thouſand loſſes and croſſes from our garriſons, who diſtreſſed and annoyed them both with their forces, and with driuing of them vnto the extremity of wants. Our men knew moreouer alſo, that the troubles of Aſia as well from the Rebels as from the Perſian which lay ſo heauy vpon the great Sultan, drew them to this neceſſity, to ſeeke for a breathing time of peace, wherin to repaire that which was in their forces and ſtrength by wars impaired. And euen yet alſo the manner of the Turks demeaning of themſelues in this action, their delaies, their excuſes, and deferring from day to day to conclude vpon ſome point of their treaty, gaue our men good cauſe to ſuſpect them of euill meaning, as men reſpecting their profit more than their faith: and more ſubtill and cruell in all their actions, than honourable and valorous. The fifth of Ianuary was the day by our men expected for the treaty; for as then the Baſſa of Buda had appointed with the reſt of the Commiſſioners to come into the Iſle to heare what our commiſſioners ſhould demand, & to entreat of the peace. But hee was too true an Infidell to faile of his Infidelity, and ſo came not at all, but deceiued our men both of their hope & expectation. At length in ſtead of himſelf, letters were brought from him to Colonell *Althem*; wherby he excuſed himſelfe for not comming, requeſting him with the reſt of the commiſſioners, to come ouer the riuer to Buda, the more commodiouſly for them to confer together, and ſo the better to conclude their negotiation. Now though *Althem* for the Majeſty of his Prince, and the honor of the State, ought not at the requeſt of theſe his enemies to haue put himſelfe into their power, but to haue ſtood faſt vpon the tearmes of honor, yet to the end that the country of Hungary, ſo miſerably ſpoiled with wars, ſhould not take occaſion to complaine of his negligence in this negotiation of peace, he reſolued to go to Buda, as the Baſſa had requeſted: deeming euery action tending to the hinderance of the common good, to be but in ſhew honourable, and in deed hurtfull. Vpon which reſolution he ſent before the Gentleman of his ſtable, and his Cooke, with a Gentleman of the Turks, ſent but the day before from the Baſſa: which men going aboord together, were aſſailed with ſuch a cruell tempeſt vpon the riuer, that neither the skill of the watermen, nor goodneſſe of the veſſell was able to reſiſt the force thereof, ſo that the boat was ſunke and the men drowned. An euill preſage of the peace to be made, the raging water as it were foreſhewing the troubles to come. But this tempeſt by the ſacrifice of theſe poore drowned men appeaſed, *Althem* and *Geisberg*, two of the chiefe commiſſioners, embarked themſelues, and ſo paſſed ouer the riuer to Buda. At whoſe arriuall the Turks gaue in ſhew a thouſand teſtimonies of their joy for their comming. Neither did the Germans refuſe their kind offered courteſies, but largely fed of the good cheere, and filled themſelues with the good wines, whereof the Turks had giuen them plenty: and they againe vſing them as kindly, as if they had bin their brethren, and conuerſing with them as with their owne countrymen. Amidſt this carowſing and platters full of good cheere, the propoſitions of peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were ſerued in alſo, and a truce for twelue daies demanded to conſider of the matter: during which time it ſhould bee lawfull for euery man without let freely to come and goe whither they would: which was forthwith on both ſides agreed vpon. And for better teſtimony of the Turks true meaning in this their negotiation of peace, the Baſſa in the preſence of our Commiſſioners diſpatched a Curror toward the great Sultan, to aduertiſe him of this buſineſſe, and of the proceeding therein, according to the cammandement by him before giuen. Which he did, to cauſe our men to beleeue that the great Sultan himſelfe was deſirous of peace, and that his Captaines well affected thereunto, were willing to further the ſame. Which done, the Baſſa preſented vnto Colonell *Althem* two caſes full of Turks armes, of all manner of faſhions, very rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a mule, with furniture for an horſe, embroydered with gold and pearle, very ſumptuous and rich, as a Preſent from the Great Sultan his Lord and Maſter, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, he preſented vnto the Colonell, a robe of purple veluet, with ſleeues cunningly enbroydered with gold and pearle, emboſſed with fine and curious figures cunningly wrought with the needle: for the

The Chriſtian commiſſioners courteouſly entertained at Buda.

Preſents by the Turks giuen to the Chriſtian Commiſſioners.

A rareneſſe thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richneſſe thereof to haue beene deſired: which was by euery man wondered at, when as ſhortly after it was by *Althem* preſented vnto the Archduke, together with other preſents from the Turks. Beſides that, the ſame Baſſa in token of friendſhip, preſented vnto *Althem* himſelfe another very faire and rich robe: all the reſt of the Commiſſioners receiuing alſo from the Baſſa other robes of leſſe value, but yet all very rich and ſumptuous.

This buſineſſe for this time thus ended, and the truce for twelue daies concluded, the Chriſtian Commiſſioners loded with Preſents tooke their leaue of the Turks, with the ſhewes of their good wils, and ſo returned backe againe to Peſth. Howbeit theſe the enemies faire Preſents ſtill ſauoured but of enmity, being indeed but like to the Preſents of *Hector* and *Ajax*, tending rather to war than to peace.

The true and juſt commendation of the Lord Nadaſti.

B Now the death of the moſt valiant and renowned Lord *Nadaſti*, which at this time happened, was another euill preſage of the bad ſucceſſe of this treaty of peace now at hand: who hauing of long beene a barre vnto the Turks rage in that part of Hungary where he dwelt, they now after his death, with the violence of their forces, as with an heady ſtreame, bare downe before them all our good fortune in that Prouince. This worthy man of great fame and deſert, had ſpent both his yeares and fortune in the moſt honourable warres againſt the Turks: wherein he was ſo skilfull and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Chriſtians honoured as another *Matthias*. He had a thouſand times moſt valiantly fought againſt theſe miſcreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Chriſtian C Common-weale, the aduancement of the Emperours ſeruice, and the reliefe of his diſtreſſed Country. Theſe his heroicall deeds of armes were engrauen vpon the gates of the Townes and Cities of Hungary, and within the rockes of Tranſyluania, hauing both in the one country and the other right happily defeated theſe Infidels. He had the honour to haue receiued the firſt incurſions and attempts of the Turks, at ſuch time as *Amurath* the third hauing perfidiouſly broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces inuaded Hungary; and was the firſt of all the Chriſtian Chiefetaines that made head againſt them; and being by their ſudden comming in by them almoſt ſurpriſed, performed yet great and worthy exploits and ſeruice againſt theſe faithleſſe men. It ſhould ſeeme that good fortune fauoured the Country of Hungary, but only in reſpect of him: for he being dead, it died alſo, D burying it ſelfe as it were in his graue, and him in glory; not ſuffering him to grow old, and ſo to languiſh in the ruines of his natiue Country. He died of a naturall death, about fifty and foure yeares old, moſt part whereof he liued in armes, ſtill charged with the burthen of his armour, and euen at the yeelding vp of the ghoſt yet breathing wars againſt theſe the enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. His death was much lamented for of many faithfull Chriſtians, but eſpecially of his owne tenants and ſubjects, whom he had alwaies kept and preſerued in ſafety, and ſtill maintained them in all peace and tranquility during all theſe former warres; the Turks not daring once to aſſaile them, nor to enter into their territory, being ſtaied from ſo doing by the bulwarke of his valour, right dreadfull to their attempts. Neuer Turke was buried in his Territory, no more than were the Barbarians vpon the bankes of the riuer Eurotas, E his wiſedome had ſo wiſely prouided for the preſeruation of his people; and his valour ſo worthily aſſured them of their health and ſafety. He was for his Country another *Epaminondas*, who made his towne not only free from the armes and inuaſions of their enemies, but alſo dreadfull to their forces ſo long as he liued. The Turks on the contrary part no leſſe rejoyced for his death; but accounting his country now rich and plentifull (for that it had neuer been by them ſpoiled) for their moſt aſſured prey came now thither on all ſides, to haue taken the ſpoile thereof, and therewith to haue enriched themſelues. But as they were about ſo to haue done, the valliant *Collonitz* honoring the remembrance of the Lord *Nadaſti* his late fellow and companion in armes, and holding that for his owne which he had left, oppoſed himſelfe with his forces againſt theſe rauening wolues. So that they were no ſooner entered into this F his territory, but that contrary to their expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadaſti*, and by him ſo ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durſt no more attempt the like.

The death of the Lord Nadaſti.

This ſo great a loſſe of ſo worthy a man was a little eaſed by the victory about the ſame time gained by the Vayuod of Valachia againſt the Turks ſpoyling of his Countrey. This

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod of Valachia.

valiant champion not able longer to endure the proud inſolency and tyranny of theſe barbarous people, gathered together his troupes of horſemen, with ſuch other ſmall forces as he had; whereof the Turks hauing made ſmall reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging and ranſacking his Country, were, when they leaſt feared, by him vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed and ouerthrowne, many of them being cut in pieces, a number moe taken priſoners, with all the ſpoiles they had got, and the reſt with ſuch feare chaſed out of his Country, as that being glad to haue eſcaped, they tooke no pleaſure for a great while after, to looke into that his Prouince againe.

The ſmall time of truce yeeldeth great contentment both vnto the Chriſtians & Turks in Hungary.

The death of the great Sultan Mahomet.

But to returne againe to the Commiſſioners for the peace to be made betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour, the Baſſa of Buda, to the end that the Captaines and Gouernors of the towns and caſtles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the truce, ſhould not continue their warlike actions, to the prejudice of his faith giuen; immediatly after the departure of the Chriſtian Commiſſioners from Buda, diſpatched diuers currours towards them, to giue them knowledge thereof, and eſpecially to the Gouernor of Agria, commanding them from thenceforth to abſtain from their ordinary incurſions into their enemies territories, and from all other actions of hoſtility, and ſo to keep themſelues quiet vntill they were from him otherwiſe commanded. This little time of reſpite and breathing from warre, gaue great contentment vnto the poore country people, now with warres almoſt exhauſted and ſpent. And now our ſouldiers during the time of truce laying their armes aſide, ran by heaps with ſpades and ſhouels vnto the places where our Armies had ſometimes lien encamped, there to delue and ſearch to finde ſuch things as the Armies riſing in haſte had haply left there buried. In which action they ſo buſied themſelues as if they had beene Labourers in Harueſt, ſo that nothing was in the fields to be ſeene, but men digging and remouing of ſtones and earth. A right fooliſh buſineſſe, and yet ſo exceedingly pleaſing the greedy minds of theſe couetous men, as that amiddeſt their ſuch moiling labour they accounted themſelues at great eaſe. The Turks alſo did the like, mingled together with our men, and our men with them, without any injury doing one to another either by word or deed. And no doubt it is, but that there they found more trauell than wealth, the greedy deſire which drew them into this worke, deceiuing them in effect. And in this mad labour both the parties ſpent many daies without any let or injury doing either on the one ſide or the other. The Chriſtians of Peſth alſo paſſiug ouer the Danuby, went into the victualling houſes of the Turks at Buda, whereinto they were ſuffered to enter, and at liberty to walke vp and downe the towne at their pleaſure. And ſo the Turks of Buda likewiſe came ouer the riuer vnto Peſth, and there walked at their pleaſure, no man letting of them. Which manner of liuing was very commodious and pleaſing both for the one ſide and the other, the Chriſtians buying of the Turks ſuch things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewiſe. Through which quiet and peaceable intercourſe and traffique, the people in generall ſeemed euen in that ſhort time to haue forgotten a great part of their forepaſſed miſeries, this little time of peace, joyned with ſecurity, hauing well aſſuaged the ſame. But while theſe mutuall and vnwonted courteſies thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, and the minds of moſt men were filled with the expectation of an aſſured peace to haue beene euen forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet* in the middeſt of all his pleaſures and delights died in his Imperiall Palace at Conſtantinople: the newes whereof being in the euening brought to Buda by a courrour of purpoſe ſent from Conſtantinople, the Baſſa forthwith ſent the Captaine of the Sentinels of Buda, to Colonell *Geisberg* at Peſth, to aſſure him of the death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the ſucceſſion of his young ſon *Achmet* into his Empire, now already both at Conſtantinople and other places thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which meſſenger he alſo wrote vnto Colonell *Althem*, to certifie him both of the death of the Great Sultan, and of the ſucceſſion of his ſonne, as alſo that he was by him commanded to continue the negotiation of the peace, and ſo if he could to conclude the ſame. For the more euidence whereof, behold the copy of the letters themſelues:

The Letters of the Baſſa of Buda to Colonell *Althem.*

OVr due commendations remembered, noble Lord Gouernour, our deere friend and right honourable neighbour. We haue thought good to aduertiſe you, that the fourth day after your departure from this

A *this city we receiued Letters from Conſtantinople, giuing vs certainely to vnderſtand of the death of our*
moſt mighty Emperour Mahomet, *and of the ſucceſsion of his ſon Sultan* Achmat, *into all his dominions*
and Empires: whereby we are, as his moſt humble ſubjects, ſummoned to yeeld vnto him our oath of faithfull
obedience, as vnto our rightfull Lord, and lawfull ſucceſſour of his father into all his eſtates and dominions.
Moreouer, he particularly commandeth vs, to giue him certaine aduice and knowledge concerning
the negotiation of the peace begun betwixt vs and you, by the commandement of his deceaſed father:
promiſing to confirme and ratifie all that whatſoeuer he ſhall finde done and agreed vpon concerning that
buſineſſe, without any qualification at all. And that if the treaty be not yet concluded and ended, that
his will and deſire was, that it ſhould be ſo, according to the juſt means and aſſurances that we ſhould faithfully
and carefully together deuiſe. Whereof I ſhould readily giue him aduice and anſwer; which I
haue deferred to do, vntill I haue receiued your anſwer, which may inſtruct me what to reſolue vpon.
B *Which your anſwer I attending, haue ſtaied the Currour of Conſtantinople, to the intent he may carry*
backeward vnto our Emperour, what he is to hope for concerning this buſineſſe, by the anſwer that you
ſhall giue vs. Theſe are now therefore to aduiſe you, as our deere friend, and a moſt valiant Gouernour,
to ſet downe that which you ſhall thinke to be moſt fit and neceſſary in this buſineſſe: giuing you withall
to vnderſtand, that our new Emperour is a man of reſolution euen in theſe his young yeares, wherein he
now flouriſheth, hating idleneſſe, deeming no loſſe greater, and altogether irrepaireable, than the loſſe of
time. If then you be ſtill deſirous, that the peace betwixt our Emperours ſhould be made and confirmed, I
hope you will employ your whole endeuour, with ſpeed to determine this moſt happy negotiation, and ſo neceſſary
for euery mans good. As alſo to auert farre from our owne heads, the curſes of the common people;
C *for whom it is moſt needfull that the peace ſhould for their good and quietneſſe be concluded, ſeeing that*
the fruit thereof is expected to be vnto them happy, and the glory thereof for euer ours, for hauing by
our diligence and true endeauour concluded the ſame. Which maketh me to hope, that when you ſhall finde
your ſelfe ready to conclude this treaty, you ſhall not bring with you men enemies vnto peace, or ſuch as
ſhall diſſuade the ſame; but rather wiſe and graue men, which to the vttermoſt of their power may aduance
the ſame; and finde out good and reaſonable meanes to aſſure an eternall and faithfull peace betwixt our
Emperours, vnto which ſo generall a good euery one of vs is in duty bound to imploy the vttermoſt of
his ſufficiencie and power. And thus is that I haue of truth to write vnto you at this time; And ſo I bid
you farewell.

D Now theſe Letters although they moſt concerned the continuation of the treaty of peace, already begun, and were too friendly from an enemy, to haue in them any good meaning, yet did they well aſſure the Colonell to whom they were written, of the death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the ſucceſſion of his ſonne *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here ſet downe.

This late mighty Monarch, and now nothing but a loathſome lump of dead fleſh, the great
Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this life about the later end of Ianuary, in the yeare of Grace 1604,
(according to their computation which begin their yeare at Chriſtmas) when he had liued
about foure and forty yeres, and thereof reigned eight. He was a man of no great ſpirit, and yet
exceeding proud; which was the cauſe that he was both the leſſe beloued and feared of his
E ſubjects in generall, but eſpecially of the Ianizaries and other his ſouldiers and men of warre,
who ſcorning his looſe gouernment, and grieued to ſee euen the greateſt affaires of his State
not only imparted to women, but by them mannaged and ouerruled alſo (as by his mother, the
Sultaneſſe his wife, and others) not onely rebelled againſt him, but were oftentimes in their
rages about to haue depoſed him. He was altogether giuen to ſenſuality & voluptuous pleaſure,
the markes whereof he ſtill carried about with him, a foule ſwolne, vnweldy, and ouergrowne
body, vnfit for any Princely office or function: and a minde thereto anſwerable, wholly
giuen ouer vnto idleneſſe, pleaſure, and exceſſe, no ſmall meanes for the ſhortening of his
daies, which he ended with obloquie, vnregarded of his ſubjects, and but of few or none of
them lamented.

F He had iſſue foure ſonnes, and three daughters married vnto three of the great Baſſaes.

Mahomet his iſſue.

His firſt and eldeſt ſonne was called *Mahomet* (after his owne name) whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled in his owne ſight, vpon ſuſpition of aſpiring vnto the Empire, and conſpiring with the Rebels in *Aſia*: but afterward finding him guiltleſſe, cauſed his body to be buried in his owne Sepulchre, and hanged the Baſſa that had miſ-informed him.

His ſecond ſonne died a naturall death, being yet very young.

His third ſonne was Sultan *Achmat*, who ſucceeded his father, and came to the Empire by the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt brother.

His fourth ſonne being then a youth of about ſixteene yeares old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with ſuch a ſtreit guard ſet ouer him, as that his name was not to be learned, euen by a good vnderſtanding friend of mine, of late lying about three moneths together at Conſtantinople, who moſt curiouſly enquired after the ſame, hauing very good meanes to haue learned it. He was reported to haue been long ſince murthered, howbeit that he of late liued, but looking euery day to be by his brothers cruell commandement ſtrangled, which is accounted but a matter of courſe, and a death hereditary to all the yonger male children of the *Othoman* Emperours: the policy for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, ſo requiring.

Mahomet, how he lies buried at Conſtantinople.

His dead body lyeth buried at Conſtantinople, in a faire Chappell of white Marble (neere vnto the moſt famous and beautifull church of S. *Sophia*) for that only purpoſe by himſelfe moſt ſumptuouſly built about fifty foot ſquare, with foure high ſmall round towers, about the which are certain ſmall round galleries of ſtone: from which the Turkiſh prieſts and churchmen, at certain houres, vſe to call the people euery day to Church: for they vſe no bels themſelues, neither will they ſuffer the Chriſtians to vſe any. But the top of this Chappell is built round, like vnto the antient temples of the heathen gods in Rome. In the midſt of this Chappell (being indeed nothing elſe but this great Sultans Sepulchre) ſtandeth his tombe, which is nothing elſe but a great vrne or coffin of faire white Marble, wherein lieth his body, couered with a great couering of the ſame ſtone ouer it, made riſing in the midſt, and ſtooping on each ſide: not much vnlike to the coffins of the antient tombes of the Saxon kings, which are to be ſeen on the North ſide of the Quire of S. *Pauls* Church, and in other places of this land: but that this coffin of the great Sultan is much greater and more ſtately than are thoſe of the Saxon kings; it being aboue fiue foot high at the end therof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, couered with a rich hearſe of cloth of gold downe to the ground: his turbant ſtanding at his head, and two exceeding great candles of white waxe, about three or foure yards long, ſtanding in great braſſe or ſiluer candleſtickes gilded, the one at his head, the other at his feet, which neuer burne, but there ſtand for ſhew only. All the flore of the Chappell being couered with mats, and faire Turky carpets vpon them. And round about this his tombe, euen in the ſame Chappell, are the like tombes for his wiues and children, but nothing ſo great and faire. Into this Chappell, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawfull for either Turke or Chriſtian to enter, but firſt he muſt put off his ſhooes, leauing them at the church or chappell gate, or carrying them in his hand. Neere vnto this chappell, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are diuers other chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selym*, this mans grandfather, with his ſeuen and thirty children about him: of Sultan *Amurath*, this mans father, with his fiue and forty children entombed about him. And in other places not far from them, are the chappels and ſepulchres of the reſt of the great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Bajazet*, Sultan *Selym* the firſt, Sultan *Solyman*: all by theſe great Mahometan Emperors built, whoſe names they beare. And being all of almoſt one forme and faſhion, haue euery one of them a faire Hoſpitall adjoyning vnto them, wherein a great multitude of poore people are daily ſtill relieued.

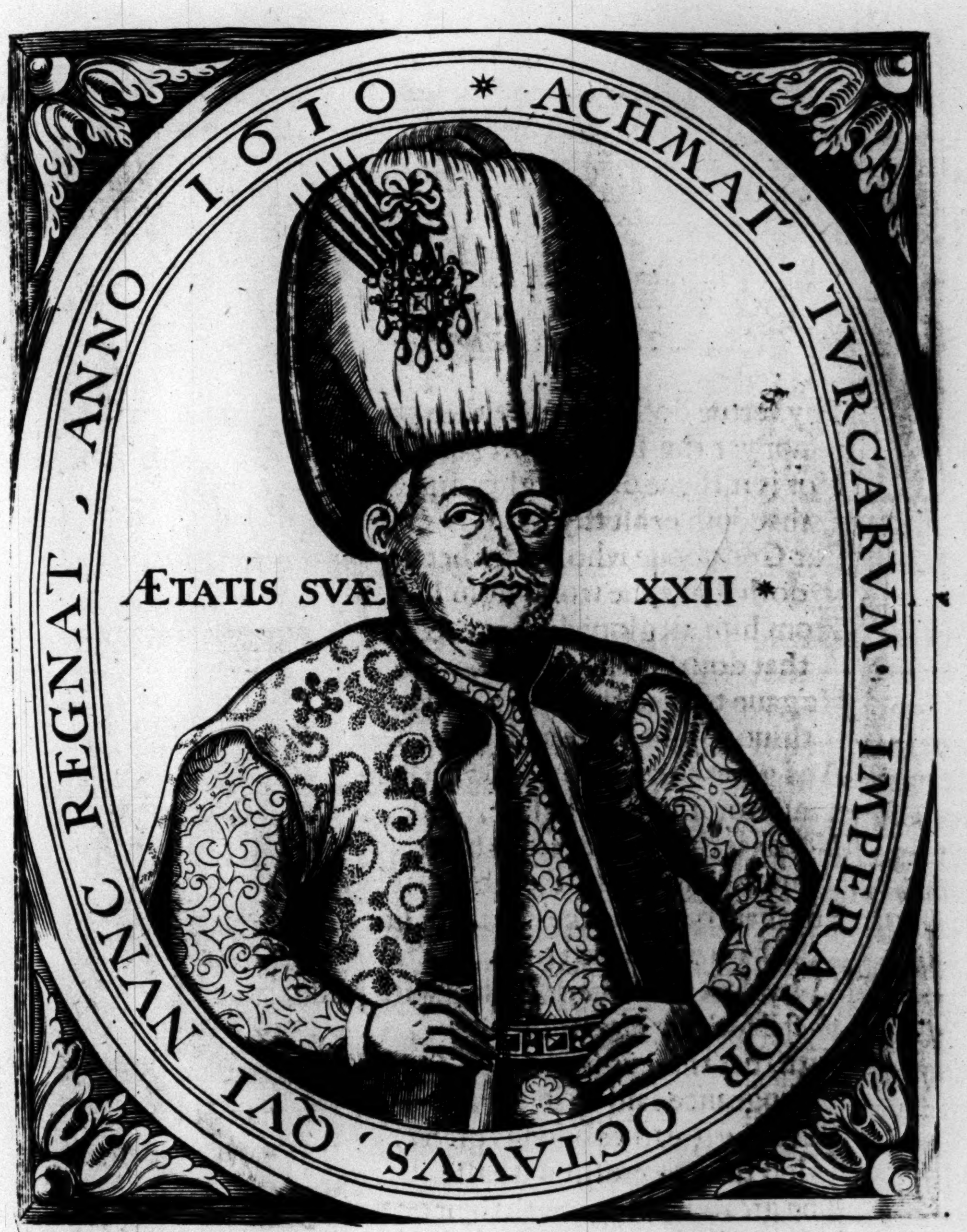
Some others of the great Baſſaes haue their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and ſtately almes-houſes alſo, not much inferiour vnto thoſe of the great Sultans; as namely, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, of all the Baſſaes that euer were amongſt the Turks the moſt magnificent, hath his ſtately chappell, ſepulchre, and almes-houſes, neere both in place and beauty vnto that of *Solymans*. The Turks bury not at all within their churches, neither are any at all buried within the wals of the city, but the great Turkiſh Emperours themſelues, with their wiues and children about them, and ſome few other of their great Baſſaes, and thoſe only in Chappels by themſelues built for that purpoſe. All the reſt of the Turks are buried in the field; ſome of the better ſort in tombes of marble; but the reſt with tombe ſtones laied vpon them, or with two great ſtones, the one ſet vp at the head, and the other at the feet of euery graue, the greateſt part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Iſle of Marmora. They will not bury any man where another hath beene buried, accounting it impiety to digge vp another mans bones.

The Turks bury not in their churches, neither within the wals of their cities, but in the fields.

A bones. By reaſon wherof they couer al the beſt ground about the city with ſuch white ſtones; which for the infinit number of them are thought ſufficient to make another wall about the City. But now to ſtand no longer about the manner of the Turks burials, leauing this great Sultan to reſt with his anceſtors, let vs now proſecute the courſe of our hiſtory.

FINIS.

Chriſtian Princes of the ſame time with Mahomet *the third.*	*Emperours of Germany*		*Rodolphus the ſecond,*	1577
	Kings	*Of England*	*Queen Elizabeth,*	1558. 44
		Of France	*Henry the fourth,*	1589
		Of Scotland	*Iames the ſixth, afterward King of England,*	1567
	Biſhops of Rome		*Clement the VIII,*	1592. 13
			Leo the XI,	1605. 26 dayes
			Paulus the V,	1605


1610 * ACHMAT, TVRCARVM, IMPERATOR OCTAVVS, QVI NVNC REGNAT, ANNO
ÆTATIS SVÆ XXII *

Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens:
Maximus eſt ſuperûm, nutu qui territat orbem
Hinc Achmete *tibi gloria tota manat.*
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia ſceptra parauit;
Hic tibi nunc juveni maxima quaque dedit.
Non quod ſis alijs melior, multumve beatus,
Sed quò ſis alijs terror & ira Dei.
Quid turges igitur, faſtuve ſuperbis inani?
Sic te cum miſeris numinis ira premat.
Pone modũ magnis, ni vis ſuccumbere magnus:
Maxima quaque ſuo pondere preſſa ruunt.
Nec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa
Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.
RIC. KNOLLEVS.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Thy vertue doth not make thee great,
nor yet thy ſtore of pelf;
Nor is it thyne own mighty arm
that doth exalt thy ſelf.
But God aboue, who with a beck
doth ſhake the world from hie;
From him all glory doth proceed
that doth belong to thee.
He gaue to thee, then but a child,
thine empire large and wide;
And giues to thee, now grown a man,
all worldly bliſſe beſide.
Not that thou better art, or bleſt
more than ſome others be;
But that to plague the world for ſin
he hath appointed thee.
Why doſt thou therfore ſwel with pride,
ſtil ſeeking after more?
Sith that there is for thee by God
vengeance laid vp in ſtore.
Vnto thy greatnes bounds prefix,
leſt thou be cruſht withall:
The greateſt things with their own weight
haue oft the greateſt fall.
Nor promiſe to thy ſelf, that thou
ſhalt long time liue and reign:
Thy Deſtinies do call thee hence,
and thruſt thee on amain.

ACHMAT.

THE LIFE OF *ACHMAT*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, EIGHTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

M*Ahomet* the late Sultan in the midſt of his exceſſiue plea-
ſures by vntimely death taken away, *Achmat* the elder of
his two ſonnes yet liuing, who was to ſucceed him in the
C Empire, to preuent the vſuall and inſolent tumults of the
Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court at the change of
the Emperours, and to take from them all occaſions of
diſcontentment; by the counſell of the great Baſſa's (be-
fore he took vpon him the gouernment) cauſed an excee-
ding great ſum of mony, namely two millions and an half,
as a token of his bounty to be diſtributed amongſt them:
the Spahi and Siliſtars his chief horſmen receiuing ther-
of ten Crownes a man, with fiue aſpers a day more to en-
creaſe their pay: and the Ianizaries thirty crownes a man,
D and on aſper a day of ordinary pay: they of his court, eſpecially the chiefe officers, taſting of
this his bounteous liberality alſo. With which ſo great a largeſſe all men well contented, he
in a moſt rich and ſtately Chariot, ſo placed as that all men might ſee him, was in great maje-
ſtie carried thorow all the chiefe ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the people on euery ſide gazing
vpon him, and ſtill as he paſſed by them, proſecuting him with their moſt ioiful and happy ac-
clamations. Some wiſhing, that he being but young might (as another *Solyman*) beginne his
reign with the conqueſt of Malta, as had the other with the conqueſt of the Rhodes: & other-
ſome as heartily praying, that with glorious and victorious conqueſts hee might be like vnto
Mahomet the Great, whom he was then reported much to reſemble. In which ſo great & pub-
lique magnificence, he being about 15 years old, was with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities o-
E penly crowned, euery man wiſhing vnto him a moſt long and happy reign. And albeit that
no great fruit was for the preſent to be expected from ſo yong and tender a plant, yet neuer-
theleſſe by his authoritie and in his name many good orders were taken for the reliefe of his
ſubiects, with moſt heauy grieuances generally oppreſſed, during the looſe and careles reign
of his father. His grandmother alſo, a moſt proud, ambitious and imperious woman, & with-
all exceeding rich, who with great authority ouer-ruled all in the time of her ſonne *Mahomets*
reign, he now remoued from the ſtate, as not fit for her to haue to do therein, and ſo depriued
her of all her former power and command. The Perſian Embaſſador, whom his father in his
diſpleaſure had cloſe ſhut vp, he ſet at liberty, and with him ſent the Baſſa of Aleppo to en-
treat of peace with the great Shaugh of Perſia, who not long before (as was reported) had
F recouered the great city of Tauris, and was then preparing himſelf for new conqueſts. Which
report for the motion of peace with the Perſian diſcouered in his ſubiects their diuers opini-
ons concerning himſelf; ſome condemning his patience, as not beſeeming the *Othoman* Em-
perors, vnto whom fury and rage had alwaies made them a way vnto their great and dreadfull

Achmat crowned Emperour at Conſtantinople.

conqueſts, euen againſt the moſt puiſſant armies and ſtrongeſt townes and fortreſſes of their enemies: and ſome other to the contrary prayſing therein his wiſedome, in ſeeking by faire means (now in the beginning of his reigne) to diſ-arme his enemies when they might moſt hurt him; at his better opportunitie, in his ſetled eſtate, to oppreſſe them for euer. So the actions of Princes are like vnto ſtrange lights appearing by night in the ayre, which hold mens eyes buſied with the intentiue beholding of them, ſome thereof diuining well, and ſome others euill, according to the diuerſitie of the beholders conceits and humors.

The treaty of peace continued in Hungary.

The treaty for peace alſo in Hungary was notwithſtanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Baſſa of Buda ſtill continued, who (as he ſaid) by the new Sultan authoriſed, by letters incited the Gouernor of Strigonium to repaire vnto ſome ſuch conuenient place as wherein the matter might be ſafely concluded. Vpon which motion the Gouernor with the reſt of the Commiſſioners departing from Strigonium, the fourth of February came to *Collonitz* his Campe, from whence they were by the ſoldiers moſt brauely conducted along the banks of Danubius, vnto the ſhips which lay ready for them, to carry them downe the riuer to Peſth: during which time of their paſſage nothing was to bee ſeene or heard but fire and ſmoake, and the thundring of the great Artillery both from Peſth and Buda, the Chriſtians and the Turks both ſtriuing to excell each other in theſe their ſhewes of ioy and triumph. The Gouernour with the reſt of his company being happily arriued at Peſth, met there with a number of the better ſort of the Turks ſent thither by the Baſſa to meet him, and in his name to greet him: who with a thouſand honours againe receiued and ſaluted them. All ſhewes of kindneſſe, and ſignes of the happy ſucceſſe of the negotiation begun. And now the Chriſtians deſirous to excell the Turks, as well in courteſie as in valor, appointed a number of them the next day to goe to Buda, to inuite certaine of the chiefeſt and moſt honourable men amongſt the Turks, vnto a banquet at Peſth: Who willingly accepted of the offer, and ſo came ſix hundred of the better ſort of them ouer the Danubie to Peſth, where the feaſt was moſt ſumptuouſly and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten faire and rich pauilions ſet vp for the entertainment of them a little diſtant from Peſth, in a faire place, and fit for this purpoſe. In the firſt whereof were placed three very proud and ſtately tables. At the firſt of which tables, on the right hand, were ſet the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, with the two Baſſaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Prieſt, with a Mitre vpon his head, a long furred gowne vpon his back, and vnder that, a robe of moſt fine and exceeding rich ſilke. Vpon the left hand, at the ſame table were placed certain of the Turks Lords, and other great men. At the other two tables were ſet other of the beſt ſort of the Turks mingled with the Chriſtians: and ſo at all the other tables in like order were ſet a Chriſtian and a Turke, vntill that the ſix hundred Turks were placed, with as many Chriſtians among them: who by their good countenance and behauiour one of them to another, might haue ſeemed to haue been all of one & the ſame Beliefe, Nation, and Countrey. The Turks after the manner of their ſuperſtition, would not ſit downe before the ſetting of the Sunne, which being ſet, they with a thouſand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Archprieſt, ſet themſelues down at the tables in order as is aforeſaid, and there merrily repoſed themſelues vntill nine of the clocke at night. At which time the tables with great reuerence taken away, the Turks as men well contented, and full of ioy returned to Buda, the inſtruments of muſicke, trumpets, and Drummes, on euery ſide ſounding about them with much glee, and as it were witneſſing to heauen and earth the great contentment they had receiued. Yet for all this fair ſhew, nothing but deep diſſimulation, mixt with foul treaſon: For a little before their departure, they of Peſth were aduertiſed, That the Turks in great number wel appointed, were come out from Buda to ſurpriſe Peſth during the time of the feaſt, being in hope that the Chriſtians all buſied in that action, had left the towne walls vnfurniſhed of defence. But they too wel acquainted with their trecheries, to put any truſt or confidence in their fair ſhewes, had as well prouided for the defence of the town, as for the magnificence of the feaſt abroad. By which meanes the Turkes diſappointed of their intended purpoſe, were in the attempting thereof repulſed, and ſo glad to return as they came, backe againe vnto Buda.

The Turks ſeek to ſurpriſe Peſth.

The next day after, the Emperours Commiſſioners complained vnto the Baſſa and the reſt of the Turks Commiſſioners, of this ſo trecherous dealing. Who excuſed themſelues as al-

together

A together ignorant therof; diſauowing the action for want of ſucces, which had it bin effected, they would to the vttermoſt moſt ſhamefully haue maintained. An ordinary courſe among the Great, with ſpeech and countenance in ſhew to condemn that for want of effect, which in heart and mind they could for their own profit haue wiſhed had bin performed.

Neuertheleſſe the Turkes the next day (as if no ſuch thing had bin meant) requeſted the Chriſtian commiſſioners to come to Buda, as they had don to Peſth: but they, as wel by proof as by report, perceiuing the euil meaning of the Turks, excuſing themſelues returned to Strigonium, as loth any more to aduenture themſelues into the power of their faithles enemies: yet left they *Geisberg* at Peſth, with Commiſſion to continue the negotiation for peace with the Baſſa of Buda: if he ſhould find him therunto diſpoſed, or any hope of bringing the trea-
B tie to good effect or iſſue.

Mahomet the late Sultan had a little before his death (as is declared) ſet at liberty County *Tſolan* (caried away priſoner to Conſtantinople after the taking of Alba-Regalis) and ſent him with Letters of Credence to intreat of a peace to be made with the Emperor; with promiſe to yeeld himſelf againe priſoner, if he failed to obtain the ſame: for whom the French Embaſſador became pledge. He hauing now deliuered his letters of Credence vnto the Emperor, and commanded to ſay what he had further in charge; declared, That the great Sultan offered to deliuer vnto his Majeſty the ſtrong townes of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Caniſia, in exchange of Tranſyluania and Valachia, wherto he laid claim; promiſing for his part to make a moſt ſure & firm peace with the Emperor for time to come, and to giue him ſuch aſſurance
C therof as ſhould of him reaſonably be demanded.

Count Tſolans meſſage from the great Sultan to the Emperor.

The Baſſa of Buda alſo amongſt other the fair remonſtrances of peace, had offered vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners to reſtore Caniſia and Agria, for Peſth, Hatwan and Vacia, together with the remiſſion of all ſuch paiments and tributes as were by the Emperour due to the great Sultan for the kingdom of Hungary. All which fair ſhews and offers, though much vnreaſonable, were nothing but windy words to delay the time, and ſubtil baits to deceiue the Chriſtians: for the euent and iſſue which giueth life to all actions, with a form to them agreeable, hath by experience taught the Chriſtians, that all the glorious and glozing proceedings of the Turks in this buſines of the peace, ſo much wiſhed and expected of the Chriſtians, were but nets and ſnares wherwith to intangle them with the vain hope thereof, vntil that they in
D the mean time might fortifie their townes with new ſupply of men, munition, victuals, and whatſoeuer elſe was needful, the more eaſily afterward to anoy them at their pleaſure, and ſo to laugh at their ſimplicitie and light beleefe. For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his ſon (yet by reaſon of his minoritie, vnder the tuition of his mother and other the great Baſſa's) ſucceeding in his place, the Turkes aggrauated the conditions of the peace, and propounded them ſo farre from reaſon, as that any man might ſee them now to haue no more deſire or regard of peace, after they had diſpatched that for which they ſeemed before ſo deſirous of it. Inſomuch, that they ſent a meſſenger in poſt from Conſtantinople to the Baſſa of Buda, to forbid him vpon pain of his head, any further to continue the treaty of peace, but forthwith to renew the War. So this peace ſo much expected, and now of the people generally hol-
E den for as good as concluded, ſuddenly vaniſhed into ſmoke; nothing remaining of that body, compoſed of ſo many wiſhes, more than a vain expectation, now diſperſed with the winde of the Turkiſh trechery. And yet during the time of this negotiation of peace, ſought for by the Turks both by often letters and meſſengers, many a ſolemn oath had paſſed both from the Sultan *Mahomet*, and from the Viſier Baſſa, for their faithfull and ſincere dealing in the treaty therof; as, By the God of heauen and earth, By the Books of *Moſes*, By the Pſalmes of *Dauid*, and By the holy Euangeliſts: oathes much vſed of the Turkes, and reſerued for their greateſt ſolemnities, and ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their leagues and promiſes. All which for al that, hauing ſerued but as baits and traines to beguile the ſimple and well meaning men, lay now neglected and vnregarded. Such is the faith and aſſurance which men haue from faith-
F leſſe Infidels.

The treaty of peace thus broken off, it was forthwith by ſome bruited, That *Achmat* the great Sultan, vnder the conduct of the Viſier Baſſa his gouernor, was himſelf in perſon with a moſt huge army about to come into Hungary. Some others in the meane time reporting, that he was letted ſo to do by reaſon of the Perſian Wars, whereunto hee was of neceſſitie to G ſend the greateſt part of his forces; ſo that hee would but only ſend one of his great Baſſa's with the remainder of his ſo great an army againſt the Chriſtians into Hungary, being before ſworn neuer to return again to Conſtantinople, vntil he had brought the countries of Tranſilvania and Valachia, with the remainder of Hungary, vnder the great Sultans obeiſance, together with the country of Auſtria, and eſpecially the ſtrong city of Vienna, the end of the Turkiſh Emperors conqueſts. And that to this purpoſe the grand Seignior had in al places with great rigor leuied large ſums of money vpon his ſubiects for the maintenance of his ſo great an army. It was by others alſo reported, That onely the preparations for ſo great an Army ſhould be made this year, the Turks being reſolued to do much therwith the next year, and therfore willing to beſtow much, in hope with ſo great and puiſſant an Army as they were about H to raiſe, to end the wars in Hungary, and not to return vntil they conquered all the reſt of that kingdom, in the rent reliques wherof the *Othoman* Emperors had ſtaid. So that all handicrafts men were ſet to worke both night and day, not onely to forge Weapons, to caſt great Ordnance, and to make pouder, but to prepare all other things neceſſarie alſo for ſo great an exployt.

All theſe great preparations were made for the ſeruice of the Viſier Baſſa for the War in Hungary, and of *Cicala Baſſa* in Perſia; wherof he was appointed Generall, hauing before preſumptuouſly promiſed, vtterly to ruinat the Perſians eſtate, and with ſo great a power euen to ſwallow him vp. And indeed theſe Eaſtern wars much troubled the Turks, news comming ſtil concerning the conqueſts of the Perſian vpon his territories; and that euen of late the Perſian I king proſecuting his victories, had taken Babylon with all the country round about; and that diuers other towns and cities, more moued with fear, than with the faith wherewith they had bound themſelues vnto the Turks, now yeelded to the Perſian, as weary of the Turkes ſeruitude, and deſirous of their antient liberty. And yet for all that, the Turkes (as they are wiſe to diſſemble their loſſes, and to ſtrike a fear into their enemies) had giuen it out in Conſtantinople, That the Perſian king was neer vnto Babylon diſcomfited, all his army ouerthrowne, and he himſelfe taken priſoner. So that the Turkes forces before diſtracted, ſhould wholly ioine together, to the vtter ruine and deſtruction of the Chriſtians in Hungary. And the more to confirm this euil newes, it was reported, That the Beglerbeg of Grecia had raiſed a great power to ioine with the Viſier Baſſa his forces, to the intent to leaue nothing vnconquered in K Hungary. For the better effecting wherof it was ſaid alſo, That the Viſier Baſſa had cauſed a great number of Veſſels loded with pouder and other warlike prouiſion, to be brought by water out of Egypt to Belgrade, to ruinate the eſtate of the Chriſtians. All which reports were by the Turks giuen out, to couer their own miſhaps, and to terrifie their enemies: as knowing right well, Warres to depend much vpon reports, and that a falſe bruit once beleeued, often worketh the effect of a thing indeed don. Howſoeuer it was, thoſe ſo dreadful reports might well haue ſerued to haue ſtirred vp the ſpirits of the Chriſtians, to haue prouided for their owne defence, and to haue ſtood vpon their gard. For he that faileth to prouide againſt the preparations of his enemy, well deſerueth either bondage or death, which ſoeuer ſhall befall him, for hauing by his negligence betrayed his owne abilitie and power to haue withſtood L him.

The Turkes wiſely diſſemble their loſſes.

The great report of the Turks preparations and forces had now daſht all the talk of peace at Conſtantinople, and the hot fire of ambition had quite ſcorched the ſweet flours appearing vpon the ouerture of the late hope of the common repoſe; ſome perſuading the great Sultan, That he was able by his power at the ſame time both to ſubdue the Perſian King, and to confound the whole forces of the Chriſtian Emperor, hauing ſo many great kingdoms within his Empire, ſo many Armouries ſtored for his ſeruice, and ſuch ſtore of treaſure ready for his deſignes; promiſing vnto him moſt happy and eaſie ſucceſſe both in the one and the other expeditions, euen at one and the ſelfe ſame time: ſo that hee might vanquiſh the Perſian by *Cicala*, chiefe Commander of his Army in Perſia; and conquer the remainder of Hungarie, M with the Countries of Tranſylvania and Valachia, by the Viſier Baſſa Generall of his forces againſt the Chriſtians. It being (as they ſaid) a thing both honourable and profitable for a Prince, to beſtow both men and money, thereby to gaine men, honour, and Empire: ſo that

things

A things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than thoſe which with leſſe charge were don at diuers times; for that things ſo don at once yeelded preſent profit, as being in our power, and recompencing the charge: the other in long time putting vs to great charge, and yeelding little or no profit at all. And indeed men ſtood in great fear of this the Turks yong Emperour, who was by nature fierce, haſty, vigilant, cruel, ambitious and proud, in his behauior and actions much reſembling *Mahomet* the ſecond, hee which took from the Chriſtians ſo many kingdoms, towns, and cities, and among the reſt, the Imperial city of Conſtantinople. He like a yong *Alexander* occupied himſelſe in all the exerciſes of war, hated idlenes, his fathers greateſt pleaſure; he cauſed Arms to be made, cannos to bee caſt, ſhips and gallies to be built, and took pleaſure to diſcourſe how the ſame were to be
B imploied againſt his enemies: ſo that it was greatly feared, that he being but a child in Conſtantinople, would proue a man grown in Chriſtendom, in bringing the ſame vnder his power and obeiſance. He ſpared no perſon nor means to ſatisfie his deſire. So that ſtrangers were to expect ſmall curteſies at his hands, when as they ſaw him vſe ſuch bloudy cruelty againſt his nobles and domeſtick ſeruants, of whom ſoon after he was Emperour he put diuers to death, with one of the Baſſa's alſo, who was Gouernor of Peſth when as our men won it. But as juſtice and clemencie to good Princes are the ſureſt tyes to keep their ſubjects faſt bound vnto them in their obedience and duties; ſo are cruelty and rage the chiefeſt bridles wherwith the Turkiſh Emperors keep their ſubjects in awe and ſubjection vnto them, and themſelues in their eſtate.

The diſpoſition of Achmat.

C But leauing the Turks buſied about their preparations for the accompliſhment of their yong Emperors high deſignes, let vs return into Hungary, taking Tranſylvania in our way; the wofull miſeries of which Country my mind abhorreth to think vpon, and my pen therof to write. This Prouince, ſomtimes much renowned for the great victories obtained againſt the Turks by the inhabitants therof, vnder the leading of their valiant Prince *Sigiſmund Bator* and others, and abounding with plenty of al things, was now not by any inuaſion of the Turks, but by ciuill diſcord amongſt themſelues, and rebellion againſt the Emperour, now their Soueraign, ſo waſted and ſpoiled by the ſouldiers of all ſorts, that many of the poor inhabitants for want of food fell down dead as they went in the ſtreets and fields: miſerable Wretches, alwaies ſowing, but neuer reaping; alwaies labouring, but nothing profiting, the merciles and
D greedy ſouldier ſtill ſpoyling and deuouring all. By long continuance of which daily outrages the fields at length lay now vntilled, the paſtures vnſtored and neglected, and all things els vnmanured and quite out of courſe. By means wherof the famin ſo increaſed, that the poor peaſants of the country hauing eaten vp for great dainties, all the dogs, cats, mice and rats that they could get, fell to eating of dead horſes, and the loathſom carrion of other hunger-ſtarued beaſts. It is reported alſo, That one man ſhould eat another: and that at Hermanſtat a woman hauing ſix children, did among them eat one another, vntill they were at length all ſix deuoured. And contrariwiſe, That two men did eat one another. Yea, theeues & malefactors hanged for their villanies, were by the poor and miſerable hungry people cut down from the Gallows, and deuoured; the people generally liuing vpon nothing but the roots of
E Weeds, green herbs, and the leaues of trees.

The miſery of Tranſylvania.

An horrible famine.

For remedy of which ſo extream miſeries, it was on al parts agreed, that a general aſſembly of the States of the whole prouince ſhould be holden at Dewa. Wherin it was accorded, that all hoſtility ſet apart, the Gentlemen of Tranſylvania hauing by their rebellion forfeited both their liues and lands, ſhould be pardoned their liues, with three fourth parts of their lands reſerued vnto them; and that for ready mony they might of the Emperour redeem the fourth part alſo. But concerning the moueables of ſuch as were dead in the time of theſe troubles, and already confiſcat vnto the Emperour, they ſhould ſo remaine; and that they ſhould pay their diſms or tenth part of their wines and fruits vnto the Emperour. And further, That there ſhould be no further exerciſe of religion permitted vnto them, but onely the
F Romiſh religion. And that the towns of Cronſtadt and Clauſenburg ſhould within 3 weeks after, pay, one of them 20000 dollars, and the other 8000: And the Magiſtrats of thoſe places ſhould deliuer the keyes of their towns, with all their power, into the hands of the Empe-

rours

rors Lieutenant: and that the Gentlemen of theſe Towns which would not be accounted in the number of the rebels,ſhould for the ſafety of their perſons take letters of pardon for their rebellion,of the General of the Army. This pacification gaue ſome little time of breathing vnto this poor diſtreſſed Country, which bared of all ſtrength,and as it were vpon the graues brink,had now but euen the laſt gaſp to giue; and the Countrey people began again to giue themſelues vnto their wonted labours,in hope at length to reap the profit therof themſelues.

Great troubles in Tranſylvania.

But alas all in vain: for why, the rauening ſouldiers inured to prey, after their wonted maner made hauock and ſpoil of all things,leauing nothing vnto the poor Country man but his labor for his pain,and time enough to bewail his manifold and remedileſſe miſeries. The chief cauſes wherof were the Nobility and Gentlemen themſelues,who not liking to be gouerned, or rather (as they tooke it) oppreſſed by the Germans; and hauing not vpon any deſire that they had of peace, but rather by neceſſity inforced, yeelded vnto the Pacification aforeſayd, ceaſed not ſtil vnder-hand to incite the ſouldiers (ready enough of themſelues to doe miſchief) and in what they might to trouble the State, being gouerned by the Germans,whom they accounted as meer ſtrangers. All which their doings *Baſta* the Emperors Lieutenant perceiuing, cauſed three of the greateſt of the Gentlemen of the country, and whom he moſt ſuſpected to be the authors of theſe troubles, to be apprehended, and faſt mured vp betwixt two ſtrong walls in an old ruinous Monaſtery. Whither their friends afterward comming to viſit them, & finding them ſtarued to death,were therwith much abaſhed,as were alſo others their complices when they heard therof.

But leauing them to work themſelues further troubles, let vs againe return to the Turkes affairs.

The Turks deal deceitfuly with the Christians.

Now was all the hope of peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks become deſperat,the Turks making therof no more account, ſeeing they had according to their deſire prouided Alba-Regalis, Agria,and Buda,of all things neceſſary. They had in four wagons put into Agria the pay due vnto their garriſons: ſo that their affairs being now in good eſtate,and their courage reuiued, they began to ſcoffe and jeſt at our incredulity, to beleeue that they euer had any purpoſe to conclude vpon any thing that was not agreeing with their profit, how far ſoeuer it were differing from their honor or faith. So that now theſe faithleſſe men began again to renue their wonted incurſions and pillages vpon the Chriſtians, with all other kinds of hoſtility,and that in more cruel maner than euer before: and our Huſſars on the other ſide well requited them with the like, beeing as well contented as they with ſuch doings, their whole fortune depending vpon the points of their weapons,& euer ready to ſerue their prince for pay. Now it fortuned that fourſcore of the Turks going forth to ſeek for prey,chanced to meet with certain of theſe Huſſars,and finding themſelues too weake to incounter with our men,and betaking themſelues to flight,were certain of them taken priſoners, and ſo brought vnto the Generall; vnto whom they vpon examination confeſſed, That the Turks much maruelled at the ſimplicity and fooliſhnes of the Chriſtians, to beleeue that they were deſirous of peace,and not to haue diſcouered their manifeſt intentions to the contrary, tending onely to the pleaſuring of themſelues,and the annoying of them their enemies, to the ſtrengthning of themſelues,and deſtruction of the Chriſtians: as by proof it appeared, ſo ſoon as their deſires were accompliſhed. And that their yong Emperour was alwaies againſt this treaty of peace,what ſhew ſoeuer he made to the contrary, conſtrained therunto by the victories and conqueſts of the Perſian King: all his wiſhes and deſires aiming at no other end, than at the general ruin of all Chriſtendom.

Our gariſons ſeeing themſelues thus charged by the Turks, took vp arms alſo, requiting them with the like outrages. They of Pappa and Veſprinium were the firſt that began theſe broils after the treaty of peace; who hauing joined their forces together, and making head

Booties taken from the Turks.

toward Alba-Regalis,met with a number of Turks, driuing ſheep and cattell thither; whom they ſurpriſed, and together with their cattel caried away priſoners. Which good hap was ſeconded with the liberty of 20 Chriſtian priſoners from Buda: who one night ſeeing their Keepers oppreſſed with ſleep and wine, cut their throats, and ſo happily eſcaped ouer the Riuer to Peſth.

Now whilſt theſe troubles betwixt the Chriſtians and Turkes (after the treaty of peace broken of) thus began again in Hungary, the Turks, beſide the rebellion in Aſia, were together by the ears in the prouince of Boſna. *Zellaly* hauing by force joined with policie, driuen *Zeffer Baſſa* (as is before ſaid) out of Boſna, and poſſeſſed himſelſe of that prouince, thought himſelſe now ſure enough within the ſtrength of his gouernment, although he beeing by the great Sultan ſent for to Conſtantinople, refuſed to come, as knowing right well himſelſe to hold that ſo great a gouernment much againſt his will and pleaſure. But *Zeffer Baſſa* now ſupported with the authoritie of the great Sultan, and deſirous to be reuenged of the diſhonour and loſſe he had before receiued from *Zellaly* his enemy, with a great army ſuddenly entred into Boſna, and ſo comming vpon *Zellaly*, fearing as then no ſuch matter, ouerthrew him with all his power, and neuer left purſuing of him, til he had chaſed him out of the prouince, and ſo again recouered the gouernment therof vnto himſelf. But ſhort was the ioy which the Baſſa receiued of this ſo pleaſing a victory, for within a few daies after hee died; comforting himſelſe in this, That he died not vnreuenged. Of all which things the great Baſſa's of the court hauing vnderſtanding, and loth to loſe ſo great a ſoldier as was *Zellaly* (who as a man diſtreſſed was now making ſhift for himſelſe) or by vſing of him hardly, to deterre the other Aſian Rebels from comming in, and yet not willing to truſt him with the gouernment of ſo great a prouince as was Boſna; they to prouide for all euents appointed him to be gouernor of Temeſware; and *Begedes Baſſa* (before Gouernour there) to ſucceed *Zeffer Baſſa* in the gouernment of Boſna. Therby contenting all parties, to keepe their forces whole and entire againſt the Chriſtians.

Great troubles in Hungary.

Colonel Althem his regiment in mutiny.

But as the Turks were troubled with their affaires in Boſna, ſo the Chriſtians were no leſſe but rather more buſied with theirs both in Tranſylvania and Hungary. The Eſtates of Hungary had appointed a generall meeting at Poſſonium, wherein the Archduke *Matthias* was to ſit as Preſident, there to conſult of the means for the maintenance of this yeares wars againſt the Turks. But as the Archduke was about to haue entred into the city in the middeſt of his ſoldiers, ſuch a fire vpon the ſudden aroſe in the city as conſumed the greateſt part therof: an ill preſage of the action then in hand, and a wofull ſpectacle to behold; with the terror wherof al mens minds poſſeſſed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Archduke (which was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more neceſſary & concerning them than the other. Beſides that, the miſeries then to be ſeene in the other parts of Hungary yet holden by the Chriſtians, were both great and lamentable; for beſide the harms therin done by the Turks, the regiment of Colonel *Althem* had made ſuch ſpoil and hauock all ouer the country where it lay, that the towns and people in general ſo grieuouſly complained therof vnto the Emperor, that he mooued with their iuſt complaints, cauſed the authors of theſe ſo great outrages to be apprehended and brought priſoners to Vienna, where ſome of them were beheaded, and ſome others of them hanged. Beſides whom ſo condemned and executed, there were ſome other Captains and Lieutenants, of whom ſome denying the fact, and other ſome ſtanding vpon the iuſtifying of that they had done, as therunto by extream neceſſitie inforced, were for their further triall ſent priſoners vnto Prague, were they were committed to priſon into the Caſtle vntill their cauſes might be heard. Amongſt which Captaines and Lieutenants, and other great officers, was one *Genderot*, Colonel *Althems* Antient, who moſt wickedly a little before had ſlain *Nudercy*, a gentleman of good ſort, and his fellow companion in Arms. For which murther hee was committed priſoner into a very high and ſtrong tower within the Caſtle, (wherin County *Paradiſer* who ſold Caniſia vnto the Turks, lay ſometime priſoner) vntil his trial might within a few daies after bee made: the horror of which criminall place, together with the guilt of conſcience, ſo troubled and wounded the minde of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to ſaue his life was by making an eſcape, and ſo to auoid the ſtroke of Iuſtice. Which he happily brought to paſſe by the help of one of his Lacquies, who had found means to bring vnto him a little cord, wherby ſtraining himſelf out at a little window (by which it was thought almoſt impoſſible for any man to haue got out) he ſafely got down to the ground, and there hauing two good horſes ready for him, hee with his man fled amain, and ſo eſcaped, his Keepers drunk ouer night, being in the morning found yet ſleeping, without perceiuing any thing; whoſe drunkennes and fauor toward the priſoner

had giuen him meanes to eſcape. The reſt of the captains and lieutenants in priſon at Prague G
were ſome of them beheaded, and ſome of them hanged, and the reſt at the interceſſion of the Nobilitie of Auſtria, and of other great men pardoned, yet with condition, That they ſhould pay the fines ſet vpon them, and ſerue their Emperor in his wars three months of their owne charge without pay: ſome few of the common ſouldiers, to the terrour of others had two of the fore fingers of their right hands cut off, and afterwards faſt nailed vnto gibbets ſet vp by the high waies ſide.

The Regiment of Colonell Meysberg in mutiny

In like maner alſo the regiment of Colonel *Meysberg* roſe in mutinie for their pay & came and incamped at Sneche, about a league from Vienna, threatning to deſtroy the countrey, and to kill the chiefe men therein, if they were not paied their pay. Which rebellious mutiny the Captains did what they might to appeaſe; they beſought them, but in vaine; they intreated H
them, but to no purpoſe; they promiſed them pay, but preuailed not, yea, the Colonell himſelfe thruſt himſelfe into the midſt of them, with moſt earneſt prayers, and his hands caſt vp, putting them in mind of their duty, and laying before them the danger of moſt aſſured death and diſhonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their diſloyaltie, whereunto their headſtrong fury ſo diſorderly led them. But they as men inraged, carried headlong with their fury, breathing nothing but threats and deſtruction, and by no praiers or perſuaſion to be moued, preſently made choice of another Chiefetaine, vnder whoſe conduct and leading they reſolued to rifle the ſuburbs of Vienna, and with the ſpoyle of them to pay themſelues. Vpon which reſolution they marched on, and ſo drew neere vnto the city: with which their ſo great and dangerous an inſolencie the Gouernors of the city moued (the ſufferance whereof, they ac- I
counted to be to themſelues both diſhonorable and harmfull) they on the other ſide reſolued by plaine force to repreſſe them, and by iuſt armes to chaſtiſe them, who were not otherwiſe to be reclaimed. But ſuch be the miſerable calamities of warre, where violent remedies muſt purge out of the body of the commonweale the good humors together with the bad, ſo to recouer the health thereof: which remedies, not but vpon neceſſity to be vſed, are ſo quicke and violent in their working, as that they afford not leiſure to diſcerne the whole and ſound from the ſick and infected, to ſaue the one, and to ſpill the other, but that they muſt altogether run the ſelfe ſame way. For albeit that the whole regiment was in this mutinous action, and ſo all in like danger, yet were they not therof all alike guilty, many of them being euen againſt their wils and good liking carried away headlong, as with the violent courſe of an headie riuer. K

Now the Captaines of the towne with their troupes and companies, ſtrengthned with ſome other ſupply ſent from other places, were to ſet forward againſt theſe rebellious mutiners, and to fruſtrate their deſignes: for the greater ſtrengthning of whom, diuers of the burgeſſes of the towne were inforced to enter into this action alſo: amongſt whom, there were two accounted very honeſt religious men, who by all meanes ſought to excuſe themſelues from going, labouring both by liuely reaſons, and by the Word of God, to proue, that they neither might nor ought of right to enter into armes againſt their Chriſtian brethren, inforced with extremities, for want of their due pay, to forget their duty, and to do that beſeemed them not. But what auaileth it to alleadge either reaſon or law amongſt the clattering L
of armes, the noiſe whereof is ſo great, as that Reaſon and Law cannot there be heard. Theſe two men ſeeing themſelues inforced to goe, and much grieued in conſcience to do that they were inioyned to do, and to help to ſhed the guiltleſſe bloud of their innocent brethren (as

A ſtrange action of two of the citiſens of Vienna.

they accounted them) entred both of them into a moſt ſtrange and wofull reſolution, which was to die themſelues, rather than to imbrue their hands with the bloud of the guiltleſſe: whereupon one of them hauing oftentimes called vpon the name of *Ieſus*, with his owne ſword thruſt himſelfe through the body, and ſo died: the other vpon the like reſolution threw himſelfe into the riuer, and ſo periſhed alſo: men worthy to be pittied for their conſcience ſake, but iuſtly to be condemned for their ſo weake and deſperat a reſolution. In fine, the rebellious mutiners ſeeing in what perill they were, being euen now ready to bee charged, and withall conſidering the weakneſſe of their power in compariſon of them that came againſt M
them, thought it beſt vpon the ſight of ſo great a tempeſt to ſtrike ſail; and ſo changing their [illegible]ination, and laying downe their armes, craued pardon of the Archduke; who [illegible] them, and ſo tooke them to his mercy; yet with condition, that they

ſhould

A ſhould again return vnto their gariſons, and deliuer into his hands the ring leaders and chief authors of that mutiny to be puniſhed according to their deſerts, as afterwards they were: the ordinary end of ſuch inſolent and diſordered actions, which haue nothing aſſured vnto them but death, which (all things els failing) attendeth only vpon them.

But while the Chriſtians thus diuided were at variance among themſelues, the Turks were ready enough to take aduantage of ſuch their dangerous diſcord. And firſt of all *Zellaly* the old Rebell, but now gouernor of Temeſware, hauing in his crafty head plotted the taking of the city of Lippa by ſurpriſe, and to that purpoſe gathering together the greateſt power hee was able to make, in the euening ſet forward from Temeſwar, and ſo trauelling by night came to Lippa, vnto the walls wherof he planted ſcaling ladders, and at the ſame time laboured to B haue forced the gates, in hope ſo to haue gained the town. Which was done with ſuch a terrible noiſe and outcry as was poſſible by the Turks to be made, after that they were once diſcouered, therby to haue diſmaied the Chriſtians within the town: Who wel acquainted with ſuch ſtratagems of their enemies, and now therwith awaked, came readily to the walls, and there ſo well defended themſelues and their towne, that the Turks being repulſed, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and hauing loſt a number of their men, with all ſpeed to retyre. Vpon whom the Chriſtians ſallying out, ſlew many of them in that their diſordered retreat, little differing from plaine flight, and tooke many more of them priſoners. Yea *Zellaly*, who not many hours before had thought to haue ſurpriſed Lippa, was now glad himſelfe to haue recouered the walls of Temeſwar.

C Some of the Turks that were there taken priſoners, being examined, reported, That the army that was this year to come into Hungary was like to be very great; and that a part thereof was now come to Belgrade, expecting there the comming of the Tartars, who were together with them to enter into Hungary. And that by reaſon of the wars in Perſia, which deuoured almoſt all the ſoldiers in Conſtantinople, and yet could not be therewith ſatisfied; the great Sultan had commanded, That all ſuch as were able to bear armes, as well in Boſna, as in that part of Hungary which was ſubiect vnto him, and in the other prouinces therunto adioyning, ſhould be ready to join with his army in Hungary, for the furthering of his conqueſts there. And that the Perſian King proſecuting the courſe of his victory, had ouerthrown *Cicala Baſſa* with his Army, and taken his ſonne priſoner, almoſt ſlain all his troupes; and entred into con-D federacie with *Caracaſe* chiefe of the Aſian rebels, a man of great power, who had following of him a great number of valiant men, al reſolutely ſet down for the troubling of the great Sultans eſtate.

About the ſame time the gouernor of Caſſovia (a great and ſtrong town in the vpper part of Hungary) going forth with a good part of his Garriſon to appeaſe the ſouldiers lying about in the Countrey (but now vp in mutinie for their pay) and there ſpending ſome few days about this buſineſſe, in ſhewing them the danger of this their inſolencie, and perſuading of them by the euill ſucceſſe and end of ſuch like actions, to returne againe vnto their duties; and they againe on the contrary ſide, obſtinately vrging the payment of their pay, or elſe to haue leaue to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: And E ſo the time paſſing, it fortuned that certain Turks then priſoners at Caſſovia, incouraged by the abſence of the Gouernor and of the garriſon ſouldiers, to attempt the gaining of their liberty, brake their irons, and ſlew their keepers, in hope ſo to haue eſcaped: but beeing in the doing therof diſcouered, and ſo againe ſurpriſed before they could do any further harme, and by torture examined, by what means they thought to haue eſcaped out of the City, the walls thereof being kept with continually Sentinels; they confeſſed, That their purpoſe was, the ſame night to haue ſet fire vpon diuers places of the city (ſo to haue drawn the people to the quenching therof) and at the ſame time to haue ſlain the Sentinels vpon the walls, and ſo to haue made their eſcape. For which their ſo miſchieuous a fact and purpoſe, they were ſome of them executed, and the reſt again committed to priſon, were more ſtreitly kept and lookt F to than before.

Now as Caſſovia had by Gods prouidence thus eſcaped ſo great an intended miſchief, Caniſia at the ſame time alone felt the euil hap by the Turks intended both to Caſſovia & Lippa; for a ſouldier in garriſon in the citadel there, hauing through negligence or miſhap caſt

A terrible fire in Caniſia.

fire into the pouder prouided for the ſtore of the caſtle,the pouder taking fire,blew vp the citadel, the towers,the houſes & walls;and to be brief,made this poor place like another Rome burnt by *Nero.* So that had any of the Chriſtian forces bin then neere the place,it had bin an eaſie matter to haue won the ſame;as wel for the ſmal reſiſtance that was therin to haue been found,in ſo great aſtoniſhment of the men,and deſtruction of the place. But ſuch accidents haue no certain hours limited to their beginnings,nor aſſurance of their comming;ſo that oftentimes they chance without any man to make vſe of them,and again fly away when greateſt preparation is made to obtain them.

The Turks of Buda ouerthrowne.

At the ſame time the Turks of Buda ſent two hundred of the ſoldiers of their garriſon to fetch in forrage a little from Peſth: Who as they were in the doing thereof too preſumptuous, ſo were they well puniſhed for their ſo great pride. For the Chriſtians in Peſth hauing diſcouered them in this action,ſallied out vpon them and charged them; againſt whom for a while they right valiantly defended themſelues,but oppreſſed with number, at length they were quite ouerthrowne,moſt of them being there ſlaine, and the reſt taken priſoners. Wherwith the Baſſa of Buda was ſo much offended,that in reuenge thereof hee in his rage threatned with fire and ſword to do what harm he could vnto the Chriſtians. But as the common prouerb ſaith,Halfe warned,halfe armed: and enemies threats bring this comfort with them, That in receiuing the threatned harms,we are in hope to be therof reuenged,as therefore before prouided.

Great troubles in Tranſilvania.

Vnto theſe woſull troubles of Hungary, proceeding as well from the inſolencies of the Chriſtian ſouldiers themſelues, as from the fury of the Turkes, who were their antient and mortall enemies; were joined the like or rather worſe calamities in Tranſylvania, extreame famine and want of all things ſore raging in both Countries: ſo that hardly hath any miſery or extremity been ſeen or heard of, euen in Countries by the iuſt and heauy iudgements of Almighty God appointed to vtter ruine and deſtruction, which were not in thoſe two countries to be found, and of many felt. For remedie wherof, *George Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant in Tranſylvania, had there done what hee might for the appeaſing of the tumults and troubles in that prouince,and now of late brought the ſame into ſome good tearms, as it was thought,and as is before declared. Howbeit that in proofe it fell out far otherwiſe, and that the more he therin laboured,the farther he was off from his intent and purpoſe. For the Nobility of that prouince, who were generally inclined vnto rebellion, and deteſting the Germanes, together with their gouernment, reiected the Decrees and orders which were agreed vpon in their late meeting together for the concluding of peace: inſomuch, that aſſiſted by the Turks, they had taken certaine Caſtles and ſtrong places in that prouince. And the better to ſupport their rebellion and inſolencie, they had appointed a certaine place to meet at, where the Turkes and they might confer together of the meanes which they intended for the effecting of their deſignes. Whereof *Baſta* hauing by ſecret means got vnderſtanding,to remedy this pretended miſchiefe, hee ſent away a great number of Haiduckes to lie in wait to ſurpriſe them vpon the way. Which men, who were skilfull in the paſſages of the country, failed not in this action,but lay cloſe in ambuſh, very conueniently for the ſurpriſing of their enemies, Who proceeding in their intended purpoſe, and thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which was intended againſt them, were ſuddenly, before they were aware, Turkes and Tranſylvanians all together ſurpriſed and ſlaine. Which exploit beeing performed, theſe Haiducks and other ſouldiers deſtitute of their pay,and inraged with fury,fell vpon the prouince,vſing therein all hoſtilitie,as if they had beene mortall enemies vnto it; puniſhing the guiltleſſe for the guilty,and ſeiſing vpon all mens goods in common, to pay them that which was by ſome few in priuat kept from them. All the whole prouince was ſubiect to the rage and fury of thoſe and other ſuch mercileſſe men of war, who without any remorſe,indifferently ſlew and maſſacred all that came in their way;but eſpecially the poore and weak innocent people, who called vpon the Almighty God for remedy and redreſſe of theſe euils they ſuſtained,and cried out vnto him for reuenge of their ſo great and cruel wrongs. The highways were euery where ſo ful of theeues, that no man could trauel from place to place,but that he was in great danger to be ſet vpon and ſpoiled. For the Haiducks being men that liue onely by prey and roaming vp and downe the Countrey, made good priſe and booty of whatſoeuer

came

A came in their way, ſparing neither Turks nor Chriſtians: inſomuch, that they hearing, how that the Zecklers with a good conuoy were bringing a number of waggons laden with victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other cattell to Claudianople, although they were of the ſame party, Beleefe, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to ſurpriſe them: againſt whom the Zecklers ſeeking to defend themſelues, were by them cruelly maſſacred, and their waggons, with their Beeues and other Cattell, all carried quite away. But what ſhould wee ſay? Hunger breaketh euen the ſtone wals, and forceth men vnto all extremities, and now the famine in that Prouince was ſuch, as that the people were for the moſt part glad to liue by feeding vpon the roots of herbs and weeds, and ſuch other vnwholeſome things, whereof great mortalite afterward enſued amongſt them. Which was the cauſe that *Horvat*, Captaine of B theſe Haiduckes, being reprooued for the outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more ſuch like ſhould afterward be done; anſwered, That it was not poſſible to keep ſouldiers in any order amidſt the extremitie of famine; for that the belly was an inexorable vſurer, which tooke pity vpon nothing, but with great rage exacting that which it thought due for the nouriſhment of it ſelfe.

Amidſt theſe troubles of Tranſyluania and Hungary, there were two of the Turks ſpies of Buda diſcouered and taken; who at Vienna had obſerued all the actions and proceedings of the Chriſtians, and to the vtmoſt of their power had informed themſelues of their deſignes, as alſo of their preparations and forces to be raiſed and leuied for this yeres warres: of which two ſpyes, the one was empayled, and the other kept in cloſe and ſtreit priſon, vntill that fur- C ther matter might be drawne out from him.

The forces of the Chriſtians were now beginning to gather themſelues together and to make an head in Hungary; a riſe report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field: whereof the Baſſa of Buda vnderſtanding, and deſirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardneſſe (whereof he doubted the effects) thought it beſt to betake himſelfe to his old and cunning practiſe, for the treaty and concluding of a peace with the Chriſtians, whereof he now made ſhew himſelfe, together with the reſt of the Turks, to be very deſirous: ſo by putting the Chriſtians in hope thereof, to make them the more remiſſe and negligent in their doings, and to gaine time of them, vntill that the Turks great army (then in preparing) might be brought downe into Hungary. To which purpoſe he in moſt friendly manner thus D writ vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium.

The Baſſa of Buda, to the Gouernor of Strigonium ſendeth Greeting.

Letters of the Baſſa of Buda to the gouernor of Strigonium.

WE know right well (noble Gouernour) that you are not ignorant, how that your brother the Gouernor of Strigonium before you, hath moſt earneſtly embraced the negotiation of peace, in ſuch ſort, as that we cannot ſo much yeeld vnto our ordinary quarrels and diſſentions, but that we muſt giue E *you to vnderſtand the cauſes which haue croſſed and hindered the concluding of ſo great a good the laſt year now paſſed. The firſt let came by reaſon of the time, choſen too late to bee imployed in that Treaty of peace, when as now both the Armies were already on foot, and euen in readineſſe to joyn battell, and could not be then ſtaied by that intreaty, nor ſent back again without ſome exploit doing: Each part had reſolued vpon their proper deſignes, and euen choſen their ground for battell, and were then hardly to bee turned from that whereupon they were before reſolued. And albeit that during this laſt Winter the treaty for the peace was again begun, and that the men of warre on both ſides in hope thereof, reſted vnarmed and free from all hoſtility, (a moſt fit time to haue begun and ended this treaty of peace, which hath beene ſo much wiſhed for of our ſoueraigne Emperour, deſired of his ſubiects, and requeſted by thoſe of your Emperours, with whom my dread Soueraigne would confirme and contract a firme and continuall peace) yet* F *for all that, ſince the departure of the Gouernour from Strigonium, we ſee three months to haue been paſſed, without any Letters at all, or meſſage by word of mouth brought vnto vs concerning this matter. So that we haue not any thing whereof to certifie our ſoueraigne Emperour. And foraſmuch as the courſe of time hath brought theſe two contrary Armies euen vnto the point of battell, and that they are mar-*

ching one of them to incounter with the other, and ſo to enter into the liſts of honour; wee haue thought
good before, to deſire to know of you what we are to expect concerning the peace. We therfore requeſt you, G
as our very good brother and friend, in what you may, to ſtay the comming of our armies into this Kingdom,
and to attend to that which may produce the concluſion of this Treaty, being on our part moſt ready to
lend both our ear and deſire to whatſoeuer ſhall be iuſt and meet in this Treaty, and neceſſary for the Common
good: beſeeching you to beleeue vs in this buſineſſe, and not to doubt of our good will, more affected
to your good, than is yours to our welfare. Wherof we in good time aduertiſe you, for that our army which
is now before Belgrade, being once arriued here, and marching in field, we canot poſſibly cauſe it to return
without ſomthing doing, conſidering the great harm, which under the aſſurance of your faith giuen, we
haue receiued from your people during the time of the truce, which they haue many waies violated. Which
their euill dealing hath greatly inſenced vs againſt your men in captiuitie with vs, and cauſed our ſoldiers
to ſhew great rigor againſt their ſlaues. We therfore attend your anſwer, and the returne of your brother, to H
the end we may together reſolue according vnto equitie and reaſon, of that which ſhall be needfull to bee
done for the common good and welfare.

Now for all this fair gloſing, it was no hard matter to gheſſe at the Baſſa's ſecret meaning:
for how deſirous ſoeuer he ſeemed to be of peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet
neuertheleſſe moſt true it is, that during the time of all theſe faire ſhewes, the Turkes hauing
aſſembled the garriſon ſouldiers on all ſides, had by night ſurpriſed the Caſtle of Simnin vpon
the Chriſtians, ſlaine part of the ſoldiers therein, carried away the reſt priſoners, and moſt I
cruelly afterwards burnt the place: ſo manifeſting by their foule deeds the euill meaning of
their faire and deceitfull words.

But now leauing the Baſſa for a while vnto his crafty deuices, and paſſing ouer many ſmal
ſkirmiſhes which hapned in Hungary and Tranſyluania, as not beſeeming the grauitie of an
hiſtory; let vs now out of Europ look ouer into Aſia, to ſee how the great Turks affairs there
in the mean time went.

Ths rebellion in Aſia was by the comming ouer of *Zellaly* and his followers for a time ſomwhat
pacified, but not ſuppreſſed; that peſtilent humor of diſloyaltie hauing before infected
the minds of ſo many, as that in ſhort time after the Rebels were much ſtronger, and the Rebellion
much more dangerous than before. For the appeaſing and ſuppreſſing whereof, *Cicala* K
Baſſa the old Renegate, and a man of great experience and ſeruice, was ſent by the Graund
Sultan as Generall, with a great and mighty Army into Aſia; where hee needed not long to
looke for his enemies, they being as ready as he, either to giue or to accept of battel: ſo that
for men ſo on both ſides reſolued, it was no hard matter to bring them to the triall of a battel.

Cicala Baſſa ouerthrowne by the Aſian Rebels.

Which they with like deſire and equall minde joyning, there made a great and terrible fight,
the Baſſa fighting for his honour, and the Rebell for his life: howbeit that at length, the Baſſa
after much bloud-ſhed and a great number on both ſides ſlaine, being put to the worſe, fled
with his Army altogether diſordered and in rout, hauing in that ſo dangerous a confuſion of
his people much ado to ſaue himſelfe. With which ſo ſhamefull an ouerthrow giuen him
by the Rebell, the Baſſa was more aſhamed than diſcouraged; who again repaired his Army, L
ioyning thereunto great and mighty ſupplies, and ſo ſtrengthned, came now again the ſecond
time, to reuenge himſelfe of the great diſhonour which he had before receiued, and vtterly to
ſuppreſſe the Rebels. Who now finding themſelues too weake to incounter with ſo great
and mighty a power, wiſely betimes retyred, praying aid of the Perſian King, who ſent vnto
them his owne ſonne with a great Army of good and valiant ſouldiers. The which might
haue giuen the Baſſa cauſe enough to haue ſtayed his haſte, and to haue beene well aduiſed,
how he joined battell with ſuch deſperate and reſolute enemies, and now backt with ſuch
ſtrong ſupplies. But he being blinded with the fury of his former loſſe, and too much deſirous
to be thereof reuenged, with more haſt than good ſpeed came on, and joined battel with
theſe his enemies, who were now in readineſſe, and well prouided to receiue him. The two M
Armies were in number equall; but the Rebels of the two more reſolute and carefull of themſelues
and of their welfare, as they which had repoſed all their hope and confidence in their
owne armes and valour; ſo that the battel was with great outcries and fury begun both on the

A one ſide and the other: in the beginning wherof the Turks right furiouſly charged the rebels, and ſeemed ſomewhat to preuaile vpon them; vntill that the Perſian Kings ſon with certaine troups of his moſt braue horſmen charging them in the rereward, & ſome other of the rebels with like fury aſſailing them vpon their flanks, their whole army was ſo diſordred, that *Cicala* doing what he could to put his men again in order, and ſo to haue reſtored the battel, nothing therin preuailed, but was glad together with the reſt of his army, now all in rout, to betake himſelf to flight. In this battel were forty thouſand men ſlain on both ſides, whereof thirty thouſand were of the Baſſa's Army, and the reſt of the Rebels; who by this ſo great a victorie gained no leſſe honour and reputation, than had the Sultans Generall got contempt and diſgrace.

Cicala againe ouerthrown.

B The Perſian King after this great diſcomfiture of the Turkes, continuing his conqueſts, took in the Countrey of Sirvan, (a matter of great importance) beeing now deſtitute of all reliefe, by the ouerthrow of *Cicala Baſſa*; who had he preuailed againſt the Rebells, ſhould haue marched thither againſt the Perſian King, to haue ſtayed the courſe of his victories: who now victorious and out of fear, made head toward Aruſta, a very great and ſtrong towne, neer whereunto the riuer Tygris dischargeth it ſelfe into the great riuer of Euphrates; the which City he at laſt won, with all the places and countries thereunto adioyning; and hath ſince as a moſt happy and victorious Prince againe recouered from the Turkes, whatſoeuer they had ſince Sultan *Solymans* time by force of armes taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſors, two or three ſtrong places only excepted. Of which moſt notable Wars betwixt
C theſe two the moſt mighty Princes of the Eaſt, that is to ſay, the Great Turke and the Perſian King, I can rather wiſh than hope to be better informed; and that not ſo much for curioſity, (although that the knowledge of ſuch matters yeeld vnto ſuch as bee deſirous thereof great pleaſure, with no leſſe contentment) as for that they (though very farre off) in ſome ſort much concern the good and quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweale; the Perſian wars beeing the only means whereby the fury of the great Turkiſh Sultan hath been, and yet is for a time auerted from the Chriſtians in Europe, vpon the Perſians in Aſia: as it is greatly to be feared, that ſome one or other, if not more, of the Chriſtian Princes neereſt vnto him, ſhall to their great coſt and harm feel, ſo ſoon as theſe two Mahometane Princes ſhall be at peace amongſt themſelues.

D But leaue we the Baſſa a while to grieue at his ouerthrowes, and the Perſian King to triumph of theſe victories, and ſee what the great Sultan himſelf in the mean time doth.

Achmat ſick of the ſmall pox.

This yong Prince *Achmat* (now one of the greateſt Monarchs in the world) had not many months reigned, but that he fel ſick of the ſmal pox, wherwith he hauing a groſſe & ful body, was ſo fouly tormented for a fortnights ſpace, that oftentimes fainting, it was generally ſuppoſed he would therof haue died: Yea, diuers of the great Baſſa's were in ſpeech concerning his yonger brother to be taken out of the Seraglio to ſucceed him: which was thought would haue coſt him his life, after that the Sultan his elder brother was again recouered. And no doubt it had, but that he was the onely Heir then left of the *Othoman* Family, if that his brother the Sultan ſhould haue failed. But he againe recouering of his foul and childiſh diſeaſe,
E to ſhew vnto the Ianizaries and others who doubted thereof, that he was ſo recouered, moſt proudly mounted vpon a goodly horſe ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and in great ſtate and magnificence rid ap and down thorow moſt of the chiefe ſtreets of the Imperial city of Conſtantinople; the people (as their accuſtomed manner is) in euery place as he went rejoycing to ſee him, and proſecuting him with their moſt joyfull acclamations, wiſhing vnto him a long and happy reigne. Neither is it any maruell, ſeeing the almighty God hath euen in the faces and countenances of Princes ingrauen ſome reſemblance of his owne, if they become reſpectiue and admirable in the eies and ſight of the common people, who cannot but honor them with their voyces, whom God hath bleſſed with his power, and other his extraordinarie worldly bleſſings.

F This yong prince ſo recouered of his ſickneſſe and hauing ſhewed himſelf to his ſubiects, began forthwith to giue himſelfe (according to the heat of his youthfull ſpirit) immoderately vnto the pleaſures of the field, and other ſuch violent exerciſes, being in their moderate vſe wholſome, but in their violences much hurtfull; but eſpecially vpon the new recouery of his

Good counſell taken in euill part by Sultan Achmat.

late ſickneſſe, the griefes whereof came in haſt, but were to leaue him at leiſure. Whereupon G
two of his Baſſaes carefull of his health, were ſo bold, as out of their loue to reproue him for
ſuch his violent and immoderate exerciſes (the day not being long enough for them) and by
effectuall reaſons to diſſuade him from the ſame. But ſo far off was he from hearkening vnto
their wholſome perſuaſions, as that to the contrary he therwith inraged, thruſt them both out
of their places. So dangerous a thing it is, euen in zeale and loue to preſume to controll great
Princes in their moſt vain pleaſures; others in the mean time not louing them at all, but only
for their owne profit attending vpon their idle appetites, injoying the preferments due vnto
their more faithfull and loyall ſubiects, and yet ſecretly in themſelues, ſmiling at the vanitie
of ſuch as by whom they be ſo vnworthily honoured and promoted.

Haſſan Baſſa appointed lieutenant Generall of the Turks wars in Hungary.

But as in the immoderate vſe of all things there is a ſatietie which breedeth a diſliking and H
diſtaſte of them (pleaſures being not by any meanes more commended, than by their nouelties
and ſeldome vſe) ſo this young Sultan *Achmat* hauing glutted himſelfe with his pleaſures,
began now to caſt his eyes vpon his other more neceſſarie affaires of State, but eſpecially
vpon his warres both with the Chriſtian Emperour and the Mahometane Perſian King.
Now hee was not ignorant of the great valour and ſufficiencie of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, for
the mannaging of his warres in Hungarie, wherein hee had of long time been exerciſed, and
ſo therein beſt experienced. This old Captaine pleaſed him beſt, whom as an old, expert,
and politicke Generall, hee reſolued to continue in his charge as Lieutenant Generall of his
warres in Hungarie, and by the continuation of him in ſo great and honourable a place, to
binde him to all loyall ſeruices in thoſe warres, euen to the vttermoſt of his power. This I
Great Baſſa was then at Belgrade, vpon the frontier of his gouernment in doubtfull ſuſpence
expecting the reſolution of his Prince concerning this buſineſſe, and yet in hope longing after
a ſecond charge: Whoſe longing deſire *Achmat* quickly ſatisfied, by ſending vnto him
both a commiſſion for the continuation of his charge and dignitie, and certaine honourable
Preſents in token of his extraordinarie fauor towards him; which were a Generals Enſigne,
with an Hungarian Mace of pure gold. Now whether theſe Preſents, joyned vnto the
continuation of his charge, were welcome vnto him or not, ambitious minds (ſuch as was
his) can eaſily tell: and hee to ſhew his contentment therewith, gaue thereof good teſtimonie
by the publicke actions of joy, cauſing all the great Ordnance of the place in thundring
wiſe to be oftentimes diſcharged, and the Trumpets and Drummes to be moſt joyfully K
ſounded.

In the meane time newes was brought to Conſtantinople, how that the Perſian King hauing
muſtred his men, was in the field with aboue an hundred thouſand good ſouldiers, and
that *Bigages Baſſa*, one of the great Rebels in Aſia, had confederated himſelfe with him, to the
further troubling of the Turks eſtate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although he had before giuen order
vnto *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa his Lieutenant in Hungary, for the beſieging and taking of
Veradinum, a ſtrong City in the vpper Hungary; now by a meſſenger ſent in haſt, commanded
the ſame Baſſa, all other buſineſſes ſet apart, with all the power that he could make, forthwith
to returne to Conſtantinople, there with him and the reſt of the Baſſa's to conſult and reſolue
vpon the moſt neceſſarie warre, and of the readieſt meanes for the continuing of the ſame. For L
albeit that the Turks were moſt deſirous to haue warres with the Chriſtians, and ſo (if it were
poſſible) to haue conquered the remainders of Hungary; yet the danger of the Perſian warres,
and of the rebellion in Aſia daily more and more increaſing, ſuffered them not wholly to attend
vnto the warres againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary, but drew them now into a doubtfull
conſultation, which way firſt to turne their forces. But being come to Conſtantinople, the
Grand Seigniour tooke the paines and did him the honour to come vnto his houſe; whither
the Councell for the State being aſſembled, it was there moſt proudly reſolued vpon,
euen forthwith at one and the ſelfe ſame time with equall forces to make warre both vpon the
Chriſtian Emperour in Hungary, and the Perſian King in Aſia, accounting themſelues M
ſtrong enough to ſubdue and bring vnder foot both the one and the other, no power vpon
earth being in their proud conceit of themſelues able to encounter or withſtand theirs. So
for the mannaging of theſe warres, and of their ſo proud a reſolution to be performed in ſo
remote parts of the world, *Haſſan Baſſa* was continued in his charge, as Generall of the army

A in Hungary; and *Cicala Baſſa* was appointed to haue the command of the army to be ſent againſt the Perſian: Two moſt expert Captains, being to fight againſt their heredetarie enemies; *Haſſan* againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* againſt the Perſians, by whom he had not long before bin euil vſed. An ordinary policy of the *Othoman* Emperors, not to commit the charge of their armies againſt the Chriſtians, vnto Renegates; for feare leſt they, touched with ſome remorſe of conſcience, might bettay the ſame, or otherwiſe deale vnfaithfully in their charge: but ſtill to imploy them againſt the Perſians, of whom they haue no further knowledge, but as of their enemies in the field. But *Cicala Baſſa* well acquainted both with the difficulty and the danger of the Perſian war, (the ſcarres whereof he yet bare about with him) made ſhew as if he had been vnwilling to take vpon him the charge thereof; and ſo begun to excuſe B himſelfe, vntill that at length vpon promiſe made vnto him, for the furniſhing of him with a ſufficient army, and all things els neceſſary for ſo great a war, with a large and moſt honourable entertainment for himſelfe, and all the Perſian priſoners being alſo giuen vnto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honourable charge, whereof in his ambitious mind he was indeed moſt deſirous. And ſo receiuing the Generals Enſigne, with the other marks and cogniſances of his honour, cauſing the Drums to be ſtrucken vp, and the Trumpets to bee joyfully ſounded, he cheerfully prepared himſelfe for that his ſo great an expedition; expecting but the comming of his ſonne, who at the requeſt of the Venetians was gon forth with a fleet of gallies to ſcoure the Leuant ſeas of the Pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the trafficke of the Venetian Merchants.

C Amiddeſt which the Turks ſo great deſignes, the Tartar Cham, bound for his pay to ſerue the Great Turke in his warres againſt the Chriſtians; by his Embaſſadour excuſed himſelfe vnto the Great Sultan, for that he could not himſelfe in perſon come this yeare with his forces into Hungary, by reaſon that he was otherwiſe neceſſarily buſied with the moſt vrgent affaires of his owne Eſtate: yet promiſing withall, in ſtead of himſelfe, to ſend his ſun with a good power of men. Now whereas many men maruell, why the Tartar Cham, being ſo great a Prince, and not much in danger vnto the Turke (being ſeparated from him by the Blacke or Euxine ſea) ſhould be ſtill ſo ready at the Turks call, to do him ſeruice in his warres; The cauſes whereof are diuers, and thoſe not far to ſeeke. Firſt, their neere affinitie (as both deſcended from the ſame beginning, by often marriages ſtill confirmed: Then, D Their likeneſſe of manners and condition, no ſmal bonds of loue and friendſhip: And thirdly, For that the Turkiſh Empire for want of heires males of the *Othoman* Family, is aſſured, and as it were entailen vnto the Tartar Cham: But moſt of all, For the yearely pention and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiueth from the Turks; his rude and needie people being alſo euer ready, in hope of the ſpoyle, to follow him into thoſe warres. But this his excuſe for not comming himſelfe this yeare into Hungary, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Haſſan Baſſa* reſolued vpon his expedition for Hungary, made great preparation for the good ſucceſſe of the warre there, gaue great hope thereof vnto the Great Sultan, and cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed Lieutenant Generall of all the Great Sultans Forces againſt the Chriſtians: euery man affourding vnto theſe good hopes a thouſand E wiſhes for his health and welfare: but eſpecially the Mahometane Prieſts aſſured him of their helpe, ſo that hee would not faile to do the vttermoſt of his endeauour againſt the Chriſtians their enemies. For why, the Turks doe account him the beſt and moſt zealous man, which can do the Chriſtians moſt harme. And ſo with theſe great acclamations of joy and honour, *Haſſan* the great Baſſa ſet forward with his army from Conſtantinople, towards Hungary.

The reaſons why the Tartar Cham is ſo ready to ſerue the great Turke in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtian Emperor ignorant of all theſe the Turks great preparations and haughty deſignes, ſought by all meanes how to reſiſt them, ſparing nothing that might any way ſerue or ſtand him in ſtead to that purpoſe. Experience had aſſured him of the Popes readineſſe in contributing to this action, what in his power was; hauing before receiued ſo many F teſtimonies of his good wil. Which cauſed him now to diſpatch alſo his brother *Maximilian* the archduke, a good and a deuout Prince, to him, with expreſſe charge in the Emperors name to yeeld all ſubmiſſion to his Holines, to moue him to relieue the wofull eſtate of his diſtreſſed affairs. *Maximilian* ſetting forward about this buſines, arriued at Venice, where he was by that State

Maximilian the Archduke ſent Embaſſadour from the Emperour vnto the Pope, to craue his ayd againſt the Turke.

right honorably entertained. From Venice he trauelling toward Rome,and with a great Re- G
tinue approching the city,was there met by a great number of Noblemen with their Follow-
ers,ſent from the Pope;and ſo by them with great honour was brought into the Vatican Pa-
lace,to the intent that ſo he might the oftner and with more eaſe haue acceſſe vnto the Pope,
who then lay there ſick of the gout. The next day he being brought vnto the Popes preſence,
& after vſual reuerence don hauing audience giuen him,in the preſence of the cardinals he be-
gan to deliuer vnto him the cauſes of his comming,which (as he ſaid) were two: firſt,To put
his Holineſſe in remembrance of the manifeſt peril and danger which hung ouer the heads of
the Chriſtians in general, from the Turk,but eſpecially ouer them of Italy,being ſo neer the
Turkiſh Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks therinto to enter, by the way of Ca-
niſia the key of Stiria. And then in the Emperors behalfe to requeſt him to ſtretch forth his H
helping hand againſt this his mortal enemy;who was now drawing al his power together into
one head,to deſtroy him: hauing certaine vnderſtanding of his great preparation made tho-
rowout all his dominions, to thruſt him out of his, if in theſe extremities hee were not relie-
ued by ſuch Princes as could not in the end themſelues auoid the laſt violence of theſe harms
whereof he felt the firſt aſſaults. Which his Holineſſe conſidering in the zeal of his deuoti-
on,and by the increaſing of the danger, he was in hope to find of it the like aſſiſtance in this
his ſecond need,that he had before receiued in his former affairs; the pretious balme of his
deuout charitie being of greater vertue than to ſerue but for one time,but being of ſufficient
power to ſerue for all ages,and all times of neceſſity. And that therefore he beſought his Ho-
lineſſe,to apply the ſame vpon the preſent wound, ſeeing that without his help hee was more I
like to periſh than to liue. Whereunto the Pope anſwered, That his former actions alreadie
paſſed ſpake enough for him in this action, to manifeſt his deuout meaning,ſo that it was
needleſſe for him to vſe further words to expreſſe the ſame. That the great ſupplies both of
men and money which he had ſent forth for the good of the Chriſtian commonweale, were
the ſure teſtimonies of his carefulneſſe for the ſame. And albeit that theſe euill haps had ſo
far preuailed in Hungary, yet that he for his part had neuertheleſſe ſtill done what hee might
for the remedying of thoſe ſo great euils. And that now by the aduice of his honorable coun-
cellors there preſent, he had appointed an hundred and fifty thouſand crownes to be paid to-
wards the maintenance of the Chriſtian army in Hungary this yeare; in hope to do more than
that afterward for the Emperor in his wars againſt the Turks: whom God (as he ſaid) ſuffered K
to preuaile vpon the Chriſtians,not for any goodneſſe that was in them,but for the chaſtiſing
of the wickedneſſe of the Chriſtians themſelues.

Which ſumme of an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns was afterward according to a de-
cree made by the Pope and Cardinals, leuied and paid of the tenths of the clergy through-
out all Italy. And ſo *Maximilian* the Archduke moſt magnificently entertained and feaſted
by the Pope, and by him rewarded with foure thouſand crownes, hauing well diſpatched the
buſineſſe he came for,returned againe vnto the Emperor his brother.

Valachia ſpoiled by the Tartars.

But as the Chriſtian Emperor was thus carefull about his prouiſions for the withſtanding
of the Turks,they were not any whit behind him in augmenting of their forces for the inua-
ding of him, And now the Tartars in great number being about to come vnto their aid into L
Hungary, being denied paſſage by the Polonians, had turned head towards Valachia, with a
purpoſe by force and ſtrong hand to get that of theſe weake people, with the power of the
ſtronger had embarred them of. And ſo preſuming vpon their number, they entred into
the ſame Prouince,which they all ouer rifled and ſpoiled at their pleaſure. Where ſuch of the
countrey people as could eſcape their fury, fled into the townes, leauing their goods behinde
them vnto their mercileſſe rage, not with any thing to be ſatiſfied. *Rodolph* the Vayuod him-
ſelfe as a man with fury diſmaied, fled to Cronſtat to *George Baſta*: where he conſidering the
danger he was now in,and that he was ſtill to expect the like ſo often as the Tartars were for
the ſeruice of the Turke to come into Hungary; before *Baſta* tooke a new oath of allegance
vnto the Emperor,ſolemnely proteſting to die and liue in his ſeruice; neceſſity now inforcing M
him to acknowledge his duty, and to ſeeke for the remedy of his harmes, which he had be-
fore oftentimes moſt proudly reiected. Vpon which his ſo humble ſubmiſſion, *Baſta* receiued
him and his countrey into his protection.

In

A In the meane time two traitours were brought to Claudinople, who hauing by wonderful
craft ſurpriſed a ſtrong caſtle belonging vnto a certaine great Ladie a widow, neere vnto a burrough
called Caraſebe, and rifled and ſacked the ſame, traiterouſly afterward ſold it vnto the
Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperors ſubiects neer vnto the place, and the no leſſe aduantage
of the Turks. Whereof the Haiducks hauing gotten vnderſtanding, and cunning in ſuch
matters, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the Turks by the way as they were comming to haue taken
poſſeſſion of the place: who ſeeing themſelues too weake to withſtand their enemies, & out
of hope to ſaue themſelues by flight, were there as men diſmaied and appointed to be ſlaine,
moſt of them by the Haiducks cut in pieces, and the reſt taken priſoners. The two traitors being
according to their deſerts, for their ſhamefull treaſon moſt cruelly put to death, to the terror
B of others.

The Turks ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

The Haiducks hauing no houſes but the fields, nor other trade but their armes (ſpoyled of
the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by neceſſitie) are alwaies in readineſſe for ſeruice.
In hope of profit, it is to them a pleaſure to paſſe ouer the mountaines of ice, to trauell
thorow the ſtorms of thunder and lightning, to ſwim ouer the deep riuers, and to thruſt themſelues
into a thouſand dangers; which as it is no commendable kinde of life, ſo is the practiſe
of it vniuſt. For as in this, ſo in other their actions they ſpare neither friend nor foe, all that
comes in their way being ſubiect and as it were appointed to their fury: but eſpecially when
they want their pay, which affordeth vnto them a thouſand excuſes for the robbing and ſpoyling
of all men without reſpect. With which maner of fury they were euen at this time inraged
C for want of their pay, in ſuch ſort, as that if their right hands ſpoiled the Turkes, their left
hands robbed the Chriſtians: as vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day they took from the Turkes
of Agria a number of beaſts and cattel, and rifled diuers villages of the Chriſtians. And not
content with theſe outrages, meeting with an hundred or ſix ſcore waggons, laden with great
ſtore of victuals going toward Alba Iulia, conducted by the Zeclers, ſet vpon them, ſlew them
that droue them, and carried away the Wagons with them. But theſe wrongs by Chriſtians
don vnto Chriſtians, euen the mortal enemies of the Chriſtians, the Turks themſelues reuenged.
For the Turks of Temeſwar hauing bin abroad toward Lippa, and found good ſtore of
booty, meeting with theſe ſharks, were by them charged, not ſo much for that they were their
enemies, or for the zeal of Chriſtianitie, or for deſire of honour, as for to get from them their
D prey and booty. But the Turkes being in number twice as many as they, and withall well acquainted
with ſuch buſines, were not ſo eaſily ſpoiled; but knowing their own ſtrength, with
their number oppreſſed their enemies, moſt of whom they ſlew, and tooke the reſt priſoners:
God being as iuſt in his puniſhments, as he is in his works powerfull, puniſhing the Wicked
by the weapons of others as wicked or rather worſe than they.

The Turks in the mean time while things thus paſſed, began again to fall to their old practiſe,
for the ſoliciting of a peace. But ſuch phanſies were too ſtale and common, any more
to deceiue the Chriſtians withall: howbeit they yet gaue ſome ear thereunto, to diſcouer in
their policie the commodities and inconueniences of the peace by them in ſhew offred, with
a thouſand proteſtations in their words, but far differing from their thoughts and deeds; who
E during the time of the parley, laboured in what they might to benefit themſelues and to hurt
vs. For euen in that ſame very time they fortified their Townes and Caſtles with men and
victuals: but eſpecially the City of Buda, whereinto by a Conuoy of three thouſand Turks
come from Belgrade, they put an exceeding quantitie of all ſorts of neceſſary prouiſion, ſufficient
to ſerue the ſame for an whole yeare. Beſides that, it was certainly knowne by certaine
Turks taken priſoners and brought to Poſſonium, That all this parley and treaty of peace was
but of purpoſe feigned to put the Chriſtians in ſecuritie; for that the Baſſa of Buda, who was
the chiefe publiſher of the ſame, had no ſuch Commiſſion from the great Sultan for the concluding
of any peace in the abſence of the Viſier Baſſa; vnto whom the Graund Seigniour
had giuen charge, not to make any peace with the Emperour, but vpon condition, That hee
F ſhould firſt deliuer vnto him the City of Strigonium; which if hee would not yeeld, that
then he ſhould beſiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof, to refuſe
all other treaty of peace, it being the only cauſe for which the Turkes deſired peace. Of
all which their double dealing and crafty deſignes the Emperour vnderſtanding, and whole-

ly reſolued for war, preſently ſent County *Sultze* with commiſſion to Vienna, and appointed *George Baſta* Lieutenant General of his army into Hungary; aduiſing them carefully to looke vnto their charge, and not too much to truſt vnto the gloſing and flattering ſpeeches of the Turks.

Reonin ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

The Haiducks in the mean time alwaies in armes, as hauing no other inheritance whereon to liue, ceaſed not ſtill to looke abroad to finde that which was neuer loſt. Now it fortuned them in roaming abroad toward Belgrade, to light vpon Reonin a ſtrong and fair Caſtle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turkes ſouldiers and other of their countrey people had their abode, together with the greateſt part of their ſubſtance. In the ſtrength of which caſtle the Turks truſting, and there lying in ſecurity, without further care of their ſafety, were vpon the ſudden before they were aware, by theſe aduenturous men ſurpriſed; who for haſt thruſting one another forward, at length caried the place, ſlew the greateſt part of the Turks, and taking the reſt priſoners, with a great and rich booty returned to Lippa. The like exploit they of the gariſon of Caniſia attempted vpon the caſtle and borough of Lambac; which they took and ſpoiled, and afterward ſet it on fire: the flame whereof ſerued for a ſignal vnto the troups of County *Serin*, which paſſing that way, and lighting vpon the Turkes ouerloded with the ſpoils they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and ſo recouered from them their booty.

Petrinia in danger to be betrayed to the Turkes.

About this time, certaine of the garriſon ſouldiers of Petrinia, hauing ſecretly conſpired with the Turks (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliuer vnto them that ſtrong Caſtle; and being about to haue betrayed the ſame by a Mine which they were in making vnder a ſtable neer vnto a ſtore houſe wherein the pouder for the ſtore of the Caſtle lay; with a purpoſe by firing of the ſame, to haue giuen the Turks entrance by the ruines thereof, who lay cloſe hidden in a wood neer vnto the place; it fortuned this their wicked purpoſe to bee perceiued by certain offenders then kept priſoners in the ſtable neer vnto the mine. Who hauing diſcouered the Traitours whole purpoſe, and in feare to be burned or blowne vp by the fury of the Mine ſo neere vnto them, diſcouered it vnto the Gaoler, who made the Gouernour therewith acquainted; by whoſe commandement they were forthwith apprehended, and being conuicted of that their ſo foule and heinous a treaſon, were with exemplary puniſhment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made ſhew as if they had bin deſirous of peace, ſo ceaſed they not yet with great earneſtneſſe to ſolicit the ſame: ſo that the Emperour, although hee knew it to be a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for; yet leſt he ſhould ſeem careleſſe of the common quiet of his ſubiects and people, and to refuſe ſo great a good ſo oftentimes offered him, now once again appointed certain perſonages of great place and authority, to attend the propoſitions of peace to be on the Turks behalf propounded. Of which commiſſioners *Cæſar Gallen* Sherif of Strigonium, an Italian, and a man of great experience in matters of ſtate, was one. Whom the gouernor of Strigonium had of purpoſe ſent to Peſth, to conſider of ſome good means for the concluding of a peace, whereof he himſelf had laid the firſt foundation; and vnderſtood that the Turks demands and pretenſions not much diffred from thoſe which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the firſt was, That the Emperour ſhould for the time to come wel and truly pay vnto the great Sultan & his ſucceſſors, all ſuch tribute as he was wont to pay to the Turkiſh Sultans his predeceſſors, during the time of his leagues with them, and that without any demand to be therof made. The ſecond, That the Emperor ſhould alwaies haue his Embaſſador lieger at the great Sultans court, with honourable preſents, there to ſolicit the continuation of his loue and friendſhip toward the Emperor his maſter. The third, That the Emperor ſhould deliuer vnto the Turks all the towns and Caſtles which he had taken from them either by force or by ſurpriſe, during the time of this war, together with the countries of Tranſyluania and Valachia. Vpon which demands granted, they promiſed to ſend a meſſenger vnto the great Sultan, in their names intreating him to ſurrender Caniſia vnto the Emperor, but not Agria, which they ſaid they might in nowiſe deliuer, except they were thereunto by force of arms conſtrained.

Vnto which their ſo proud and vnreaſonable demands the Commiſſioners for the Emperor anſwered, That the Emperour long before this time had made peace with Sultan *Selymus*

the

A the ſecond,and with Sultan *Amurath* the third,this Sultan *Achmat* his predeceſſors. An aſſured
peace,ſworn vnto and confirmed by all the iuſt and ſolemn oathes that could haue beene
by any man deſired : and for the more aſſurance thereof conceiued into writing, and with the
moſt authentique ſeals of their Majeſties confirmed. Whereby both parties were moſt ſeuerely
and ſtreitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing againſt the other, or to encroch
the one of them vpon the other,during the time of ſuch their League. And if ſo bee
that contrary to the tenor thereof, either part ſhould vndertake to ſurpriſe any place belonging
to the other, and ſo become maſters thereof; that vpon the leaſt requeſt of the party ſo
wronged,the places ſurpriſed ſhould be again forthwith reſtored, as vſurped vpon contrary to
the publique faith,and the vſurpers to be ſeuerely for the ſame puniſhed. And yet that the
B Turkes notwithſtanding thruſting by heapes beyond the barres of this ſo ſtrong and holy a
League,had violated and broken the ſame, by ſurpriſing a number of places both in the high
and lower countries of Hungary,neither giuing eare vnto any ſpeech or requeſt that could bee
made vnto them for reſtitution therof.

And yet not ſo contentented,had alſo taken a number of places from the Emperor in Sclavonia,
between the riuers of Culp and Vnna : which places he had oftentimes by as iuſt right
redemanded,as they were by vniuſt forces vſurped before the beginning of theſe wars. Demands
eſteemed iuſt and reaſonable euen by the Turks themſelues, and yet for all that, altogether
reiected by the great Sultans. Of which their ſo great injuſtice the Emperor had oftentimes
moſt iuſtly complained, and ſo did euen at this day, at the feeling of ſuch his hurts
C and harmes. And that the Emperour hauing by ſo many perfidious dealings made proof of
the vntruſtineſſe of the Grand Seigniour his predeceſſors, what aſſurance then can hee conceiue
of his fidelitie ? or vpon what foundation of faith can hee build the ſure building of
peace,ſo much deſired of him? And yet if he might hope ſo much of the faith of another man,
as he is aſſured of his owne iuſt meaning, differing much from that of the grand Seigniours,
(which he knew to be neuer anſwerable vnto his) that he for his part could be well contented
to embrace the peace; prouided alwaies, that he might haue Caniſia and Agria yeelded vnto
him. Or that if they would needs ſtill hold thoſe places, that he might likewiſe in peace
hold the places that he had before won in that war,the reaſons being on both ſides alike. And
that as concerning Tranſylvania,he could not deliuer that without betraying his owne right,
D and the welfare of that prouince; hauing obtained the ſame as well by agreements and couenants
between him and the ſon of the laſt Duke *Iohn*, as by the free and voluntary releaſment
which *Sigiſmund Bathor* the laſt and immediat prince thereof,had not long before made vnto
him. For the defence of which his rights,hee had ſpent many men and great ſummes of money,
and all for the keeping of that prouince by force of arms, which by ſo good right belonged
vnto him.

And that for Valachia, he could be content to yeeld ſome part of his right vnto that prouince,
ſo that the Turkes ſhould ceaſe from thenceforth to demand of him any more tribute;
or that he ſhould as of ordinary duty ſend his Embaſſadors with yearely preſents to the great
Sultan,not being able without need to conſent vnto ſuch a needleſſe ſeruitude; ſeeing that all
E Princes ought to be at liberty,at their own choice to ſend their Embaſſadors, and not at another
mans appointment.

Which anſwer of the Emperours Commiſſioners ſerued no no other purpoſe but for the
Turks to laugh and ſport at, how iuſt and reaſonable ſoeuer they were; ſtill preſſing them to
yeeld vnto their vnreaſonable demands, or elſe threatning to aduertiſe the great Sultan thereof,
who by force would take that from them,to their further loſſe,which they refuſed to grant
him by fair means,to their own good. And ſo the Treaty was for that time broken off without
any thing concluded. Which cauſed the Gouernour of Strigonium to retyre himſelfe
backe againe vnto his Charge : yet for all that,leauing *Cæſar Gallen* behind him,to entertaine
it in ſo ſmall hope as was thereof yet left. Who afterwards ſeeing it almoſt deſperate, making
F a great feaſt vnto certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda,and hauing in that merriment
drawne from them a promiſe to liue as friends with them of the garriſon of Peſth,and
of other places which lay neere vnto that Towne, he retyred himſelf afterwards vnto Strigonium
alſo.

The baſe cowardiſe of the Gouernour of Peſth.

Shortly after whoſe departure, *Iagenreuter* Gouernour of Peſth, notwithſtanding the late promiſes of the Turks at Buda, for their liuing by him in peace & amity; and the aſſured promiſe of *Cæſar Gallen*, at his laſt departure, for the ſpeedy furniſhing of the town both with men and all things neceſſary for the defence thereof, which he ought with great aſſurance to haue expected; yet diſmaied with the report of the comming of *Haſſan Baſſa* the Turkes Generall with his great army, and that by the ſtreit commandement of the great Sultan, he was to begin his conqueſts in Hungary with the winning of Peſth; as a man afraid of his own ſhadow, thought good betime to prouide for himſelfe: and vpon that reſolution, hauing yet ſeen no enemy at all to force him, truſſing vp his baggage, the fift of September forſooke the Towne, with fiue Companies of footmen and ſix Troupes of horſemen following him: a ſufficient number to haue for a time defended the Towne, and endured a ſiege, eſpecially in ſo ſtrong a place, and ſo well prouided both of victuals and munition. All which, this cowardly Gouernour (but moſt vnworthy of that name) left together with his honour for a prey vnto his Enemies; hauing yet before his departure out of the Towne, cauſed the principal buildings thereof to be vndermined, and barrels of gun-pouder to be layd vnder them, where they were ſhortly after all ouerthrown, and moſt part of the towne burnt. But being gone not paſt half a league from the place, he met with four hundred Haiducks, all well armed, whom the Gouernour of Strigonium had ſent for the reliefe of Peſth, with a number of boats loded with corn, munition, and other neceſſaries of all ſorts, for the better aſſurance of the place, and the performing of the promiſe before to the ſame end made by the Gouernor of Strigonium. Which Hungarian Haiducks meeting with theſe diſmayed Cowards vpon the way, thought it not the beſt way to go any further, as thinking themſelues not able to doe that with their ſo ſmall a number, which the other durſt not vndertake with their far greater: wherefore ioyning themſelues with the other fearfull Fugitiues, they with them returned to Strigonium; leauing their Veſſels and munition vnto their enemies, who immediately after ſeiſed vpon them.

The next day after, the mines hauing taken their effect, the Turks wondring to ſee ſo great and terrible a fire in Peſth, which ſtil more and more increaſed, there being none that went about to quench it, aduentured to come ouer the riuer from Buda, and to draw neer to the town now all on a light fire, which finding abandoned & forſaken by the Chriſtians, they diligently quenched, and repaired the ruines of the wall, and ſo without any loſſe became Maſters of the ſame.

Iagenreuter the cowardly late gouernor, with his fearful troups in the mean time comming to Strigonium, and by the Gouernor examined of the cauſes of his flight, & of the ſo ſhamefull leauing of his charge; and beeing able to alledge no other cauſe or reaſon, but the great bruit or report of the Viſier Baſſa's comming with his army to beſiege the towne: was therefore committed to priſon, and there reſerued to be afterward iuſtly puniſhed for his diſloyaltie and cowardiſe.

The Baſſa of Buda by the Gouernors cowardiſe thus poſſeſſed of Peſth, by letters excuſed himſelf to the gouernor of Strigonium for the taking therof, the treaty of peace being not as yet quite broken off: alledging for himſelf (as the truth was) that he had taken it as a place by the Chriſtians vpon a vain fear forſaken and deſperatly ſet on fire, without any ſuch cauſe giuen them by him or any of the Turks. And further, offered vnto the gouernor, if he ſo pleaſed, to deal with him for the exchange of priſoners on both ſides taken, offering to exchange one for another. And as for the concluding of the peace, ſo oftentimes intreated of, and euen yet in hand, that he for his part was wonderfull deſirous it might be fully concluded and ended, before the arriuall of *Haſſan* with his Army in Hungarie: for that he being once come, there would then be no time amidſt the noiſe of ſo many weapons, and ſo many men of Warre, to talke of peace.

Haſſan comes into Hungary.

Haſſan the Viſier Baſſa was now for all that already entered into Hungary, drawing after him a world of men, and was come towards Sexart. For the viewing of which army the Gouernor of Palantwar going forth with an hundred horſemen, by euill hap chanced before hee was aware, vpon the ſudden to meet with fiue hundred Turkes, by the Baſſa himſelfe likewiſe ſent forth to diſcouer the Countrey and the paſſages therof; by whom hee charged, and

A and with the multitude of his enemies oppreſſed, was himſelf, taken priſoner, moſt of his men
being in that conflict ſlaine, ſome few of them that were left aliue by ſpeedy flight hardly eſcaping.
Which euill hap on the Chriſtians ſide, was forthwith recompenced with the better
ſucceſſe of the County *Serin*, who falling vpon three hundred Turks neere vnto Sigeth, being
in number ſcarce halfe ſo many as them, yet ſet vpon them with ſuch courage, that giuing
them no leiſure to conſider of the weakeneſſe of his forces, they were by them ouerthrowne
and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But together with the time of the yeare, to come vnto the maine point of theſe preſent
warres in Hungary: the Turks finding themſelues ont of hope by any capitulations or treaties
of peace, to regaine the ſtrong towne of Strigonium out of the hands of the Chriſtians,
B were now reſolued to employ the vttermoſt of their forces for the obtaining of the ſame;
with a thouſand proteſtations, That if by force of armes and ſtrong hand they ſhould gaine
the place, they would neuer more haue peace with the Chriſtians. At which their vain threats
and ſpeeches, the Chriſtians before reſolutely ſet downe for the defending of the place by
them ſo much deſired, and well acquainted with their great brags, could not but with ſcorne
ſmile, as men nothing therewith diſmaied, nor ſo to be remoued. Neuertheleſſe the Baſſa
conſtant in his reſolution for the regaining of Strigonium, with all his forces came the eighteenth
day of September and laied ſiege vnto it. Now vnto this ſiege the Turks, in hope of
ſpoyle and booty, came flocking from all places, as it bad beene to ſome great Mart; and the
fields in all the Country thereabout were couered and ſwarmed with armes, men, horſes, and
C tents. They encamped neere vnto *Charles* his hill, taking vp with their tents halfe a league of
the Country round about: and at their firſt comming moſt brauely aduanced their Enſignes
with their halfe Moones, the arms of their ſtil encreaſing Empire. Whom the beſieged in this
action imitated, brauely aduancing their Enſignes vpon their walls, as did the Turks in the
fields; and further brauing and prouoking them with a thouſand thundering ſhot, diſcharged
out of the Towne amongſt them. All the wall round about the Towne gliſtered with armes
and flames of fire, out of which the deadly bullets flew, carrying with them death and terrour
into the middeſt of theſe new come enemies, for their welcome. The Turks neuertheleſſe
came ſtill reſolutely on, and as men prodigall of their liues euen in the middeſt of ſo many
dangers, began to make their approches. Vpon whom the Chriſtians with great courage ſallied
D forth, to diſturbe them in their works, and ſo for the ſpace of certaine houres hauing had
with them an hot and ſharpe skirmiſh, without any great hurt receiued, retired againe into
the towne, leauing vnto their enemies by that they had done, a good teſtimony of their valor
and reſolution. The Turks for all that lodged themſelues, made their trenches, and ſo encamped
before the mount of Saint *Thomas*, where by the placing of their cannon, they well declared
their meaning for the battering of that fort.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turks.

The Chriſtians ſally forth vpon the Turks.

Againſt which their deſignes, *George Baſta*, Lieutenant General of the Imperial army, right
reſolutely oppoſed himſelfe, hauing neere vnto Strigonium caſt vp a ſtrong fort, well furniſhed
with men and great artillery, from which he greatly annoied the Turks with his great ordnance,
and with the fury thereof enforced them to remoue farther off with their approches:
E his army vpon the riuer of Danubius in the meane time lying betwixt the Iſle of Strigonium,
and the old towne of the Raſcians, to keep the enemy from entering either into the one place
or the other.

The carefull endeuors of Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, for the preſeruation of Strigonium.

County *Sultze* Gouernour of the place alſo hauing taken a generall muſter of his men,
and with comfortable and cheerefull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiers, putting them in
minde of their duty, and of the honourableneſſe of the action now in hand, as vndertaken
for the maintenance of the Chriſtian Religion, for the ſeruice of the Emperour, and the ſafegard
of their owne liues: perſuading them withall, not to put any truſt or confidence in the
Turks faith, or faire promiſes, conſidering that their weapons were euen yet wet with the bloud
of their Chriſtian brethren, moſt perfidiouſly by them of late maſſacred and ſlaine at the taking
F of Alba Regalis: encouraging them alſo with the goodneſſe of their cauſe, with the carefulneſſe
of their friends abroad for their reliefe, with the regard of their owne valour, and
cowardiſe of their barbarous enemies, whoſe onely hope and truſt was in their multitude: and
withall comforting them, that holding out but ſome few moneths, the very elements them-

The comfortable ſpeech of County Sultze Gouernour of Strigonium, to his garriſon.

ſelues and the time of the yeare, would as it were fight for them, and affoord them aid, their enemies being not able with their great army, in the exrremity of Winter weather, without their irreparable loſſes to hold the field. And that as for himſelfe, his honour together with his life, were ſo bound vnto his graue and ſepulchre, at the foot of the wals of that place, as that they could not be from the ſame ſeparated; hauing propoſed the glory of the preſeruation of that place, or elſe of an honourable death, as the end of all his actions, and conſummation of all his hopes. And that therefore he moſt earneſtly beſought them to follow his ſo honourable a purpoſe, in aſſiſting him in that action, ſo much concerning their liues and honour, and wholly depending of their courage and reſolution. And that for teſtimony of his earneſt deſire to the furthering of this ſeruice, he was willing to depart with a good part of his ſubſtance and treaſure, to be beſtowed vpon them, amiddeſt theſe the trophies of his honour; hauing commanded them to haue certaine moneths pay payed before hand vnto them, which was accordingly done.

A notable ſally of the Chriſtiãs out of the fort of S. Thomas.

Now the Turks hauing a purpoſe eaſily to begin the conqueſt of Strigonium by the taking of the ſtrong fort of Saint *Thomas*, came the foure and twentieth day of September to aſſault and batter the ſame: vpon whom fiue hundred horſemen, and two thouſand footmen ſallying out of the fort, cauſed them, after a ſharpe and bloudy conflict, and not without ſome loſſe on both ſides, to retyre backe againe, and to forſake the mount whereupon they were encamped. But in purſuing of them too farre, they fell into a great ambuſh, before by the Turkes for that purpoſe layed to entrap them; where betwixt them was fought a moſt ſharpe and bloudy fight; the Turks preſuming vpon their multitude, and the Chriſtians ſtanding vpon their valour and honour. Vntill that in fine, valour by number being oppreſſed, ſeuen hundred of the Turks being ſlaine, the Chriſtians were enforced to retire, hauing loſt about an hundred of their men, and amongſt them the valiant County *Caſimir* of Hohenloth, for whoſe dead body there was a notable fight betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks; not much vnlike vnto that which the Poet *Homer* deſcribeth, to haue been fought betwixt the Trojanes and the Greekes, for the body of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Chriſtians being ouercharged with the comming on of the whole army of the Turks, were glad (as I ſaid) to retire, and ſo to leaue the dead body of the County *Caſimir* in the power of their mercileſſe enemies; who as dogs which reuenge themſelues vpon the ſtones which are caſt at them, being not able to bite the hands of them that threw them, ſo did they vpon the body of this gentle Knight, by cutting off his noſe and eares, and afterwards his head. But within ſome few daies after, this body ſo diſfigured was againe deliuered vnto the Chriſtians for a Turke of good account, who was about that time by them taken priſoner. At which time the Turks ſeemed to be very deſirous of peace, moſt earneſtly requeſting County *Fredericke* of Hohenloth (the ſlaine Counties brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their old practiſes, depending ſtill vpon vnreaſonable conditions, whereof the yeelding vp of Strigonium was one of the chiefeſt, as the place by them moſt deſired.

Hatwan moſt ſhamefully forſaken by the Chriſtians

But if this ſiege of the Turks auailed them not againſt the place beſieged, yet was it profitable for them againſt another place by them not artempted, which was the ſtrong Towne of Hatwan, more ſubject vnto feare, without any danger, than was Strigonium vnto the bullets and battery of the Turks, with juſt cauſe of diſtruſt. For the ſouldiers which lay there in garriſon, terrified with the ſiege of Strigonium, and doubting leſt the Turks leauing that ſiege, ſhould come and beſiege them, truſſing vp their bag and baggage, the nineteenth of September abandoned the place, and carrying away with them the beſt of the great ordnance, left the reſt altogether with the place, and great ſtore of prouiſion, vnto the enemy, not in hope of any ſuch matter.

The bruit of the ſiege of Strigonium had called thither all the forces of both parties in Hungary, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one ſide for the winning thereof, and on the other for the defence of the ſame. Amongſt others, the County of Tambier, Gouernour of Lippa, was about to haue gone thither with certaine of his troups to haue aided the Generall, for the preſeruation of the place. But in the meane time *Bethlem Habor*, chiefe of the rebels in Tranſyluania, aſſiſted by *Beckheres Baſſa* with foure thouſand Turks enterd into the Prouince, to haue made himſelfe maſter thereof vnder the protection of the Turke. Whereof the

A County hauing got knowledge, reſolued to go and meet him, and to encounter him at the ve-
ry firſt enterance of him into the Prouince. This old Rebell knowing that *George Baſta* was
by the Emperours appointment gone out of the country with the beſt troups of his horſemen,
the greateſt ſtrength of the Prouince, came on in great ſecurity, thinking of nothing but of
victory, and of performing his intended exploit, without feare of any to let him: ſo that caſting
no further perill, he was ſurpriſed by the County, before he was aware, and put to flight. Nei-
ther was the fight long betwixt men accuſtomed to vanquiſh, reſolutely ſet downe, and well
armed, againſt men daſmaied, halfe naked, and ſurpriſed. In which conflict aboue a thouſand
of them being ſlaine, and a thouſand of horſes of ſeruice taken, the reſt fled; amongſt whom
Bethlin himſelfe with the Baſſa flying, were glad by ſwimming to ſaue themſelues amiddeſt a
thouſand chances and dangers of their liues.

Bethlem Habor the Rebell ſurpriſed & ouerthrowne by the County Tambier:

B The Baſſa of Temeſwar aduertiſed of this ouerthrow by one of them that was fled from
the ſame, preſently he ſent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieue the
vanquiſhed Turkes: Who by the way vnderſtanding of the generall ouerthrow of them
whom hee was ſent forth to relieue, as alſo of the ſtrength of his enemies, and that hee was
come too late to the reliefe of his friends, retired as faſt as he could with his men backe againe
homeward toward Temeſwar. But being in their retreat diſcouered, and hotly purſued by
theſe men imbrued with the bloud of their enemies, and yet breathing with victory, they
were by them ouertaken euen almoſt at the gates of their City, and there (as men before ouer-
come with feare, and ouerwhelmed with deſpaire) cut in pieces, without any fight or reſi-
C ſtance by them made, beſeeming men of their ſort, the Lieutenant himſelfe being there ſlaine
alſo.

Succors ſent to the rebels by the Baſſa or Temeſwar, defeated by the County Tambier.

After which exploits done, the County turning towards Iula, chanced to light vpon cer-
taine companies of Turks loaded with booty, which they had got in roaming abroad into the
Countrey thereabout, whom he purſued euen vnto the gates of the towne, which they found
ſhut againſt them; for that they within the towne ſeeing the Chriſtians euen at the heeles of
their companions, had ſhut their gates, neither durſt now open the ſame, for feare leſt the
Chriſtians ſhould together with them enter the towne, and ſo become maſters thereof. Who
ſo ſhut out by their owne friends, were there all by the Chriſtians ſlaine, euen in the ſight of
their companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieue them. After which maſſacre
D done, the Chriſtians not yet ſo contented, burnt the ſuburbs of the towne, and ſo loaded with
the ſpoiles of their enemies, departed. The County after ſo many honourable exploits in a
ſmall time performed, returned to Lippa, where he arriued the 25 of September, and from
thence afterward aduertiſing *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, of theſe his exploits
don, cauſed ten of the Turks Enſignes, all ſtained with their owne bloud, to be preſented vn-
to him, as the ſure tokens of his good ſeruine done.

But to returne againe vnto the ſiege of Strigonium, the greateſt exploit by the Turks en-
tended for this yeare, from which we haue from the occurrent of the ſame time a little ſtray-
ed. The Viſier Baſſa perceiuing by the valiant and reſolute defence of our men, how little
hee preuailed in this ſiege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his diſhonour,
E thought it good once againe to prooue, if hee might by compoſition gaine that which hee
was now almoſt out of hope by force to obtaine. And to that purpoſe cauſed a motion to
be made vnto the beſieged, for a treaty to be had concerning a peace, and a day appointed for
the ſame. Vnto which motion for peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all, of
any peace to be concluded) eaſily yeelded, leſt they might bee thought obſtinately to haue
rejected the ſame. Whereupon Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed, to meet to-
gether, to conferre of the matter. And ſo for the Emperour *Althem* himſelfe, with *Ferdi-*
nand Collonitz, and *Fredericke* of Hohenlo, County of Rhene, were appointed neere vnto the
Raſcian Towne to meet with the Turks Commiſſioners, to heare what they would ſay. How-
beit the Commiſſioners on both ſides beeing met at the place aforeſaid, all their conference
F was but vaine and to no purpoſe; the Turkes ſtill vrging the yeelding vp of Strigonium,
and the Imperials as earneſtly refuſing the ſame. So that the treaty for peace being broken
off, and the Commiſſioners departing, the ſiege was more cruelly by the Turks continued
than before.

Now there were in the Turks army lying at the ſiege, certaine companies of Coſſackes, G men for their pay indifferent to ſerue any Prince of what Religion ſoeuer. Which ſeruiceable men, in number 700, had agreed together the 28 of September, by night to forſake the Turks campe, and to come vnto the Chriſtians. Of which their purpoſe and deſigne the Viſier Baſſa hauing by ſome vntruſty amongſt them got knowledge, cauſed the footmen of theſe companies to be apprehended and ſlaine; the horſemen in the meane time making themſelues way ouer the bellies of ſuch as would haue ſtaied them, fled, and eſcaped, ſome of them to Komara, and ſome to Dotis. Threeſcore of theſe Caſſocks being by the Turks hardly purſued, aduentured to ſwim ouer Danubius, and ſo all naked came to *Collonitz*, by whom they were courteouſly entertained and apparelled. And within three daies after, two hundred horſemen moe of the ſame Coſſackes came to *Collonitz* alſo: who marching in good order vnto the head of H the Chriſtian campe, were there ſworne vnto the Emperours ſeruice; and in token of their loyalty, there diſcharged their piſtols thrice. Which horſemen *Collonitz* diuided among the reſt of his troups, as hauing before time had good experience of the courage and good ſeruice of diuers ſuch others of their fellowes.

The Ianizaries in mutiny againſt the Viſier Baſſa.

By theſe fugitiue ſoldiers it was vnderſtood, that the Ianizaries in great number vp in mutiny againſt the Viſier Baſſa, would haue enforced him to haue raiſed the ſiege, and ſo to haue departed. The cauſe of their ſo great diſcontentment (as they pretended) was the manifeſt and aſſured danger of their liues, with little or no hope at all for the gaining of the place: They themſelues being ſtill expoſed to the dangers both of the ſiege and of the field, hauing the beſieged on head of them armed with an aſſured reſolution, and the Chriſtian army at I their backes, of knowne valour and experience. Beſides that, the place it ſelfe was (as they ſaid) impregnable, being at all times to be relieued, by reaſon that it commanded ouer the Danuby, which might alwaies relieue it both with men and victuals. And that therefore after that they had ſatisfied their honour, by giuing an aſſault or two vnto the fort of Saint *Thomas*, they had reſolued to ariſe, and to be gone. And much about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of September, in the night time, was a moſt dreadfull fiery impreſſion ſeene in faſhion much like a Rainebow, of a fiery red colour, which beginning ouer Cockera, and riſing higher ouer Strigonium, at length vaniſhed away ouer the fort of Saint *Thomas*. The ſight whereof much troubled the beholders thereof, as well the Chriſtians as the Turkes: ſuch K ſtrange meteors and apparitions being oftentimes the preſages of the ruine of them to whom they appeare.

In the meane time whileſt the Turks thus lay before Strigonium, at the ſiege of Saint *Thomas* fort, the Lord *Baſta*, Lieutenant Generall of the Emperours forces, to giue the Turks to vnderſtand, how that he was alwaies in readineſſe to attend vpon their doings, and to take hold of all ſuch opportunities as ſhould by them be offered, and ſo to keepe them in ſuſpence, came with ſeuen thouſand braue horſemen, and ſhewed himſelfe in the plaine field in order of battell; ſo, as it were, brauing the Turks euen vnto their owne trenches: where hauing diſcharged their piſtols thrice, they returned as victorious, alwaies keeping themſelues in order, as men ready either to giue or to accept of battell. Howbeit the Turks for the preſent keeping themſelues cloſe within their trenches, mooued not; but afterwards being deſirous to counter-braue L this the Chriſtians preſumption, the third day of October they came forth of their trenches, and gaue a ſecond aſſault to Saint *Thomas* fort, imploying the vttermoſt of their power in this action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their honour and of their ſafety to depend. But in aſſayling the fort they met with them as reſolutely ſet downe for the defence thereof, and for the maintenence of their honour, as were they for the winning of the ſame. So the aſſault was begun with great fury and aduenture, as was the other before: howbeit that it endured not long, for that the Turks fought rather for the diſcharge of their duty, and to haue ſome iuſt cauſe to raiſe their ſiege, than for any hope they had to preuaile, or to carry the place. For it befell them according as they had expected, ſo that after that the M fight had endured little more than halfe an houre, amiddeſt the tempeſts of armes and fury, in fine the Turks out of hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the ſiege, and retired, hauing in that conflict loſt fiue hundred of their beſt ſouldiers.

The fort of S. Thomas againe aſſaulted.

The Gouernour of Strigonium had in the city vnder his charge ſix thouſand Hiaduckes, who

A who attainted with treaſon and feare, all forſooke the place excepting fiue hundred, preferring their liues vnworthy the ſauing, before their duty, and the life and honour of their Generall. With which ſhamefull treaſon, and the reſolution of the great Baſſa for forcing of the place, the Germanes there left, ſeeing their Captaines diſmaied, gathered themſelues together, promiſing by their own valour, to ſupply what wanted by reaſon of the trechery of the others; offering themſelues to be ſworne againe vnto the ſeruice of the Emperour, and rather to die all in the place, than to yeeld it vp vnto the Turks, or to leaue it vnto their enemies: where by their generall conſent a ſolemne decree was made, that whoſoeuer hee were which ſhould ſpeake or once make mention of yeelding the Towne, ſhould forthwith therefore be hanged vpon a gibbet. The Turks although they had now in two aſſaults been twice B repulſed, came yet forth once againe the fifth day of October, and aſſaulted Saint *Thomas* fort the third time: wherein they failed not to doe what they might, but were by the Chriſtians therein ſo receiued, that deſpairing of the winning thereof, they with great loſſe and ſhame retired. Which diſgrace cauſed them to returne to their old practiſes, for the taking of places by policy. For hauing in many places vndermined the walls, and filled them with gunpouder, they were in hope by that meanes to haue opened themſelues a way vnto their conqueſt. Of which their hope for all that, they were deceiued: for the Chriſtians hauing perceiued their meaning, did by countermining not only fruſtrate their endeauour, but carried away the pouder alſo, which they had before laied in the mines, reſeruing it to their owne further neceſſity and vſe. Wherefore the Turks ſeeing themſelues of thir hope deceiued, C returned againe vnto their old practiſes, to come to a parly for peace. Of which their motion the Chriſtians nothing diſliked. But the Commiſſioners on both ſides being met together for that purpoſe, in a little Iſland beneath Strigonium, when as the Turkes had offered vnto the Chriſtians the City of Agria for Strgonium; or if ſo be that that exchange pleaſed them not, but that they would needs keepe the City of Strigonium ſtill, that then in conſideration of the peace, they ſhould deliuer vnto them the ſtrong Townes of Fileck, Saint Setſchin, Pallanke, and Nouigrade; both of which demands were very vnreaſonable: The Commiſſioners thereupon againe departed without concluding of any thing.

The fort of S. Thomas the third time aſſaulted.

Now the army of the Turkes was in it ſelfe diuerſly diuided with quite contrary deſires; D the Viſier Baſſa with ſome other of the Commanders, ſtood ſtifly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to returne from thence with victory, or elſe there to end their daies: but the Ianizaries to the contrary, were as earneſt to be gone, and to raiſe the ſiege, deeming it impoſſible then to preuaile againſt a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well manned, and ſo eaſily to be ſtill relieued. With which their reſolution ſo contrary vnto his, the Baſſa enraged, and yet propoſing before his departure to proue the vttermoſt of his forces againſt the fort now already by him thrice before aſſaulted, the tenth of October gaue thereunto ſix great aſſaults, but with like ſucceſſe as before, finding there ſtill the ſame defendants, no whit diſcouraged, but armed with their accuſtomed reſolution. For the defendants encouraged by their moſt valiant commanders, with ſuch fury repulſed the Turks, that they were glad to giue ouer aſſault E vpon aſſault, and with great loſſe of their men to retire. Their often retreats alſo being vnto them no leſſe hurtfull than were their aſſaults, the deadly bullets being out of their fort diſcharged vpon them like ſhowers of haile. So that the Baſſa now after ſo many aſſaults, out of all hope to gaine the fort, and ſtill preſſed by the Ianizaries for the raiſing of the ſiege, immediatly after roſe with his army, quitted his trenches, and retired with his campe neere vnto a caſtle, about a league diſtant from Strigonium. From whence the Turks the better to couer their diſhonour, and to hinder the Chriſtians from purſuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the field with a good part of their army, and ſhewed themſelues before the Raſcian Towne, and there skirmiſhed with the Chriſtian Haiduckes. Which manner of skirmiſhing for all that was more in ſhew, than in effect, neither party therein F receiuing any great loſſe or hurt. In the meane time, the beſieged which were in Strigonium, hauing gotten certaine knowledge, that the enemy had already remoued his cannon and other prouiſion for the ſiege backe againe into Buda, in token of joy diſcharged all their great Ordnance out of the city and the fort; by the report thereof giuing knowledge vnto the

The fort of S. Thomas ſix times in one day aſſaulted.

The ſiege of Strigonium giuen ouer by the Turks.

the other townes and caſtles of the Chriſtians, of their deliuerance. Of which ſo common a joy euery one of them were partakers, as deliuered from ſome part of the feare which the ſiege of ſo great a city as was Strigonium, had brought vpon them. And ſo the ſiege of Strigonium, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turks giuen ouer the thirteenth of October: the Ianizaries inſolently threatening to haue ſlaine the great Baſſa their Generall, if he had there any longer ſtaied.

Baſta purſueth the Turks army departing from the ſiege of Strigonium.

Baſta the Emperors Lieutenant in the meane time awaiting all opportunities, failed not to take hold of ſo fit an occaſion, but with his horſemen following after the Turks army, ſlew of them a great number, and tooke ſome other of them priſoners. And afterward returning vnto their campe, found it void of men, but full of bullets, with certain pieces of great ordnance, which the Turks had left there, hauing not time to remoue the ſame to Buda. Vpon this riſing of the Turks army the Commanders thereof were diuerſly affected vnto the ſeruice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the ſiege. Such of them as lay in Hungary or neere therunto, deſiring ſtill to hold the field, in hope of the ſpoile of the country: but they which dwelt farther off, eſpecially ſuch as were come out of Aſia, deſiring as much to be diſcharged, their horſes being almoſt all dead with faintneſſe and trauell, and themſelues weary of the ſeruice.

Shortly after the riſing of the Turks army from Strigonium, two fugitiues of the Turks moſt brauely mounted, came vnto *Baſta* the Emperors Lieutenant, and preſenting him with a ring of great value, and a moſt faire Turkiſh Enſigne, told him, moſt part of the Turks army to lie then incamped in the country neere vnto Peſth; and the great Cham, a young Prince of about twenty yeares old to be come thither with a great power of Tartars, to aid the Baſſa: And that the Turks by their comming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excurſion for the ſpoiling of the country. All which ſhortly after was certainely knowne to be true, the plaine country of the vpper Hungary about Palanka, Setſchin, and Villecampe, being by them, but eſpecially of theſe new come Tartars, all ſpoiled and burnt. For remedy whereof *Sigefride Collonitz* oppoſing himſelfe with his Hungarian horſemen, againſt theſe inſolent forragers, ſo danted them, that ceaſing further to ſpoile the country, they departed, carrying away with them ſuch priſoners and ſpoile as they had there taken, and leauing behind them a ſtrong garriſon of three thouſand good ſouldiers, for the repairing and keeping of Peſth, but a little before cowardly (as we ſaid) by the Chriſtians forſaken. But within ſome few daies after, *viz.* the foure and twentieth of October, the Viſier Baſſa by his letters written vnto County *Althem* Gouernour of Strigonium, made a mention for a treaty of peace to be had for the comfort of the diſtreſſed people of that ſpoiled country, ſolemnly proteſting, moſt religiouſly on his part to keepe the ſame, if it ſhould be once concluded: and yet in the meane time with fire and ſword ſpoiling all the Countrey by the way as he departed out of Hungary.

New rebellion in Tranſyluania raiſed by Iſtiuan, ſyrnamed Botſcay.

But now as this poore Country began to feele reliefe by the departure of the great Baſſa with his army out thereof, ſo the Country of Tranſyluania joyning thereunto, was at the ſame time as much with rebellion and diſcord diſtreſſed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebell, with his Baſſa ouerthrowne and driuen out of Tranſyluania (as is aforeſaid) the Lord *Belgioſa*, *Baſta* his Lieutenant in this prouince, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himſelf ready with his troups, to haue gon to aid the Lord *Baſta* his General, then incamped in the plains of Strigonium, to hinder the Turks deſignes for the taking of this Towne. But as he was about ſo to haue done, behold, euen at the ſame time when he leaſt feared, a ſecond Rebell there ſtarted vp far worſe than the firſt, namely, the Lord *Iſtiuan* (otherwiſe ſurnamed *Botſcay*, or more truely * *Potſcay*) who accompanied with great troups of men of warre vnder the protection of the Turke, and ſtiling himſelfe by the name of the Prince of Tranſyluania, entering that Prouince, miſerably burnt and ſpoiled the ſame. For the repreſſing of which ſo ſudden a rebellion, *Belgioſa* with a thouſand horſe, vnder the leading of *Rotkeuitz* and *Peter Laſla*, marched toward Veradin: and with his troupe comming to Ador, a country village about a league diſtant from Veradin, and meaning thither to aſſemble together his army, he ſent to *Petſie* Gouernour of Veradin, to put him in minde of his duty, and to craue his aid. Which valiant captaine, alwaies preſt and ready to do his Prince ſeruice, failed not now of his duty, but calling

He was in ſcorn called Potſcay (which in the Bohemian language ſignifieth tarry, or ſtay) of the long delaies hee by way of diſgrace had before endured in the emperors court.

A together ſix companies of footmen out of Romoſa, and joyning vnto them foure companies out of Veradin, together with the Sileſian horſemen of *Schuet-Kenhut* his Regiment) whom by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe he was not able to lead) and with them the Haiduckes of County *Tambier*, came vnto the place of the rendezuous, bringing with him all warlike prouiſion in token of his fidelity. With this army *Belgioſa* marched againſt the Rebels, who as reſolute men attended his comming: for why, *Botſcay* knowing the Haiduckes of County *Tambier* ſecretly to fauour him and his rebellion more than they did *Belgioſa* and his juſt quarrels, ſtood in no feare of them, but aſſured himſelfe of them as of his friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but euen at the firſt joyning of the battell, turned themſelues to his part: with the going ouer of whom, the number of the Rebels was much encreaſed, and *Belgioſa* his B power both in force and courage much weakened, ſeeing themſelues at once expoſed both vnto the force of their enemies, and to the trechery of their fellowes, who now with conjoyned forces moſt fiercely aſſailed them: who finding themſelues now on all ſides inuironed with ſo great a multitude, and not able with ſo ſmall a number as was left, to withſtand the violence of their enemies, and the treaſon of their companions; after they had to the vttermoſt of their power performed all the parts of valiant and couragious men, were there almoſt all cut in pieces, and there buried in the field of their loyalty, honoured with their owne bloud, and altogether embrued with the bloud of their enemies. In this vnlucky and diſloyall fight were diuers good and faithfull Captaines ſlaine: *Petſie* Gouernour of Veradin, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captaines, and grieuouſly wounded, were there taken priſoners. The Lieutenant C of *Petſie* alſo, hauing retired himſelfe with ſome of his troups into a place of good ſtrength, there ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that *Botſcay* out of hope to ouercome them by force, to get them into his power promiſed them vpon his Oath, if they would yeeld themſelues, to ſuffer them in ſafety to depart. But what truſt or credit is to be giuen to him who hath before broken his faith and loyalty to his Prince, this Rebell well ſhewed by the death of theſe valiant and warlike men, who after that they had vpon his faith and promiſe yeelded themſelues, were by his appointment cruelly ſlaine and cut in pieces. The Sileſian horſmen were there alſo ouerthrowne and buried in the middeſt of their enemies: and as for *Belgioſa* himſelfe, he ſtrangely eſcaped out of the battell, and ſaued himſelfe by flying to Veradin. The Victorious Rebell after the battell, in ſtead of praiſing God, ſacrificed to the Diuell, by D ſending a great part of the Enſignes by him gained, to the Viſier Baſſa, with a thouſand praiſes of his glory, for ſupporting him in his rebellion; and vaunting much of this his victory, gaue him withall to vnderſtand, That he had ſlaine aboue 6000 of his enemies.

Belgioſa in a great battell ouerthrowne by Botſcay the Rebell.

This victory gotten, together with the humble ſubmiſſion of *Botſcay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth he ſhould be ſtiled by the name of the Prince of Tranſyluania, with a further charge from him, to do the vttermoſt of his endeauour for the ſubduing vnto his obeyſance the reſt of Tranſyluania; promiſing plentifully to ſupply his wants both with men and mony, and out of hand to ſend him three thouſand Tartars to his aid. And indeed this was a very great and bloudy battell, fought from the firſt breake of the day, vntill eleuen a clocke at noone: but whether ſo many were ſlaine there or no, it cannot certainely E be told, for that diuers of them who were ſaid to be ſlaine, and ſo accounted among the dead, had hid themſelues in the wood thereby, and ſome others of them by ſome other meanes eſcaped death alſo. *Petſie* himſelfe had with him when he was taken two Monkes, whom the ſouldiers in deſpight cut into many pieces, and carried him faſt bound in chains to Derritza, to be there cured of the dangerous wounds by him in the battell receiued.

Botſcay in his rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called prince of Tranſylvania.

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who being wounded, was taken priſoner with *Petſie*, hee was afterwards by *Botſcay* appointed his Lieutenant Generall, and ſo by his commandement was publipuely proclaimed, as he which was deſirous to take vpon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of ſuch as were willing to profeſſe the ſame: who forthwith made a generall proclamation, That all they which were deſirous of the liberty of conſcience, and to liue free F from the ſuperſtitions of the Roman Church, ſhould repaire vnto him as vnto their head and chiefetaine, ready to entertaine them, and to allow to euery one of them fiue Dollars a month for their pay. Vpon which Proclamation made, a great multitude of men vpon the ſudden reſorted vnto him; ſo that in a ſhort time he had following of him ten thouſand Haiduckes, beſide a number of the other common raſcall people; yea, almoſt all the gentlemen of the country repairing vnto him, bound themſelues by oath to him, and one of them to another, G That as they would not take vp armes to fight againſt the Chriſtian Emperor, ſo they would not ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turke, but only ſtand vpon the defence of their religion, and the liberty of conſcience.

The great city of Caſſouia yeelded to the rebel Botſcay.

The Rebell *Botſcay* thus wonderfully encreaſed in ſtrength and number, beſet almoſt all the paſſages of the country, and with the ſword of rebellion in his hand, and his ſouldiers following him, commanded the cities ſtill as he went to yeeld vnto him: but hearing that *Belgioſa* was after the late ouerthrow gone from Veradin to Caſſouia, where his wife lay; and being come thither, to haue been by the citiſens rejected, who would not only not receiue him into their city, but turned his wife alſo out of their city vnto him; he with a great army comming thither, tooke the City without reſiſtance, the Citiſens for the moſt part enclining vnto H him. Of which City beeing poſſeſſed, hee forthwith changed both the Religion and ciuile gouernment thereof, ſlew part of ſuch as were of the Romiſh Religion, and thruſt the reſt out of the City, with all the Church men, tooke the Biſhop and the Emperours Treaſuror priſoners, and ſo changed the whole gouernment of the Towne vpſide downe. The onely man he ſtood in feare of, was *Belgioſa*, for whom he laid wait by all meanes hee could to haue taken him, with a purpoſe to haue vſed him moſt hardly, if hee had fallen into his hands.

Theſe things thus done in Tranſyluania and in Hungary, the Viſier Baſſa being about to returne to Conſtantinople, to grace that little which he had done this yeare in Hungary, and I to auoid the ſuſpition of his euill ſucceſſe in that Prouince, borrowed of *Botſcay* the reſt of the Enſignes, together with *Petſie* and other the noble Chriſtian captiues which he had taken in the late battell with *Belgioſa*: which Enſignes and priſoners he confidently afterwards cauſed to be preſented vnto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himſelfe; and in recompence thereof, left three thouſand Turks and Tartars with the Rebell, to aid him in his wars both in Tranſyluania and Hungary.

Baſta goeth with his army againſt the Rebels in the vpper Hungary.

Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in Hungary, and Gouernour of Tranſyluania, hearing of the ſtirres and troubles of late raiſed in both thoſe Countries, by *Botſcay* and his rebellious Followers, and hauing as he thought beſt, ſet all things in order againe at Strigonium, marched thence with his Army, being fouretеene thouſand ſtrong, towards Caſſouia, with a K purpoſe to haue ſuppreſſed the rebellion in the vpper Hungary, before it ſhould haue ſpred farther, to the endangering of the whole ſtate of both thoſe Countries, as afterward it did. Howbeit before he could come thither, the Rebels after the taking of Caſſouia, being wonderfully encreaſed both in ſtrength and number, had taken in moſt of the ſtrong Townes and places in the vpper Hungary, the people almoſt generally now fauouring their quarrell, carrying with it the face of Religion, with the ſuppreſſing of the German gouernement, both things vnto them much pleaſing. And now hearing that *Belgioſa* (a man of them moſt hated, beeing, as we ſaid, ſhut out of Caſſouia) was fled into the Caſtle of Zipze, they by Letters required of *Turſon* Captaine of the Caſtle, to haue him deliuered vnto them, to be according to his deſerts puniſhed; promiſing withall, to doe *Turſon* himſelfe no harme, ſo L that hee would take part with them in defence of their Religion, and of the liberty of conſcience: which if hee ſhould refuſe to doe, yet that they would giue him free liberty to depart whither hee would, out of his Caſtle, and in ſafety to conduct him thither, ſo that he would forthwith reſolue, what courſe hee would take. But if hee ſhould of this his offer miſlike alſo, then they threatened to ſpoyle his Countrey, to kill his people, to raſe his Caſtle, and to make himſelfe an example vnto others. Wherewith for all that hee nothing mooued, refuſed to deliuer vnto them *Belgioſa*, the man whom they ſo much deſired, or yet to accept of any of their other offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt Caſſouia and the Caſtle, and bringing certaine pieces of great Ordnance from Caſſouia, in great number came and ſtreightly beſieged the Caſtle. M With whoſe attempts the valiant Captaine nothing mooued, with his thundering ſhot out of the Caſtle ſo welcommed them, that hauing thereby receiued great harme, they thought it not their beſt courſe to ſtay any longer there with ſo great a power, but with the greateſt

Belgioſa in the caſtle of Zipze beſieged by the Rebels.

part

A part thereof to go to Preſburg, to reforme that city and ſome other places by the way; perſuading themſelues, That the Captaine of this caſtle ſo ſhut vp, and on euery ſide beſet with his enemies, would at length of himſelfe yeeld vp the caſtle.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the ſiege of this caſtle, certaine companies of them went to haue taken the ſpoile of a Religious houſe there by: but comming thither, and breaking open the doores, and ſearching euery ſecret corner of the houſe, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but ſo returned almoſt empty handed: for the Prieſts had for feare of them before carried away with them all the beſt of their goods and ſubſtance into the beſieged caſtle. And ſo likewiſe the riſe report of their comming to Presburg flying abroad, almoſt all the Prieſts and Ieſuits in Presburg and the country thereabout, leauing their Churches B and Colledges, fled with their ſubſtance to Vienna, ſcarcely accounting themſelues ſafe there, vntill that the garriſon of that ſtrong city was increaſed with a new ſupply of ſix hundred good ſouldiers.

And now the Rebels, their number ſtill more and more encreaſing, and hauing ſet all the vpper part of Hungary on a broyle, were beſieging diuers other caſtles and ſtrong places, yet holden for the Emperor; when as *Baſta* in the meane time, comming from the ſiege of Strigonium, came and with his army encamped about three miles from Filek. Of whoſe comming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retyring, he forthwith followed after them toward Budnoc, which caſtle they alſo left, and ſo neere vnto Ramoſambat, the place of their rendezuous, gathered together a great number, with an intent to haue giuen *Baſta* battell. Whereof *Baſta* C hauing knowledge, to ſpare the effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud, by an Herauld ſent vnto them in friendly and courteous manner, aduiſed them to change their minds, and to returne againe vnto their former allegiance. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe in their former purpoſe, for the maintaining of their rebellion, and the giuing of him battel, he marching forward with his army, with great force charged certaine companies of the Rebels, appointed to keepe the paſſage of Filek; who at the firſt right valiantly receiued the charge, and defended the paſſage, vntill that at length with number oppreſſed, and aboue foure hundred of them ſlaine, they were put to the worſe, and enforced to flee; in which flight, amongſt others there taken priſoners, *Blaſe Nemet* their captain was taken alſo, whom *Baſta* cauſed to be hanged vp by the heels, with the Enſignes ſet vp about him which he had taken from the rebels in the late fight; and D after he had for a time ſo hung, made him to be taken downe, and his head to be ſtrucke off from his ſhoulders. In this conflict fifty of *Baſta* his men were ſlaine alſo, and many moe hurt. and amongſt them *Collonitz*, hurt in his ſhoulder and his foot with a ſmall ſhot.

Baſta after this victory marching on with his army, by the way met with certaine other companies of the rebellious Haiducks as he was going to *S. Peters*, with whom he had many an hot ſkirmiſh for the ſpace of three daies together, being by them ſtill put to the worſe, inſomuch that hauing burnt many of his carriages, tents and other luggage, he was of nothing more carefull, than how well to get out of their hands. Neuertheleſſe ſeeing no other remedy, he with great courage not onely endured the often and fierce aſſaults of his enemies, ſtill more and more encreaſing vpon him, but the fourth day after ſo many vnfortunat ſkirmiſhes, E (being the eight aud twentieth of Nouember) putting his men in order of battell, right valiantly againe charged the Rebels: who by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the weather, it beeing then a very thicke miſt, being not able to perceiue where the enemies attempts were moſt to be feared, or what way to turne their owne forces; as men diſmaied, were eaſily by them ouerthrowne and put to flight: who ſo flying, *Baſta* with his ſouldiers fiercely purſuing, made of them a great ſlaughter: ſo that in the ſpace of leſſe than three houres, fifteen hundred of them were in this thicke and darke miſt ſlain, with ſome few alſo of *Baſta* his ſouldiers, and amongſt them *Fredericke* Earle of Solmes, and the County of Erbach wounded. Vpon the report of which ouerthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the ſiege of the caſtle of Zipze, in hope there at length to haue taken *Belgioſa*, forthwith roſe and retired themſelues to Leuſta. But *Baſta* after F this victory remoouing to Saint *Andrewes*, and hauing recouered that towne from the Rebels, and thereinto put a new garriſon, and ſo by this meanes ſomewhat daunted and repreſſed the inſolency of the Haiduckes in thoſe quarters, and being not well able longer to keepe the field with his army in ſo vnſeaſonable a time of the yeare, and ſo to maintaine warre as it were both

Baſta diſtreſſed by the Rebels.

The Rebels by Baſta ouerthrowne.

both againſt his enemies,and the extremities of nature, ſought by letters to haue reclaimed them of Caſſouia againe vnto their obedience; offering vnto them pardon for all their offences paſt,ſo that they would now at laſt acknowledge their fault, and receiue into their towne a garriſon of the Emperors. To which purpoſe he writ alſo to them of Eperia, in hope that if he might ſo haue gained thoſe two ſtrong towns,to haue in them Wintered in ſafety with his army. But them of Coſſouia hauing in the city a ſtrang garriſon of ſix thouſand good ſouldiers,and out of feare to be by *Baſta* beſieged at that time of the yeare, and withall in hope (if need were) to be by *Botſcay* relieued, (who was then reported to be forty thouſand ſtrong) vtterly refuſed to hearken to *Baſta* his motion, for their reconciliation, or at all to ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the Emperour. Which cauſed him with his army to come neerer vnto the city, yet ſtill ſeeking rather by faire meanes to haue perſuaded the citiſens to haue returned vnto their loyalty, than by force to haue conſtrained them. But finding them obſtinately ſet downe, and by no perſuaſions to be remoued, but with their great ordnance in what they might to trouble his campe,he ſent before the County *Hohenloh* and *Rotnitz*, with part of his army to Eperia, to command them vpon their allegiance to receiue the Emperours ſouldiers into the city, and to relieue them with ſuch things as they were able: and within a few dayes after, *viz.* the fifth of December, followed himſelfe with the reſt of his army. But being come thither,after much talke had with the chiefe men of the City, it was at length,contrary to all mens expectation,agreed, That *Baſta* aſſuring them of the free exerciſe of their religion, of the good behauiour of the ſouldiers towards them, and to defend them from the iniury and incurſions of their enemies,they ſhould open the gates vnto the Imperials, and relieue them with what they were able, and ſo as before to continue in their allegiance and obedience vnto the Emperour. Of all which things when *Baſta* had vpon his faith giuen, aſſured them, they opened their gates and receiued in the ſouldiers: vnto whom now almoſt dead and ſtarued with hunger) nothing could haue happened more lucky or welcome. Leuſta, Barbeld, Zebena,famous townes in thoſe places,following the example of Eperia, ſubmitted themſelues in like manner, and helped *Baſta* his ſouldiers with reliefe. Thither with great danger came vnto *Baſta*, *Sigefrid Collonitz,* a man of great power and authority in that part of Hungary,to confer with him about the appeaſing of theſe troubles: who afterward by his letters vnto the States and the reſt of the Nobility of Hungary, yea, and to *Botſcay* himſelfe, in vaine perſuading them to lay downe armes,and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience vnto the Emperour.

Eperia yeelded vnto Baſta.

There had been hitherto in the Imperiall campe great ſcarcity of victuals and of other neceſſaries,ſo that for want thereof,and for the extremitie of the cold, and other miſeries, it was greatly feared,leſt the campe ſhould haue been broken vp; to the irrepairable loſſe of his Imperiall Majeſty,as the ſtate of things then ſtood in Hungary. For the remedy whereof,thirty waggons loded with mony and cloath were ſent from Vienna, vnder the conduct of County *Solmes*, Colonell *Starenberg*, the Treaſurer, and others: vnto whom *Tanhuſar* joyned fifteene hundred Huſſars(Hungarian horſemen ſo called)to ſtrengthen the conuoy againſt the danger which was feared from the Haiducks which lay vpon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and ſeeking after booty in euery corner of the country. Which Huſſars being come with the reſt of the conuoy into a thick wood,about two miles from Filek,like enemies ſet vpon the waggoners,whom they ſhould haue conducted, and there made a great ſlaughter of ſuch as were about to reſiſt them; inſomuch that the County *Solmes* had much ado to ſaue himſelfe and to get out of their hands, leauing the waggons as a prey vnto the trecherous Huſſars; who now become maſters of them, draue them away to *Botſcay* the Rebels campe: *Tanhuſar* their Captaine in vaine purſuing after them (with ſuch of his Huſſars as more faithfull than the reſt, had no hand in that ſo foule a treachery) and recouering nothind but tenne waggons loaded with cloath,which the traitors had left behinde them, hauing taken the horſes out of them, and put them into the other waggons wherein the mony was, (which was reported to be 130000 florens) with the more ſpeed to bring them vnto *Botſcay*. Who hauing vpon the ſudden receiued ſo great a ſumme of mony, by him not looked for, forthwith diuided the ſame amongſt his ſouldiers,the more to encourage them in their rebellion againſt the Emperour.

The Huſſars traiterouſly ſpoyle them whom they ſhould haue conducted.

The newes of this ſo great a loſſe being quickly ſpred thorow all the Emperours campe, at the firſt filled the ſouldiers with griefe and diſdaine againſt the trecherous Huſſars, but afterwards with wrath and indignation againſt their own Commanders, as deeming it to haue bin nothing but a falſe report by them deuiſed and giuen out to deceiue them, and to feed them with a vaine hope. Which perſuaſion, though not true, had now ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed their minds, as that they were about all to haue riſen vp in mutiny, and to haue forſaken the ſeruice, to the vtter perill of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Prouince, now vpon point to haue bin for euer loſt. All which miſchiefes *Baſta* foreſeeing, did firſt what he might with words and faire promiſes to haue appeaſed them; which not ſeruing, he with certaine thouſands of duckats and waggons of cloth taken vp at Leuſta and other townes there by, wiſely contented them, in ſome good meaſure furniſhing the old ſouldiers, before halfe naked, both with mony and apparell, the ſouldiers greateſt contentments.

Baſta wiſely appeaſeth his ſoldiers, ready to forſake his ſeruice.

Which mutiny ſo againe appeaſed, the Imperials ſhortly after ſurpriſing a caſtle not farre from Eperia, found therein a great many of Hungarian Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them priſoners, to learne of them what they might concerning the Rebels proceedings, and further deſignes. In the meane time the Haiducks on the other ſide beſieged the caſtle of Sendra, which they after many aſſaults tooke, and put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers therin; and departing thence, firſt rifled and after burnt the towne of Filek. They alſo took the caſtles of Boluar, Setſchin, Dregell, Burac, Holloc, Blaueſtein, and the ſtrong caſtle of Cabra geria, whither they of Hatwan not long before had carried their great ordnance at ſuch time as they for feare of the Turks, then lying at the ſiege of Strigonium, had abandoned the place: all ſtrong holds in the vpper Hungary. After the taking of which places, *Ferentius Radius*, and *Charles Iſtuan* (*Botſcay* his neere kinſman) and the chiefe captains and ring leaders of the rebels, exacted contribution mony of the minerall townes (as they call them) belonging vnto the Emperor in the vpper Hungary; but eſpecially of the city of Newſoll, enforcing them alſo to ſweare to be in all things obedient to *Botſcay*, and to take his part againſt the Imperials, threatning with fire and ſword to infeſt ſuch places as ſhould refuſe to do the like. And to the intent that they ſhould not by *Collonitz* be incouraged or defended, who to that end was comming thither, the Rebels in great number went to meet him, and hauing belaied all the paſſages, enforced him to retire himſelfe vnto his caſtle of Libentſia, where he lying in great danger with his wife then in child-bed, accompanied but with 50 German ſoldiers only, for that he durſt not to truſt his Hungarian Coſſackes, now in heart altogether enclining vnto the Rebels, was glad in poſt to ſend to Vienna, moſt humbly requeſting to haue a new ſupply of German ſoldiers ſent vnto him for his reliefe, and the furtherance of the Emperors ſeruice, in that ſo dangerous a time and wauering eſtate of that country, being the beſt part of that the Emperor then held in Hungary.

Diuers places taken by the Haiduckes.

Collonitz prayeth aid from Vienna.

Now while *Baſta* thus lay with his army at Eperia and in the country thereabout, he dayly receiued great harme from the Haiduckes, who were ſtill houering about him, as Hawkes ouer their prey; his ſouldiers, by neceſſity enforced to fetch in wood, and other things neceſſary into the campe, being ſtill moſt miſerably ſlaine and cut in pieces; yea, they were ſo bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his campe, and to aſſayle the ſoldiers where they lay quartered in their trenches; as amongſt other times, they did in the latter end of December to end the yeare withall: at which time they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copell* and *Pettinger*, two Captaines of Auſtria, with their companies lay, they ſlew the ſaid *Copell*, with almoſt all his ſouldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his tent, *Collonitz* himſelfe being at the ſame time in great danger, and hardly by them beſet alſo; vntill that encouraging his men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captaine and valiant ſouldier, he by true valour enforced them at length to retire backe againe into the woods, from whence they came, hauing in this conflict ſlaine foureteene of them with his owne hand.

Copel and Pettinger ſlaine by the Haiduckes.

About this time was a ſpy taken in the Imperiall campe, one of *Botſcay* his chiefe men, diſcouered by one comming from Caſſouia to Eperia which knew him: who by *Baſta* his commandement apprehended, vnd vpon torture examined, and confeſſing what he had done, was for his good ſeruice hanged and afterward quartered, to the terrour of others attempting the like.

A ſpie taken.

The euill ſucceſſe of Cicala Baſſa againſt the Perſians.

The Turks this yeare were not much fortunat in their warres: *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa and
their Generall againſt the Chriſtians in Hungary hauing in vaine (as is before declared) beſieged G
Strigonium, and with all his forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala*
Baſſa their other Generall againſt the Perſians in the Eaſt being with all his great power by
the Perſian King ouerthrowne and put to flight, and the city of Babylon now called Bagdat taken:
as it was firſt at Prague the two and twentieth of October reported by the Secretary of
the Vayuod of Valachia, ſent thither by an Embaſſador from his Maſter vnto the Emperour,
and afterward confirmed by an Embaſſador ſent from the Perſian King himſelfe vnto the Emperor;
who hauing audience, told his Maieſty, how that the King his Maſter was not ignorant
of the great and difficult warre by him now for many yeares maintained againſt the Turkiſh
Sultan, with whom although he for his part might haue liued in peace & amity, yet that mooued
with the zeale which one Prince ought to haue to the reliefe of another, he had taken vp H
armes againſt him, ſo to auert ſome part of that heauy war from his Maieſty euen vpon himſelfe:
and that he had already obtained many great and notable victories & conqueſts againſt
him: and recouered a great territory, wrongfully before taken from the Perſian Kings his predeceſſors
by the Turkiſh Sultans: and that now he was of nothing more deſirous, than to ioine
in a perpetual league and amity with his Maieſty, that ſo in a moſt ſtrong confederation combined
together, they might neuer afterward be diſſeuered, or euer make peace with the Sultan,
without one anothers knowledge and conſent. And further, That for his part he was minded
neuer to giue ouer the warre ſo happily by him begun, vntill he had driuen him euen into his
Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, ſo that his Maieſty ſhould on his part do the like, by continuing I
of his preſent wars; it being not poſſible for the Turke to hold out againſt them both,
and the only means to abate his greatneſſe, and to aſſure them in their eſtates: requeſting him
withall, to ſend backe with him ſome graue man his Embaſſador, with ſufficient authority and
inſtructions to conferre about theſe matters with him; that ſo knowing and vnderſtanding
one anothers minde, the league and confederation betwixt them might the more eaſily and
commodiouſly be made and concluded.

Neither were the Turks buſied with theſe forreine warres only, againſt theſe ſo great and
mighty Princes, in places ſo remote and farre off, but vnto theſe were ioyned their owne inteſtine
and ciuill warres and troubles alſo; the Rebels being yet vp in the leſſer Aſia, and the
Baſſa's of Aleppo and Damaſco, two of the moſt famous cities in Siria, and both of them men K
of great place and command, of late vp in armes one of them againſt the other: inſomuch, that
they had brought the matter to be tried by the ſword in the plaine field, where the Baſſa of
Aleppo in a great and bloudy battell ouercome, and flying vnto his own city, was by the Baſſa
of Damaſco purſued thither, and ſo ſtreitly by him beſieged with an army of thirty thouſand
men, that in fine he was glad to reconcile himſelfe vnto him, and to make his peace, by
yeelding vnto him whatſoeuer the other Baſſa his enemy pleaſed to demand of him; as being
thereunto driuen by the extremity of famine, which then reigned in the city; as alſo for that
he had loſt a great number of his men, whom he had ſent ſecretly out of the city to ſeeke for
victuals, being all ſlaine by the Baſſa of Damaſco his ſouldiers. With which ſo great matters
the Baſſaes of the Court (who had the mannaging of the State vnder the young Sultan) were L
much troubled, he himſelfe (as was fitteſt for his yeres) in the meane time delighting himſelf
with the pleaſures of the Court, and much reioycing at the birth of his firſt begotten ſon, who
was about that time borne.

Sultan Achmat his firſt ſonne borne.

1605

The reuolution of time had now thus brought this yeare to an end, the troubles of Hungary
and Tranſyluania yet ſtill more and more ſo encreaſing, as if that thoſe moſt miſerable
countries had by the iuſt and heauy iudgements of God beene now appointed vnto their laſt
and vtter ruine and deſtruction: the cauſes of their ſo great miſeries proceeding not ſo much
from the Turks their enemies, as from the naturall inhabitants themſelues; who in minds diuided
both in religion and affection, ſome of them continuing in their allegiance vnto the Emperor,
and otherſome following the Enſignes of the Rebell *Botſcay*, did both vnto themſelues M
and to their country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many yeres before. Of
which ſo dangerous a diſſention, and of the harmes thereof inſuing, *Belioioſa* left by *Baſta* as his
Lieutenant, was reported to haue beene the firſt and chiefe authour: For whereas the yeare

before

A before the Biſhops and other Clergy men, in an aſſembly of them at Poſſonium, had without
the knowledge of the Nobilitie and States of Hungary, publiſhed a Decree by them there
made, for the burning or perpetual baniſhing of all ſuch as were of the Reformed Religion in
Hungary: and that the States of that kingdome vnderſtanding thereof, and ſolemnly proteſting
againſt the ſame, vnder the Seale of the Lord Palatine had publiquely affirmed, with juſt
Arms to defend themſelues, if they ſhould for their Religion be called into queſtion or troubled:
and had again repeated the ſame their proteſtation at Galſet. Yet *Belioioſa* neuertheles
in the meane time by cunning ſeiſing vpon the reformed churches at Caſſovia, would not ſuffer
the Citiſens of the Reformed Religion there, to haue any Sermons in their owne priuat
houſes, or ſo much as to reade on the holy Bible. Neither any whit mooued with the former
B proteſtations of the Nobilitie and States, had taken vnto himſelfe all the lands and goods of
them of their Religion in Caſſovia, not ſuffering them to bury the bodies of their dead within
the city, neere vnto the Monaſteries. And requeſting to haue borrowed of *Botſcay* certaine
thouſands of crownes, and thereof by him denied, cauſed his ſouldiers to ranſacke two of his
Caſtles, and to ſpoyle him of all the wealth and treaſure he therein had. For which indignities
and injuries *Botſcay* inraged, cauſed open proclamation to be made, That hee would giue
vnto euery Haiducke that would ſerue him, four Crownes a moneth pay, with all the booty
that they could get. Whereupon ſix thouſand Haiduckes which then ſerued vnder *Belioioſa*,
forthwith reuolted vnto *Botſcay*, their number increaſing daily. But after that vnto this extraordinary
pay, *Pallas Lippa* his Lieutenant had alſo joined the protection of the Reformed
C Religion, it is wonderfull to ſay, how the Haiducks by heaps reſorted vnto him, and how the
people in all parts of Hungary generally fauoured him and his quarrell; beeing in all places
whereas he came, ready to join hands with him againſt the Imperials. The Turkes and Tartars
alſo, both with men and mony furthering him in all his doings, whoſe help he refuſed not.
Whereof proceeded all the aforeſaid miſeries both in Hungary and Tranſylvania, with many
other worſe than they, which together with the beginning of this year tooke their beginning
and encreaſe alſo. Vnto which ſo great troubles ſtil more and more encreaſing, *Baſta* not able
by force to giue remedy, ſought by lenitie and faire perſuaſions to haue eaſed the ſame: by
Letters oftentimes aduiſing euen *Botſcay* the chiefe Rebell himſelfe, to change his minde, to
lay downe armes, to diſ-band his forces, and to perſuade with the reſt of his ſeditious followers,
D to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Emperour, and to return againe vnto their wonted obedience.
Whereunto he at length anſwered, That if the gouernment of all Tranſylvania might
be left vnto himſelfe alone: If a naturall Hungarian borne might bee ſtill choſen Lieutenant
Generall in Hungary: if none but ſuch as were Hungarians borne, ſhould haue the gouernement
and commaund of all the garriſons in Hungary: if the Wallon and French ſouldiers
might be ſhut out of Hungarie: If the naturall Hungarians borne might from thenceforth
be regarded and prouided of their pay: If it might bee lawfull for euery man to haue the free
exerciſe of his Religion: If the authors of theſe troubles might be deliuered vnto the Hungarians
to be puniſhed: If the Emperour himſelfe in perſon ſhould come and be preſent at the
Parliament at Presbourg: If the Germane garriſon ſouldiers ſhould ſtill keepe themſelues
E within the places wherunto they were appointed, without making of any incurſions into the
towns or villages neer vnto them, or hurting of the poor countrey men; he could then be content
to come to ſuch a good agreement for peace. With which offer he ſent two of the Rebels
his followers vnto *Baſta*; who not liking thereof, returned them backe again without concluding
of any thing.

The cauſes of Botſcay his rebellion.

But while things were thus in talke, ſome of the Haiducks in the meane time, with a number
of Tartars joined vnto them, in ſeeking after booty ſurpriſed Gokara a towne ouer againſt
Strigonium: where hauing ſlain certain Germanes who had the keeping of the place, and rifled
the town, as they were about to haue ſet it on fire, by the comming ouer of the gouernor
of Strigonium with his garriſon, they were inforced to forſake the place, and again to retire.
F This loſſe receiued at Gokara was again by our men requited by the taking of Palantwar, a
good fortreſſe of the Turks, after a long and cruel fight taken by Captain *Bathian* (Commander
of the Imperiall troupes on this ſide the riuer of Danubius) whereinto a number of the
Turks being retyred, were there together with the garriſon ſoldiers all ſlain, and among them
diuers men of great account, who but ſome few daies before were come thither. Which for-

Gokara ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

Palantwar taken by the Imperials.

treſſe the Captain cauſed to be forthwith raſed, becauſe it ſhould no more ſtand the Turks in G
ſtead for the annoying of the Chriſtians.

Vacia ſhamefully betrayed to the Turks.

The Turks about this time had a purpoſe to beſiege Vacia, a city not farre from Vicegrade
on the other ſide of Danubius, a place which ſtill did them great harme, and ſtood the Chriſtians
in great ſtead. The garriſon of which place was part Germans, and part Hungarians, as
the reſt of all the garriſons in the Imperiall towns of Hungary were. Of which the Turks purpoſe
for the ſiege, the trecherous Haiducks there in garriſon hauing got vnderſtanding, conſpired
to deliuer vnto them the place; and yet not ſo contented, to ioyne thereunto a treaſon
more bloudy and treacherous than was the betraying of the towne: for finding themſelues by
far too ſtrong for the Germanes in garriſon in the towne with them, they fell vpon them, fearing
no ſuch matter, and ſlew moſt part of them, the reſt ſauing themſelues by ſpeedy flight
to Strigonium: and ſo afterward, according to their former pretended treaſon, deliuered the H
towne to the Turks, joining with them and the Tartars, and directing them for the more eaſie
ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and the countrey thereabout.

The taking of this City of Vacia had in ſhort time called together great numbers of the
Turks and Tartars out of all places of the Realme; who together with the Haiducks made a
great and puiſſant army, to the terror of the Chriſtians, not then able to hold the field againſt
them, and the encouraging of the Turks, thus holpen euen by the Chriſtians themſelues, to
the deſtroying of one another. With this army they turned from Vacia to Gokara, with a
purpoſe from thence to haue paſſed ouer the Danubius vpon the yce, and to haue ſurpriſed
Strigonium. Which exploit they had once before attempted againſt the baſe towne, being I
then by the Chriſtians repulſed and beaten backe with their great and ſmall ſhot out of the
town, as now they were againe. Howbeit that ſeeing the number of their enemies daily more
and more to increaſe, they in Strigonium ſtood more in doubt of a ſecond ſiege, than they
had done of the firſt; whereof we haue before ſpoken.

The report of theſe ſo great troubles, and of the generall reuolt of the diſcontented Haiducks
in Hungarie, much troubled and grieued the Chriſtian Emperor: Who both in reſpect
of his honour, and of the ſafety of his eſtate, raiſed what power he might out of his prouinces
thereabout, and leuied great ſummes of money from his ſubiects, taking a ducket vpon euery
houſe in Auſtria, being then in great feare of theſe miſeries and miſchiefes ſo faſt ſpreading,
and ſtill more and more increaſing and approaching that way. Vnto whoſe forces already on K
foot, had the aid promiſed from the King of Spaine, the Pope, the Princes of Italy and Germanie,
with ſix thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſe out of Bohemia, bin in time joyned,
they might haue made a ſufficient army vnder the conduct of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant,
to haue repreſſed both the attempts of the enemy, and the inſolencie of the rebellious
Haiduckes. All or moſt part of which aid this yeare failing, and *Baſta* with his ſmall forces
much weakened with wants and the extremitie of Winter, and not able to keep the field, the
enemies ſtill increaſing both in number and in ſtrength, and without feare of any to encounter
them, at their pleaſure roaming vp and downe, began now to draw neere vnto Vicegrade (a
good and ſtrong towne of Hungarie ſtanding vpon the ſide of Danubius, about the mid way
betwixt Buda & Strigonium) with a purpoſe to haue beſieged the ſame. Of whoſe comming L
the Germans there in garriſon hearing, and warned by the trechery of the Haiducks of Vacia,
what to feare from the Haiducks in garriſon with them in Vicegrade, betime retyred themſelues
out of the towne into the Caſtle. In which doing they were well aduiſed, being otherwiſe
like enough to haue run the ſame fortune that the Germanes their fellowes before had
done at Vacia. For the Turks with the rebellious Haiducks were no ſooner come thither, but
that the Haiducks in the towne, without more ado, opened the gates of the towne vnto them,
as vnto their friends, directing them in beſt ſort they could both for the beſieging and winning
of the caſtle. Which while the Turks hardly beſieged, and the Germans therein notably
defended, *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa, together with *Begedes Baſſa*, to perſuade them to yeeld vp
the Caſtle, writ vnto them in this ſort. M

Vicegrade yeelded vnto the Turks.

*Right worthy and valiant friends, it is not to you vnknowne, the Caſtle of Vicegrade of right to
belong vnto our moſt mighty and dread Soueraigne, the great Sultan. And therefore ſeeing that it is
reaſon that euery man ſhould haue that which of right belongeth vnto him; Wee aduertiſe and re-*

A *queſt you to yeeld vp the ſame Caſtle vnto our moſt mighty Emperour, and the honorable Lord* Stephen Botſcay, *Prince of Hungary; and with all your ſubſtance to depart thence. Promiſing you vpon our faith and honor, to ſuffer you quietly and in ſafety, with your wiues and children, bag and baggage, to depart thence, and to prouide you ſufficient ſhipping for the carrying away of your things to Strigonium. And if it ſhall pleaſe you to take part with vs, we promiſe you the ſame pay from our Emperor, that you had from your owne; and the ſame kind entertainment which the Wallons haue before had with vs. But if that you vpon an obſtinat reſolution ſhall refuſe this our friendly motion and grace offered vnto you, blame vs not if we ſhall by ſtrong hand and force of arms ſeek to obtaine our right. In kindneſſe we offer you our friendſhip, and ſo with ſpeed expect your anſwer.*

B But the Germanes hearkning not vnto theſe letters, as men reſolued, valiantly ſtood vpon the defence of themſelues, and of the place, vntill that by extream neceſſity forced thereunto, they yeelded the ſame by compoſition.

Baſta in the mean time with his forces much diminiſhed lying at Eperia, and in the country thereabout, ſeeing the general reuolt of the Haiducks, of late the Emperors chief ſtrength in Hungary, and *Botſcay* the Rebels ſtrength daily to increaſe more and more, with no poſſibilitie for himſelfe with ſo ſmall forces as he then had, to repreſſe the Rebels inſolencie, or to remedie theſe ſo far ſpreading euils, but for want of greater ſtrength he muſt lie ſtil as it were a man beſieged; was therwith exceedingly grieued, and as it were almoſt ouerwhelmed with C the heauy burthen of ſo many great miſeries at once beſetting him. To threaten without power he knew to be but folly; and to ſpeake faire, to be but vaine. Neuertheleſſe hauing procured from the Emperour a generall pardon for all ſuch as hauing taken part with the Rebels, were willing to return again to their allegiance: hee to aſſure all them whom it might concern, of the Emperours gratious fauour, and to put them all out of feare, caused Letters of generall pardon to be publiſhed, for all men to take knowledge of: The purport whereof was this:

We George Baſta, *County of Huſt and Marmar, Lord of Sult, Knight, Counſellor to his Imperiall Maieſty, Gouernor of the realm of Tranſylvania, and Lieutenant of the Chriſtian Armies of the* D *Emperour; To all Faithfull, loue and greeting. Whereas in this ſo troubleſome a ſtate of things, ſome as well of the Nobilitie as others in theſe vpper parts of Hungary, partly of their owne accord, and partly for fear, haue reuolted from his Imperiall Maieſty, and taken part with the traiterous Haiduckes in their rebellion, to the great preiudice of the Emperor his ſeruice, and the ſtaining of their faith: We in the name of his Imperiall and royall Maieſty, whom we know to be greatly inclined, and ready to pardon his ſubiects euen of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemencie, haue by vertue of the full power and authoritie by his ſaid Imperiall Maieſty granted vnto vs, giuen free grace and pardon to all them which haue withdrawn themſelues from his obeiſance, or forſaken the ſame, of what order, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they bee: whom we will receiue into our protection as void of all crime: and requeſt them, as much as in vs is poſſible, to make their profit of this grace, and to returne vnto their former duty and obeiſance, vnder all aſ-* E *ſurance of impunitie for their forepaſſed faults, and without any ſearch or inquiry to be of the ſame hereafter made, as well for matters of Religion as of State: aſſuring them of their liues, goods, fortunes, dignities, franchiſes, priuiledges, and immunities whatſoeuer; as is more at large declared by his Maieſties Letters patents which remain with vs. And if any letted either with their vrgent affairs, or with ſicknes, canot repair vnto vs within the day in the ſame Letters patents nominated, we will accept of their iuſt excuſes. But if any contrary to our hope, ſhall vpon any indurat mind, or obſtinat contumacie, faile to repent, and to make their appearance before vs within the day limited, we denounce them to be Rebels, ſubiect vnto the pain of Rebellion, and ſtained with the note of infamy; pronouncing their liues, their goods and dignities to be confiſcat and deuolued vnto the Emperors coffers: for which they ſhall by vs, the Chieftains and Captaines of his armies, with all rigor and extremitie be proſecuted. Proteſting before* F *the Maieſtie of God, before the Maieſtie of the Emperor, and before all Chriſtendome, we not to be in any ſort culpable of the euills, calamities, and miſeries, which ſhall enſue of the wars and diſaſters which ſuch their rebellion ſhall cauſe; but to be therefrom exempt and acquitted, the only authors of theſe diſorders hauing deſerued theſe imprecations and calamities: vpon the heads of whom we iuſtly ſhall henceforth lay*

Baſta's proclamation for appeaſing the rebellion in Hungary.

them, as vpon the miſerable authors thereof; by their wickedneſſe hauing refuſed ſo great grace from the Emperor and vs, vnto all men made known by theſe preſents.

This proclamation ſolemnly by *Baſta* publiſhed, with the ſound of many drums and trumpets, the ſixteenth of Ianuary, and ten daies libertie giuen for ſuch as would to come in and again ſubmit themſelues; diuers gentlemen of the country neer vnto Eperia, where *Baſta* with his army lay, for fear of being ſpoiled came in, and accepted of the grace offered: other of the Seditious dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the ſame. Inſomuch that the Rebels in number daily increaſing, and the rebellion farther and farther ſpreading, *Botſcay* was was now grown ſo ſtrong, that he diſmiſſed from him moſt part of the Turkes, whoſe ſeruice he had in all theſe troubles hitherto vſed, reſeruing yet certain Ianizaries, whom he mingled with the garriſon of Haiducks which he had put into Caſſouia.

Pallas Lippa beheaded.

Pallas Lippa, before by *Botſcay* taken priſoner, and vpon his reuolt from the Emperour, by *Botſcay* made his Lieutenant General, and a great man amongſt the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a moſt fortunat and happy man. But in the middeſt of ſuch his happineſſe, and the greatnes of his command, he was by the malice of ſome, enuying at his eſtate, accuſed to *Botſcay*, as if he had had a purpoſe to haue made him away; and deliuering the ſtrong city of Caſſouia vnto *Baſta*, to haue gon ouer again vnto the Emperour, and to haue followed his Enſignes. Vpon which ſuſpition he was by *Botſcay's* commandement beheaded; with fiue other men more of good place, ſuſpected to haue bin partakers in the conſpiracie with *Lippa*. In whoſe treaſure, after he was executed, was found an hundred thouſand Hungarian ducats, with ſeuen hundred chains of gold; all which he had ſcraped together in that ſhort time wherin he had bin *Botſcay's* Lieutenant amongſt the rebels. With which money *Botſcay* in his rebellion confirmed, became more furious and obſtinat than before; not admitting any talk with *Baſta* concerning peace, but vpon ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as beſt ſtood with his own good liking.

Now long and tedious it were to proſecute euery particular exploit, with the diuers woful euents thereof during this ſo great and dangerous a rebellion in Hungary; which how heauy ſoeuer they were for the poore Chriſtians there dwelling to endure, as tending all to the ruin and deſtruction both of themſelues and of their countrey (ſometime one of the moſt flouriſhing kingdomes thorowout all Chriſtendome, but now become as it were a large Theatre for all the World to behold moſt wofull tragedies and bloudy maſſacres acted in) yet for all that, vnto ſome nothing is pleaſing, but what is written of the greateſt actions; as of great and bloudy battels, of the conqueſts of whole Kingdomes, and the ruine of moſt mighty and famous Princes; all other things elſe beeing vnto them tedious. In ſome part to eaſe them of ſuch wearineſſe, and to pleaſe their appetites, I will briefly paſſe ouer, and euen lightly touch ſuch things as for the moſt part of this year paſſed in this troubleſome Countrey; not ſtaying but vpon matters of greateſt weight and importance.

Sacmar yeelds to the Haiduks

The Haiduckes ſtill proceeding in their rebellion, in the beginning of February beſieged the caſtle of Sacmar, a place very fit for their purpoſe. Which Caſtle the ſouldiers there in garriſon doubting to be able to hold againſt them, being not paſt threeſcore ſound men left in it, and deſtitute alſo of their neceſſarie prouiſion, couenanting to haue their liues ſpared, at length yeelded vnto them. But in going thence, meeting with certaine other companies of Haiducks neer vnto Tokay, they were by them moſt part of them ſlaine, ſome few of them by ſpeedy flight eſcaping. The ſame Haiducks which had taken Sacmar, immediatly after attempted to haue ſurpriſed the town and caſtle of Tocay alſo: but the Gouernor of the place in good time aduertiſed of their intent and purpoſe, cauſed the ice wherewith the Riuer was hard frozen, to be broken forty paces ouer neer vnto the caſtle, and the ſame to be lightly couered ouer with ſtraw. Whither the Haiducks comming by night, and finding the ice on the other ſide the riuer, whereunto they firſt came, ſtrong enough to beare them; by heapes thruſting one another forward to haue ſcaled the caſtle, the ice breaking vnder them, they there together by heapes moſt miſerably periſhed; many of the reſt which eſcaped that danger, being with ſhot out of the caſtle ſlain alſo. In this caſtle was no great ſtore of victuals: wherof *Baſta* vnderſtanding, with his army marched from Eperia toward Budac, a town holden by the

A Rebels, in hope with the ſpoile thereof to haue relieued Tokay. But the Rebels hearing of his comming, hauing themſelues burnt the town, had got themſelues with that they had, into the Caſtle, and from thence with their great Ordnance ſo welcomed *Baſta* at his comming, that diſappointed of his purpoſe, and hauing loſt ſome of his men, hee was glad with all ſpeed (not hauing ſtayed aboue foure houres) to returne againe to Eperia: certain of the nobility of that country, which tooke part with the Rebels, being reported, in his abſence to haue made a road towards Eperia, to the endangering of that City. In which his returne towards Eperia, the troups of County *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting vpon 500 Haiducks in a countrey village, ſet the ſame on fire, and therein burnt moſt of the ſaid Rebels, and ſlew the reſt of them that remained, in ſeeking by flight to haue ſaued themſelues.

B In the mean time one of the great men among the Turks came to Caſſouia, bringing with him a great ſum of money, which being diuided amongſt the Rebels there, much confirmed them, both in their rebellion, and deuotion toward the Turks; which rebellion they ſpared not for any coſt by all meanes to maintaine, as more preuailing thereby, than by the greateſt forces they could vſe for the conquering of Hungary.

Baſta his ſouldiers in mutiny

But *Baſta* was no ſooner with his army returned againe to Eperia, but that the ſouldiers generally exclaiming, and calling vpon him for their pay, were about in a mutinie to haue forſaken him; for the appeaſing of which tumult, he was glad preſently to make what ſhift he could for money, wherewith hee in ſome meaſure gaue them contentment, and ſo with much ado, agreed with them for ſix weeks ſeruice longer, thereby deliuering the citiſens of Eperia from C a great feare, wherein they were, for being ſpoyled by thoſe mutinous ſoldiers, of whom they ſtood in no leſſe doubt than they did of their enemies.

And now the ſeditious Haiducks after their wonted manner ſtill roaming vp and down the vpper part of Hungarie, the ſecond day of March, about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning came to Neuſoll, a Faire in that countrey, and there by many reaſons peiſuading the citiſens to reuolt, and to take part with them, had parley with them till it was full twelue of the clock; but drawing ſtil neerer and neerer to the town. Inſomuch that *Turbelius* gouernor of the place, perceiuing a yeelding inclination in the citiſens, and doubting without their help to be able to defend ſo great a city againſt the Haiducks, with ſo weak a garriſon as he then had therein, he with his Coſſacks, for his more ſafety retyred himſelf into the caſtle. Which don, the Hai- D ducks forthwith breaking into the City with ſix companies, ſummoned the caſtle, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto them. Of whom *Turbelius* ſlew diuers with ſhot out of the caſtle: and the ſame day in the euening couragiouſly ſallying out of the caſtle, with certaine companies of Harquebuſiers, draue the Haiducks againe out of the city: which he afterward better fortified againſt their like attempts. And the next day vnderſtanding by a countreyman, That certain companies of Haiducks and Turks together, were comming to Turtzo, a town not far off, carrying with them a great number of cattel, women and children, which they had got out of the country villages and towns therabout: he preſently ſent forth his lieutenant againſt them, with his Coſſacks (a deſperat kind of horſmen) who meeting with theſe Haiducks and Turks, ſlew of them about 150, and recouered from them all the captiues, the cattell, with 200 hor- E ſes, and a mule loaded with 4000 Hungarian duckats.

Filek yeelded to the Haiducks

Now had Filek (a moſt beautiful caſtle, and as it were the key of that part of the vpper Hungary, which the Chriſtian Emperor yet held againſt the Turks) for certain months bin hardly beſieged by the Haiducks: which although it was ſo well ſtored with victuals, and other neceſſary prouiſion, as that it might haue holden out three months longer ſiege, yet the ſoldiers there in garriſon for want of water were enforced now at length to yeeld the ſame. For the keeping of which caſtle *Redeius Ferenſius*, captain of the Haiducks which had won it, placed therein a garriſon, part Haiducks, part Turks: as not daring to truſt either of them alone; the Haiducks for feare of their trecherie; nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be deſirous of the place, for the commodious ſcituation thereof, as giuing them a way to enter farther into F the territories of the Chriſtians: which *Redeius*, though a Rebell, would not yet in any ſort grant them.

This Caſtle of Filek ſo (as is beforeſaid) beſieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in vain ſought to haue relieued, all the waies being ſo beſet and as it were fortified with infinite numbers of the Turks, Tartars, and Rebels, as that there was no comming vnto it, and moſt of his own ſoldiers being Haiducks alſo, to whom he durſt not wel truſt, for fear of being betrayed by them. Concerning which matters he ſhortly after writing to a certaine nobleman, after he had ſhewed vnto him, That he deſired nothing more of the Emperor than to be diſcharged of his ſeruice, he thus breaketh forth:

A letter of Colonitz touching the troubls in Hungary.

I cannot (ſaith he) performe any more faithfull ſeruice unto the Emperor: for being attended vpon by very traitors, I am inforced to haſard euen myne honeſt reputation. I would willingly ſerue with German horſmen, and I could alſo wiſh three thouſand Coſſacks, and two thouſand Polonian Huſſars to bee again raiſed, who would do notable ſeruice in purſuing the enemy: but euery moneth they muſt needs haue their wages payd them. The number of the enemy increaſeth daily, and their ſtrength ſtill more and more; ſo that things canot be in worſe ſtate than now they are. All deuices are directed to the hurt of the Emperor, neither is there any place quiet. What courage I am of, which haue loſt all my wealth and ſubſtance, is eaſie for any man to iudge: all which for all that, I could conceal and diſſemble, ſo that I might faithfully and according to my deſire ſerue the Emperor; which for all that is not poſsible for me to do, without a ſufficient ſtrength of German ſoldiers. But this of all doth moſt comfort me, that I know I haue done my duty, for otherwiſe this miſchiefe had ſpred farther. Many were in hope I would rather haue reuolted from the Emperor, than haue loſt my goods: and ſome there were which doubted not to ſay ſo of me. The enemies are now in my dukedom of Cleve, and there make ſpoil of all. Setchin, Iarmeta, Tregla, Palanka, Samoſchin, Blavenſtein, Ravenſtein, Vacia, Regiomont, Dillena, Pugantſa, Tabra, Libetna, Sitna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Diſgiora, Zatnar, Calo, Scharoſpotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, and almoſt all Tranſiluania are now ſubiect to the rebels. So that what will enſue therof, except they ſpeedily be confronted, euery man may right eaſily iudge.

Now if *Collonitz*, one of the greateſt and beſt commanders of the Emperors forces againſt the Turks in Hungary, was thus beſet and ſpoiled of his ſubſtance by the rebels, as he in theſe his letters complaineth, and as indeed he was, hauing at one time receiued ſo great harm from them as was valued to an hundred thouſand ducats; and not daring to truſt his owne Hungarian ſoldiers, whoſe hearts he knew to be with the rebels: In what ſtate may the reſt of the people of that diſtreſſed prouince be thought to haue bin, being at the ſame time expoſed to the ſame rebels as a prey and ſpoil, and their country laid open for the Turkes and Tartars to forrage at their pleaſure.

But in briefe to run along with the Haiducks: four thouſand of them attempting to haue ſurpriſed Wiglaſe, were ſo from thence repulſed, as that many of them being there ſlain, thirtie fiue wagons were ſcarſe ſufficient to carry the reſt of the wounded ouer the mountaines, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence they brake into *Turſons* country, where hauing rifled all the towns and villages, they commanded all the States of the country, within three daies after to ſubmit themſelues to *Botſcay*, & to ſwear vnto him fealty; or otherwiſe to expect all extremities: who with fear diſmaied, promiſed to ſubmit themſelues vnto *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant.

Embaſſadours ſent to Botſcay

Now for remedie of theſe euils, *Napragius* and *Forgatius*, two graue Counſellors, were diſpatched in the Emperours name to entreat of peace with *Botſcay*. Who the ſeuen and twentieth day of March departing from Eperia, with fourſcore harquebuſiers towards Caſſovia; before they came thither ſent before them an herauld to aduertiſe *Botſcay* of their comming. Which meſſenger ſo ſoon as he was come into Caſſovia, the Turks ſo ſtreightly kept, as that no man might ſpeake with him but *Botſcay* himſelfe, and not he alſo, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the Turkes. Who at his firſt meeting with him told him, That if the Embaſſadors from whom he came were ſent from the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, they ſhould be right welcome vnto him, and haue audience: but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatſius* and *Ciaccius* before them, ſent from *Botſcay*, they ſhould then ſpare their labours and come no farther, for that all matters had with him beene often enough talked vpon: it being now more than time, that things ſo often conſulted vpon, ſhould bee no more

talked

A talked of, but indeed performed. Which meſſenger returning vnto the Embaſſadours, told them what *Botſcay* had ſaid, and that the Haiducks had in Caſſouia built a bulwarke of a wonderfull height, beſet the gates with ſtrong gards, and ſo filled the trenches with ſouldiers, that a man could hardly enter into the City; howbeit that euery man might ſafely come and goe thither about his trade and buſines. He told them alſo, That *Botſcayes* lieutenant had called together all the gouernors of the places therabouts, and aduiſed them for the ſpace of fourteen daies to beware of the excurſions of the Haiducks; and in the mean time for their more ſafety, to bring their wiues and children, with ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, into the city; for that he could not as yet (as he ſaid) repreſſe the vnruly and headſtrong Haiducks, being yet in their rage and fury, as the maner of the diſcontented multitude is. Of the B which Haiducks, ſome going forth toward Neuhuſe, and bringing home a great booty of cattel, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmanſtorf*, purſuing them with their horſmen, ouerthrowne, and all the booty again recouered.

Botſcay about this time, *viz.* the 29 of March, ſummoned all the Nobilitie and States of Hungary, vnto an aſſembly to be holden at Serentium the 17 day of Aprill; writing to them to this effect:

Botſca's letters to the States of Hungary.

You know (ſaid hee) *right worthy and valiant men, into what extreame miſeries our poore afflicted Country (all the antient priuiledges and immunities therof being contemned and trodden vnder foot) is by this comming in of ſtrangers brought: whoſe inſolencie is grown ſo far, that we cannot only not quietly* C *poſſeſſe our own goods, but ſo much as enioy the liberty of our own conſciences. For which cauſe the Nobilitie of the whole kingdom being the laſt year ſent in embaſſy, and as it were foreſeeing what was to come; the aſſembly of the Empire being ended, openly proteſted before the whole Imperial Dyet, and by their letters oftentimes declared, That they ſhould at length be of neceſſitie inforced to take vpon themſelues the defence of their priuiledges and of their religion. By which their proteſtation for all that, they ſo little preuailed, that forthwith after, ſuch an intollerable Edict was by the Emperors owne commandement publiſhed, as had expoſed vs all and euery one of vs vnto moſt certain death, had we not prouided for our ſelues betime. All which things are vnto you all moſt certainly known, both by the vnlawfull acts themſelues, and the whole proceeding of the Prouoſt generall. All which things conſidered, you met together at Galeſt, and from thence again openly ſignified vnto the aforeſaid Prouoſt General (vnto whom his Im-* D *periall Maieſtie had committed the ſhedding of our bloud, the aboliſhing of our priuiledges and religion, viz. the execution of this cruell Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that buſines, you would put in execution what you had before openly proteſted in the generall Aſſembly of the whole Empire at Preſburg. But what anſwer you receiued from him, forasmuch as it is not vnto any of you vnknowne, it is not needfull here to rehearſe. Wherfore when as he going about the execution of the aforeſaid Edict, did in forcible maner with certain pieces of great ordnance impugn the army of his Imperiall Maieſty, both his and our dread Lord and Soueraign, and by force took from vs ſome of our caſtles, and beſieged ſome other; we found no other remedie againſt theſe ſo great euills, but that which God himſelfe euen then ſhewed to vs, which was, by force of arms to defend our ſelues ſo far as we might. In which our purpoſe, ſeeing the grace of God, and the good ſucceſſe which we haue hitherto had, will vs to continue, although we haue ſuf-* E *fered no little harm from the Germans and Haiducks (which for all that, is for the recouery of the libertie of our countrey patiently to be born) to the intent that we vnited with other our brethren thorow Hungary, may the better withſtand our enemies, and fight againſt them, it is moſt neceſſarie we ſhould meet together, and all matters ſet apart, enter into conſultation how herafter to reſiſt our enemies, and ſet our Country in peace and quietneſſe. Wherfore ſeeing that we haue determined to hold an aſſembly at Serents, the ſeuenteenth day of Aprill, wee by theſe Preſents doe warne and charge you all, there at the aforeſayd 17 day of Aprill to make your perſonall appearance, to ioyn in amitie with vs, and after Gods name called vpon, to conſult and conclude vpon ſuch things as may be both acceptable and pleaſing vnto God, and moſt profitable and neceſſarie for the good of our afflicted country in generall. But if there ſhall be any which vpon a preſumptuous and careleſſe contempt, ſhall not at the time appointed come, nor ſeem to regard ſuch* F *things as ſo much concern the Common good and welfare of their natiue Countrey; let them aſſuredly know, both themſelues to be therfore to be accounted for enemies vnto their country, and their goods alſo ſo to be diſpoſed of, as ſhall vnto the Nobilitie and States then and there aſſembled, be thought meet and conuenient.*

A great tumult and fire in Conſtantinople.

Much about this time a great tumult was raiſed amongſt the Ianizaries and other ſoldiers of the court at Conſtantinople, at which time a great fire aroſe alſo in the city (as oft times the like hath before done through the Ianizaries inſolencie, who in ſuch confuſion of mens minds uſe to make their own gains) wherein many both men and women periſhed, with aboue fiue hundred ſhops and ware-houſes full of rich merchandiſe, moſt part whereof belonged to the Iews, of whom almoſt two hundred are ſaid to be there burnt. The deformitie and ſpoile made by which fire in the city remaining long after to be ſeen. Theſe troubles much feared the yong Sultan, who firſt therewith halfe diſmaied, and ſeeing the like to ariſe in Pera alſo on the other ſide of the hauen, about a mile from the Seraglio, could not but thinke that the ſoldiers were about ſome dangerous treaſon. Which ſuſpition two meſſengers newly come from *Cicala Baſſa* encreaſed, who earneſtly by them deſired new ſupplies to be forthwith ſent vnto him, proteſting, That foraſmuch as he had not long before in a great battel loſt a number of his men, if he were not with new ſupplies ſpeedily relieued, he muſt of force retyre, and leaue all to the Perſian. Howbeit the fire quenched, and the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers with the ſpoil they had gotten by others loſſes ſatisfied, the tumult was without much adoe again quieted.

The Emperours ſoldiers in mutinie.

Now beſides the aforeſaid troubles from the rebels in Tranſylvania and the vpper Hungary, that nothing might be wanting vnto the miſeries of thoſe ſo miſerable countries, the Emperours ſouldiers which ſerued vnder *Baſta*, hauing of long from day to day in vain expected their pay, and ſeeing neither their pay nor other reliefe to come vnto them, roſe vp in mutiny, and ſo in great rage brake into *Baſta* the Generals lodging, where hauing heaped vpon him many vnworthy and deſpightfull reproches, with their pieces bent againſt him, and taking the ſpoil of many cariages loden with very rich commodities, they departed from him, and ſo marching thorow the country toward Presburg, by the way vſed ſuch inſolencie and cruelty, by rifling and ſpoiling whatſoeuer came to hand, as that they ſeemed vnto the people as they went, worſe and more inhumane than the very Turks and Tartars themſelues: where amongſt other prey by them taken, which was very great, they carried away with them toward Presburg aboue ten thouſand oxen and two thouſand horſes; threatning as they went, to burn the ſuburbs of the city ſo ſoone as they came thither, if they were not forthwith paid their pay. Whereupon many of the Citiſens for feare forſooke their dwellings and remooued vnto Vienna.

Newſoll taken by the Haiduks.

But the rebels on the other ſide (as is before declared) hauing in vaine attempted Newſol, being forthwith driuen out of it again; aſſembling themſelues in great number came now again and beſieged it, and the 16 of April took it, to the great and incomparable loſſe of the citiſens. Others of their fellowes in other places hauing but the day before taken Cibinium, Portfeld, Schemnitſe, with ſome other places alſo.

Thus while the Haiducks at their pleaſure on the one ſide ſpoil the vpper part of Hungary, and the Emperors ſoldiers on the other ſide for want of pay doe therein no leſſe harme than they, as enemies rifling and ranſacking euery corner of the Countrey as they went; the poore husbandmen dwelling here and there, diſperſed abroad in the country, for feare leauing their homely dwellings with ſuch things as they had, fled ſome of them into Polonia, other ſome into the mountains, where many of them periſhed with hunger: the poor husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his land, neither the ſhepheard to feed his flock, all places beeing filled with miſerie, mourning, and heauineſſe; the Turkes and Tartars, the common enemies of the Chriſtians, beeing not the cauſers thereof, but euen the Chriſtians themſelues, one of them euen with greedineſſe ſeeking the ruine and deſtruction of another: as it commonly happens in kingdoms and ſtates diuided.

Neither did theſe ſo great troubles, the ground of ſo many miſeries, containe themſelues within the bounds of Hungary only, but brake out into other countries and prouinces thereunto adjoining alſo; but eſpecially into Moravia, into which Countrey the Haiduckes breaking, miſerably ſpoyled the ſame, by force took certaine townes, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them euen the very little children, taken from their heauy parents, to be ſold afterwards vnto the Turks: a miſerable kinde of merchandiſe, and of all Chriſtians to

A he deteſted. For remedy of which miſchiefs, by ſufferance ſtil more and more increaſing, *Lichtenſtein* gouernor of the country hauing raiſed all the power he was able to make, went againſt them, and with much ado draue them out of the Countrey, with fire and ſword now by them moſt grieuouſly ſpoyled. They for all that carrying away with them a great part of the wealth of that Country, with foure thouſand captiues, all by them appointed vnto the Turks ſlauery.

About this time alſo *Baſta* lying at Presbourg, and vnderſtanding that fourteen thouſand Turks and Tartars being come to S. *Georges*, ſix thouſand of them were gone ouer the Danubius, about a mile beneath Presburg, to the end that whilſt they were making a rode into Auſtria, the reſt in the mean time might proue their forces vpon Presburg; with his horſemen B followed after them himſelf, to cut off ſuch ſtragling companies of them as otherwiſe might haue don great harm abroad in the country: leauing behind him in Presburg but three hundred Wallon horſmen, with certain companies of footmen for the keeping of the city: which three hundred horſmen being very good and expert ſoldiers, and deſirous to be doing ſomething, by night made a road out of the city toward S. *Georges*, where the reſt of the Haiducks and Turkes in great ſecuritie lay: vpon whom theſe reſolute men vpon the ſudden falling, brought a great fear vpon the whole camp; and hauing ſlain of them aboue fiue hundred before the reſt could arm themſelues, returned with a great victory, though but with ſmal prey, carrying with them ſome few horſes of ſeruice to Presburg: where by that they had done, it was reaſonably thought, that had they bin but a thouſand ſtrong, they had diſcomfited the C enemies whole camp.

In the mean time they of the gariſon of Comora vnderſtanding that *Begedes Baſſa* was determined with a notable conuoy to go from Buda with ſeuenteen wagons loded with money and other things of great value, to *Botſcay* the Rebel, and the Tartar Cham his ſon, who with certain thouſands of Tartars was come to Solnoc, to the aid of *Botſcay* and the rebels: they in hope of ſo great a booty lay in wait for him vpon the way whereby he muſt needs paſſe, and at his comming ſet vpon him and ſlew a number of his men; amongſt whom it fortuned the Baſſa himſelf to be ſlain, ſhot in the breſt with a ſmal ſhot whileſt hee was mounting vp his horſe: whoſe dead body the Turkes about him hauing taken vp, and therewith about to flie, were there ſome of them ſlaine, and ſome of them taken priſoners, the reſt by ſpeedy flight eD ſcaping. Here were alſo all the aforeſaid wagons taken, with an exceeding rich bootie. All which the garriſon ſoldiers, well worthy therof, carried away with them to Comora, together with the Baſſa's head, ſtruck from his body with his own ſcimiter: which ſcimiter, with the Baſſa's rich coat, *Pogranus* Gouernor of Comora afterward ſent as a preſent to the Emperour at Prague. This Baſſa whilſt he liued was a moſt crafty and ſubtil man, the chiefe plotter and author of all the late troubles in Hungary, hauing before put all Tranſylvania into moſt dangerous ſtirs and tumults, and greatly confirmed *Botſcay* in his rebellion. He ſpake the Hungarian language naturally, and was therin very eloquent, which ſerued him to great purpoſe both for the raiſing and maintaining of the rebellion both in Tranſilvania and in Hungary. Which ſo dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in good hope of ſome good end to bee E made of theſe ciuil wars, more dangerous vnto the ſtate of both theſe afflicted countries, than were the great and puiſſant armies of the Turks, which were almoſt euery year in the heart of one or other of them to be ſeen.

Begedes Baſſa ſlain.

Now was the rebellion grown ſo great in Hungary, and the rebels ſo ſtrong, that euen the very name of the Germans was become vnto the Hungarians both odious and contemptible: inſomuch that *Baſta* offering to haue put new ſupplies of German ſouldiers into the City of Tyrna, then in danger of the Haiducks, the Gouernours of the place not onely refuſed to receiue them, but alſo to let them haue any thing of them for their ready money; ſaying, That they had citiſens ynow in the city to defend the ſame againſt their enemies, and that therfore as they needed not the helpe of the Germanes, ſo they would haue nothing to do with them. F And yet as ſoon as *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his lieutenant, was with his army come thither, they without more ado opened vnto him the gates of the city, and receiuing him in, were about to haue ſlain all the Germans there dwelling amongſt them, being wel neere a third part of the inhabitants; & had ſo done, but that ſome wiſer than the reſt, conſidering that the Germans hauing

there long dwelt, were by often mariages joined in affinitie with the Hungarians, and the
Hungarians with them, otherwiſe perſuaded them, leſt in ſo doing they might ſeeme to bee G
cruell againſt their owne bloud. And ſo the matter being referred to *Redeius* himſelfe, it was
by him (by the counſel of one of the greateſt men of the Turks) ordered, That the Germans
ſhould be ſpared their liues; ſo that from thenceforth they ſhould no more vſe the Germane,
but the Hungarian apparel and attyre; only the German attyre being taken away for the Germans
themſelues.

The Rebels proceedings in Hungary.

But to proceed with theſe troubles according to the courſe of the time and of the yeare, about
the foure and twentieth day of May, the Turks and Tartars joyning their forces with the
Rebels, burnt fourteen countrey Villages about the lake of Neuiſdier, and as many more in
other places alſo towards Newſtat; leauing behinde them moſt lamentable remembrances H
and teſtimonies of their barbarous and inhumane crueltie, hauing put moſt of the women and
children to the ſword, and impaled diuers vpon ſtakes, carrying the men away with them as
Captiues, and the beaſts and cattell as a prey; and ſo leauing the country as they went almoſt
deſolate, ſcarſe any being therein left to bewail the miſeries thereof. And about the end of
this ſame moneth the Rebels ſurpriſed Simega, Grotta, and Coppernacum, and a little while
after Gintium: all which places they rifled and ſpoiled, as they did alſo Hogengoa, a great
towne of the Lord *Lichtenſteins*; and Niderſprunga a towne of *Collonitzes*, which they first rifled,
and afterwards burnt: and with the terrour of this their dealing enforced all the Countrey
thereabout both farre and neere to yeeld vnto them: onely Altſoll and Cremnicz, who
continued in their loyaltie, and ſtanding faſt for the Emperour, did the Rebels very much I
harme.

About the beginning of Iune, certaine companies of Turks and Haiducks mingled together,
came againe as they had before done, to Presburg. Of whoſe comming the Gouernour
of the City hauing aduertiſement, with three troupes of Wallon horſemen, and certain companies
of harquebuſiers, breaking out of the city, cauſed them forthwith to retyre. Which
the Wallon horſemen ſeeing, to preuent them in their retreit, fetching a compaſſe about, met
with them when they thought themſelues paſt al danger, and falling vpon them, ſlew of them
fiue hundred, and draue the reſt into Danubius: ſo that of all thoſe Turks and Haiducks none
eſcaped but only fourteen, amongſt whom three Turks and one fugitiue Citiſen of Presburg
were found, whom together with a great ſpoil the garriſon ſoldiers carried backe with them K
into the city.

At the ſelfe ſame time the Citiſens of Veſprinium fauouring the proceedings of the Haiducks,
roſe themſelues in rebellion alſo, and taking the Captaine of the Caſtle, together with
his Lieutenant and the keyes of the Caſtle, cauſed them to be carried to *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his
Lieutenant; yeelding themſelues into his protection. Of which reuolt of the city the Turks
tooke exceeding pleaſure, and forthwith ſent newes thereof vnto the Sultan, wiſhing him to
haſt the comming of his Army; for that the paſſages were now layd open vnto his further
conqueſts. And further aduiſing him, ſtill more and more to encourage *Botſcay* in his rebellion.

And now was Hungary too little, or elſe too bare, to contain and ſatisfie the ſtil increaſing L
Rebels, who in great number breaking into Stiria (as they had before done on the other ſide
of Hungary into Moravia) did therin great harm, waſting and ſpoiling al before them as they
went: inſomuch that County *Serin*, the lord *Nadaſti*, and *Budian*, all right worthy men, & ſuch
as hertofore had don great things againſt the Turks, for the Chriſtian commonweale, ſeeing
themſelues and all that they had in danger to be ſpoiled, being not able to withſtand the Rebels,
nor hauing any other ſtay wheron to reſt, ſubmitted themſelues vnto *Botſcay*, as did many
other noblemen of that country alſo. Out of Stiria the rebels made head into Auſtria, and
there roming vp and down the country, did like harm.

Thus was the ſtate of Auſtria and Hungary at this time moſt miſerable: which for that it
is ſo wel ſet down in certain letters by a graue and vnderſtanding citiſen of Vienna, who was M
himſelfe an eyewitneſſe of moſt part therof, as that it cannot well be better expreſſed, I haue
thought it good to refer the report therof vnto the letters themſelues.

A letter ſhewing the miſerable troubles of Hungarie and Auſtria.

A *All Auſtria* (ſaith he) *is full of miſery and calamitie. From out of the Caſtle and Bulwarks here*
at Vienna, a man may ſometimes at once behold fifteene Townes and villages all on fire in the Countrey
hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and Turkes, and partly by our owne mutinous ſouldiers. Odenburg
is yet beſieged, and the Haiduckes haue forraged the Countrey as farre as Hinberg: whom had not
the Regiment of Collonitz *repreſſed, theſe our ſuburbs of Vienna had now beene taken, ranſacked, and*
burnt. Newſtat is on euery ſide beſieged by the Enemy: all the Villages about Vienna, as far as Dreſſkirc
are with fire deſtroyed. They of Newſtat went about to haue cut off ſome part of the Enemies Forces,
but with euill ſucceſſe, hauing loſt aboue fifty of their owne men. Brunna and Entzendorſe are alſo
with fire conſumed. The Wallons lie incamped at Miedling, moſt miſerably ſpoiling the Countrey people
B *of all that they had. The Haiduckes hauing by night ſurpriſed the great towne of Altenbourg, and*
from thence carrying a great prey, haue burnt it. The Caſtle had endured the like fortune, had not an
hundred Harquebuſiers that were by chance come thither, holpen to defend it. Six thouſand of the Enemies
lie about Wiſſelbourg, but whether the Wallons will attempt any thing againſt them or no, is greatly
doubted. Presbourg is alſo in great danger; for the Garriſon ſouldiers there doe threaten the cruell
ſpoyle of the Citiſens, with all extremities, if by a certaine day they receiue not their pay. Who if they
ſhall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the Haiduckes will forthwith ſucceed them in their places.
Theſe men indeed doe pretend Religion; but what louers they be thereof, the late example of a Miniſter
by them moſt cruelly tormented, not farre from Cobbelſdorffe, doth manifeſtly ſhew. The report is, That
the Vayuod of Valachia doth fauor neither part: into which prouince a great number of Tartars are
C *come in the aid of* Botſcay. *All the Market places and ſtreets here in this City, lie full of poore fugitiue*
creatures of all ſexes and ages, a moſt miſerable ſight to behold. Our owne mutinous ſouldiers beſet
all the wayes to the City, and exclude vs from all manner of victuall; and not to vſe many words, in
cruelty and hoſtilitie almoſt exceed the very enemies. The Hungarian Rebels, who of late forraged Auſtria,
haue carried away with them aboue eight thouſand head of Cattell, which together with the priſoners
by them taken, they haue ſent into Turkey. The little boyes and children, which cannot by reaſon of
their tender years go, they carry along with them vpon horſes; whoſe pittiful mourning and lamentation
might mooue euen the very ſtones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit mooued. Yea many of theſe
poore ſoules are here and there by the way found daſhed againſt the ground with their braines beaten out.
And theſe Rebels in their behauiour ſhew ſuch cruelty, as whereat the very Turkes themſelues were amaſed.
D *All things abaut Iſenſtad are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of Newhuſe, beſieged*
by thirtie thouſand of their Enemies, haue hitherto played the men, and of late repulſed the ſecond
aſſault, with much ſlaughter of their enemies. They ſay, That two thouſand Tartars, as many Rebels,
and thirteen thouſand Turkes, are to be yet expected to come vnto the camp at Newhuſe. who if they
ſhall chance to come, it can ſcarce be that they of Newhuſe can long well hold out againſt them; eſpecially
being not well appointed of neceſſarie prouiſion. The report is, That hauing taken Newhuſe, they will remoue
to Strigonium. It is alſo ſaid, twelue thouſand Turkes to haue now paſſed ouer the bridge at Eſſec;
and great ſupplies both of men and money to come to Botſcay, *who lieth incamped about Eperia, and is*
ſaid to haue made a couenant with the great Sultan, That what place ſoeuer either of them ſhould firſt
take, he ſhould hold the ſame wholly vnto himſelfe. Tanhuſer, *who of late was Gouernor of Fileck, is*
E *now (as the common report goeth) of counſell with* Botſcay. Germenchius *hath put in three moneths*
victuall into Huſt in Tranſyluania. God in his mercy behold our poore afflicted and diſtreſſed
Countrey.

Thus far he. Whereby the Reader (as I ſuppoſe) may eaſily gather the miſerable eſtate of both the countries of Hungary and Auſtria; the Chriſtians themſelues being the chief authors therof.

The rebellious Haiduckes had hitherto moſt ſtreightly beſieged the city of Odenbourg,
hauing aſſaulted it in fiue ſundry places at once. Vpon whom *Trautmanſtorffe*, who was General
F of the garriſon there, cauſing part of his horſemen to ſally forth, skirmiſhed with them
from eleuen of the clocke in the forenoon, vntill two of the clocke in the afternoon, at which
time the Haiducks beginning to preuaile, the Gouernor with the reſt of his horſmen, certain

enſignes of footmen, with ſome of the citiſens, with three field peeces vpon the ſudden breaking out of the gate, diſcomfited the Haiduckes, put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, hauing taken from them twelue enſignes, with many priſoners, whom he carried with him into the city. Of which ouerthrow the Haiduckes deſirous to be reuenged, with their renewed forces ſhortly after returned againe vnto the city, burnt the ſuburbs of the ſame, and ſpoyled the villages thereabout. But whileſt they thus lay about Odenburg, *Baſta* but with a ſmall power drawing neere vnto them, they preſently roſe, and paſſing ouer the riuer Dranus carried away with them two thouſand heads of Cattell, with a great number of Chriſtian captiues.

A great booty taken by the Chriſtians.

The Turks being not to learne to make vſe of the diſcord of the Chriſtians among themſelues, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botſcay*, to deliuer Caſſouia wholly into their hands. Of which ſtrong city, being the beſt that the Chriſtians now held in the vpper Hungary, the Turkes were moſt deſirous, both for the commodious ſcituation thereof, and alſo for that they deemed themſelues partly thereof already poſſeſſed, ſome good part of the garriſon therein being Turkes, as well Ianizaries as others. The full poſſeſſion of which ſtrong City the better to obtaine from *Botſcay*, and to get it into their owne hands, they ſent vnto him three waggons loaded with mony and other rich commodities for a Preſent, and to ſupply his wants, by a good conuoy of foure hundred Haiducks and ſome Turks joyned vnto them. Which Haiducks as they were by the way to Caſſovia, to paſſe by Tocay a ſtrong town holden by the Chriſtians, gaue ſecret knowledge vnto the Gouernour of the place, of their comming that way; and that if he would receiue them into the towne, and ſo into his protection, they would with ſome ſmall helpe from him, deliuer into his hands that ſo rich a booty, and ſo continue with him as his faithfull and truſty ſouldiers. Of whoſe offer the Gouernor well aſſured, forthwith ſent out foure hundred of the ſouldiers of his garriſon to meet them; who joyning with the aforeſaid Haiduckes which came with the Conuoy, ſet vpon the Turkes which came with them, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne, and ſo with the rich booty were by the Gouernour receiued into the Towne, and by him courteouſly welcommed and entertained. Where they had not long lien, but that after their woonted manner looking abroad into the Countrey, they chanced to meet with certain Companies of *Botſcay* his men; with whom they encountering, and hauing ſlaine of them neere about fiue hundred, tooke from them ſeuen Waggons loded with good prouiſion, and thirty horſes, beſides much other rich ſpoile.

Totiſa yeelded to the Turks.

But the Rebels, notwithſtanding theſe and other ſuch like loſſes, increaſing both in number and ſtrength, ſtill more and more in all places preuailed, but eſpecially in the vpper part of Hungary, the townes there one after another daily reuolting vnto them; as amongſt the reſt the ſtrong towne of Totiſa did; whereinto the Rebels entering, ſent from thence part of the great Ordnance, together with *Relinger* a Germane Captaine Gouernour of the Towne, and certaine other Germane ſouldiers there taken, vnto *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant, then lying with a great army of thirty thouſand Hungarian Rebels and Turkes, at the ſiege of the ſtrong towne and Caſtle of Newhuſe. Which as it had oftentimes by him been fiercely aſſaulted, ſo was it by the ſouldiers therein moſt notably defended; proteſting neuer to yeeld the ſame, but to hold it out euen to the laſt man therein to bee left aliue. Which cauſed *Redeius* for the encouraging of his ſouldiers (who had now lien there certaine moneths at the ſiege thereof) to promiſe vnto them the whole ſpoile of the towne, and of all that therin was. And yet for all that, oftentimes kept backe the Turkes from aſſaulting the ſame, for feare leſt if they ſhould by force haue taken it, they would by force alſo haue holden it vnto themſelues, as a place for them moſt commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the vpper part of Hungary. Which hee, although one of the greateſt Rebels, was yet loth to haue it fall into their hands; and yet himſelf, with the Haiducks the Hungarian Rebels, afterward, *viz.* the 25 of Iuly, gaue thereunto a moſt furious aſſault; inſomuch that hauing aduanced ten of their Enſignes to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope euen preſently to haue taken it, but yet were by the reſolute valour of the defendants notably repulſed, and inforced againe to retyre, leauing behind them aboue ſeuen hundred of their moſt forward men

A dead in the trenches. Vnto which ſiege the Baſſa of Agria came alſo afterward with three
thouſand horſemen and a number of Ianizaries; ſo that the beſieged, partly
with ſhot and often aſſaults diſtreſſed, were ſo waſted and wounded, that there were ſcarcely
two hundred whole and ſound men left in the whole garriſon: beſide that, both victuals and
pouder begun now to grow ſcarce alſo, ſo that they were brought vnto ſuch extremity, as that
well they could not be in worſe caſe: and yet armed with a conſtant reſolution, they ſeemed
not to be any thing therewith danted or diſcouraged, but ſtill valiantly held it out.

The Hungarians dwelling in the Iſle of Shut in the riuer of Danubium, hauing before ſubmitted
themſelues vnto the Rebels, did with their helpe much trouble the paſſages vnto the
towne of Rab and Comara, and the City of Strigonium; vnto whom certaine meſſengers
B were ſent on the Emperours behalfe to perſuade with them to forſake the Rebels and to returne
againe vnto their antient obedience. Who ſo well vſed the matter with them, that taking
a truce for eight daies, they in the meane time ſent fiue of the chiefe men amongſt them
by ſhip to Presburg, offering vnto the Gouernour there, That if they might be ſecured of their
goods and ſafety, and that the Haiduckes that were with them might be entertained in pay,
they would be ready againe to take the oath of allegiance and faithfulneſſe to ſerue him as
became his loyall ſubjects and valiant ſouldiers: and for the aſſurance thereof, to leaue their
wiues and children as pledges at Presburg. Which their offer was vnto the Gouernour very
acceptable and welcome, who yeelding vnto their requeſt, in friendly ſort diſmiſſed them.
But they being returned home, and hauing declared vnto the reſt of their fellowes what they
C had done; it was by generall conſent agreed, that foure thouſand of them ſhould ioyne themſelues
vnto the Emperours power vnder the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who to be knowne from
others, wore in their creſts certaine ſpeciall feathers; their wiues and children being carried
to Presburg as pledges of their faith: but this agreement by them made with the Gouernour
of Presburg being once knowne, the reſt of the Rebels in the Countrey thereabout together
aſſembled with the Turks, inuaded the Iſle, in hope vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed them:
but deceiued of their expectation, were by the inhabitants of the Iſle, and by the helpe of
certaine Germane troupes ouerthrowne and put to flight, and three thouſand of them there
ſlaine.

The Rebels in the Iſle of Shut ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the Emperour.

About the beginning of Iuly certaine Commiſſioners were ſent on the Emperours behalfe
D to Coſſouia, to intreat with *Botſcay* concerning a pacification to be made, who being by him
there honourably entertained, and hauing with him ſtaied almoſt a whole moneth, were at
length the nine and twentieth of the ſame moneth againe diſmiſſed. Now the articles which
Botſcay propounded vnto theſe Commiſſinners to be conſidered of for the making of a peace,
and which for the moſt part were agreed vpon in the peace afterward concluded betwixt the
great Sultan and the Emperour, were theſe.

Firſt, That it ſhould be lawfull for all ſuch as would, to haue the free exerciſe of the reformed
religion. For although (as he ſaid) he was not ignorant that there was an antient decree
amongſt the Hungarians, whereby all that profeſſed not the Catholicke Religion, or that reuolted
from the ſame were to be burnt, and that he deſired not to haue that article repealed;
E yet that his requeſt was, That the Emperour hauing regard vnto the troubles of the preſent
time, would promiſe and aſſure, That from thenceforth no man ſhould be troubled for his Religion,
or called in queſtion for his conſcience and Beliefe. Beſides that, he requeſted to haue
the Principality of Tranſyluania during his life; yet with this condition, That after his death
it ſhould againe returne vnto the Emperour, ſo that the Emperour in his abſence ſhould appoint
a naturall Hungarian to gouerne the ſame, as alſo to haue the chiefe gouernment in
Hungary. That there ſhould no more Biſhops ſit in counſell but one, and that he, if it ſhould
be ſo thought meet, ſhould beare the office of the Chancelour. That the liberty and priueledges
of that Kingdome ſhould be kept whole and inuiolate. That it ſhould be lawfull for
him only to make choice of the chiefe Palatine of the Kingdome. That goods confiſcated
F for any offence committed, ſhould not be diſperſed or ſold, but giuen to men of diſert. That
all offenders againſt the State from thenceforth ſhould be iudged by the Counſell of Hungary.
That none ſhould be preferred to Biſhopricks in Hungary, but ſuch as were of the noble
Hungarian bloud. That all iniuries heretofore don ſhould be abſoltely pardoned, forgiuen
and

Articles by Botſcay propounded vnto the Emperours commiſſioners for the appeaſing of the tumults in the vpper Hungary.

and forgotten. All which things if they might be granted, he promiſed to labor to the vttermoſt
of his power, vpon the beſt conditions he might to procure a peace betwixt the Great G
Sultan and the Emperor. Laſt of all he requeſted, That the charters of peace containing theſe
articles thus agreed vpon, might be ſubſcribed and confirmed by the Biſhop of Rome, the
Emperor, the King of Polonia, and all the Imperiall Kingdomes and Prouinces.

The great Sultan loth that Botſcay ſhould come to a peace with the Emperour.

The Turkiſh Sultan vnderſtanding of this treaty of peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botſcay*,
by a meſſenger ſent in haſte to *Botſcay*, ſought by great offers and promiſes to hinder the
ſame: putting him withall in remembrance, that a little before this treaty made, he had not
onely by words but by letters alſo ſubſcribed with his owne hand, promiſed vnto *Botſcay* his
Embaſſadors ſent to Conſtantinople, That hee would bring to paſſe, that *Botſcay* rewarded
with ſuch priuiledges as King *Iohn* in former time enjoyed, ſhould in ſhort time be proclaimed H
and crowned King of Hungary, and that to that purpoſe he was euen now ready to ſend
a ſcepter and a crowne, the ornaments of a King, to Alba Regalis. But for the preſent, he by
theſe meſſengers ſent vnto *Botſcay* two goodly horſes, with furniture of gold, gliſtering with
pretious ſtones. He ſent him alſo a rich ſcimiter, a paire of golden ſpurs, and a long horſmans
coat garniſhed with gold and pretious ſtones of great price; perſuading him valiantly to perſiſt
in his former courſe and purpoſe. Which he failed not to doe: for immediatly after, he
with a gallant traine went from Caſſouia into Tranſyluania, there to take of the Nobility of
that Prouince the oath of their fidelity vnto him; accounting no paines or labor great, which
he tooke to turne the people from their obedience vnto the Emperor, and to ſtrengthen himſelfe.
At which time he alſo ſent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with ſome others into Polonia, to I
renew the confederation which was ſometime betwixt the Polonians and the Hungarians:
who being admitted vnto the Kings preſence, and audience giuen him, firſt declared the cauſes
of the diſcord and ciuill war that then was in Hungary, which he imputed chiefly vnto the
oppreſſion of Religion, the free exerciſe thereof being forbidden them; and to the inſolency
of the Germans, who there at their pleaſure commanded ouer them. Vpon which two points
he ſtood much, labouring with many words to perſuade the King thereof: and afterwards requeſting
him of his gratious goodneſſe, and of the care which he, together with other Chriſtian
Princes, had for the common quiet of the Chriſtian common-weale in generall, and eſpecially
of thoſe two diſtreſſed countries, lying as it were euen in the enemies mouth, to enter into
conſultation how the ſame euils might be remedied, and thoſe ſo great troubles again appeaſed, K
and to the effecting of ſo good a worke to put to his helping hand. Whereunto the King
anſwered, That the friendſhip wherein *Botſcay* offered to joine with him being but the renuing
of the antient amity betwixt the countries of Polonia and Hungary, to be vnto him pleaſing;
howbeit, he could not for all that (as he ſaid) well like of *Botſcay* his reuolt from that houſe and
family, whereunto he was himſelfe ſo neere joyned in affinity; promiſing yet neuertheleſſe,
That he would propound the matter vnto his Nobility, to be further conſidered of: which
when he had indeed done, it was by common conſent agreed, That no aid ſhould be giuen out
of Polonia vnto *Botſcay* or the Rebels; and that whoſoeuer ſhould from thence affoord him any
aid, ſhould therefore loſe his head. With which anſwer the Embaſſadours returned to *Botſcay*
much diſcontented, being now with a great power againe returned out of Tranſyluania to L
Caſſouia.

The Lord Ruſſworme beheaded.

About this time the Lord *Ruſſworm* (ſometimes Generall of the Emperours army againſt
the Turks in Hungary, a man of great note and valor, and of whom we haue before much ſpoken)
at Prague falling into words, and from words to blowes, with *Francis* Count *Beliojoſa* his
brother, and their men taking their parts on both ſides, it fortuned the ſaid *Francis*, the Earles
brother, being grieuouſly wounded, to be there ſlaine; *Beliojoſa* himſelfe being alſo in fiue places
dangerouſly hurt: who ſo hardly proſecuted the death of his brother againſt the Lord
Ruſſworm, that within a while after, hee was therefore by the Emperour condemned, and at
Prague beheaded, and diuers of his men hanged, with ſuch weapons hanging at their heeles, as
wherewith they had ſlaine the ſaid *Francis* the Earles brother. M

Now was the time of the yeare come, when as the Turks great armies were wont to bee
ſeene euen in the heart of Hungary: howbeit, ſuch were their troubles in Aſia, both with the
Perſian and their owne Rebels, that they were not at leiſure now to ſend ſuch great forces

as

A as they had before vſed, into Hungary: neither could the Chriſtian Emperour on the other ſide now raiſe ſuch a power as he had in former times don to oppoſe againſt them, and to hinder their proceedings. The Hungarians themſelues (his greateſt ſtrength in thoſe wars) were now generally reuolted from him, and for moſt part followed the Enſignes of the Rebell *Boiſcay*. The Princes wont to ſend him aid both out of Italy and out of Germany, now affoorded him little or none at all: and his mercenary ſouldiers for want of pay were now almoſt euery where vp in mutiny ready to forſake his ſeruice, and to pay themſelues with the ſpoyle of his Countries euen to the gates of Vienna. So that had not the Turks beene ſo buſied in the Eaſt, but at leiſure to haue turned their whole power into Hungary, as oftentimes they had before done, it is hardly to be imagined, what ſhould haue letted them to haue ouer-run B not onely that which remained of Hungary, but euen all Auſtria, with ſome good part of Germany alſo; the Emperours preparations being then ſo ſmall, and his forces ſo weake, as that they were not able to hold the field againſt his owne rebellious ſubjects, much leſſe againſt ſo puiſſant and dreadfull an enemy. But God which with his word hath ſet bounds vnto the raging ſea, beyond which it cannot paſſe, and by whoſe power Kings do reigne and Princes beare rule, had by other meanes auerted the greateſt part of the Turks forces Eaſtwards: ſo that *Serdar Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat* his Lieutenant Generall for his wars againſt the Chriſtians, came this yeare but with a right ſmall army (in compariſon of thoſe which the Turkiſh Sultans were wont to ſend) into Hungary. Howbeit, with ſuch forces as hee brought, and with ſuch ſupplies of the Rebels in Hungary as came vnto him, hee being growne fifty thouſand C ſtrong, and out of feare of the Emperours forces, came the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt to Strigonium, and with his army (part Turks, part Tartars, and part diſloyall Chriſtians) encamped in the ſelfeſame place where the Turks army had but the yeare before lodged; hauing brought with him forty great pieces of battery, with all things elſe neceſſary for the ſiege. Neither were the Turks ſooner encamped, but that the Tartars which came with them to the ſiege (after their wonted manner) more deſirous of prey and booty, than of honor and victory, paſſing ouer the riuer of Gran into the territory of the Chriſtians, there ſpoiled and burnt all before them as they went.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turks.

The Turks in the meane time to depriue the beſieged of all reliefe to be ſent vnto them down the riuer of Danubius, made a great bridge of boats ouer the riuer, well fortified at both D ends thereof on each ſide the riuer with a ſtrong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, ſo that nothing could that way paſſe to or from the beſieged city. Which things much diſmaied them in the city, ſeeing no preparation to be made on the other ſide for their defence or reliefe: yea, *Baſta* himſelfe, Generall of ſuch ſmall forces as the Emperour had then, ſeeing the enemy ſo ſtrong, and himſelfe ſo weake, began greatly to doubt of the euent of this ſiege and yet neuertheleſſe reſolutely ſet downe to employ both his valour and his wiſedome for the ſafegard of the place, he, during the time of the ſiege failed not to the vttermoſt of his power to ſhew the effects both of the one and of the other.

The Turkes make a bridge ouer the riuer of Danubius.

And now the Turks aſſiſted with the Hungarian Rebels, had performed an exploit vpon the Iſle of Strigonium, aſwell to take the ſame from the Imperials, as for the ſpoile and pillage E thereof. The inhabitants there had ſtill remained faithfull vnto the ſeruice of the Emperor, whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes ſought both by force and by perſuaſion to haue remoued from this their loyalty and juſt deuoire. Within this Iſle were 200 Haiducks, returned againe to the Emperors ſeruice, who were joyned vnto the Iſlanders, for the better defence both of them and of the Iſland. But the Rebels knowing well the paſſages and entrances into the Iſle, vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſame, and in it theſe poore Haiducks, whom they cut all in pieces: which loſſe cauſed *Baſta* to reſolue to ſend the Wallons he had in his army into the Iſle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Iſland vnderſtanding, made requeſt vnto the Generall, That he would not in any wiſe ſo doe, for that they greatly feared leſt the Wallons, being men altogether giuen to the ſpoile, not finding the Rebels to prey vpon, ſhould F after their wonted manner pray vpon them, the Emperours faithfull ſubjects. At whoſe inſtance the former purpoſe for the ſending of the Wallons beeing changed, *Collonitz* himſelfe was appointed vnto that ſeruice; with whom *Mounſieur de Laual*, a noble young Gentleman of France (who but a few dayes before was newly come vnto the campe for the

The Iſle of Strigonium ſpoyled by the Haiducks.

The Haiduckes ouerthrowne by Collonitz.

the honourable deſire hee had to ſee ſeruice, and to ſerue himſelfe, with his troupe of horſemen whom he had brought with him out of France) went ouer into the Iſland alſo. Whereinto when as the Rebels ſhortly after againe entered, they were by *Collonitz* ouerthrowne and driuen out of the Iſle, two hundred and fifty of them being ſlaine, and aboue fifty moe of them taken priſoners. In which conflict the noble young Gentleman *Mounſieur Laual*, ſo brauely behaued himſelfe, as that he gained vnto himſelfe much honour and renowne, euery mans mouth being full of his prayſes, and wondering to ſee ſo great courage in ſo young yeares, he being then ſcarce nineteene yeares old. With which loſſe the Rebels rather enraged than diſcouraged, ſhortly after returned againe, in great number and better reſolued; where betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Iſland, was fought a more ſharpe and bloudy fight than was the former; yet ſo, as that the Rebels were enforced againe with loſſe to retyre. In which ſo hot and bloudy a skirmiſh, *Mounſieur Laual*, hauing moſt valiantly borne himſelfe againſt the enemy, and done enough for his honour, but not ſo contented, but carryed away with the heat of youth, and the deſire of glory, and not otherwiſe to be perſuaded, but ſtill aduenturouſly preſſing on the retiring enemy, was there with a ſmall ſhot ſlaine; all they which knew him much lamenting his vntimely death. But the Rebels not ſo diſcouraged, but ſtill in one place or other inuading the Iſland, and threatening the Iſlanders with all extremities, except they would take part with them; what by force, what by perſuaſion, ſo much preuailed with them, that the moſt part of them reuolting from the Emperour, vpon the ſudden ſet vpon the Count of Rhene, beeing then in the Iſland, and hauing ſlaine three hundred of his men, grieuouſly wounded himſelfe alſo. For the ſpeedy appeaſing of which multitude, *Baſta* ſent ouer into the Iſland certaine companies of Ratzians and Wallons, who not regarding that the Iſlanders were dayly damnified by the Rebels, moſt miſerably ſpoyled them of whatſoeuer the Rebels had yet left them.

S. Thomas Fort battered and aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turks encamped before Strigonium, firſt planted their battery againſt the ſtrong fort, ſtanding aloft vpon S. *Thomas* hill: for that from thence they ſhould haue receiued infinit harme, if they ſhould before the winning thereof haue attempted to haue woon the City; it ſtanding on their backes, and all the plaine betwixt the hill and the city wherein they were to plant their battery being ſubject vnto it. Which fort, though very ſtrong, they with continuall battery by the ſpace of almoſt three weekes, hauing with infinit charge, and the loſſe of a number of their men, made ſaultable, the foure and twentieth day of September mounted the hill to aſſault the ſame. Vnto which aſſault they went vp the hill ſo thicke one thruſting another forward, that the hill ſeemed now to be nothing but a mount or heape of armed men, ſcarce any part of it being to be ſeene, it was ſo couered with them. Vpon whom ſo ſwarming vp, the Chriſtians in the fort, hauing repoſed all the hope of their welfare in their valour, and reſolued thereby to die or liue, couragiouſly diſcharged their murthring ſhot both great and ſmall, ſcarce any of their deadly bullets falling in vaine. Howbeit the Turks, reſolutely ſet downe for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without reſpect of death or danger, came ſtill deſperatly on, vntill that they were come to the puſh of pike, and ſo to handy blowes euen in the very breaches, which the long fury of the Turks cannon had made very ſaultable. Fiue houres this furious aſſault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Chriſtians with inuincible courage and reſolution endured, many braue and valiant men falling on both ſides: and thrice the Turks repulſed, were enforced to retire, but were ſtill by their commanders brought on againe. The loſſe was to both ſides common, many worthy men there ending their daies, worthy of eternall fame. The Chriſtians fell dead vpon the Turks ſlaine by their valor, and the Turks vpon the Chriſtians ſlaine by their multitude. But what ſhould we ſay? The Turks by numbers died, but not their force, that being by their great numbers ſtill maintained euen in deſpight of death, and alwaies liuing in their great multitude, yet left aliue. Which was not ſo with the defendants, but euen quite contrary; who could not loſe one onely man, without diminiſhing of their forces, and means of reſiſtance: ſo that they ſtill loſt without hope of ſafegard, and yet could not be in ſafety, without continuing of their ſo great loſſes. But he that ſtill fighteth only for to ſaue his life, without hope of killing of his enemy, being too mighty for him to ouercome, muſt needs at laſt die ouercome, if it were but

with

A with very wearineſſe. So in the end of this long and furious aſſault, nine hundred of the Chriſtians being ſlaine, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chiefetaine, and his Lieutenant mortally wounded, and nothing now more left but a few ſore hurt men, and the dead wals for the Turks to ouercome, they entered the place, ſlew thoſe few whom they found yet breathing, made booty of their death, bloud, and armes; and by the infinite price of their owne bloud, gained that place which had now no more bloud or life left in it. From whence they carried certaine great pieces, to helpe to batter the city withall, and to vanquiſh them, for whoſe defence they were but a little before appointed.

S. Thomas fort woon by the Turks.

The Turks hauing thus gained S. *Thomas* fort, euen as they were yet embrued with bloud, and prickt forward with fury, forthwith planted thirty great pieces of battery againſt the B baſe towne of Strigonium, ſtanding low by the ſide of Danubius, and commonly called the Water-towne; which they with all their force and fury moſt terribly battered. This baſe towne was inuironed with a palliſado of wood, to defend it againſt all ſudden ſurpriſes, as almoſt all the townes of Hungary are: Whereunto the confuſed multitude of the Turks carried a number of bruſh faggots, ſtuffed with gunpouder and brimſtone, which being ſet on fire, preſently ſet fire vpon the palliſado alſo, and burnt it downe to the ground, making a way for the Turks to come euen to the wals of the city; which they with their great ordnance both night and day inceſſantly moſt terribly battered, vntil that by the fury of the cannon they had therein made a faire and large ſaultable breach. A great ſhame for our men to ſuffer the ſame ſo to be made, and not againe repaired: whereas the Turks before in the ſame place, had made C it good againſt the great army of the Archduke *Matthias*, being neuer to be driuen and forced out of it by the Chriſtians valour, vntill they were therein ſlaine; and to be now by our men through their cowardiſe not to be able to be made good. For why, it was euen the ſame place of battell, the ſame men, the ſame armes, and the ſame forme of fight, but not the ſame courages. The Turks can very well learne of vs that which is for them profitable, and make vſe thereof to their owne aduantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to ſerue vs againſt them, and ſo profit our ſelues by their example. Beſides that, the confidence they haue in their multitude carrieth them vnto ſuch aduantages, as from which the deſpaire of being ſeconded and relieued keepeth vs: whoſe boldneſſe alſo firmely grounded vpon a reſolution to die, paſſeth our reſolution far, in fighting only to ſaue their liues.

The baſe towne of Strigonium battered.

D The breach ſo made, the Turks in good order, ſtaied vpon a firme reſolution, came brauely marching on, one of them thruſting another, and as it were ſtriuing among themſelues who ſhould haue the honour to giue the firſt charge; their haughtineſſe of minde animating of them to ſeeke for honour euen where perils were rifeſt; ſo to haue the honor to die amongſt the moſt forward and valiant men of war, rather than to liue among cowards of no reputation or valor. During the heat of which their ſo great and firme a reſolution, they regarded not the ſhowers of deadly bullets falling amongſt them as thicke as haile, as too weake to dant their haughty courages; but thruſting one another amiddeſt ſo great dangers, came vnto the breach, there to try the matter hand to hand with our men. The Ianizaries were the men eſpecially appointed to this ſeruice, and had taken the ſame vpon them; who with their great E muskets on their reſts cruelly gauled our men, expoſed to the danger of their deadly ſhot vpon the brinke as it were of their own graues. The great Baſſa himſelfe was there preſent at the aſſault, encouraging his ſouldiers with ſpeeches full of terrour and of comfort, as he ſaw occaſion for either to be vſed, wherewith he ſtirred vp their valor as is a ſhip with a faire or rough gale of wind. Death it ſelfe could not ouercome theſe miſcreants, their number ſtill repairing in a moment what death had taken away in an houre: whereas our men ſlew others but to be ſlaine themſelues, and fought not, but to become ſacrifices vnto death themſelues, and not by their reſiſtance to carry away the victory againſt inexorable deſtiny. The fight was great and terrible, and the bullets ſtill flew, few of them falling in vaine amongſt ſuch a multitude and preaſe of men. They of the high towne, who themſelues expected the like danger where- F in their companions now floated betwixt life and death, ſtood aboue looking on, not daring to giue them aide, or to remooue out of their ſtrength, but reſeruing themſelues with all their forces for the ſole ſafegard of themſelues and of their owne defence. Howbeit all this while the enemies forces ſtill encreaſed, and the Chriſtians diminiſhed; for death could not

The baſe towne aſſaulted.

A terrible aſſault.

weaken theirs, whereas it ſtill deſtroyed ours, who failed but in number, not in valour, and G gaue place but vnto the force of death, and not vnto the force of men. All the deadly blowes appointed to be giuen for the defence of a breach, had been by our men giuen; all the armes neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe had been employed, all reſiſtance that could be deſired had been made, and all the duties of valiant and worthy men performed; ſo that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour. But in all ſuch actions there are two things neceſſary, the one for the helping of the other, for the correſpondency of their power; which both joyned in one body, may doe all things, but being diuided, can neither of them doe any thing againſt him which is poſſeſſed of both.

The baſe towne of Strigonium woon by the Turks.

The vpper towne of Strigonium in vain by the Turks aſſaulted.

Strigonium vndermined.

In fine, after foure attempts in this aſſault, moſt of the Chriſtian defendants being ſlaine, the Turks forced the reſt, and gained the breach, treading vnder foot the dead bodies both H of the Turks and of the Chriſtians, to get into the City. This place thus woon, and thoſe that were left, put to the ſword, and the towne rifled; the Turks yet in breath, and all embrued in bloud, gaue an attempt vnto the high Towne, in ſome hope euen at that time in ſo great a confuſion of the defendants to haue carried the ſame alſo. Howbeit, the defendants beholding their weapons yet dropping with the bloud of their friends and companions, and ready to ſhead theirs alſo, for the preſent notably repulſed them. Who ſo diſappointed of their purpoſe, and deſiring to gaine the place with the leaſt loſſe they might, reſolued to take the ſame by vndermining of it, repoſing more truſt in the ſpade and the mattocke, than in their ſwords and harquebuſies; beeing by experience of their former ſieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by battery and aſſault to obtaine the I ſame. This trauell in the mynes tooke ſucceſſe according to their deſire: for within a few dayes the mynes (with much labour) beeing brought to perfection, and fire put vnto them, they fayled not to worke their effect, but with great violence blew vp the walls, their rampiers, men, and munition, altogether, caſting forth ſuch ſmoakes and flames, as wherewith a number of the defendants were ſmothered and burnt. Which breaches ſo made, and the defences of the City blowne vp, in ſuch ſort, that the Chriſtians lay open to the enemies deadly ſhot, beeing not able any more to ſhew themſelues without danger of their liues, the Turks in order forthwith came to aſſault and force the ſame. Which the Captaines of the Chriſtians beholding, prepared themſelues to withſtand them, and to that purpoſe would haue giuen order vnto their ſouldiers for the defence both of the breach and of the walls, K whom they found ſuch as *Eumenes* at his greateſt need found his, not willing in any wiſe to fight, and in the moſt aſſured perill of death, without courage, either to vanquiſh their enemies, or defend themſelues,; in ſuch ſort, that not one of them would put themſelues in order, ſhew themſelues vpon the breach, or come neere the walls. Lazie cowards, chuſing rather to attend an aſſured death in their cowardiſe and want of courage, than to aduenture their liues into the danger of armes, well deſeruing to endure the ſame with diſhonour, ſeeing that they refuſed by honourable reſiſtance to preſerue their liues. The Captaines for all that by faire ſpeeches and by threats ceaſed not to ſtirre them vp, praying, exhorting, and ſometime with death theatening them, if they thus refuſed to doe their duty, and with their naked ſwords in their hands would haue enforced them to the breach. L Bnt all in vaine; their dead courages beeing not to be reuiued or ſtirred vp in their ſo great a feare of death: Which much diſmaied the Captaines, ſeeing their liues and honour, together with the place (through this tumult and cowardiſe of their ſouldiers) to be in extreame perill. During which time the Turks comming on, had without any great reſiſtance gained the foot of the breach: whom the ſouldiers now ſeeing ſo neere vnto them, and out of hope to be relieued, and deſtitute of courage alſo, in ſtead of truſting vnto their armes and valour, betooke themſelues vnto the refuge of their ſhame and cowardiſe. For compaſſing in the Count *Dampierre*, Gouernour of the place, they would by reaſons haue perſuaded him to haue yeelded, and by threats haue feared him from further reſiſting of the enemy. Their fury emboldened them, proceeding not from their valour, but from their feare; M ſtorming againſt their Generall for not beeing a coward, as they themſelues were; trembling for feare of their enemies, and inſulting againſt him. They had but one man of him to fight againſt, which made them furious and hardy: hardy with cowardiſe againſt one,

not

The braue reſolution of Count Dampierre Gouernour of Strigonium.

A not daring to hold vp their weapons againſt their enemies being many. Howbeit the Count
in the middle of theſe feares enraged, continued firme in his reſolution, his courage encreaſing
in this ſtorme of mutiny, wiſhing rather to die by the hands of his owne ſouldiers, in
the performing of his duty, than to be ſaued by the Turks in the bottome of his diſhonour.
Which his ſo braue a reſolution cauſed him euen in the middeſt of theſe furious and tumultuous
companies, to put them in minde of their duties, and to perſuade with them:
That the perill they ſo much feared, was greater through their owne feare, than indeed it
was: that onely their fearefull apprehenſion made the danger, and not the action that was by
them to be performed; ſeeing that it was impoſſible for the enemy to ouercome them, if
they would but reſolutely ſtand vpon their valour to reſiſt him. That all things reſting but
B in opinion, were by themſelues to be ſubdued, if they had but the deſire to ouercome them,
and yet of power to ouerthrow them, if they would yeeld to their diſhonour. That therefore
they ſhould propound vnto themſelues the honor and the ſhame that was to enſue vnto them,
by the different deportment of themſelues in this action, how much the deformity of the
one differed from the beauty of the other, and aſpire vnto the honour which their enemies
had ſometimes got in the ſame place, and in the very ſame action wherein they were now,
for hauing with leſſe appearance of their ſafety ouercome the like danger, wherein their holding
out had made them victorious with honour, without any great fight at all. That it
ſhould be an eternall infamy vnto them, that the Turks ſhould ſurmount them in their reſolution,
in an action wherein they ought to ſhew themſelues moſt valorous; and by their cowardiſe
C become ſubject vnto them, whom at other times they had accounted vnworthy to
be compared with them in valour. That they ſhould lay their hands vpon their hearts, and
remember their eſtate and faith; bound vnto the firſt by their honour, and to the ſecond by
their duty. That they were men of Warre, liuing by their pay, which bound them to the
ſeruice of him from whom they receiued it, euen vnto death; hauing before obliged their
liues vnto their pay: and that they were Chriſtian ſubjects, bound to keepe their promiſe giuen
by oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of theſe things, they depriued
themſelues of the pay promiſed to them which performed their ſeruice; and loſing
their renowne in this world for their cowardiſe, and in the World to come for breaking their
faith. That therefore they ſhould continue conſtant in the performance of their duty, reſol-
D uing with themſelues rather to endure an honourable death, vnto which belonged the recompence
of an eternall fame for their valour and fidelity; than to prolong a miſerable life with
perpetuall infamy for their cowardiſe; whereof for all that, they could no more aſſure themſelues
by the yeelding vp of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turks
were oft times euen as cruell vpon them that yeelded, as thoſe that reſiſted; keeping no faith
with the Chriſtians, but as beſt ſtood with their profit and their pleaſure. And that therefore
for his part he was reſolued, rather to die with honour in the place, than to be beholden to his
enemies for an infamous and miſerable life. And that therefore he beſought them to follow
him in this laſt action of their deuoire, which carried with it all the trophies of their precedent
actions, wherein they had oftentimes aſſiſted him in many actions of leſſe worth, and of
E much greater perill.

Moſt ſhamefull cowardiſe.

This diſcourſe grounded vpon ſo good reaſons, and proceeding for ſo great valour, might
haue preuailed with any other generous mindes, except with theſe degenerate ſouldiers, who
by their cowardiſe had hardened themſelues againſt all the points of honour which might
any way mooue them; in ſuch ſort that they ſtood as faſt in their baſe cowardiſe as did their
Generall in his valorous and conſtant reſolution. They ſtood with their hands behinde them,
without any weapons in them, as was their minds without any courage at all: and as men appointed
to be ſcrificed vpon the altar of death, attending without moouing, but the hands of
them that ſhould ſacrifice them. Great and ſhameleſſe cowardiſe, not daring by reſiſtance
to withſtand the violence of their enemies, for feare of hindering them in their deſires, being
F indeed ſuch as had vowed their death to ſatisfie their owne fury. Meanewhile ſome of theſe
ſouldiers ſeeing their ſpeeches to be but vaine, and not able to mooue their Gouernour to
ſatisfie their deſire, conceiued the ſame their requeſts, with the reaſons thereof, into writing,
which they ſent vnto him. Which the Gouernour hauing read, in their ſight tore the letters

ters in pieces, and trode the ſame vnder his feet; rejecting as well their demands by letters, G as he had done their requeſts by words. In briefe, hauing forgotten nothing of the duty of a worthy Generall, and valiant Captaine, joyned now thereunto the office of a ſimple ſouldier, going himſelfe vnto the breach, with ſome few to defend the ſame. But the more the Count ſtood vpon this his ſo great reſolution, the more theſe cowardly and mutinous villaines proceeded in their baſe obſtinacy, in ſo much that they fell from prayers, to fury and rage, threatening to deliuer him their Gouernour, together with the place, vnto the Enemy, to ſaue their liues, if he himſelfe would not by treaty ſaue them from the imminent perils. If theſe baſe cowards were before deafe vnto the juſt remonſtrances of their Gouernour, which might haue preſerued them from death and infamy, he was alſo as deafe as they, to conceiue their requeſts, or to be mooued with their threats; knowing that he had more reaſon on his H ſide, by conſtant valour to withſtand the wicked and ſhamefull reſolution of his ſoldiers, than they had with diſhonour to enforce him, or to offer him violence, to their eternall ſhame and infamy.

The conditions wherupon Strigonium was deliuered to the Turks.

In the meane time theſe obſtinate and enraged cowards proceeded from words to deeds, and from requeſts to violence, as did oft times the diſloyall ſouldiers of Rome, in ſlaying the good Emperors. For they in cruell manner without reuerence, by force layed hands vpon the Gouernor, put him in priſon, and afterwards crauing parley, fell to treaty with the great Baſſa about the deliuery vp of the place. Wherewith the Baſſa well contented, ſent in vnto them *Haly Baſſa*, to conclude the matter. Where after ſome little talke, it was agreed, That they ſhould deliuer vp the place (which was not indeed theirs to diſpoſe of) and that the Baſſa I ſhould therefore promiſe and ſuffer them with bag and baggage in ſafety to depart whither they would, with their enſignes frilled vp, and fire in their matches; leauing behinde them their great ordnance, with all their other munition and warlike prouiſion. Which only compoſition by the perfidious ſouldiers made in the abſence and indurance of their Generall, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongſt a thouſand others like before by them broken whether it were in reſpect of the eaſie conqueſt of the city, (being one of the chiefe and principall places of all Hungary) or for that they being ouer-joyed with the gaining of that which they had ſo long deſired, and now ſo little hoped for, they forgat their wonted cruelty and breach of faith, is doubted.

This city thus yeelded the third of October, and the Turks forgetting their wonted cruelty, K according to their faith and promiſe before giuen, in ſafety conducted theſe cowardly ſouldiers within a league of Comora, helping them by the way to carry their ſicke and wounded men, together with their fardles, which the Turks oft times carried vpon their own ſhoulders. Theſe cowards which thus went out, with their Gouernor ſent out alſo with them, were in number a thouſand whole and ſound men, fitted whilſt they were in the city, with all things neceſſary for their honour, and defence of the place; but themſelues deſtitute and void of all honour and courage. A thouſand, which all together were not worth their Gouernor alone, ſeeing that in him alone there remained more valour than in all that whole multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forſake the place, but by the leaue of the Turks there remained ſtill; the reſt which would not, hauing leaue in ſafety to depart L whither they would.

Thus this famous City of Strigonium, one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarkes of Chriſtendome againſt the Turks, which the Chriſtians had now holden by the ſpace of ten yeares and one moneth, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfelt* won from the Turks, when as it had long time before beene in the Turks poſſeſſion, woon from the Chriſtians by Sultan *Solyman*, now againe (as is before ſaid) fell into the power of the Turks, with threeſcore and ten peeces of great ordnance, and a wonderfull deale of other warlike prouiſion.

Baſe cowardiſe worthily puniſhed.

Theſe baſe and cowardly Souldiers, together with the Count their Gouernour, being come to Comora, were juſtly deſpoyled both of their honour and of their armes, and ſent backe againe to Presburg, where curſed and deteſted of all the World, and eſpecially M of the Hungarians themſelues (who although they were reuolted from their allegeance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much deteſt their ſo ſhamefull and notable cowardiſe) were there the chiefe of them committed to priſon; where after they had for a cer-

A a certaine time lien, and being brought to iudgement, and conuicted of treaſon, in deliuering
vp the city of Strigonium vnto the Turks, & in ſo doing to haue greatly damnified the Chriſtian
commonweale, they were therefore condemned, and according to the quality of their
offences, diuerſly in this manner executed. Captain *Leonard Fredericke Schleker* had his iudgement,
firſt to haue his right hand cut off, and his tongue drawne out behinde in his necke, and
both of them nailed to the gallowes, and afterwards to bee hanged; howbeit through the interceſſion
of many of his friends he was not hanged but beheaded. *Iohn Michael Scorer*, *Iohn
Hopſi*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Caſper Lielharter*, all Captaines, were adiudged to haue
their right hands firſt cut off and nailed to the gallowes, and afterward hanged, but through
the interceſſion of County *Mansfield*, they were hanged, and their hands not cut off. *Iohn
B Lautenberger* was condemned to bee quartered aliue; but was at the interceſſion of County
Mansfield, firſt beheaded and afterward quartred. *Iohn Diſcoff* with eleuen other were only hanged.
Laurence Marſhall was enioyned to ſerue two yeares againſt the Turks as a common ſouldier,
without pay; but through the interceſſion of County *Mansfield* had one yeare pardoned
him. *Ieremy Strelin*, with diuers other, which were either fled, or elſe remained ſtill in Strigonium,
were iudged, their names to be ſet vpon the gallows, and being afterwards caught, ſome
of them to be quartred, and other ſome their hands to be cut off, and nailed vpon the gallows,
and afterward hanged. And thus theſe diſloyall captains, by ſhunning of an honourable death
in defence of Strigonium, and performing of their duty, by neglecting the ſame, procured vnto
themſelues a moſt ſhamefull death, attended vpon with perpetuall infamy and diſhonour.

C But as the loſſe of this ſtrong place was vnto the Chriſtians heauy and grieuous, ſo was it
to the Turks no leſſe pleaſing and ioyfull; it being the place they had of long aboue al others
deſired, and whereat they had euer ſince the loſſe thereof, with their great armies in Hungary,
for the ſpace of ten yeares ſtill aimed. Howbeit this their ioy endured not long, their proſperitie
beeing too hot to hold out without ſome cooling blaſt of aduerſe fortune. For the ſame
report of Fame, which with the right hand preſented vnto the Great Sultan at Conſtantinople,
the pleaſing newes of the winning of Strigonium in Hungary, euen with the left hand deliuered
likewiſe vnto him the melancholie report of the ouerthrow of his great armies in Aſia,
with the loſſe of Damaſco the greateſt city of Syria. For, to begin with the greateſt firſt;
The King of Perſia, inuaded by *Cicala Baſſa*, Sultan *Achmat* his great Lieutenant in Aſia; and
D hearing that the Baſſa of Caramania had expreſſe charge, with all ſpeed to come vnto him
with a great ſupply of ſouldiers to be taken vp in Caramania and the countries thereabout:
he then hauing a puiſſant army on foot, before prepared for all euents, preſently ſet forward againſt
Cicala: whom he comming vpon before he was ready to fight, by his vnexpected comming,
and ſudden charge, ouerthrew his army, and tooke from him all his great Ordnance. *Cicala*
himſelfe with three hundred ſouldiers, with much ado eſcaping and retyring himſelfe to
Adena; which city the Perſian King, purſuing *Cicala*, ſhortly after ſtreitly beſieged. With
which vnluckie newes Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ vnto the Baſſa of Trebezond,
with all ſpeed to ſend aid vnto *Cicala*: who taking vnto him ſome other of the Turks
Commanders, with a great army ſet forward on his journey. Of whoſe comming *Cicala* hearing,
E the better to direct the Baſſa in his proceeding, cauſed himſelfe with ten of his ſouldiers
whom he beſt truſted, ſecretly by night to be let downe ouer the wals of the city. And ſo comming
to the Baſſa, together with him kept on his way to joyne battell with the King as neere
vnto the city as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the City, that ſo
ſoone as they ſhould perceiue the battell to be ioyned, they ſhould forthwith ſally out vpon
the backs of the Perſians, and ſo by holding them with a doubtfull battell, to further the victorie.
All which the Perſian King, hearing of the Baſſaes comming, wiſely doubting, and not
willing to forſake the ſiege, diuided his army, and leauing one part thereof to continue the
ſiege, went himſelfe with the other to meet the Baſſa. Wherein hee vſed ſuch expedition and
ſpeed, that with all his power falling vpon him before he could put his men in order, or range
F his battell, he made of the Turks (now confuſedly and without all order fighting more for the
ſafegard of their liues, than for any hope they had of victory) ſuch an exceeding great ſlaughter,
that few of them eſcaped, but were there almoſt all ſlaine. *Cicala* himſelfe but with two or
three moe, hauing much ado by getting into a little boat, and ſo by paſſing ouer the riuer, to
eſcape

Cicala Baſſa with his army ouerthrowne by the Perſiā King.

The Baſſa of Trapezond diſcomfited.

eſcape the danger. After which victory ſo eaſily gained, the King returning againe to the G ſiege, after many ſharpe and great aſſaults thereunto giuen, and many men on both ſides loſt, had the ſame at length yeelded vnto his mercy.

The Ianizaries mutiny.

Now with this news of the loſſe of his armies, and of the victories of the Perſian King, Sultan *Achmat* enraged, cauſed *Cicala Baſſa* his houſe at Conſtantinople, ful of treaſure & wealth, to be rifled; after the manner of the world, deeming of the doings of him ſo great a Captaine, according to the euent and euill ſucceſſe thereof, though not in his power to haue been remedied: neuertheleſſe ſhortly after, he cauſed great ſummes of mony to be deliuered out of his treaſures, and new forces raiſed for the renewing of the warre againſt the Perſian King. Vnto which ſeruice (now become vnto the Turks dreadfull) when as many of the Ianizaries were to be appointed, they after their proud and inſolent manner, all ariſing vp in mutiny, ſaid flatly, H That they would not ſtirre one foot out of Conſtantinople, except they were both before hand payed, and aſſured alſo to haue their wages encreaſed: complaining grieuouſly withall, of the Baſſa of Damaſco, the Great Sultan his high Treaſurer, that he conuerting the Sultans treaſures to his owne vſe, did not pay the ſouldiers their wages due. For the appeaſing of which mutiny and tumult, the Sultan cauſed the ſame Baſſa to be apprehended and his head ſtrucken off, and ſo with the price of his bloud againe appeaſed them.

The Baſſaes of Damaſco, Tripolis, and Gazare, ouerthrown by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

Damaſco taken & rifled by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

But leauing the Perſian King triumphing in his victories, and the Great Sultan grieuing at his loſſes, let vs turne aſide into Siria, to ſee the troubles the Turks had euen among themſelues, to the weakening of their State, and the encreaſing of the Great Sultans cares & griefe. The two Baſſa's of Damaſco and Aleppo had (as is before declared) been at great diſcord and I variance betwixt themſelues, and the Baſſa of Aleppo in field ouerthrowne, and in his city beſieged, glad to make peace with the other Baſſa, by yeelding vnto all ſuch things as it pleaſed him to demand. Which two Baſſa's for all that being diuerſly affected vnto the Sate, long agreed not, he of Damaſco continuing faithful in his allegiance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of Aleppo ſecretly inclining vnto Rebellion. Which the Baſſa of Damaſco perceiuing, and joyning vnto him the Baſſa's of Tripolis and Gazare, with their vnited forces went againſt the Baſſa of Aleppo, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpoſe to haue beſieged the Baſſa of Aleppo his enemy, in his city. But he betimes aduertiſed of this his deſigne, and not vnprouided for his comming, quickely called together his Forces, and had in very ſhort time raiſed an army of thirty thouſand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding K them willing to follow him whitherſoeuer he would lead them, marched directly towards his enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyned battell with them, which was fought with ſuch fury and hideous noiſe, as if it had been two thunder claps oppoſing each other in one cloud, ſtriuing of themſelues, which ſhould burſt out firſt, being like people, like armes, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued ſharpe and furious, the number of the one ſide counteruailing the valour of the other, and the others valor ballancing the others great number: howbeit in the end the lone Baſſa ouercame the other three, and the ſmaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained ſole victors of the field. Now the victorious Baſſa, as wiſe to vſe the victory, as hee was valiant to obtaine the ſame, ſo eagerly purſued them, that without giuing them leaue to breathe, hee beſieged Tripolis, the Baſſa L whereof at his comming abandoned the ſame, and carrying with him all his treaſure, fled into Cyprus; which made the taking of the place vnto the victorious Baſſa eaſie, who rifled and ranſacked the ſame: and not content with this conqueſt, forthwith beſieged the great and ſtrong city of Damaſco, reſolued to die in the plaines thereof, or to become victorious within the walls of the ſame. During which ſiege, the Baſſa of Tripolis had out of the prouinces and countries of the Turks thereabouts, raiſed another great army, and was comming to raiſe the ſiege, and to reſcue the City. Whereof the Baſſa of Aleppo hearing, roſe with the greateſt part of his army, and meeting with him, gaue him battell, and therein the ſecond time ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune ſo diſmaied the minds of the beſieged, that deſpairing of all ſuccour and reliefe, they by conſent of their Gouernor fell to parly M with the enemies, and ſo vpon certaine capitulations yeelded vnto him the place. Whereinto the Baſſa entering, found therein great treaſure, raiſed of the Turks tributes, whereupon he ſeiſed, and by the meanes thereof reſolued to make himſelfe Maſter of all Syria, the chiefe

city

A city whereof he had now in his owne power; whereunto he gaue free acceſſe and traffique vnto all the Merchants of Perſia and of the Indies.

Now in the time of this his proſperity, newes was brought him, That the Beglerbeg of Natolia had ſent his Lieutenant with a great Army againſt him; who knowing that diligence was the ſpirit of conqueſt, and that to conquer was to little purpoſe, without a vigilant care for the preſeruation thereof, reſted not vpon his former good fortune, but marched directly towards his enemies. Wherein his ſucceſſe was anſwerable to his deſigne, for within the ſpace of two dayes hee had taken all the paſſages which might giue way vnto his enemies to diſtreſſe him: and in the ſtreights of the mountaines, whereby the enemy was to paſſe, layed a great ambuſh of two thouſand harquebuſiers and three thouſand horſe, who, B the enemies being paſſed, and hee charging them a head, ſet vpon them in the rereward, and brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that hauing made a great fight, in fine, they hauing loſt a number of men, were glad to fly, and to leaue the Victory vnto the Baſſa. And to the encreaſing of his good happes, hee intercepted a Ship, caſt by weather vpon that Coaſt, laded with great treaſure, bound from Alexandria to Conſtantinople with the tributes of Ægypt, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the Perſian King aduertiſed, ſought to joyne with him in amity, highly commending all his valiant acts, and ſending vnto him honourable Preſents; to wit, a Piſtoll, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all ſet with pretious ſtones, eſteemed to bee worth fifty thouſand Crownes. This flame of rebellion ſpread abroad out of Syria, into Caramania, and ſo farther and farther into the leſſer Aſia. C Which was the cauſe that the Great Sultan ſent with all ſpeed vnto the Viſier Baſſa, then in Hungary; commanding him, now that Strigonium was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of peace, hee ſhould now vpon reaſonable conditions conclude the ſame, to the end that his affaires on this ſide of his Empire beeing ſet in quiet and ſecurity, hee might forthwith after turne his Forces againſt the Perſians and the Rebels in Aſia.

The Beglerbeg of Natolia his Lieutenant with his Army diſcomfited by the Baſſa of Aleppo.

But after all theſe great troubles, to returne againe into Hungary. The Rebels there had of long beſieged the ſtrong Towne of Newhuſe, as is before declared: which being hitherto valiantly defended by the German garriſon therein, was now brought to ſuch extremity, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to be longer defended, the garriſon ſouldiers therein D being with often aſſaults for the moſt part ſlaine, and the reſt of them that were left, grieuouſly wounded. Of which ſtrong Towne (beeing as it were the Key of that ſide of the Countrey) the Turkes which together with the Rebels beſieged the ſame, were for the commodious ſcituation thereof very deſirous: and the Rebels thereunto as vnwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly euer bee againe from them recouered. For which cauſe *Illiſhaſcius* one of the Captaines of the Hungarian Rebels then at the ſiege thereof, perceiuing it could not be long kept, to the intent that the Turks ſhould not by force obtaine the ſame, by Letters requeſted of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his enemy, That the Towne might be deliuered vnto *Humanoius*, another Captaine of the Hungarian Rebels, leſt the Turks ſhould by force obtaine the ſame: aſſuring him vpon the perill E of his owne life, and the confiſcation of all his goods to the Emperour, that vpon a reconciliation and peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the Hungarians his ſubjects, hee ſhould againe deliuer the ſame Towne and Fortreſſe into his poſſeſſion. Whereupon by commandement of the Archduke and of *Baſta*, the Towne was yeelded vp the ſeuenteenth day of the Moneth of October, vnto the aforeſaid *Humanoius*, and the Hungarians only receiued into the towne; yet with this condition, That the Germane ſouldiers which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the ſiege, might ſtill ſtay in the towne in pay, and keepe watch and ward together with the reſt of the Hungarians, *Humanoius* hauing command ouer them all.

Newhuſe yeelded vnto the Hungarian Rebels.

Wherefore the Turks ſeeing themſelues diſappointed of their purpoſe, for the obtaining F of this ſtrong Towne, riſing by night, and not a little diſcontented with the Hungarians, marched towards Strigonium, at the ſiege whereof the Viſier Baſſa lay. Howbeit within a few dayes after, the Hungarians not liking to haue the Germanes in garriſon with them, turned them with their Captaine *Strenius* out of the Towne, and yet ſafely conducted them to Comara.

At the ſame time they of Altenſoll, another ſtrong towne of the vpper Hungary, not farre G from Neuhuſe, hauing bin long beſieged by the Rebels, and driuen for want of victuall to eat their horſes for the ſpace of fiue weeks; and hauing now eaten them all but ſeuen, and nothing elſe left, yeelded themſelues together with their towne to the Rebels: as did alſo they of Wiglas, Shemnitz, and Cremnitz.

In the meane time *Botſcay* with a very great army of his Hungarian Rebels, came to Tyrna, a ſtrong towne about ſixteene miles diſtant from Vienna, attended vpon with a guard of an hundred tall ſouldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew: a little before whoſe comming, *Humanoius*, vnto whom Neuhuſe was a little before yeelded, had ſummoned Presburg, requiring the ſame to be yeelded vnto him. Which thing *Botſcoy*, being now come, by Letters likewiſe required of the Citiſens, threatning otherwiſe moſt ſtreightly to beſiege them. Whereupon *Schonberg* Gouernour of Presburg, doubting of the faithfulneſſe of the Citiſens, H being almoſt all Hungarians, retired himſelfe with a good part of his ſouldiers into the Caſtle; with proteſtation, to ſpend his life and all that he had for the keeping and defence thereof. With whoſe conſtancy the Citiſens mooued, continued firme in their allegiance vnto the Emperour. Which *Botſcay* perceiuing, and that the City was not to be got by threats, forthwith remooued and went to Peſth, where he was moſt honourably receiued by the Viſier Baſſa, and by him preſented with a crowne of curious workemanſhip, and threeſcore thouſand duckats, with fiue and twenty moſt goodly horſes: and there hauing receiued from him full power to entreat of peace, and to conclude the ſame with the Imperials, with *Haly Baſſa* and certaine other of the chiefe of the Turks joyned in Commiſſion with him, againe departed I and went to Kyrpa, vnto an aſſembly of the Hungarians there to be holden: whither but a little before *Sigiſmund Forgatt* was come with the Emperors reſolution, concerning the negotiation of peace; when as in the meane time other Commiſſioners from the Emperour were come to Comara about the treaty of peace with the Turks, they themſelues ſo requiring. Howbeit *Collonitz* at the ſame time by letters writ vnto the Archduke, aduiſing him that this treaty of peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels: but that if it were poſſible, an attonement ſhould be firſt made with the Rebels, and afterward a peace concluded with the Turks; the common good of the common-weale ſo requiring: for that he perceiued the Turks indeed not to be deſirous of peace at all, but only to go about, by keeping the Chriſtians at variance among themſelues, and in ſuſpence betwixt K hope and feare, to do them harme, and themſelues good; which was afterward found to be ſo indeed.

A treaty of peace.

The Perſian King had ſome moneths before ſent three Embaſſadours vnto his Imperiall Majeſty, who being come at diuers times one after another, were all with peculiar letters diſmiſſed from Prague the 29 of Nouember. Vnto the firſt of which Embaſſadours Letters were giuen, of this purport.

The Emperors Letters vnto the Perſian King.

Zinel Chan Beg *whom your Majeſty hath ſent Embaſſadour vnto vs, we haue willingly ſeene and receiued, and giuen him audience, in declaring of ſuch things as he had from you in charge. It is vnto vs both acceptable and pleaſing, that your Majeſty hath regard, ſo friendly to ſalute vs, and ſo carefully* L *to ſeeke to joyne in amity and friendſhip with vs, whereby your Majeſty much bindeth vs vnto the like deſire of mutuall loue and friendſhip; and that we againe on our parts ſhould be ready to performe ſuch things as may be vnto your Majeſty pleaſing: and that we ſhould wiſh for nothing more, than that our friendſhip ſhould dayly more and more be confirmed, and for the common good of vs both, for many yeares preſerued: wherein we for our parts will not be wanting. Whereas your Majeſty with great courage hath vndertaken, and with ſo happy ſucceſſe of victories continued your warres againſt the Turke, whereof you had ſo juſt cauſe, we from our hearts in your behalfe rejoyce as all other Chriſtians worthily doe: and we our ſelues are thereby much animated valiantly and conſtantly to proceed in our warres, which we now ſo many yeares haue made with the ſame enemy, nothing doubting but that God the reuenger of wrong will ſo proſper the honourable endeauours of your Majeſty, as that you ſhall* M *not onely recouer ſuch things as haue beene wrongfully taken from you, but alſo weaken and deſtroy the power of that perfidious enemy. Which that it may the better bee brought to paſſe, wee alſo renew our warres, raiſe greater forces, and by our Embaſſadours and Letters exhort and incite the greateſt Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to extend their power againſt this our common enemy: and*

thereby

A *thereby to giue fitter opportunitie and occaſion vnto your Maieſty for the better proceeding of your affairs in Aſia. The courſe of our notable victories which wee haue in few yeares paſt obtained againſt the Turkes, the tumults and troubles which the Turks haue by ſecret deuices raiſed in Hungary, haue ſomewhat hindred: howbeit we hope by Gods permiſſion, that all things ſhall ſhortly be again reſtored to their former eſtate, ſo that we may wholly without let turn our ſelues with our power againſt the Turkes. Yet in the mean time we haue thus much preuailed with the King of Spaine, as that hee hath already ſet forth a fleet vnto the borders of his territories, to diſtract his forces, the proſperous ſucceſſe of which Fleet we daily expect. We haue alſo mooued the Pope, that he ſhould alſo giue aid in this common Cauſe, and excite other Princes alſo to do the like; which he with great endeauor doth. But concerning ſuch things as ſhall hereafter happen, we ſhall by Letters and Embaſſadors certifie your Maieſty as occaſion ſhall require:* B *as at this preſent we had appointed to ſend vnto you the Baron of Dobna, a famous and noble gentleman, who (all things being ready for his iourney) ſuddenly died. And would now haue ſent another, had not the vnexpected change of the affairs of the Moſcouits otherwiſe diſſwaded vs, we hauing no other way but that at this time to ſend into Perſia. For concerning this great Prince which is now reported to reign there, what his minde is, or how he ſtandeth affected, we haue as yet no experience. In the mean time wee ſo deſire a perpetuall and firme friendſhip betweene vs and your Maieſty, with a certain ſecure and free commerce, that if your Maieſty (which we wiſh) ſhall extend your victories vnto the ſea, your ſubiects may haue free acceſſe and traffique vnto all our Kingdomes and Dominions. We alſo thanke your Maieſty, that you ſo kindely entertaine the Chriſtians into your Kingdomes, and grant vnto them to haue the free exerciſe of their Religion. As alſo for that you haue ſent your Embaſſadours vnto the King of* C *France, although without wiſhed ſucceſſe; whereby we eaſily gather your Maieſties great care and circumſpection euery way. As concerning them whom your Maieſty hath ſent vnto vs, they haue diligently and faithfully performed their duty, ſo that they haue deſerued praiſe and fauour both here and in Perſia: whom we much commend vnto your Maieſty, to whom in all things we offer our greateſt loue and affection.*

Vnto the ſecond Embaſſador were alſo giuen Letters from the Emperor, to this effect.

D *Whileſt we were yet buſied in the diſpatch of* Zinel Chan Beg, *your former Embaſſador, in the mean time* Methi Culi Beg *another Embaſſador of yours came vnto vs, whom we haue curteouſly entertained, and graciouſly heard. By whoſe ſpeech, as alſo by your Maieſties letters, wee haue with exceeding great pleaſure vnderſtood both your friendly greeting of vs, as alſo of the happy ſucceſſe of your affaires againſt the Turks ſince the departure of your former Embaſſador, together with your kinde affection toward the Chriſtians in thoſe parts. One of the ſeruants alſo of our Embaſſadour which died by the way, hath reported vnto vs, how curteouſly our ſaid Embaſſador was by your Maieſty receiued; and how you haue ſhewed your ſelfe affected againſt the common Enemy: which was vnto vs a thing both acceptable and pleaſing. Vnto both which your embaſſies the more ſolemnly to anſwer, we had appointed again to ſend an honorable embaſſage vnto your Maieſty, had not theſe lets and impediments hapned, which in our Letters* E *giuen vnto your former Embaſſador are declared. But ſo ſoon and as often as may be, we will indeauor either by letters or Embaſſadors, more at large to manifeſt our loue and affection toward you. Wherefore we greatly deſire that your Maieſty may continue in perfect amitie with vs, and valiantly proceed in ſubduing of the common enemy; we on our part being ready to perform all things wherby we may teſtifie vnto you the deſire we haue for the preſeruation of our mutual loue and friendſhip, as alſo of our endeauors in our wars againſt him. God almighty long preſerue your Maieſty in health, and make you ſtill victorious againſt the common enemy.*

Vnto the third Embaſſador were likewiſe Letters giuen from the Emperor, of this purport.

F

Whereas Ius Baſſi Haſſan Beg, *your Maieſties Embaſſadour vnto the French King, came this way, at the ſame time that other two of your Embaſſadors were heere preſent with vs; wee receiued him with* *the ſame curteſie wherwith we receiued them, making ſtay of him vntill they might all three be together diſmiſſed. And for that his Embaſſage was undertaken for the furtherance of the common good, though it wanted the wiſhed ſucceſſe, yet we haue thought it good to giue thanks vnto your Maieſtie, and in moſt friendly maner to greet you by this your ſaid Embaſſador, whom we highly commend to you, for that for the time he here ſtaid in our court, he ſo behaued himſelfe, as that he well deſerued both our and your Maieſties fauor, wherof we wiſh him to be partaker. Almighty God bleſſe your Maieſtie with all felicitie, and long to his good pleaſure preſerue the ſame.* G

These Embaſſadors with theſe letters thus diſmiſſed, one of them went into Polonia, and there declared vnto the King the great loue and affection of the Perſian King toward him, offering vnto him all loue and kindneſſe: firſt requeſting him, That he would join with his Maieſtie in all friendſhip and brotherly loue: and then, That he would take vp armes againſt the Turks their common enemy: promiſing on his maſters behalfe, That he ſhould not lay down arms vntill that the enemy were vtterly brought to nought and deſtroied, ſo that the Chriſtian princes would on the other ſide likewiſe impugn him. This was a ſtrange meſſage, and not before heard of in Polonia, where for all that the meſſenger was curteouſly and bountifully entertained, and afterwards with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requeſted, was ſo honorably diſmiſſed. H

The Turks and Hungarian Rebels by the Imperials ouerthrowne.

But leauing theſe Embaſſadors vnto their long journey, to return again into Hungary. A great number of the Turkes and Hungarian Rebels meeting together at Hidweg, had a purpoſe ſecretly to haue ſurpriſed and oppreſſed the Imperial ſoldiers in their camp. Of which their purpoſe they in good time aduertiſed, and therfore keeping ſtrong Watch and ward, ſo receiued the Turks and Rebels at their comming, contrary to their expectation, as that after a ſmall fight they cauſed them to fly: whom the Imperials ſo hotly purſued towards Caniſia, that they ſlew of them aboue a thouſand, tooke about two hundred more of them priſoners, with fifteen hundred horſes which they caried away with them: and ſo hauing left ſufficient gariſons on that ſide of the countrey towards Caniſia, returned themſelues towards Vienna. In the mean time the Emperors Commiſſioners being met together at Comora, about the treaty of peace with the Turks and the Hungarians, the ſixt of December receiuing letters from the Baſſa of Buda, certaine of them the next day after went by water down the riuer of Danubius to Buda: where they being honorably receiued, and hauing with the Baſſa much and long talke concerning a peace, found little difficultie therin, but that the Turks ſaid they could therof determine nothing, without the preſence and conſent of the Hungarians. With which anſwer they ful of hope returned backe again to Comora, as did alſo *Sigiſmund Forgat*, with the like hope of peace from *Botſcay*. At which time *Botſcay* beeing about to depart from the aſſembly at Kirpay, back again to Caſſovia, gaue power to *Illiſhaſcius* for the furtherance of the treaty for peace. Who hauing receiued letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke *Matthias*, about the end of December, together with his wiſe went to Vienna: who being admitted vnto the Archdukes preſence, and hauing had an houre and a halfes talk with him, and euery day after conferred with the Counſellors from eight a clock to twelue, at the length compoſed all difficulties and differences touching the treaty of peace, excepting fiue Articles onely concerning Religion; the free exerciſe whereof the Hungarians in any wiſe required. So that now men began to conceiue ſome good hope of a peace to be in time concluded. I K L

1606 *The Haiduckes do great harme in the vpper Hungarie.*

This year thus ending with the beginning of the treaty for peace, the next year began with the wonted troubles of war, the rebellious Haiducks doing great harm in the vpper Hungary, tyranniſing after their wonted maner vpon men of all ſorts and conditions. Where aſſaulting diuers cities, and being valiantly repulſed, they were conſtrained to retyre by the Polonian Coſſacks defending the ſame: yet did they neuertheleſſe no little harm vnto the Country inhabitants. Wherof complaint being made to the King of Polonia, he by his Embaſſador ſent to *Botſcay* at Caſſovia, obtained, that thoſe ſpoiling Haiducks ſhould be called back again out of thoſe parts. M

Now had *Illiſhaſcius* the negotiator for the treaty of peace to bee made with the Rebels, ſo

A well dealt in that matter,as that the ſame in the later end of Ianuarie ſhould haue been publiſhed at Vienna, but that certaine of the chiefe of the Clergy could not be brought to conſent,that the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould indifferently be granted to all the people in generall, but vnto the Nobilitie onely. Whereupon *Illiſhaſcius* with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for the Hungarians,with great diſcontentment being about to return home again without any thing at all concluded,the Deputies for the Emperor ſeeing that it could not otherwiſe be brought to paſſe, at length agreed (although neuer ſo much contrary to the good liking of the Clergy-men) to ſatisfie the Hungarians in this their requeſt,and that the free exerciſe as well of the Reformed as of the Romiſh Religion, ſhould bee permitted to all men thorowout all Hungary, in ſuch ſort as they had before beene in the time of the Emperours B *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the free libertie of Religion, Letters were deliuered vnto *Illiſhaſcius*; all the other points concerning the peace beeing put off vntill the next aſſembly of the chiefe States of Hungary,ſhortly after to be holden at the city of Presburg.

The free exerciſe of religion granted to the Hungarians.

About the beginning of March, the Spahi at Conſtantinople had requeſted of the Viſier Baſſa, That it might bee lawfull for themſelues to take vp their woonted Penſion of the Farmers and husbandmen here and there in the Countrey. Which although it were vnto them by the Viſier Baſſa denied, (who had commaundement from the great Sultan, within a few daies after to giue euery one of them his preſent pay in ready money) yet they not ſo contented, but going out of the city, preſumptuouſly preſumed to trouble the countrey men, and C to do the Farmers great harm. For which their inſolencie the great Sultan (the chiefe Captaines and leaders of them being again returned into the City) cauſed them ſome to bee beheaded,ſome to be hanged,and other ſome to be bound in chains and drowned: whereby no ſmall fear was ſtruck into the reſt of the common ſouldiers. But the rebellion in Aſia ſtil increaſing, and the rebels there ſecretly both fauouring and furthering the proceedings of the Perſian King, the Sultan forthwith ſent for the Viſier Baſſa,who the laſt yeare had ſerued in Hungary, to go into Aſia to repreſſe the Rebels there, and alſo to withſtand the proceedings of the Perſian King:commiting in the mean time the managing of the war in Hungary vnto his Lieutenant.

The treaty of peace both with the Turkes and the Rebels was yet in hand; whereunto how D much the Turks were for their part inclined, the garriſon ſouldiers of Rab had good proofe: for the eighteenth day of March, being the day at their requeſt appointed for the treatie, and wheron the Commiſſioners on both parts there meeting together, ſhould haue furthered the negotiation of the peace, not paſt fifty of the Turkes comming to the gate of the towne, required to be let in,as if they had come for that purpoſe. Whom our men nothing ſuſpecting, were about to receiue them into the town: when as a Sentinel without the town (it beeing a thicke miſt) perceiued three thouſand more of the Turks lurking there by: and forthwith giuing an alarm to thoſe of the town, bewraied the enemies treachery; who therupon retyred, they of the town diſcharging their great ordnance after them.

The next moneth about the beginning of Aprill certain meſſengers came from Eperia (a E City ſeated in the vpper Hungary, yet holden for the Emperour) to Vienna, declaring the moſt miſerable ſtate of that city:which although the way therunto being three or four weeks before opened,it had receiued ſome good ſtore of victuals, yet now (as they ſaid) was ſo on euery ſide beſet by the Rebels, as that no prouiſion at all could more therunto come: hoping by that means to bring to paſſe, that the citiſens pinched with hunger and want of things neceſſarie,ſhould at length yeeld themſelues together with the city into their power. By which means they but a little before had obtained the ſtrong town of Tokay; wherin the famin was ſo great,that the ſouldiers had not only eaten their ſhooes and leather jerkins,but had now alſo killed two boyes to eat, and ſome others of them had caſt lots amongſt themſelues, which ſhould be kild for the other to eat. By which extremitie *Ruber* the Gouernor of the place was F inforced to yeeld. Vnto whom *Botſcay*,who then lay at Caſſovia, is ſaid to haue offred a great ſumme of mony, with many other good things,to haue taken his part: all which he moſt conſtantly refuſed, proteſting, euen vnto death to continue faithfull in his obedience to the Emperour.

Tokay taken by the Rebels.

About the ſame time *Illiſhaſchius*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthe- G
ring of the peace in Hungarie, writ letters from Caſſouia vnto a certaine great man at Vien-
na; whereby he declared, that *Botſcay* without the conſent of the Eſtates of Hungarie could
of himſelfe determine nothing concerning the concluſion of the peace: who had oft times
told him to his face, that rather than they would againe ſubmit themſelues to a forreine Go-
uernour, they would for euer put themſelues vnder the Turks protection: and yet promiſed
by the ſame lettters, that although he had got vnto himſelfe great diſpleaſure thereby with
the Haiduckes, he would not for all that ceaſe by all meanes to draw the States of the coun-
try in their next aſſembly vnto his part, ſo that that which was before concluded at Vienna
concerning Religion, ſhould not againe be reuerſed: for many of them (as he ſaid) were
afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promiſed vnto the States concerning
the exerciſe of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet bee perſuaded to put H
themſelues from vnder the Turks protection, vntill they ſaw themſelues ſufficiently ſecu-
red, both for the liberty of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient priuiledges. And
that they could not, nor would, not endure a forreine Gouernour to rule ouer them, with
whom they could not talke; nor yet ſuffer Clergy men to haue any voyces in their ciuill af-
faires. And therefore (he ſaid) he thought it very neceſſarie that the Emperour ſhould not
doubt in this point to gratifie the Hungarians. And that Tranſyluania, whereupon hee had
been hitherto inforced to beſtow ſo great coſt for the keeping thereof, being now left vn-
to *Botſcay*, he ſhould appoint ſuch a Gouernour ouer Hungarie as the States of that countrey
ſhould require. For that there was no hope of any peace to be made with the Turks, except I
Botſcay and the States of Hungarie ſhould vndertake the treaty thereof; ſeeing that they but
only ſeeking for a peace in ſhew, were oftentimes diſcouered but to ſeeke for their owne ad-
uantages and profits.

Illiſhaſcius reproachfully vſed by the Hungarians.

But concerning *Illiſhaſchius* himſelfe, the Hungarian Rebels ſeeing him ſo much to labour
about the concluding of a peace, in ſcorne called him by the by-name of *Cripeliſhacius*, as hee
that too much inclined vnto the Germanes: which by-name he tooke in ſo ill part, as that he
departed ſtreight to Eperia, with a purpoſe not to haue been preſent at the next aſſembly of
the States: but being again pacified, and by *Botſcay* called back, he made ſuch a notable ſpeech
vnto the States in their next aſſembly, that all men now began both to hope and wiſh more
for peace than they had before done. K

In the meane time, the Turks in great number being gathered together to Belgrade, ex-
pected the end of this treaty for peace, and letters from the great Sultan to *Botſcay* were in-
tercepted alſo: whereby he aduiſed him to proceed in his purpoſe, and ioyning with his
powers, to ſeize vpon Auſtria, Bohemia, and Morauia; for that he could not be contented
with Hungary and Tranſyluania, and leaue the reſt of the Prouinces vnto *Botſcay* as his inhe-
ritance.

The Tartars about this time were about ſo make a road into Polonia, but when as they
with their oft incurſions had not a little troubled the Haiduckes alſo in the vpper Hungary,
they reſolued amongſt themſelues to ioyne their forces together, and to fight as well
againſt the Turks as the Tartars, and from thenceforth neither to truſt the one nor the L
other.

Hereupon, when as the Turks in great number came to aſſault Lippa, a towne of the
Haiduckes, they forſaking the towne, fortified the Caſtle with certaine companies of armed
men, and afterwards beſtowed many others here and there in caues and cellers in the towne,
and layed great ſtore of gunpouder in the ſtreets. Vnto which towne the Turks comming,
and finding the gates open, and none to reſiſt them, haſted to haue taken the Caſtle. But
in the meane time, the pouder which the Haiduckes had layed taking fire, blew vp a num-
ber of them, and they which lay hid in the caues and cellers forthwith breaking out, ſlew of
them whomſoeuer they met, and ſo made of the Turks a great ſlaughter, and againe cleered
the towne. M

The Eſtates of Auſtria conſidering the great harmes they had in theſe late troubles recei-
ued, as well from the Hungarian Rebels, as from the Emperors mutinous ſouldiers, and by ex-
perience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to reſt vpon other mens protection,
being

being vnto them ſtrangers; reſolued now in a general aſſembly of the Eſtates by them about this time holden, to take vpon themſelues the defence of their Countrey againſt ſuch ſudden incurſions and tumults of the mutinous ſoldiers, and no more to rely vpon forrein protection, ſtill to ſeek when they had moſt need thereof. Wherefore to aſſure themſelues in their own ſtrength, they with a general conſent agreed to haue alwaies in readines two thouſand horſemen and eight thouſand footmen to be maintained at the common charge; fifty of the country peaſants ſtil finding of one of the ſaid ſouldiers.

And much about this time, *viz.* the third of Iune, *Illiſhaſcius* a great man among the rebels, and yet the greateſt furtherer of the peace, (as appeared by his doings, and by that wee haue before of him written) hauing before obtained letters of ſafe conduct from the Archduke, came now again with his wife alſo to Vienna; there more at large to conferre vpon the Articles for a peace to be concluded, with ſuch as were on the Emperors behalfe for that purpoſe deputed. Where comming to confer and talke about that matter, he was ſo croſſed by *Nicolas* then Biſhop of Vienna, who hitherto had been preſent in counſell together with the reſt of the Commiſſioners (a great enemy vnto the peace, in reſpect of the article concerning the liberty of the Reformed Religion) he was, I ſay, by him ſo croſſed, as that there was no hope of any thing to be for the common quiet concluded, ſo long as he was there preſent. For the which cauſe he, on both ſides and of all men deſirous of the peace diſliked, was in the Archdukes name willed no more to come into the Councel, for diſturbing of the peace. In which negotiation for concluding of the peace, *Illiſhaſcius* had taken ſuch pains in trauelling to and fro, betwixt the Archduke then lying at Vienna, and *Botſcay* with the States of Hungary then lying at Caſſovia, and ſo debated the matter on both ſides, that all things beeing as good as agreed vpon, for a full concluſion of all matters, he himſelſe, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebaſtian Tockel*, *Staniſlaus Turſon*, and others, with two hundred horſe, and thirty two wagons, in all four hundred perſons, the ſeuenth of September came to Vienna, with fifty Huſſars following them. Shortly after whoſe comming, the treaty for peace was earneſtly begun, with often meſſengers paſſing to and fro betwixt Vienna and Caſſovia, to *Botſcay* lying then very dangerouſly ſick, vntil that all the articles of the peace were neere about the 14 day of September fully on both parts agreed vpon: moſt difference ariſing about the Article for the free exerciſe of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might haue the free exerciſe of Religion; yet the Hungarians recalling that general word Religion, to a particularitie, would needs haue it ſet down, that men might haue the free exerciſe of thoſe Religions which are at this day called the Lutheran, Calvinian, and Romiſh religion. Neither would they conclude any peace, til they were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied. Which peace ſo concluded, the next day after, the Deputies for the Hungarians ſent an Embaſſador to the Viſier Baſſa at Buda, to certifie him of all their proceedings, and to requeſt him not as yet to attempt any thing for the diſturbing of the peace. Now the Articles of the peace were as followeth.

Peace between the Emperour and the diſcontented Hungarians.

Articles of Peace agreed vpon betwixt the Emperor and his diſcontented ſubiects in the vpper Hungary.

1 *That from thenceforth it ſhould be lawfull for euery man thorowout the kingdome of Hungary to haue the free vſe of his Religion, and to beleeue what he would.*

2 *That if the Hungarians ſo thought good, they might chuſe a Palatine for their Gouernour; and that in the mean time the Archduke* Matthias *ſhould no more vſe the title of a Gouernor, but of a Vice-Roy.*

3 *That the Crown of Hungary ſhould ſtill be left in the Emperors keeping.*

4 *That the Biſhops that were nobly deſcended in Hungary, and had lands of their owne, ſhould from thenceforth be admitted into the Councell, but the other Biſhops not ſo to be receiued.*

5 *That* Botſcay *for himſelfe and his heirs mal ſhould for euer hold Tranſylvania.*

6 *That the ſame country of Tranſylvania ſhould be ſtill ſubiect to the kingdom of Hungary.*

7 *That for his arms he ſhould bear three royall Crownes and three open Helmets.*

8 That he ſhould no more afterward ſtile himſelfe Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdome of Hungary.

9 That they ſhould pay the Haiducks their wages which had leuied them.

10 That the harms don on both ſides ſhould for euer be forgotten.

11 That Bohemia, Moravia, Lauſniſium, and Auſtria, ſhould not only with their Letters and ſeales confirm the articles, but alſo ſwear at Vienna, to keep the ſame ſo far as ſhould concern them.

12 That the Hungarians ſhould likewiſe ſend ſome to Vienna, who in their behalfe ſhould with their Letters, Seals and Oaths, confirm and ratifie theſe articles.

13 That the aſſembly of the States of Hungary ſhould be referred vntill a more conuenient time for them.

14 That all theſe things being don, this agreement ſhould be publiquely confirmed and inrolled in the Records of the kingdom of Hungary.

15 That it ſhould be lawfull for the Hungarians by their Embaſſadors to inuite the Princes of the Empire to the approuing and confirming of theſe Articles.

Which fifteen articles were on the Emperors part ſubſcribed by *Trauſam*, *Mollart*, *Sigifred*, *Pruner*, *Lichtenſtein*, and *Kreuberge*: and on the Hungarians part, by *Illiſhaſcius*, *Peter Erkod*, *George Turſo*, *Sigiſmund Forgat*, and others.

The twentieth of September following, the Embaſſadors for *Botſcay* and the Hungarians being admitted vnto the preſence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him pardon for the forepaſſed rebellion, and all that was therein don. Vnto whom ſecuritie for the ſame was afterward giuen by the prouinces; therby alſo to aſſure them that they ſhould not be therfore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before don, the title of the prince of Tranſylvania was left vnto *Botſcay* for term of his life. Who feeling his ſicknes daily to increaſe, would oftentimes ſay, That he could willingly die, ſo that it would pleaſe God before his death to giue him leaue to excuſe himſelfe of his rebellion before the whole Roman Empire. And ſo about the end of September, all the aforeſaid Embaſſadours for the Hungarians and *Botſcay*, being aſſembled into the caſtle of Vienna, together with the Emperors Councel, and certain other Noblemen of the prouinces belonging to the Emperor, receiued euery one of them the articles of the peace, copied out and fair written in parchment. Which don they returned to their own dwellings: but *Illiſhaſcius* went from thence to Newhuſe, to bee preſent at the peace to be afterwards made with the Turks alſo: from whence he afterwards writ letters vnto the Viſier Baſſa, to requeſt him, not as yet to attempt any thing againſt the Emperors prouinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commiſſioners, which were ſhortly to come to him.

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

But in the mean time whilſt this peace was thus in concluding, certain Tartars at Conſtantinople, in their inſolencie ſet fire vpon a certaine Iewes houſe: whereof aroſe ſuch a terrible flame, as burnt not only many houſes, but a great number of Iewes themſelues alſo, the harm there don being eſteemed at forty hundred thouſand duckats. In which tumult and noiſe of the people running to and fro and quenching of the fire, the great Sultan hauing a fall from his horſe, was therof for a while ſicke.

The Turks of Caniſia alſo hauing conſpired with the Captain of the leſſer Comora, came to haue ſurpriſed the ſame. But the garriſon ſouldiers there hauing before had a ſuſpition of it, ſuffered ſo many of the Turkes as they knew they were able to ouercome, to enter: and ſo ſhutting the gates of the city, kild them euery mothers ſon, the reſt which were without returning again to Caniſia.

Peace thus as is aforeſaid concluded with the Hungarians, *George Turſon*, *Nicolas Iſtvan*, *Iohn Mollart*, *Althem*, with ſome others the Emperors Commiſſioners for a peace to bee made with the Turks, went to Comara; *Sigifrid Collonitz* and *Budin* following them with the army: for as yet they durſt not altogether truſt the Turks, for intercepting them by the way. Which Commiſſioners caried with them *Solyman* Baſſa of Buda, who had now bin ſeuen yeares kept priſoner in the caſtle of Vienna; and *Aly Baſſa*; both brauely apparelled in blew ſilk; ſix wagons following them, wherin were caried certaine preſents for the great Sultan, to wit, a moſt curious clock, certain fair pieces of plate, an hundred thouſand duckats, and diuers other things of great value.

A But whilſt they there ſtaid, expecting to hear from the Viſier Baſſa then at Buda, a ſudden inſolent accident fel out, like enough againe to haue broken off the peace already made with the Hungarians, as alſo to haue vtterly cut off the treaty of peace to be had with the Turkes, and to haue ſet them altogether by the ears again. For albeit that the firſt article of the peace made with the Hungarians was, That euery man ſhould haue the free exerciſe of his religion; yet the eighth of October, about three a clock in the afternoon, when as a certaine Hungarian Lutheran preacher was in the pulpit preaching to the people in a church in the ſuburbes of Comora, *Buchem* and *Knevie* two captaines comming from dinner with certaine of their ſeruants more than halfe drunk, with their ſwords drawn ran into the church and draue the Preacher out thence; vpon whom captain *Buchems* trumpetter alſo diſcharged a piſtol, and raiſed B ſuch a tumult in the church, that diuers children were troden to death vnder foot, and the reſt put in great fear of their liues.

Which inſolent fact ſo mooued the Hungarians, that *Turſon* and *Budian* there preſent with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, ready to haue gon about the treaty for peace, would needs the next day haue departed from Comora, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Collonitz* intreated to ſtay. *Buchem* and *Knevie* the two Captaines were bound to their appearance for anſwering of the matter, and the trumpeter with irons on his heels was clapt in priſon. But the news hereof being carried to Neuhuſel, and as the manner of report is, by fame made far greater than it was, as, That 150 perſons was ſlain in the Church, there aroſe ſuch a tumult among the Hungarians there, as that *Illiſhaſcius* with the reſt of the captains had much adoe to quiet and ap- C peaſe the ſame: who joining with the Turks of Strigonium and the Haiducks of the Iſland, had determined now by night to haue inuaded Comora, where the outrage was committed; had not *Pograni*a the elder (a man of great grauitie) comming from thence, declared to *Illiſhaſcius* and the reſt of the captains all the matter as it was don; vpon whoſe relation the whole tumult was again appeaſed. But foraſmuch as the two aforeſaid captains bound to their appearance, were by night fled to Vienna, the Hungarians were very erneſt to haue them ſeuerely puniſhed, as breakers of the firſt article of the peace concerning Religion. *Botſcay* in the mean time beheaded *Catayus* his Chancellor, who had gon about to poiſon him, in hope after his death to haue bin Prince of Tranſylvania himſelf; placing *Iohn Ianuſy* in his ſtead, and giuing him *Catay* his lands.

Botſcay cauſes his Chancellor to be beheaded.

D Peace now made with the Hungarians as is aforeſaid, and Commiſſioners appointed for a treaty of peace to be had with the Turks alſo (wherunto the Viſier Baſſa, then lying at Buda, was as forward as any, beeing ſo commaunded from the great Sultan his maſter) there wanted but a place commodious for the ſaid Commiſſioners, without ſuſpition of danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Wherupon *Cæſar Gallen*, a man of great experience in ſuch matters, with ſome other captains, were appointed to find out a fit place for them to meet in: who hauing viewed many, at length made choice of one within half a league of Comora, ſo fit for that purpoſe, as if Nature had therfore prouided it. The great riuer of Danubius beeing there diuided into three parts, made therin three Iſlands, al compaſſed round with the arms therof; into which Iſlands the Commiſſioners for the Emperor, for the Turk, and for the Hungarians E might come without let one of another, to intreat of their affairs, and ſo in little boats prepared for that purpoſe, paſſe ouer one to another as their occaſions required. Into which ſo commodious a place, the Deputies for the Emperour the 25 of October, conducted by the horſemen of *Mansfelt*, *Hohenlo* and *Bonchimin*, came. After whom followed *Illiſhaſcius* and the other deputies for the Hungarians, aſſiſted with the nobility of Hungary, al attending the comming of the great Sultans Commiſſioners; who likewiſe immediatly after came, being brought vp the riuer in 24 braue ſhips wel appointed.

Theſe Commiſſioners being thus apart arriued in the Iſlands, began firſt to conſult by themſelues euery one, of their ſeueral affairs and buſineſſes; and afterwards many times meeting together, with much grauitie conſulted and conferred of the beſt waies and meanes for F the making of a good and aſſured peace for the appeaſing of theſe wars: which euery one of them, and all together, to that end employing the vttermoſt of their indeauours, at laſt the nineteenth of November it was betwixt all the three parties fully agreed vpon and concluded, and hoſtages on all parts giuen one to another, with oathes and promiſes ſolemnly on all

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Peace between the Emperour and the grand Sultan.

ſides giuen and receiued for the inuiolate keeping and obſeruing of the ſame. The Articles follow. G

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Great Sultan and the German Emperor.

First, That the Emperor and the great Sultan, in all their Letters, Diſpatches, Inſtruments, and Embaſſages, ſhould not ſtile themſelues by any other names or additions, but by the names of Welbeloued father and ſon; to wit, the Emperor calling the great Sultan his Son; and the great Sultan the Emperor (in reſpect of his years) his Father. H

That in the beginning of their Letters they ſhould take vpon them the name and quality of Emperor, and not of King, reſpectiuely one of them to another.

That thoſe two Emperors ſhould take order, that the realme of Hungary and the Archdukedome of Auſtria might be in reſt, peace, and tranquilitie, and altogether deliuered and aſſured from all incurſions, oppreßions, and outrages of the men of war on both parties.

That it ſhould be lawfull for the King of Spain, if he ſo thought good, to enter into this treaty of peace, without the oppoſition or let of one or other of theſe Emperors in any ſort.

That the Tartars, and all other people vſually wont to come in arms into Hungary, ſhould be compriſed within this treaty of the peace, ſo to be diſarmed of all power, by their means to do harm within the realm of Hungary, and they there aſſured from their violences and robberies. I

That euery one, both on the one part and on the other, ſhould forbear from making incurſions and pillages and enterpriſes of war, and from all acts of hoſtility one againſt another; and yet euery one neuertheleſſe to haue power to purſue theeues and robbers, and ſuch others ſeeking after booty, to the diſturbing of the peace, and injuring of the Commonweale. Wherof euery man ſhould haue power to giue knowledge, to the intent by common force to ſuppreſſe them, and to cauſe them to recompence the wrongs and harmes by them done.

That all places, caſtles, towns, and forts ſhould remain without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, ſurpriſe, or treaſon; and ſo likewiſe the goods, families, and cattell of the countrymen which were of their territories and juriſdiction; Botſcay *ſtill holding all that was lately to him granted by the Treaty of Vienna.* K

That all priſoners taken in the wars ſhould be ſet at liberty, but eſpecially ſuch as had beene taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they ſought to haue defended. And the other priſoners to bee deliuered by exchange and ranſome, as ſhould bee moſt expedient and eaſie for both parties.

That all controuerſies hapning as well on this ſide as beyond the riuer of Danubius, ſhould be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the gouernor of Rab, of the Baſſa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclauonia, and of the Gouernors of other places: and that if they ſhould chance to be of ſuch important weight and conſequence, as that they could not by theſe magiſtrats be determined and compoſed, that they ſhould in that caſe be reſerued to be decided by their Imperial Maieſties; and that it ſhould bee lawfull both for the one party and for the other, to repair and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which might preiudice either the one part or the other. L

That Amurath *the Viſier Baſſa ſhould ſend his meſſengers with preſents to the Archduke Mathias; and that the Emperor ſhould diſpatch an Embaſſador toward the great Sultan with 20000 Duckets: And that the great Sultan likewiſe ſhould ſend his Embaſſador to Prague with great and rich preſents to the Emperor.*

That this peace ſhould begin in the year 1607, and continue for the ſpace of twenty yeares, and that one of the Emperors ſhould ſend vnto the other euery three yeare their Embaſſadors with honorable and rich preſents, according to the pleaſure and power of their Maieſties.

That all the Emperors ſucceſſors, as alſo thoſe of the kingdome of Hungary ſhould bee comprehended within the agreement of peace; together with all their kindred, allyes, and confederats, as likewiſe thoſe of the great Sultans alſo. M

That the Chriſtians ſhould again haue the city of Vacia deliuered to them, which they ſhould at their pleaſure keepe and fortifie: and that Strigonium, *with all the Villages thereto belonging, ſhould remaine*

vnto

A *vnto the Great Sultan; yet ſo as that no man ſhould be with any new tribute oppreſſed; and that ſuch as had before been free from paying of tribute, ſhould ſtill keep the ſame priuiledges.*

And that the Turks ſhould not exact their tribute by the point of their ſwords, but by the way of Iuſtice, which they ſhould commit vnto the diſcretion of the Iudges and Receiuers, to that end appointed, that ſo it might be payed without oppreſſing of the people, except haply they which ſhould pay it, vpon preſumption ſhould deny it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which caſe it ſhould be lawfull both for the one ſide and the other, to vſe ſuch meanes as ſhould ſeeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

Theſe are the Articles of this peace, which God turne to the glory of his Name, and the B benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweale; and for which all the townes of Hungary made great ioy and triumph, which they declared by the thundring of their Cannons, which they in great number diſcharged, with many other ſolemnities and triumphs. The Commiſſioners themſelues in token of their conceiued ioy, magnificently feaſted one another alſo: which the Turks firſt began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commiſſioners great Preſents alſo: for the Baſſa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turſon*, *Iſtuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæſar Gallen*, and *Eleſchin*, braue and couragious horſes moſt gallantly furniſhed; and to the reſt exceeding rich garments and tapeſtrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feaſt, the troupe of *Mansfield* had by many ſallies and vollies of ſhot giuen great pleaſure vnto the Turks as they ſate at the table; *Alla Baſſa* to deC clare the contentment and pleaſure he had therein receiued, ſent to the captaine of this troup two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requeſting in ſtead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certain captiue by the Turks then kept priſoner; whom the Baſſa cauſed freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall ſent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the ſouldiers; which for all that *Mansfeld* refuſed, ſending them backe againe vnto the Baſſa. After which actions of ioy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleaſed.

Theſe things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Baſſa of Buda forthwith ſent his Embaſſadors to Conſtantinople, certifying the great Sultan of the peace now made with the Chriſtians: who thereof conceiuing great ioy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great D magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and ſpent the next day with great ſport and pleaſure, purpoſing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the ſuppreſſing of his Rebels in Aſia; and the ſubduing of the Perſian King.

The Haiduckes begin new ſtirs in Hungary.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers ſtirs and tumults were neuertheleſſe by the Haiduckes in diuers places of the vpper Hungary ſtill raiſed: inſomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the County of Bocotſie were through their inſolences inforced to ioyne battell with them, wherein a number were on both ſides ſlaine, and three countrey villages burnt: ſo that it ſhould ſeeme, no peace can be ſo well and indifferently made, but that ſome will be E ſtill troubling and impugning the ſame.

Botſcay calleth an aſſembly of the States of Hungary.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botſcay* calling together an aſſembly of the Eſtates of Hungary, propounded to them to be conſidered of, firſt, That the laſt reuolt, almoſt generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the ſtirres and troubles thereby raiſed, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their Religion, and the maintenance of their antient liberty: Then, That whereas they by their generall good liking had made choice of him for their prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and conſent, and that euen now at this preſent he was by their conſent ready to depart from the Caſtles and free Cities in the vpper Hungary; and had now ſent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the ſending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee F ſhould from thenceforth relinquiſh the title of a Prince, or not. And that foraſmuch as no warre could bee made without great harme doing, that he would therefore for the auoiding of further troubles about ſuch matters, that a Decree ſhould be made, That all ſuch wrongs and iniuries ſhould bee forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man ſhould ſtill hold all ſuch goods, whether they were moueable or immoueable, during the time of this late warre. He wiſhed them alſo in the next generall aſſembly of the States, with all their power and endeauor, to vrge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Heretiques, with al other Articles contrary to their Religion: and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine, as had in former time bin vſed: neither in this next generall aſſembly of the Eſtates to neglect any thing which might ſeeme to concerne their priuiledges and liberty. And that therefore they ſhould be carefull to ſend thither wiſe and powerfull men, ſuch as ſhould not eaſily be ouercome with the clamors and outcries of the contrary part. At length he wiſhed them to conſider of this alſo, how a true and ſincere confederation might bee made betwixt Hungary and Tranſyluania, ſo that a ſafe and quiet traffique and commerce might in both places be vſed.

Botſcay dieth at Coſſonia.

Theſe things thus done, *Botſcay* his ſickneſſe ſtill more and more increaſing vpon him, ſo at length preuailed, that it made an end of him, to the great ſorrow and griefe of all the people in generall, who had him in great honour and regard. He died at Coſſouia the 30 of December, in the yeare *1606*. He was honourably deſcended, and a man of great ſpirit, ambitious, wiſe, and politique, a great louer of his countrey, but an extreme enemy vnto the Germanes, and their gouernment in Hungary.

A little before his death, he earneſtly perſuaded *Iohn Ianuſie* his Chancellor to continue in his alleagance to the Emperor, and not to raiſe new ſtirres, or ſo much as in him was, not to ſuffer any to be raiſed. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch his wholeſome counſell not regarded, there were ſome who immediatly after his death were about to haue raiſed new forces, for to haue ſeiſed vpon Tranſyluania, and ſo to haue ſtirred vp new troubles. For preuenting whereof, *Matthias* the Archduke forthwith ſent a meſſenger vnto the States of the vpper Hungary; aduiſing them, That the great harmes and miſeries conſidered which that part of Hungary had of late felt and endured, almoſt to the vtter ruine and deſtruction thereof (which proceeded not ſo much from the warres with the Turks, as from their owne ciuill tumults and ſeditions) they ſhould from thenceforth giue themſelues to quietneſſe and peace, and not again inſolently to preſcribe vnto the Emperor what to do, or how he was to diſpoſe of the countrey of Tranſyluania, aſſuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter winke at ſuch their rebellious plots and deuices, but forthwith turne all his power and forces to the vtter deſtruction and rooting out of ſuch rebellious and ſeditious perſons, the diſturbers of the common peace and quiet. By which the Archdukes warning, ſome, otherwiſe ready enough to haue raiſed new ſtirres and troubles, were not therein ſo forward as otherwiſe haply they would haue bin, but kept themſelues quiet.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much maruelled, that the Chriſtian Emperour would thus make peace with the great Sultan (as is aforeſaid) he being then ſo much troubled with wars, both againſt his owne Rebels, and the Perſian King, in Aſia, moſt part of his forces being turned that way; ſo that a fitter time, or of more aduantage, could not haue been wiſhed for the Emperor to haue done great matters againſt him in, and not only to haue holden his owne (which he did not) in Hungary, but to haue recouered ſome good part of his loſſes there before receiued alſo. And indeed true it is, that the time then well ſerued for both: but what auaileth opportunitie without power? And had the Hungarians (the greateſt ſtrength the Emperor hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that ſo great a kingdome) been at quiet and at his command, and he himſelfe a Prince which had reſted vpon his owne ſtrength and power, euer at his pleaſure to haue been raiſed, and as need ſhould require ſupplied, without depending vpon his friends and allyes, then haply it might haue bin in him accounted a great ouerſight, to haue omitted and ouerſlipped ſo faire an opportunitie. But the Hungarians being then not only reuolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himſelfe with his own power not able to hold the field againſt them, or well to maintaine a defenſiue warre; and his friends and allyes, his wonted and greateſt ſtaies, then at his greateſt need failing of him alſo, what ſhould he in ſuch a caſe do but as he did? to accept of a reaſonable peace whileſt he might haue it; eſpecially againſt ſuch an enemy, as whoſe whole power being turned againſt him, might haue eaſily endangered his whole eſtate. For it is not reaſonably to be thought, how the Emperour ſhould

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A of himſelfe, without the great aid of the other Chriſtian princes, his friends and allies, be able to withſtand the huge and dreadfull power of the *Othoman* Emperour: as (without ominous preſage be it ſpoken) it is to be feared it will too true appeare, whenſoeuer his wars and troubles in the Eaſt being ended, he ſhall againe turne his forces this way towards the Weſt.

1607

Now *Botſcay* was no ſooner dead, but that ſome others of the Nobilitie both of Hungary and Tranſyluania (haply no leſſe ambitious than was he) began by diuers means to ſeek after and to aſpire to that principalitie. Of whom, though ſome other with the weakneſſe of their owne meanes or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke deterred, ceaſed further to ſeeke after it: yet were there ſome others, who better ſupported, and nothing afraid of the Archdukes great words, laboured vnder hand to haue obtained it. For the croſſing of whom, B and the auoiding of further troubles to be raiſed by theſe ambitious competitors, certain of the Nobilitie of Tranſyluania gathered together at Claudianople the twelfth of February, made choice of *Sigiſmund Rogotſie* for their Gouernor and their Prince of Tranſyluania, and the more to aſſure him of their loue and affection towards him, bound themſelues vnto him by the oath of their alleagance ſolemnely taken in the chiefe Church there. And afterward ſent meſſengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna, to certifie him what they had done, and to excuſe themſelues thereof: who comming to Presburg the twelfth of March, there openly proteſted this election of *Ragotſie* for their Prince to haue been made, not for that they were about to rebell, or to reuolt from the Emperour, whom they would alwaies acknowledge for their Soueraigne Lord; but for that their neceſſitie ſo required, many of the Nobili- C tie both of Tranſyluania and of Hungary gaping after this Principalitie, and going about, for the obtaining thereof, to raiſe new ſtirres and troubles. Howbeit, the ſame *Ragotſie* afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, beſides the Emperors diſpleaſure, to hold the ſame Principalitie, of his own accord about a yeare after, gaue the ſame vp againe, and got himſelfe out of the way to Sarentum: who was no ſooner gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to haue ſtept into his place: vnto whom the States of Tranſyluania ſent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he ſhould not ſeeke by force to intrude himſelfe into the Principalitie, but quietly to come vnto the election, and not to bring with him aboue a thouſand horſemen, and fiue hundred foot.

Neuhuſe againe deliuered vnto the Emperour.

D About this time the ſtrong towne of Neuhuſe (otherwiſe called Neuheuſel) the laſt yeare ſo hardly won by the Hungarian Rebels, was againe deliuered to *Sigefrid Collonitz* for the Emperor; who ſhortly after comming to Vienna, brought news of a great number of the Turks to haue riſen vp in rebellion at Belgrade, to haue rifled the town, and to haue burnt another town, called Aliſchria, downe to the ground, and ſo with a great prey to be gone ouer to the Rebels: and alſo *Redeius, Botſcay* his Lieutenant, in going to take poſſeſſion of certain lands giuen him by *Botſcay*, to haue been by his owne tenants, lying in wait for him vpon a ſtreit paſſage, ſlaine.

Amongſt the articles of the peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutuall ſending of Preſents one of them vnto another: With which E Preſents, when as the Embaſſadour, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the ſame to Conſtantinople, from day to day deferred to ſet forward, the Turks and Tartars began to doubt, or elſe ſeemed to doubt of the good meaning of the Chriſtians, for the obſeruing of the aforeſaid peace; and thereupon began againe not onely to roame abroad into the territories of the Chriſtians, but alſo cauſed the pledges left at Buda for the obſeruing of the peace, to bee hardly handled and clapt faſt in priſon: whom when as the Baſſa of Buda ſhortly after ſuffered again a little to walke abroad, the proud Ianizaries were therewith ſo much offended, that riſing in a tumult, they had almoſt ſlaine the Baſſa with ſtones, heaping vpon him many reproachfull words, and vnto his face calling him traitor and betrayer of his Prince and countrey, one of which pledges they grieuouſly wounded alſo. Which their inſolencie the F Baſſa in ſome ſort to chaſtiſe, and to deterre them from doing the like againe, cauſed certaine of them the night following to be ſecretly taken, and being found, to bee ſo caſt into the riuer of Danubius. And yet ſhortly after, they purpoſing to make a road vpon the Chriſtians, to colour ſuch harmes as they ſhould therein doe, and to lay all the

The Ianizaries in mutinie againſt the Baſſa of Buda.

blame therof vpon the Chriſtians, and to excuſe themſelues, they procured the Baſſa to write vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done vnto the Turkes by the Chriſtians, when as there was no ſuch thing at all. The effect of which letters were, That whereas it was in the articles of peace ſet down and agreed, that both parties ſhould abſtain from roads and excurſions of each others countries; yet that the Chriſtians for all that, had aboue an hundred times ſince the concluſion of the peace, made roads into diuers territories of the Turkes, and ſlaine many of them; eſpecially them about Leoven and Setſchin, who (as they ſaid) had ſlain diuers Turkiſh merchants of Peſth, and tooke from them great ſums of money; as they had alſo taken from them of Potſen an hundred and twenty horſes, with diuers other cattell. Beſides that, there were (as he ſaid) four Turks more by the Chriſtians ſlain neer vnto Caniſia, and twenty eight more taken priſoners. And that in the mid way betwixt Hatwan and Buda, fiue and twenty Turks more were ſlaine, and their horſes with all that they had beſide caried away. Which things for that they tended to the breach of the peace, he could not (as he ſaid) but aduertiſe his Highneſſe of, for that he thought the Chriſtian Captains vpon the borders of their territories to be men that hated peace, and to ſeeke by their excurſions, as heretofore they had done, ſo now likewiſe, to diſturbe this good worke begun, and by all ſiniſter meanes to increaſe their own priuat profit. And that therefore ſeeing that he and the Turkes on their part, wiſhed not to attempt or goe about any thing contrary to the Articles of the peace, that in like maner the Chriſtians ſhould alſo containe themſelues within their owne bounds, and with all ſpeed by Letters to giue him to vnderſtand, whether they purpoſed to keep the peace or not.

The Grand Sultans proceedings againſt the Rebels in Aſia.

The great Sultan (as is aforeſaid) hauing made peace with the Chriſtian Emperour, and now purpoſing to turne all his forces againſt his Rebels in Aſia, and the Perſian King (as wee haue oftentimes ſaid) and deſirous firſt to appeaſe thoſe his troubles at home, before hee had further to do with the Perſian, he ſent a meſſenger vnto the Baſſa of Aleppo, to lay down arms and to deliuer vp his charge vnto another, to whom hee had appointed the ſame; promiſing, that if he would ſhew himſelfe obedient vnto this his command, he would not onely pardon him all that was paſt, but receiue him into his grace and fauor alſo. Whereunto the Baſſa anſwered, That he had neuer taken vp arms againſt his Maieſtie, but to be reuenged of the Baſſa's of Tripolis and Damaſco his ſworne enemies; who once taken out of the way, he would not only yeeld himſelfe vnto his Maieſtie, but deliuer alſo the tribute ſent him from Caire and Alexandria, by him before intercepted; and if hee ſo pleaſed to imploy him, to bring great forces in his ſeruice againſt the Perſian King. With which anſwer the Sultan not contented, ſhortly after ſent the Viſier Baſſa with a great Army againſt the Rebels into Aſia. Who by his wiſedom and diſcretion, more than by force of arms, hauing appeaſed the rebels in the leſſer Aſia, and receiued certaine of the chiefeſt of them into his fauor; with an Army of an hundred and thirty thouſand men marched directly toward Aleppo in Syria. Of whoſe comming the Baſſa hauing intelligence, with an army of forty thouſand men, moſt of them harquebuſiers, went againſt him, and in a place of aduantage not paſt two miles from the city valiantly encountred him, and in three notable battels one after another withſtood his whole forces. But making himſelfe ready to haue incountred him the fourth time, and vnderſtanding of great aid comming to the Viſier from the Baſſa's of Damaſco and Tripolis, he with ſpeed retyred: and returning into the City, hauing truſſed vp his treaſure, with ſuch things as he made moſt reckoning of, fled into the mountains toward Perſia, with the greateſt part of his army yet left ſtil following him. After which vnfortunat battel, the Viſier Baſſa with his army comming vnto the city, at length by force tooke the ſame, and there to the terrour of the inhabitants, put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiers which the Baſſa had left there.

But the Baſſa purpoſing with new forces to haue encountred the Viſier, finding himſelfe together with his better fortune, vtterly forſaken by many of his former friends and Companions, thought it beſt at length to take his refuge vnto the mercy of the great Sultan. And ſo reſolued, by Letters requeſted the Viſier Baſſa to write in his behalfe to the Sultan; and ſo if it were poſſible to procure his peace. Which the Viſier hauing eaſily obtained, hee was by Letters from the great Sultan ſent for to Conſtantinople; with aſſured promiſe, that hee ſhould

A ſhould be employed in ſeruice againſt the Perſian King. Vpon receipt of which letters, the Baſſa with an hundred horſe ſet forward; and comming to Conſtantinople, there in the preſence of many other of the Baſſaes humbled himſelfe vnto the Sultan; who not onely kept his promiſe with him in pardoning of him; but alſo in regard of the antient family whereof he was diſcended, as alſo of his great valour and faire conditions, receiued him againe into his fauour, and cauſed all the goods taken from him in Syria, to be againe vnto him reſtored.

Now in the meane time the Great Sultan had by the meanes of the great Cham of Tartarie ſought to make peace with the Perſian King; but all in vaine: for that he demanded the City of Tauris, with all the prouinces before taken from him by the Perſians, to be againe B vnto him reſtored: which the Perſian King vtterly denied, foraſmuch as he had now by force of Armes recouered the ſame, and which in former time belonged vnto his anceſtours. At which time the ſaid Perſian King, the more to entangle the Turke, writ vnto the King of Spaine, for the turning of his forces alſo againſt the Turke their common enemy; the Letters being to this effect: That though they were in Religion diuided, yet that in power and in common hatred againſt the *Othoman* Empire they were conjoyned: and that hee conſidering the greatneſſe of his power and armes, whereby hee was become his neighbour in the Eaſt, he could not but moſt entirely loue and fauour him: and that therefore hee had commanded all his Prouinces, as well in India as in other places thereabouts, that they ſhould ſhew vnto his ſubjects all manner of courteſie, and to demand of them no tribute. And that C he hauing by force recouered the fortreſſe of Aden, which *Solyman* the Turkiſh Sultan had ſometime by treaſon ſurpriſed, he had appointed the ſame vnto the ſeruice of the Spaniſh Gouernour dwelling in Goa. And that his pleaſure was, That all the Chriſtians dwelling in his Kingdome ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty and priuiledges which his owne faithfull ſubjects had. And beſides declared, that he had now for ſeuen yeares ſpace made continuall warres againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, who by treaſon had taken from him the ſtrong Towne of Chiamon, for the recouery whereof he had now diuers times ouerthrowne his Armies. But foraſmuch as he was determined to make no end of this warre, vntill he had driuen the Sultan out of thoſe parts of the Eaſt, and recouered the ſeat of *Iſmael* and *Iuchel*, his anceſtours in Babylon and Caire, he therefore requeſted him, being a King of ſo great power, to joyne D in league with him, and to ſend his dreadfull fleet into the Perſian gulfe; promiſing that by ſuch meanes the *Othoman* power driuen out, he could eaſily make himſelfe Lord of Syria and of Ægypt. Laſt of all, he reckoneth vp the Preſents he ſent him; to wit, the Images of *Iſmael*, *Iuchel*, and of *Ionas*, together with his owne, caſt in gold, and ſet with moſt rich pretious ſtones and pearles; a Perſian writing table, garniſhed with faire pretious ſtones, foure dogs by nature wonderfully ſpotted with red, yellow, and blew ſpots, two peeces of Arras adorned with moſt pretious ſtones and pearle, wherein the worthy acts of him that great *Tamberlane* were liuely to be ſeene: foure hunters hornes very ſmooth and richly garniſhed: twelue moſt gallant plumes of feathers of diuers colours: ſix drinking glaſſes which could not be broken, and couchbeds ſo cunningly made, as that they were like vnto chaires, hauing wrought in them E the antient wars betwixt *Aſcanius* and *Ghiuſa* King of the Medes.

Now the Emperour, for the better appeaſing of all former troubles, and the preuenting of new, and the better aſſurance of the State, had about the middeſt of Auguſt called an aſſembly of the States of Hungary to Presburg; whither they being come, and hauing long in vaine expected the comming of *Matthias* the Archduke, by the Emperour appointed to haue beene Preſident in that aſſembly, were in the beginning of September about to haue returned home, but that requeſted by the Archduke to ſtay yet fifteen daies longer, they were contented ſo to do; but yet vpon condition, That if the Archduke then came not, they ſhould not be bound to ſtay any longer: For why, they by Letters certified of the attempts of the Tartars (who had requeſted to haue a place in the borders of Hungary, appointed them to dwell F in) were deſirous in any wiſe to haue that aſſembly of Parliament put off to a further time, that ſo they might the better betime preuent and meet with ſuch the Tartars deſignes, whom they were loth to haue for their bad and troubleſome neighbours. And now the Turks in the

The States of Hungary about to depart from Presburg, by the perſwaſion of the Archbiſhop there ſtaid meane time, in hope that the peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians would not long hold, were come to Buda in ſuch multitude, that the houſes in the towne being not able to hold G them, they were glad to ſet vp tents for them to lie in within the city: for that the Baſſa would not ſuffer them to ſet vp any tents abroad in the fields, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould ſuſpect them to be about the raiſing of an army, and ſo diſturbe the peace.

But the States of Hungary hauing ſtaied full 15 daies, as the Archbiſhop had requeſted, and the Archduke not comming, made a ſolemne proteſtation before the Chapter of the Cathedrall church at Presburg, that they departed from Presburg, and ſo returned home, not vpon any diſcontentment or contumacy, but for want of things neceſſary, and other their vrgent occaſions (hauing about ſeuen weekes expected the Archdukes comming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet that if it ſhould pleaſe the Emperor by ſolemne ſummons at H any time after to call another Parliament, they would be ready vpon ſuch ſummons giuen, to returne againe to Presburg, and there to conſult of all ſuch things, as ſhould be for the good and welfare of the Common-weale: ſo that nothing were propounded contrary to the articles they the yeare before agreed vpon at Vienna, which they would haue in all points kept whole and inuiolate: ſo that if any man ſhould goe about or attempt any thing in diſpoſing and ordring of the publike affaires contrary to that agreement, they would not in any wiſe ratifie the ſame, although it were by the Emperor himſelfe allowed: which their proteſtation they requeſted to haue regiſtred, and ſealed with the Chapters Seale, and ſo not hauing done any thing at all for which they came, againe returned.

After whoſe departure from Presburg, the Haiduckes (men vſed to liue by their ſwords, I and not by their labour) of all others moſt diſcontented with this generall peace, began now to raiſe new ſtirres and tumults, and dayly to grow ſtronger and ſtronger, crauing aid of the Turks and Tartars, and not of the other Hungarians their countrymen, now againe returned to their wonted allegiance vnto the Chriſtian Emperour: a number of which Haiduckes flocking to Buda, the Baſſa there with ſome other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders, entered into conſultation what to doe with theſe ſo fit inſtruments for the troubling of the Chriſtians, and the diſturbing of the peace. To entertaine them he durſt not, and to caſt them off he was loth; but yet purpoſing to vſe them and to ſet them a worke as occaſion ſhould ſerue, he to prepare an enterance thereunto, by Letters threatened them of Comara, that except they better kept the capitulations and articles of the late peace, they ſhould ſhortly K heare of new matters. But in the meane time Letters were ſent from the great Sultan to the Baſſa of Buda, with charge, that although the Chriſtians were reported to encreaſe their ſtrength, he ſhould yet keep himſelf within his bounds, and to attempt nothing againſt them, except they ſhould proceed to manifeſt force: in which caſe he ſhould not faile by all lawfull meanes to reuenge himſelfe. Which the Sultans mind once made know, the Turks again departed from Buda, moſt part of the great ordnance that they brought with them being carried backe againe to Sigeth.

The Baſſa of Buda forbiddeth to make warres vpon the Chriſtians.

But the States of Hungary, beeing returned home from Presburg, and againe aſſembled, the fourteenth day of October, by their generall conſent, decreed, That Tokay ſhould againe be joyned vnto their juriſdiction; and that the great ordnance throughout L all the free cities ſhould be remoued and carried home vnto the places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayuod of Tranſyluania ſhould be admoniſhed not to ſeperate Tranſyluania from Hungary: that the Baſſa of Buda ſhould be warned for to keepe his Turks within their owne bounds: and that the Nobility of Hungary ſhould betime be admoniſhed with all their force to repreſſe the Haiduckes, and all other their enemies. Howbeit the Haiduckes proceeding in their inſolent outrages more than before, tooke certaine forts, and with fire and ſword ſpoyled many places of the Countrey, cauſing the people to ſweare to be friends to them and the Turks, and enemies vnto the Germanes and Wallons: and demanding of *Humanaius* the Crowne wherewith *Botſcay* had ſometime beene rewarded from the Grand Seigniour, had a purpoſe to haue crowned him, or ſome other for their M King: who for all that, by a meſſenger ſent word vnto them, that he would not at their hands accept that dignity, but faithfully continue in his allegiance toward the Emperour. But

when

A when the States of the vpper Hungary were about to haue gone againſt theſe ſeditious and rebellious people to haue ſurpriſed them; they were from ſo doing deterred by the Baſſa of Agria, threatening with his Turks and Tartars to take their parts if they ſhould once take vp armes againſt them.

Six hundred Haiducks intercepted by Humanaius.

About the ſame time ſix hundred Haiducks going to the caſtle of Saint *Andrew*, and comming thither, could not be let in by the garriſon ſouldiers, as they had deſired; and perceiuing them to make no reckoning of their ſeruice, could no longer hold, but openly profeſſed themſelues to become the great Sultans ſeruants: who from thence marching to Buſnoc, tooke it by force, and ranſacked it: and ſo ſtill ſeeking after booty, ran out towards Tockay, where by the way they were in a ſtreit by *Humanaius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and B almoſt all ſlaine; who afterward ſent two of the Turks enſignes, taken from them, to Vienna, and to the terrour of others, empaled ſome of them vpon ſtakes, being brought priſoners to Caſſouia. For which vnfortunat expedition, ſome other of the Haiduckes lighting vpon two of the captains, who by chance had eſcaped out of *Humanaius* his hands, put them both to death for the euill leading of their fellowes, hanging vp the one, and with their ſwords hewing the other all to peeces. Now by the report of ſome of the priſoners there taken, it was known this new rebellion of the Haiducks to haue bin raiſed by the procurement of the Baſſaes of Buda and Agria, who by their meſſengers had promiſed vnto them all helpe. Which report to haue been true, the euent did ſhortly after confirme, for the 27 day of Nouember almoſt 15000 of theſe Haiducks hauing before receiued from the great Sultan 300000 duckats for pay, came and C moſt ſtreightly beſieged Filek, a ſtrong caſtle, the Turks ſending them great ordnance from Agria, vnto whom theſe Haiducks had promiſed to deliuer all ſuch places as they ſhould win. Howbeit, the euent of this ſiege anſwered not to their deſire: for *Thomas Boſnias*, Captaine of Filek, with his garriſon all of Germane ſouldiers, ſo valiantly repulſed them, and the extremity of the Winter weather ſo diſtreſſed them, that they were glad to raiſe their ſiege, and be gone.

A great fire at Conſtantinople.

Now much about the ſame time, *viz.* about the beginning of Nouember, a great fire aroſe at Conſtantinople, wherein almoſt fiue hundred ſhops of wares with many other faire buildings were burnt, ſo that the harme there by fire done was eſteemed to amount to about two millions of gold.

D At the ſame time that the aſſembly of the States of Hungary ſhould haue been holden at Presburg (as is before declared) the Emperor had appointed alſo another aſſembly of the nobility and States of Auſtria to be holden at Vienna; where after they were aſſembled, certain articles were vnto them on the Emperors behalfe propounded for them in that aſſembly then to conſider of: as firſt, that for the keeping of the frontiers of Auſtria in quiet, the contribution by them granted amongſt themſelues the laſt yeare, ſhould this yeare following be doubled. Then, That if it ſhould fortune the enemy to attempt any thing of new againſt that Prouince, that in ſtead of the horſes and money which they were woont to ſend vnto the warres, they ſhould for the ſpace of twelue moneths, or of the greateſt part thereof, as occaſion ſhould require, of their owne coſts maintaine ten companies of German footmen, eue- E ry company being three hundred ſtrong; and as many troupes of Germane horſemen, euery troupe conſiſting of an hundred horſe. And, that if for the better defence of the borders of Auſtria there ſhould happily need a greater ſtrength, the ſame ſhould be raiſed in no other ſort than was vſed in Hungary, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it ſhould continue peace, theſe charges ſhould be conuerted to the payment of the ſouldiers wages: And that the States & other ſubjects of that Prouince ſhould ſo much as might be, be eaſed from the trouble of ſending either of horſe or foot for the defence of the frontiers. Thirdly, That Commiſſioners ſhould be maintained this yeare alſo to attend the army, and certaine skilfull Captaines appointed for the chuſing of a fit Generall for the army. That diligent regard and care ſhould be had for the prouiſion of corne and victuals for the vſe of the people F in generall, as well in the time of peace as of warre. And that foraſmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common-weale, to haue the frontiers of the country toward Caniſia diligently viewed, for feare of the Turks great garriſon there ſtill lying, that therefore certaine good and expert ſouldiers, which knew thoſe places well, ſhould be choſen, who together with the Deputies of the Emperour, Hungarians, and Stirians, riding about theſe confines ſhould forthwith conſider what were beſt to be done for the ſafety thereof. In briefe, ſeeing that of the ſafety of Rab, the welfare of the citie of Vienna and of the forts thereabouts depended, that for the repairing of the fortifications thereof, and the better ſtrengthening of the ſame, the ſumme of fourtie thouſand florins ſhould be appointed: and for the defence of the frontiers of Auſtria from the incurſion of the Turks gariſon of Caniſa, fiue thouſand: and for the furthering of the buildings at Nuſtorſe, fiue thouſand more ſhould be paied: and that thoſe who hitherto had beene ſlacke in paying of their contribution money, ſhould forthwith be enforced to pay the ſame: And alſo that it might be conſidered of, how the too much inhauncing of the value of monies might be reſtrained: that good orders might be kept, all the country cleared from the roberies of idle ſouldiers, ſtraggling here and there vp and downe the ſame: that the counterfeit Hungarian and Polonian mony ſhould be prohibited, as not currant: that good order might be taken for the ſtaying of the Plague, which then began in many places in Auſtria.

Concerning which Articles, when as the States there aſſembled complained, all that country to be with the long wars againſt the Turke, the incurſions of the Rebels, and the outrages of the mutinous ſouldiers, already almoſt exhauſted, and miſerably bared of mony; no reſolution could then, according as the neceſſity required, be made, but was vnto a further time deferred, and the aſſembly broken vp.

1608

A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at Ratiſbone.

The Emperour at the ſame time appointed a Diet of the Empire to be holden at Ratiſbone: wherein he hauing appointed *Ferdinand* Archduke of Auſtria, to be chiefe in his place, he with a notable traine of ſeuen hundred horſe, and a gallant guard of footmen, came thither the eight and twentieth of Nouember, and was there by the citizens honourably receiued. Vnto which aſſembly, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were in great number come, at length the twelfth of Ianuary, Diuine ſeruice being done in the Cathedrall Church, *Ferdinand* the Archduke, with his Courtiers, the Emperours Counſellors, and other the Princes deputies being there preſent, taking horſe before the Church, with a great company of the Nobility and Princes deputies following of him, went to the Court, the citizens in their armes ſtanding on both ſides: where *Godfrey Ottelius* the Emperours Secretary hauing in a notable Oration ſet forth the Emperours loue and affection towards the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, and why, the Emperour him ſelfe could not be preſent at this aſſembly, as willingly he would haue been, he propounded in his name fiue Articles for them in this their aſſembly to be eſpecially conſidered of. Firſt, how the Empire might hereafter be preſerued and defended againſt the violence of the Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement ſtirred vp in Hungary, to the endangering of the whole Empire, eſpecially ſeeing that the Turks them ſelues (with whom the peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more then ſufficiently declared what truſt or credit was to be giuen vnto them: and ſeeing that it is moſt manifeſt, them therein to haue ſought for nothing elſe, than that hauing made or rather counterfeited a peace with the Chriſtians for a time, for the ſuppreſſing of the Rebels, and the repreſſing of the inuaſion of the Perſians, they might after ſuch victory againſt them obtained, come better prouided, and ſtronger to ouercome the Chriſtians. Which was eaſie to be ſeene for that whileſt they were yet intreating of peace, they had taken Strigonium, and hauing concluded peace, they ceaſed not as yet with their counſell and aid to helpe the Rebels in their rebellious tumults: which was manifeſtly to be perceiued by the Haiducks themſelues, who were not aſhamed openly to profeſſe themſelues to be the great Sultans ſeruants, to require Cities and Fortreſſes to be yeelded vnto the Sultan, and to conſpire againſt the very name of the Germanes. For the ſpeedy remedy of which miſchiefe, the Emperour had thought good, that conſideration of this point ſhould ſo bee had, as that the Princes ſhould either conſent vnto a certaine ſtanding and perpetuall contribution, whereby a ſufficient ſtrength might alwaies bee ready, wherewith to withſtand the enemies attempts: or elſe that for certaine yeares twenty thouſand footmen and foure thouſand horſe might there be ſtill in readineſſe, to be maintained at the common charges of the Empire, which the Emperour (need ſo requiring) might vſe againſt the common enemy. Or that if this

were

A were heauy or troubleſome vnto the States of the Empire, yet at leaſt they ſhould conſent
yearely to contribute ſuch money as might ſuffice for the ſuſtayning of ſuch a power,
Another poynt of this concluſion, was about the correcting and reforming of the adminiſtration
of Iuſtice in the Imperiall Chamber. For ſeeing that in the former aſſemblies and
meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reaſon of certaine hinderances and impediments
which then fell out, and that without the due adminiſtration and execution of
Iuſtice no Empire could long ſtand or flouriſh, no more than the World could without
the Sunne; his Imperiall Majeſty therefore would not haue the deliberation of this ſo neceſſary
a point to be put off or referred vnto any other aſſembly, but to bee done and concluded
in this preſent aſſembly. The third point to be conſidered of, was the warre which
B hath beene now ſo many yeares made in the Low-Countries, and the inconueniencie thereof
redounding vnto the Empire. For whereas in the treaty of peace in the Low-Countries,
(at which treaty both hee and the whole Empire ought to haue beene there preſent) for the
better concluding and ending of the ſame, hee had heard the confederate Princes to be now
acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as hee ſaid) forbeare, but that
(ſeeing the Low-Countries to be a member and free of the Empire, and by the antient Records
of the Empire, and of the Emperours, and by many other proofes it appeareth, the
Gouernours of the Low-Countries to haue beene vaſſals of the Empire) he ſhould by Letters
which were written vnto the King of Spaine, the Archduke *Albertus*, and the States of
the confederate Prouinces, admoniſh them, That they ſhould not proceed to doe or determine
C any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or prejudice of the
Emperour, of the Empire, and of the houſe of Auſtria. And foraſmuch as that warre in
the Low-Countries had hitherto done no ſmall harme vnto the Empire, if happily it could
not be agreed vpon betweene the parties, and that it ſhould happen the ſame warre to be any
longer continued, or rather againe renewed, it ſhould then bee conſidered vpon, how the
Empire might be ſatisfied for the great harme it had vntill this preſent thereby receiued, and
how it might be from the like harme hereafter kept and preſerued. The fourth point in this
conſultation, which was to be conſidered of, concerned the coyne. For whereas it is maniſeſt,
that the value of the mony to bee dayly more and more inhaunſed and rayſed, and
that thereby not onely the Magiſtrates in the publique receipt, but the ſubjects alſo in generall
D receiued great and maniſeſt harme, foraſmuch as the price of ſuch neceſſary things
which wee muſt in this life haue ordinary vſe of, muſt of neceſſity be ſtill more and more
encreaſed, according to the value of the money, the Emperour thought good with mature
deliberation to remedy this miſchiefe in this preſent aſſembly of the Empire. The fifth and
laſt point which was to be conſidered vpon, was the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire,
for the giuing vnto euery man that which of due belongeth vnto him: the perfecting
of which Matriculer, the Emperour would haue in this aſſembly to be amongſt them conſidered
of.

Which articles thus propounded, there fell a great contouerſie amongſt the Deputies of
the Princes concerning the manner of their proceedings in theſe matters: as whether they
E ſhould conſider of theſe articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, or otherwiſe. And
when as many thought it beſt firſt to conſider of the article, for the reformation of Iuſtice,
being the ſecond article propounded to be conſidered of, and afterwards to come vnto the
reſt of the articles to be afterward conſulted of: when as the two and twentieth day of January
they came againe to Counſell, a writing was by the Emperours command read vnto
them, whereby it was ſignified vnto the States of the Empire; the rebellious tumults by
Botſcay and ſome others raiſed in Hungary to be yet by the Haiduckes continued, the Sultan
himſelfe ſending of them rewards, and furniſhing them with ordnance and other things
neceſſary for the warres, by the Gouernour of Agria, and the Baſſa of Buda, threatening all
extremities vnto them which ſhould go about to reſiſt them; and then augmenting the danger
F which thereby might enſue vnto the Empire, and eſpecially vnto the Germane name, ſeeing
that it was maniſeſt thoſe rebellious Haiducks to haue eſpecially conſpired the deſtruction
of the Germanes, and to haue confirmed that their league, by drinking of an health:
It was requeſted, that leauing off theſe contentions, for the manner of their proceeding, they

would turne their conſultations vnto the firſt article, and reſolue how remedy might in time
bee giuen vnto this miſchiefe, and how aid might be ſent vnto the Emperour againſt his G
enemies.

The Deputies for the States of the Empire, in the aſſembly at Ratisbone, at variãce among themſelues.

But when as in their often meetings, nothing could be concluded, by reaſon of the diuers
and different opinions betwixt the Proteſtants and Catholickes, *Ferdinand* the Archduke
againe calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperiall cities,
cauſed it by Letters to be declared vnto them, How that the Emperour not without
his great griefe and ſorrow had heard, That for certaine diſſention among them they could
not yet come to conſult of the articles propounded in that aſſembly, to be by them conſidered
of, but to his great griefe to be from day to day protracted: and that therefore he requeſted
them, That either they themſelues would quietly end thoſe diſſentions amongſt themſelues,
or elſe ſend their differences conceiued in writing vnto the Emperour to be decided, H
and ſo to come at length effectually to conſult of the propounded articles. And indeed the
Deputies aforeſaid had in writing before exhibited their mindes concerning that point, for
the manner of their proceeding, vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*. But foraſmuch as that writing
was according to the manner of the Catholickes and the Proteſtants, of two different
ſorts; the former thinking it meet to conſult of the aforeſaid article in ſuch order as they
were propounded; and firſt of all, to conſider of the contribution to be giuen againſt the
Turks, and other enemies in Hungary; but the other labouring, firſt for the reformation of
Iuſtice, and the confirmation of the peace of Religion: and afterward to prouide for aid againſt
the forreine enemies, that ſo remedy might firſt be prouided for inward, then for outward
griefes; eſpecially ſeeing that they had no expreſſe commandement firſt to determine I
of the contribution. Vnto whom the Archduke by writing againe anſwered, That he had
receiued no other inſtruction from the Emperour, than that he ſhould conſult of the aforeſaid
articles, with the Deputies there preſent, in ſuch order as they were propounded: Neither
that it was conuenient, that the firſt article concerning contribution being neglected,
they ſhould proceed vnto the ſecond, ſeeing that the enemies might eaſily, by the delay of
putting off the ſame in effect, take occaſion in the meane time to do the Chriſtians great
harme. Beſides that, that he had ſufficiently proteſted, That conſultation concerning the
reformation of Iuſtice ſhould in this preſent aſſembly bee had alſo; neither that it was the
Emperours minde to haue it deferred vnto any other aſſembly. Whereunto he exhorted the K
Proteſtants, That they ſhould forthwith endeauour by their Letters vnto the Electors and
Princes, and other their ſuperiours, to obtaine leaue, that they might firſt determine ſome
certainty about the firſt article concerning contribution; that ſo giuing way to the opinion
of the other party, they might inſtantly prepare themſelues for the making of the
contribution. Howbeit, this his perſuaſion preuailed nothing, by reaſon of their diſcord
and diſſention about the order of their conſultation; the one part ſtill labouring for the
contribution to be firſt agreed vpon, and the other part holding as hard for the reformation
of Iuſtice, ſo that *Ferdinand* the Archduke out of hope of concluding any thing that good
was, not in vaine to ſpend his coſt and time any longer, the fifth of May diſmiſſed the aſſembly,
and returned home, as did all the reſt of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one article L
that was propounded being ſo much as once reaſoned of, but all left vndecided: ſo
ſmall care was there of the common good, either for the raiſing of money for the withſtanding
of the Turks and Rebels, or for the reformation of Iuſtice; the neceſſity of both, either
on the one ſide or the other, ſo hardly vrged, and yet in concluſion be neither reſpected or
regarded.

The Diet brokẽ off, and nothing concluded.

Matthias the Archduke commeth to Preſburg.

Whileſt the Diet to no purpoſe (as is aforeſaid) was by the Archduke *Ferdinand* holden
at Ratisbone, *Matthias* the Archduke with a great traine following of him, came in the
meane time to Presburg, where he was with much joy and triumph receiued; the garriſon
ſouldiers in order ſtanding on both ſides the way as he went vnto the Caſtle: *Napragius* the
Biſhop of Rab, with an eloquent Oration welcomming of him, in the preſence of certaine M
of the Hungarian Nobility, who had gone out as far as Hainburg to meet him, and now alſo
honourably welcommed him, much rejoycing at his comming. The next day the Archbiſhop
and Cardinall of Strigonium with a notable traine of Hungarian Gentlemen came to

A Presburg: who forthwith receiued into the Caſtle, and hauing ſaluted the Archduke, con-
ferred with him of many things in this aſſembly to be conferred of. In the meane time *Illi-
ſhaſchius* (that noble Hungarian of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) arriued there alſo with
twelue coaches, ninety harquebuſiers, and forty Hungarian horſemen going before him, and
three hundred Haiducks which had attended vpon him, being at the gate diſmiſſed. So the
chiefe of the Hungarian States being come, the conſultation was begun the three and twen-
tieth day of Ianuary: where when as the Archduke had propounded vnto the Hungarian
Nobility, what things they were eſpecially to conſider of; it was by them anſwered, The
Haiducks before their comming out, to haue determined, not one whit to depart from the
articles the yeare before propounded and agreed of at Vienna; nor to admit any limitation
B at all of them: ſo that for the appeaſing of the tumults of the Haiduckes, there was no need
of any new conſultation, but onely to confirme ſuch things as was then and there conſulted
and agreed vpon. From which their reſolution when as the Hungarians were not to be remo-
ued, and being grieued with the ſcoffing at of certaine of the Clergy (thereupon refuſing in
any wiſe to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinall in the ca-
ſtle) were about againe to depart; making a ſolemne proteſtation, themſelues to be guiltleſſe
of ſuch harmes as ſhould thereof afterwards enſue; it was at length on all parts agreed vpon,
That the whole matter ſhould be committed vnto ten choſen out of the Hungarian Counſel-
lors, and ten moe of the Counſellors of Auſtria, to be conſulted and determined of. By whom
being met all together the eight and twentieth of Ianuary in the houſe of *Illiſhaſchius*, it was
C concluded, That ſeeing that peace and quietneſſe in thoſe countries of Hungary and Auſtria
could not otherwiſe be made, that thoſe articles and conditions, concerning which no agree-
ment could the yeare before be made in the treaty at Vienna, being quite left off and negle-
cted, the reſt of the articles which were there agreed vpon, ſhould be ſtill entirely obſerued
and kept: and that it ſhould be lawfull for euery man to haue the free exerciſe of his Religi-
on. Which thing the Commiſſioners of Auſtria by a ſpeciall writing there confirmed vnto
the Hungarians. Whereby they declared themſelues after long and mature deliberation, to
haue perceiued not onely by the true relation and report of the Hungarians, but alſo by their
owne experience, vnto how great inconueniences the whole Kingdome of Hungary hath of
long beene expoſed, as well for the warres it hath had with the common enemy of the Chri-
D ſtians, as for diuers the ciuile tumults and ſeditions therein; and that therefore they not
willing that ſuch harmes ſhould in thoſe countries againe encreaſe and grow, to the infinite
effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, after the articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna, ſaw no
other better remedy for theſe ſo great inconueniences, than that all parties ſhould ſtill hold
themſelues contented with the ſame articles of Pacification concluded and agreed vpon in
the ſaid aſſembly at Vienna. And that therefore they had decreed, thoſe articles to be ſin-
cerely and inuiolately kept: and promiſed vnto the States of Hungary, to giue their aid for
the defence of theſe articles, againſt all their enemies, being ready to giue good reaſon there-
of before God, the Church, the Emperour *Rodolph*, the Archduke *Matthias*, and his other
brethren, and all the Houſe of Auſtria, as the neceſſity of thoſe Countries ſhould ſeeme to
E require: hoping alſo that the States of Hungary would reſt themſelues likewiſe in that Pa-
cification of Vienna, and the aſſurance thereof, in all points obſeruing the ſame; and that
they would alwaies giue their ready helpe and aid vnto the Countries of Auſtria, againſt
their enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed vpon and determined, Let-
ters of Confederation were in the name of *Matthias* the Archduke, and of all as well the
Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall States of Hungary and Auſtria, to this purpoſe written, That
whereas for the appeaſing and ſuppreſſing of the tumults and ſeditions which the Haiducks
by the inſtigation of the Turks had of late not doubted to raiſe, for the concluding of peace
with the Great Sultan; they were met together at Presburg, and therein altogether buſied,
to deuiſe how the Kingdome of Hungary, with the Countries adjoyning, might from de-
F ſtruction be deliuered, the Chriſtian Religion preſerued, and from waſting and ſpoyling,
whereunto they had hitherto beene expoſed, ſaued: Vpon mature deliberation, had as well
in the name of them that were preſent, as of them that were abſent, made ſuch a Confede-
ration and League; That if hereafter it ſhould fortune any detriment of Warre to be by
any

Commiſſioners appointed for the appeaſing of the new troubles in Hungary.

Letters of Confederation betwixt the States of Auſtria and Hungary, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna.

any man made or done vnto the Hungarians, or the countries thereabout, for the aforeſaid article of Pacification, which they had determined religiouſly to keep, that they would forthwith with their vnited forces come to aid their confederat brethren, and together with them to liue or die. G

With theſe letters ſigned and ſealed with the hand of the Archduke, and of the Noblemen there preſent, the firſt of February, *Illiſhaſchius* with *George Turſon*, were ſent vnto the tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their meſſages to be ſent vnto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to craue their aid) to diſſuade them from ſuch their purpoſe, and to perſuade them to quietneſſe; threatening them withall, That if they would not hearken to ſuch honeſt conditions, they ſhould altogether, and at once, be ſet vpon and oppreſſed by the whole power of the States.

The Aſſembly at Presburg thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to Vienna, and H forthwith calling together the States of Enſeric, declared vnto them all that was done in the Aſſembly at Presburg. And for as much as that aſſembly was chiefely to that end appointed, That the Kingdome of Hungary ſhould not altogether be pluckt away from the Empire; and that after the reuolt thereof, the greateſt harme to be done by the incurſions and ſpoyling of the enemies, would lie vpon the countries of Auſtria; he aduiſed them ſo to looke vnto themſelues, and carefully to prouinde for the Common-weale, as that hauing mony alwaies in readineſſe to maintaine an army, they might with all conuenient ſpeed go to meet with the Haiducks, if haply they would not conforme themſelues vnto the Articles of Pacification, but againe raiſe new broiles; that ſo they might defend and preſerue their Country from their I outrages.

The Prince of Valachia dieth; whoſe widow notably preſerueth the Country for her ſon.

About the begining of this Spring, when as *Ierome* Prince of Valachia was dead, leauing behind him a ſonne but thirteene yeares old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the gouernment, vnder Tutors, vnto the ſucceſſion of his heritage. Which thing the Valachians being by no meanes willing to endure, and bearing themſelues vpon the helpe of the Turks, went about to make choice of another in ſtead of their Prince of late dead. For which cauſe, the Princeſſe widow by letters certified *Polloſcie* her ſonne in law, of this outrage and injury of her ſubjects: and hauing obtained of him a great ſumme of mony, and therewith raiſed an army of ten thouſand good ſouldiers, went forth againſt the Valachians, and in open field ouercame them in ſo bloudy and terrible a battell, that hauing ſlaine fiue thouſand of K the Valachians and Turks, ſhe had ouer them a notable victory, and by that manes preſerued the principality of that country for her ſon.

The Duke of Florence in vaine requeſted by the Turks to ſpare their gallies.

The Great Duke of Florence had hitherto done great harme with his fleet vnto the Turks in the Mediterranean ſea: for which cauſe a meſſenger about this time comming vnto him in the Great Sultans name, promiſed him great matters, if he would from thenceforth forbeare to hurt and purſue the Turks Gallies. Which his requeſt ſerued the Turks to no other purpoſe, but as it were to put oyle vnto the fire. For the Duke afterward cauſed new Gallies to be made, and his fleet encreaſed, and therewith did more harme than formerly he had done.

The Haiduckes refuſe to admit of the Pacification made at Vienna.

Now although that after the ending of the Aſſembly at Presburg, *Illiſhaſchius* and *George* L *Turſon* had deliuered vnto the Haiduckes the Articles of the Pacification, and commanded them from thenceforth to keepe themſelues quiet; yet for all that, could they not yet be perſuaded to hearken vnto ſuch their counſell: for that they being men ſtill accuſtomed to the wars, and liuing by their ſwords, could not endure to fall to Husbandry, and ſuch other labours. For which cauſe they of the country about Gymeric, writ vnto them which dwelt in the country about Nuſol, letters to this effect: That foraſmuch as they being diuers times certified of the miſerable eſtate of their neighbours, had refuſed to come to aid them, they ſhould yet now remember how neceſſary a thing it were, with their conjoyned minds and forces to helpe one another; for that the Haiduckes hauing now paſſed the riuer of Teiſe, were broken into that Prouince, and were run as far as Budnoc: neither were they minded ſo M to ſtay, but to rob and ſpoile all the country before them, if they were not with ſpeed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few daies before, they had receiued thirty thouſand Hungarian Duckats from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with

A horſes and other gifts to be diuided among their leaders and captaines; and moreouer, dayly expected aid from the Tartars, who in great number lay about Belgrade. Wherefore ſeeing it could not be expreſſed, what great harme and loſſe was by the Haiducks done, as well vnto the Noblemen themſelues, as to the common country men; that they ſhould therefore thereof giue their neighbours to vnderſtand, and with all ſpeed to take vp armes againſt the ſame rebellious Haiducks.

Not long after, about the latter end of March, Proclamation was made by the commandement of *Matthias* the Archduke, throughout all Auſtria, That euery man ſhould prouide himſelfe to take vp armes. The cauſe whereof men diuerſly ſuſpected; howbeit that vnto this Proclamation was this reaſon ioyned, That the Archduke was determined himſelfe to go B about the 14 of Aprill into Morauia, and there to gather together all his power, as well Hungarians, as Auſtrians and Haiducks, for the war he was to take in hand. There were alſo Letters in the Archdukes name ſent vnto the Vaſſals of Auſtria, to giue them to vnderſtand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of peace, and defence of theſe countries, had of late beene decreed at Presburg; and that all the States of Enſerie had approued the report thereof receiued from their Deputies, and ſo promiſed their helpe and aid vnto the Archduke, as if that he himſelfe would take in hand any expedition, they would ioyne themſelues vnto him, and together with him to liue or die: yet that there were ſome, which being more deſirous of war than peace, did not only not reſt vpon the former pacification, but gathered an army alſo in the borders of Morauia, with a purpoſe to make an inroad as well in- C to Morauia, as into Auſtria it ſelfe. For which cauſe the States of Morauia were alſo enforced, for defence of themſelues to raiſe an army, and to craue helpe from their neighbors. And that therefore ſeeing the Archduke, mindefull of his promiſe for the common defence of the country, was reſolued to beſtow his life and all his fortunes, and in his owne perſon to vndertake an expedition into thoſe places from whence the greateſt danger was to be feared to fall vpon thoſe countries; neceſſity then required, that the States themſelues alſo ſhould ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their behalfe, but euery one of them together with their ſeruants forthwith to ioyne themſelues vnto the Archduke, and to the vttermoſt of their power to endeuour themſelues to deliuer them and theirs from death and deſtruction. That God, in whoſe name this expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the louers of peace, might D ſo in ſhort time make an end of all tumults, and grant vnto thoſe countries wiſhed peace and quietneſſe. And that therefore they were to be admoniſhed, That according to the tenor of the Decree made at Presburg, they with ſuch a number of horſe and foot as they could vpon the ſudden raiſe at a day to be ſhortly after vnto them named, ſhould ioyne themſelues vnto the Archduke, and not to ſuffer any thing to let them in ſo doing. So that if haply any chance or ſickeneſſe ſhould happen vnto their Generall, yet notwithſtanding that they ſhould ſend their power vnder the leading of ſome other man, ſeeing that the Archduke himſelfe ſpared not to aduenture his life and fortunes, and (if God ſhould ſee it ſo good) account it a great gaine euen to loſe the ſame, ſo that thereby he might do his country good.

The Archduke Matthias prepareth himſelfe for his expedition into Morauia.

About the beginning of Aprill, the Cardinall returning from Prague to Vienna, brought E with him the Emperors anſwer and reſolution, *viz.* That he did ratifie and confirme all things that were done and concluded with the Hungarians and Turks; but that his will was, That the confederation made betwixt the States of Hungary and Auſtria at Presburg, ſhould be void and of none effect. Which the Archduke proteſting that he could by no means like of, or ſuffer to be don, he the 15 of Aprill afterwards with a great number of the Peers, Nobility, and Counſellors, and a multitude of good ſouldiers, going out of Vienna towards the monaſtery of Neoburg, ſet forward vpon his iourny, carrying with him eight and twenty pieces of ordnance, there expecting his ſouldiers in all places leuied: by publike Letters proteſting, That no man ſhould from his army receiue any harme; or if that by chance any harme were done vnto any man by his army, aſſuring his ſubiects it ſhould be againe vnto them reſtored F and recompenſed.

But the rumor of this expedition being brought into Bohemia, the Nobility of the country began to aſſemble themſelues the fifteenth day of Aprill; whither when as many of the Deputies of the other Countries were aſſembled alſo, it being decreed, That the Nobility of the faithfull States there preſent, ſhould with all ſpeed returne home, and ſo prouide themſelues and their ſubjects of neceſſary armes; that, need ſo requiring, they ſhould therewith be able to defend themſelues and their countrey, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed. Beſides that, the Emperor himſelfe carefull for all euents, cauſed many both horſe and foot, to be brought to Prague, and be diuerſly bilited in the Citiſens houſes; and furthermore, the eighteenth of Aprill, by letters directed vnto certaine Princes of the Empire, and to certaine Earles alſo, citiſens, and other vaſſals of the Kingdome of Bohemia, warned them with all ſpeed to ſend aid vnto him at Prague.

The Archduke Matthias with an army commeth to Zname in Morauia.

But *Matthias* the Archduke in the meane time marching forward with an army of twenty thouſand horſe and foot, the foure and twentieth day of Aprill came to Zname, a city of Morauia; and was there, by the States of Morauia (who the day before were come thither alſo with foure hundred horſe) honourably receiued and brought into the City. From thence ſending out letters into the territories of Bohemia, and to the city of Prague, he requeſted, That they would ſend out of euery place two deputies for them, vnto the aſſembly to be holden at Zaſlauia, the fourth day of May: promiſing withall, That hee himſelfe there being preſent, would yeeld vnto their deputies a reaſon of his doings, as alſo what he meant to do hereafter. Beſides that, he by letters ſent vnto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cauſe why he was enforced to make this expedition: and withall ſending vnto them a copy of the agreement made at Vienna, the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1606, by the common conſent of the Archdukes; in moſt friendly manner requeſted them, That they would not intermeddle in this buſineſſe, but rather with their counſell and aid to further the ſame.

But the three and twentieth day of Aprill, the Emperor ſent the Popes Embaſſadors, with the Embaſſadors of diuers other Princes and States, then lying at Prague with ſundry of the Bohemian Miniſters, in Embaſſage to the Archduke *Matthias*, ſtill lying at Zname: whom the Cardinal the next day after followed alſo, to make ſome good pacification, if it were poſſible, with the Archduke. But the Emperor in the meane time calling vnto him the counſellors of the old and new towne of Prague (contrary to his wonted manner) moſt courteouſly with his owne hand receiued them, and giuing them thanks for the faithfull duties by them hitherto performed; requeſted them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelity and loyalty alſo: moſt liberally promiſing vnto them all kindneſſe, with the reſtitution of the priuiledges concerning the ſhutting of the gates of the city: which liberty they had before loſt in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a generall muſter was taken, not only in the city of Prague, and the townes thereabouts, but alſo throughout all the Kingdome of Bohemia, and three hundred musketiers appointed for the gard and keeping of the caſtle, vnder the command of Count *Solmes*, who had commiſſion for the raiſing of other ſouldiers alſo.

The Tartar Cham dieth.

At the very ſame time it was from Conſtantinople certainely reported, the Tartar Cham to haue died, and the Turkiſh Sultan hauing receiued newes thereof, to haue diſmiſſed his ſonne, whom he hitherto had detained as a pledge, and with diuers ſhips and gallies, to haue cauſed him to be tranſported ouer the Blacke Sea, vnto the borders of Tartary, there to take poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome. It was alſo then reported, certaine of the ſeditious Turks making of a road, to haue ſurpriſed Smirna, a rich city of Aſia, and to haue forraged all the country about it farre and neere, and comming vnto Magneſia, a chiefe city of that Country, to haue had ten thouſand crownes by the inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to ſpare the Country thereabouts. The Perſian King alſo at the ſame time notably to proceed in his warres, and to do the Turks great harme, the Turks and Tartars ſeeking in vaine to withſtand him.

In the meane time Embaſſadours comming vnto Prague from the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, part of them the ninth of May, went vnto the Archduke *Matthias* to Zaſlauia, who ſtill lay there encamped with an army of fiue and twenty thouſand men: of whom they requeſted a truce for the ſpace of eight daies, for the making of a Pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this buſineſſe, eaſily obtained the ſame, eſpecially ſeeing that thoſe Princes Electors, being ioyned and bound vnto the Empe-

A rous in a double confederation, as well for their Electorſhip, as in reſpect of the Kingdome of Bohemia, could not, as they ſaid, otherwiſe do, but ſent preſent aid vnto the Emperor his neceſſity ſo requiring; to which end they had now in readineſſe certaine thouſands of ſouldiers in the frontiers of their countries, to be forthwith ſent vnto him: The other part of theſe Embaſſadors in the meane time ſtaying with the Emperor, where after the German manner they were all prouided of good cheere and wine.

Matthias the Archduke marcheth towards Prague.

About the ſeuenteenth of May *Matthias* the Archduke with eighteene thouſand men roſe and marched towards Prague, *Collonits* with the reſt of his army following him. And although that the Archduke had ſeuerely commanded his ſouldiers to abſtaine from robbing, ſpoyling and burning of the Country, and had diuers times ſeuerely puniſhed ſome offenders B therein by hanging of ſome, and heading of others, yet could he by no meanes ſo reſtraine them, and keepe them in, but that ſome of them would ſometimes be ſtragling abroad, and doing harme, eſpecially the Hungarians, who were ſtill running out euen as far as the Emperors campe, and the new city of Prague. Whom for all that, the Emperours ſouldiers (being then twenty thouſand ſtrong) would not meddle withall, being ſo commanded by the Emperour. Howbeit ſome of theſe ſtraglers going too farre abroad into the country, were by the country men cut off and ſlaine.

The three and twentieth day of May an aſſembly of the States of Bohemia was called at Prague, the Emperour himſelfe being there preſent; *Adam Waldſteine* carrying the drawne ſword before him. In which aſſembly the Nobility and States of the country with one con- C ſent promiſed to ſpend their goods and liues in the Emperours quarrell; yet in the meane time requeſted theſe things following to be granted and confirmed vnto them: *viz.* That Religion according to the confeſſion of Bohemia and Auguſta ſhould inuiolately be kept, and that they which profeſſed the one, ſhould not therefore ſcoffe or deſpiſe the other. That Bohemians only ſhould be preferred to Archbiſhopricks, Abbotſhips, and other ſpirituall preferments. That the Archbiſhop ſhould not meddle with ciuill and politicall affaires. That Eccleſiaſticall offices ſhould be permitted vnto the Proteſtant Miniſters, as in former time, the Catholickes in the meane time holding what they had. That the Pontificall diſpenſation in cauſes of Matrimony, according to the Decree of the aſſembly holden in the yeare 1602, ſhould be abrogated and taken away. That it ſhould not be lawfull for Prieſts and other Ec- D cleſiaſticall perſons to buy lands or territories, without the expreſſe conſent of all the three States, but to hold themſelues contented with their tythes and other their reuenues. That it ſhould be lawfull for all men in their own ground and territories to build Churches for Religion on both ſides. That Proteſtants and Patrons of the Vniuerſity of Prague ſhould be ioyned to the Conſiſtory, as they were in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. That one ſhould be choſen for Burgraue in this aſſembly. That chiefe politicall offices ſhould not be left void aboue a moneth. That vnto theſe politicall offices men of both religions ſhould be admitted: ſo that if the Burgraue were a Catholike, the chiefe judge ſhould be a Proteſtant. That euery man ſhould enjoy his right, and that no Decree ſhould be publiſhed againſt the ſame: neither that they which were of the Order of Knights ſhould be raſhly ſued, or bound to any arreſt. E That one of the Bohemians ſhould alwaies be choſen into the ſecret Counſell, and made acquainted with the Bohemian affaires. That euery man might haue acceſſe vnto the Emperor, and not all things to be done by his Counſellors. That it ſhould be declared to all men, what was to be vnderſtood by the crime of treaſon. That a difference ſhould be made betwixt offences: and that no man ſhould for any light offence, together with his goods, loſe his life and reputation. That the ſuits of widows, orphans, and others alſo, ſhould with expedition be diſpatched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the father ſhould not be bound to pay the ſons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the ſon himſelfe. That in politicall offices men ſhould not be too much grieued with too heauy exactions. That men ſued ſhould not be ſummoned but in good tearms, and that ſuch as were in F any reputation be bound to any arreſt, without the hearing of their cauſe, and much leſſe to be impriſoned. That the ſword vpon frowardneſſe or madneſſe taken out of the Church of Thine certaine yeres before, ſhould be againe ſet in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded mens cauſes, ſhould be contented with ſuch fees as were by common Decres appointed them.

And laſt of all to conclude, they in any wiſe requeſted the Emperour, that it would pleaſe him to eaſe the Nobility and States of Bohemia of theſe griefes, before they were compelled to anſwer vnto ſuch things as were to be propounded vnto them on his behalfe. Who eaſily granted vnto moſt of theſe articles, thoſe which concerned Religion only excepted; ſo that the Senators of the old towne of Prague obtained the deſired ſword to be againe forthwith ſet in the wonted place. But as for the buſineſſe of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred vnto the next aſſembly to be holden at the feaſt of Saint *Michael*.

About the end of May the Archduke *Matthias* his Embaſſadors hauing receiued ſafeconduct from the Emperor and the Nobility of the kingdome of Bohemia, came to Prague and being admitted into the councell of the Nobility, *Charles* Count *Tſeratin* to whom this charge was giuen, hauing in the Archdukes name firſt ſaluted the Nobility, cauſed what he and the reſt had in charge, to be before them out of a long writing in the Bohemian tongue read: which done, when as, the Nobility ſo requiring, they were put aſide, and almoſt an houre after were called againe, they receiued anſwer, That the points of the Embaſſage by them propounded, were greater and of more weight than that ſufficient deliberation could thereof in ſo ſhort a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobility thought meet, that Commiſſioners on both ſides meeting together in the open field neere vnto Debriſe ſhould there conſult of theſe articles, and by the conſent of the Emperor and Archduke to do what they might to end the matter. Vnto which anſwer the Archdukes Embaſſadors conſenting, the ninth of Iune returned againe vnto the campe. The Emperours Embaſſadors within two daies after with forty coaches and an hundred horſe following them vnto the place appointed, who oftentimes going to and fro, at length ſo wrought the matter on both ſides, that the buſineſſe quietly and friendly ended, they were againe made friends.

The articles of which pacification and agreement betwixt the Emperor and the Archduke were the ſeuenteenth day of Iune in the caſtle of Prague openly read in the Bohemian tongue, *Lichtenſtein*, *Kintskie*, and other Chiefetaines the Archdukes Embaſſadours, being there preſent, in order thus:

The Articles of pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Archduke Matthias.

That the Emperour refuſed not, but that the Crowne of Hungary ſhould be deliuered into the Archduke *Matthias* his hands: and to yeeld vnto him the Kingdome of Hungary, and to remit vnto his ſubiects the oath of their allegiance before giuen vnto him, ſo that the Nobility and States of Hungary ſhould chuſe no other King but the Archduke. That in the next Dyet of the Empire, he ſhould propound vnto the States of the Empire to be conſidered of, what contribution they ought to make vnto the Archduke for the defence of their frontiers, if happely longer warre were to be made with the Turke. That hee ſhould cauſe the Writings which concerned that Kingdome of Hungary, within the ſpace of two moneths to be deliuered vnto the Archduke. That he ſhould likewiſe alſo ſurrender vp the Archdukedome of Auſtria, by himſelfe hitherto poſſeſſed, vnto the Archduke: yet ſo, as that the Archduke ſhould take vpon himſelfe all the Emperours debt as well in Hungary as in Auſtria, and within a yeare ſhould cauſe ſufficient Recognizance or Caution ſealed with his owne hand, to be deliuered vnto the Creditors. That he ſhould cauſe all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the vpper Auſtria, as the neather, within the ſame time to be deliuered vnto him, together with a Copy of the Priuiledges therein, vntill that deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred vnto him alſo. That the Nobility and States of Bohemia ſhould in the Emperours name ratifie and confirme the Treaty held at Vienna, for the making of the peace betwixt the Emperour, the Turks, and the Hungarians. That they alſo ſhould not refuſe at the Emperours requeſt, to promiſe vnto the Archduke a certaine ſucceſſion into the Kingdome of Bohemia; but yet with condition, ſo that if it ſhould happen the Emperour to die without heires male, before the death of the Archduke his brother: but if he ſhould haue heires male lawfully begotten and vnder age: that in that caſe he ſhould onely haue the rule and gouernment of the Kingdome of Bohemia, yet with certaine Bohemian Counſellors ioyned vnto him. That the Archduke ſhould by Writing confirme vnto the Nobility and States of Bohemia, That he ſhould after the vſuall manner and faſhion demand the Kingdome of Bohemia, being void of a King. That he ſhould take the vſuall oath of a King, and alwaies haue like regard of all their priuiledges, as the other Kings

A his predeceſſours had. That the States of Bohemia ſhould not gaineſay, but that the Archduke might hereafter vſe the title of the deſigned King of Hungary. That the adminiſtration of the Marquiſet of Morauia ſhould be granted vnto the Archduke *Matthias* and his heires, together with the title of a Marqueſſe, till that after the death of the Emperor this Prouince was againe to reuert vnto him which was to enioy the kingdome of Bohemia. But if it ſhould happen the Archduke to die before the Emperour, the States of Bohemia ſhould not refuſe, but that this Prouince ſeparate apart, might (as ſhould ſeem good) chuſe vnto it ſelf a Patron and Defendor, vnto the death of the Emperour. That the Biſhopricke of Almits, hitherto in temporalities ſubiect to the King of Bohemia, ſhould from thenceforth acknowledge the Archduke *Matthias* to be the Gouernour thereof, leſt there ſhould be a confuſion of ſuites in B Morauia, the Biſhop in the meane time hauing regard to his owne priuiledges. That the Emperor at the requeſt of the Archduke ſhould maintain the priuiledges of them of Sileſia, and of the States of the cities, and augment them alſo with new priuiledges, being reaſonable and conuenient. That for the defence of the borders againſt the Turks, the Nobility and States of Bohemia ſhould not contribute more than hitherto they were wont; yet ſauing to the Archduke power and abilitie in the generall meetings and aſſemblies of the Kingdome to intreat thereof, as the Emperor had hitherto had. That the titles of all the Prouinces which the Emperor did now ſurrender vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, ſhould be ſtill vnto him reſerued. That the Archduke *Matthias* ſhould vtterly renounce the County of Tirali, and ſurrender his part therof vnto the Emperor. That in the meetings and aſſemblies to come, the Archduke ſhould C by all means endeauour, that the Emperour ſhould receiue a reaſonable yearely contribution out of thoſe Prouinces which he now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, ſhould generally be forgiuen and pardoned, all and euery the perſons on both parties, onely *Verkanious* excepted, concerning whom, as alſo concerning his debt, the Nobility of Morauia had vndertaken in their next Aſſembly to take order. And that armes ſhould on both ſides be laid apart.

The Crowne of Hungary deliuered vnto the Archduke Matthias.

Which Articles thus agreed vpon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crowne of Hungarie, with the Ornaments thereto belonging, ſuch as are King *Stephen* his Sword, the golden Apple, with the Croſſe of the Kingdome vpon it, two paire of rich ſhooes, a very antient Robe, with a Royall Scepter, were by the Emperours chiefe Lieutenant carried into the D campe, and there in a broad and open field deliuered vnto the Archduke *Matthias*: who with his army in order raunged, and ſixteene thouſand horſe and foot diuided into three battalions, after he had receiued theſe Royall ornaments, commanded three great vollies of ſhot to be diſcharged, and afterwards royally feaſted the Emperours Embaſſadour. Which pacification thus made, many out of the Archdukes camp, but eſpecially the Hungarians, went into the City of Prague, there to buy things neceſſary; and many came alſo out of the City to ſee the Archdukes camp. But in the mean time certaine inſolent ſoldiers hauing by night broken vp certaine ſhops of the Iewes, and carried out of them much rich wares, were the cauſe of great ſtirres and tumults in the City; inſomuch, that diuers of the ſouldiers were therefore caſt into priſon.

E The firſt of Iuly King *Matthias* riſing with his army, departed from before Prague, taking his way with his chiefe Councellors towards Lintz, and diuiding his army into three parts, that ſo they might the more eaſilier paſſe through thoſe countries home. After the riſing of which army, a certaine noble Bohemian and a good ſouldier, called [illegible], vnto whom the Hungarians and Haiduckes had in this expedition done great harme, with ſix hundred harquebuſiers and a number of countreymen went forth to a place called Pancouitſe; where hauing cut off the paſſage, and cut downe trees croſſe the waies, that none might that way conueniently paſſe, hee with ſuch fury in a place of aduantage charged the Hungarians, comming that way, that hauing ſlaine about nine hundred of them, ſome others were alſo carried away priſoners, with a great booty of horſes, waggons, and other goods. F With which deed the Hungarians grieued, trod downe the corne as they went, and began to ſet fire on the villages and houſes in the Countrey thereabouts. But the newes thereof being brought vnto the King, hee forthwith by *Herbenſtein*, Generall of the horſemen, commanded the Hungarians and Haiducks not onely to deſiſt from this their inſolencie, but themſelues alſo, vpon a great penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raiſed. G

King Matthias royally receiued at Vienna.

In the mean time the comming of King *Matthias* being reported at Vienna, great preparation was there made for receiuing of him, and bringing of him into the city according to his royal dignitie: who the 14 of Iuly towards night beeing come thither, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, and 3000 horſe, the Archbiſhop of Hungary, who with Count *Trautſamius* and many other of the Emperors counſellors and ſeruants went out of the city to meet him, and there amidſt eight enſignes of German ſoldiers, and 1500 horſemen, as it were ſet in order of battel, receiued him with a long and eloquent oration; as did afterward *Trautſamius*, in the name of the States of Auſtria; the Emperors Counſellors alſo honorably welcomming him. Which done, mounting again to horſe, the King with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, ſtayed vntil two troups of the horſmen of Vienna, in number about 400, were all entered H into the city; and afterwards 1500 of *Bucheims* horſemen and the aforeſaid eight enſignes of the Germans going before, and the Emperours Counſellors following them, the King himſelfe with the Archduke his brother and all his train ſet forward; and paſſing ouer the bridge, wheron three triumphal arches were moſt ſumptuouſly erected, he was by 3000 Citiſens of Vienna, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundring of the great ordnance & vollies of ſmall ſhot moſt magnificently receiued, diuers other triumphs and ſports, to manifeſt the joy of the people, being there made alſo, which for breuities ſake we paſſe ouer. But being gon a little further, he was by the Senators of Vienna on horſeback receiued vnder a rich canopy, born vp by ſix of the antienteſt of the ſaid Senators, and ſo brought to Saint *Stephens* Church; whither he was no ſooner come, but that lighting from his horſe, he was there receiued by the I whole Clergy, and vnder a canopie brought into the Church; where after Seruice don, he was with like triumph and magnificence, through diuers other triumphall arches, brought to the Caſtle, the great ordnance on all ſides ſtill thundring off from thence, and from the walls and bulwarks of the town.

Troubls in Auſtria about religion.

But theſe triumphs and ſolemnities ended, ſhortly after when as they began to conſult about ſuch things as concerned the good gouernment of the kingdome of Hungary, and crowning of the King, and that the Proteſtant States of Auſtria in many places began to exerciſe their Religion according to the manner of the Confeſſion of Auguſta, and that the Miniſters began openly to preach in the Churches there, *Leopold* the Archduke and Biſhop of Paſſavia comming to Vienna, with *Melinus* the Popes Nuntio (but a little before come to Prague) K with Cardinal *Forgatſius* and the Biſhop of Vienna, with earneſt and importunate ſoliciting of the King, obtained from him a commandement, That that exerciſe of religion ſhould bee again abrogated, the Churches ſhut, and publique preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new ſtirs and troubles in Auſtria. For the Proteſtant States forthwith calling a Councel among themſelues, by generall conſent refuſed by oath of loyaltie and allegiance to binde themſelues vnto the new King, vntill they had of him obtained the libertie for the free exerciſe of their religion; and combining themſelues together, reſolued euen with the loſſe of their liues and goods to maintain the free preaching of the Word, and exerciſe of their Religion according to the Confeſſion of Auguſta: and to that end commanded all their ſubiects and tenants to be ready in arms, that need ſo requiring, euery thirtieth man, L tenth, or fifth might be preſt to come forth vnto the wars. But hauing ſent a ſupplication to the King whereunto 280 of the nobilitie had ſet their hands, and receiuing no anſwer, but that they ſhould deſiſt from their purpoſe, and without delay to make their appearance to take their oath of allegiance to the King, they forthwith the 14 of September going to Horne, by Letters ſent vnto the reſt of the Roman Catholique States proteſted themſelues to be cleare, before God and the whole world, of all the euils and miſchiefs that were afterward to inſue, if thoſe States not regarding the appeaſing and ending of thoſe troubles, or the ſafety of them their countrymen, ſhould take their oath of allegiance vnto the King. And ſo forthwith raiſing an army, leſt vpon the ſudden they ſhould be at Horn oppreſſed, they began by all means M to prouide for their affairs. But the report thereof comming to the States of Bohemia & Morauia their neighbors, they were by them giuen to vnderſtand, That they would become interceſſors for them vnto the King, and yet not to be wanting vnto them at their need, as occaſion ſhould require.

In

A In the mean time letters were brought from Conſtantinople to Vienna; declaring King *Matthias* his Embaſſadors hauing audience with the great Sultan, to haue in an eloquent Oration on the Kings behalfe promiſed, religiouſly to keep the peace of late made betweene them. And afterwards in the Kings name to haue offered his preſents vnto the Sultan, and he in the preſence of his chiefe Baſſa's to haue receiued them. But when he came to requeſt the gouernment of Tranſylvania, he would in no wiſe therunto conſent, but gaue the ſame to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandment vnto the Baſſa of Buda for the eſtabliſhing of him in this principalitie.

About the beginning of October, the Counties of Trautſame and Furſtenburg were from King *Matthias* ſent vnto the Proteſtant States at Horne; and ſhortly after them *Maximilian* B the Archduke followed alſo. Who although they with moſt glorious promiſes ſought to appeaſe them, and by all means to draw them to take the oath of allegiance; yet could they no whit preuail with them, without granting the free exerciſe of their Religion. But the ſixt of October, the Catholique States not expecting the conſent of the Proteſtant States, at Vienna ſwore fealty vnto *Matthias* the new king of Hungary; the great ordnance in the mean time thundring off, with drums and trumpets in euery place of the City ſounding, and the reſt of the day being with great feaſting, triumph, and ſolemnitie ſpent.

King *Matthias* hauing thus at Vienna receiued the oath of allegiance of the Catholiques, ſhortly after departing thence, the 22 of October comming to Presburg, was there by the nobility of Hungary receiued and brought into the city with 10000 ſoldiers. Which Eſtates C afterward, *viz.* the 6 of Nouember, offered in writing vnto the King certaine articles, whereof they deſired to be by him aſſured: moſt of which articles were drawne out of the pacification made at Vienna the 23 of Auguſt, *Anno* 1606; the chiefe effect wherof was this, That the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould be permitted vnto all men in all the cities and towns of Hungary, not ſo much as that city to be excepted wherein the king ſhould be reſident. That no German captain ſhould be ſuffered in any the ſtrong forts of Hungary, but that the ſtrong townes of Rab, Comora, Vivaria, and others, ſhould be committed vnto the gouernment of naturall Hungarians born: That the crown of Hungary ſhould ſtil be kept in Hungary, and committed to the keeping of Temporall men. That firſt and before all other things a Count Palatine ſhould be choſen. That the king himſelf ſhould alwaies reſide in Hungarie, or if not, that the D Palatine in his abſence ſhould haue ful power, with the Counſellors of eſtate of Hungary, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King ſhould therewith hold himſelfe contented. That no publique office ſhould be beſtowed vpon any, but vpon ſuch natural Hungarians as had of their country wel deſerued; nor permitted to any for mony. That no Ieſuites ſhould be ſuffered in the kingdom, neither that Eccleſiaſtical men ſhould be ſo much fauoured as formerly they had bin. That officers ſhould not be bound to giue account of the adminiſtration of their offices, but before the Treaſurers of Presburg, being natural Hungarians born. That from henceforth mony ſhould not be carried out of the kingdom, as hitherto it had bin. That the Palatine being dead, the king ſhould within a year keep another, the chiefe Iuſtice in the mean time after the old maner ſupplying his room.

Troubles in Auſtria about matters of religion.

E The Proteſtant States of Auſtria had but a little before ſent their Embaſſadors vnto the Nobilitie and States of Hungary then gathered together at Presburg, with requeſt, That foraſmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtaine of the king the free exerciſe of their religion, as wel within their cities as without, and that very neceſſitie had driuen them by force of arms to ſeek for the ſame, that they would by ſending of them men, afford them ſuch ayd as was vnto them due by the former pacification made at Vienna *An.* 1606. Which troubles of Auſtria the Nobilitie and States of Hungary deſiring to haue appeaſed, ſent *George Turſon* and ſome others with letters of interceſſion in their behalfe vnto the Archduke *Maximilian*: which when they had deliuered vnto him, they receiued from him this anſwer, That K. *Matthias* neuer thought to diſturb the common quiet of that country, or to attempt any thing F againſt the priuiledges therof, granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* of happy memory; but to grant vnto the cities the liberty of Religion, he could by no meanes, partly in reſpect of conſcience, partly for the danger that might therof inſue from the Pope and the king of Spaine; and yet neuertheles he would promiſe to ſuffer and tolerate the free exerciſe of religion without the city, and in the beſtowing of publique offices to haue no reſpect of Religion: yet with this condition, That they ſhould lay down armes, ſubmit themſelues vnto the King, acknowledge their fault, and craue pardon for the ſame; for that in ſo doing the States ſhould haply preuail more than by force of arms.

With which anſwer, ſeeing no better could be got, the Hungarian Embaſſadors going to the States of Auſtria, began by diuers reaſons earneſtly to perſuade them to ſubmit themſelues vnto the King. If the Hungarians ſhould (as they ſaid) giue aid vnto them of Auſtria, they ſhould in ſo doing, in ſtead of helping them but do them more harm; for that the Hungarian power could not be brought into Auſtria but to the vtter deſtruction thereof. That the league betwixt the Hungarians and them of Auſtria was a general league, and concerned as well the Catholiques as the Proteſtants. That the Chriſtian religion was neuer with the ſword planted or defended; Chriſt himſelfe ſaying, Them to be happy which therfore ſuffer perſecution; and commanding *Peter* to put vp his ſword into his ſcabberd. That it was an eaſie matter for euery man to raiſe ſtirs and tumults, but again to appeaſe them was farre more difficult. That by the taking vp of arms the free exerciſe of Religion could not bee furthered or prouided for, it being rather dangerous, leſt the contrary part preuailing it ſhould be vtterly ſuppreſſed. That by this means Hungary it ſelfe ſhould be expoſed to many dangers, for that not only new ſtirs might vpon this occaſion by the ſubiects thereof bee raiſed, but other forrein Princes alſo take vp arms againſt it alſo; the Emperor by force of arms ſeeking for his right, and the Turkiſh Sultan by a new inuaſion going about to bring the ſame vnder his ſubiection. And telling them further, That the Archduke had promiſed to take good order for all things, ſo that they would lay downe armes: and that the clemencie and bounty of theſe Princes being known, they were not to doubt but that they would perform their promiſe: and that the Hungarians could not now doe or attempt any thing againſt the King: but that if it ſhould happen theſe two Archdukes being dead without heirs male, the gouernment of theſe two prouinces ſhould come vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*, that then they ſhould haue more cauſe to help them of Auſtria againſt him. Moravia they ſaid to be a free country, and yet the King to haue giuen therunto no more aſſurance for the liberty of religion, more than his bare promiſe. Wherfore ſeeing that both the fortune and chance of war was doubtful, and was not without great expence to be maintained; that they were of opinion, it to be beſt for the Proteſtant States of Auſtria to lay downe armes, and by way of requeſt to ſolicit their cauſe with the King.

Illiſhaſcius is choſen palatine of Hungary.

Mathias crowned King of Hungary.

In the mean time, the griefs wherof the Hungarians complained being taken away, and all controuerſies happily ended, *Illiſhaſcius* was by a general conſent choſen to be Palatine, and *Matthias* the 14 of November openly proclaimed King of Hungary, and the 19 of the ſame month in S. *Martins* church at Presburg in this maner crowned: firſt, the Royal Crowne was in a ſtately chariot caried out of the caſtle vnto the church, with a great number of the counſellors and Nobilitie of Hungary attending the ſame; in which Chariot were alſo caried ten enſignes, with the arms of the kingdom in them friſled vp; four of the Hungarian counſellors taking it out of the chariot, in a little cheſt couered with cloath of gold, and ſo carying it into the Chancel of the church. After which *Matthias*, together with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, followed on horſeback, both attyred in Hungarian apparel; and ſo going into the Chancel, there ſtayed about halfe an houre, vntill that hee was by two Biſhops brought forth vnto the Altar; before whom ten of the Hungarian Nobilitie caried the tenne aforeſaid Enſignes: after whom followed the Palatine with the Crowne, *Endeodius* with the royall Scepter, *Forgatſie* with the Apple of the kingdom, *Turſo* with King *Stephens* ſword, *Tſechius* carying the Pax, as they call it, *Budian* the Croſſe; the Cardinal *Forgatſie* ſaying Maſſe, with diuers Biſhops and Prelats helping of him: by whom the King was at the beginning of Seruice anointed with oile: where, while the Epiſtle and Goſpel were in reading, the Cardinal ſet the crown vpon the Kings head; all the people crying out, *Long liue* Matthias *the King of Hungarie.* But the King with the crown vpon his head, taking a drawn ſword out of *Sigifred Collonitz* the Marſhals hand, thrice brandiſhed it acroſſe ouer the Clergy mens heads, and receiued the Sacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Maſſe being ended, he by an highway couered with cloath, going in his royal robes from S. *Martins* church, vnto the bare-foot friers church, as he went, cauſed mony to be caſt abroad among the people. In which church after the firſt Chapter of the Goſpel of S. *Iohn* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the king with the crown yet on his head, and in his ſtately robes, went out of the city at S. *Michaels* gate, where on horſeback he was brought vnto an high ſtage couered with cloath, wheron hee was ſworne vnto the Hungarians as their King, and they vnto him as his ſubiects. And afterwards thrice mounting vp to horſe vpon a little hil made for that purpoſe, and ſo downe againe, and thrice brandiſhing his ſword acroſſe, he returned back again into the caſtle, where he and *Maximilian* the Archduke, Cardinal *Forgatſie* the Popes Nuntio, and the Palatine ſate down at one table; the reſt of the Hungarian Nobilitie, to the number of 70, ſitting down at ſix other tables, and ſo dining with great mirth; the Haiduks and common ſort of people being there bountifully feaſted alſo. Where many of them in ſcrambling for the money that was caſt abroad, and in taking vp of the cloath from the ſcaffold, hauing their hands and fingers cut off, & ſo lamed, caried from thence the woful remembrance of what was there then don.

The ſolemnitie of this coronation thus paſt, King *Matthias* thought it good for him yet for a time to ſtay at Presburg, vntil the new building in the caſtle was ended, which the nobility of Hungarie had appointed for the keeping of the Crown of Hungary, to the intent that hee himſelfe might ſee the ſame, with other the royall ornaments put thereinto, and ſealed vp with his own ſeal: he in the mean while labouring to appeaſe great contentions, and to place fit men again in the great offices of the commonweale; for that the Hungarians would by no means ſuffer the Germans to enioy any of the ſame: for which cauſe many of the chiefe officers, men of great authoritie, were diſplaced; and among them *Sigiſfrid Collonitz*, a man who had much deſerued of the kingdom of Hungary. Howbeit ſhortly after, he by the counſel of *Maximilian* the Archduke, was by the Hungarians themſelues, repenting them of that they had done, not only reſtored vnto his former offices, but had by them (and that not without his iuſt deſert) euen greater preferments offered him alſo: ſo mutable a thing the iudgment of the Common people is. But *Illiſhaſcius* now Palatine of Hungary, the 28 of Nouember talking with king *Matthias* at large, earneſtly intreated him in the behalfe of the proteſtant States of Auſtria, eſpecially for that the other Proteſtant States of Hungary ſeemed now in their behalfe to be much mooued alſo; and the Moravian Embaſſadors openly at the ſame time proteſting, That their States could in no wiſe forſake them their friends the States of Auſtria, if their need ſo required. And albeit that both the Elector of Saxony and other Princes of the Empire, were become earneſt interceſſors alſo, vnto the King for them; yet the Popes Nuntio ſo hardly withſtood them, as nothing could as then be granted.

About the beginning of December the king returning again from Presburg to Vienna, the Proteſtant States of Auſtria about the 16 of December ſent *Erneſtus* the free Baron of Landau, *Maximilian Polheim*, *Sebaſtian Grabner*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram Sitſendorff*, and *Chriſtopher Buchner*, their Embaſſadors vnto the King, to know what they ſhould truſt to. Who the 27 of December receiued anſwer, That they ſhould hold themſelues contented with ſuch anſwer as they had before receiued, and to ſubmit themſelues to the kings pleaſure; or els to doe what they themſelues thought good. With which anſwer they returning, the States forthwith began to leuy new forces, perſuading the ſoldiers, that mindful of their oaths they ſhould truly ſerue whitherſoeuer and againſt whom ſoeuer they were ſent.

1609.

The States of Auſtria in arms about religion.

And now a great army of the Proteſtant States of Auſtria lay in the villages about Crembſa and Spaine, ſo that thoſe two towns were thought to bee in great danger of them. For the ſtrengthning of which places, *Bucheime* was by the King ſent thither with 1500 horſe, & certain pieces of great ordnance: and an edict withall publiſhed the 10 of Ianuary, charging the States to be preſent at Vienna the 21 day of the ſame moneth, to take their oath of allegiance to the king. Howbeit they moſt ſtifly ſtil refuſed ſo to do, or to remit any thing of that they had before required. Inſomuch that *Maximilian* the Archduke, who hitherto had not a little labored in this cauſe, was quite out of hope to bring them to any conformitie, or to make any good end therof. In the mean time certaine of *Bucheims* horſemen on the kings part, being about to haue taken vp a place, ſuch as they thought conuenient for them to lodge in, had like to haue bin diſappointed of the ſame by the horſemen of *Gerrane* on the States ſide. About which matter *Bucheim* comming forth with 7 troups of horſmen, and *Gerrane* but with three, and three companies of foot, there was betwixt them an hot skirmiſh for the time, fought the thirteenth day of Ianuary; in which an hundred of *Bucheims* horſemen were ſlaine, but of *Gerrane* his men not ſo many, they hauing the aduantage of the ground, and ſo therewith in the skirmiſh holpen,both for the defence of themſelues, and the annoying of their enemies. Wherof the King hauing knowledge,and therwith much mooued,beſide the aforeſaid Edict, cauſed another to be proclaimed at Vienna, againſt ſuch ſouldiers as ſerued the proteſtants; proſcribing them all,and denouncing them Rebels,except before the 21 day of Ianuarie,they laying down armes,departed out of the proteſtants Campe. Howbeit the Proteſtant States were ſo far from diſmiſſing their forces,as that they with new ſupplies ſtrengthned the ſame; and hauing taken an hil not far from Hallen[illegible]ynne,and from thence diſcharging three tyre of 20 pieces of great ordnance,ſtrook a great fear and terror into the minds of the kings ſoldiers within the town.

About this time alſo the States of Moravia (that nothing might on their part bee wanting for the making of an attonement betwixt the king and the Proteſtant States of Auſtria) ſent ſome of their Embaſſadors vnto thoſe States at Horn,and other ſome vnto the King at Vienna;who hauing acceſſe vnto the King,declared vnto him, The States of Moravia, from whom they came,to be earneſtly importuned by the proteſtant States of Auſtria,to ſend them ayd, according to the agreement made with them the year before. And told him moreouer, That this maner of his proceeding tended not vnto peace and quietnes, but rather vnto the trouble and deſtruction both of the kingdome and of all the prouinces to him belonging. All that errour,the ground of thoſe troubles,they ſaid to depend vpon a corrupt interpretation or miſconſtruing of words, rather than of the matter it ſelfe; ſo that by men deſirous of peace, it might eaſily be compoſed and ended. And that therfore their requeſt vnto his Majeſty was, That he hauing regard not only vnto the good and welfare of his prouinces and ſubiects,but euen of himſelfe and of his honour alſo, would of his clemencie and goodneſſe vouchſafe to giue remedy vnto the preſent danger, and auert the miſerable calamities now hanging ouer them,and euen ready to fall vpon their heads. The proteſtant States they ſaid to bee content to put the controuerſie to be decided and compoſed by certain graue & wiſe men,to be choſen arbitrators on both parts; yet with this condition, That for 14 daies ſpace no hoſtilitie ſhould on either ſide be vſed. That the inhabitants both aboue and beneath Amiſum ſhould be compriſed within this truce. That ſuch as were kept in durance for religion ſhould bee ſet at libertie: and that all highwaies and paſſages ſhould be from all ambuſhes and other dangers cleared. Vnto which their requeſts the king condeſcending,gaue leaue vnto the States of Moravia,vpon the moſt equall conditions they could deuiſe,to compoſe and end all differences:who ſo laboured in this buſineſſe betwixt the King and the proteſtant States of Auſtria, that at length,*viz.*the twelfth of March,a pacification was made betweene them: *Leopold* the Archduke,*Melinus* the Popes Nuntio,the Biſhop of Vienna, and other great men of the contrary religion and faction,ſeeking in vain to hinder the ſame. The chief articles and points in the Pacification were theſe: That the Nobility in their caſtles and towns,as alſo in their houſes in the city,ſhould for themſelues and their people haue the free exerciſe of their religion: That the free exerciſe of preaching might be vſed in three Churches,at Iſerſdorf,Trihelſwincel,and Horn. That the other Churches ſhut vp might again be opened by three of the Romiſh and three of the Reformed religion,and the free exerciſe of Religion in them vſed. That Counſellors and other publique officers ſhould from thenceforth indifferently be choſen of men of both religions; but ſuch Offices as were hereditarie ſhould ſo ſtill remain. That the election of Magiſtrates and other publique Officers in towns and cities, ſhould from thenceforth be made by the Magiſtrates and Citiſens themſelues,and not to be nominated from the Court,as hitherto they had beene. That no Church ſhould bee hereafter ſhut againſt either part,but their own Churches to be left vnto them both,quietly to vſe. That the townſmen and Citiſens in their townes and Cities ſhould from thenceforth haue power to make choice of their miniſters and preachers; and that for them it ſhould be lawfull to viſit the ſicke,and to adminiſter vnto them the Lords ſupper. That the oath of Allegiance ſhould be taken of them of the Reformed religion, in like maner as it had beene before taken of them of the Romiſh,but yet not with the ſame ceremonies of the Romiſh church; all vnitie and confederation with them to be had, to be taken away. That all grudging hatred and quarrell ſhould bee on both ſides forgiuen,and for euer forgotten. *Wolfgang* of Hoffkirch,*Voliſogius*,and others, remoued and put from their offices for not taking the oth of allegiance,being again receiued into fauor and reſtored to their places. That it might be lawful for the towns and cities aboue

The troubles in Auſtria pacified.

A A miſum, to haue the free exerciſe of the Reformed religion in their ſuburbs and hoſpitals.

It was not long after this pacification made, but that king *Mathias* the 17 of May, going to
Lintze with 300 horſe, was there with eight troups of horſmen & fifteen companies of foot,
by the States ſent forth to meet him, moſt honorably receiued, and by three triumphal arches
brought into the city: where he receiued of the States of the religion the oath of obedience;
which with much ioy, triumph, and feaſting performed, he the 27 of the ſame moneth againe
returned to Vienna. The aforeſaid States of Auſtria in the mean time with great zeal continuing
the free exerciſe of their Religion at Horn, a great multitude of people daily reſorting
vnto the ſermons there made: they of the Romiſh religion much grieuing and fretting therat.
The King himſelfe alſo being come to Vienna, put diuers of the Romiſh Catholiques out of
B their offices, placing others of the Reſormed religion in their rooms, to the great diſcontentment
of many.

About this time the Baſſa of Agria, notwithſtanding the peace, had for the ſum of twenty
thouſand crowns before hand payd, ſecretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to haue the
ſtrong town of Filek in the vpper Hungary deliuered vnto him. Which the traitor had intended
(as he himſelf confeſſed) to haue performed, by ſetting of the houſe wherin he himſelf
dwelt, by night on fire: vnto the quenching wherof the gariſon ſoldiers reſorting, his purpoſe
was in the mean time to haue ſecretly let in the Turks, and ſo to haue deliuered the town into
their hands. But this his ſo wicked a purpoſe in good time diſcouered, and by him confeſſed,
he was therfore, as he had wel deſerued, aliue cut into four pieces; a iuſt reward for his ſo
C foul intended treaſon. The Baſſa of Buda alſo, contrary to the treaty of peace, about the ſame
time went about to haue exacted the oath of allegiance of aboue 400 country villages of the
Chriſtians, being not compriſed within the foreſaid treaty. But as the Turks for their part
were ſecretly plotting how to incroch vpon the Chriſtians, and to do them harm; ſo the Haiducks
on the other ſide in great numbers gathered together in the vpper Hungary, began here
and there to moleſt and trouble the Turks, vntil they were by their ſuperiors commanded to
deſiſt from ſo doing, for diſturbing of the peace.

Illiſhaſcius dieth.

Now about this time alſo *Illiſhaſcius* the County Palatine of Hungary died at Vienna; A
man much beloued of the Hungarians his countrymen, and now by them no leſſe lamented
for. Whoſe dead body was with great honor afterward conueyed from Vienna, vnto his owne
D territorie in Hungary, and there with all funeral pomp buried with his Anceſtors. In whoſe
ſtead *George Turſon* was afterward by the general conſent of 158 of the Hungarian Nobilitie
choſen County Palatine of Hungary, and ſo with the vniuerſal and ſolemn acclamations of
the people ſaluted.

New Troubles for religion in Bohemia.

And now the troubles for religion were ſcarcely wel ended in Auſtria (as is aforeſaid) but
that the like, or rather worſe, began forthwith euen for the ſame quarrel to ariſe in Bohemia;
the Huſſites (as they call them) moſt earneſtly importuning the Emperor for the free exerciſe
of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certaine grieuances done to their religion:
and the Roman Catholiques euen at the ſame time leauing nothing vnattempted, that might
ſerue to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour and others ſitting at the
E helm of the gouernment of eſtate; and ſo to fruſtrat whatſoeuer the Emperor had in the general
aſſembly of the States the laſt year granted vnto them of the Religion, for the free exerciſe
and aduancement therof. The compoſing of which controuerſie (tending vnto the rending
in ſunder of the whole kingdom) when as the Emperor had referred vnto certain of his
chiefe Counſellors, and they altogether fauoring the Roman Catholiques, would giue them
of the Religion no certain anſwer wheron to reſt; they therwith much diſcontented, as out of
hope to by them relieued, and in great fear to be by their aduerſaries, as enemies vnto the ſtate
oppreſſed, layd their heads together, and after good deliberation taken, What were beſt for
them to doe, both for the ſafety of themſelues, their wiues, children, and Religion; they by a
generall conſent, of themſelues appointed the fourth of May to hold a generall meeting of
F them of the Religion in the new Court at Prague, there to conſult of all matters concerning
the buſineſſe of Religion. And yet in the mean time openly in parliament proteſting, by the
mouth of *Wenceſlaus Bodowitſius* a Baron of Bohemia, them to haue appointed this Aſſembly
for the Emperors good, and for the common quiet of the whole realme; as alſo for the better

informing of the Emperor of all matters, and to prouide that the Emperor and the kingdom G might not through the means and perſuaſions of thoſe his euill Counſellors be brought into extream peril and danger. Immediatly after, the States of the Religion with all ſpeed diſpatched their Embaſſadors vnto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Saxonie, and the Duke of Brunſwick, to requeſt them, by their interceſſion to become mediators for them vnto the Emperor, for the obtaining of the free exerciſe of their religion, which in all points agreed with the Confeſſion of Augusta, and which long before was exhibited vnto *Maximilian* the Emperor, and by him allowed. Now in the mean time theſe the States of the Religion were by ſome for theſe their proceedings commended; but by other ſome not onely blamed, but alſo accuſed of rebellion againſt the Emperor and the State. But the matter beeing declared vnto the Emperour, he complaining vnto himſelfe of the inconſiderateneſſe of his H Counſellors; to maintain his authoritie, cauſed the Parliament then in hand to be prorogued: and to ſeem of himſelf to grant that which he could not wel withſtand, commanded by a Decree, that ſame very day to be appointed for the concluding of that article of Religion, on which the States themſelues had appointed their aſſembly to be holden in the new Court at Prague. Notwithſtanding which Decree, many troubleſome ſpirits publiquely ſet forth other their conceits in writing, to far other purpoſe; grieuouſly therin reprehending the ſtates of the Religion, for that of themſelues they had appointed a day for their aſſembly into the new Court at Prague: which (as they ſaid) was nothing elſe, but in a rebellious maner to riſe againſt the Lawes of the kingdome, and the authoritie of their lawfull Prince; and therefore aduiſed them to forbear from making any ſuch aſſembly as was by them appointed. Hereof I aroſe great troubles euen vnder the Emperors noſe, in Prague the chief city of Bohemia; they of the Religion not daring to truſt the Roman Catholiques, neither they them: beeing ſtill ready vpon euery falſe report or vain ſurmiſe to go together by the ears; vntill that the Emperor for the ſtaying of theſe troubles, and for the auoiding of further danger, was glad to cauſe it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at Prague, That his Imperiall Maieſtie hauing receiued and vnderſtood the Apologie of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict publiſhed againſt them but a few daies before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithfull and welbeloued Subiects, and as of them, vnto whom the right of the kingdom and the Kings oath belonged, as wel as to all the other ſtates of the kingdome. And that hee alſo had thoſe the ſame States excuſed, in that they for the K good of his Majeſty & of the whole kingdom had appointed their Aſſembly in the new court at Prague; and that therefore he denounced them in ſo doing, not to haue don any thing contrary vnto his Majeſty. And that he appointed the 25 day of May for the generall aſſembly of Parliament to be holden in the Caſtle of Prague, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the reforming of other the publique grieuances of the Commonweal. Yet with this prouiſo, That the ſaid States ſhould ſafely and quietly come vnto the parliament, without entertaining of any forrein ſoldiers: as that his Majeſtie ſhould alſo, not by himſelfe nor any other, for pay entertaine any, or ſuffer any forreine ſouldiers to come into the kingdome. Which the Emperors Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion hauing made their publique prayers, and ſung certain hymnes and pſalmes vnto the glory of God, for the good L ſucceſſe of their buſines, left the new court at Prague, and returned euery man home to their own houſes, to make themſelues ready to come vnto the Parliament, to be holden at the appointed day.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour ſtill delaying the matter, the States of the Religion weary of ſuch long delayes, and in doubt to be therewith deluded, as hauing not receiued from the Emperour any ſuch anſwer as whereon they might reſt; the third of Iune offered vnto the Emperour a ſhort Writing concerning their griefe and further purpoſe, to this effect. They had (as they ſaid) expected, and well hoped, That regard beeing had not onely of ſo many requeſts of ſo great and moſt noble Princes, made in their behalfe, but euen of the Emperour his promiſe alſo, made vnto them, both in the M generall Aſſembly of the States the laſt yeare, and in the late precept of the Emperours alſo, they ſhould at length haue receiued ſuch anſwer vnto their petition, concerning the free exerciſe of their Religion, as wheron they might haue ſafely reſted. Which for that it had not bin

A yet don, they referred the doing therof vnto God and further time, imputing the blame therof not vnto his Imperial Maieſty, but vnto the vnquiet and troubleſome natures of ſome as well the Eccleſiaſtical as Temporall magiſtrats and perſons. But foraſmuch as they meant no longer to be deluded by their enemies, much leſſe to be defrauded of his Maieſties Royal promiſe, which was now vnto the world known; they had thought good to offer and preſent vnto his Maieſty a writing conceiued in the Bohemian tongue, according vnto which they deſired to be ſecured concerning the free exerciſe of their Religion: moſt humbly requeſting his Maieſty to accept of the ſame, and at length to ſatisfie their requeſts. Which if it might not be granted (the Emperours Maieſty hauing more reſpect vnto the troubleſome Clergie men, and ſome other his euill affected Counſellors, than to the faithfull States and ſubiects of B his kingdome) that then they would reſt themſelues vpon the Decree made in the Aſſembly holden in the year 1608, and vpon the laſt Edict of his Maieſty: yet with this ſolemn proteſtation, That ſeeing they had by certain information vnderſtood, much warlike preparation, eſpecially in Bavaria, to be made, and diuers conſultations in many places to be held againſt the States of the Religion (his Imperial Maieſty and other his faithful counſellors knowing nothing therof) which might tend vnto the ruin and deſtruction both of his Maieſty and of the whole kingdom; they themſelues would take vpon them the defence thereof, & do their indeauor, that furniſhed with men and armes, they might to the vtmoſt of their power defend him their Soueraign, together with themſelues and the whole kingdome, againſt the inuaſion of their forrein enemies.

C In the mean time while theſe things were thus in doing, an Embaſſadour came from the Duke of Saxonie to Prague, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of them the free exerciſe of their Religion. The Embaſſadors of the States of Sileſia forthwith following of them alſo: who alſo requeſted of the Emperor, to haue the liberty for the free exerciſe of their Religion by him confirmed vnto them, promiſing their moſt ready help & aid vnto the States of Bohemia, if need ſhould ſo require. But the States of Bohemia hauing in vain from day to day expected anſwer from the Emperour, turning themſelues vnto their former reſolution for the defence of themſelues and of their Religion; forthwith raiſed a great number both of horſe and foot; who with their well known Captains and commanders they brought euen vnto the city of Prague. Howbeit at length, *viz.* the eleuenth day of Iuly, the D Saxon Embaſſadours earneſtly ſoliciting their cauſe, and vrging their requeſt, according to their deſire receiued anſwer from the Emperour, by letters from his Maieſty written to this effect.

The Emperors letters for the free exerciſe of Religion in Bohemia.

He gaue all men (as he ſaid) to vnderſtand, and by theſe his Letters witneſſed to eternall memory, That after that all the free States of his kingdome of Bohemia, which in the receiuing of the Lords Supper participate the body and bloud of our Lord Chriſt Ieſus vnder both kinds, his faithfull ſubiects, had in the Aſſembly holden in the Caſtle at Prague, in the year 1608, in all humilitie requeſted, That it might be lawfull for them to hold, and freely to exerciſe their Religion according to the Confeſſion of Auguſta (as ſome call it) exhibited vnto his father *Maximilian* the Emperour, of moſt happy memory, and by him to the ſayd E States allowed: and that he then and at that time, by reaſon of other moſt weighty buſines, for which that aſſembly was then called, and ſuch as could ſuffer no procraſtination or delay, had thought it good to defer the allowing and ratifying of this their petition, vnto this preſent aſſembly of Parliament: and that the ſame States now again aſſembled, inceſſantly renewing this their former petition, and hauing therunto ioyned alſo the requeſt and interceſſion of certain noble perſonages, had requeſted to be therein ſatisfied: and that hee and his Counſellors would conſult, how prouiſion might be made for his ſubiects in the kingdome of Bohemia, as wel communicating vnder both kinds as vnder one, now at length to haue effected the ſame. Wherefore ſeeing that his will and deſire was, in theſe and future times peace and quietneſſe might for the increaſing of the Kingdome, be preſerued and kept aF mongſt his ſubiects of all the three Eſtates of the kingdom of Bohemia, communicating as well vnder the one as vnder both kinds: That both parties might freely and without any impediment or let, haue the free exerciſe of their Religion, whereby they were both in hope to obtain euerlaſting ſaluation. And to the intent that accompliſhment and ſatisfaction might

in all points be made, as well according to the breaking vp of the Aſſembly of Parliament in G
the yeare, 1608, as to the performance of his own precept, of late publiſhed (whereby he hath
acknowledged, and euen acknowledgeth, thoſe ſame Eſtates communicating vnder both
kinds, and ſubſcribing to this confeſſion, for his faithfull and loyall ſubiects, vnto whom the
rights and immunities of the kingdome of Bohemia belonged) he by the common conſent of
the Councellors, and other Magiſtrates of the Kingdome, did determine, That his ſubiects
communicating both vnder one and both kinds, ſhould friendly and peaceably liue together,
without wronging or reuiling of one another; and that vpon the paine and penalty in the law
ſet downe, to bee inflicted vpon them that ſhould otherwiſe do. And moreouer, ſeeing that
they which communicated but vnder one kinde, enioyed the free exerciſe of their Religion
in all points throughout the kingdome of Bohemia, that he gaue leaue and commanded, that
they alſo which communicated vnder both kindes, *viz.* all the States of the Religion, with H
all ſuch as embraced the Confeſſion of Bohemia, ſometime exhibited to *Maximilian* the
Emperour his father, in the Parliament holden in the yeare 1575, and now againe to him-
ſelfe preſented, ſhould euery where and in all places of the Kingdome, haue the free exer-
ciſe of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to retaine the ſame, vntill a
generall vnion of Religion, and an ending of all diſſention and controuerſies might be made.
Moreouer, That he did grant vnto the States of the Religion this fauour, That they ſhould
haue the lower Conſiſtorie at Prague, with power to conforme the ſame according to their
owne Confeſſion. That they might lawfully make their Prieſts, as well in the Bohemian as
Germane Tongue, and ſet them ouer their Churches, without any let of the Archbiſhop I
of Prague. That hee did alſo reſtore vnto them the Vniuerſitie of Prague, which for many
yeares agoe belonged vnto the States of the Religion vnder both kindes: giuing them power
againe to open the ſame, to furniſh it with graue and learned men of their owne Confeſſion,
to beautifie it with good Lawes, and to appoint certaine of their owne companie and profeſſi-
on for Gouernours and defendors as well of the Conſiſtorie as of the Vniuerſitie: whom ſo
by the ſtates appointed and choſen, he without any ſtay or delay, or other inſtruction or infor-
mation than they ſhould from the States receiue, would confirme in that their office, and pro-
nounce them for the lawfull Defendors: yet ſo, as that if he being letted by other great buſi-
neſſe, cannot performe the ſame within the ſpace of fourteen days, they ſhall neuertheles con-
tinue Defendors, and as well enioy the charge of the Office committed vnto them, as if they K
had been therein by him confirmed: and that one or other of their number being dead, it
ſhall be lawfull for the States to chuſe other in their places. And if that beſide the Churches
which they now hold, they would build other moe, or erect more ſchooles for the inſtructing
of the youth, it ſhall bee lawfull for them freely and without any let ſo to doe, as well in the
Cities as in the Countrey Townes and villages. And foraſmuch as in ſome of the Cities of
the Kingdome of Bohemia, men of both Religions did dwell together, he therefore did will
and command, That for the preſeruation of peace and quietneſſe, either part freely exerci-
ſing their Religion, and obeying their Prieſts, ſhould by no means either hurt or trouble them
on the other part; and much leſſe to hinder them to bury their dead in their Churches or
Churchyards, with the ringing or tolling of their Bels, or goe about to turne any man from his L
Religion, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer he be, whether hee dwell in the City or in the
Countrey Towne or village; or by force to draw them to their opinion, or to take their part.
For that he onely reſpected that peace and quietneſſe might bee kept, and that mutuall loue
might ſtill grow amongſt all the three States: Vnto which end and purpoſe, that he for him-
ſelfe and his heires, the King of Bohemia his Succeſſors, in the faith and word of a King, did
grant and promiſe vnto the States of the Religion, vnto whom this common peace of Religi-
on (as they call it) belongs, as to a principall member of the Empire, all theſe things to be for
euer inuiolably kept (the eccleſiaſtical and temporall perſons whatſoeuer reſiſting) ſo that no
contrary precept or Edict, ſhould either by himſelf, or any other his heirs or ſucceſſors be pub-
liſhed againſt the States of the religion, or being publiſhed by any, ſhould be accounted effe- M
ctuall and ſtrong, eſpecially ſeeing that he by theſe letters, pronounces all the Edicts hitherto
publiſhed againſt theſe the ſtates of the religion, to be void, fruſtrate, and of none effect. Nei-
ther would that any thing of thoſe which were don by the States of the Religion whilſt they

A ſought for the confirmation of this article concerning Religion ſhould for euer be laid vnto their charge, or by any man by way of reproch obiected vnto them. And that therefore hee ſtreitly charged and commanded all Magiſtrats, and ſuch as bare rule in Bohemia, that they ſhould to the vtmoſt of their power protect & defend al the three States, together with them of the Religion, and neither themſelues to trouble them, nor ſuffer them to be by any others for the exerciſe of their Religion moleſted or troubled: for that hee and other the Kings of Bohemia his ſucceſſors, would moſt ſeuerely chaſtiſe all ſuch as ſhould offend againſt theſe his Maieſties letters (which to be for euer remembred, he would cauſe to be inrolled in the publique Records of Parliament) whether ſuch offenders were eccleſiaſtical or lay men, to be ſharply puniſhed as troublers of the common peace.

B This was the ſum of his Majeſties letter, which he cauſed to bee publiquely ſet vp in the caſtle of Prague the 13 of Iuly, that it might be to all men knowne, this article of Religion, which was the firſt of the articles in this parliament to be concluded and agreed vpon according to the mind of the States of the Religion; and ſo their requeſts to be in all points ſatiſfied. Who forthwith therupon the fifteenth of Iuly cauſed the firſt publique ſermon according to the confeſſion of Auguſta, to be preached in the German tongue in a church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before bin ſhut vp. At which time they alſo ſent vnto the Elector of Saxonie, to ſend vnto them certain learned men, for the ſetting vp of the Vniuerſitie, and the gouerning of the Conſiſtory at Prague. And yet for all this, the Embaſſadors for the States of Sileſia earneſtly labouring with the Emperor for the liberty of Religion C to be granted to the ſaid States and the reſt of the inhabitants of the prouince, the ſtates of Bohemia refuſed in any wiſe to diſmiſſe their ſoldiers whom they had muſtred neere vnto Roggenſon, vntil the Sileſians were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied: offring alſo to the Emperor a large label of the ſaid States griefs.

Now it may be ſome hauing read ſo much as is before written concerning theſe late troubles about the free exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, but eſpecially in Bohemia, Auſtria, Morauia, and Sileſia, may deeme the ſame both tedious and beſide our purpoſe. Vnto whom indeed it is not written; but rather vnto ſuch as who together with my ſelfe (the Warres betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks ended, and the peace concluded as is aforeſaid) deſire to know in what ſtate thoſe frontier Countries ſtand, which being the greateſt bulwarks of that D ſide of Chriſtendome, and the chiefe territories of the Houſe of Auſtria, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwiſe broken off) moſt ſubiect vnto the fury of the puiſſant enemy, as neereſt vnto him, and ſo like ſooneſt to feel his great force and power, which prefineth vnto it ſelfe neither bounds nor meaſure, whilſt there is any thing farther to be had. Againſt whom the Chriſtian Emperor had no forces of his owne to oppoſe, more than ſuch as he could raiſe out of the reliques of Hungary, and the aforeſaid frontier Countries; all together but weake helpes againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy, as neuer commeth into the field but with a world of men following him. But yet much weaker, being as now of late they were, euery one of them apart diuided in themſelues about matters of Religion, the incredible maladies of the Chriſtian Eſtates and Commonweales. The heauy and lamentable effect whereof too much of E late appeared in the loſſe of Strigonium, won by the Turks with a farre leſſe army than euer the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was wont to come into Hungary: and yet the Chriſtian Emperor by reaſon of the reuolt of the Hungarians, vpon a diſcontentment about the exerciſe of their Religion, not able of himſelfe to relieue the diſtreſſed city of Strigonium, or yet to take the field with an army of any ſtrength, for defence of the reſt of his cities or territories. So weak are euen the greateſt princes, their ſubiects being amongſt themſelues diuided in minds.

But to ſtray further: The Turks Embaſſador in the mean time with a notable traine of an hundred and fifty Turks comming from Vienna the one and twentieth of September, and there hauing ſaluted and with great gifts preſented the King, ſet forward towards Prague, F where he was by the citiſens and certain noblemen of the Emperors counſel, the 12 of October honourably receiued, and the nineteenth of the ſame month admitted vnto the Emperors preſence, firſt preſented to him from the great Sultan his maſter a rich Tent of diuers colors, moſt curiouſly wrought with faire Orient Pearle of great value; and then foure couragious horſes, all furniſhed with moſt rich and ſumptuous furniture. Hee preſented vnto him alſo certain Turkiſh weapons ſet and garniſhed with pretious ſtones; and a princely Turks Robe G ſuch as they vſe at their mariages, gliſtring with gold and pretious ſtones, with diuers other rare things of leſſe value. Together with which he deliuered vnto him the great Sultans letters; and withall deſired the confirmation of the peace before made for twenty yeares, to bee now again renewed.

Vnto which Embaſſadour letters were afterwards deliuered from the Emperour, together with certain other rich preſents to be by him preſented vnto the great Sultan: *viz.* certaine Caroches lined within with Damaske, and couered without with black veluet; ſix faire and gallant horſes moſt richly furniſhed; a Clocke of wonderfull workmanſhip; two fair Deskes to write vpon of Ebonie: with diuers other like Preſents of no ſmall price. Who ſo H charged with preſents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking anſwered, was afterward in the beginning of Ianuary, with a train of 200 horſe from Prague honourably diſmiſſed.

HERE

HERE FOLLOWETH A CONTINVATION OF THIS PRESENT HISTORY (CONTAINING THOSE OCCVRRENTS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO THE TVRKISH EMPIRE SINCE THE YEARE OF OVR LORD, 1609, TO THE YEAR 1917, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Sergeant at Armes.*

1610

THe Turkiſh Emperour, hauing beene freed ſome yeares from the care of wars in Hungary, in regard that he had concluded a truce for twenty yeares with the Emperor *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his forces againſt his Rebels in Aſia, and the Sophy of Perſia, where C he had no good ſucceſſe this yeare. For the Perſians hauing formerly extended their Monarchy far into the Turkiſh Empire, and defeated *Cicala Baſſa* and others in diuers battels; now they entered into the Prouince of Babylon, with a deſigne to joyne it to Perſia. *Achmat* to ſtay the courſe of their proſperity, ſends a mighty army thither, vnder the command of *Naſſut Baſſa*; but his fortune was no better than thoſe that went before him. The Perſians came to meet him, gaue him battell, defeated him, and ſlew 20000 of his men. Theſe mournfull newes comming to Court, did much diſtemper the Sultans minde; he could not endure it ſhould be ſaid, that the Perſians had defeated his mighty armies thrice in open battell; and D much leſſe that it ſhould be ſo, and that he ſhould ſeiſe vpon his countries: wherefore to repaire this loſſe, he leuies new forces to be commanded by *Cambolat Baſſa* of Aleppo, who had bin the moſt powerfull Rebel in Aſia, and was newly reconciled and brought into fauor with the grand Seignior. This man came to the Port to receiue the Sultans commandements, and and to paſſe his army into Aſia: but whether hauing ſome ſuſpition, that he had intelligence with the Perſians, or that ſuch as enuied his greatneſſe, had giuen ſome bad impreſſion of his loyalty to the Sultan; within ſome few daies after his arriuall, *Achmat* cauſed him to be ſlain by his Capigi. Whereby we may well obſerue, that he that is a Rebell to his Prince, which hath ſo violently oppreſt his ſubjects, and ſet his countries on fire by ſedition, the which he hath bin forced to quench with the bloud of innocents, cannot but end his daies violently and E miſerably, ſeeing that God reuengeth the bloud of innocents vpon the guilty.

The Perſians enter into the Prouince of Babylon.

The Turks defeated.

The Perſian ſeeing what aduantage he had gotten of the Turke, laboured by the bruit of his victories, to draw the Chriſtian Princes vnto his party, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had ſo happily begun. For the effecting whereof he ſent his Embaſſadors to the Emperor being at Prague, to perſwade him to breake the peace with the Turke, and to joine with him. The Embaſſadors arriued at Prague this yeare with rich and rare Preſents: firſt a croſſe of gold inricht with many pretious ſtones; amongſt which there was one piece of amber, whereon was ſeene the figure of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her young babe in her armes; the which was ſo artificially grauen, as it might be thought the worke of nature: a Topas of exceeding greatneſſe, giuen to the King of Perſia by an Indian King: two kniues of F damaske, with hafts of Jaſper, and their ſheaths couered with diamonds: a certaine kind of Indian wood of moſt excellent vertue, moſt ſoueraigne to cure the paines of the breſt, and to purge the ſtomacke: the gall of a pellican excellent to cure the pluriſie, appoplexie, and feuer: two topazes the one white, and the other violet; this laſt was ſo big, as it was capable to make a cup: an Amathiſt as big as a hens egge; a Perſian bow inlaid with the veines of a camell,

Preſents ſent to the Emperor by the Perſian.

camell, and a rough diamond exceeding great; a white ſtone of the colour of water, which was a preſeruatiue againſt the plague, being hung about ones necke; three orientall pearles exceeding big; three rich eſcarbuncles, and three maruellous faire diamonds; and withall this, a ſerpents horne, much eſteemed for the rare vertues. All theſe Preſents were very well accepted, and the Embaſſadors much honoured. But what appearance was there for the Emperor, who had ſo great differences with his brother *Matthias* King of Hungary, who ſaw the greateſt part of his ſubjects rebelled againſt him, his prouinces in diuiſion, Tranſyluania in combuſtion by the conſpiracy which had bin diſcouered againſt *Battori*, and finally a generall diſorder ouer all, to breake the peace with the Turke, (who was at his dore, retained only with this bar) and to allie himſelfe with the Perſian ſo far from his countries, from whom he could draw no ſuccors, but only that he might keep the *Othoman* buſie in Aſia? Thus the Embaſſadors returned, carrying home nothing but good words.

His affairs will not ſuffer him to ioyne with the Perſian.

The troubles which hapned in Bohemia, made him ſee of what importance it was to entertaine peace with the Turke: for if he had broken it by the Perſians perſuaſion, hee had giuen his enemy an aſſured meanes to ruine him: for the Archduke *Leopold* intred into Bohemia with an army of 9000 foot, and 3000 horſe; he ſurpriſed petty Prague, attempted the old towne, and ſeeking to force it, he ſlew many which made reſiſtance. *Matthias* King of Hungary aduertiſed of this diſorder, parts from Auſtria with a powerfull army, and aduanceth ſpeedily towards Bohemia. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias* army and *Leopolds* had met neer vnto Prague, it had been the loſſe and ouerthrow of the one, and the deſolation and ruine of the country. The Emperor foreſeeing this danger, cauſed 300000 florens to be deliuered to *Romeo*, *Leopolds* Lieutenant, for the paiment of his army, and ſo ſent him out of Bohemia. This diuiſion betwixt the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, grew by the practiſes of ſome of the Emperors Counſell, who being deligated judges to compound the differences of the Bohemians of diuers religions, in ſtead of labouring to reconcile and vnite thoſe people, for the good of the publike, they made themſelues partiſans to the one to oppreſſe the other, and therby they drew the Princes into a dangerous diuiſion, for the ſupport of parties. And moreouer, the Archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, practiſed to depriue *Matthias* King of Hungary of the ſucceſſion which he pretended of Bohemia; leſt that being maſter, he ſhould take reuenge vpon their partiſans for the troubles wherewith they had formerly afflicted the country. Such was the eſtate of affaires in Germany, giuing the Turke a faire opportunity, if he ſhould haue embraced ſo rich an occaſion, to make his profit of their combuſtions. But the confirmation of the truce, and the affaires of his houſe kept him in Thrace.

The gallions of Malta defeated by the Turks.

Let vs ſee how the Turke ſpeeds at ſea; where he hath the Knights of Malta, the Sicilians, and Neapolitanes, and the Florentines, vigilant and valiant enemies to annoy him, and croſſe his deſignes. The laſt yeare, which was 1609, the Chriſtians had no good ſucceſſe, loſſe fell particularly vpon the Knights of Malta: for he that fights often can hardly vanquiſh alwaies. The gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chiualier Guidoti*, an Italian, had made two voyages to ſea very fortunatly, and brought to Malta 300 Turkiſh ſlaues. The encouragement of this good ſucceſſe engaged many Knights to diuers enterpriſes. They armed certain gallions, and made a fleet of ten good ſhips of war, as vnfortunat in their courſes as the gallion of the Order had before beene ſucceſſefull: for meeting with the Turks fleet in the ſeas of Cyprus, they were ſet vpon, and moſt of them ſlaine or made ſlaues. The Knight *Freſſinet* was ſlaine, and the red gallion wherein he commanded, taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole daies fight. *Ambuſon* otherwiſe called *Fuzillade* another Knight, was made a ſlaue, and his gallion taken: the Knight *Ouges* run the ſame fortune, with the loſſe of a gallion. *Freſſinet* hauing brought a pinnace with him to attend his ſhip, after ſome fight neere vnto the gallion, it eſcaped by night. In this voiage vnfortunat for them of Malta, the gallion of the Order would needs ſeeke ſome better aduenture: the Knights of *Buillon* and Rhodes did accompany him either of them with a ſmall gallion. He ſet vpon the carauan of the Turks fleet, neere the Iſland of the Rhodes, his ſucceſſefull beginning of this combat made him hope for victory, and the number of the enemies veſſels for a rich bootye: for there were among the reſt two great gallions of the Sultans; theſe are ſhips which belong to the Great Seigniors women, loden commonly with great riches: but 20 gallies of Rhodes ſeeing this fight, came out of their port to ſuccor them, and by the fauour of a faire wind, drew them into ſafety.

A At Malta the bruit was, That the Turks army conſiſting of fourſcore gallies, ſhould go and
beſiege the Iſle of Goza, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon the
Great Maſter had reſolued to fortifie the Caſtle of the Iſland, with a good counterſcarſe,
which he cauſed to be made, ſending thither two hundred ſouldiers, and thirty Knights for
ſupply, all braue ſouldiers, who might haue made a great reſiſtance, if the Turks had attempted
it: but the enemies fleet paſſed on and gaue them time to reſt.

But this yeare 1610, *Vignaucourt* the Great Maſter of Malta, ſent the fiue gallies of the Order
into Barbary, towards the Port Farino, memorable, for that it was the hauen where S. *Lewis*
the French King ended the nauigation of his daies, and at his returne from Ieruſalem and Paleſtine,
went to receiue in Heauen the glorious palmes of his holy actions. The gallies of Biſerta
B had accuſtomed to fetch palmes there in that ſeaſon (which was in the Spring time)
whom the gallies of Malta had a deſigne to ſurpriſe. But the contrary winds, and the tempeſtuous
ſeas ouerthrew that enterpriſe; yet their voiage was not altogether vnprofitable; for returning
towards Malta, being within the channell, which diuides the Iſland from that of Sicily,
they encountered with a great gallion of Tunes, armed by a Turke called *Carouſinan*, being
in view of the gallies of Malta: The Rayſe (who commanded) aſſured his company, and
ſmiling, promiſed to free them from their enemies. Being ſo tranſported with vanity, as he
ſpake confidently, that he would not feare twenty of the gallies of Malta: but this his pride
was ſoone abated with his ruine; for the fiue gallies came cloſe vnder him, and plied him ſo
furiouſly with their cannon, as they ſunke him. The gally wherein *Verdella* an Italian Knight
C commanded, had like to haue beene loſt, for being grapled with the gallion, if the diligence of
Verdille had not ſpeedily retired it. The Turks after the loſſe of their veſſell, began to ſwim
away, but they were all made ſlaues to ſerue in the gallies of Malta, who this yeare had no
other fruits of their generous enterpriſes.

The courſe of the Duke of Tuſcany his Gallies.

The gallies of *Coſmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuſkany, parted from Ligorne, vnder the
conduct of the Commander and Admirall *Inghiraim*, and running alongſt the coaſt of Barbary,
they tooke a Turkiſh ſhip in the ſight of Algier, loaden with merchandiſe, armes, and munition
of war, freeing many Chriſtian ſlaues which were in it. This happy beginning promiſed
them better fortune. They paſſe on, and ſome twenty fiue leagues beyond Algiers they
goe to ſurpriſe the towne of Biſquirre, a ſmall towne in circuit, but ſtrong and well walled.
D *Inghirami* drawing neere vnto the coaſt, tooke downe his maſts, leſt they ſhould diſcouer his
comming. In the meane time he ſent two long boats to find ſome place fit for their landing;
the which being carefully obſerued, Colonell *Bindy* landed his men, and about eleuen a clocke
at night marched in good order towards the towne, and forced it. The darkeneſſe of the night
kept them from ſpoiling it; being content only to ſet their guards and ſentinels in the moſt
important places of the wall: but day being come, the ſouldiers made themſelues maſters of
the towne, which they ſacked and ſpoiled. Certaine Moores and Turks, during the obſcurity
of the night, had retired themſelues into a Moſque which they fortified: They were ſummoned
to yeeld; but the feare of being ſlaues, (which they could not auoid) made them reſolue
to die in their owne defence; ſo as the Florentines hauing forced the place, put them all to
E ſword; and then embarqued their troups, hauing filled Biſquirre with fire and bloud. The
night following, being in the gulph called the Bad woman, they met with a pinnace loaden
with corne, the which they tooke, and ſent to Ligorne, and then they put on to encreaſe their
conqueſt. Being vpon the coaſt of Sardinia, two Galliots of Biſerta did furniſh them with a
faire occaſion. *Inghirami* ſendeth his gallies to purſue them, who hauing had them in chaſe
threeſcore leagues, tooke the one, wherin they had one hundred and twenty ſlaues, and freed
many poore Chriſtians from the chaine, who ſuffered the tyranny of the Turkiſh ſeruitude.
They alſo tooke a Turkiſh gally within halfe a league of Algier, and ſpoiled it. And thus triumphing
ouer their enemies, they tooke their courſe towards Ligorne, hauing taken foure
Turkiſh veſſels, ſpoiled the towne of Biſquerre, and twice braued that of Algier.

The Moriſques or new Chriſtians chaſed out of Spaine.

F This yeare was fatall for the Moriſques or new Chriſtians in Spaine, who being in number
nine hundred thouſand perſons, as the originall writes, and had continued there from father to
ſon, for the ſpace of almoſt nine hundred yeares, were now in an inſtant baniſhed, and made
vagabonds with the blaſt of the Kings mouth.) Men diſcourſed diuerſly hereof: Some ſaid,
that the King had reaſon to do it, for that they had ſecret practiſes and intelligences with the

Turke his capitall enemy. Others affirmed, that hee did wiſely to preuent their attempts againſt his Eſtate, which were to be feared conſidering their numbers were alſo great. And G ſome ſaid plainely, that it was to haue their lands and inheritances, which had continued ſo long in their races. But the King declared his owne intent by his Edict, the which he publiſhed in theſe termes.

The King of Spaines Edict,

The King: For that reaſon doth in conſcience binde a good and Chriſtian gouernment, to expell out of all Realmes and Common weales thoſe things which breed ſcandall, and bring hurt to our good ſubjects, and danger to the Eſtate, but eſpecially which are offenſiue to God, and prejudiciall to his ſeruice: for this cauſe experience hauing taught vs, That the reſidence of the new Chriſtian Moriſques, and their abode in the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andeloſia, hath beene the cauſe of all theſe inconueniences: for that beſides the manner of H their proceedings, which joyned in the rebellion of Granado, the which began by cruell murthers of all the Prieſts and old Chriſtians which liued amongſt them, calling the Turks in to their aid; yet hauing drawne them out of the ſaid country, and ſuffered them to liue in other Prouinces, ſo as they would repent them of their faults, and liue faithfully and Chriſtian like, according to the precepts and juſt ordinances which were giuen them: They haue not obſerued and kept them according to the ſtrict and direct rules of our Holy Faith: but haue alwaies made ſhew to contemne it, and to haue no feare to offend God; as hath beene ſeene by the great numbers which haue beene puniſhed by the Inquiſition: and beſides, they haue committed many thefts and murthers againſt the old Chriſtians. And not content herewith, they haue conſpired againſt my Royall Crowne and Realmes, ſeeking aid and ſuccors from I the Turke, certaine interpoſed perſons being ſent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promiſing vnto themſelues aid and aſſiſtance, offering vnto them their perſons and meanes. And ſeeing that during ſo many yeares, in which they haue practiſed theſe treaſons and conſpiracies, not any one hath come to reueale them, but they haue alwaies couered, concealed, and denied them; it is a moſt apparant ſigne, that they haue all beene of one minde and will against the ſeruice of God and of me, and againſt the good of this Realme; yet they might haue imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who haue don ſeruice to God, to the Kings our progenitors, and to vs, like good Chriſtians, and moſt loyall vaſſals.

Wherefore conſidering all this, and how much I am bound to ſet downe ſome good order, and to procure the preſeruation and increaſe of my Realmes and ſubjects, and deſiring to prouide for all; I haue decreed, with the aduice and counſell of many judicious learned men, and K others, that are very religious, wiſe, and jealous of Gods ſeruice and mine, to chaſe out of the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andeloſia, and out of the towne of Hernache (although it be not within the limits of the ſaid Realmes) all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, both men, women, and children. For when as a great or deteſtable crime is committed in any Colledge or Communalty, it is fit that Colledge or Communalty ſhould be ruined, and that the leſſe with the greater, and one with another, ſhould be puniſhed: And that ſuch as peruert the good and ſincere life of Common-weales, and of their townes and cities, ſhould be baniſhed from other inhabitants, leſt their contagion infect them.

For this cauſe, by vertue of theſe preſents, we ordaine and command, That all the new L Chriſtians Moriſques, without any exception of age or ſex, of thoſe that liue and reſide in the ſaid Realmes, and in the towne of Harnache, except ſuch as be ſlaues, ſhall within the ſpace of thirty daies after the publication hereof, depart out of all our Realmes and Dominions of Spaine, with their wiues, children, ſeruants, and others of their Nation: and that they ſhall not preſume to returne or to make any reſidence in them, in any ſort whatſoeuer. And we forbid them to depart by the Realmes of Valentia, or Aragon, nor to enter into them, nor to ſtay in any of our Realmes or Countries after the time prefixed, vpon paine of death, and confiſcation of all their goods. And we command, that no perſon within our Realmes or Seigniories, of what eſtate, qualities, or condition ſoeuer, ſhall preſume to receiue, conceale, or defend publikely nor ſecretly any Moriſque man or woman, after the ſaid tearme, vpon paine to loſe all M their goods, vaſſals, forts, and lands; and moreouer to loſe all the graces, and benefits which they haue from me, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may juſtly confiſcate all the goods moueable and vnmoueable of the ſaid Moriſques, as belonging to traitours, and guilty of high treaſon; yet vſing clemency, I am

content

A content, that during the ſaid terme of thirty daies, they may diſpoſe of their moueable goods,
and carry them away, not in gold, ſiluer, jewels, nor letter of exchange, but in merchandiſe
which is not prohibited, bought of the naturall ſubjects of this Realme, and not of others: or
in the commodities of the ſaid country. And to the end they may during the time of thirty
daies diſpoſe thereof, and of their mooueable goods, and employ it in merchandiſe, or in the
commodities of the country, and tranſport what they ſhall buy (for as for their lands, that
muſt be annexed to my reuenues, to be employed in the ſeruice of God and the commonweale,
as I ſhall thinke moſt fit) I declare by theſe Preſents, that I take them into my royall
protection, and aſſure them and their goods, That during the ſaid time they may go and come,
to ſell, exchange, and alienate all their mooueable goods, and to employ their mony, gold,
B ſiluer, and jewels, in merchandiſe not prohibited, or in the commodities of the country, and to
tranſport the ſame freely, without any let or interruption, by land or by ſea, paying vſuall cuſtomes;
ſo as they carry no gold or ſiluer coyned, or to coyne, nor any other thing prohibited
by the lawes of my Realme. Yet we are content, they ſhall carry ſo much money as ſhall be
needfull for their paſſage by land, and embarking by ſea: commanding all our officers and
louing ſubjects to ſee this preſent Edict duely obſerued. &c. Signed, *I the King.*

After this publication of the Edict, the tearme of thirty daies was reſtrained to twenty, ſo
as the Moriſques were haſtened to depart: and the ſhips and veſſels of what country ſoeuer,
were ſtaied in all the Ports of Spaine, to tranſport them whither they would go. Many paſſed
from Spaine into Barbary: but during this yeare there came aboue 150000 of theſe Moriſques
C into France; the King ſending Commiſſaries, to ſee them well vſed, and orderly tranſported
away.

There was a warre fallen out in Barbary betwixt *Muley Xequy*, King of Fez, and *Muley Sidan*
his younger brother, both Mahometanes; in which warre the younger forced the elder to fly
his Country, and to come and craue aid from *Philip* King of Spaine: But the vnfortunat loſſe
of *Don Sebaſtian* King of Portugall, was a good preſident for the Spaniard not to truſt in barbarous
Kings, without good aſſurance: He treated with the Barbarian, and promiſed him ſuccours,
with an hundred thouſand Duckats to returne to Alarache, (a place which held for
him) where by money or other practiſes, hee ſhould draw vnto him as many ſouldiers as hee
could: And that for the ſafety of the ſuccours that he ſhould giue him, hee ſhould put Alarache
D or Arrache into his hands. This Arrache is a ſtrong towne in the Realme of Fez, in the
Prouince of Algar, ſeated vpon the Ocean, at the mouth of the Riuer of Lucus, whereon part
of it is built, and the other part vpon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take, for
that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of Fez do vſually entertaine a garriſon of
three hundred light horſe, and three hundred harquebuſiers: for that the Portugals and Caſtilians
hold in a manner all the Sea townes of the Prouinces of Habat, and Erif, where they
haue great garriſons. This Prouince is from the Riuer of Nocor along the Mediterranean
Sea, vnto the ſtreight of Gibralter, the other is vpon the Ocean from the ſaid ſtreight vnto the
riuer Lucus, in the which the King of Spaine holdeth at this day the ſtrong townes of Tanger,
Arzilla, and others. According to the former accord, the Barbarian returned to Arrache, with
E his mony in one of the King of Spaine his ſhips; to whom in a ſhort time repaired many of
his friends and ſeruants. The Spaniard in the meane time hauing prepared a fleet of a great
number of gallies and ſhips, and embarqued ten thouſand ſouldiers therein, he gaue the command
thereof vnto the Marqueſſe of S. *Germaine*, who arriued on the twentieth of Nouember
in the euening at the Port of Arrache, and there rode at anchor all the night. The next day in
the morning, the Marqueſſe called all the Captaines to a Councell, imparting vnto them his
deſigne for to force Arrache, in caſe that the Mooriſh King did not keepe his promiſe; they
gaue him aſſurance, that they would carry themſelues like vnto braue and valiant ſouldiers.
But ſee what hapned: The King of Fez hauing no meanes to goe from his word, ſeeing the
Spaniard ſo ſtrong as he might well force it, many of his followers and people, fearing to fall
F vnder the power of Spaine, they would haue abandoned him: but hauing the Gouernour of
the caſtle at his deuotion, he thruſt out the garriſon, and deliuered the keies himſelfe vnto the
Marqueſſe of S. *Germaine*. Vpon the firſt bruit that the Spaniards were entred into the caſtle,
all the inhabitants ran to armes, and thinking to reſiſt them, after that many of them had

Warre in Barbary.

Deſcription of the towne of Arrache or Allarache.

Arrache in Barbary taken by the Spaniards.

ended their daies valiantly, during three houres combat, they were forced to yeeld vnto the Marqueſſe, who preſently planted the croſſe and armes of Caſtile vpon all the Towers and G Steeples. Thus this ſtrong towne which the Caſtilians and Portugals had ſo long deſired, and wheras the inhabitants receiued a great ruine, is in the end falne vnder the domination of their King. The newes of this exploit being brought into Spaine, pleaſed the King much, and the people made bone-fires for joy: theſe are the alterations of times. The Moores in old time were wont to ouerrun Spaine, and now the Spaniards take their pleaſure in Mauritania.

A great battell in Tartary.

About the end of this yeare newes came to Conſtantinople, of the great warres which had been between the Vncle and the Nephew, by the death of the great Cham of the Tartars: the ſon, who during his fathers life time, had continued at Conſtantinople as an hoſtage, and was now ſent backe into his country by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enjoy his fathers eſtate, his H vncle, brother to the deceaſed Cham, practiſed to ſeize vpon the crowne: but either of them hauing drawne an army of 60000 men together, in the end, they joyned battell, whereas after the ſlaughter of 40000 men vpon the place, the ſonne had the victory, and by that meanes obtained the Crowne of Tartaria.

I will conclude this yeare 1610, with the relation of a particular buſineſſe, to ſhew the greedy deſire of the Turks to get by any vnjuſt meanes whatſoeuer, and their infidelity and falſhod to ſay and ſweare any thing for bribes. Some yeares before, one Maſter *Willoughbie* an Engliſh Gentleman, hauing rigged vp a ſhip for war into the Leuant, he came into Algier in Barbary to ſell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Baſſa. This ſhip was ſuddenly ſeiſed on, and rifled by the command of this Baſſa, vpon noother ſubject, but that the I Baſſa pretended this ſhip had burnt a Caramouſall of his, which in truth the Baſſa himſelfe had cauſed to be ſet on fire, that vnder colour thereof he might ſeiſe vpon the ſhip and goods. Maſter *Willoughby* went to Conſtantinople, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henry Lilloe*, then Embaſſadour for the Engliſh; but yet could get no ſatisfaction: whereupon he returned into England, and obtained letters from his Majeſty to the Grand Seignior, and to Sir *Thomas Glouer*, then Embaſſador, reſiding at Conſtantinople: which hauing receiued, he went preſently to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Baſſa* the grand Viſier, hee being then imploied in the wars againſt the Perſian.) The Chimacham hauing read theſe letters, would not ſuffer them to be deliuered to the Grand Seignior; promiſing to doe juſtice vpon *Solyman Catania*, whom he diſcharged from his place, and ſent for him to Conſtantinople; who being K come, and called in queſtion, he denied the fact: Maſter *Willoughby* (hauing no certaine proofe of his loſſe) ſuborned one *Ofiſh Baſſa* a Turke, who had beene at Mecha, and was therefore held a very holy man, who ſet a brother of his to procure falſe witneſſes, vpon promiſe to haue the tenth part of what ſhould be recouered: the witneſſes being ready to ſweare to his aſſertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Maſter *Willoughby*, and gaue him foure or fiue thouſand Dollars; ſo the buſineſſe ended. Which ſhews the corruption of the Turks, and that the holieſt of them for mony will not ſticke to beare falſe witneſſe, and take falſe Oathes.

A great Plague in Conſtantinople.

This yeare 1611 the city of Conſtantinople was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which diſperſed it ſelfe ouer all, and crept into the Grand Seigniours Seraglio, whereas L one of his ſonnes died of that infection: whereupon the Grand Seigniour was forced to retire for his ſafety, and to paſſe the remainder of the Summer in his palace or Seraglio of *Daut Baſſa*, about a league and a halfe diſtant from the city: this violent contagion did forrage in Conſtantinople for the ſpace of fiue moneths, as there were numbred two hundred thouſand perſons dead within the time, and they did commonly carry euery day twelue or fifteene hundred bodies to be buried. The greatneſſe of this mortality is not to be imputed ſo much to the corruption of the aire, as to the wilfull negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchſafe to turne away from a body dead of this diſeaſe, whent it wen to buriall, not to forbeare to viſite their friends being infected. The obſtinate beleefe they haue of Predeſtination maketh them brutiſhly contemne all ſorts of dangers: For ſay they, as ſoone as man comes out M of his mothers wombe to injoy the light of the world, God writes in his forehead all the good or euill ſhall happen vnto him, and particularly of what death he ſhall die, the neceſſity whereof no humane power can auoid. All is gouerned (ſay they) by Deſtiny, and therefore they

200000 perſons died of the Plague.

The Turks obſtinate beleefe touching predeſtination.

regard

A regard not any infection,but contrariwiſe when any one is dead, another takes his cloathes and
weares them : which is the cauſe that Conſtantinople and the grand Caire are ſeldome free ;
and when as the aire is any thing diſpoſed to contagion,there dies ſuch multitudes of people,
as they do not number them but by hundred thouſands,

Deth of the French Embaſſador at Conſtantinople.

Before the beginning of this plague, the Baron of Salignac Embaſſadour for the French
King at Conſtantinople,ended his Embaſſage with his life. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſent
the Baron of Mole, eldeſt ſonne to the Baron of Sanſie, to ſupply his place. He arriued at
Pera this yeare in the beginning of September, and about the end of October the Sultan being
returned to Conſtantinople ; after that he had viſited the Muphti, (who is the chiefe of
their Law) the Grand Viſier,the Deftorda, (who is the Sultans high Treaſurer) the Boſtangi
B Baſſa his chiefe Gardiner, with other Great men of the Port which were highly in fauour ;
in the end he was admitted to audience,and to kiſſe the Sultans hand. A ceremony which in
mine opinion I owe vnto the Hiſtory,to ſhew that the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperours is
ſo great, as to approch neere vnto them, the Embaſſadours of forreine Princes are forced to
diſguiſe themſelues, and leauing the habits of their nation, to attire themſelues and their
Traine after the Turkiſh manner. Thus the Embaſſador of France parted from his Lodging
at Pera,wearing vpon his French apparel a long Turkiſh Robe of cloath of gold curled, furred
with Sables : his Gentlemen and Secretaries to the number of ſixteene had the like Robes,
but of meaner ſtuffe,wearing caps of blacke Veluet : he had twenty ſeruants in long caſſocks
of Skarlet, called in Turkiſh, Ferrages, and vpon them long Robes of the ſame ſtuffe, with
C caps of Taffata ; the foure Dragomans or the Kings Interpreters, the Captaines, Maſters of
Ships,and other Frenchmen attyred all in long Robes, accompanied the Traine. He paſt the
channell which doth ſeparate Pera from Conſtantinople : being come to the other ſide, he
found many goodly horſes for him and his Traine, which ſome Turkes that were friends to
France,had ſent him to conduct him to the City ; at the gate whereof many Chiaus and Ianizaries
attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio : two Chiaus Baſſaes went of either ſide
him, accompanying him thither, the reſt of the Turks going before. His arriuall was no leſſe
honourable at the Palace Royall, than his comming to the Towne : Two Capigi Baſſaes, or
chiefe of the Porters, receiued him at the entry of a great Court, and conducted him to the
Grand Viſier,who attended him at dinner in the hal,where he was feaſted,being accompanied
D only with one Dragoman or Interpreter : the reſt of his Traine were conducted into a low
gallery, whereas dinner was prepared for them after the Turkiſh manner : That is to ſay, a
great Tapeſtry vpon the ground without cloath or napkins, and ſome diſhes thinne ſet. The
meat was water gruell with ſugar,and ſome pottage with pullets : there were two men either
of them holding a certain inſtrument of ſodden leather, in which there was a beuerage which
they call Cerbet, made of the juyce of Lymmons, water, and ſugar, and withall they held a
cup of blancht copper,giuing to euery one drinke, and going among the diſhes to ſerue them
more commodiouſly. From this feaſt, diſtaſtefull to them that had liued after the French faſhion,
they paſt into another gallery, whereas the Embaſſadour and ſixteene of his company
receiued each of them a Robe of Tinſell, the which hauing put on vpon their other,
E they were conducted through a little court paued with marble, towards the Grand Seigniours
chamber, which was enricht on the one ſide with many pillars of marble, and ſquare
ſtones of the ſame ſtuffe,and beautified with two little fountaines on either ſide : The Chamber
within was about ten paces ſquare,the planchard was gilt,the wals enameled with floures
after the Turkiſh manner, and the floore couered with Tapeſtry of gold and ſilke. At the
entry of this Imperiall chamber ſtood ſix Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them tooke the
Embaſſador vnder the armes, and led him to kiſſe the Sultans hand, or rather his Robe ; for
hauing ſaluted him from the greateſt of Chriſtian Kings, hee kiſt but his Robe, and then was
led on the one ſide, going backewards, to the end he ſhould not turne his backe to the Emperour.
The French Gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kiſſe his Robe. But
F they could hardly ſee the Sultan, for his face was turned towards a window that was grated,
before the which, during the ceremony there paſt thirty Capigi, euery one carrying a piece
of the Preſents which the Embaſſador had brought : during the which, the Frenchmen could
not ſee him but on the other ſide. This ſalutation being ended, the Embaſſador made a ſhort
ſpeech

The Sultans Chamber.

ſpeech, and preſented vnto the Sultan the principall letter of his Embaſſage, written in the Turkiſh tongue.

Troubles in Tranſyluania.

This paſt at Conſtantinople, wheras the Sultan did willingly ſee an Embaſſador his Ally, whom he honoured aboue all others. But in Tranſyluania the affaires went after another ſtraine; the combuſtions which ſeemed inſeparable to this miſerable Prouince, made it ſtill the Theater of all diſorders. *Gabriel Battori*, who gouerned it ſince the ſucceſſion of *Ragotzi*, had put himſelfe into the Turks protection, againſt King *Matthias*, who pretended a title, by reaſon of the Seſſion made by Prince *Sigiſmund* vnto the Emperour, as King of Hungary, and had recouered Hermſtad, and chaſed *Raduille* Vayuod of Valachia out of his countrey; where hauing ſettled a new Gouernour, and filled the garriſons with Haiduckes, he returned toward Tranſyluania, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt *Fortgatſie* King *Matthias* his Lieutenant, who came with troups out of high Hungary, and paſt the riuer of Tibiſce. The Vayuod *Raduille* had retyred himſelfe into Moldauia to Prince *Conſtantine*, whom he gaue to vnderſtand, That *Battory* had an intent to ſeiſe vpon his country, and to make but one Monarchy of their three Prouinces: whereupon they joyned their forces together, and in the end of Iune entered into Valachia, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the garriſons. This exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the proſperity of their armes; they entered into Tranſyluania, whereas they purſued *Battori* with ſuch dilligence, as they forced him to come to a battell neere vnto Cromſtat, the which he loſt with part of his troups, being conſtrained to ſaue himſelfe with his horſemen in Hermſtad, whereas ſome of the chiefe inhabitants ſeeing him receiue this diſgrace, attempted to ſubmit themſelues vnder the obedience of King *Matthias*: but the practiſe being diſcouered by him, hee did ſuch execution, as hee purchaſed to himſelfe the name of Cruell.

In the meane time *Fortgatſie* Lieutenant to King *Mathias*, maketh vſe of this defeat to ſeiſe vpon Tranſyluania; hee made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawne high Hungary into rebellion, and cauſed the Haiduckes to reuolt) ſo as being freed from that feare, hee entered into Tranſyluania; where hauing taken ſome Townes and Caſtles, hee layed ſiege to Clauſenburg, the which he battered ſo furiouſly, as the garriſons and inhabitants ſeeing themſelues ready to bee forced, yeelded, and tooke the Oath of Allegiance to King *Matthias* the fiue and twentieth of Iuly. But as theſe proſperities of *Forigatſie* were humane, ſo did they not long continue. *Battori* being ſhut vp in Hermſtad, conjures all his friends to come vnto him, and entreated the Baſſaes of Buda and Temeſware to ſuccour him, according to the commandement which they had receiued from the Grand Seigniour: hee practiſed with *Nage* (a man which did ſwimme continually in the floats of inconſtancy) and makes him to reuolt againe in high Hungary, vpon a ſurmiſe, That *Fortgatſie* had not kept promiſe with him; ſo as *Nage* tooke armes againe, ſeiſed vpon the fort of Bayens, and filled all high Hungary with combuſtions; ſo as *Fortgatſie* could expect no ſuccours at his need from thence: then hauing receiued ſome forces from the Turks and Tartarians, he went to field, purſuing *Fortgatſie* with ſuch heat and fury, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in Tranſyluania, and to retyre into Valachia. What deſolation did this warre bring vnto theſe Prouinces by ſo many priſes and repriſes? *Battori* going with a thouſand horſe to ſurpriſe Tocai, vpon the frontiers of Valachia, whereas they then held a great faire, he found the garriſon ſo watchfull vpon their guard, as hauing loſt part of his horſemen, he was forced to returne into Tranſyluania.

Fortgatſie his miſerable retreat.

On the other ſide, *Fortgatſie* with his Hungarians, thinking from Valachia to recouer high Hungary by the Countrey of the Zeclerians, could not effect his deſigne: for *Battori* being aduertiſed thereof, ſtopped his paſſage; and in like manner the Earles of Bucheime and Dampier had paſſed the riuer of Tibiſce to meet him: ſo as *Battori* ſet ſuch guards in all the paſſages and ſtreights, that *Fortgatſie* was forced to retyre towards Polonia by the ſteep mountains, and deſart places, wheras his army was ſo oppreſt with famine and all other neceſſities, as they periſhed miſerably, there remaining few aliue; with the which he ended his paſſage into Polonia, and from thence ſoone after hee returned into Hungary, but with a very poore Equipage.

Thus the ſtorme ceaſing in Tranſyluania by the reſtraint of *Fortgatſie*, a more violent tempeſt

Troubles in Moldauia.

A tempeſt riſeth in Moldauia, to the end that theſe vnfortunate Regions ſhould neuer be without ſome touch of miſery: for the Turke hauing vnderſtood, That *Conſtantine* Prince of that country had relieued the Valachian againſt *Battori* his allye, or rather his Tributary, he ſends a new Prince into Moldauia, the ſuppoſed ſonne of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as ſome write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteene hundred ſouldiers, with Letters of command to the Turks and Tartarians thereabouts, to aſſiſt him with their forces. This new Prince was ſometime in France, and afterwards detained priſoner in the Fort of *Iaques* in Spaine, within the Pyrenean mountaines. Thus two Princes contend for Moldauia, the one ſupported by the Polonian, and the other by the Turke. But behold, a third Prince commeth in and pretends a title, being ſonne to one *Ianicolo* who had commanded there. This B man had beene a priſoner in the blacke tower at Conſtantinople, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that he had loſt a battell in the yeare 1601, againſt *Michael*, who then poſſeſt Moldauia; who eſcaping from thence, wandred through diuers countries, and at laſt comming into England, his Majeſty of Great Brittaine pittying his miſerable eſtate, recommended him by his Letters to Sir *Thomas Glouer* his Majeſties Embaſſador, then reſiding at Conſtantinople, with commandement to aſſiſt him, and to ſolicite his reſtitution with the Grand Seigniour. Vpon the receipt of which Letters, he retyred this wandering Prince into his houſe at Pera, where he entertained him, with many of his friends and followers which repaired vnto him, for a long time; and in the meane time he ſolicited the Grand Seigniour for his reſtitution, hauing good acceſſe vnto him, by reaſon that he ſpake the C Turkiſh tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman, or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan ſtill gaue good anſwers, but with delaies, that it was not yet time; but he ſhould haue ſatisfaction. His Competitor (who was in poſſeſſion of Moldauia) hearing of this practiſe, made friends at the Great Turks Court, and corrupted ſome of the Baſſaes by bribes, (they being all by nature very couetous) to the end they might croſſe his deſigne, and make him away if it were poſſible: and among the reſt he had won *Murath Baſſa* the grand Viſier, a man of great power and authority, who practiſed many means to get the Moldauian into his hands. Firſt, he ſent word vnto the Embaſſadour, That the Sultan hauing a meaning to reſtore him, deſired to ſee the man, if he were capable of the place or no: but being aduertiſed of their intent, and well acquainted with their practiſes, he refuſed to ſend him. After which, he wrote vnto him, That D it was the Grand Seigniors pleaſure he ſhould ſend the Moldauian vnto him, that he might confer with him. To whom the Embaſſador made anſwer, That vnleſſe he might ſee a Warrant vnder the Grand Seigniors own hand, he would not deliuer him. *Murath Baſſa* ſeeing that none of theſe practiſes could preuaile, reſolued to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thouſand Ianizaries. The Embaſſadour hearing of his intent, fortified his houſe, and armed his people with the Moldauians which were with their Prince, meaning to ſtand vpon his defence. *Murath Baſſa* deſirous to know what the Embaſſador did in his Lodging, diſguiſed a Ianizary like vnto a Greekiſh Sheepheard; who entering into the Embaſſadors houſe, found them all in armes: then returning vnto the Baſſa, he told him that he had to do with a mad man, and if he proceeded in his enterpriſe, he would hazard the E loſſe of many Ianizaries: whereupon he gaue it ouer. After which, the Embaſſador being called home into England, the Moldauian deſpairing of reſtitution from the Turkiſh Sultan, he turned Turke; and being preſented to the Grand Seignior, was made Bey of Burſia in Aſia: the which he enjoyed not long; for *Naſſuf* comming from the Perſian wars, diſcharged him. Thus Moldauia hauing many pretented Souereignes, ſuffered many miſeries, and was a prey to Turke, Tartarians, and Polonians, all partiſans to theſe Souereignes.

The voiage of the Gallions of Florence, against the Turks.

Theſe were the troubles which the Turks cauſed at land for the ruine of the Chriſtians. But behold what he ſuffered at ſea by the gallies of Florence, Malta, and Naples; the Florentines made their enterpriſe apart. The Great Duke of Tuſcany being aduertiſed, That the Carauan which tranſported the tribute of Ægypt to Conſtantinople, prepared to put to ſea, he F reſolued to diuert this tribute, and by the valour of his armes to bring it to Ligorne: and for the effecting hereof, he ſpeedily armed foure gallions, vnder the command of *Beauregard* a Frenchman, who was Admirall. The firſt was called the new gallion, in which the ſaid Admirall went: the ſecond, the great Ligorne, commanded by *Brandequedor*, Generall at land, and allied

to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captaines. *Beauregard* ha- G
uing receiued commandement, to paſſe with this fleet into the Leuant, to meet with the Ca-
rauan, he bent his courſe towards Candy, a fertile Iſland inhabited by the Græcians: Being
arriued in the Port of Caliſmene to water, he continued there ſix daies. Leauing this Iſland,
he ſailed towards Cyprus, which is held by the Turks, and ſo coaſting Siria, they learned of a
ſhip of Marſeilles, that the Carauan was yet in the Port of Alexandria, where they prepared
for their voyage to Conſtantinople. To attend them the Admirall *Beauregard* went and caſt
anchor at the fort of Sidon, called Sarepta, gouerned by *Emir*, or *Armil Facardin*, a Rebell to
the Turke, and a great friend to the Florentines, where he ſtaied twelue daies, to take in Bisket,
fleſh, and other neceſſary refreſhings. And hauing made a more ſtrickt league of friendſhip
with *Facardin*, he honoured him with a coffer full of arms, wherby the Florentines ſhips came H
as freely into thoſe parts, as into their owne country.

The Florentines meet with the Turks fleet.

Beauregard hauing well victualled and munitioned his gallions, hee returned towards the
Iſle of Cyprus, wheras he found a Chriſtians ſhip called the flying Dragon, which came from
Damietta, by whom he was aſſured that the Turks army, conſiſting of a great number of gal-
lies, was gone out of the Port of Rhodes, and had taken a Flemiſh ſhip. Theſe newes made
him thinke that he ſhould meet the fleet, and that he muſt of force defend himſelfe. Where-
fore he made all things ready, and preſcribed the order which his Captaines ſhould hold du-
ring the fight; cauſing his ordnance to be mounted as if they were to joyne. He had foure as
good gallions, and as well furniſhed, as any were in the Leuant ſeas, either of them being ar-
med with 40 pieces of ordnance, and 400 good ſouldiers. Betwixt the Iſland of Cyprus and I
Caramania they encountered this Turkiſh fleet, conſiſting of forty gallies and two galliaſſes,
vnder the command of Baſſa *Muſtapha Grego*, who was Generall of this fleet, which was in
ſight of the Florentines ſhips: the galliaſſes aduance to take view of them, and to find how far
their cannon would reach; and in the meane time the gallies put themſelues into the forme
of a Croiſant, ready for the combat. *Beauregard* an old ſea Captaine, and well practiſed in ſea
fights, would not make a ſhot againſt the gallies, but attended vntill the whole fleet came
cloſe vp to him; which being neere, he ſaluted them ſo furiouſly with his cannon, giuing them
the broad ſides, as the Turks (who expected no ſuch reception) were all amazed, and making a
ſtand, would proceed no further. Their Generall hauing well obſerued the reſolute counte-
nance of the Florentines, diuided his gallies into two ſquadrons; giuing charge to the one to K
giue an aſſault to the Florentines gallions; and in the mean time the reſt ſhould prepare them-
ſelues to fight.

Fiue Turkiſh gallies ſunke.

The Turks put to flight.

Being thus diuided, they came one after another to the aſſault, the which continued for the
ſpace of ſix houres, and yet could not boord them; *Muſtapha* ſeeing fiue of his gallies ſunke by
the enemies cannon, with the loſſe of all the men that were within them. But ſuddenly the
wind changed, and proued fauorable to the Florentines, who embraced this aduantage, giuing
chaſe to the Turks gallies, forcing them to ſeeke their ſafety in the hauen of Famaguſta, the
chiefe fort of Cyprus; ſo of aſſailants (being beaten) they became run-awaies: ſo inconſtant
are the accidents of war; and eſpecially at ſea, whereas the good or bad ſucceſſe many times
dependeth of a little winde. L

The Florentines take a rich ſhip of the Turks.

This Turkiſh fleet, hauing loſt fiue gallies, and recouered a Port in Cyprus, the Admirall
Beauregard ſeeing his deſigne againſt the Carauan diſappointed, he reſolued to return towards
Ligorne with his gallions: being at ſea, he encountred a Turkiſh veſſell called a Caramouſall,
which came from Rhodes, to goe vnto Cyprus: they chaſed it, and in the end ouertooke it;
which they preſt ſo with their ordnance, as they ſlew 130 Turks, and tooke 300 ſlaues. The
booty was very rich, being valued at 140000 crownes. After this prize, their victuals begin-
ning to faile, hauing beene ſo long at ſea, they bent their courſe for Ligorne: but the winde
falling contrary, they were forced to ſtay eight daies in the Iſland of Scarpante, paſt the bar
of Meſſina, and hauing giuen chaſe to certaine gallies of Tunes, they arriued at Ligorne the
fifteenth of Iune, where there was great ioy for their returne, and the prize which they had M
brought, the which according to the cuſtome was to be diuided; one third to the ſoldiers and
mariners, and the other two parts imploied for the entertainment of the ſhips, and the pai-
ment of the Captaines.

A This Carauan which goes from Ægypt to Conſtantinople, is euery yeare attended for, not only by the gallions and gallies of Florence, but by thoſe of Malta and Naples, and by all the Pyrats of the Mediterranean ſea: like vnto the Engliſh and Hollanders, who yearely lay in wait for the Indian fleet before the concluſion of the peace and truce with the Spaniards. And although their principall deſigne was to take ſome part of the Carauan, yet they had other enterpriſes vpon the Turks Countrey, beſides the ſpoile of merchants which they met by chance, which many times payed the charge of their voiage; and ſomtimes, they that thought to take, were taken, and loſt both their ſhips and liues.

The gallies of Malta, commanded by the Bailiſe of Venouge, and thoſe of Naples by the Marquis of Saint *Croix*, joyned together ſoone after, with a deſigne to ſet vpon the Carauan B which carried the reuenue and tribute of Ægypt to Conſtantinople, or els to put in execution the enterpriſe which they had long before projected, vpon certaine places of Albania, or to ſurpriſe or ſpoile ſome Iſland in the Archipelague which might pay their charges. But the firſt failing, they met with a Venetian ſhip laden with merchandiſe, to the value of 100000 crownes. The Spaniards who commanded in the gallies of Naples ſeiſed vpon this ſhip, but the Generall of Malta would by no meanes conſent vnto it, nor ſuffer any of the merchandiſe to be put into his gallies, for that he would not vnjuſtly violate the friendſhip which was betwixt his Order and the State of Venice. This example did touch the Spaniards conſciences, ſo as within few daies they ſent away the Venetian ſhip, but in courteſie they had vnloden all the merchandiſe.

C After this prey of a Chriſtian ſhip, the fleet diſcouered two ſailes at ſea, ſending preſently after them, they were two barks, the one comming from Candy loaden with wood, and the other from Scarpante charged with wine, the which being brought vnto the Generals, gaue them to vnderſtand, that the Carauan of Ægypt was not yet paſt, being aduertiſed that fifty Chriſtians gallies attended them in their paſſage. Vpon this aduice, the Chriſtian Generals being out of hope to ſurpriſe the Carauan, preſently reſolued to vndertake a more great and glorious enterpriſe, and to ſurpriſe the Iſland and caſtle of Lango in the Archipelague, vpon the coaſt of Natolia, and about ſeuen of the clocke at night they ſet ſaile with a good winde, but being changed in the morning, they were forced to return to the Iſland of Porcherne: from whence they parted againe at eight or the clocke at night, and continuing their courſe, in the D morning they diſcouered three Florentine ſhips, who told them, that they had entred into the Iſle of Nigropont with ſeuen gallies; but hauing beene diſcouered, they could not effect any thing; and that their gallies were ſeparated from them in the chaſe of foure galliots. The Chriſtian fleet continuing their courſe, they arriued about eleuen of the clock in the morning at S. *Iean de Seruaë*, where hauing caſt anchor, there was a Councell called in the Admirall: where they reſolued to petard the caſtle of Lango, toward the ſea: for the execution whereof they ſhould land 200 men; *viz.* thirty Knights and fifty ſouldiers out of the gallies of Malta, and 120 Spaniards out of the gallies of Naples, and that they ſhould carry two petards with them, the one giuen in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the troupe of them of Malta, and the other was conducted by the Spaniards; the reſt of their men which they ſhould land, E ſhould go and aſſault the towne of Lango. With this reſolution they parted from S. *Iean de Seruaë*, with a good winde, and arriued at the Iſland of Lango on the ſixt of Iune, an houre after midnight, whereas they landed three miles from the towne: they that were appointed for the enterpriſe, marcht on with their petards, according to direction; but the night being very darke, the troupe of Malta ſtraied from their guide, but their valour brought them directly to the walls of the Towne; where after many turnings and windings to finde a fit place to plant the petard, (notwithſtanding they were diſcouered and much ſhot at) *Beaulaigue* ſet it to a Port next the ſea, well flanckt with the Caſtle, the which he forced, and his men entering with fury, went from ſtreet to ſtreet, and put all to the ſword that made reſiſtance. The Spaniards on the other ſide made another breach with their petard, and entered the F Towne; notwithſtanding that at their firſt approch, the Turks (hauing diſcouered them) played vpon them with their great ordnance and ſmall ſhot. The troups being joyned together, hauing cut all the Turks in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Caſtle, which they thought to ſurpriſe: but the bridge was drawne, and they lay open at the mercy of their ſhot; ſo as there were fifteene Knights of Malta hurt, one ſlaine, with a Spaniſh

The Chriſtians gallies go to the Iſland of Lango.

Lango forced by the Chriſtians.

Captaine, and ſome ſix and thirty ſouldiers of the gallies of Naples, and as many wounded.
Day being come, the Bailiſe of Venouge Generall of the gallies of Malta, came vnto the town G
with the foreward, wherein were 150 Knights, and 450 ſouldiers: the Marquis of S. *Croix*
followed him with the two ſonnes of the Viceroy of Naples, and 1500 Spaniards, who ſpoiled
the towne and ſuburbs, and tooke all that were liuing captiue: but the Caſtle being well
fortified they found it impoſſible to force; whereupon embarking their men and ſpoile, they
reſolued in their return to Malta and Naples, to make an enterpriſe vpon ſome towns of Albania:
but vpon the way they were aduertiſed, That the Turks had diſcouered the intelligence
which the Spaniards and Knights of Malta had with the Grecians of the country; whereupon
they tooke reuenge vpon them, putting many of them to death, and amongſt others a Patriarch,
who being accuſed to haue practiſed the Chriſtians reuolt againſt the Turks, was cruelly H
fleied aliue, and his skin ſent to Conſtantinople. So dangerous a thing it is to ſeeke for
liberty with this Mahometane nation.

The Carauan of Ægypt arriues at Conſtantinople.

The Carauan of Ægypt was ſtill in the port of Alexandria attending a paſſage, and to be
freed from ſo many Chriſtian gallies which lay in wait for it; and it ſtaied the longer by reaſon
of the great plague wherewith Conſtantinople was afflicted. But in the end of October,
Mechmet Baſſa of Caire (who would conduct it in perſon) hauing a conuoy of fifty gallies well
armed, put to ſea, and arriued at Conſtantinople without any encounter. At his landing, this
Baſſa cauſed to march before him 60 mules, euery one laden with 20000 ſequins in kind, being
a whole yeares tribute of the Kingdome of Ægypt, the which he cauſed to be carried to
the Sultans Serail. This mony was welcome to the Port: for the former wars both in Hungary, I
Tranſyluania, in Aſia againſt the Rebels, and in Perſia, had ſo waſted the Emperours treaſure,
as it would hardly entertaine one of his armies. The Baſſa who had gathered this tribute
together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his comming to the Sultans Port honored
with the charge of Baſſa of the ſea, (he who had it before, being aduanced to the dignity of
Viſier) and moreouer the Sultan promiſed him his daughter in marriage, being but three yeres
old.

Newes came to the Port, that certaine ſhips, gallies, and galliaſſes of the Chriſtians, to the
number of fifty, came neere vnto the Helleſpont; which put the Turks in great feare; and
complaints being brought vnto the grand Seignior, That certain Caramouſals had bin taken
by the Chiſtian gallies; he ſent preſently for the captain Baſſa or Admirall of the ſea, demanding K
of him, Whether the report of theſe loſſes were true or no? To whom he anſwered, Yes.
Why are not you then at ſea, ſaith he? He anſwered, For that I can get neither men nor money.
Whereupon the Deſtardar or Treaſurer was ſent for, who had loſt his head, had not the
Aga of the Grand Seigniors women entreated for him.

Graſſehoppers at Conſtantinople ſpoile the Country.

This Summer Conſtantinople and the Countries thereabouts was ſo plagued with ſuch
clouds of graſſehoppers, as they did ſhadow the very Sunne beames, and fell vpon the City
and country round about. The Turks conſulted with their Wiſe men, what it might portend:
Who anſwered, That they did foreſhew great plenty to follow. But indeed they left
not a greene hearbe nor a leafe in all the Countrey adioyning, nor in the city, where they entered
into their very chambers, and annoyed them much, beeing almoſt as big as dormice, L

Violent raine in the city.

with red wings. And ſoone after there fell ſuch extraordinary great haile in Conſtantinople
and Gallata, with ſuch abundance of raine, as the violence of the water did ſuddenly ſhut vp
one of the gates of the city, and ſo rebounding filled their ſhops and houſes, that very many
were in great danger of drowning. Some houſes fell downe, and ſome people were ſlaine;
the pauements of the ſtreets were torne vp, and the ſtones carried together into great
heapes.

We haue formerly made relation of the Perſians victories, and of the defeat and death
of *Cicala* Generall of the Turks army, in the yeare 1605. And that the yeare following, the
Sophy hauing recouered whatſoeuer the Turks had taken from his Predeceſſors, had extended
the bounds of the Empire vnto the blacke ſea, from whence he ſent an Embaſſadour vnto M
the Grand Seignior, to let him vnderſtand, that hauing recouered what had beene vniuſtly
vſurped from him, he would proceed no further, but deſired to liue in peace; the which might
now be the better aſſured, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreouer, this Perſian
Embaſſadour hauing remained ſeuen moneths at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to

A retire into Perſia without audience. And laſtly, That *Amurath Serder* the grand Viſier was afterwards forced to conuert his arms againſt *Gambolat* and the rebels of Aſia, and to neglect the war in Perſia.

1611.

A Perſian Embaſſador comes to Conſtantinople.

Notwithſtanding the Perſian war, there arriued this yeare at Conſtantinople an Embaſſador from Perſia, who according to the Turks maner was attended on by a great troup of Chaoux on horſebacke, Capigies, Ianizaries, and other Captaines, ſent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few daies after his arriual, there was a great ſhew made in Conſtantinople by the ſeuerall trades of the city, euery one marching by themſelues before the grand Seigniors Serail, and repreſenting vnto him their maner of marching in the warres, and the order of their prouiſion, ſome carying on their ſhoulders ſheep, others lambs, calues, beef, B &c. All which was don in policie, to daunt and diſ-hearten the Perſian Embaſſadour, and to encourage their own people; and withall to let him know, that there ſhould be as great plenty in their campes, as he ſaw at that preſent. And to abuſe him ſtill with the imagination of their great preparation, the Chimacham or Viſiers Lieutenant ſent the next day for this Perſian Embaſſador, and during their conference had taken order, that the Emperor of Tartaries brother (who was then in the Sultans Court) ſhould come in: at whoſe entrance the Chimacham aroſe from his place, ſaying, *O, I know for what you are come, it is for mony for your ſoldiers; you ſhall receiue it at ſuch a place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the Engliſh Embaſſador, then preſent: which was don to terrifie the Perſian Embaſſador; and the ſame time and to the like end they ſent ouer diuers troups of ſoldiers to Scudaret, as if they had been ready C to march with an army.

The Turks great armies are not raiſed in haſt, neither do they march in poſt; when as the Spahi, which make the greateſt part of his army, and haue no other pay or entertainment than the reuenues of certain land, are diſcharged, they muſt haue a whole year to recouer their reuenue, and to put themſelues in equipage; and moreouer, it is threeſcore daies march for an army, from Conſtantinople into Perſia.

Alſo in the years 1609 and 1610, the Turks had not attempted any thing againſt the Perſian, who ſtil ſolicited him for peace. The greatnes of the *Othoman* empire could not reſolue to make a peace, hauing receiued ſo great defeats; they would giue it but as victors, not as vanquiſhed. But this year *Achmat* reſolued to ſend a puiſſant Army of aboue 150000 men, D againſt this antient enemy of his Houſe, vnder the command of *Amurath Serder* his grand Viſier: but before the army entered into Perſia, it was without a commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of Iuly; ſo as they were forced to ſtay and attend the Sultans pleaſure from Conſtantinople.

It was ſuſpected he was poiſoned by *Naſſuf Baſſa*, one that ſtood out in rebellion againſt the grand Seignior, and yet he had many friends in the Turks army. Wherfore to preuent all mutinies, and conſequently the ouerthrow of the whole army, *Amurath Baſſa* in his ſickneſſe aduiſed the grand Seignior (by letters which he ſent vnto him) to make *Naſſuf* Generall of the whole army, and ſo by faire meanes to draw him home, and then to diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. The Sultan with the great Baſſa's at Court approued wel of this aduice, and choſe E him grand Viſier, and General of the Army. Who hauing receiued the Seal and authority, did forthwith put many of *Amuraths* friends to death, and with their mony paid all the ſouldiers, which wanted pay, whereof ſome had beene without fiue yeares before. Hee alſo ſent vnto the Grand Seignior threeſcore and ten mules loden with money of *Amurath* his Treaſure, and threeſcore with goods; all which the Sultan gaue to *Amurath* his Wife and children.

Seuerity of the Sultan

It is ſtrange to reade, how the Grand Seignior doth tyranniſe ouer his ſubiects, and how ſeuerely he doth puniſh the leaſt omiſſion in any of his officers: for I find it obſerued, that the ſeuenth of Ianuary in the end of this year 1611, the grand Seignior being abroad in the ſnow, and not wel prouided for of fuel, he cauſed *Stambol Aga* who had that charge, to be ſtript naked, F and ſet in the ſnow four or fiue hours. Indeed this winter was very rigorous, and there fel aboundance of ſnow throughout all Turky, with great ſtormes: many houſes were beaten downe; and amongſt others, the French Conſull of Aleppo was ſlain with the fall of his own houſe.

Naſſuf marching with his army to the frontiers of Perſia, committed ſuch ſpoils, as the Sophy was conſtrained to draw all his forces together to preuent the ruine of his country, being G then about the midſt of Auguſt. But when they were come to a battell, the Perſian finding himſelfe too weak for him, offred conditions of peace, and promiſed to giue the Turk a quantitie of ſilk which ſhould make the charge of 200 camels, for a yearly tribute, in acknowledgment of ſome Countries which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. Theſe offers were accepted at Conſtantinople: but there was added, That the Perſians ſon ſhould be called Baſſa of Tauris; and that the Magiſtrat or Iudge of that city, called the Cady, ſhould be ſent from Conſtantinople. We ſhall ſee in the following year the effects of theſe propoſitions, by the Embaſſador of Perſia, whom *Naſſuf* ſhall bring to Conſtantinople: in the meane time let vs return to the Mediterranian ſea, take a ſuruey of the valiant exploits of the Knights of H Malta againſt the Turks.

On the 26 of April, a Turk hauing lent a good ſum of mony to a Chriſtian, to be paid at a certain day; he came before the appointed day with another Turk, and willed the Chriſtian to pay the mony to that other Turk when the day came. Which the Chriſtian promiſed to doe, and performed it accordingly; but the Turk denied the receit therof: wherupon he to whom the mony was properly due came and demanded it. To whom the Chriſtian anſwered, That he had paid it to that party to whom he had aſſigned it. Wherunto the Turk replied, That if it were ſo he were ſatisfied; but yet the other Turk denied it. Wherupon the matter was examined before the Iudge, and the Turk who had receiued the mony, taking an oath to the contrary, the Chriſtian according to the Turkiſh juſtice was inforced to pay the mony again: the I which he did; but withal prayd God to ſhew ſome publique ſigne which of them had don the wrong. And therupon the Turk going forth to repair home to his own houſe, ſel downe dead in the ſtreet.

The Great Maſter *Vignancourt* continuing his generous deſignes againſt the Turke, had an enterpriſe againſt Navarrin, a place importing this common enemy of Chriſtians: for execution wherof he ſent the fiue gallies of his Order vnder the charge of *Vaqueras*, great commander of the Order, and chief of the nation of Prouence. They came within ſome miles of the ſhore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had bin diſcouered by one of the caſtles of Navarrin, which had giuen the alarm vnto the whole country, ſo as they were forced to paſſe on to ſome more eaſie conqueſt, to the end their voyage might not proue vnprofitable: K wherfore they ſailed into the Archipelague, and came neere to the coaſt of Morea, tenne legues from Corinth, where in the night they landed 800 men vnder the conduct of the commander *Cremeaux* General at land. This troup marched towards Corinth, and an houre before day were at the town gates to force them. Some of the Turks took armes, but their weake reſiſtance could not ſtay the Knights from entring with their troups: they ſackt the town, and hauing taken what ſpoile was portable, they caried away with them 500 ſlaues. After this triumph, the Chriſtians made a happy retreit, & in good order, notwithſtanding al the attempts of the Turks horſe and foot, who were drawn together in great numbers, making 10000 ſouldiers, for the country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarqued their ſpoil & ſlaues. Herby it appears, that this was one of the moſt deſperat enterpriſes that hath bin of long time L ſeen. For to attempt a place ſo far from their retreit, in ſo populous a country, which vpon the leaſt alarm may draw together ſo ſtrong a power; and to make their retreit with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great troups as purſued them: doubtleſſe wee muſt confeſſe, that as they ſhewed great valor, & had good fortune, ſo they vndertook a very dangerous enterpriſe. Thus the Knights of Malta vanquiſhed; whom we might tearm the maſters of the Mediterranean ſea, if the reuenues of their Order would ſuffer them to ſet forth ſhipping and forces equal to their valor.

Corinth ſacked by the Knights of Malta.

But to follow the variable courſe of the hiſtory, let vs obſerue the different occupations of Chriſtians. At Prague the Germanes entertained themſelues with the conſideration of a Crowne, which appeared in the firmament ouer that City about the middeſt of the moneth M October, giuing a very great light; and about it Armies of men fighting, as if it were who ſhould haue it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was vpon the Weſt, or declining of his dayes; and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of Hungary, was vpon

A of the ſun riſing of his triumphs. Many expounded this heauenly apparition as a preſage of happineſſe and good fortune to *Matthias*; he enioyed the crowne of Hungary already, and by deſignation that of Bohemia; and now they did prognoſticate vnto him that of the Romans. Doubtleſſe men which aſpire after great fortunes do rather adore the Sunne riſing than ſetting; and mans life when it declines taſtes of the lees. The flouriſhing glory of *Matthias*, his age, and his actions in the Warres, did adde nothing to the authoritie of other men in the country, but did mightily ſettle his owne. Three Sunnes which were ſeene in the firmament ouer Vienna the chiefe city in Auſtria, confirmed the Germans more in this their hope, that he ſhould haue the third Crowne of the Romans. This laſt apparition hapned the yeare following.

B About the end of the yeare, ſome of the Engliſh Embaſſadours men entring into quarrell with certain Iamoglans of the next Serail, from words they fell to blowes. During which tumult one of the embaſſadors men threw a ſtone, and ſmote a Iamoglan on the forehead, wherof he died within few houres after. The Aga of the Serail complained herof vnto the Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſſa of Galata to make inquiry of the fact. The Embaſſador went himſelfe to the Serail, and ſent for his men which had bin in the quarrell, willing the Turks to deſigne the party which had thrown the ſtone. Who all with a ſhout ran vpon one *Simon Dibbins*, a man that was newly come from Candy, where he had ſerued in the Venetian garriſons, and was now entertained into the Embaſſadors ſeruice. This *Simon* was not he that threw the ſtone; notwithſtanding the Turks would none but him, on him they laid hands and dragged C him away. The Embaſſador interpoſing himſelfe, and offering to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his men beaten, and one of his pages wounded. Wherupon he complained to the grand Viſier, but preuailed little; for to priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole month; neither could he be releaſed, albeit the Engliſh nation offered great ſums to ranſom his life; for the Turkes would needs haue bloud for bloud. The day of execution being appointed, the Embaſſador ſent his Chapleine to the priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for death: vnto whom (examining him how he had formerly liued) he confeſſed, that in England ſome few years before he had killed a man; for which fact he fled thence into Candy; from whence he came to Conſtantinople, where he was to ſuffer for that which hee did not: the iuſt iudgement of God purſuing him to the ſhedding of his bloud in D Conſtantinople among the Turks vndeſeruedly, for the bloud which he ſhed in England wilfully. He was hanged at the Embaſſadors gates: his head and heels the next night were ſtoln away by the Turks, as it was thought, to vſe in ſome kind of Sorcery; the other parts of his body they had leaue to take down and bury.

1612. This year *1612*, they did celebrate at Conſtantinople a double nuptial feaſt; for the mariages of the Baſſa *Mehemet*, ſonne to the deceaſed *Cicala*, with the Sultans ſiſter; and the Baſſa *Mechmet* Admirall at ſea, he whom we haue ſeen lately return from Egypt, and bring to Conſtantinople the reuenues of that rich kingdom, with the eldeſt daughter of his Emperor. For the feaſts of yong *Cicala* the Spahi made courſes on horſeback with battle-axes and barres, in the open place neer vnto the Serail; where they made diuers fire-works of very great charge, E but of ſmall inuention; and they gaue preſents to aboue 20000 perſons, beſides the charge of the banqueting ſtuffe, which amounted to aboue 20000 crowns. The pomp was double; for the Sultans women celebrated that day with the greateſt ladies of the Port; & the men apart in other places did celebrate it in like manner. But the magnificence of the marriage of the Baſſa Admiral at ſea with *Achmats* eldeſt daughter had far more luſtre at the port. The ceremonie was performed the 30 of Iune, twenty daies after the other; and the order of this great pomp, as wel as ſome other which we haue deſcribed in this hiſtory, requireth a particular relation.

The day before the conſummation of the marriage, they ſent the brides moueables and iewels, from the Serail to the bridegroomes lodging, in this order and ſtate following. Firſt, F there marched fiue hundred Ianizaries on foot, beeing followed with the grand Prouoſt of Conſtantinople, and the general Surueyor, both on horſebacke, and attyred in cloth of gold; the Aga or Colonel of the Ianizaries very proudly adorned, and inuironed with ſome Ianizaries, marched alone on horſebacke: after theſe, two hundred men of qualitie well mounted, and richly attyred, followed with a ſlow pace. The laſt which marcht in this pompe or ceremonie, were the Taliſmans, Centons, Emirs, and other miniſters of *Mahomets* Clergy. And preſently after followed the Baſſa *Achmat*, Deftarda or Treaſurer, who conducted the moueables, as choſen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the Bride, beeing inuironed with twelue footmen attyred in long robes of gold. After him followed the moueables, apparell, and jewels, which made the brides truſſe, hauing in the head excellent muſicke after the Turkiſh maner, of hoboies and kettle-drums on horſeback.

Theſe moueables conſiſted of 27 preſents; the firſt was a little hat al of gold, couered with pretious ſtones, and pantofles or womens ſhooes after the Turkiſh faſhion of pure gold, iniched with Turquoiſes and Rubies; a booke of *Mahomets* Law, the couer whereof was of maſſie gold all ſet with diamonds; many bracelets and other rare deuices for women of pure gold, with many pretious ſtones; a little coffer a cubit long and halfe as broad, all of rock chryſtal, hauing the corners of gold, in which were to be ſeen great diamonds and huge pearles, to the value of 80000 pounds ſterling. After this pretious coffer were caried many ſmocks imbroidred with gold and pearle, and head-bands for the forhead, with many robes of cloth of gold. All this was diſtributed into 27 preſents, as we ſaid, and caried with great pompe by 27 men on foot.

After theſe preſents followed 11 Caroches full of yong maidens, ſlaues to ſerue the bride: theſe Caroches were couered and ſhut, and either of them attended by two eunuchs Moores. After theſe followed 28 virgins ſlaues, attyred in cloth of gold, and accompanied by 28 black Eunuchs, al on horſeback and richly clad. After which were ſeen 240 mules loden with tents of tapeſtry, cloath of gold, ſattin, veluet, with the ground of gold, with many cuſhions which are the chairs the Ladies of Turky vſe; with many other rich and ſumptuous mouables. Such was the truſſe which this yong princeſſe brought to her ſpouſes houſe. Doubtleſſe this equipage was ſtately, and did wel become the pompe and greatnes of the *Othoman* houſe, from the which ſhe deſcended, the mightieſt and richeſt of all the royal houſes of Europe, yea of the whole world.

Achmat his daughter royally maried.

The mariage day being come, the bride was conducted to her husbands lodging with no leſſe pomp and ſtate than her moueables. The Ianizaries marched firſt, as they had formerly don, being followed by the grand Prouoſt, the Surueyor their Aga, and many other Officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are deſcended from *Mahomet*, and alone carry greene turbants) marched after to the number of 80. This name of Emir is as much to ſay as Lord: they which wear them anſwer not, and obey none but their Chiefe, called Mirabachi; and their voyce in judgment ſtands for two. They were followed by the Taliſmans or Prieſts of *Mahomets* Law, and by a great number which ſtudy it, and aſpire vnto the office of Cadies or Iudges, of Cadileſquiers or Mufti. The Viſiers or ſupream Iudges of the Turks eſtate, who iudge of all affairs in councel, came after with the grand Viſier, who is Lieutenant Generall to the Turkiſh Sultan thorowout his whole empire, and keeps the ſeals of the empire: he had on his left hand (which is the moſt honourable rank in Turky) the grand Mufti or ſupreame Biſhop of their Law. The muſick followed after on horſeback, conſiſting of thirty men with drums and hoboies, being followed by eight Egyptians which caried Biſcan tabors, and did a thouſand Apiſh tricks. Theſe were followed by forty muſitians marching two and two, ſome playing on citerns, others on harps, and ſome on lutes after the Turkiſh maner. A foole, held for a Saint among them, being mufled with a cap and a cloak couered with mutton bones, danced & ſung with theſe inſtruments: 50 of the chief officers of the Arſenall marcht after him, and 30 men with hammers and other iron inſtruments, to break down whatſoeuer aduanced too far in the ſtreets, & might hinder the free paſſage of two trees of an immenſe height, laden with diuers ſorts of fruits all of wax, carried by many men, and ſupported from the top and the midſt with ropes. After theſe trees came 20 officers belonging to *Achmat Baſſa* the high treaſurer, godfather to the bride; and he himſelf alone richly attyred and proudly mounted. After whom came two great torches light, carried by many ſlaues, and then a third torch of a wonderfull bignes, all couered with plats of gold, and ſhining more with pretious ſtones than the flame that burnt. The *Raiſſer Aga* with fifty of the Princeſſes officers followed theſe lights, and after them was caried a great canopie of crimſon Veluet, and after it another greater, couered with plates of gold, whoſe curtaines being ſhut on all ſides hung down to the ground. Vnder this canopy was the princeſſe on horſeback, with ſome of her blacke eunuchs, her caroch fol-

The death of the Sultans daughter.

lowed couered with cloth of gold,and drawn by foure great white horſes, wonderfull beautifull. Then followed eight other caroches, in which were a great number of the brides maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, 25 virgins ſlaues,choſen amongſt the faireſt,all on horſbacke, hauing their haire confuſedly hanging vpon their ſhoulders. Such was the pompe of this marriage:but many times the nuptiall feaſt is intermixt with funerall mourning.For not many daies after, the Sultans ſecond daughter, promiſed to *Naſſuf Baſſa*, was carried to her graue without any pompe or honour: for the Turks make no great eſteeme of women.

The day after the marriage,the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the mother of this daughter, whom he had married to the Captain Baſſa; he ſtabbed her with his handjarre or dagger through the cheeke, and trod her vnder his feet. The reaſon was, becauſe ſhee had ſtrangled a fauorit of his, which was one of his ſiſters ſlaues, whom the Grand Seigniour hauing ſeene,and being enamored with her,ſent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof,cauſed her to be brought to her lodging, where ſhee ſtript her of her apparrell, ſtrangled her, and put her clothes vpon one of her owne ſlaues,whom ſhe ſent to the Sultan in ſtead of the other,and at her returne ſtrangled her alſo; as ſhee had done many others when they once appeared to bee with childe by the Grand Seigniour.

A great plague at Constantinople.

The plague beginning furiouſly to ſpoile the City of Conſtantinople,the Sultan was forced to return to his country palace,called the Serail of *Darut Baſſa*,to auoid the danger of this violent contagion: the which makes mee thinke,that the Turkiſh Emperours for their owne profit diſpenſe with ſome articles of their faith; for as we haue ſaid before, The Turks are ſo obſtinatly tied to the beleefe of Predeſtination, as they will not vouchſafe to turne from a peſtiferous body, when it is carried to the graue, and much leſſe forbeare to viſit his friends, being ſick of the plague, for that(ſay they) if we muſt needs die of this contagion,it is in vain to flie it,for it will find vs whereſoeuer;if not,our health ſhall neuer be impaired, although we conuerſe with thoſe that are ſicke of this diſeaſe.But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea and to cauſe them to be led vnder the arms that come to kiſſe his hand, leſt they ſhould offer him ſome violence. Thus we ſee the defect of falſe religions,when as we ſee this marke of vniuerſalitie in the faith taken away; for there euery man beleeues according to his priuat intreſt,as wellas among many others which haue ſeparated themſelues from the truth, to canton themſelues in their errors,where we doe often trie the diuerſitie of their beleefe.

Sultan *Achmat* being in his palace of *Darut Baſſa*,and going to viſit a ſtately Moſque which he cauſed to be built there, a Deruis or religious Turke thruſt on by ſome deuilliſh fury, caſt a great ſtone at him to beat him downe; but the blow of this deteſtable traitor,fell vpon his ſhoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they ſhould draw from this wretch the confeſſion of his confederates: but the officers of the port cauſed him to be executed the next day, ſomewhat too ſuddenly,and by a death too honourable,for a crime ſo ful of abomination,for they cauſed his head to be cut off. A Deruis of the ſame order had in former times ſought to murther the Emperour *Mahomet* the ſecond.

The funerall of the lady Glouer, the Embaſſadors wife.

On the 14 of Aprill,the Lady *Anne Glouer*, wife to Sir *Thomas Glouer*,Embaſſador reſiding at Conſtantinople for the Engliſh,was buried with very great ſolemnity,the like had not bin ſeen in that countrey,ſince the Turks conquered Conſtantinople. There were preſent at this funerall of moſt nations in the world; the ſermon was preached in a large garden vnder a Cypreſſe tree:and although but few of thoſe preſent did vnderſtand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Ieſuits and Friers had formerly poſſeſt both Iewes, Turks,and other people, that the Engliſh nation ſince the change of their religion,had neither churches,nor any form of diuine ſeruice;hereby they perceiued,that they had both,and ſerued God far more decently and deuoutly than they themſelues; inſomuch that the Ieſuits being aſhamed of their impoſtures, and ſlanderous vntruth, durſt not for a while after walke the ſtreets, for feare of the Turks, who threatned them for ſo much belying the Engliſh. The Sermon being ended, the body was caried from Pera vnto the Engliſh graues,which were almoſt a mile from the place; it was cloſed in lead, and laid in a Caroch couered ouer with blacke veluet, and the horſes with blacke cloth. The Dutch Embaſſador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonell with a great number of all nations both men and women followed her to her graue.The tomb was of faire marble, built foure ſquare almoſt the height of a man, hauing an Epitaph engrauen thereon, *The Caſtle of Lango taken by the Florentines.*

We haue ſeene the yeare before, the Iſland and towne of Lango ſpoiled by the gallies of G Malta and Naples, but the Caſtle was ſaued from ruine, by the reſiſtance it made againſt the Chriſtians attempts: but this yeare in Iune the great Duke of Tuſcans gallies running ouer the Archipelague, aſſailed it ſo furiouſly, as they forced and ſpoyled it, carrying away twelue hundred priſoners. *Mechmet Baſſa* Admirall at ſea, whom we ſaw euen now buſied at his nuptiall pompe, with the Emperours eldeſt daughter, being aduertiſed of theſe ſpoyles of the Florentines, by the dayly complaints of the Turks which loſt their ſhipping, and of many other enterpriſes attempted vpon his Maſters countries lying neere the ſea ſhore, he departed from Conſtantinople in Auguſt with three and thirty great gallies, hauing commanded all the Beyes of the Iſlands and townes in the Archipelague, to ioyne with him, with as many gallies as they could make, to ſtop the Chriſtians courſes in the Weſt. But whilſt that he is buſied H in thoſe ſeas, the Pirats of Raſcia deſcending into the Euxine ſea, by the mouthes of thoſe riuers which diſcharge their waters into the ſea, ouerran and ſpoiled the Turks coaſts of thoſe parts.

At the firme land *Conſtantine* one of the pretending Princes in Moldauia, annoyed all that had any dependance vpon the Turke. A part of that great army of the King of Polands, which had mutined for their pay, ſpoiled Podolia; and a Prince of the Tartarians diſcontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a couſin of his before him in the inueſtiture of the realm of the Tartars Precopians, with 5000 ſouldiers ſpoiled the riuers of Moldauia vnder the Turks dominion, and he did the like in the gulph of Nicopolis.

Troubles in Moldauia.

This was at ſuch time when as miſerable Moldauia was the theatre, wheras the Turks, Tar- I tars, and Moldauians acted a bloudy tragedy, at the coſts and charges of the poore countreymen. For *Tomſho* hauing been choſen Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince by the Turke, *Conſtantine* who could not endure that he ſhould reigne, armed the country, ouerran it, ſpoiled it, and made hauocke of all, detaining two Capigi priſoners, whom the Sultan had ſent to him, with commandement to obey his will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomſho* in the poſſeſſion of his Prouince. But this was a meſſage of hard diſgeſtion to *Conſtantine*; hee could not with patience yeeld to this ceſſion of Moldauia: and in ſtead of ſending theſe meſſengers back to the Turke with an anſwer, hee carried them with him into Polonia, whither he went to demand ſuccors, and cauſed them to be guarded as priſoners. In the meane time by the ſupport and aid of *Potoſly* Gouernor of Velin his brother in law, he obtained from the King of Poland, K that he ſhould be ſupported againſt Prince *Tomſho* his competitor, whom the Turke had aduanced; and to make his entry into Moldauia more eaſie, they reſolued to ſend an Embaſſador vnto Conſtantinople, to intreat *Achmat* to call backe *Tomſho* to his Port, that *Conſtantine* might quietly enioy Moldauia; and to acquaint him with the right and intereſt the Polonians had by their capitulations with the Turks, to name a Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince, to the end no wrong might be done vnto them.

This Polonian Embaſſador being arriued at Conſtantinople (thinking to be preſently diſpatched, either by a grant or denial of his demand, & not to ſtay aboue fifteen or twenty days) being viſited at his arriuall by all the Embaſſadors of Chriſtian Kings and Princes which remained there: in ſtead of audience, after ſix weekes attendance, hee was arreſted and detained L priſoner, vnderſtanding from the Turks, that he ſhould haue no liberty vntill that the two Capigi, whom Prince *Conſtantine* carried into Poland were releaſed.

The troubles and diuiſions among Chriſtians, neighbours to the Turke, haue alwaies ſerued as a bridge for this Infidell to inuade them, and by this aduantage to vſurpe ſuch townes and countries as lie fit for him. Now that Valachia, Moldauia, yea and Tranſyluania, are toſt and turmoiled with continuall diſorders and combuſtions; the Sultan ſeemes to embrace this occaſion, to make himſelfe Soueraigne of thoſe Prouinces, and to get poſſeſſion of al that lies betwixt the riuer of Danow, the mountains of Sarmatia, the riuer of Tibiſcus, and the Euxine ſea. Hee emploies all his thoughts and inuentions vpon this ſubiect, to bring his deſignes to M effect. He armes and drawes forces about Belgrade, vnder the conduct of Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi*: He commands the Tartarians to enter into Moldauia, and he ſent a nauall army towards the mouth of the riuer of Danow, which made the frigots of Raſſia to diſlodge, the which had continually made inroades and ſpoyles vpon his lands. *Battori* Prince of Tranſyluania was at that time before the towne of Cromſtad, which he had beſieged, but the tediouſneſſe of this

ſiege

A ſiege made him reſolue to ſend an Embaſſador to Conſtantinople, to demand ſuccours from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this ſiege, and to take the towne: he gaue this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and ſent him to the Sultans Port: but in ſtead of ſeruing his Maſter faithfully, hee practiſed a deteſtable treaſon againſt him, to put the Turke in full poſſeſſion of Tranſyluania, and to make him abſolute Soueraign. The practiſe was concluded after this manner, That the Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi* ſhould enter the Prouince with his army, and that *Giezi* ſhould ioyne with him certaine troupes, and ſhould deliuer vnto him Veradin, Lippa, and ſome other ſtrong and important places; and for recompence hee ſhould inueſt him in the Principalitie of Tranſyluania, in the place of *Battori*, and vnder the authoritie of *Achmat*.

B This treaſon might haue drawne this miſerable Prouince into ruine, and it may be the reſt neere adjacent, if it had taken the effect which the trecherie of *Giezy* had promiſed vnto himſelfe. But the Baſſa of Buda vnderſtanding that *Battori* had ſome vent of the practiſe at the Port, and that being now in great feare and perturbation, hee had raiſed the ſiege from before Cromſtad, and was ready to caſt himſelfe into the armes of the Palatine of Hungary, and to craue reliefe from him; the crafty Baſſa knowing that this courſe would be prejudiciall for the Sultan, and finding that the depoſing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, hee diuerted *Mahomet Baſſa* from attempting any thing againſt *Battori* or Tranſyluania. This act ſhewes ſufficiently, that Chriſtian Princes which thinke to ſhelter themſelues vnder the ſhadow of the Turkiſh creſcent, are very ill aſſured: for he neuer failes to ſtir vp enemies C againſt them, to make them ſue for ſuccors, and himſelfe neceſſarie: Then in the end hee expels them, and becomes abſolute maſter of their countries. It was alſo ſaid, That the Baſſa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in Tranſyluania, by reaſon of the election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Baſſa of Buda was aſſured by the Embaſſador which the ſaid Emperor ſent to Conſtantinople, to carry the Preſents vnto the Sultan, which Embaſſadour was honorably entertained at Buda by the ſaid Baſſa, and from thence conducted ſafely to Conſtantinople.

But not to keep theſe Turkiſh troups idle, *Mahomet Baſſa* being aduertiſed that *Conſtantine* the pretending Prince in Moldauia, had been in Poland to craue ſome aſſiſtance from thence, he reſolued to imploy his forces that way, to diſpoſſeſſe him and to ſettle another.

D But the better to vnderſtand the beginning and ſucceſſe of theſe Moldauian warres, wee muſt make a repetition of that which paſt ſome yeares before. In the yeare 1608, *Ieremie Mobyla* Prince or Vayuod of Valachia. died: committing the gouernment to his brother *Simeon*, during the minoritie of his three ſonnes, *Conſtantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldeſt being but eight yeares old. He left three daughters married to three generous Princes of Polonia, *Potosky*, *[illegible]iſnousky*, and *Corresky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the gouernment vntill the yeare 1611; after whoſe deceaſe the young Prince *Conſtantine* by the perſuaſion of his mother, that he might ſafely take vpon him the gouernment of Moldauia, and not attend any confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon* who had been confirmed by the Turke which then reigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entred the gouernment. At E this time there remained at Conſtantinople, one *Stephano* or *Tomſho*, who had of long time practiſed the fauour of one of the Viſiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of Georgia (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Viſier) and of ſome other Baſſaes, as well by money as by other practiſes, ſuggeſting falſly that he was ſonne to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vayuod of Moldauia before the deceaſed *Ieremy*: and he preuailed ſo by his practiſes and corruption (whereunto the Turks are more ſubiect than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principalitie by the Grand Seignior, and hauing giuen him to vnderſtand by the Viſier, that *Conſtantine* had thruſt himſelfe raſhly into the gouernment, and that hee would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Soueraigne, nor pay the yerely tribute, which was 40000 chequines, hee ſent *Fouſſeyen Aga* with 20000 Turks and Tartarians to F ſettle *Stephen* or *Tomſho* in Moldauia, and to expell Prince *Conſtantine*. Which army marched ſo ſecretly, as they had in a manner ſurpriſed him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 men, hee reſolued to attend the euent. The Aga ſent to acquaint him with his commiſſion, and among other things threatned him, that if he would not ſuffer him to proclaime *Stephen* Vayuod of Moldauia, and yeeld him the City of Yas free, he would cut him in pieces.

Whereunto *Conſtantine* made anſwer, by the aduice of the Prince *Potosky* his brother in law, That the Grand Seigniour had been abuſed: for if hee had vnderſtood, that his predeceſſor had granted vnto the deceaſed Prince *Ieremy* his father, and to Prince *Simeon* his vncle, That he ſhould ſucceed his ſaid father in the gouernment: it was not credible that he would ſeeke to diſpoſſeſſe him by force, without hearing, and inſtall in his place an vnknowne perſon, who had falſely ſuppoſed himſelfe to be the ſonne of a Prince of Moldauia: neither ſhould they finde, that he had refuſed to acknowledge the Sultan for his Souereigne Prince, or denied to continue the ſame tribute which his father and vncle had paid; but if the Aga would proceed without any reſpect of his offers, he did hope that the true God of battel would maintain him in his iuſt defence, and would not ſuffer an vſurper to preuaile ouer a lawfull Prince. *Fouſſeyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulate with Prince *Conſtantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Preſents and promiſes, aduanced with his army, ſo as the next day they ioyned battel, but the Moldauians oppreſt with multitudes of Turks, Tartarians, and Valachians, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Conſtantine* to ſaue himſelfe, and to ſuffer him to finiſh the battell: but he could by no meanes perſuade him, ſtill reſoluing to attend the euent. Whereupon they went both again to the charge with ſuch troups as they had left, and defeated many of the Turks forces; but being oppreſſed with a new ſupply of 2000 horſe which the *Aga* ſent by *Stephen*, they were conſtrained to yeeld themſelues to the mercy of their enemies. Prince *Conſtantine* fell to the Tartarian ſhare, either for that he had been taken priſoner by ſome of them, or elſe was giuen them by *Fouſſeyen Aga*, to draw a ranſome from him, and be in ſtead of their pay. But they made no great vſe of him; for as they led him away, paſſing the riuer of Nieſtre, hee leapt into it, thinking either to ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming, or vnwilling to ſuruiue his diſgrace. And as for Prince *Potosky*, he was carried to Conſtantinople, and was put into the blacke tower, which is a priſon appointed for men of quality, where he continued vntill the yeare *1616*. The loſſe of this battell by *Conſtantine*, gaue an eaſie entrance to *Stephen* into Moldauia, no man daring oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Turks forces, ſo as *Fouſſeyen Aga* cauſed *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of Moldauia in the city of Yas, and then diſmiſſed his army, and returned to Conſtantinople. Such was the fortune of the Prince of Moldauia, ruined by the Turks, and ſuch was the diſorder and confuſion of his miſerable countrey.

This Summer Conſtantinople and the countrey round about, was annoyed with aboundance of Graſhoppers, as it had been in the former yeare: but to free themſelues from this deuouring vermine, about the middeſt of Iuly, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, and Alexandria, with diuers other Biſhops, and Calloires attyred in their copes and other ornaments, went forth in ſolemne manner at the gates of Andrianople, being the North gate of the City. Whereupon (ſaid the Greeks) they all periſhed: and indeed [illegible]ut this time infinit heapes of them were found dead; but not by reaſon of their curſe, for moſt were dead before they curſed them, and were to be ſeene dead vpon euery buſh and twigge of a tree before their curſe, and many liued after their curſe, and continued vntill the next Summer. The cold deawes which fell this Summer (being extraordinarie) were thought to bee the naturall cauſe thereof, God cauſing thoſe dewes to fall, to free the countrey from theſe deuouring creatures.

The troubles of Tranſyluania.

Let vs now deſcribe the miſeries of the Tranſyluanian, and of his Prouince, a table ſo often repreſented in this Hiſtorie. *Gabriel Battori* who gouerned Tranſyluania, as lawfully deſcended from the Souereigne Princes thereof, hauing made himſelfe a tributarie vnto the Turke, and by his impious actions mingled *Mahomets* impietie with the Chriſtian Religion, and moreouer, exceeding in his crueltie, became a memorable example to all poſteritie, that Princes which carry the glorious name of Chriſtians, when they haue once laid aſide all feare of the Souereigne of Princes, cannot attend, but a miſerable end in their reigne, conformable to the courſe of their enormities. So *Gabriel Battori* holding it a law of State, to ſettle his affaires with the ruine of religion, allyes himſelfe with the Turke, and with him afflicts the Chriſtian Prouinces. But ſeeing many factions made againſt him, as wel by the deſcendents of *Botſcay*, as by *Giezi*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and ſome other, hee ſupports himſelfe with the forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in high Hungarie, who came vnto him to the ſiege before Cromſtad to aſſiſt him in his affaires. *Battori* entertained him withall ſhews of curteſie inuited him to dinner in his Tent, and for a greater demonſtration of friendſhip, after dinner they two went to take the air on horſeback. *Nage* had drunk after the Hungarian maner; *Battori* intreated him to run his horſe a career, and he refuſed it: the which *Battori* taking for an offence, ſpake many words of contempt vnto him, and hee anſwered him in the ſame manner, being more inflamed with wine, than gouerned by reaſon. *Battori* wonderfully offended, that a man of no ſort, being but a poore ſouldier of fortune, crept vp to ſome authoritie amongſt the ſouldiers but by degrees of rebellion, ſhould giue him ſuch words of indignitie, gaue him three blows on the head with a battle-axe which he held in his hand, and ſlew him. Thus *Nage* ſwimmes iuſtly in his own bloud, hauing wickedly, and to the ruine of his countrey, floted in the waies of vnconſtancie and popular tumults, and ſo he died as he had liued.

Battori kills Nage.

Parties againſt Battori.

But *Battori* found himſelfe daily oppreſt with many affairs, which draue him inſencibly to his ruine. *Peter Decaci* kinſman vnto the deceaſed *Botſcay*, annoied him on the one ſide with troups of ſoldiers. *Andrew Giezi* (who had betrayed him in his embaſſie to Conſtantinople) leuied forces to proſecute him: and *Bethlem Gabor* a nobleman of Tranſylvania, aſſiſted by the Turk, took many places from him, after that *Giezi* had forced him to raiſe his ſiege at Cromſtad, and generally all Tranſylvania reuolted againſt this Prince. To ſee more plainely in the obſcuritie of theſe confuſed diſorders, you muſt vnderſtand that this prouince is peopled by three ſeueral nations, the Sicules, Saxons, and Hungarians. The Sicules, deſcended from the Scythians, came with *Attila* King of the Hunnes, in Pannonia, now called Hungary; and taking their way toward their country, they inhabited that part of Tranſilvania which lies next to Moldavia, and diuiding themſelues into ſeuen colonies, they built the towns of Kiſdi, Orbai, Scipſi, Cykuduarheh, Aranios, and Maros. The Saxons mutinying againſt the gouernement of *Charlemaign* King of France, for certain impoſitions wherwith he had charged them, retyred into Tranſylvania, and by force ſeiſed vpon that part of the country which confineth vpon Valachia; where they built the towne of Hermenſtad (otherwiſe called Cibin) Cromſtad, Nezen (or Biſtric) Meduviſch, Scieſpourg, Clauſenbourg, and Alba Iulia. The Hungarians inhabited this prouince from the time of S. *Stephen* King of Hungary; and hauing maſtred the other nations, they obtained ſuch preheminence amongſt them, that ſince their ſucceſſors haue cauſed themſelues to be called Nobles of Tranſylvania, and the Vayuods or Princes of the Countrey haue bin taken from among them. The Towns of Varradin, Deuer, Zilahi, Gela, and ſome others, owe their beginnings vnto them. The greateſt part of theſe three nations which inhabit Tranſylvania, were reuolted againſt *Battori*; but particularly the Saxons had taken vp arms againſt him, his great crueltie hauing forced them to this etreame remedie.

Battori being thus abandoned by his ſubiects, proſecuted by his Nobility, and forſaken of all the world, knowing not whither to fly for ſuccour, and not daring to truſt vnto the Turke, who openly fauored *Gabor*; he reſolued to try if he could by preſents draw the Emperor *Matthias* to his aid. Wherfore he ſent Embaſſadours vnto him to promiſe all ſubiection and obedience: his preſents were, a long robe or ſacerdotal cloak of gold, ſet with pearle and pretious ſtones, certain plumes of blacke Herons adorned with pretious ſtones, a Turkiſh ſword, the ſcabberd being of ſiluer richly ſet with jewels, ten black horſes with rich furniture embroidered with gold and ſiluer, and a Turkiſh horſe, hauing halfe the body and legs of the color of gold, with his furniture of crimſon richly embroidered. He laboured to haue the Emperour giue notice to the Baſſa of Buda, That this attempt of the Turks againſt Tranſylvania was a breach of the peace. But the Baſſa made anſwer, That his Emperor was not to be blamed if he ſeiſed vpon that prouince, and kept it quiet from the practiſes of others, as belonging to himſelf. But *Battori* relying not wholly vpon this ſupport, but deſiring to haue more ſtrings to his bow, ſent Embaſſadours to the Sultan with rare and rich preſents, who had ſecret treaties and councels with the Baſſa's. The which *Negronius* the Emperors Embaſſador reſiding at Conſtantinople diſcouering, he ſent word vnto the Emperor, that he entertained a monſter among men.

About the ſame time there came Embaſſadours from the Saxon townes of Tranſylvania, complaining much of the crueltie and tyrannie of *Battori*. The Saxons (ſaid they) liuing

Cruelty of Battori.

many years in Tranſylvania,and beautified the prouinces with townes, villages,and markets,
and had by their vertue obtained many priuiledges from former Emperours: but *Battori*, againſt G
his promiſed faith,and the oath which he had taken, had depriued them of their priuiledges,
and afflicted them in ſuch ſort,as they were in a maner ruined. That from his firſt entrance,
he had ſought to root out the antient family of the Saxons: That he had afflicted them
with impriſonments and miſerable ſeruitude,and had detained *Iohn Benner* three years in priſon,
for no other cauſe,but for that he knew hee had brought a great eſtate out of Germanie.
He had depriued honeſt widowes of their eſtates,and had oppreſſed others with vniuſt exactions:
he had ſurpriſed Hermſtad the chiefe City of the Saxons, and ſuffered the Haiducks to
ſpoil it,and to commit all ſorts of inſolencies. That he had expelled the Magiſtrates, baniſhed
honeſt citiſens,rauiſhed women, ſlain the parents, to depriue the children of their inheritance,
and commited all the barbarous cruelties that could be deuiſed. That hee had ſent H
three hundred Captiues to the Sultan for a preſent: many he cut into ſmall pieces, ſome hee
had thrown down from the tops of high mountains and towers, ſome he had hung vp by the
feet,others he had drawn in pieces with wild horſes & trees; and to conclude, he had practiſed
all kindes of barbarous cruelties. That hauing expelled religious Princes out of Moldauia
and Valachia,hee had made them ſubiect to the Turke: for no other end, but that getting an
occaſion to circumuent the Chriſtians,he might waſt all with fire and ſword, hauing multitudes
of Barbarians to ſecond him. And for a concluſion of his notable crueltie, hauing fired
the town of Gaudin, he had made choice of twenty of the principall inhabitants, and giuing
euery one of them a pike, he forced them in his preſence to kil one another in the middeſt of I
the market place.

But God reuengeth his exceſſe in his ruine,whereinto we ſhall preſently ſee him run headlong
miſerably: for *Bethlem Gabor* his capital enemy, hauing joined his forces with thoſe of
Baſſa *Serder*, they both entred together into Tranſylvania, forced Lugaſti, tooke Deue, and
ſtrooke a great terror into the whole Country. *Ogli Baſſa* on the other ſide ſurmounteth the
difficultie of the waies,and lodgeth with his troups in the ſuburbs of Cromſtad, and from
thence went and camped ouer all the tract of Barry or Barſac. Thus *Battori* ſees himſelf opreſt
by an enemy, from whom he can expect nothing but his miſerie and ruine. He attended
ſuccors from the Emperor,vnder the conduct of the Palatine of Hungary and *Fortgatſie*; they
came,but not ſuch as were able to reſiſt the Turks. This made him write to *Trinau* for the leuying K
of ſoldiers,but the hatred they bare him generally, deceiued his hopes, no man would
march vnder his enſignes. This refuſall makes him diſtruſtfull,he dares not confer with any
man touching the affairs of the war. A treaty of peace ſeemes moſt fit for his affaires: hee
makes an ouerture to his moſt familiar friends, & tels them he holds it neceſſary to purchaſe
his peace with *Serder Baſſa*,at what price ſoeuer, yea were it in deliuering into his hands the
places of greateſt importance. But hee receiues no other anſwers from them, but that they
had rather die than aduiſe him to it. Thus he ſees himſelfe void of all hopes of ſafety in his
affairs: he wanted mony,his ſubiects,yea euen his ſoldiers hated him, as a prince abandoned
to all crueltie, and for his laſt remedy, and the moſt ordinary in baſe and cowardly mindes,
he fel into diſpair,intreating one of his ſeruants to kill him: but the other refuſed him that L
honor,ſuffering him to draw on his miſerable life,vntil that within ſome few daies after, going
forth to view where his troups were lodged,being in an open chariot, accompanied only
with two gentlemen,fifty of his ſoldiers which attended him in an ambuſh, ſhot at him, ſlew
him,and hurt thoſe that did accompanie him. This accident happened in the yeare 1613.
when as this vnfortunat *Battori* went to giue an account vnto God of the bad gouernment of
his eſtate.

Bethlem Gabor made prince of Tranſylvania.

Some few dayes after, *Bethlem Gabor* was openly declared Prince of Tranſylvania by the
Baſſa *Serder*; who gaue him this aduertiſement at his introduction; *Battori ſhall ſerue for an*
example to bad Princes; I doe not thinke that you will follow his ſteps. Beware that you attempt not any
thing without the priuitie of my Maſter. Maintaine peace with your neighbours,and make men of experience M
and honeſty of your Councell. Tranſylvania did yet feare the continuance of a ſtorme of
a fatall Warre; when as in leſſe than forty daies it ſaw it ſelfe ſetled in the calme of ſweet
peace,by the general acknowledgement which all the Townes made vnto *Bethlem Gabor*, and

the

A the oath of fidelitie which they tooke vnto him as to their elected Prince; notwithſtanding that the Emperor had imploied all his credit to hinder it. But the deſire of peace, and feare of the Turks armies, drew all the Gouernors of towns to acknowledge *Gabor*. Such were the affairs of Tranſylvania, diſordred by the Turk. Now let vs make an end of the remainder of the year 1612, the which we haue deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation of the affairs of this prouince.

We haue ſaid elſwhere, That the King of Perſia had offered conditions of peace to Sultan *Achmat*, much to his aduantage, ſeeing that he yeelded himſelfe the Turks tributary, in regard of certain lands which he had conquered from him. Now the Viſier *Naſſuf*, General of the army againſt the Perſian, brings his Embaſſadour to Conſtantinople to conclude this peace. B *Naſſuf* ariued with his army and the Perſian Embaſſador at Scudaret, right ouer againſt Conſtantinople, whither moſt of the Baſſa's of the Port went to ſalute him, and then returned. But the grand Viſier ſtaid there two days; on the third he paſt ouer to Conſtantinople, where hee was entertained at the water ſide by all the Baſſa's that accompanied him; an infinit number of Ianizaries going before with their pieces, and ſome of them in armor; after whom followed their Aga on horſeback: then came a great number of Iamoglans, and the Emirs or kindred of *Mahomet* with their green turbants, with many blind men ſhouting aloud: Theſe holy men caried the banner (as they ſay) of *Mahomet*, and the people ſtanding by kiſſed it with great deuotion as they paſt. After them came the Chaoux on horſeback, the Baſſa's, & then the chief Mufti, and laſt of all *Naſſuf Baſſa* himſelf: after whom followed the treaſure he brought with C him for the Emperor, being 234 Mules loden with gold and ſiluer. The Viſier as he paſt by the Sultans window bowed himſelfe very low vnto him, from whom hee had a nod with his head, and ſo ſet ſpurres to his horſe and rode away faſt, as the manner of the Turkes is when they ſalute a greater man than themſelues, preſently to run or ride away apace. The Viſier being come to the Serail, went in to the Sultan to kiſſe his hand; where hee continued a whole houre, the reſt of the Baſſa's attending without. There were preſent at this daies pompe the Emperors Embaſſador, the French, the Engliſh, Polonian, Low-Countries, and Venetian; the Perſian remaining ſtil at Scudaret. The grand Viſier as he paſt by the Emperors Embaſſador, put off his hat and ſaluted him, but not the reſt. The ſame day *Tomſho*, who had bin lately made Prince of Moldauia by the grand Seigniour, ſent many Polonians to Conſtantino- D ple, whom hee had taken in the Warres. All which (notwithſtanding they threw downe their Caps and offered to turne Turkes) were put to death. And within few daies after, the Viſier *Naſſuf* ſitting in the publique Divano, had three robes ſent him from the grand Seignior to grace him.

A Perſian Embaſſador comes to Conſtantinople.

Achmat hauing a will to let the Perſian ſee the magnificence of his Court, went out of Conſtantinople; and vnder pretence to go take the aire at his Country palace called *Darut Baſſa*, he takes occaſion at his return to make a ſtately entry into his Imperial city. The generall Surueyour being aduertiſed of his will, cauſed all the waies from his palace of *Darut* vnto the City to be couered with ſand, the which containeth two French leagues, or four Engliſh miles. This done, the Emperour parted for his retinue, and entred in pomp into Con- E ſtantinople. The order of his entry was in this manner. A great number of men at Armes marched firſt on horſebacke, and after them ſome troups of foot, the Cadies of Conſtantinople or men of juſtice; and all the Taliſmans, or thoſe of *Mahomets* Law, in very great numbers followed after: and after theſe followed the Viſiers and Baſſa's in very great pomp. After whom followed the Sultans houſhold, that is to ſay, ten men leading in their hands tenne goodly horſes richly capariſoned, the laſt of which had the bridle and ſaddle all couered with pretious ſtones: the Sultans Target was made faſt vnto the ſaddle, and vpon it did hang euen almoſt to the ground a great taſſel of pearls; and ouer all this, a long horſe cloath or couering for an horſe, the which was embroidered ſo thicke with pearle, as the ground could not be diſcerned. After which followed the reſt of the Emperours houſhold in diuers troupes: F firſt, fifty Ianizaries on foot, euery one of them leading dogs in leaſhes, Maſtifs, or Iriſh greyhounds: the goodlieſt of all were thoſe which the French Embaſſadour had preſented vnto the Sultan. Secondly, the grand Seigniors footmen, called Pelks, who were Perſians by Nation, all wel attired, wearing on their heads bonnets of ſiluer and gilt, in form of pots. Thirdly,

Achmats ſtately entry into Conſtantinople.

threeſcore archers on foot, in the middeſt of which the Sultan came, attired in a rich robe of G cloath of gold imbroidered with pearles and diamonds: his ſlaues were inricht after the ſame maner: his turbant couered with fiue plumes of black herons feathers, inricht with great Diamonds, and a chain of the ſame ſtones about the lower part of his turbant: vpon his little finger he had a diamond of a large bignes and ineſtimable price, which gaue a maruellous great light. He was proudly mounted vpon a goodly horſe richly capariſoned, the ſaddle was embroidred with gold, pearle, and Diamonds, the ſtirrops of pure gold ſet with many diamonds, and from the horſes neck did hang great taſſels of pearle, which were ſo great, that they were exceeding pretious. After the grand Seignior followed three men on horſebacke, carrying in their hands, the one his arms, the other his cloak, and the third his Imperial turbant; & theſe were attended on by certain Eſquires and gentlemen all on horſebacke. Then came the muſick after the Turkiſh maner, conſiſting of threeſcore men on horſebacke, which played vpon H Fiſes, Clerons, and trumpets. Next followed an hundred pages of the Sultans brauely mounted, and followed by many Eunuchs; fifty of which pages caried euery one a falcon vpon his fiſt, hauing their heads inricht with diamonds; and theſe were followed by thirty gards of the Port. Then came fifty falconers and huntſmen richly attyred and wel mounted; four whereof had either of them before him vpon his ſaddle bow a Leopard couered with cloath of gold: with a great number of other Pages who were very beautifull, choſen amongſt the infants of the tribute, and vnfortunatly appointed for the filthy and vnnatural pleaſures of their maſter; whoſe garments after the Turkiſh maner were pretious, and made of rich cloth of gold curled. They were followed by a great troup of yong men plainly attired in cloath, hauing vpon their I heads yellow caps pointed in form of a ſugar loafe, and theſe were ordained to ſerue the Sultans pages.

There were moreouer diuers Beglerbegs attending the Sultan in this pomp; as of Boſna, Buda, Romania, Natolia, and others; euery company going diſtinct, both of horſe and foot, with the Baſſa's ſeruants all gallantly attyred & wel mounted. And after them followed *Naſſufs* attendants, being fiue hundred in number richly armed. There were alſo the Kings Firemen, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or officers of gallies with ſpears in their hands: all that belonged to the Arſenal, the Carters which gouerned the carts going to war, and their captains; then the ſhot-men with their banner, and the Armorers all in armor with their banner. There were alſo the banners of the grand ſeignior *Mahomet*, and of the grand Viſier, euery one in his K order before the grand Seignior: and after all followed the Capigies and officers of his Kitchen. The number of all ſorts of attendants in this pomp was ſo great, as they were reckoned to be forty thouſand perſons.

The Perſian Embaſſador, for whoſe ſake *Achmat* had made this ſtately ſhew, to the end he might carry back into his country a pattern of the *Othoman* ſtate and greatneſſe, cauſed to bee caſt out before his lodging, when as the Sultan paſſed by, 100 pieces of ſilke, the which were gathered vp by the archers of his gard, wherof they made good purchaſe. All theſe magnificences, added to thoſe we haue formerly related at the mariages of the Sultans daughter and ſiſter; with other pomp celebrated in France, Spain, Naples, and Germany, for the mariages of *Lewis* 13, King of France, with *Anne* of Auſtria Infant of Spain; and of the Prince of Spaine L with the Lady *Elizabeth* of Bourbon the Kings eldeſt ſiſter; and for the coronation of the empreſſe, and the Emperors entry into Noremberg, may giue vnto this yeare 1612 the title of magnique or ſtately.

The Perſian preſents to the Sultan.

Foure daies after Sultan *Achmats* entry into the Imperal city, the Perſian Embaſſador had audience, and was admitted to kiſſe his hand. He preſented vnto his Maieſtie in the behalfe of the King of Perſia his maſter, foure hundred Balls of ſilke, a Beſonard ſtone as bigge as a mans fiſt, with ſome others that were leſſe; nine bags of leather ful of Turquoiſes, the which were a foot and a halfe long, and aboue foure fingers broad; a great number of Tapeſtries of Wooll, Silke, cloath of gold and ſiluer, with many other things of great price, and very rare. Their complements being ended, they began to treat ſeriouſly of a peace betwixt two great M and antient enemies, the Turk and the Perſian; the which after ſome difficulties was concluded vpon theſe conditions: That the Perſian King ſhould pay yearly vnto the Turkiſh Emperor by way of tribute, a quantitie of ſilk to the burden of two hundred camels: that the King

A of Perſia his ſonne ſhould be called Baſſa of Tauris, and that the Cadi or Soueraigne Iudge of that towne ſhould be ſent from Conſtantinople. This peace thus concluded to the Turks aduantage, the Perſian Embaſſador returned vnto his Maſter, hauing left moſt of his traine dead of the Plague at Conſtantinople. Being arriued at Tauris, the King of Perſia ſeeing this peace to be ſo diſhonourable, and burthenſome for him, he cauſed his Embaſſadours head to be cut off; and ſent backe the Chiaux, who was come from Conſtantinople to ſee him ſweare the peace. Some write that he did him ſome indignities, which made theſe two great Monarchs returne againe to armes.

The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*, after his returne to Conſtantinople, to ſhew his great power and authority, procured meanes to haue the Chimacham (who had formerly ſupplied the place B of the Grand Viſier in the abſence of *Amurath Baſſa*, and vntill the returne of *Naſſuf*) to be depriued of his Baſſaes place, and ſent preſently ouer vnto Scudaret, vnder pretence of preferring him to a gouernment neere vnto Trebizond in the confines of Turky, but with an intent to depriue him of his head. The friends of this Chimacham, (who were many and great in Court) ſeeing him ſo diſgracefully ſent away, and doubting *Naſſuf* his purpoſe, procured leaue of the Grand Seigniour to haue him ſent for backe againe, for that hee was an old man, and might from thenceforth liue at home in quiet; and for his former ſeruices done, a thouſand Aſpers a day allowed him for his entertainement: which *Naſſuf* tooke very diſcontentedly.

During the Perſian Embaſſadours abode at Conſtantinople, the Emperour *Matthias* (ſucceſſour C to *Rodulphus* his brother) ſent an Embaſſadour to the Sultan, to complaine of the enterpriſes which were made dayly vpon Tranſyluania, a Prouince which he ſaid belonged vnto him, as a dependance of his Realme of Hungary. This Embaſſadour called *Negroni* was receiued at the Court, and admitted to kiſſe the Sultans hand: but his Preſents were little eſteemed, for that they were of leſſe value than thoſe which they had lately receiued from the Perſian. His demands to haue the Prouince of Tranſyluania, were grounded vpon an Article inſerted among thoſe of the peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botskay*, at that time choſen Prince of Tranſyluania; that is to ſay, *That* Botskay *dying without iſſue male, Tranſyluania ſhould remaine at the diſpoſition of his Imperiall Majeſty*. This Article being read by *Negroni* in the Turks Councell, whither he had beene admitted; the Muphti or Soueraigne Prieſt of D *Mahomets* Law, anſwered, That it was contrary to his Law: ſo the demands of this Embaſſadour touching Tranſyluania were rejected, ſeeing that *Botskay* had no power from the Sultan (ſaid the Grand Viſier) to treat with the Emperour, and to giue him Tranſyluania after his death. *Negroni* grounded this gift of *Botskay* (mentioned in the ſaid Article) vpon the eighth Article of the peace betwixt the Turke and the Emperour, concluded in the Iſle of Dannow, by *Amurath* Viſier, and the Deputies of his Imperiall Majeſty, in theſe words; *That all which had beene granted in the treaty of peace made at Vienna, to* Botskay, *ſhould be duely and faithfully obſerued*. *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier replied, That the Baſſa *Amurath* being then Viſier, might erre in ſigning theſe Articles of the peace vpon the Dannow: and at the ſame inſtant he ſhewed forth ſome other Articles, whereas that was not inſerted; ſaying, That the Sultan E would faithfully performe thoſe and no others, preſſing the Embaſſadour *Negroni* to ſigne them; the which he refuſed to do: ſo as *Naſſuf* vſed ſome threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied, That he was in their power, and that in this caſe he had rather loſe his life, and die glorioully for the good of his maſters affaires, than to haue it taken from him at his returne to Vienna, with ſhame and infamy, hauing ſigned thoſe Articles. Finally, he promiſed to aduertiſe his Imperiall Majeſty, and to certifie them of his pleaſure: which promiſe for this time ended the contention.

The Emperour Matthias ſends an Embaſſador to Conſtantinople

The malice and falſhood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this yeare, Sultan *Achmat*, after the reception of the Perſian Embaſſadour, and the ſtately entry hee made into Conſtantinople, went to lie at Adrianople, where his Ianizaries and Spahics began to mutiny, ſpurning at their Bread and Rice which F was giuen them for their dayly entertainement: and being demanded the reaſon of their inſolency; they anſwered, That no Emperor before him had ſo carried out his men in the depth of Winter: which anſwer did much inſence *Naſſuf Baſſa*. This Viſier was in ſuch credit with the

the Grand Seigniour, as during his abode at Adrianople, hee came three times in perſon pri-
uately to viſit him, who grew ſo powerfull ouer his maſters affections, as he obtained a priui- G
ledge, That it might not be lawfull for any man to ſpeake with the Grand Seigniour priuat-
ly, but himſelfe. Being returned to Conſtantinople, there hapned a great fire, in which there
were fiue hundred houſes burnt. The Viſier *Naſſuf* comming to ſee it quenched, and fin-
ding ſome Ianizaries more carefull to breake open lockes, and rifle ſhoppes, than to doe any
good ſeruice, he ſtrucke out the braines of one of them with his mace, and brake the arme of
another.

It had beene an antient cuſtome in Conſtantinople, that the owner of the houſe with all
his family where the fire began, ſhould be put to death for their negligence: but it happe-
ning that the Emperors owne Seraill, in the time of *Mahomet* father to *Achmat*, being ſet on
fire, *Cicala Baſſa* preſented a petition vnto him, that this cuſtome might be aboliſhed, holding H
it vniuſt that other men ſhould be put to death, and the ſame let paſſe in the Emperors owne
houſe: whereunto he yeelded, holding it reaſonable. And ſoone after there hapned another
great fire, at which the Viſier cauſed many of the Ianizaries to be hanged; finding them too
buſie in rifling houſes; and he went vp and downe the ſtreets with his ſcimiter in one hand,
and a Ianizaries head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior ſent Holy Wa-
ter vnto the Viſier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahomets* garment, the which being poured
into the fire, the Turks ſaid, it ceaſed preſently; yet by the report of viſible witneſſes, it bur-
ned foure houres after. The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf* was a cruell enemy to the Ianizaries, of whom
he ſent ſixteene thouſand away into Aſia, and would not ſuffer any moe to be made, but onely I
Spahies: and ouer ſuch Ianizaries as remained he made his owne ſeruants to be Churbagies,
and Agaes or Captaines ouer fifties and hundreds; fortifying himſelfe by all means he could
deuiſe, againſt the future time, to preuent his ſudden ruine; but all this could not preſerue
him from a ſhamefull fall, as you ſhall hereafter heare.

Troubles in the Realme of Fez and Moroco.

In the meane time let vs paſſe vnto Affricke, to obſerue the troubles which fell in the
Realmes of Fez and Moroco; the quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif*
Muley Achmet, Ben-Abdalla his nephew, and the victories of *Cidan* againſt *Abdalla*. The Fa-
mily of the *Xerifs* Princes of Fez and Moroco, tooke its beginning ſome hundred and foure
yeares ſince, from *Mahomet Xerif*, borne at Tigumedet in Dara, at this preſent one of the Pro-
uinces of Moroco: he was Alfaqui or preacher of *Mahomets* Law, who ſeeing the diuiſions be- K
twixt the Souereigne Princes of thoſe Realmes, and that the Portugalls had ſeiſed of the
chiefe Forts of Moroco, he began with three of his ſonnes, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to
lay the foundation of a new Monarchy, ſupported by three pillars. That is to ſay, by a counter-
feit piety and diſguiſed Religion; vpon a godly pretext to make warre againſt the Portugals
Chriſtians which were in Affricke; and vpon a paſſionate deſire to retire the Mahometane
Moores which were in their pay, to the end they might by that meanes weaken them, and
chaſe them with more eaſe out of the territories of Moroco. The King who at that time held
the ſcepter of Fez (ſeeing nothing but the outſide of the *Xerifs* deſignes) ſuffered his three
ſonnes to diſplay their ſtandard againſt the Chriſtian Portugals in the Realme of Moroco:
Innouations and nouelties are commonly pleaſing to the common people. At this beginning, L
theſe three leaders were followed by a great number of ſouldiers; they vanquiſhed in many
encounters, and the bruit of their new victories flying into the Realme of Moroco, retired the
Moores from the Portugals ſeruice, whom they defeated ſoone after, with their Comman-
der *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their loſſe; for *Abdalla* the eldeſt of theſe three
brethren loſt his life in this combat. But they ſeiſed vpon the great towne of Taradente in
the Prouince of Sus, and of the Prouinces of Herra, Ideuaca, Vbideuaca, Cuz, Guzule, and in
a manner of the whole country betwixt Moroco and mount Atlas, ſetling their principality
in Taradente, whereas the *Xerif* their father carried the name of the Gouernour of the Pro-
uince of Sus.

The King of Moroco fearing the greatneſſe of theſe new Conquerours, diſſembled the M
deſire hee had to bring them vnder, aſſuring himſelfe that time would preſent him ſome
good occaſion: ſo ſuffering them to enter into Moroco: but they preuented him, they tooke

A away his life by poyſon, and ſeiſed vpon his Realme. The King of Fez, who had by an indiſcreet
ſimplicity ſuffered them to take arms, and by that means to open the way to a great fortune,
hee ſaw afar off the tempeſt of theſe vnjuſt ſpoilers to fall vpon Moroco and other places.
The feare of the like calamity did much afflict his minde: but the *Xeriſs* entertained this
idle Prince with faire ſhewes; they abuſed his bounty, and with the fourth part of the rich
ſpoiles which they had taken in ſo many townes and Prouinces, they lull his diſtruſt aſleepe:
moreouer, they ſend him the tribute due for the Realme of Moroco. *Hamet* takes vpon him the
name of King of Moroco; *Mahomet* that King of Sus, in the towne of Taradente; and by a
good intelligence betwixt them, they make themſelues fearefull to all thoſe countries; ſo as
they haue nothing more to feare, than the threats and vengeance of heauen. They then began
B to contemne the King of Fez, and plainly to deny the tribute of Moroco, pretending for their
reaſon, that they were iſſued from the line of *Mahomet*. This contempt made the King of Fez
to open his eies; he finds the faults paſt, by the intereſt of the preſent: he ſees the *Xeriſs* had
abuſed the liberty which hee had giuen them: whereupon hee went to field with an army of
18000 men, and planted his ſiege before Moroco; but as his enemies party was ſtronger than
his, ſo he was chaſed away, and his army defeated at the paſſage of a riuer. Thus the *Xeriſs* became
peaceable poſſeſſours of Moroco. The peace of the country made theſe men idle, and
idleneſſe drew the two brethren into quarrell; they muſtred vp their forces and came to fight,
where after two bloudy battels, *Mahomet* being victor, he tooke his eldeſt brother *Hamet*, depriued
him of his Realme and liberty, and made him end his daies miſerably in priſon. Thus
C God doth puniſh the vnjuſt ſpoiler of another mans good: we ſhall ſee in their poſterity the
continuance of the ſame quarrell.

The King of Fez beſiegeth Moroco, and is defeated.

Mahomet ſettled ſoueraigne in Moroco by bloud and fratricide, as monſtrous in ambition
as in cruelty, he turned the ſame armes wherewith hee had beaten and vanquiſhed his eldeſt
brother, againſt the King of Fez (whoſe improuidence had ſuffered *Mahomet* and his brethren
to take armes, vnder the deceitfull title and pretence of making warre againſt the Chriſtian
Portugals) he aſſaulted him with great forces, vanquiſhed him, tooke him priſoner, and depriued
him both of Realme and life. Thus the *Xeriſs* in the perſon of this *Mahomet* became Soueraigne
Princes of Fez ond Moroco. The victory ſo happily gotten of ſo many nations, made
him fearefull; but by his cruelty hee drew vpon his deſcendents the juſt judgement of him
D who puniſheth the exceſſe and enormity of crimes vnto the fourth generation. His poſterity
was miſerable, the vnjuſt deſire of reigne (one ruining another) entertained the brethren in perpetuall
diſcord. For *Cidan* now King of Fez and Moroco, was lately expelled by his brother
Kequi; but afterwards Fortune changing her inconſtant fauour, *Kequi* was purſued by *Cidan*,
defeated, and forced in the yeare 1610 to ſaue his life in Algarbe in Portugall. *Abdalla* the
ſonne of *Kequi* ſeeing his fathers affaires thus deſolate, retires himſelfe towards the mountaines
in the Prouince of Sus: where finding opportunity to annoy his vncle *Cidan*, he made
daily incurſions vpon his territories, with ſome troups of Arabians who had joyned with him
being 200 horſe and 200 foot. But finding this to be a long courſe to attain vnto the conqueſt
of the Realme from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himſelfe that ſome certaine
E counterfeit fiction in Religion, had in former times brought in his grandfather, and made him
abſolute Lord of a great country; wherefore he made vſe of a propheſie forged in his ambitious
ſpirit: and to worke an impreſſion in the peoples minds (eaſie to be moued with a paſſion
of Religion) he ſent certaine religious Mahometans through the country, with a ſhew of
holy ſimplicity, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Falquere* a man of holy
life, had giuen vnto a ſonne of his a Drumme of an admirable power and vertue, commanding
him expreſſely, to keepe it carefully, vntill that a Prince called *Abdalla* ſhould come into Moroco,
being expelled by the injuſtice of his owne bloud: and that then he ſhould beat this
Drumme, and that the people at the ſound thereof might go to the war with all ſafety; that it
ſhould be helpefull to them, giue peace vnto the Realme, and ſettle all the cuſtomes and antient
lawes to their common content. Thus they preached this propheſie, the which they ſaid
F was now accompliſhed, ſeeing that this propheticall Drum had beene found, that *Abdalla* the
eldeſt Prince of the houſe of the *Xeriſs* had cauſed it to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow
the war for the common good of the country.

A propheſie inuented by Kequi, and preached by religious Turks.

Abdalla defeated and ſlaine.

Theſe vanities being preached by theſe ignorant and malicious Religious Turks, increaſed the number of *Abdallaes* party: whereof *Cidan* being aduertiſed, he ſent a great army againſt him into the Prouince of Sus, vnder the command of *Alcas Elmye*, to hinder the progreſſe of his deſignes: But *Abdalla* finding theſe forces to approch, retired himſelfe towards the mountaines, from whence he might charge the enemies army; the which he did ſo happily, as within few daies he cut off fiue thouſand of his men. This ſucceſſe did ſo aduance his affaires, as his troups encreaſed daily, ſo as *Cydan* was forced to go with new forces to fight with him, the which was the cauſe of his ruine: for at this time he was inueſted, and notwithſtanding the good ſucceſſe of his falſe propheſies, lightly grounded vpon the ſound of a Drum, he was defeated and ſlaine in this yeare 1612. G

The miraculous King of Mauritania.

Gotardus, diſcourſing of this miraculous King of Mauritania, whom he cals *Muley Hamet*, writeth that he was charmed with diueliſh incantations, and freed from all outward force, carying himſelfe for a Diuine Prophet: That with one hundred and eighty horſe, and two hundred foot, he went to make head againſt *Cydan* King of Moroco, hauing forty thouſand men: That his ſouldiers (who were ſo few in number) being ready to fly, he perſuaded them with a cunning ſpeech to prepare to fight: That comming neere to *Cydans* campe, they might ſee a great Army of enemies fighting againſt them, in which there were fiue thouſand of *Cydans* Army ouerthrowne, and the reſt put to flight, and yet *Hamet* had not aduanced with his troupes: That within few daies after, comming with his troupes tyred to a riuer ſide, hee commanded them not to drinke nor waſh in that riuer, which if they did they would die: but ſome neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirſt died ſuddenly. He tooke many places in thoſe mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly ſubdued; his forces encreaſing dayly, hauing fiue and twenty thouſand men, and vowing to goe againſt the Chriſtians, more came vnto him: ſo as he went againſt *Cydan* with a good Army, who likewiſe attended him. *Hamet* perſuaded his ſouldiers that no ſhot could hurt them; ſo as they aſſaulted *Cydans* campe with ſuch fury, as within leſſe than an houres ſpace they had ſlaine aboue ſix thouſand men, and put the reſt to flight. They write that *Hamet* loſt not aboue foure or fiue, and that ſuch as were ſtrucke with any bullet, ſhewed markes but no wounds; aud that the great ordnance either ſhot ouer them, or the pouder vented out at the touch hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan* hauing loſt his brother in the fight, fled with all his treaſure, to recouer new forces, and in the meane time *Hamet* made himſelfe maſter of the whold Countrey. There were certaine Hollanders admitted vnto him, whom they found ſitting vpon a carpet made of the barke of trees, hauing a white ſhirt, and a long garment vpon it, a red cap on his head, bare thighes, and red ſhooes, a bag about his necke, and in it he had his Alcaron, a ſhort crooked ſword and a dagger hanging by him. Being ſaluted by the Hollanders, hee willed them to ſit downe by him, telling them that hee was ſent from Heauen, to purge the World from euill, and to prepare the Law of God; to expell *Cidan* out of his Kingdome, and to reſtore peace vnto the World: wherefore hee aduiſed them not to haue any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to aſſiſt him in any ſort. They obſerued many markes vpon his body, he had one blew tooth, all the reſt beeing white, haire vpon either ſhoulder, a red circle in the palme of his right hand, and the proportion of a ſpurre vpon his right foot. Hauing gotten ſome victories againſt *Cydan*, and taken the towne of Moroco, in the end his diuelliſh art failing him, he was ſlaine as you haue heard. Such were the affaires of Affricke, in the Realme of Fez and Moroco. H I K L

Cydan King of Fez ouerthrowne.

A great drought & ſterility at Algier.

But in Algier a wonderfull drought had cauſed cruell combuſtions; it had ſo deuoured the fruits of the earth before their maturity, as there followed a wonderfull famine throughout the whole land. The Turks attributed the cauſe of their miſery ſometimes to their ſins; then to the comming of the Moores, who had beene expelled out of Spaine, as a pernicious vermine; and ſometimes to the licentiouſneſſe of Chriſtians, which liued in thoſe places. Wherefore in the beginning of May this yeare, the Iudge of the towne ordained, That all the Turks ſhould make their deuout praiers to *Mahomet* their Prophet to obtaine raine, ſo neceſſary in that country; that the Moores ſhould depart the towne within three daies vpon paine of death; and that all the Chriſtians, as well free as bond ſlaues, ſhould cauſe their heads and their beards to be ſhauen, this was ſpeedily executed; for the Turks decrees require a M

prompt

A prompt obedience. But the miſerable Moores which could not get out of Algier within their three daies prefixed, detained either by ſickeneſſe, or ſome other impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteene daies, there was nothing ſeene within the towne but proceſſions of Turks without Turbants, crying and howling after their manner to obtaine raine from their falſe Prophet: but he which commands Soueraignty ouer times, from whoſe hand proceed faire weather and raine, and which makes the earth fruitfull, held the pipes of Heauen yet ſtopped, to open them at more religious and holy vowes than the ſuperſtitious clamours of theſe Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the redemption of captiues, hearing that the Turkes meant to reuenge their miſeries vpon them, and to ruine a little Chappell which the Chriſtian ſlaues had in the priſon, for the pious exerciſes of their Religion, B obtained (by the means of *Bius* Conſull of the French in Algier) permiſſion for the Douan, or Turkiſh Iudge, to make proceſſions, and to pray vnto God to ſend them the dew of Heauen, which was ſo neceſſary for them. All the Chriſtian ſlaues which were priſoners, continued their deuotions for the ſpace of fiue daies: but on the fourth day being the eighth of May, there fell ſuch abundance of raine vpon Algier, as theſe poore Chriſtians ſeeing their praiers heard in the middeſt of the enemies of their faith, gaue infinite thankes vnto God for his great mercy and grace.

The deuout praiers of the Chriſtians obtaine raine.

Theſe miſerable Chriſtian ſlaues were ſtill detained in yrons and cruell ſeruitude, by this accident. This *Murroy* of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, accompanied with two others of the ſame Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirty and ſix: but C when he was ready to embarke them, their euill fortune would haue it, that the gallies of Genoa running alongſt that coaſt, landed ſome men neere vnto Algier, where they tooke the Baſſaes ſonne of that towne, with many other Turks, and amongſt this number a Virgine of Algier, of a very noble Family, and of as rare a beauty, for the miſery of theſe ſlaues: for that whenas the Baſſaes ſon and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the father had ſent, the faire Algerian Virgine was ſtill detained by a Captaine of the Genowaies, who had retyred to Caluy an Iſland adjoyning, there to ſatisfie his deſires with more eaſe, vpon the fraile and fading perfection of this faire ſlaue, which had depriued him of his liberty. In the meane time the Baſſa of Algier ſeeing his ſon returned with the other Turks, and not the Algerian Virgine, commanded that the hundred thirty and ſix ſlaues ſhould be put againe into yrons, D with the three Religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine beauty, or rather the paſſion of the Genowaies, who holds the poſſeſſion ſo deare, makes a great number of Chriſtian ſoules to ſuffer by inſupportable ſeruitude, howſoeuer they of his Nation (flattering his diſordered luſt) ſay that his deſire was, to win her to God, and to make her a Chriſtian, cauſed him to keepe her ſo carefully.

Theſe ſuffered in Algier the loſſe of their liberty: But a Capuchen Frier, a Florentine by Nation, endured at Tunes the loſſe of his life, by the cruelty of the Moores chaſed out of Spaine, and retired into thoſe countries. This religious man being a ſlaue among the Turks, attended dayly from Florence, or from ſome other place, mony to redeeme his liberty: but it hapned one day diſputing in a Barbars houſe with a Moriſque, concerning Chriſtian Religi- E on, the zeale of his faith tranſported him ſo far, as to ſay among diuers Turks, That his Religion was better than that of *Mahomets*. Theſe words tooke criminouſly in that place, were reported by the Moriſques to the Cadi or Iudge of the towne, whom they preſt with ſuch horrible clamors and cries, as he pronounced ſentence of death againſt this Capuchen. He was deliuered vnto them, and they ſtripped him naked, leading him with infamy through Tunes, ſome ſpitting in his face, others caſting durt at him, and ſo they led him out of the towne, where they tyed him vnto a poſt, and they being cruelly inſenced by a ſpeech which a Morrabour or religious Turke ſaid vnto them, *That he among them that gaue him not one blow with a ſtone, ſhould be no good Turke*; they ſtoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his body, and threw the aſhes into the winde.

A Capuchen of Florence in captiuity at Tunes.

He dies gloriouſly for the faith.

F The martyrdome of this Capuchen, was followed by the conſtant confeſſion (amidſt the violence of torments) of a penitent Renegado, a Florentine by Nation, and Captaine of the chiefe gallie of Chio; foure Frenchmen being ſlaues in the Iſland of Chio, in the patron

An enterpriſe of foure ſlaues.

or chieſe gally, belonging to the Bey or Gouernour of the Iſland, they reſolued to recouer their liberty with the hazard of their liues, to returne into France, and carry into ſome Port of Chriſtendome that gally, being the beſt appointed in the whole hauen. They drew vnto their party the Captaine which commanded, being a Florentine Renegado. Their enterpriſe ſhould haue beene executed when as they ſhould goe to land to cut wood. But whether that the ſcribe were trecherous to his companions, or tranſported with ſome raſh indiſcretion; being on land, hee ſpake theſe words aloud, the which ouerthrew both the deſigne, and them that projected it; *Hoe, we will returne into Chriſtendome.* A Turke which was neere, taking hold of theſe words, reported them vnto the Patron; who preſently layed hold vpon the Scribe, and drew from him the confeſſion of all the enterpriſe. He preſently ſends an hundred men towards the gally, to ſeiſe vpon the foure French ſlaues and the Captaine. But theſe fiue made ſuch a generous reſiſtance, as if the other ſlaues, who were for the moſt part Moldauians, or of the Prouinces which border vpon the blacke ſea, had had the courage to fight for their liberty, without doubt the French-mens enterpriſe had ſucceeded happily. But what could fiue men do againſt an hundred? yet they ſlew fifteene, and wounded many: the foure Frenchmen were all ſlaine, and the Florentine Captaine was taken aliue, and reſerued to the rigour of a cruell death. For they continued him ſix houres together in moſt violent torments, hee ſtill calling vpon the holy and ſacred name of *Ieſus Chriſt*, euen to the laſt gaſpe, and deteſting the errours and falſhood of the law of *Mahomet*. This hapned in October this yeare.

The Vnited Eſtates ſend an Embaſſador to Conſtantinople.

A little before, the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, and Count *Maurice* ſeeing the loſſes which the ſhips of Holland ſuffered in the Mediterranean Sea, many of them being taken by the Turkiſh gallies, and a great number of their men made ſlaues: to the end they might bee freed from that danger, and haue a ſafe paſſage for their ſhips, and procure liberty for their captiues, they reſolued to make a league with the Turke. Wherefore they ſent *Cornelius Hage* to Conſtantinople: who not onely willingly accepted of that Embaſſie, but performed it with ſuch diſcretion, as hee purchaſed great credit and commendation to himſelfe, and much profit to the Prouinces. He had reſolued at firſt to paſſe through Hungary; but he found ſo many croſſes and obſtacles, by ſome that were Creatures to the Pope and Spaniard, as he was forced to turne out of the way, and fetch a great circuit. Firſt of all, he fell into the hands of the Archduke *Ferdinand*, who cauſed him to be examined, and admoniſhed to deſiſt from his purpoſe: After which he was toſt at Sea, and in the end hauing ſurmounted all dangers, he recouered Conſtantinople, the firſt of May. Hee had expreſſe charge from the Vnited Eſtates to labour for three things. The firſt was, to treat of the deliuerance of the Hollanders that were ſlaues. The ſecond, to make a league with the Turke. And the third, to obtaine from him a free nauigation for the Hollanders, throughout all the ſeas and ports of his Empire.

Preſents ſent from the Vnited Eſtates to the Turke.

This Embaſſadour was brought to kiſſe the Sultans hands, and was fauorably receiued: he preſented vnto his Majeſty in the name of the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, his Letters of Embaſſie, with the Preſents which follow: Three birds of Paradiſe of rare & precious plumes, wonderfull goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound ſterling: two veſſels of Chriſtall wonderfull rich and beautifull: foure other veſſels made of fiſhes bones, whereas the Art ſeemed miraculous in the grauing: forty pieces of cloath of gold of diuers colours: fiue pieces of ſilke, fiue of Damaske, fiue of ſilke watered, and fiue plaine: A ſtaffe of an Elephants tooth grauen with admirable induſtry. A Parret ſhut in a cage of Chriſtall, ſo artificially done, as no man could diſcerne the entry: and many faire and rich table-clothes of Holland cloth, moſt part powdred with floures to the life, and wrought in their liuely colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All theſe things ſhew ſufficiently, That the Eſtates from the beginning or ſoone after haue raiſed handy-workes as well as traffique and nauigation to the higheſt point of perfection.

A league betwixt the Turke and the Hollanders.

The ſixth of Iuly following, the league was ſworne betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour, and the Vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promiſed to cauſe to be ſet at liberty, all the Hollanders that were detained ſlaues within his Empire: That the

A traffique ſhould be free for the Hollanders ſhippes throughout all his ſeas and hauens: and moreouer hee granted, That the Eſtates ſhould haue an Embaſſadour reſiding at his Port. This alliance with the Turke, for the which they haue ſo often, and with little reaſon blamed the French, hath beene affected and ſought by the Engliſh and Spaniards, as we haue ſaid elſewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whoſe Eſtates proceed in all their affaires with ſuch weight and meaſure, as it ſeemes they doe nothing but with great reaſon, and to good purpoſe.

The Moriſques chaſe the Iewes out of Pera.

About the end of this yeare, the Iewes whoſe long ſlauery thoughout the Word, reprocheth their wretched and miſerable obſtinacy, receiued at Pera neere Conſtantinople the weight of a furious tempeſt which fell among them, ſtirred vp againſt them by the malice of B the Moriſques Granadines chaſed out of Spaine, and retired into the Leuant. Theſe hauing by Preſents wonne the fauour of the Cadi, or Iudge of the place, who was a Negro newly ſetled in that charge by the Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*; they obtained power from him to thruſt all the Iewes out of Pera, and to ruine their Synagogues. This power they executed with all violence: And yet theſe miſerable Iewes durſt not make their complaints vnto the Magiſtrate, except one of their ſect which dwelt in the Iſle of Chio, who being then at Conſtantinople, and ſuppoſing hee had more credit than the reſt, went to complaine to this Cadi Negro, who preſently cauſed to bee giuen vnto him fiue hundred blowes with a cudgell, in ſtead of doing him juſtice; ſo dangerous a thing it is to haue to doe with ſuch vnjuſt Magiſtrates.

C The inſolencies of the Moriſques tranſported them further: for after they had expelled the Iewes out of their dwellings, they threatned to doe vnto the Chriſtians at Pera, as much as had beene done vnto them in Spaine: and they bragged, That they would ſeiſe vpon their Churches, and eſpecially of that of the Franciſcan Friers, the which was reaſonable faire for the place. But the French Embaſſadour, hauing made his complaint to the chiefe Viſier, he prohibited them to make any attempt againſt the Chriſtians, vpon paine of rigorous puniſhment. This prohibition ſtaied their fury: but they did not forbeare in all other occaſions to ſhew the cruell hatred they owe vnto Chriſtians: ſo as through all the Leuant, in all encounters where they come, they do a thouſand times more miſchiefe than the Turks themſelues.

The Turks army for Tranſyluania.

D At the ſame time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawne together a mighty army to go into Tranſyluania; he cauſed it to campe in tents neere vnto Conſtantinople, about his palace called Darut Baſſa, whither the people of Conſtantinople went to walke, and to ſee his forces: within few daies after, he went to Hadrianople; meaning from thence to proceed in his voyage, carrying with him all the chiefe men of his Port, except the Baſſa of the ſea, or Admirall, who remained at Conſtantinople, to haue a care of the city. And for the greater ſafety thereof, this Baſſa cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould go out of his houſe, nor keep any light in it after the ordinary cry, which is made an houre within night, when as the Taliſmans crying from the tops of their Moſques, inuite the people to make the Sala, or prayer. After the publication of this ordinance, he ſent certaine Chiaux to entreat all the Embaſſadours E reſiding at the Port, not to ſuffer their people to goe out by night, to the end that their liberty might not ſerue as a dangerous example to others. But notwithſtanding all the Baſſaes entreaties and prohibitions, three Engliſhmen of the Embaſſadours traine, went out by night into the ſtreet, where they were met by the Prouoſt of Pera, who tooke them, and preſently (without reſpect of the quality) cauſed either of them to haue an hundred and fifty blows with a cudgell, and then committed them to priſon, the dores whereof are neuer opened but with a ſiluer key: ſo ſtrictly do they obſerue in Turky the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of Perſons.

About the end of the yeare, the Patriarch of Conſtantinople (by reaſon of diuers complaints made againſt him) was depriued by the Grand Viſier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of F Alexandria, (a learned and religious Biſhop) was (much againſt his will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all ſuch as had wrought his ouerthrow; but he himſelfe was baniſhed into the Iſle of Rhodes. In his paſſage, the barke wherin he he went was caſt vpon Mytilene, in which place he renounced all right and claime to the Patriarchſhip before the Biſhop of that place, and reſigned it to the Biſhop of Patras: whereupon G the Biſhop came from Patras, to Conſtantinople, and laboured with the Viſier *Naſſuf* for the place: who vpon promiſe to pay him fifteene thouſand Chequines (which is ten thouſand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus* the late elected Patriarch vnderſtanding, he came with all the Grecians to expoſtulate the buſineſſe with the Grand Viſier: Who anſwered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperours profit, and nothing againſt it; wherefore if they would giue ſo much as the other had promiſed, *Cyrillus* ſhould continue in the place. Which the people were very willing to performe; but *Cyrillus* refuſed it, and ſo the other was made Patriarch: who preſently ſent for the old Patriarch to come from Rhodes to make peace with him, for that they held not his excommunication H juſt, being not depriued by a Councell, but only by the King. About the ſame time, *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier ſent for the foure Embaſſadors, of England, France, Venice, and the States of the Low-Countries; and the reaſon why he ſent for them was, to raiſe their cuſtome on the hundred more than the Merchants had formerly payd.

The enterpriſe of the Great Duke of Tuſcany vpon Agliman.

Whileſt that the Sultan *Achmats* Army drew neere to Tranſyluania, and fortified the places which hee held in thoſe Countries, *Coſmo de Medicis* Great Duke of Tuſcany bent his generous deſignes againſt the Fort of Agliman in Caramania, in old time called Cilicia, a Prouince which in the writings of Antients hath beene honoured with two famous Cities, that is to ſay, Tharſis the Countrey of Saint *Paul*, and Seleucia, the Fort and Port whereof is called Agliman, a hauen which in old time hath continued within it's boſome the fearefull I forces of the Pyrats of thoſe daies: from thence in former times hath come forth a powerfull army of pyrats with a thouſand ſayle, ſo proudly rigged as many of them had their ſayles of purple, the tackling of gold thred, and the oares garniſhed with ſiluer, markes of the ſpoiles of aboue foure hundred cities ruined by thoſe pyrats, who ſtroke a terrour euen to the Romans, and forced them, to auoid their fury, to ſet to ſea that great fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great was Generall.

1613

The number of the Dukes gallies, and the commanders.

The trophy erected vpon the walls of Agliman, of the heads of forty Florentines, loſt in a Ship called the Proſper, by the ignorance of the Captaine which commanded in it, made the Great Duke to ſtudy to haue his reuenge for this afront; and his deſire to abate the pride of the common Enemy, eleuated his minde to generous enterpriſes. In the end of March K this preſent yeare 1613, he armed ſix Gallies vnder the command of the Admirall *Inghirami*, the which hee manned with ſix companies of foot commanded by *Iulio de Conty*, called *Montano*, Generall at land, beſides forty Knights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good number of Gentlemen aduenturers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis*. This fleet parted from Ligorne, and came to Ciuita Vecchia: in the beginning of Aprill they tooke in many Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, which attended them, and would be partakers in the enterpriſe; the which were, the Earle of Candale, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Eſpernon, *Cipierre, Themines, De Vic, Monterrault, De la Tour,* and his brother *Boiſsiere, Villandre, Vernegue, Du Pleſsis, De la Motte magnus, Auenes, Del Tour, Sainct Cyre, Monplaiſir,* and *Loyres*. About the middeſt of Aprill the gallies landed in the night neere vnto a little towne in Aſia the leſſe, L called Ieronda, held for that Geronda of the Antients: but their diſcent was fruitleſſe, they found it deſart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had preuented all ſurpriſes. They returned againe to their gallies, and ſailing towards the Eaſt, they encountred three veſſels like vnto their Caramouſſals, the which they ſet vpon and tooke: and about the fifteenth of May, hauing ſcoured the Leuant ſeas, they reſolued to attempt Agliman. Vpon the way they tooke a Veſſell called Grippe, which inſtructed them of the eſtate of the Fortreſſe: they vnderſtood there were two Gallies of Cyprus in the Port, that the place was well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and guarded without by a good number of horſemen, and that within few daies after, one of the ſaid gallies ſhould come out of the Port of Agliman, and go to the Iſland of Papadula, to fetch a new maſt. *Inghirami* thought to preuent it, carrying his M whole fleet thither, the which he layd cloſe in the Iſland to ſurpriſe the Turkiſh Galley; but it hauing diſcouered his fleet, put out to ſea, and with ſpeed returned to the Port of Agliman;

A togiue the alarme vnto the country. Notwithſtanding the Chriſtians reſolued to aſſault it, they went with their fleet to the port Caualier, twelue miles from Agliman, from whence they ſent a long boat to diſcouer: the which brings them word that the whole country was in armes. Theſe newes might well haue danted the courages of ſome that had been leſſe generous; yet they paſſe on and about three of the clocke in the morning they came neere the ſhore, being couered with the ſilence of the night, ſo as before ſix of the clocke they had made their landing about a mile and a halfe from the port. The Seignior of *Montano* and the Earle Candale with ſome few choice men landed firſt, to diſcouer: a mile from the ſhore they encountered the Turkiſh horſemen, yet notwithſtanding *Montano* commanded they ſhould finiſh their landing, leauing twenty men for the guard of euery gally.

The Chriſtians land at Agliman.

B This fort of Agliman is ſeated vpon a little pleaſant hill, which looks towards the South: It extends from the hill vnto the ſea ſhore: the forme is ouall; that part which is next to the Sea is altogether Meridionall, and the other which riſeth vp to the top of the hill, lookes towards the North. The wals are built of good ſtone and lime, the which are fiue faddome high, and one broad. Within there was a wall drawne from the Eaſt to the Weſt, which diuides it into two vnequall parts, the which they enter by a port ſet in the midſt. The circuite of the wall is fortified with eight towers, whereof fiue be whole, and three are but halfe towers: thoſe which be whole are of a ſquare forme, and haue fiue faddome in breadth on either ſide: the halfe towers haue the ſame greatneſſe on the one ſide, and halfe as much on the other; their height exceeds not the wall, vnleſſe it be that which is built on the top of the hill, C which is raiſed aboue eight foot aboue the wall. Within the place were aboue three hundred fighting men; with ſtore of victuals, munition for war, and many pieces of ordnance: without, there were an hundred horſe ſcouring vp and downe for the ſafegard of the place: and within the port there were two gallies, a Caramouſall, and a Greeke Brigandine, with ſome hundred and fifty fighting men. The order of the combat was diuided after this manner, by the Seignior *Montano* Generall at land: for the principall port, and that of the retreat, he ſent two companies of foot, which were thoſe of the Admirals gally, of the captains gally, and of Saint *Stephen*, with the petards, all vnder the charge of the Earle of Candale, who leading this forward, diſcouered a *Corps de gard* of Turks, horſe and foot together: whereof he preſently aduertiſed the Generall, ſending him word that he would march on towards the fort, and if the D Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many aduiſed him to returne to the gallies: but *Montano* allowed the reſolution of the Earle of Candale, who paſt on without charge vntil he came within an hundred and twenty paces of the wall, where he was charged before by the muſket ſhot of the fort, behinde by the gallies, and in flanke by them of the mountaine, with ſuch horrible howling and crying out, as the mariners which carried the Petards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the ground and fled away. The Baron of *Mont-terault*, and *Tiel*, a ſouldier of *Langueza* tooke them vp. They continued their way vntill they came within fifteene paces of the walls, when as twenty Turks ſallyed forth with a ſhew to make head againſt the earle of Candales troups: but ſeeing themſelues too weake, they fled preſently backe againe into the towne. The Earle aduanced to enter with E them, but the port was ſo ſoone ſhut as they were in: wherefore they muſt of force ſet the Petard to worke. But whileſt they were making it faſt vnto the gate, there fell a ſhowre of great ſtones vpon the troupe, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs bee preſent) was ouerthrowne and halfe ſlaine; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Dauanes*, and *Deltour* had taken vpon them the charge of the Petard, euery one carrying a part, to put it ſpeedily in execution.

The deſcription of Agliman.

Whileſt they were thus buſied to force the Port, the Sergeant Maior came vnto the Earle of Candale and told him, that there was a troupe of three hundred muſketiers come to charge him: theſe were two Beyes which came out of the gallies with their troups, by reaſon of the bad guard which the two companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their landing, had F kept. The Earle of Candale had left part of his troupe with the Petard, and turned head with the reſt againſt theſe Beyes to charge them: but they had no meaning to fight, but onely to make a ſhew, and ſeeing they ſhould be forced if they ſtaied longer, they tooke their way towards the mountaine, and in their retreat made many ſhot. The Chriſtians purſued them not,

The Turks come from their gallies to charge the Chriſtians.

not, holding it fitter to returne to the Petard, the which plaied ſo happily, as it made a breach capable for three men to enter in front.

The ſquadron of the Knights of S. *Stephen*, commanded by the Commiſſary *Lenzoni*, and the company of the gallie of S. *Mary Magdalen*, with two ladders were to aſſault the high tower. The company of the Admirall gally with one ladder, had charge to ſorce the Port of the retreat; and the company of the Gally S. *Iean* was to fight with the gallies and veſſels in the hauen: all theſe troups (being led by the Generall *Montano*, and by Captaine *Alexander* of Tarentum, Sargeant Major) marched in order towards the fort. But the petard hauing effected as we haue ſaid, the Earle of Candale entered firſt with all his troup, and ſuddenly ran vnto the port of the retreat, there to apply a petard, the which alſo very fortunately made a breach. The Turks amazed at the noiſe and forcing of their gates, fled vnto their walls; ſome retiring into their towers, and others into the barricadoes which they had made in the ſtreet. At the ſame inſtant they planted two ladders on the lower part of the towne ſomewhat neere adioyning to the ſea, whereof one was broken with the loſſe of them that were vpon it: by the other (notwithſtanding that the Turks horſemen charged them behind) a good number of Chriſtians got vp to the wals, making their way by their arms, whileſt that the reſt put the Turks to route: hauing taken their Cornet, they forced the reſt for to flee vnto the mountaines. The ſquadron of Knights with the company of the gallie of Saint *Mary*, hauing had a longer way to march, came not to the tower vpon the hill, vntill that after the petards had wrought their effects: ſo as the Turks being retired thither, they found very great reſiſtance, beſides the attempts of the enemies horſe which charged them behinde; thrice they planted their ladders againſt the wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commiſſary *Lanzoni*, hauing performed as much as a braue and reſolute man could doe in that extremity, reſolued to leaue that place, and go to ſome other where he might be more neceſſary: but being the laſt to make the retreat, hee was ſhot through with two musket bullets, and ſuddenly ſlaine. The company of the gally S. *Iohn*, vanquiſhed the two gallies in the port, whereof *Inghirami* the Admirall at Sea went to take poſſeſſion as ſoone as they had giuen him a ſigne, hauing the other two veſſels at liberty.

A bloudy combat within the fort.

The Chriſtians get the victory.

Within the fort in the towers, and at the barricadoes, the combat was hot and dangerous, the Turks had deſpaire and the aduantage of the place on their ſides. The Chriſtians thruſt on by their valour and conſtant reſolution, preſt them on all ſides; there was nothing to be ſeene but bloud, wounded, or dead men; but much more of the Turks ſide than of the Chriſtians. In the end after a combat of foure houres, the Turks fainted, ſome were taken, many were ſlaine, and the Chriſtians obtained an abſolute victory: but as it could not bee made without loſſe of their enemies, who made great reſiſtance: ſo there were fiue and fifty Chriſtians wounded, of which number *De Vic* a French Gentleman was one, who had a musket ſhot through his thigh, going to charge a troupe of Turks which were retired into a tower: and ſome Gentlemen were ſlaine; amongſt the which was young *Boiſſierre*, a French-man, whoſe valour in this action made them that ſaw him fight ſo generouſly, conceiue a certaine hope that hee would haue prooued a valiant Captaine, if Heauen had lent him longer life. The ſorrow for his death was generall, as well among the Italian troupes, as among thoſe of his owne Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other braue French Gentlemen were alſo ſlaine. The dead and wounded were carried vnto their Gallies: they emptied the Fort of all the Artillery, munition for warre, and victuals; the trophy of forty Florentines heads was beaten downe and all the houſes ſet on fire. Agliman beeing thus ruined, they ſhipped their booty, with three hundred and fifty Turkiſh ſlaues, hauing freed about two hundred and forty Chriſtians which were in yrons. The two Turkiſh Gallies were drawne out of the Port, and carried away with eight other veſſels. In this triumph as the Admirall *Inghirami* bent his courſe towards Ligorne; vpon the way a Turkiſh Caramouſall came into the middeſt of the fleet, as into a toyle: It prepared to defend it ſelfe, the patrons gally inueſted it, but not without loſſe; for the Turks made ſo great reſiſtance, as there were aboue foureſcore Chriſtians hurt or ſlaine; the Earle of Candale fighting alone at the prow of the Gally, by the permiſſion of the Generall. But this Caramouſall being taken, and the Florentine marriners entered, it ſplit and ſunke ſuddenly. The great Dukes gallies encountered ſome other

A ſmaller veſſels, the which they tooke, and afterwards arriued happily at their Port.

The Voyage of the gallies of Sicily in the Leuant.

The twelfth of Auguſt following, *Octauio* of Arragon Generall of the gallies of Sicily, by
the commandement of the Duke of Oſſunna, Viceroy in that Realme, parted from the hauen
of Palermo, with eight gallies well armed and manned, to ſaile into the Leuant. His firſt
touch was vpon the Iſland of Cerigo, where he vnderſtood that the Admirall Baſſa of the ſea
was gone from Conſtantinople with thirty gallies, bending his courſe to the Iſland of Negropont,
whereas ſixty others attended him in the hauen; and moreouer, that the gallies of
Rhodes prepared to goe and ioyne with him, all which Nauall fleet was to fall vpon Soria,
againſt the Turks Rebels.

They ſet vpon ten Turkiſh gallies.

Notwithſtanding theſe news, *Octauio* continues his courſe vnto the Iſland of Nicaria, where
B he vnderſtood by a Greeke veſſell, that the Turkiſh Admirall meant to ſend twelue gallies to
Rhodes, to guard certaine veſſels of the fleet, which came from Alexandria by the Channell
of Samos. True it is, that of twelue which were together when they parted, two were ſent by
the Bey or Captaine which commanded them, into the Iſland of Chio, ſo as there remained
but ten together. *Octauio* reſolued to charge theſe ten, cauſing his fleet to row that day, and
almoſt a whole night as ſecretly as they could, along the ſhore of the firme land of Natolia,
and at the breake of day hee arriued at the cape of Coruo, twenty miles from Chio; from
whence hee ſent his long boat to diſcouer. But in the meane time he himſelfe eſpied the ten
Turkiſh gallies not far from him; at ſight whereof he ordred his gallies for battell, with ſuch
diligence, as at Sun riſing he was about the enemies gallies, and had inueſted them. At his firſt
C approch he diſcharged all his ordnance, and then with his Admirall gally he ioyned with the
Turks gally which carried the ſtandard; the Spaniards entered, ſlew and maſſacred all that
made reſiſtance: the combat began at the prow, from whence they went to the poope, whereas
the Bey or Commander of the ten gallies ſtood, whom they forced to yeeld. In the meane
time the other gallies of Sicily charged the Turks ſo furiouſly, as they tooke fiue, all great
veſſels carrying lanthornes; two fled towards the land, hoping to ſaue themſelues, but the
Turks had ſcarce leiſure to leape to land, and to fly into the country, abandoning their veſſels
to the Spaniards, who purſued them; the other three gallies hauing gotten ſome aduantage
eſcaped by flight: ſo ſeuen only came into the Spaniards power, in the which they had a very
rich booty, freeing aboue a thouſand Chriſtian ſlaues, which were at the chaine, and by a
D ſtrange change of fortune, putting into their places the Turks which had inchained them.
Among the moſt remarkeable of the priſoners, were the commander of the ten gallies called
Sinan Bey of Grigna in the Iſland of Cyprus; the Bey of Alexandria (ſonne to *Piall Baſſa*, who
was defeated in the battell of Lepanto, by *Don Iohn* of Auſtria) and ſome Raiſe or Captaines,
and Patrons of gallies.

Sigiſmund Battori Prince of Tranſyluania dies at Prague.

This Summer the Emperor *Matthias* being gone to an aſſembly of the States at Presburg
in Hungary, in the meane time *Sigiſmund Battori*, who had beene Prince of Tranſyluania, and
ſo great a terrour and ſcourge vnto the Turks, as hee made *Sinan Baſſa*, hauing an army of one
hundred and fifty thouſand men, to fly thrice within ten daies from before him, and would
neuer endure the ſight of him, hee hauing but forty thouſand men in his army. But afterwards
E being the author of his owne misfortunes and miſeries, by his inconſtant humours,
he came and liued a priuat life at Prague, and there died of an Apoplexie. The Eſtates aſſembled
at Presburg, conſulted of the fortifying of their Frontier towns, and manning them with
good garriſons, knowing the infidelity of the Turks, and doubting that they would not obſerue
the truce. But there was ſome queſtion in the aſſembly, touching the admiſſions of
Germans into their garriſons: for that the Hungarians maintained they had a decree to the
contrary; and yet they could not defend themſelues without the aſſiſtance of Germanes: but
in the end it was concluded, that the Germans ſhould be admitted equally with the Hungarians
into their garriſons, but all other ſtrange ſouldiers ſhould be excluded. The Turks in
the meane time had burnt and ſpoiled many villages in Hungary and Tranſyluania, carried
F away many Chriſtians captiue, and committed many other acts of hoſtility, ſo as all men
feared a new warre in Hungary; but by the prouidence of God it was diuerted. For Sultan
Achmat marching towards Tranſyluania with a mighty Army, hearing vpon the way that
Bethlem Gabor was acknowledged Prince, vnder his protection, he turned head towards Conſtantinople.

A great Plague in Conſtantinople.

ſtantinople. But rather for the affaires of Aſia, whereas the Rebels of Natolia had ſpoiled G and burnt many places; and a certaine Arabian had reuolted againſt him, and vſurped the title of King, hauing drawne vnto his party fifty thouſand Rebels, the which did ouerrun and ſpoyle the Countrey which yeelded obedience vnto him, threatening his Dominions with a greater ruine. Moreouer, the Portugals and Spaniards had made many incurſions vpon his places joyning to the Red Sea, and had taken and ſpoiled Aden, a place of importance: ſo as all theſe diſorders haſtened his returne into Thrace, to ſend forces againſt his Turkiſh Rebels, and his Spaniſh enemies. But approching neere vnto the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople, the Plague was ſo violent, as hee ſtaied at Adrianople vntill the end of this yeare, when as that horrible contagion ceaſed. Hee then came vnto the City, whereas he made a very ſtately entry; before him there marched his ordinary guard of fiue and twenty or thirty thouſand H Ianizaries, all the Baſſaes of the Court following him in very great pompe, and before him there marched on horſebacke two of his ſonnes, the pillars and hope of his affaires, the eldeſt beeing about ſeuen or eight yeares old. Paſſing before the Moſques, the Taliſmans or Prieſts of his law, made ſacrifices in his preſence for his proſperity, they ſlew ſheepe and oxen vpon Altars erected for that purpoſe, then they cut them in pieces, and gaue them vnto the people.

All the Dogs ſent out of Conſtantinople.

The Grand Seigniour beeing returned to Conſtantinople after the great Plague, notwithſtanding the Turkes hold a firme opinion of Predeſtination, and that they ſhall not die before their appointed time, and that the time of their death is written in their foreheads; yet apprehending the infection, by the aduice of ſome about him, hee commanded I all the dogges in the City of Conſtantinople, to bee tranſported vnto Scutary in Aſia (a Towne antiently called Chriſopolis) and for the due execution thereof, euery houſholder was to bring in his dogge firſt to the Cadi (which is the Iudge of the place) and to receiue from him a Tuſcany or Ticket for his paſſage, or elſe hee was to pay foure Chequines; by which meanes there were tranſported to the number of fifty thouſand dogges. The reaſon of his ſending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his father, hee found that thirty yeares before, hee had ſent away all the dogges for feare of the infection. The Sultan commanded allowance of bread and fleſh to be carried euery day to ſuſtaine them, which not ſufficing, the inhabitants were much oppreſſed, and ready to fall into mutiny; but by the aduice of his Muphti, they were at length tranſported from thence to an Iſland that was not K inhabited, ſome ſixteene miles from Conſtantinople, where they all periſhed. Before their ſending away, the Grand Seigniour had propounded to his Muphti, to haue them all ſlaine: who made anſwere, That euery dogge had a ſoule, and therefore it was not fit to kill them.

The care of the Turks to win men to their Religion.

The Turkes are wonderfull glad when they win any one to their Religion, and ſeeke by all meanes to ſeduce them either by force or by faire perſuaſions; whereof you may ſee an aſſured proofe, by a Iew, who being turned Turke, ſoone after buying of grapes of another Turke, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his grapes: from words they fell to blowes, and the Iew-Turke beat the other, which hee endured very patiently to encourage him as it ſeemed in his new Religion. Soone after, another Iew came to the Turke who had L beene beaten, and demanded of him why hee had ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo abuſed? Who anſwered, You ſhall beat me as much as you will, turne Muſulman: ſo zealous they are to winne Proſelites.

A ſeuere puniſhment of a drunkard.

This yeare in October, the Turks obſeruing their feaſts of Bairan (which is our Eaſter) the which they obſerue twice a yeare; a Turke hauing drunke Wine too freely (the drinking whereof is forbidden amongſt them, although they loue it well, and drinke in priuate) was apprehended, and carried before the Grand Viſier: who ſeeing the fact verified, inflicted this puniſhment vpon him, to haue boyled lead powred into his mouth and eares, the which was ſpeedily executed.

Bethlem Gabor as you haue heard was ſeated quietly in the Principality of Tranſyl- M uania, the Sultan ſupported him, and had ſent *Sarder Baſſa* with an Army againſt *Gabriel Battori* who was then in poſſeſſion; but weake both of men, money, and friends, hee was not able to make head againſt them; ſo as beeing abandoned of his friends, and hated of his

ſubjects,

A ſubiects for his tyrannie, he grew into deſpaire, and was ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers. Where-
upon the countrey yeelding obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Baſſa* retired out of Tranſyluania with
his Turks. Yet afterwards, ſome neerly allyed to *Battori* (deſiring to reuenge his death) cauſed
ſome alterations; and others ſeeking to get a Prouince from the Empetour, had ſurpriſed
Huſt and other places in his name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his Letters to the Noblemen
and States of the Prouince. They were not ignorant he ſaid, that ſince the time that
Tranſyluania yeelded obedience to his predeceſſors and him, they had alwaies liued in peace
vnder his protection, and had often deſired, and obtained ſuccour againſt their enemies: That
when as *Botſcay* had been annoied by the Germans, aſſiſting him with great forces, he had ſhaked
off the yoke: That when as *Battori* his ſucceſſour had liued after his owne will, they ſent
B *Bethlem Gabor* with complaints to his Court by their generall conſent, and did eaſily obtaine
forces to free the Prouince from tyrannie. Hee being taken away, now a wiſhed day began to
ſhine, the clouds of tribulation being all diſperſed: That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to ſucceed
Battori, and to enioy that Prouince. Wherefore he had commanded all the Noblemen
to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and to enioy a wiſhed peace: That *Bethlem* had ſent to aduertiſe
him of the new practiſes of the Germans; wherefore he had giuen charge to the Baſſaes
of Temeſwar and Agria, and to the Prince of Valachia, to be watchfull to repell all theſe iniuries;
admoniſhing the Noblemen to yeeld ſpeedy obedience to *Bethlem*: to which end hee
had ſent them thoſe letters, that vpon the ſight therof they might be admoniſhed of their duties;
and if the Germans ſhould attempt any thing, they ſhould make reſiſtance till the comming
C of his forces: and following *Bethlem* in al things, they ſhould acknowledge him for their
true and lawfull Prince, and continue conſtant in their fidelitie, leſt they ſhould prouoke his
wrath againſt them, and draw vpon themſelues ſome great miſery: writing much more to the
like effect, concluding, That he had fully purpoſed and reſolued not to ſpoile any one village
or any Fort in Tranſyluania, nor to do any wrong to any man, nor ſuffer it to be done by any other,
but would defend that Prouince from all oppreſſion. Wherefore he would haue the Emperor
aduertiſed, that if he meant to haue the peace inuiolably kept, hee ſhould cauſe the ſaid
places of Tranſyluania to be preſently reſtored vnto the Prince, or ſignifie his mind vnto him
by letters.

On theſe Rebels of Aſia, whereof wee haue made mention, the Gouernour of Sarepta or
D Sidon in Syria, called *Armill* or *Emir Facardin*; he who gaue entrance into his Port to the
Florentines, and receiued them in their courſes to the Leuant; hearing that the Baſſa of Damas,
and the Baſſa of the ſea, with the gallies which he brought from Conſtantinople, and the
threeſcore which he tooke at Negropont (whereof wee haue made mention) came to fall
vpon him with a mighty and fearfull army, hee left his eldeſt ſonne within Sidon with forces
to command there, and in other Forts about it, and flying from a furious tempeſt of enemies,
hee went to ſea with three ſhips, to retyre himſelfe into Europe, with his foure wiues, ten
children, ſeuenty Turks, and fourteene thouſand pound weight in gold. Hee arriued at
Ligorne, and went from thence to Florence, vnder the protection of *Coſmo de Medicis*
great Duke of Tuſcanie, whoſe hands hee kiſſed, preſenting vnto him a Cuttelas very curiouſly
E wrought, and enriched with ſtone, and two jewels to the great Dutcheſſe, to the value of
ſix thouſand Crownes. This Turke though hee had no faith, yet he found faith with this
Prince of Tuſcanie. *Coſmo* receiued him, defrayed him and all his traine, furniſhed him
with money, whether it were by way of gratification, or that *Emir* had conſumed his owne:
and by all kinde of courteſies made this Infidell ſee what difference there was to flie vnto the
protection of a Chriſtian Prince, or to haue recourſe vnto a Mahometane. They ſay that
Emir had many goodly ouertures for the ſetling of the Chriſtians in Aſia: but to attempt
it with a good and happy ſucceſſe, it ſhould be neceſſarie that moſt of the Chriſtian Princes
would ioine their wils and armes together for the generall good of Chriſtendome. It is true,
that the great Duke *Ferdinand* deceaſed, and *Coſmo* his ſucceſſour had made proofe of their
F good intentions, by many generous enterpriſes againſt the Turke. But one Prince alone cannot
do all.

Emir Facardin abandoneth Sidon.

These things paſt in the yeare 1613. the end whereof concludes with the fury of terrible
tempeſts in the Mediterranean ſea. The tenth of Nouember a fearefull tempeſt full of
lightning, thunder, and furious winds, was the cauſe of the loſſe of many gallies and ſhips in

A horrible tempeſt in the Mediterranean ſea.

the port of Genoa, with a great number of perſons which were miſerably drowned. Which G loſſe was valued at aboue 800000 crowns. The port of Naples was not free from this ſtorm; and the gallies of Malta, with a great number of other veſſels receiued great loſſe.

The grand Signior hauing this year and the year before ſuſtained great loſſe of his gallies and frigots in the Mediterranian ſea, by the gallies of Naples, Malta, and Florence, and in the black ſea by the Coſſacks, who had taken two gallies well manned and richly laden; hee now impoſed a great tax vpon all his Chriſtian ſubiects, towards the reparation of that loſſe: ſo as he charged the Armenians to build him nine gallies at their owne coſts, and the Grecians twenty. Such is the Turks tyrannie, as he ſuffers not the poore Chriſtians to enioy any thing, but he finds means to pull it from them.

The grand Viſier *Naſſuf* held his credit with the Prince: at whoſe returne from Adrianople, many of the Ianizaries (to whom he was very odious) conſpired to kil him as hee ſhould H enter in at the North gate comming from Adrianople: and had placed themſelues there for the effecting of what they had intended: but comming neer the gate, the Sultan (ignorant of what was plotted againſt the Viſier) called for him to ſpeake with him, keeping him by him vntil he was entred into the city, by which means he eſcaped the intended practiſe. Soon after *Naſſuf* inuited the Sultan to a ſumptuous feaſt, and within few daies after the Emperour feaſted the Viſier; who preſuming vpon his great credit, cauſed all the croſſes in the Church of S. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodlieſt monuments in Conſtantinople) to be caſt downe, and all the images to be defaced: the which had ſtood entire euer ſince the Chriſtians Gouernment. I

cruelty of the Perſian King.

The year before, the King of Perſia had put to death 1200 Armenians, vpon a falſe ſuggeſtion as if they had intended to reconcile themſelues to the Pope; as hating the Papiſts, yet ſuffering diuers Ieſuits to liue in his dominions. The Engliſh Embaſſadors Chaplein deſiring to know the reaſon of the Perſians cruelty, conferred with the Patriark of the Armenians which reſided at Conſtantinople (for there are two Patriarks, one vnder the Perſian, and the other vnder the Turk) who told him, that it was true he had miſerably ſlain many of their nation, by the cunning practiſes of an Armenian, who had counterfeited letters from the Patriark of Armenia to the Pope; by which the Patriark with his whole church of Armenians offered to reconcile themſelues to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope for their head; intreating the Pope to write to the king of Perſia to giue them leaue to doe it freely. K Which letters the Pope receiuing, he rewarded the meſſenger bountifully, and returned Letters by him to the Perſian king, wherby he intreated him to ſuffer the Armenians in his country to vſe their conſciences freely. The King of Perſia hauing receiued theſe letters, grew into a great rage, cauſing many of them to be put to death; ſaying, *That if they would be obedient to the Pope, he could expect no ſeruice nor obedience from them.* Although the Papiſts ſay this was don directly by the Patriark, the Armenians affirm it was the practiſe of a counterfeit rogue. Soon after there arriued three Embaſſadors at Conſtantinople; the one was a Circaſſian, the ſecond a Georgian Biſhop, and the third a Mingrelian; all of them complaining of the Perſians oppreſſion and cruelty, and imploring ſuccors from the grand Signior for their ſupport. Preſently after there arriued a Perſian Embaſſador, whom the Sultan would not admit to audience, vntil all controuerſies were concluded betwixt himſelf and the Emperour, which was L then in queſtion; the Sultan hauing ſent one *Gaſparo* (ſometime a ſeruant in the Engliſh Embaſſadors houſe) to treat with the Emperor, by whoſe means at length all matters were reconciled betwixt them.

1614.

The fall of Naſſuf.

The year 1614 began by the horror of great prodigies, which were ſeen in diuers parts of Hungary and Sileſia. Ouer the ſtrong town of Vienna in Auſtria, the heauens grew ſored and fearfully darkned, as they feared that either the laſt day was come, or elſe there would follow ſome horrible effuſion of bloud. But all theſe ſignes had no other effect this year, but the ruine of the fortune and prodigious authoritie of *Naſſuf Baſſa* the great Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire; formerly one of the greateſt and moſt fearefull enemies which had caried arms M in Aſia againſt the ſoueraigne power of their Sultan. But to comprehend more plainly the fall and declining of his fortune, let vs behold him in his beginning and firſt riſing. He was the ſonne of a Greek Prieſt, borne in a little village neere vnto Solonica, and hauing beene taken by the Tribute, which the Turks exact from Chriſtians vpon their miſerable children, *The beginning & progreſſe of Naſſufs fortune.*

A taking one of three; hee was carried very young to Conſtantinople, and there ſold for three
Chequines or Sultanines (euery one of which is not aboue eight ſhillings ſterling, to an Eunuch
of the Sultans, who nouriſhed him and bred him vp vntill hee came to the age of twenty
yeares, and afterwards ſold him to a ſteward of the Sultana's houſe, to ſerue him in his charge.
Who finding this ſlaue to haue a ſpirit capable of greater affaires than the houſhold, employed
him in the ouerſight and building of a rich and ſtately Moſque, which the Sultana
cauſed to be erected at her charge. In this place he gaue ſuch proofe of his wit and judgement,
to the Sultana's content, that ſoone after ſhe gaue him the gouernment of her houſehold.

The Sultan had a will to imploy him in his ſeruice, and retyred him from the Sultana's
B houſe into his Seraglio, where he was honored with the charge of the Capigi Baſſa or Captaine
of the Porters or Vſhers of the Seraglio: from thence he was aduanced to the dignitie
of the Baſſa of Aleppo, and ſoone after hee was made gouernour Generall of Meſopotamia.
The commodity of his gouernment, frontiring vpon Perſia, ſtirred vp his ambitious thoughts
and his diſordinate deſire to become Soueraign of that countrey, and made him to entertain
many practiſes with the King of Perſia, an antient enemy to his maſter. The report of his practiſes
came to Conſtantinople, the Sultan is aduertiſed thereof, he knowes the ambitious and
ſtirring ſpirit of this *Naſſuf*, and findes that he is very profitable for his ſeruice, if hee can by
any milde courſe withdraw him from his diſloyalties and intelligences with the Perſian.
Wherefore he diſſembled the knowledge of his treacherous deſignes, and to gaine him the
C more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious appetite with the greateſt dignitie of his empire.
After the death of *Murath Baſſa* hee honoured him with the place of grand Viſier, and gaue
him a great part of his goods, and in his place made him Generall of the army againſt the
Perſian, with promiſe to giue him his daughter in mariage. Thus was *Naſſuf* aduanced by his
dexteritie, wit, diligence, and treacherie, to the greateſt charges of the greateſt Empire of the
World.

He entred into Perſia as Lieutenant General of his maſters Army, with the which he made
ſo great a ſpoile, that he forced *Ka Abbas* King of Perſia then reigning, to demand a peace.
And after that he granted him a ſurceaſe from armes, he brought his Embaſſadour to Conſtantinople,
to conclude this peace to his maſters benefit, as we haue formerly obſerued. He
D enters in pompe, preſents a million of gold vnto his Emperor, is wel receiued at the Seraglio,
much made of by the Baſſa's, but more by the Sultan, who cauſed him to marry his daughter.
Fortune hauing thus aduanced him to the height of greatneſſe, not being poſſible to climbe
higher, ſhe ouerthrowes him, and doth precipitate him to the loweſt degrees of miſerie. The
Sultan fears his ſpirit, too head-ſtrong by reaſon of his ambition, he grows jealous of his actions,
and about the end of the year concludes his ruin and death. The commandment is giuen
to Boſtangi Baſſa, that is to ſay, the Sultans chief gardiner, and ouerſeer of his Seraglio and
all his houſes, one of the goodlieſt dignities in the court. *Naſſuf* was at that time ſick in his
houſe; Boſtangi goes thither to viſit him, and to cauſe him to bee ſtrangled, being accompanied
onely with ſeuen or eight men; for that he would not giue any ſuſpition of the commandement
E he had receiued from his maſter. Being come vnto his lodging he demanded to ſpeak
with him, and *Naſſuf* excuſed himſelf by his ſeruants, by reaſon of the diſcommodities of his
health. But the Boſtangi (who would needs execute his commiſſion) replied, That hee could
not return to the Sultan (who had ſent him to haue certain newes of his health) before he had
ſeen him, to be the better aſſured. At this reply *Naſſuf* grew diſtruſtfull, and would without
all doubt haue bin far from thence in ſome place of Meſopotamia: but beleeuing whatſoeuer
hapned to him was ineuitable, he commanded them to ſuffer the Boſtangi to enter: who
at his firſt approch entertained him with many complements of curteſie; and hauing demanded
ſome queſtions of him concerning his health, he drew out of his pocket a commandment
from the Sultan to *Naſſuf*, to deliuer vnto him the ſeales of the Empire. The which beeing
F preſently don, he drew out another commandement vnto him, by which hee was injoined to
ſend him his head. Then *Naſſuf* cried out aloud, and deſired to ſpeak with the Sultan; but the
Boſtangi anſwered, That he had no commiſſion to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to cauſe
his life to be taken away preſently. Vpon this refuſall hee intreateth him to giue him leaue

Naſſufs throat cut.

to waſh himſelfe in the next chamber, to the end that his ſoule (ſaid he) ſhould not depart G the world in the ſtate of pollution, according to the Turks beleefe, who hold the waſhing of the body for a true purification. This fauour was alſo denied him; hee ſaw there was no remedy in his miſery, nor any hope of grace. Boſtangi Baſſaes followers (which were ſeuen or eight Capigies) being come to take away his life, and enuironing his bed, which was an vndoubted ſummons that he muſt die; in the end hee reſolues, and turning himſelfe vnto theſe executioners, hee willed them to do their duties: whereupon they fell to worke, and caſting themſelues vpon him, they put a cord about his necke, and ſought to ſtrangle him; but ſeeing that the fatneſſe of his repleat body would not ſuffer them to take away his life preſently, they cut his throat with a knife. His death could not be diſpleaſing to the Chriſtians, ſeeing that all his deſignes tended to their ruine: he had perſuaded his Maſter to breake H the peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the Venetians, promiſing him to make him ſouereign Monarch of the whole world, to the end he might keep his ſpirit in action, and make himſelfe neceſſarie to his Maſter, and liue more ſafely in combuſtions than in a calme; whereas the enuy and malice of his enemies gaue him a thouſand furious aſſaults. Thus *Naſſuf Baſſa* ended his dayes and fortune; before Gouernour of Meſopotamia, Generall of an Imperiall army, and Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire; aduanced to theſe ſupreme dignities by the great actions of his mind, but ouerthrown ſhamefully to his ruine by his boundleſſe ambition. Doubtleſſe it is a difficult thing for a fauorite that is inſolently audatious, to continue long in grace with his Prince; eſpecially when his vnreſtrained ambition hath once broken the bounds which reaſon preſcribeth to thoſe that Fortune aduanceth by the fauour I of her blaſtes; and that hee followes obſtinately that pernitious curioſitie to know by experience how high Fortune can aduance him: for then the deſire to enioy that which is aboue his condition, blinding the eyes of reaſon, he doth precipitate himſelfe by his raſh and inſolent actions, to the loweſt ſtep of ſhamefull ruine. The riches of *Naſſuf* were ſo great and proportionable to his fortune, as after his death they found about two buſhels of diamonds and pearles. Doubtleſſe this rich and ſtately ſpoyle deſerued to be enioyed by ſome great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* ſeiſed thereon, and applyed it to his Chaſna, or Treaſurie.

Another diſcourſe of Naſſufs death.

This death of *Naſſuf* is related after another manner by one who was then preſent in Conſtantinople, the which I haue thought good to ſet downe as I haue receiued it from him, K The Grand Seignior being much diſcontented with his Viſier, whither inſenced with ſuch as were neere about him, who both hated and feared *Naſſuf*, or doubting his great power; hee diſſembled his ſpleene, vntill he might find ſome opportunitie for reuenge: yet it was not ſo ſecretly carried, but *Naſſuf* had diſcouered the Sultans diſcontent, and laboured by great gifts both to the Sultana and others to pacifie him, prouiding notwithſtanding in the meane time for his owne ſafety, ſending horſemen dayly ouer into Aſia, meaning to paſſe himſelfe when he had gathered together a ſufficient ſtrength. But it fel out on the ſeuenth day of October, it being the Turks Sabbath, that the Moone about eight a clocke at night was much eclipſed, which made the Turks expect ſome great accident. The Grand Seigniour hauing formerly cauſed it to be bruited, That hee would about that time paſſe to viſit a new Moſque L which was then in building; whereupon all the ſtreets were hanged with cloth and arras, and as the cuſtome was, a crie went before, that *The King commeth*; at the noiſe whereof, *Naſſuf* (being then in his houſe) could not but deſcend to ſalute the Sultan as he paſſed by: But it was not the Grand Seigniour himſelfe, but his Boſtangi Baſſa, whom he had cauſed to be attyred like himſelfe, who being come before *Naſſufs* dore, and finding him ſtanding there, hee ſuddenly leapt vnto him, and told him that the Sultans pleaſure was he ſhould deliuer vp his ſeal: whereat *Naſſuff* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to do? to whom the Boſtangi Baſſa replyed, That he knew not what the Princes pleaſure was, but if he would not deliuer it, he would returne with that meſſage vnto him. Whereupon *Naſſuf* drew the ſeale out of his boſome, and deliuered it. Then the Boſtangi Baſſa ſhewed him a warrant for his head, whereunto M he preſently ſubmitted himſelf, and then two Iamoglans ſtrangled him: his head was preſently cut off, and carried to the Grand Seigniour, and his body thrown into the ſtreet to be trampled on.

A It was thought that his death was procured by the wife of *Cicala* Baſſa of Babylon, who
had been manzoled or depoſed from his gouernment there by *Naſſuf*, and was a little before
returned to Conſtantinople, but could not be allowed by *Naſſuf* to haue any acceſſe vnto the
grand Seigniors preſence. Wherupon he wrot a letter vnto the Sultan, wherein hee accuſed
Naſſuf to haue conſpired with the Perſian to kill him; charging him with many things that
were capitall. This letter he ſent by his wife, who was ſiſter to the grand Seignior, who comming
to his ſpeech (although ſhe was watchfully obſerued by *Naſſuf* who was then preſent)
left the letter in his chamber, and ſo departed. The grand Seignior finding this Letter, and
reading it, was much inſenced againſt *Naſſuf*, and neuer quiet in mind vntil hee had his head.
He writes, that there were found in *Naſſufs* houſe eighty bags of gold, each bag containing ten
B thouſand Chequines. After *Naſſufs* death, *Mechmet Baſſa* Admirall at ſea (who had married
Sultan *Achmats* eldeſt daughter) was made chiefe Viſier. He was born in the Imperial City
of Conſtantinople, and the firſt naturall Turk that was euer chiefe Viſier ſince Conſtantinople
was won.

You haue heard in the laſt yeares relation, of ſome combuſtions which were growing in
Tranſylvania; and how the Sultan had written his letters of an imperial ſtile vnto the Nobilitie
and States of the Countrey; which letters were fixed vp in form of a Mandate thorowout
all Tranſylvania, and in places that were neereſt vnto thoſe noblemen which held the Emperors
party againſt *Bethlem*. At the ſame time *Bethlem* defeated certaine troups of the Garriſons
at Lippa and Genoa, which ouer-ranne and ſpoiled the Countrey; ſo as the gouernors
C of thoſe places were forced to ſend to Vienna, to demand ſuccors of men and money. A Chiaus
arriued at that time at Lintz, bringing letters vnto the Emperor from the grand Seignior:
The firſt point contained in them was, That his Imperial Maieſtie ſhould haue a care, that
the peace made betwixt them for twenty yeares ſhould not be violated; and that for his part
he deſired to obſerue it faithfully. 2. That in the name of his Imperial Maieſty they had
ſeiſed vpon certain places in Tranſyluania, a Prouince which had been alwaies vnder his protection;
which receiued her Princes from his hand, and the which he was bound to defend againſt
all her enemies. 3. That the tyrannie of prince *Battori* had conſtrained him to giue
forces to *Bethlem Gabor*, to diſpoſſeſſe him of the principalitie of Tranſylvania. That after
the death of the ſaid *Battori*, he had inueſted *Bethlem* to gouern it in peace. 4. That ſince, he
D had bin aduertiſed, how that ſome troups of ſouldiers in the name of his Imperiall Maieſtie,
contrary to the articles of peace concluded betwixt them, had by force ſeiſed vpon the forts
of Huſt and Viuar, and the townes of Nagipan and Tonaſe. 5. That hee had giuen charge
to *Bethlem*, not to ſuffer any enterpriſe, no not vpon the leaſt village of his principalitie; to the
end that nothing ſhould be ſeparated, and that he ſhould repel the iniury of the aggreſſor by
force. 6. That hee exhorted his Imperiall Maieſtie, if hee deſired the continuance of the
peace, to command his people to make reſtitution of the places vſurped; or to ſignifie his intention
by the ſame Chiaus which he had ſent vnto him, to the end he might be fully aſſured:
for the miſchiefe increaſing daily, the affection which hee bare to the good of peace might
grow cold.

Achmats Letters to the emperor.

E The Emperour receiued this Chiaus at Lintz very honourably, and gaue him an anſwer of
his Letter, wrapped in a piece of cloath of gold. The ſence whereof was, That this buſineſſe
being of great importance, his Imperial Maieſtie deſired to confer with the Princes Electors
and States of the empire to heare their aduice: after which he would acquaint him with his
laſt reſolution. And finally, That hee ſhould reſt aſſured, that for his part hee would not attempt
any thing contrary to the peace. In the meane time there was a petty Warre in Hungary,
the incurſions and ſpoiles betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks beginning the ſame againe.
The Turkes of the garriſon of Agria going forth, tooke a great number of cattel from
the Chriſtians. Eight hundred Haiduckes aduertiſed of this ſpoile, purſued them ſo ſpeedily,
as they ouertooke them before they came within halfe a league of their retreit; when
F they made them to leaue their prize, and put them to flight. The Baſſa of Agria aduertiſed
of the defeat of his out-riders, goeth forth with a thouſand ſouldiers, to recouer the bootie
from the Haiduckes, which they had but newly before taken from his men. But after a ſharp
incounter, hee loſt his horſe and two hundred of his men, and was forced to make his retreit.

From thence the Haiduckes went and ſpoiled the Countrey about Solnoc: ſome others holding the waies of Strigonium or Gran, took a Turkiſh Bride with her baggage, who was going from Gran to Buda; and foure hundred Boot-halers (ſome of them Haiduckes, and the reſt Turkes, men which hold no party but their owne, to robbe with the more impunitie) ſeiſed vpon Balaſter, Micolut, and Felak: but at the recouerie of them they were ſo ill intreated by the Hungarians, as that moſt of them loſt their liues there, and the reſt were taken priſoners.

But the Emperor, who deſired to be reſolued in the important buſineſſe of Tranſyluania, aſſembled the Eſtates of Bohemia, Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Sileſia, Luſatia, Morauia, and Hungarie, his hereditarie countries; whom hee gaue to vnderſtand, That the peace was violated in Hungarie by the hoſtilities of the Turkes vpon the Chriſtians: to whoſe preiudice Sultan *Achmat* had ſubiected vnto himſelf the prouinces of Valachia, Moldauia, and Tranſylvania: this laſt being vnder the gouernment of *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himſelf his Vaſſall. That the Sultan had ſent word vnto his Imperial Maieſty, That hee ſhould not pretend any thing there, to the end this countrey might bee wholly vnited vnto the Turkiſh Empire. Whereupon he earneſtly exhorted the aſſembly to conſider wiſely: Firſt whether Tranſyluania ſhould be left wholly in the Turks power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not conſent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the means to make war, if the neceſſity of his affairs ſhould force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turke would hinder his Imperiall Maieſty, that he ſhould pretend no right to Tranſyluania: Fifthly, that the Turke had ſent him an Embaſſador, who contrary to the articles of peace, had not brought any Preſents: Sixthly, if they ſhould make a new accord with the Turke, to conſider aduiſedly, what aſſurance they might take, ſeeing that he would not conſent vnto the ſixth article of the peace.

The reſolution of the Eſtates.

The deſignes of Bethlem vpon diuers places.

He receiues forces from the Turks, and beſiegeth Lippa.

There opinions were diuers vpon theſe propoſitions; but all ioyntly conſented to maintaine the authoritie of the Imperiall Maieſtie. The Hungarians only intereſſed in their reſolutions to warre, by reaſon of the ſpoyle of their countrey, as a paſſage for all their troupes, they beſought the Emperour, that if hee meant to ſend any forces into Tranſyluania, they might haue commandement to march ſome other way, and not ouer their lands. *Bethlem Gabor* in the meane time laboured to recouer thoſe places which had been loſt. Wherefore he prouided himſelfe to make ſome attempts vpon Lippa, and other places; as at Borene, Genoë, and Arach. The Gouernours of theſe places gaue aduice vnto *Forgatſi* Lieutenant Generall to the Emperour in high Hungarie; repreſenting vnto him the eſtate of their garriſon, and the feare they had, that if *Bethlem* ſhould once get them into his poſſeſſion and power, he would deliuer them ouer vnto the Turke: That if they would ſend them ſuccors, they would rather endure all extremities than yeeld them to the enemie. Yet for all this, they make no haſte to ſend them ſuccours: and *Sander Baſſa* according to the commandement hee had receiued from the Sultan, hauing brought forces to *Bethlem*, the ſiege of Lippa was reſolued in the Eſtates of Tranſyluania. On the fiue and twentieth of October the Cannon being drawne out of Veradin to batter the Fort; *Bethlem* went to inueſt it, made his approaches, and battered it ſo furiouſly, as hauing made a reaſonable breach, it ſerued firſt for a paſſage for foure hundred men to eſcape, who left the Gouernour with very ſmall meanes to defend the place, and without hope of ſuccours from Hungarie; which made him come to a parley, promiſing to yeeld the place, to haue their liues and goods ſaued. The Forts of Genoë and Arach, were deliuered by the ſame capitulation. That theſe three places ſhould not be put into the Turks hands, but ſhould remaine perpetually vnited to the principalitie of Tranſyluania: and to take all intereſt from the Turks, the Eſtates of the Countrey ſhould pay vnto *Sander Baſſa* the charges and entertainment of his troups. Theſe places thus gotten by *Bethlem*, he manned them with new garriſons: the Imperials which were within them, being retyred to *Forgatſi* the Emperours Lieutenant in high Hungarie. But the Eſtates of Tranſyluania being aſſembled at Veradin, diſputed diuerſly, whether they ſhould reſigne theſe three places into the Sultans power: ſome repreſented the diſcontentment hee would haue if they were refuſed, and the inconuenience that might enſue: others were not of opinion that the Prouince ſhould be ſo diſmembred, giuing

A the moſt important places thereof vnto the Infidels. Thus without conſenting, or refuſing to
deliuer theſe places vnto the Turk, the Eſtates concluded that prince *Bethlem* ſhould do therin
what he held moſt neceſſary for the tranquilitie of the country; beſeeching him moſt humbly
to free them from the Imperials, who had ſeiſed vpon Huſt and Viuar. Such were the affairs
of Tranſylvania this year; a prouince diſtracted from the Emperors power by the Turks
practiſes.

The Sultan cauſeth a platforme to bee made at Conſtantinople.

At Conſtantinople, Sultan *Achmat* being deſirous to beautifie the outward part of his
Seraglio, with a goodly and ſpacious place vpon the ſea ſhore, he cauſed a platforme to bee
made within the ſea, beeing eight hundred paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad.
The Prouoſt of Conſtantinople cauſed this his reſolution to be proclaimed; when as preſently
B euery houſe ſent forth a man, and the chiefe of families themſelues laboured there in
perſon. There might you ſee the Baſſa's ſerue as the ouerſeers of the Workmen, and the Ianizaries
and Spahies carrying ſcuttles with a wonderfull alacritie; and at all houres of the day
there was muſicke of diuers ſorts of inſtruments to eaſe their labour, and to incourage them
to continue. The Viſiers going to view the Workemen, cauſed a largeſſe of pieces of ſiluer
to be caſt among them. Thus the Sultan being ſerued with admirable diligence in this his
worke of pleaſure, hee ſaw it finiſhed in three moneths, hauing beene begun in October this
yeare.

Certain Ieſuites go to Mingrelia or Cholcos.

Whileſt that the Sultan imployed his leiſure after this manner in the ſtructure of a platform
within the ſea at Conſtantinople, certain religious men departing from Pera, had a deſigne
C to build another in the waues of infidelitie, but more profitable for the health of ſouls.
This was an imployment of the Ieſuites into the countrey of Mingrelia, in old time called
Cholcos. *Lewis Grangier* a prieſt of this ſocietie, and two others of his order, with an Armenian
for their Interpreter, parted from Thrace with this godly reſolution, to preach to the people
far from God, the truth of his holy Word, and to guide them happily in the way to heauen.
He paſſed the Boſphorus of Thrace, and the famous caſtles of *Leander* and *Hero*, and cut
thorow thoſe waues, whereas he that could not quench the fire of his paſſion, quenched the
flame of his life: he paſſed beyond *Pompeyes* pillar, or rather that of the moſt happy *Daniel Stylita*,
who erected his toward the mouth of this ſea; and about the ſixt of Iune this year they arriued
at Verna, a famous town in Thrace; whereas a company of French ſoldiers (whom the
D violence of neceſſity had ſome years ſince forced to leaue the Emperors ſeruice in Hungary)
were in garriſon for the Turke, to defend his ſubiects againſt the incurſions of the Coſſacks:
yet theſe Frenchmen do ſtil obſerue the Catholique Religion inuiolably. From thence hee
ſailed toward Cordula, and by the incounter of a little gallion he entred into the port of Trabizond.
Within few daies after, he was caried in the ſame veſſel to Eriſſa in the countrey of
Laxia or Laſſia, which on the one ſide lookes toward the countrey of Georgia, and the other
that of Trabizond. The Chriſtian religion hath bin for a long time planted amongſt thoſe
people, but very ill manured; for the fathers to free their miſerable children from the tribute
wherewith the Turkes doe oppreſſe them, cauſe their children to be circumciſed after the
Mahometan manner; and for the ſame conſideration they marry their daughters vnto Ianizaries.
E Moreouer, they abandon themſelues to the Mahometan impietie, to the end they may
be deliuered from their inſupportable oppreſſions, and their Turkiſh yoke. The Ieſuits found
there a good ſubiect to worke vpon for the help of ſoules: during their abode there, for certaine
dayes they catechiſed the men, baptiſed the children, and aduertiſed the women married
vnto Turks, what they were to do for the maintenance of their faith. But for that their
commiſſion or charge was to goe vnto Mingrelia or Cholcos, they went againe to ſea, and
ſailed towards Gouea, which is the fartheſt corner of the Black ſea. This hauen being verie
vnfit to caſt anchor in, they followed the gallies which caried a Baſſa called *Oneze* from Conſtantinople,
who ſhould treat of a peace on the behalfe of Sultan *Achmat* with the Prince
of the Mingrelians, and diſpoſe him to pay a certain tribute. With theſe Veſſels they went
F into a port called Macrogalo, nine miles from that of Gouea, holding this place more ſafe
than the other. But doubtleſſe there is very little aſſurance whereas the waues and windes
command ſoueraigntie. A North-weſt wind riſing about midnight on the fifteenth of September,
draue their gallies neere vnto the ſhelfes and rockes, wheras one was broke and caſt
away.

The ſhipwracke of certaine gallies.

away. This tempeſt continued many daies,and during the violence therof another gally was loſt, in which the Ieſuits had bin, but by good aduice they retired to land during the fury of G the ſea and winds. The Ieſuits imputed the cauſe of this loſſe to the prohibition which *Oneze* the Baſſa had made vnto them, Not to paſſe into Mingrelia before the peace was concluded betwixt the Princes of that country; the which grew long, by reaſon of the difficulties which hapned in the treaty. In the end thoſe princes reſoluing to pay the tribute to the Turk,it was concluded.

The libertie of trauel followes peace; *Grangier* and his Companions proceeded in their journey: twenty daies after they departed from Macrogalo,they arriued at Satrapella,a place of Georgia; wheras the princes Viſier came to viſit them,and after the Georgian maner ſaluted them bare headed,and kneeling vpon one knee. *Gorel* Prince of the Georgians (who was H then at Barlet,wheras the Court was to paſſe the feaſt of Chriſtmas) being aduertiſed of the arriual of theſe new Chriſtian and French preachers,ſent for them, receiued them fauorably, and ſaluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he had made them to bleſſe his court, he held many diſcourſes with them of the truth of the Roman church,& of the Popes power as Father of all Chriſtendom: being mooued partly thereunto, by a feeling of pietie to the Church,and partly from the inſtructions he receiued from the Ieſuits, ſo as inlightned with a new beam of the true light,he intreated *Grangier* to craue abſolution of his ſinnes from the Pope, the which (ſaith he) he may giue me by the power hee hath from God; promiſing to ſend him his confeſſion in writing. But vnderſtanding that the Ieſuite had power from the Pope to abſolue him,hee purged his conſcience of all his ſins, by a generall confeſſion of his I life. Without doubt the zeal of theſe ſoules,ſo far from ſuccor,ſhews plainly what the harueſt would be,if ſo many labourers were ſent as were neceſſarie. A Monke of Georgia,who had liued at Rome for the ſpace of twelue yeares,had in former time planted pietie there,the which they of this miſſion did now alter. This Prince *Gorel* intreated the Ieſuits to ſend him ſome of their company at their return into Europe,promiſing to make great eſteem of them, and to giue them a Church, an houſe, and all things neceſſarie for their maintenance. The prince offered them ſiluer, which they refuſed, modeſtly excuſing themſelues vpon the rules of their inſtitution,which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the adminiſtration of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their maner of liuing,and cauſed them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journy K into Mingrelia.

The Mingrelians cuſtome at their feaſts.

The third of February, in the yeare of our Lord God 1615,they parted from this towne with the Turkes who came to conclude the peace; and paſſing by the banks of Faſſo (a riuer which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at Herailcano,otherwiſe called Heraclea, and from thence they went to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the Mingrelians,called *Dodran*,then remained,being buſie in the reception of *Threbis Cham* King of Georgia,who was come thither to viſit him,being expelled his Country by the king of Perſia. The Ieſuites were brought to kiſſe the hands of prince *Dodran*, and of *Lipartia* his Vncle, who was Regent for the Realme during the time of his minoritie. They both promiſed them aſſiſtance in their affairs,ſending them to the towne Macaurie,to make their abode L there whileſt they were buſied in the affaires of their Countries, the which at that time were ſomewhat confuſed. The Biſhop of that place entertained them with very great demonſtration of loue, and ſoone after making a feaſt to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the Georgians, he would needs haue the Ieſuites aſſiſt at this banquet, for a great teſtimonie of his loue. It is the manner of thoſe of Cholchos or the Mingrelians,as well as the Georgians,to ſing at their meat. The *Threbis Cham* deſired, that the Ieſuites might ſing ſome note when it came to their turne, whereof they excuſed themſelues diuers times: But there was no remedy, they muſt do as others haue done: whereupon they ſung the hymne of *Plange Lingua, &c.* appointed for Holy Thurſday. Being thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their reſidence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of ſoules, which erre in M that countrey through the darkneſſe of ignorance, for want of men to teach them the way of truth. They are Chriſtians of the Greeke profeſſion, vnder the commandement of diuers Princes, alwaies in warre either againſt the Turke or the Perſian: They carry the name

A of Cham,which is as much to ſay, as King or Souereigne Prince : The Sophie had diſpoſſeſt
Trebis Cham chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred
himſelfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

The Hiſtorie of Sultan Iacaia, held by many to the Emperour Achmats brother.

Whileſt thoſe men labour to ſow the ſeeds of true doctrine of the Apoſtles in the ſoyle
of Mahometiſme,a Turke paſſing out of Aſia,comes into Chriſtendome to ſeeke the light of
truth,and demands fauorable aſſiſtance and ſuccors from Chriſtian Princes, to enter into the
poſſeſſion of the Empire,wherunto his birth and the degrees of a lawful ſucceſſion ſeemed to
cal him by a iuſt title. The diſcourſe of his birth,of his fortunes,and of his pretenſions to the
Turkiſh Empire,is comprehended in this following relation. He termed himſelfe the ſon of
Mahomet the third,father to *Achmat*,now ſitting in the Imperiall Throne at Conſtantinople;
B he maintained,that his father by foure wiues or concubines had had foure ſons; *viz. Muſtapha*
who was ſtrangled,for that he would haue diſpoſſeſſed his father of his kingdom; *Iacaia*(which
was himſelf) *Achmat* now reigning,and *Oſman*;yet it ſeems by the ſequell of the Hiſtorie,that
he had another *Muſtapha* : that hauing bin ſent for to come out of Magneſia to Conſtantino-
ple,his mother(who had bin a Chriſtian,and baptiſed vnder the name of *Hellen*,but was after-
ward ingaged in the company of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beauty, and knowne
in Turky by the name of Sultana *Lalpare*)could not conduct him to his father,for that he was
dangerouſly ſick of the ſmall pocks. And this Princeſſe deſired much,to find ſome fauorable
occaſion, wherby ſhe might be freed from the damnable errors of *Mahomets* law,and return to
the wholeſome way of the Chriſtian faith, and retyre her ſonne *Iacaia* farre from the power of
C thoſe bloudy lawes,which ſprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes to the Crowne
with the bloud of his brethren;ſhe well foreſaw that *Iacaia* being but the ſecond of *Mahomets*
ſonnes, ſhould one day by his death ſecure the life of *Muſtapha* his elder, and that the onely
meanes to preſerue him, was to retyre him into Chriſtendome. Wherefore ſhe laboured ſeri-
ouſly in this deſigne,and made vſe of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out,that her ſonne *Iacaia*
was dead of the ſmall pockes; and hauing ſuppoſed in his place the ſon of an Eunuch dead of
the ſame diſeaſe,aſſiſted at his funerall,and by her conſtrained teares ſubtilly diſguiſed her de-
ſigne. An Eunuch called *Aſtam Mehemet* was the faithfull ſecretarie of her enterpriſe; with
him ſhe leaues Magneſia,a Prouince in Aſia,and vnder pretext to goe vnto certain baths there
by, ſhee gets her downe to the ſea ſide, paſſes into Europe, and tranſports her ſon into Mo-
D rea, ſometimes called Helleſpont, and lodgeth him (as vnknowne) in the Biſhops Palace in
the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares old; ſhe held him not ſecure at Miclo,but
tranſported him into Macedonia, vnder the habit of a Greeke Monke,and retyres him into
the towne of Caſſandria; where ſhe diſcouers vnto the Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, a man
learned and of a holy life, the qualitie of her ſonne, and the deſire ſhee had to make him a
Chriſtian : intreating him in charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbi-
ſhop lodgeth the mother in the Monaſterie of Religious women of our Lady of Theſſaloni-
ca, and giues the cuſtody of the ſonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all
Sciences, vnder whom hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke Tongue as in many
goodly arts. I do well know this to be true, for that I haue conuerſed with him for the ſpace of
E ſix moneths, and haue ſeene him often in the companie of learned men ſpeake the Greeke
with as great facilitie as his Turkiſh and mother tongue. He continued in this Monaſtery vn-
der the care and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of ſeuenteene yeares; that
is to ſay, for the ſpace of eight whole yeares; during which time, his Mothers tears,the holy
inſtructions of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of
his ſoules health,and become a Chriſtian. The Archbiſhop of Theſſalonica clenſed his ſoule
from the pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*,and baptiſed him in the Church of Saint *Anaſta-
ſius*, without the City of Theſſalonica; yet ſecretly, for feare leſt the Eunuch comming to
diſcouer this miſterie, ſhould abandon him, and publiſh abroad the place and eſtate of his
ſolitarie aboad,and ſo be miſerably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himſelfe Sultan,being already
F in ſome aſſurace of the Crowne of heauen by the promiſes of Holy Baptiſme, whileſt
that hee was in the beginning of his pretenſions to that of the Turkiſh Empire, he leaues the
Monaſterie where hee had been inſtructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp

and down Greece,paſſing away (in the length and varietie of his voyage) the impatiencie of his age & deſires,for that he would not be known,he takes vpon him the habit and the licenſe of a Dervis or religious Turk. But when he came to the city of Siopia,hee vnderſtood of the death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the third his father,and the rejoycing for the new aduancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the ſame inſtant, that *Muſtapha* his elder brother had bin ſtrangled by the commandement of his father. The diſpleaſure which hee conceiued for that he had not bin bred vp at Conſtantinople with the reſt, to receiue ſo rich a Crown as that of the Turkiſh Empire,made him to wauer in diuers reſolutions; ſomtimes he would go into Perſia to haue ſuccours from him, and with him to make warre againſt his brother: ſomtime he would ſerue for a ſupport and countenance to the Rebels in Aſia, and juſtifie their party.

After many diſcourſes with the Eunuch touching his affairs,he ſends him vnto the ſon of *Peri Baſſa*,a Rebell againſt *Achmat*: the Eunuch treats for his maſter, and receiues from him the Rebels oath,and returning to Tarlis, where the Sultan *Iacaia* remained,he conducted him to *Peri Baſſa*, to be the head of his troups. *Iacaia* arriues, and ſees himſelfe obeyed by an army ready to fight: for the Deſtarder or Treaſurer beeing ſent againſt the rebell *Peri*, with ſeuen thouſand horſe,and three thouſand foot, was already vpon the banks of the riuer Bardate,ready to giue him battel. The Baſſa's troups (being leſſe in number of fighting men) went to aſſail him. There was a ſharp incounter,but in the end the Deſtarder was victor, & the troups of *Peri Baſſa* defeated, and *Iacaia* being wounded in four places of his body,was forced to ſaue himſelfe on the other ſide of the riuer,where wandring vp and down the fields, hee found relief with a poore countrey peaſant, and ſoone after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him,and cauſed him to be cured; holding him to be one of the Deſtarders pages,as he himſelfe ſaid.

His wounds being cured,*Iacaia* returnes again towards Greece,where he finds his mother, conferres with her,and ſoone after with the Eunuch,of the eſtate of his affaires;and concludes with both of them,to ſend to Conſtantinople,to the Viſier Deruis (who at that time was diſcontented with the Emperor *Achmat*) to ſound his diſpoſition,and to ſee if hee might gaine him to his party: The Eunuch vndertakes the voyage,he ſpeaks with the Deruis,and finds him diſpoſed to entertaine the offers of *Iacaia*: The conſpiracie was concluded,and they ſweare to kill *Achmat*,and to ſettle *Iacaia* in the Imperiall Throne. Hereupon he tranſports himſelfe to Conſtantinople,in a diſguiſed habit:but when as they were ready to execute their enterpriſe (ſay they) the Deruis died;be it that the Emperor *Achmat* had diſcouered their deſigne, or otherwiſe. Thus *Iacaia* being fruſtrate of his hope to effect any thing by this means, he left the City and fled towards the blacke ſea, and then wandred into the countries of Valachia, and Moldauia,following the Carock of a Poland Embaſſador on foot, vntill he came to the City of Cracouia, whereas Fortune had laid a ſnare for him, which brought him in danger of his life;for a Chiaus being come from Conſtantinople, and knowing him,he deſired the King of Poland in his Maſters name, to ſtay him, aſſuring him that by this meanes he ſhould ſtrictly bring vnto him the affections of Sultan *Achmat*: the King refuſed his vniuſt demand,holding himſelfe much honoured to ſee his Court the refuge of vnfortunate Princes. After this refuſal the Chiaus flies to trecherie;he corrupts certaine Tartarians of the Kings guard with money,who promiſed to murther *Iacaia*;and doubtleſſe they had performed it,if a Flemiſh Embroiderer had not aduertiſed him,and lent him his lodging for certain daies to hide himſelfe; after which he freed himſelf from danger,and paſt to Prague towards the Emperor *Rodulphus* who was then liuing.

In this Imperiall Court hee found reliefe, and meanes to eaſe his forepaſt miſeries: The Emperour furniſhed him with all things neceſſarie: Hee ſpent a whole yeare there, and was acknowledged during his abode, by many Turks which came to Prague, for brother to their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but ſuccours to effect his deſignes: But hee finds nothing but good words and faire wiſhes at Prague; ſo as hee was forced to ſeeke the effects elſewhere. Certaine Saxons that were his friends, aduiſed him to paſſe to Florence to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of Tuſcanie: hee takes directions from that Princes

A Embaſſador reſiding at Prague, and goes on his journy: but entring into Italy, he heares that *Ferdinand* was dead; theſe mournfull news made him to reſolue to ſeeke ſome other place, if *Coſmo* ſucceſſor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Ducheſſe his mother, had not called him backe. He came then to Florence, where he was honorably entertained, and lodged for the ſafety of his perſon in the Fort of *S. John*, where he was ſupplied with all ſorts of commodities. The great Duke *Coſmo* gaue him the title of Excellencie, appointed him horſes and caroches, and ſuch companie as he delighted in, for the pleaſure of hunting. He had not ſtaid long at Florence, but he ſaw himſelfe aſſiſted with ſuch forces as he deſired. The great Duke *Coſmo* cauſed his gallions to be armed, ſending them into the Leuant, vnder the command of the knight *Beauregard*, where hee had conference with *Naſſuf Baſſa*, at that time chiefe of the Rebels of B Aſia. He offers him men, armes, any money, if he would come to land, and march towards Perſia, whither many Rebels were retyred. But he who commanded the Florentine gallions, had no commiſſion to leaue him in the hands of *Naſſuf*: wherefore hee carried him backe to Florence to his Highneſſe.

During the time that *Iacaia* was aboord the gallions, the great Duke ſent diuers perſons into many parts of the Leuant, to informe themſelues carefully of theſe things which he had deliuered, not onely touching his owne perſon, but alſo of his Mother; and they all brought backe certaine proofes of the truth of his diſcourſes. This gaue the great Duke ſubiect to impart this faire occaſion vnto Spaine, to labour for the common good of Chriſtendome. He wrote vnto the Catholique King, and informed him of the quality of *Iacaia*, to the end that C contributing ſuccours to his perſonage, they might vndertake ſome happy enterpriſe againſt the Turke. The King of Spaine was content he ſhould be ſent to Naples: commanding the Viceroy to giue him a reception fit for his quality. *Iacaia* went on his journy, being accompanied by ſome, by the great Dukes commandement: but according to the newes which he receiued from Naples, he ſtaid at Auerſo, where he was receiued by the Gouernour with much honour. The Viceroy came to viſit him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellency. But as the councell of Spaine was tedious in their reſolutions, and delayed too long (as *Iacaia* ſuppoſed) the ſuccours which he expected; hee parted from Auerſo to go to Millan, and from thence in a diſguiſed habit paſt again into the Leuant, to ſound their wils that might aduance his pretentions, and bring them to a happy end: but he preuailed as little as he had don before. D Beſides all theſe voyages which we haue deſcribed, to the end he might leaue no means vnattempted to aduance his affaires, he went to Rome to kiſſe his Holineſſe feet. Cardinall *Bellarmine* receiued him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie: the Pope aſſured him of his affection and ſuccors; but it was neceſſary the ſecular powers ſhould begin to leuy men, and make the firſt ouerture to war.

Since, we haue ſeene him at France and at Paris, vnder the protection of the Duke of Neuers, entertained by the bounty of this Prince, and aſſiſted by his Councell: and doubtleſſe if the troubleſome combuſtions of a ciuill war had not diuerted the armies of this duke, we had ſeen ſome happy ſucceſſe of the affairs which he treated in Loraine, Germany, and other places, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Chriſtendome. Finally, as for this Turke called E *Iacaia*, terming himſelfe eldeſt brother to the Emperor *Achmat* now reigning at Conſtantinople, and for ſuch acknowledged by many: yet ſome affirme (yea ſuch as haue conuerſed in the Eaſt) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three ſons, which were *Muſtapha*, *Achmat* and *Oſman*? Notwithſtanding it is hard to diſcouer in this perſonage any ſignes of an impoſture. I haue often frequented with him, and carefully obſerued his carriage and actions: and haue alwaies noted in him a carriage and minde borne to great matters. This is all that wee could learne of this man.

Tyrannie of Stephano.

Stephano or *Tomſha*, of whom we haue made mention in the yeare 1612, hauing ouerthrown *Conſtantine* the lawfull Prince, and made himſelfe Vayuod of Moldauia, by the ſupport and tyrannie of the Turke; as he held it by vſurpation, without any iuſt title, ſo he gouerned with F all cruelty and inhumanitie, preferring crueltie before clemencie, and imitating that tyrant, who ſaid openly, *That he reſpected not the loue of his ſubiects, ſo as they feared him.* Euen ſo this *Stephano* at his firſt entrance plotted how hee might root out all the Noblemen in the Countrey, whom in their language they call Boyets, with all others of credit and authoritie in the countrey, both for that they ſupported *Conſtantine*, as for the jealouſie he had of them, being beſt able to reſiſt his tyrannous deſignes: being alſo the common diſpoſition of ſuch as vſurpe any eſtate by wicked practiſes, to be alwaies in feare to be diſpoſſeſſed, and to be entreated according to their merits. He began firſt with the Lord of Botacan brother to the Princeſſe widow to *Ieremy*, whom he cauſed with two others of the chiefe Noblemen to bee miſerably and inhumanely empailed, as if they had been two notable theeues and murderers; and not content herewith, ſoone after, hee cauſed threeſcore and fifteene Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their heads, and would not pardon any one, notwithſtanding the great inſtance that was made by their kinsfolkes, charging them with the crime of treaſon, as if they had conſpired againſt his perſon, hauing no proofe at all: but theſe his cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had perſuaded himſelfe; but contrariwiſe they were the more inſenced, and many of them tooke armes openly, and had then ſeiſed vpon him, bin reuenged of his cruelties, and ſet their country at liberty (which had not been ruined as it was afterwards) if he had not bin aſſiſted by the Citiſens of Yas; whom he conjured to ſecond him in this occaſion, promiſing them immunities of all ſubſidies: In regard of which promiſe, theſe poore wretches preferring their priuat profit before their publique ſafety, imploied themſelues in the ſeruice of this tyrant, and fought valiantly againſt the Boyers, who were come to aſſault him in the City of Yas; But finding that he was better aſſiſted than they expected, after ſome light skirmiſh they retyred as well as they could, whereof many were taken priſoners, whom the tyrant cauſed to be ſlain in cold bloud, or empailed to terrifie the reſt.

The Boyers which eſcaped from this defeat, knowing that there was no hope of mercy in *Stephano*, who was full of reuenge; nor by conſequence any ſafety in Moldauia during his gouernment, they reſolued to haue recourſe vnto the Princeſſe (widow to *Ieremy*) who had fled into Polonia when as ſhe receiued news of the taking of her ſonne *Conſtantine*. This Princeſſe vnderſtanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous gouernment of *Stephano*, and that moſt of the Moldauians were reſolued to ſhake off the yoke of his tyranny, and deſired to haue prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good vſage they had receiued from the deceaſed Prince *Ieremy* his father. Theſe conſiderations, together with a deſire of command vnder her ſonne (who was then but ſixteen yeares old) were ſtrong motiues to perſwade both her and her ſonne to imbrace this occaſion, the which they imparted to Prince *Viſinouiskie* ſonne in law to the Princeſſe; and to Prince *Coresky*, who at that time aſpired to marry her yongeſt daughter: Theſe Princes not only allowed of this deſigne, but they offered themſelues willingly to accompanie Prince *Alexander* into Moldauia, and to take the whole care of his army. This reſolution being taken, they preſently imploied all their credit to leuy men, and had within leſſe than two months drawn together ten or twelue thouſand foot and horſe, Polonians, Coſſacks, and Tranſyluanians: whereof the Vayuod *Stephano* being aduertiſed, he preſently leuied what forces he could, of Moldauians, Tartarians and Valachians, hauing drawne together an army of almoſt 20000 men, which hee kept about Yas, and there reſolued to attend the Princes of Polonia.

The Fort of Cochina yeelded vnto Prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* being aduanced with his army within two leagues of Caminithe in Podolia, hee was much troubled to paſſe the riuer of Nieſtre, which diuides the countrey from Moldauia, fearing the Fort of Chochina, in the which there was a ſtrong garriſon of Moldauians, and ſtore of munition to defend the paſſage of the ſaid riuer: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captaine which commanded in the ſaid Fort, being much diſcontented at the cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himſelfe to offer his ſeruice to *Alexander*, and brought him the keyes of the Fort, leauing all to his diſpoſition; ſo as hee paſt his army eaſily into Moldauia, and in ſigne of ioy diſcharged many vollies of his great Ordnance, which made *Stephano* diſtruſt the affections of the Moldauians, and to feele a pricking in his conſcience, which doth neuer abandon tyrants and vſurpers.

1500 Tartarians defeated by the Coſſackes.

Prince *Alexander* making ſome ſtay with his army at Cochina in the yeare 1615, aduanced towards Yas, and being come within halfe a daies journey, he ſent forth eight hundred Coſſackes (choſen out of a great number) to diſcouer the countenance of his enemies army: but they were not farre aduanced, before they encountred 1500 Tartarians, ſent by

Stephano

A *Stephano* to giue ſome charge to the Polonians. Although the Coſſackes were fewer in number, yet finding the Tartarians in diſorder, they charged them ſo reſolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the reſt to rout. After which exploit they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano's* army might be about the number of fifteen thouſand men; but they were ſuch as were gathered vp in the country, and not trained vp to armes, who were rather drawne to it by conſtraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy ſucceſſe, together with the report made by the Coſſackes, did greatly encourage *Alexanders* army, being alſo much inſenced againſt *Stephano* for certaine letters which he had written to their Prince, full of threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercy, the which did the more encourage the Polonians, and made them reſolute rather to die fighting, than to B fall into the hands of this cruell tyrant. The ſame day there came certain deputies of the Moldauians to Prince *Alexander*, without the priuity of *Stephano*, to know what his deſigne was, and to intreat him to take pitty of Moldauia, which was threatned with a ſpeedy ruine, if the war continued any longer: to whom the Prince made anſwer, That his intent was not to oppreſſe Moldauia, but to free it from the tyranny of *Stephano*; that he had beene inuited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come vnto him into Polonia to that end, and had giuen him aſſurance, that it was the common deſire of the Moldauians. That vpon this confidence he had marched with what forces he could draw together, and that if he did preuaile in his deſignes (as he aſſured himſelf with their aſſiſtance) he would gouerne them with no leſſe mildneſſe than his father Prince *Ieremy* had done, whoſe ſonne and lawfull ſucceſſour he was. The C deputies returned well ſatisfied with this anſwer, and hauing publiſhed it in diuers places, many Moldauians came and joyned with the Prince his army, and aſſiſted him faithfully in this action.

In October Prince *Alexander* aduancing about three leagues with his army, hee made a ſtand in a faire Champion where there were good Springs to refreſh them, and in the meane time he called a Councell at warre, to reſolue what courſe he ſhould take, and when he ſhould draw the enemy to fight. In the meane time he had ſent a troupe of Coſſackes to diſcouer the army; who brought word that they were ranged in battell, and that they had twenty cannons ready in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that ſome daies before, the Generall of *Stephano's* artillery had ſent to aſſure him, that if he gaue battell, he would D annoy his men as little as he could, hauing a deſire to ſerue the Prince, and by this meanes be reuenged of *Stephano*, who had cauſed his brother in lawes head to be cut off, vpon a falſe ſuſpect which he had conceiued againſt him being innocent. The which ſhould teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more ſecret enemies than cruelty, and that at one time or other they in whom they moſt rely abandon them when as they leaſt expect it. The Vayuod *Stephano* meaning to make a ſecond diſcouery of the Princes army, ſent 1200 Tartarians, and two or three hundred Moldauians, who being ſeene a far off (for that it was in a plaine champaine) the Prince ſent 500 Coſſacks with 400 Polonian lances to encounter them: The Tartarians perceiuing it, made a ſhew at the firſt as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from the campe; and being about a league off, they made a ſtand, thinking that they E durſt not charge them: but they were ſoone deceiued, for the Polonians fell vpon the Tartarians with ſuch fury, as they ouerthrew them, and ſlew moſt of them, ſo as there eſcaped not aboue fiue or ſix hundred, who retyring to their campe cauſed a great amaſement. The Princes army was much encouraged by this exploit, and increaſed daily in number, as it is vſuall in ciuill war to follow that party which hath the firſt aduanced.

The Generall of Stephano's artillery reſolues to betray him.

Preſently after this execution, the Prince meaning to aduance his army towards the enemies campe, his forewardneſſe was ſtaied by a battalion of one thouſand horſe, who had the night before ſeiſed vpon a narrow paſſage, betwixt a poole and a mariſh, by the which they knew the Polonian army muſt paſſe: but this obſtacle was ſoone taken away, by the aduice which was giuen by certaine Moldauians, to ſend a company of horſemen by a way vnknown F to the enemy, by which meanes they might ſurpriſe them behinde, before they ſhould be diſcouered. The execution of this ſtratagem was giuen to the Coſſackes, who ſpeedily went, being guided by certaine Moldauians; who comming within fifty paces of the enemy vndiſcouered, they charged them, and were ſeconded ſo fitly by the foreward, that ſtaid on the other ſide; as of one thouſand horſe there returned not aboue fifty to their campe, to carry G newes of their bad ſucceſſe.

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this paſſage, he aduanced with his army within cannon ſhot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Viſnouiskie* was of opinion, that they ſhould make a kinde of incloſure with their carts, which might ſerue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues; the which being diſcouered by *Stephano*, hee ſhot certaine vollies of cannon through their fort, ſo as there were ſome ſouldiers ſlaine, and ſome hurt: and the Prince anſwered him with the like, but to ſmall effect, for that night ſurpriſed them, neither had they aboue eight ſmall pieces. Prince *Viſnouiskie* ſpent the night to encourage his ſouldiers, letting them vnderſtand that they had no reaſon to be amaſed, although their enemies were more in number, for that moſt of them were peaſants, neuer trained vp in armes H nor ſeene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were ſo many teſtimonies and aſſurances that God did fight for them, and would vſe them to puniſh the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties againſt Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but ſhould returne loaden with rich ſpoiles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did ſo encourage the ſouldiers, as they proteſted all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer, the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderſtand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* Artillery, wherewith they were much comforted. I

The diſpoſition of the two armies.

The next day being the eleuenth of October, they began to put their Armies in battell, during the which there were diuers skirmiſhes, wherein *Alexanders* party had ſtill the aduantage; ſo as it ſeemed they were ſo many preſages of good Fortune which ſhould befall them that day. The Princes army was ordered by *Viſnouiskie*, to whom Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as moſt capable, hauing ſundry times giuen ſufficient proofes of his ſufficiency and valour in other battels. This Generall ſeeing *Stephano's* horſemen diuided into three ſquadrons, and the Tartarians moſt aduanced, he appointed the Coſſackes to encounter with them: the which was judiciouſly and diſcreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but only with the skinnes of certaine beaſts, wherewith they make themſelues to ſeeme as fearefull as they can, obſeruing no order K in their fighting, and vſing cries which are fearefull to ſuch as are not accuſtomed vnto them; and being once broken, they ſeldome returne againe to their charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houſſarskie, being about one thouſand and fiue hundred men well armed, made the ſecond battalion of *Alexanders* army, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand againſt three thouſand Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horſemen. The Hungarian foot being about three thouſand men were in the middeſt of Prince *Alexanders* Army, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of ſome aduantage; and on the left hand was the reſt of the Chaualry, who were led by the Princes *Alexander* and *Viſnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot of the campe where they lodged the night before. L

The battell betwixt Prince Alexander and the Vaynod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing diſpoſed his Army into diuers ſquadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* Army, who found that the Generall of the Artillery had kept his promiſe, for moſt of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commanded the Coſſackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they ſoone defeated. At the ſame inſtant two thouſand light horſe gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an inſtant cut moſt of them in pieces, and the reſt yeelded themſelues; ſo as *Alexander* became maſter of his cannon. The tyrant ſeeing his Infantery in danger to bee defeated, and his cannon loſt, cauſed a battalion of three thouſand Valachian and Moldauian M horſemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the generous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Leunciers charged them ſo furiouſly in the flanke, as that they ſlew almoſt the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the reſt that remained to rout. Preſently after this followed another ſquadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, he

A he wiſely retyred towards his campe, ſeeing his men wearied and tyred with the ſlaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without ſome reſt. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Viſnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the reſt of his horſemen to encounter this laſt battalion of the enemy, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were aſſured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there preſent; which charge continued for the ſpace of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leiſure to take breath, and to gather together what poſſibly hee could of thoſe of his party, to ſuccour them that were then in fight, who were almoſt tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre ingaged. But ſeeing theſe vnexpected ſuccours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were ſo much amaſed at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout and B fled.

Stephano's army defeated.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himſelfe to the reſt of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a ſhew that hee would rather die with them than fly away; but ſeeing the euent of this laſt charge, and his horſemen all in rout: he ſoone reſolued to ſaue himſelfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one ſtroke in this battel. The footmen which remained being about foure thouſand men, ſeeing the ſucceſſe of the battell, yeelded to the mercy of the victors, and cryed out, God ſaue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victory Prince *Alexander* made his entry into the City of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Viſnouiskie* on either ſide, after whom followed his whole army. Entering into the caſtle he was there proclaimed Prince and Vayuod of Moldauia by all the No- C bles and Boyers of the country, the which he would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderſtanding that a great number of the chiefeſt of the inhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forreſt to attend the euent of theſe troubles, he ſent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all aſſurance) to their houſes, cauſing part of his Army to diſlodge, and to be quartered in the country thereabouts; and there were one thouſand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horſe (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) ſent to the city of Vaſſelloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillery, ſome were ſent into Polonia, and ſome were put into the fort of Çochina, the which is as it were the Arſenall of Moldauia.

Alexander proclaimed Prince of Moldauia.

D At the ſame time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no leſſe glory to preſerue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to Councell, to reſolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him and his eſtate, which hee had newly gotten by the ſword: where it was concluded among other things, that hee ſhould ſpeedily ſend an Embaſſadour to the Grand Seigniour, to let him vnderſtand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes againſt his Majeſty, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had beene ſought vnto being in Polonia, and inuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnſpeakeable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had reſolued to root out the Nobility of the ſaid Countrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occaſion. They had alſo charge to giue the Sultan to vnderſtand, That when his Majeſty aduanced *Stephano* to E be Vayuod of Moldauia, he had falſely ſuggeſted that hee was ſonne to a Prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertiſed by his Baſſaes and Counſellours, that his predeceſſour had promiſed to the deceaſed father of Prince *Alexander*, and to Prince *Semeon* his vncle, that after his deceaſe his ſonnes ſhould ſucceed him in the ſaid eſtate, if they ſhewed not themſelues vnworthy, and did pay the yearely tribute of forty thouſand Chequines, which tribute ſince the death of *Ieremy* had beene offered by Prince *Conſtantine*, his eldeſt ſonne, to *Houſſine Aga*, when as hee was ſent to ſettle the ſaid *Stephano*: as alſo that Prince *Alexander* promiſed to pay it hereafter; and if need ſhould be, he would giue Prince *Bougdan* his brother as a ſure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promiſes during the firſt yeare.

Embaſſadours ſent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seigniour.

F The Embaſſadours hauing receiued theſe inſtructions, they tooke their journey ſpeedily to Conſtantinople: But in ſtead of paſſing through Thrace which was their directeſt courſe, they were forced to goe by Tranſyluania, fearing to be hindered by the men of warre

Prince Alexanders Embaſſadours put to death by Stephano.

which then troubled all Thrace. Comming to Buda they went to ſalute the Baſſa which G commanded there, who being a ſpeciall friend to *Stephano*, put them in priſon, violating the Law of Nations obſerued by the moſt barbarous; and afterwards he ſent them to Braille whither the tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They ſay he gaue fifteene thouſand Chequines in recompence to the Baſſa, and to reuenge himſelfe in ſome ſort of Prince *Alexander* in the perſons of his Embaſſadours; he cauſed their heads to be cut off one night after ſupper, and their bodies to be caſt into the Danowe. The death of theſe Embaſſadours was very prejudiciall to Prince *Alexander*, by meanes whereof the Grand Seigniour was not truly aduertiſed of what had paſt in Moldauia, not receiued the complements, offers, and ſubmiſſion of Prince *Alexander*, ſo as he was wonderfully inſenced againſt him, and ſware his ruine, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

Stephano returnes into Moldauia.

Stephano hauing receiued foure thouſand men from *Michna* Prince of Valachia, and gathe- H red together the reliques of his ſcattered army, he marched towards Valachia; whereof Prince *Alexander* being aduertiſed, he ſent Prince *Coreskie* with ſix thouſand horſe, Polonians and Coſſackes to Ticouch a ſtrong frontier towne, to guard that paſſage: And Prince *Alexander* and *Viſnouiskie*, they ſtaied at Yas with the reſt of the army to preſerue the country, and to preuent all alterations in fauour of *Stephano*, who had ſome intelligencers. Within few daies after, the Prince had newes that the Inhabitants of Horreoua (a Countrey in Moldauia conteining about fifteene or ſixteene French leagues in circuit) were in armes, and had ioyned with a great troupe of Tartarians to come and inueſt him, knowing well that Prince *Coreskie* was otherwiſe emploied with part of the Polonian army. *Alexander* ſtaied not to haue theſe Re- I bels come to Yas; but ſent *Viſnouiskie* his brother in law with ſuch forces as he could draw together to encounter with them. They met together within two leagues of the city, where *Viſnouiskie* charged the Tartarians with ſuch fury, as halfe of them were ſlaine vpon the place, and the reſt of them fled: there were a great number of priſoners taken, and all the poore inhabitants of Horreoua were brought vnto Yas in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight hundred Tartarians and others ſlaine, and of the Polonians only fifty, and ſome hundred hurt.

Prince *Alexander* hauing receiued newes of this defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went preſently to horſebacke with his company of French, which hee had onely reſerued about him, to goe and meet with *Viſnouiskie*, and to congratulate his happy victory. This being K done with many complements and embracings, he caſt his eie vpon the poore inhabitants of Horreoua, whom they led like a troupe of ſheepe; and had ſuch commiſeration on them, as he preſently ſent them backe againe, hauing taken their oath of fidelity, hoping that this his clemency would draw the moſt factious to obedience, hauing formerly tried the oppreſſions of a moſt cruell Prince. Prince *Alexander* hauing giuen thankes to God for this new and vnexpected victory, he ſent a Gentleman vnto Prince *Coreskie*, to aduertiſe him thereof, who at the ſame inſtant was buſie to diſpoſe of his troupes to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into Moldauia. The encounter was in a plaine Champaine, hauing on the one ſide the riuer of Sirette, the which diuides Moldauia from Valachia: the skirmiſh continued from tenne of the clocke vntill it was noone with like aduantage; but Prince *Coreskie* L being aduertiſed that *Stephano* was in a ſquadron of horſe which was ſome two hundred paces diſtant from him; he ioyned vnto his troupe foure hundred Gerbeyes, who were well armed, and led by a very valiant Captaine, with the which he charged him with ſuch violence and fury as hee forced them to giue backe, yet fighting in ſuch ſort as the euent ſeemed to be doubtfull: the which being diſcouered by another of the Princes Captaines, who led a troupe of foure hundred light horſe: hee came ſo fitly to ſuccour him, as *Stephano* and his horſemen were forced to fly, whom the Prince purſued and cut in peeces. *Stephano* eſcaped with a troupe which he had reſerued rather for the guard of his perſon, than to fight. Prince *Coreskie* at his returne from the chaſe of his enemies, cauſed the dead to be numbred, where he found that of *Stephano's* ſide were three thouſand and foure hundred men ſlaine vpon the M place, beſides thoſe that were priſoners and wounded; and of his part only three hundred and fifty.

Stephano defeated the ſecond time.

Preſently

A Preſently after this victory, the ſeaſon of the yeare being cold (it beeing the twelfth of Nouember) Prince *Coreskie* put his troupes into garriſon, and returned with one hundred and fifty horſe to Yas, where hee was receiued with much honour and joy. The princeſſe mother to *Alexander*, was yet in Poland, but being aduertiſed of her ſonnes fortunate ſucceſſe, ſhee returned to Yas, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngeſt ſonne, with *Alexandrina* her daughter, who was yet to marry. At whoſe arriuall there was great feaſting and joy; then they began to treat of a marriage betwixt Prince *Coreskie* and the princeſſe *Alexandrina*, the which had beene then conſummated, if *Bellona* had not oppoſed it, ſtirring vp new and more powerfull armies than the precedent, to exerciſe the vertues and valours of the ſaid princes, and to try the patience of the two louers, who loued one another reciprocally from B their youth.

To continue the deduction of new affaires which troubled the quiet of the ſaid Princes more than euer, you muſt vnderſtand that about the end of Nouember this yeare 1615, they were aduertiſed that *Michna* Prince of Valachia with a Baſſa called *Hebraim*, came againſt them with an army of forty thouſand men, Turks, Tartarians and Valachians, to ſuccour the Vayuod *Stephano*: and moreouer, that *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Tranſyluania, had charge from the Grand Seigniour to arme againſt them, and to aſſaile them; which in effect was a falſe alarme; for the ſaid Baſſa had beene ſent by the Grand Seigniot to bring Caphtanes (which are robes of cloath of gold which the Grand Seignior doth vſually ſend in fauour to Princes that are vnder his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who he held to be in peaceable poſſeſſion C of Moldauia; but not with any army, nor with an intent to make war againſt the ſaid Princes; for he was yet ignorant what had paſſed againſt *Stephano*. Notwithſtanding the Princes holding this aduertiſement to be true, aſſembled a Councell of the chiefe Noblemen in Court, where it was reſolued, That an Embaſſador ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to Prince *Michna*, both to know his intent, and to diſcouer whether he marched toward Moldauia, and with what forces. This charge was giuen vnto a braue Gentleman of Polonia called *Boyartſkie*, who parted preſently from Yas, and being entred into Valachia, he vnderſtood that prince *Michna* was then in his towne of Bonza, ſome twenty French leagues diſtant from the frontiers of Moldauia. The Embaſſadour being arriued demanded audience before *Michna*, by whom he was ſent vnto the Baſſa, who at his firſt enterance (without hearing the ſubject of his Embaſſage) D demanded, who had made his maſter *Alexander* ſo bold, as to carry armes in the country of the Grand Seigniour without his authority; for the which hee ſhould be puniſhed, and thoſe that did aſſiſt him: commanding the Embaſſadour preſently to be put in yrons, as if he had beene a theefe or ſome miſerable caitife. The Embaſſadors ſeruants ſeeing how they entreated their maſter, eſcaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to Yas, enformed prince *Alexander* what had paſſed, aſſuring him that *Michna* had no army ready, nor any intent to enter into Moldauia at that time. The Baſſa diſdaining to ſpeake any more to the ſaid Embaſſadour, he gaue charge to ſome of his officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what forces he had: and within few daies after he returned to Conſtantinople, leading the ſaid Embaſſadour thither with him. But as ſoone as they were E arriued, they ſent the Embaſſadour vnto the Diuano, where he was againe examined by a Viſier, and in the end he was condemned by him to the gallies there to remaine perpetually. So little account do theſe barbarous people make, to violate the Law of Nations, eſpecially with Chriſtians, preſuming that all the World ſhould bow vnto them, as if they were gods vpon earth.

An Embaſſador from Prince Alexander to prince Michna.

There was another Embaſſadour ſent by Prince *Alexander* vnto *Bethlem Gabor* who was prince of Tranſyluania, being at Fureuar or Alba-Iulia, whom he receiued very courteouſly; to whom the Embaſſadour deliuered the ſubject of his charge. That Prince *Alexander* his maſter had beene aduertiſed that he made ſome leuie of men to joyne with *Michna* prince of Valachia, and to make war againſt him; the which he could not eaſily beleeue, for that he F had made profeſſion of friendſhip to his deceaſed father, and had no cauſe now to leaue it; entreating and conjuring him, not to meddle in the affaires which hee had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requitall (if any occaſion were offered to ſerue him) he would employ

Prince Alexander ſends an Embaſſador to Bethlem Gabor.

all his meanes. The Embaſſadour hauing ended his ſpeech, he deliuered his Princes letters of credit: To whom *Bethlem Gabor* made this anſwer, That hee neuer had an intent to take armes, nor to attempt any thing againſt Prince *Alexander*, whoſe father was his true friend; neither would he euer giue any cauſe to diſcontinue this loue and friendſhip betwixt them, wherefore he would giue good proofe in all occaſions, eſpecially in this ſubject now in queſtion. The Embaſſadour was much ſatisfied with this anſwer, the which was alſo confirmed by letters; yet he afterwards leuied forces againſt prince *Alexander*, but he would not joyne with *Michna* his army.

To returne to the courſe of our Hiſtory; preſently after the Baſſa his departure from Cicouch to returne to Conſtantinople, prince *Michna* ſent an Embaſſadour to *Alexander* with Letters, by the which he excuſed himſelfe for the ill vſage of his Embaſſadour by the Baſſa, proteſting that he was much grieued, and that it was not with his conſent that he had carried him with him, promiſing to employ his beſt meanes to mediate his deliuery. Moreouer, that hee was not ignorant what authority and power the Grand Seigniour had ouer him, whom he might not reſiſt, nor by conſequence his Baſſaes; that he had no army on foot, as he was giuen to vnderſtand, and that his deſigne was not to ſupport the cauſe of the Vayuod *Stephano*, vnleſſe he were forced by the commandement of the Grand Seigniour. And whereas he entreated him to deliuer his enemy *Stephano* into his hands, hee could not do it, vnleſſe hee ſhould violate the lawes of hoſpitality, in betraying his friend who had fled vnto him for ſuccour, and withall hee ſhould incurre the indignation of the Sultan, and be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of his owne eſtate, hauing no ſufficient meanes to maintaine himſelfe againſt ſo great a power. Prince *Alexander* hauing heard this Embaſſadour, and receiued an anſwer from the prince of Tranſyluania, by the aduice of his Councell diſmiſſed all his footmen, and part of the Coſſackes, retaining only fiue or ſix thouſand men with him during the Winter.

Prince Viſnoniskie poyſoned by a Prieſt.

About this time there was one of the moſt curſed and impious acts committed that euer was heard of. Prince *Viſnoniskie* who was a Proteſtant of the Greeke Church, hauing prepared at Chriſtmas to receiue the communion after their manner, the Prieſt (who had vſually ſerued him in that deuotion, being corrupted with money by his enemies) poyſoned the bread; which the prince hauing receiued, he ſuddenly fell ſicke, and his torments were ſo violent, as he died the next day. This bred a ſuſpition that he had beene poyſoned; whereupon the prieſt was apprehended, who preſently confeſſed that he was guilty, and had beene prouoked by his enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat, who had made vſe of ſo reuerend a Sacrament, to poyſon a prince beloued of all men for his rare vertues; ſo his puniſhment was very ſeuere and long: being bound in a chaire made of copper wire, and a fire made round about him, ſo as he was heard for twelue houres crying out fearefully for the inſupportable paines which he endured. Whileſt that prince *Alexander* and his whole Court mourned for this fatall and vnexpected accident, there arriued a ſpy which hee had ſent into Valachia to obſerue the actions of prince *Michna*, who gaue him to vnderſtand that there was a Baſſa arriued called *Skinder*, with a great and powerfull Army,

Skinder Baſſa comes with an army againſt Prince Alexander.

and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who preſſed them dayly to march into Moldauia; and to begin the warre, hee ſent foure hundred men to ſurpriſe the Towne of Berlada, whereas prince *Coreskie* had left part of his men in garriſon during the Winter: who keeping bad guard, were ſurpriſed and moſt of them cut in pieces; which ſo puffed vp *Stephano* with pride, as he aſſured himſelfe of an eaſie victory. But Prince *Alexander* hearing of this defeat, hee ſent foure hundred Coſſackes, who made ſuch ſpeed, as within three daies after they arriued at Berlada a towne not walled, no more than the reſt, where hauing ſet fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in peeces, and the reſt were burnt; ſo as there eſcaped not aboue fiue or ſix to carry this bad newes vnto their maſter, who was much afflicted.

At the ſame inſtant, when as the Coſſackes were ſent vpon this expedition, prince *Coreskie* deſiring to be reuenged for the defeat of his men, tooke two thouſand fiue hundred choice horſe, and put himſelfe ſpeedily into Vaſſelloy, fearing the garriſon he had left there would

be

A be in like manner ſurpriſed: whereof the Baſſa being aduertiſed, by ſome of the countrymen, he ſent his ſonne (being twelue or thirteene yeares old) and gaue him an old Turke of great experience for his conductor, with ſeuen thouſand men, holding this a good occaſion to get reputation to his ſonne. Prince *Coreskie* being aduertiſed of his march by ſome Moldauians, and that they ſhould ſurpriſe them early in the morning, knowing that they were of neceſſity to paſſe a bridge of wood ouer a riuer that runs by the towne, he diſpoſed his men in ſuch ſort as that the enemy could hardly diſcouer them: ſome of them were lodged within Vaſſelloy, and the reſt were couered with a little mountaine that adjoyned vpon the towne: when as ſome of the Turks had paſſed the bridge, two ſquadrons ſallied from the towne, and charged their forward ſo furiouſly, as they were in a manner all put to the ſword, and amongſt B them the conductor of the whole troupe, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for that the Turks who had marched in a maner all night, to arriue early in the morning, were benummed and halfe dead with cold; the reſt of the Turks which had not yet paſt, hearing the noyſe of this hot alarme, durſt not aduance, but retyred ſpeedily, fearing perchance that the Baſſaes ſonne might be loſt as well as his conductor. Prince *Coreskie* purſued them vnto a village foure leagues diſtant from Vaſſelloy, killing and taking priſoners all he found in the way. Among the priſoners there was one who gaue it out that he was neere kinſeman vnto the Baſſa, who being brought to prince *Alexander*, he receiued him very courteouſly, and gaue him a garment fit for him, hauing beene ſtript of his owne, he alſo gaue him a horſe, and ſent him backe vnto the Baſſa with a good conuoy, to whom he ſent a letter, by the which he in- C treated him not to aduance in fauour of *Stephano*, promiſing that if the Grand Seignior would ſuffer him to enjoy Moldauia quietly, hee would be moſt faithfull vnto him afterwards, and pay him the yeerely accuſtomed tribute: whereof the Baſſa made no great account; for hee was wonderfully incenſed, both for his ſonnes bad ſucceſſe in this enterpriſe, and for the death of the Turkiſh captaine.

Vpon the day of this victory, prince *Alexander* ſent fifteene hundred horſe to fortifie prince *Coreskie*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certaine Borough ſix leagues from Ticouth, whereas the Baſſa and *Michna* were then with their army, being about fiue and twenty thouſand men. Theſe eight hundred men neglecting their guards, did nothing but drinke drunke, and moleſt their hoſtes with all kinde of inſolencies, and forcing their wiues and daughters, D which made them take a reſolution to be reuenged, and to that end they called vnto them certaine Boyers out of the country, who chuſing their time, cut all their throats when they were aſleepe, and moſt of them drunke.

About the end of this yeare prince *Alexander* called a generall councell, whereas the princeſſe his mother, prince *Coreskie*, and all the chiefe noblemen and captaines aſſiſted: where it was reſolued that they ſhould returne to Chochina, being thirty French leagues off; for that it was the ſtrongeſt place and the beſt furniſhed of all Moldauia, and withall they ſhould be far from their enemies, and neere vnto Polonia. According to this reſolution, prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole army, and came in ſome daies march to Cochina, in the extreameſt cold ſeaſon that could be; hauing lodged his troups, the princes ſent di- E uers Gentlemen to all their friends and confederates, to coniure them to come ſpeedily to ſuccour them, and in the meane time they gaue order to make prouiſion of victuals, and of all other things neceſſary for their army. The Baſſa being aduertiſed of this retreat, he marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards Yaſſi, notwithſtanding the extremity of the cold, which was ſo violent that many died vpon the way; whereupon they ſtaied vntill the time was more milde.

Prince Alexander returnes to Cochina.

In the beginning of March, the Lord of *Viſchneuitki* came vnto prince *Alexander* with 3500 Coſſackes, and within few daies after arriued the Lord *Potoskie*, nephew to him who had been taken at the firſt battell, and carried priſoner at Conſtantinople, who brought with him a troupe of fifteene hundred Polonians well armed: there came alſo other ſuccours vnto him, F ſo as by the end of that moneth the princes army was ten or twelue thouſand ſtrong foot and horſe.

Succours come to Prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* hearing of the enemies approch, he ſent forth a thouſand horſe with his company of French Caualliers to diſcouer the enemies army, who ſtaying to refreſh themſelues within halfe a league of the towne of Eſpanocha, whereas *Michna* his Tartarians were lodged; they were diſcouered and preſently inueſted by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to reſiſt ſo great a multitude, yet *Alexanders* men (who had alwaies beene accuſtomed to vanquiſh) behaued themſelues very valiantly, deſiring rather to die, than to yeeld baſely without giuing proofes of their valour. This fight continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night; and of the whole troupe there eſcaped but twelue, ſeuen Polonians, and fiue French, the reſt were either ſlaine or taken priſoners, among the which was the captaine of the French company called *Mounteſpin*, whom they would haue ſent with the reſt to the Grand Seigniours gallies: But *Stephano* preſerued him, vpon promiſe that he would doe him good ſeruice. Heere Fortune (which had hitherto beene fauourable vnto Prince *Alexander*) began to ſhew her inconſtancy, to teach Princes not to runne raſhly into dangers, although they haue had ſome aduantage ouer their enemies.

1616

Ieſuits at Conſtantinople accuſed.

At Conſtantinople about the end of Auguſt this yeare 1616, Enuie, the moſt furious of all the windes that ſhake the affaires of the World, ſtirred vp a horrible tempeſt, whoſe violent guſts fell dangerouſly vpon the Ieſuites ſettled at Pera by the Sultans permiſſion, at the perſuaſion of *Henry* the fourth, the French King; and labours to caſt them vpon the rocks where they might ſuffer ſhipwrecke, ſhamefull to their Order, and prejudiciall to the Chriſtians which liue in the middeſt of Mahometiſme. And to ruine them without all hope of helpe or reliefe, they accuſed them before the Grand Viſier, to be ſpies to Spaine; to giue abſolution to renegadoes; to baptiſe Turks, to conceale fugitiue ſlaues, and to ſend them into Chriſtendome; and withall they objected the doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were tyrants, the which had beene raſhly written by a Spaniard of their Coat: all which crimes are commonly puniſhed at Conſtantinople with death. They ſeiſed vpon their perſons, and lodged them in a dungeon, they were ſix in number, that is to ſay, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis Guilier*, *Dominick Maurice* of Chio, and *Iohn Baptiſta Iobert* their ſuperiour, all foure Prieſts, and two aſſiſtants, and with them a Franciſcan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of Conſtantinople. A ſuſpition of danger in an eſtate is eaſily beleeued vpon the leaſt accident. In the meane time the Emperours Embaſſadour came to Conſtantinople, to renew the truce; they entered with their drummes beating, and their enſignes diſplaied. They which thought to erect trophies to their glory by their ruine of the Ieſuites, made vſe of this entry, and gaue falſe aduertiſements to the Seraglio, that there were in Conſtantinople, and at Pera many thouſands of Chriſtians diſguiſed in the habites of Greekes and Turks, which came with this Embaſſadour, with an intent to put that in execution which the Ieſuites had projected. Moreouer, they enformed the Grand Viſier, and the Muphti, that the Churches in Pera, and the Embaſſadours houſes were full of armes; and that now when as the Turks eſtate, and eſpecially Conſtantinople, was vnprouided of forces, hauing employed their armies in diuers places, and at one inſtant, as in Poland, Perſia, and both the ſeas, that they meant to draw the Greekes into rebellion, and giue an entry to the Coſſackes, by the blacke Sea. The Sultan and his Baſſaes tooke an alarme, they commanded euery man to weare the habit of his owne Nation, with a prohibition to weare any hat except the Frankes, and they to weare a Grecian habit; They alſo inrolled all the Chriſtians in Conſtantinople and Pera. But the Sultan did not thinke his Imperial City of Conſtantinople free from the danger of ſurpriſe by this diligent ſearch, but he would ſeeke his aſſurance in the bloud of the Chriſtians, ſo as he commanded that all the Frankes ſhould be ſlaine without exception. But yet this commandement took no effect, by reaſon of the remonſtrances which the grand Viſier and the Mufti made him, repreſenting vnto him, That by this cruelty he ſhould draw vpon his eſtate a dangerous Warre from all the Chriſtian princes in generall. But all this freed him not from fear; he walks all night vp and down the City, contrary to his vſuall cuſtome, and he cauſed a Frier, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had beene taken with the Ieſuits, to be executed in his preſence; and hee doth expreſſely forbid the paſſage from Conſtantinople to Pera, and from Pera to Conſtantinople.

During this prohibition, the French Embaſſador had paſt from Pera to the city, to ſolicit the Ieſuits libertie. At his return he had found the paſſage ſtopt, he goes vnto the Mufti, and

leaues

A leaues his people in the meane time at the ſea ſide (for it is the cuſtome, to goe to the Soueraigne of *Mahomets* law with a ſmall traine) during the time of his being there, a multitude of people ran downe to the ſhore, to ſee theſe men, thinking for certaine, that they went to put them to death: They lamenting their miſerable fortune, and the Turks charging them furiouſly with injuries, as the men whom they thought practiſed by conſpiracy their ruine. But the grand Viſier hauing written with his owne hand, and ſent one of his people to them that kept the paſſage, the Embaſſadour with his whole traine was ſuffered to paſſe to Pera, but he found the ſtorme as raging at Pera as from whence he came: for one night after, the people of that place fell into ſuch a fury, as it was to be feared the law of Nations would haue beene violated by the inſolency of ſome furious people, although the ſubject were of ſmall importance. B About fiue hundred paces from the French Embaſſadours quarter, there fell out a diſpute in a lodging, betwixt ſome who ſpent the night in ſome kinde of emploiment: the Turks that dwelt neere, being awaked with this noiſe, ran to armes, and trouped together in the ſtreet, beeing in all a thouſand men armed, crying out, that this noiſe came from the Franckes, (that is to ſay from the Chriſtians in the Weſt, as Italians, French, Spaniſh, Engliſh, and others) who meant to riſe; and they reſolued to force the Embaſſadours houſes, and to put all to fire and ſword, if ſome better aduiſed of the troupe had not perſuaded them to delay the execution vntill day, the which being come, the French Embaſſadour had meanes to get the Sultan to interpoſe his ſoueraigne authority, to bridle the inſolency of a multitude inconſiderately inſenced. Such is the danger in the which many times the miniſters of C Chriſtian Princes find themſelues, who for their Maſters ſeruice liue at the mercy of a Nation barbarouſly furious, as the Turkiſh.

A tumult at Pera.

The Ieſuites in the meane time continued priſoners in the dungeon, vntill that the Baron of *Sanſy* Embaſſadour for France, had let the Grand Viſier ſee their innocency, and procured their liberty, and the Sultan by his letters Patents did publiſh the falſehood of the malicious accuſations inuented againſt them: but to auoid the fury of a multitude blind in their paſſions, and dangerous in their fury, they went to ſea to returne to France: but after they had ſojourned ſometime at the Dardanels, they were againe committed to priſon, by reaſon of ſome certaine aduertiſement that was giuen to the Sultan of the ſame ſubſtance: the Sultan informed himſelfe truely of their probity, gaue them their liberty, calling backe to Pera, to D liue there, with the ſame priuiledges they formerly had, and ſuffered the reſt to returne into France.

The Ieſuits ſet at liberty.

Alexander Prince of Moldauia hauing loſt a thouſand horſe neere vnto Cochina, the laſt yere as you haue heard, the Baſſa and *Stephano* were puft vp with this good ſucceſſe; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who hearing that the Princes attended him at Chochina, with a reſolution to defend themſelues, remembring that a certaine Italian making a profeſſion to foretell future things, had told him, That if he euer came to fight with the Polonians, he would be in danger of his life. Wherefore by the aduice of his Chancellor and Campe-maſter, called *Spaterlecha*, he pretended that he had receiued news from his Lieutenant, that there was a great troupe of Tartarians entered into Valachia, and ſpoiled the country; vpon which pretext he E tooke leaue of the Baſſa and returned, leauing all his ſouldiers in the army, reſeruing only an hundred horſe for his guard. Being in Valachia, *Stephano* wrote vnto him, that he had defeated the Polonians in battell, in the which there were ſlaine ſix thouſand men vpon the place, and had taken a great number of priſoners, which they meant to ſend to the grand Seignior: all which was but a meere inuention to mocke *Michna*, and to make him ſorry that he was not in the action: whereupon he was ſo much diſcontented, as he cauſed the heads of his Chancellour and Camp-maſter to be cut off for their bad counſell, charging them that they had ſome ſecret intelligence with the Polonians.

About the end of March, the Baſſa with *Stephano*, and a Tartarian Prince called *Moneza*, reſolued to aduance with their whole army (being twenty thouſand men) towards Chochina, F and being within two leagues, they made a ſtand a whole day to refreſh their men. In the meane time the Princes put their army in order of battell, in a little plaine within a quarter of a league of Chochina, leauing a thouſand choice horſe within the towne vnder the command of

The Baſſa and Stephano defeated at Cochina.

of Prince *Coreskie*, aſſuring themſelues that the Turks would not faile to campe betwixt the
towne and the Princes army, that if they were defeated they might haue no meanes to retire G
into the fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of cannon out of
the fort, which they planted within a trench which was couered with a wood. The Baſſa on
the other ſide thought that he had the Princes at his mercy, being aduertiſed that they had
not halfe ſo many men in their Army; early in the morning hee cauſed his men to march in
good order, who arriued neere to Cochina by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning, where ha-
uing made a ſtand to diſcouer the Princes army, he went and encamped betwixt them and the
towne, as it had beene foreſeene. His men being put in order, the Tartarians who had a great
deſire to be reuenged of the Coſſackes, who had defeated them in many encounters, intreated
to haue the point: the which was granted, and the trumpets ſounding, they aduanced towards H
a battalion of Coſſackes, nothing diſtruſting the cannon which was planted on that ſide, and
not ſeene. Comming within the ſhot, they preſently plaied vpon them, and ouerthrew a great
number of the Tartarians, and terrified the reſt, the which the Ccoſſakes perceiuing, they
charged them furiouſly, and cut the reſt in peeces, and ſo returned towards their army, ſeeing
another ſquadron of Valachians and Moldauians come to ſuccour the Tartarians. The Lord
of *Tiſchewich* with his troup of fifteene or ſixteene hundred horſe well armed, went to encoun-
ter the ſaid ſquadron, which aduanced brauely towards the Princes cannon. The combate
was long without any ſhew of aduantage, which made the Marſhall of the Turks Army to
ſend three thouſand Turks to ſuccour them: and the Princes cauſed a ſquadron of Coſſackes
and Moldauians to aduance, who carried themſelues ſo valiantly, as they forced the Turks to I
retire aboue an hundred paces. Then Prince *Alexander* cryed out, Now my companions, be-
hold the enemy is in diſorder, let vs charge them reſolutely, and the victory is certaine. After
which he aduanced with the reſt of his Army, commanding two cannons ſhould be ſhot off
together, for a ſigne to Prince *Coreskie* that he might ſally forth, and charge the Turks rere-
ward, as it had bin reſolued: But he ſtaied not for the ſignall, being already aduanced aboue
three hundred paces, fearing that the party would be ended without him, or that he ſhould
fayle at need.

Flight of the Baſſa and Stephano.

The Baſſa ſeeing this ſtratagem, which he feared not, and the bad ſucceſſe of his men which
he had ſent to fight, and that he was charged both before and behinde, he began to be amaſed,
and hauing cauſed a ſquadron of two thouſand horſe, Turks and Valachians, to aduance, to K
ſecond his troupes, he retyred apart with *Stephano* (who was no leſſe afraid than himſelfe) with
the reſt of the Turkiſh Cauallary, to attend the euent of the battell. There was neuer a more
furious combat ſeene (which continued for the ſpace of two houres) full of fearefull how-
lings of Turks, who in the end fainted, ſeeing no ſuccours come vnto them: whereas if the
Baſſa and the cowardly *Stephano* had joined with them, they had without doubt fortified their
carriages and renued their forces, and by all apparance woon the victory, which they loſt be-
yond all mens expectation. When as the Baſſa and *Stephano* ſaw that their forces were in
rout, and no meanes to draw them againe together, they began to make a retreat with aboue
two thouſand horſe, which had not yet fought. In the meane time the Princes *Tiſchewich* and
Coreskie (like two thunderbolts of warre) cut all in peeces they could meet; and fearing leſt L
they ſhould make a new head, the Princes drew all their men together, and made a ſtand vpon
the place of battell, not ſuffering their ſouldiers to go to the ſpoile, before they were aſſured
that the enemy was retired in great haſte, fearing the Princes would haue purſued them, the
which they would willingly haue done, if their men and horſes had not beene almoſt tyred
in the former battell, in which there were ſlain aboue twelue thouſand men beſides the woun-
ded and priſoners.

Prince Coresky marries with the Princeſſe Alexandrina.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to Cochina with the other Princes and Noblemen, they
gaue thankes to God for the victory they had obtained againſt the Turks and their confede-
rates; and there was much joy with the Princes and all the Ladies, who were retired into the
fort, attending the euent of this fearefull battell. Prince *Coreskie* burned with deſire to enjoy M
his Miſtreſſe, whom he loued as his owne life; ſo as by a free conſent of all parties, they were
married within two daies after the victory, to the great content of all the Court.

A Whileſt that the Princes began to enjoy the fruits of their victory, the Baſſa and wretched *Stephano* returned to Yas, but finding no ſafety there, they parted preſently; the Baſſa to Conſtantinople, and the tyrant into Valachia to Prince *Michna*, who was his onely ſupport, notwithſtanding that he had mocked him apparantly. But before this wretch departed from Yas (hauing no hope euer to returne againe) he cauſed the towne to be ſet on fire in many places; ſo as of two and twenty thouſand houſes, there were not aboue ſix hundred vntouched. The Princes hauing aduice hereof in the beginning of Aprill, they marched ſpeedily thither, where finding it ſo deſolate, they reſolued to purſue *Stephano* into Valachia, and puniſh him according to his deſeruing. The next day they marched towards Valachia, being to paſſe the riuer of Siretta, there being on the other ſide a Borough in which *Michna* had B foure hundred men in garriſon, to keepe the Frontiers. The Princes arriuing at this place, the garriſon put themſelues in defence, but they were ſoone forced and cut in pieces, ſo as there eſcaped not one, and as for the inhabitants, they were well entreated, hauing made no reſiſtance, and withall they hated *Michna* for the vexations they receiued from the ſaid garriſon. The Army hauing reſted there three dayes, aduanced with all ſpeed towards the City of Bonza, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to make good cheere. The Army beeing come within a league of Bonza, it was diſcouered by ſome countreymen who ran to aduertiſe their Prince, wiſhing him to ſaue himſelfe ſpeedily, for that they had diſcouered the Polonian Army neere the City. *Michna* was ready to ſit downe to dinner, hauing inuited *Stephano* to accompany him: but he was ſo amaſed at this C vnexpected comming of the Princes, as hee ranne himſelfe to his ſtable, and mounted vpon the firſt horſe hee could finde, without ſaddle, and ſo tooke his way towards Tergouiſt, beeing followed by few of his people, one of which gaue him his owne horſe, which was better furniſhed, and as for *Stephano* hauing ſaddled his owne horſe, he fled all alone towards Nicopolis.

Prince Michna and Stephano fly from Bonza.

The Princes being entered Bonza without reſiſtance, they were wonderfully grieued that they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole deſigne, and that Prince *Michna* (to whom they intended no harme) had beene ſo amazed. The Army at the firſt enterance ſpoyled the city, which the Princes could not hinder, nor yet the rauiſhing of many wiues and virgines, which drew the wrath of God vpon them, and in all appearance was the true cauſe of the D miſeries which afterward befell the Princes. During their abode at Bonza to refreſh their men, many Boyers or Noblemen of the Countrey (deſiring to ſhake off the yoke of Prince *Michna's* command, who gouerned inſolently) came vnto Prince *Alexander*, beſeeching him to ſtay in Valachia, promiſing that the whole Nobility would willingly yeeld him all obedience and fidelity. But the Prince (hauing no intent to diſpoſſeſſe *Michna*) thanked them for their good will, the which the Boyers vnderſtanding, they told him, that they would bee glad (ſeeing he refuſed it) that Prince *Cherbanne* (who had beene their Vayuod before *Michna*, and had beene expelled Valachia by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into Germany to the Emperour) might returne and take vpon him the gouernment of Valachia, entreating him to giue him paſſage through Moldauia if he preſented himſelfe, the which Prince *Alexander* E willingly granted, deſiring much that Prince *Cherbanne* were reſtored, for that *Michna* fauoured his enemy, and had himſelfe a deſigne vpon the eſtate of Moldauia, which in the end he obtained.

Prince Alexander refuſeth the eſtate of Valachia.

Prince *Michna* being come to Playa, which is betwixt Bonza and Tergouiſt, he ſtayed ſome dayes there attending his traine, during the which he ſent ſpeedily to his wife being at Tergouiſt, willing her to goe with all ſpeed to Nicopolis: for that he feared the Princes would ſeiſe both vpon them and their eſtates, as they might eaſily haue done, if they had foreſeene what afterwards befell them. *Michna* being come to Tergouiſt, he preſently ſent an Embaſſadour to Prince *Alexander*, to know vpon what deſigne hee had entered Valachia with an Army, hauing no cauſe; but contrariwiſe, that he had giuen good teſtimony that F he was his friend, for that hee would not aſſiſt the Baſſa and *Stephano*, when they purſued him to Cochina, notwithſtanding that they were much ſtronger in ſhew; That if his intent were onely to ſeiſe vpon *Stephano*, hee aſſured him that hee was not with him, but was fled another way; promiſing that if he could euer take him, he would deliuer him into his hands:

intreating him withall to retire out of his eſtate, not ſuffering his army to ſpoyle it any more, and that they might continue good friends. Prince *Alexander* receiued this Embaſſadour very courteouſly, who hearing the ſubiect of his Embaſſie, made anſwere, That hee had the day before ſent vnto his Maſter to informe him of his intent, which was not to attempt any thing againſt his perſon nor eſtate, but onely to purſue *Stephano* who had ſet fire on the City of Yas before he parted: and to let *Michna* know, That he meant not to wrong him, nor to enrich himſelfe with any thing that was his, he had ſent him backe his plate, with all his rich mooueables. *Michna's* Embaſſadour hauing thanked Prince *Alexander*, returned to Tergouiſta, and found all true that the Prince had ſaid; the which freed *Michna* from further feare.

1500 Tartarians defeated by Troianoskie.

Before Prince *Alexanders* departure from Bonza, he ſent the Lord *Troianoskie* with two thouſand horſe to purſue *Stephano*: but it was without effect, for he vnderſtood that he had paſſed the riuer of Danow with his wife, and a ſmall traine. At the ſame time a troupe of fifteene hundred Tartarians, being aduertiſed that the Polonians purſued *Stephano* onely with a thouſand horſe, and that they were tyred with their long marches, aduanced to charge them; but it was not with that ſucceſſe they expected: for *Troianoskie* diſcouering them a farre off in a plaine champion field, had leaſure to put his men into foure ſquadrons, and there attended them, who approching neere to diſcouer the number of the Polonians, would gladly return without blowes, but it was too late: for *Troianoskie* commanded two of his ſquadrons to charge them ſuddenly, ſo as within leſſe than a quarter of an houre they were defeated, and aboue foure hundred ſlaine vpon the place, the reſt fled the ſame way that they came: of the Polonians there were not aboue fiue and twenty ſlaine, and about fifty hurt.

The Princes had reſolued to leaue Valachia, forbidding all Captaines and ſouldiers vpon paine of death to carry away any Valachian of either ſex with them, hearing they had ſeiſed vpon ſome, and meant to draw a ranſome from them: after which they began to march, and being vpon the way, they were aduertiſed that the inhabitants of Horreoua were againe reuolted and in armes, refuſing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, or to pay the accuſtomed tribute, vnleſſe he would make it appeare that he was confirmed by the Grand Seignior. Prince *Coreskie* was ſent thither with fiue thouſand men, whoſe comming did ſo amaze them, as they yeelded without any reſiſtance. This Prince being loath to loſe any time, laid ſiege to the towne and fort of Bialigront, ſeated vpon the riuer of Bohou, the which was held by the Tartarians Præcopences, in which fort there was a garriſon of Ianizaries, and many Boyers of Moldauia, who defended themſelues valiantly, and made many ſallies, in which they ſlew aboue three hundred of the Princes men, and he himſelfe was in danger to be taken, if he had not beene ſpeedily deliuered by the Lord of *Tiſcheuich* and his troupe, who charged the Ianizaries ſo reſolutely, as they forced them to retire, leauing many of their men dead vpon the place. The Prince ſeeing there was no hope to take the place without cannon, raiſed his ſiege and returned to Yas to Prince *Alexander*.

Stephano in diſgrace with the Sultan.

Soone after, *Hebraim Baſſa* wrote to Prince *Alexander* (as if he had beene his friend) giuing him to vnderſtand, That from thenceforth hee ſhould liue quietly in Moldauia, for that the Grand Seigniours Lieutenant Generall or chiefe Viſier (from whom *Stephano* had alwaies drawne his chiefe ſupport) was in diſgrace, promiſing the Prince to employ himſelfe for him to his Maſter: the which he did either to make him careleſſe of his owne ſtrength, or to draw ſome recompence or reward from him, if the Grand Seigniour ſhould confirme him in Moldauia, as there was ſome likelihood, ſeeing that *Stephano* had made himſelfe altogether vnworthy; as well by his flight, as by his wicked actions, which made him in the end ſo odious to the Grand Seigniour, as hee reſolued to ruine him. So as ſoone after they were aduertiſed, That the Grand Seigniour had giuen commandement vnto the ſaid Baſſa to ſeize vpon *Stephano*, who had retired himſelfe to Brahile, and to bring him vnto him aliue or dead, with whatſoeuer did belong vnto him: the which he executed after this manner: the ſaid Baſſa marched with all diligence towards Brahile, carrying a Chiaux with him, and being within foure or fiue leagues of the towne, he ſent one of his people to aduertiſe *Stephano* of his comming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who diſtruſted nothing)

A nothing) holding the Viſier to be ſtil his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and
comming neer him he alighted from his horſe to do him reuerence, and the Baſſa did the like;
where after ſome little conference together, he drew out the commiſſion he had to ſeiſe vpon
his perſon, and to cary him to Conſtantinople. The which *Stephano* perceiuing, he turned him
to his ſeruants, and willed them to ſhift for themſelues, for that hee ſaw hee went to his death.
His men being retired, the Chiaus who had his mace in his hand gaue him a blow betweene
the ſhoulders, and then cauſed him to be bound hand and foot, and caſt into a cart drawne by
four good horſes, and in this maner they caried him to Conſtantinople: where being arriued,
to auoid the puniſhment he had deſerued, he denied his faith and became a renegado, & withall
he became very poor and miſerable; for at the ſame inſtant when he was taken, the Baſſa
B ſent to ſeiſe and carry away whatſoeuer he had at Brahile & Nicopolis, where his wife remained;
ſo as he had nothing left him but remorſe of conſcience, which tormented him continually,
for the barbarous cruelties he had practiſed in Moldauia. Some of his men returned to
Yas, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their preſence, for which they generally
gaue thanks vnto God, and were very ioyfull.

Soon after, newes came to Yas, That the Sultan had appointed prince *Michna* to ſucceed
Stephano in the principalitie of Moldauia (which is far better than that of Valachia) and that
he ſent *Skinder Baſſa* his General in Europ, with a powerfull army to ſettle the ſaid *Michna*,
and to expel *Alexander*. The which proued ſo true, as on the 25 of Iune this yeare *1616*, the
ſaid Baſſa came to Tergouiſt, where prince *Michna* attended him, with great preparatiues
C both to receiue him and to refreſh his army. The Baſſa entring into Tergouiſt, had amongſt
other things of note, thirty or forty muſitians on horſeback, playing vpon certain inſtruments
almoſt like to gitterns, which made but ſilly muſick; he had alſo many pages, who in ſtead of
cloaks ware the skins of leopards, lions, and tygers, as if they meant to terrifie the world; and
his army conſiſted of about 20000 men, ſome Turks, ſome Tartars; to whom *Michna* joyned
his forces, hauing 10000 horſe and foot which he had drawn from Valachia and the neighbor
countries. The Baſſa being entred the caſtle wheras prince *Michna* attended him, after many
complements they entred into a great hall wel appointed, where the Baſſa preſented him
with his letters patents, and a robe which his maſter had ſent to *Michna*, which hee cauſed to
be put on in the preſence of all the noblemen of his court, proclaiming him prince of Moldauia,
D with many ceremonies too long to relate. After which, prince *Michna* led the Baſſa into
another great hall, where a feaſt was prepared, both for himſelfe and ſuch as hee would admit
to his table; *Michna* offering to ſerue the Baſſa, but he would not ſuffer him, cauſing him to ſit
down right againſt him. On the ſecond of Iuly they departed from Tergouiſt, and marched
into Moldauia: wherof the Polonian princes were aduertiſed; but the princeſſe mother to *Alexander*
maintained, that the Baſſa came only to bring the patents to her ſon. Which dangerous
opinion of hers grew by reaſon of the letters which *Hebraim Baſſa* had ſent to prince *Alexander*;
not remembring that it came from a Turk his ſworn enemy, and therefore not to bee
credited, eſpecially in a matter of that importance; ſo as ſhe was the cauſe of their vtter ruine.

Michna proclaimed Prince of Moldauia.

About this time, the General of the king of Polonia's Army, called *Zolkelchy*, enuying the
E honor which the Polonian princes had gotten by ſo many victories, and withall drawn by his
own priuat intereſt, writ to prince *Michna* and the Baſſa, That if they would promiſe to procure
the Sultan to aduance the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed prince *Simeon* (who liued with him)
to be Prince of Valachia (whereof his father had bin formerly Vayuod) he would ſo weaken
the Princes army, as they ſhould be forced to yeeld or flie. Whoſe demand being eaſily granted,
this traitor writ to certaine Captaines of the Coſſacks, that they ſhould leaue the Princes
army, and come with all ſpeed into Poland, to accompanie *Vladiſlaus* their Kings ſon, who
had been choſen Duke of Muſcouie, and meant to go thither with a great army by reaſon of
ſome croſſes; and that they ſhould be very well paid. The Coſſackes (who depend vpon the
Crowne of Poland, ſeruing thoſe that promiſe) moſt began to mutiny, ſaying plainly, That if
F they had not money ſpeedily, they would retire into their countrey, yet concealing that they
had bin called to any other ſeruice; and without any long ſtay, there parted early in a morning
about 8000, carrying with them great ſtore of oxen, ſheepe, and other cattell, with all the
ſpoyles they had gotten in the precedent victories.

The Coſſackes mutinie and leaue Prince Alexander.

After their example, *Bicho* General of Prince *Alexanders* army, whether corrupted by bribes,

or for that he had an apprehenſion of this powerfull army that came againſt them, retired alſo
ſecretly toward *Michna* and the Baſſa, being followed by 2000 horſe. This much amaſed G
the princes army, & yet as if they had bin inchanted by ſome diuelliſh charms, they could not
reſolue to make a retreit while they might haue don it without danger. Many aduiſed prince
Alexander to this courſe, yea prince *Michna* by letters perſuaded him to return into Polonia,
before his army came neerer to Yas. Which he did for fear of the ſucceſſe, wherof his falſe
prophet had forewarned him, as is formerly noted. Wherupon *Alexander* went to councel the
25 of Iuly, but they could not reſolue; the commaunders and ſouldiers being much diuided,
moſt of them demanding their pay, elſe they would not fight; the which they took for a pretence
of their retreit. In the mean time the Tartars, who made the vantgard of prince *Michna's*
army, approched; which made the princes to leaue Yas, & to march toward Cochina: but
they could not do it ſo ſecretly but the Tartars heard of it, who paſt ſpeedily thorow the city H
and charged them in the reare. In which incounter *George Potoskie*, Nephew to him that was
taken with *Conſtantine*, hauing fought valiantly, & ſlain many Tartars with his own hand, was
in the end ſhot thorow the body with an arrow, wherof he died preſently. The lord *Tiſchevich*
came ſpeedily to the charge with a troupe of Coſſacks which he had ſtaied, and charged the
Tartars ſo furiouſly, as he ſlew 800 vpon the place and put the reſt to rout.

Alexander hauing receiued the forementioned letter from prince *Michna*, made anſwer, that
contrary to his promiſe to continue his friend, & neuer to take arms againſt him, he had craued
aid of the Turk to diſpoſſeſſe him of Moldauia, to which his predeceſſor had neuer pretended,
neither could they according to the fundamentall lawes of the country, and the conuentions I
accorded by the grand Seignior when as the Moldauians ſubmitted themſelues vnder
his ſoueraignty, by the which no man could be Vayuod of Moldauia vnleſſe he were born
in the country. Moreouer, he ſhould remember that it was in his power to diſpoſſeſſe him of
Valachia, when as he entred Bonza with his army in purſuit of *Stephano*: the which he would
not do, nor detain any of his pretious moueables, but had ſent them all vnto him. That if hee
abuſed the power which he then had, God would not ſuffer ſo great an ingratitude and vſurpation
to paſſe vnpuniſhed. And although his army were far inferior to his, yet he ſhould know
hee neither feared him nor the Baſſa, putting his chiefe confidence in the Almighties aſſiſtance,
who had in many occaſions vſed them to abate the Turkes pride, which hee ſhould abhor
if he were a true Chriſtian, rather than to join with them to ſatisfie his ambition. K

Prince *Michna* hauing ſent this letter to *Skinder Baſſa* Generall of the Turks army, he was ſo
inſenced, as hee preſently commaunded his Lieutenant to purſue the Polonians with 12000
choice men, they being then at Cotnard betwixt Yas and Cochina. Prince *Alexander* beeing
aduertiſed hereof, he ſuddenly cauſed his army to aduance towards the fort of Cochina. At
the ſame time Prince *Cherbannes* Chancellour, who came with a hundred and fifty horſe vnto
prince *Alexander*, to aduertiſe him that his maſter was comming to his aid with fiue or ſixe
thouſand men, was purſued by the Turks neer vnto Yas, wheras he thought to haue found the
ſaid prince; and of all his troupe only himſelf and one more eſcaped, ſo as the prince could
haue no certain news of the ſaid *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coresky*, who had ſtaied with 2500 horſe
not far from Cotnard, was alſo incountred with a great troup of Turks and Tartars, which he L
could not wel diſcouer by reaſon of a little mountain that couered them. The prince ſeeing
ſome of them appear, charged them; but finding that as he defeated one troup, a freſh ſucceeded
in his place, he was forced to retire, with this aduantage, that he had ſlain almoſt 6000 of
his enemies, hauing not loſt aboue 250 of his owne men. But the prince was wounded with
two arrows, one in the thigh, and the other in the backe, which was a great diſaſter for himſelf
and for the whole army. He which commanded this troup of Turkes being very much amaſed
at this vnexpected incounter, hauing gathered his men together, and joined them to fifteen
thouſand others whom the Baſſa had ſent, he being yet at Yas, he cauſed this army to approch
within a quarter of a league of the Polonians; where hauing incouraged his men in
what he could, he told them, That to ſhew his affection vnto the Sultans ſeruice in this occaſion, M
he was reſolued to ſend a challenge to prince *Coresky*, whom hee confeſſed to be the moſt
valiant man of all the Polonian army. So as he preſently diſpatched one of his Captaines to
go vnto the prince, and to call him in the behalfe of his Generall. The Captaine comming
to *Alexanders* camp, demanded to ſpeak with prince *Coresky*; who being brought vnto him, de-

Prince Coresky challenged by the Turks Generall.

liuered

A liuered the charge he had from the Generall. The prince, although he were neither able to ſtand, nor to ſit on horſebacke, by reaſon of his wounds, yet would needs haue accepted this challenge, if prince *Alexander* and the chiefe noblemen of the army had not coniured him to excuſe himſelfe by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, letting him know, that the euent of ſuch a combat did not only import him, but all thoſe of his party, who had their chief hope in him. Whereunto the princeſſes added their inſtant intreaties, and among others his deare Spouſe, who was much afflicted for his wounds. The Lord *Tiſchenich* a braue and valiant Gentleman being then preſent, earneſtly intreated prince *Alexander* to giue him leaue to accept of the challenge for prince *Coresky* his couſin: the which being eaſily granted, he ſent a Gentleman with the ſaid Turk, to know if the General would yeeld thereunto. Which he did willingly,
B not being ignorant of the qualitie and valour of the ſaid *Tiſchenich*. It was agreed, That the combat ſhould be betwixt both armies, lying in an open field, within a quarter of a league of one another, with promiſe that neither party ſhould be aſſiſted.

These two braue warriors hauing taken leaue of their friends, came to the place appointed in view of both armies. The Turks General being about fifty paces from his army, cauſed water to be brought, with which he waſhed his mouth, eies, noſe, ears, and priuy parts, beleeuing (according to his Law) that this waſhing would ſerue as a purifying: then turning toward the Eaſt he made his prayer, after which he went to horſeback, being richly armed and furniſhed, and then marched ſoftly toward his aduerſarie, who attended him well mounted and armed, and ſo began the combat; their chief arms being bows and arrows, which they ſpent without
C hurting one another; til at laſt *Tiſchenich* hauing a petronel, ſhot the Turke thorow the body and ouerthrew him, who ſtriuing to riſe again, *Tiſchenich* paſſed ouer him with his horſe, and wounded him in his right arm, and at the next blow ſlew him: after which he cut off his head and caried it to prince *Alexander*.

The Polonians were very ioyfull of the happy ſucceſſe of this famous combat; and the Turks being much amaſed, aduertiſed the Baſſa and *Michna*, That they ſhould bring the reſt of the army and their cannon, if they would be reuenged of the Polonians. In the mean time the traitor *Bicho*, who had abandoned prince *Alexander*, with a troup of two thouſand Tartarians and Moldauians found means to get before the Polonian army, and to cut off the way betwixt Cotnarde and the town of Bothocan ſix leagues off. The Valachians and Tranſylva-
D nians led by the General of *Michna's* army inueſted them vpon the right hand, and the body of the Turks army followed behind: ſo as there remained nothing but vpon the left hand a wood of timber trees, which might fauor their retreit.

Skinder Baſſa hearing the ſucceſſe of the combat, commanded his army to aduance preſently with ſixteen canons. The Princes ſeeing themſelues inuironed by ſo many enemies, they reſolued to fortifie themſelues with their carts and carriages, and to defend themſelues. But what could fiue or ſix thouſand men preuail againſt two or three and twenty thouſand; for ſo many were thought to be in the Turks army. True it is, they expected daily prince *Chorkasne* & the lord *Boſſi*, who were within two dais iourny, and brought with them ten or 12000 men. This made the Baſſa and *Michna* to aduance, to force the Polonians to yeeld or to fight. Com-
E ming neer vnto their camp, and ſeeing themſelues inueſted on all ſides but toward the wood, they approched their cannon, which had been able to haue ſpoyled their Campe, but that it was not their deſigne; for they only deſired to take the princes and princeſſes priſoners, with the chiefe Noblemen and Captaines of the Army. Whereupon they ſent to ſummon the Polonian ſouldiers to deliuer into their hands the ſaid princes and Lords, promiſing that the reſt of the Army ſhould depart with bag and baggage. Whereunto they would not yeeld, but made an anſwer with one conſent, That they would rather die than commit ſuch baſeneſſe and treacherie. This being reported to the Baſſa and prince *Michna*, they commaunded that ſome of their canon ſhould be charged with ſmall bullets, and diſcharged through the Polonian army, wherby a great number were ſlaine and wounded. The princes who had but ſome
F ſmal pieces, made certain vollies, but to ſmall purpoſe: neither had they any more bullets left, and little pouder, for that by il chance part had bin burnt ſome few daies before: ſo that all things ſeemed to foretell their ruine at hand. The Lord *Tiſchenich* hauing diligently obſerued, that remaining in that incloſure he could not eſcape death, or at leaſt captiuity, reſolued

The princes of Polonia inuironed by their enemies.

with 300 horſe, the moſt valiant amongſt the Polonians, to force thorow three or four ſquadrons which were ſet in gard by the wood ſide, to the end none might eſcape, that place beeing moſt ſuſpected by the Turks. The which they executed with ſuch fury, as they ouerthrew all they incountred; ſhewing that it is a very dangerous thing to make head againſt thoſe who are reduced to that extremitie as they muſt either vanquiſh or die. Prince *Coresky* would not haue failed to haue made the like retreit, and to haue carried prince *Alexander* with him, but he could not ſit on horſeback by reaſon of his wounds: and beſides, he had rather haue died, than to leaue his wife in that extremitie. His laſt refuge was to diſguiſe himſelf as well as he could, giuing it out that he was eſcaped with *Tiſchevich*, that ſo he might paſſe for a common ſoldier if the priſoners were put to ranſom. In like maner the Princeſſes diſguiſed themſelues for the like intent.

The Turks cannon hauing ouerthrown many of their cariages, which ſerued as a Rampier, two ſquadrons, one of Tartars, another of Turks, preſented themſelues at one inſtant, in two ſeueral places to force the Polonian camp; who ſeeing no means to make reſiſtance and to repel their enemies, laid down their arms, and yeelded. Wherat their enemies were exceeding glad, deſiring nothing more than to take theſe noble princes priſoners, and to diſpoſe of the reſt at their pleaſure. The Turks and Tartars hauing entred their camp, making ſpoil of all, and ſeiſing vpon what they could lay hands on, beginning to ſhare their priſoners, the princes *lexander* and *Bougdan*, with their mother, were deliuered vnto *Skinder Baſſa*, who led them to Conſtantinople, wheras ſoon after their arriual they forſook their God, denied their faith, and became renegado's, for fear of perpetual impriſonment wherewith they were threatened. For which infidelitie *Bougdan* was preſently puniſhed, for hauing cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed according to the Law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the Princeſſe his mother was confined to the old Seraglio. As for prince *Coreskie*, in this generall ruin of a Chriſtian army (being forced to yeeld and ſubmit it ſelfe to the Turks tyrannie) he had ſo diſguiſed himſelfe, that hee paſt for a time vnknown, and was led to Yas among the common ſoldiers; where he was afterwards diſcouered by a ſoldier of his own party, who obtained his libertie by this baſe trecherie. The Turkiſh Captaine who had gotten the Prince, hearing of his qualitie by the aforeſaid Villein, he led him vnto *Skinder Baſſa* the Generall, who recompenced him well, and made both him and the ſouldier that diſcouered him, to take ſolemne oathes not to impart it to any man; for he had an intent to draw ſome great ranſom from this prince, and to reſtore him to his former libertie, knowing wel, that if he caried him to Conſtantinople the grand Seignior would confine him into his priſons, by which means he ſhould make no vſe nor benefit by his taking. But it happed, that another Perfidious of the Polonian army aduertiſed *Michna* of *Coreskies* captiuitie, and in whoſe hands he was; who was ſo jealous, as he croſt and ouerthrew the good deſigne of *Skinden Baſſa*, telling him plainly in the preſence of many, That hee knew for certain prince *Coresky* was among his ſlaues, and that he ſhould beware he did not eſcape, for that the grand Seignior would call him to account. The General anſwered, That he would be glad if it were ſo, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good aduice. But fearing that if he did what he intended, ſuffering prince *Coresky* to eſcape for a ranſom, the Sultan comming to the knowledge therof would be much inſenced, and puniſh him with diſgrace or death, the next day he told prince *Michna* plainely, that the aduice that hee had giuen him was true, and that *Coresky* had bin found diſguiſed among his other priſoners, whom he would preſent vnto his maſter, with the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*; as he did, of whoſe deliuerie you ſhall heare hereafter. The yong princeſſe wife to *Coresky*, hauing diſguiſed her ſelfe and diſ-figured her face with her nailes and other helpes, fel into the hands of a Tartarian captain, with many others, who caried her into Tartarie, wheras ſhe was inhumanly intreated.

The Princes taken priſoners.

In the Mediterranian ſea *Coſmo* great Duke of Tuſcanie continued his enterpriſes this yeare againſt the Turks: his gallies part from Ligorne and runne into the Leuant, in queſt of ſome occaſions to anoy theſe infidels. They drew neere vnto Cerigo, in old time *Cythera*, the twenty fift of April, where meeting with certaine Chriſtian ſhips, ſome Venetians aduertiſed them, That in the Iſland of Chio the Turkes had prepared two gallies to paſſe into Barbarie. *Inghirami* Admiral to the great Duke reſolued to ſet vpon them: beeing on the way,

he

A he turned with his fleet where they were to paſſe, and being couered by the night, hee caſt anchor vnder caſtle Roux. But as he attended a fair occaſion, the Moone ſhining diſcouered him vnto the Turks; and the gards hauing aduertiſed the Turkes Gallies, they preſently began to flie, the one rowing amaine towards land, and the other continuing her courſe at ſea with all ſpeed. *Inghirami* with his Admirall gally got before that which was going to land, inueſted it (being followed by the gally called S. *Stephen*) and three houres within night grapled with it, and labored to enter it: but the Turks (who were all good ſouldiers) defended it valiantly, ſo as they were aboue an hour faſtned together, hewing one another furiouſly: yea the Turks entring *Inghirami* his gally, fought valiantly vpon the hatches, but in the end the Florentines had the victorie, and took this gally, yet with much loſſe of Chriſtian bloud. It was the Patron gally of that famous pyrat *Amurath Raiſe*, which was commanded by the ſon of *Mammi* a
B Portugall, called *Muſtapha Celebi*, who was taken aliue, but ſore wounded. The other Galley which was fled to ſea, and was the Captaine galley of the ſaid *Amurath Raiſe*, commanded by the Bey of Mitylene, nephew and ſon in law to the ſaid pirat, called *Amurath*, who had married his daughter, being his mothers ſon, was inueſted by the gallies of S. *Mary Magdalen*, and the Patron S. *Coſmo*. This combat was no leſſe furious than the other, the Turkes making a wonderful defence: but in the end, the bloud on either ſide being abundantly ſpilt, the Florentines had the victorie. *Amurath* Bey of Mitylene was ſlain, and *Muſtapha*, whom theſe Turkiſh gallies carried to Algier in Barbary. They were of twenty fiue bankes a piece, carrying lanthorns, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, manned with 420 Ianizaries, all men of a-
C ction, and practiſed in piracies with that pirat *Amurath Rais*. In this prize the Florentines took 240 Turks, and freed 430 Chriſtians: among the artillery of theſe gallies they recouered a cannon and two ſacres of the gally of S. *Iohn*, and a ſail belonging to the great dukes captain gally, which the pirat *Amurath Rais* had formerly ſpoiled. Theſe Turkiſh gallies were loden with great ſtore of rich commodities, the which were valued at 200000 crownes. But this conqueſt was got with the loſſe of much bloud; for of the Florentines two hundred twenty three men were wounded, and 35 ſlain in thoſe two combats: which made the Admiral *Inghirami* to reſt ſatisfied in this voyage with the taking of two gallies, after which hee returned to Ligorn.

Turkiſh gallies taken by the Florentines.

We haue formerly made mention in the Ieſuits buſineſſe, being preſented at Conſtantino-
D ple, of the Emperors Embaſſadors entry into that city: and this was the effect of his Embaſſage. The peace concluded at Situa Torok, *Anno* 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan, was ſomewhat altred by the diuers interpretations and explications which they made of the articles therin contained; but this year 1616, in the month of March, the Embaſſadors of both their Imperial Maieſties aſſembled at Vienna: namely the Cardinall *Forgatſie* Archbiſhop of Strigonium and Chancellor to the Emperor, Cardinal *Kleſſel* Biſhop of Vienna, the Baron of Rainek, Count *Adolph Althem*, the Earle of Solmes, the Earle of Thoron, and *Paull Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperor: *Hali* Baſſa of Buda, *Achmat Tybaia*, and *Gaſper Gratſiani* for the Turk. Where they concluded theſe following articles, to take away all pretext of controuerſie, in the explication of thoſe which were agreed vpon at Situa Torok. But it was after that
E Embaſſadors had been ſent on either ſide, as well to Conſtantinople as to Prague, with royall and rich preſents.

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of *Achmat* Emperor of the Turks.

1 *Foraſmuch as many things haue hapned on either ſide, contrary to the peace concluded at Situa Torok, it hath bin neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to reduce it into the right courſe. Wherfore this holy peace made and concluded at Situa Torok ſhall be obſerued for twenty yeares compleat, to begin at*
F *the date of theſe preſents. Giuen in the month of Chomazilabil, in the year of the Prophet* 1024.

2 *That the Peace hertofore concluded at Situa Torok ſhall remain firm in all the articles, according to the treaty which the Emperor* Rodulphus *did ſend vnto vs, ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeal; the which we haue receiued willingly, and the ſame treaty we alſo ſent back confirmed to the Emperor*

of the Romans; the which he receiued in like maner. And this treaty which was ſent vnto vs, bare date the G *ninth of December, in the year 1606, of* Ieſus *of reuerend and happy memory: and that which wee ſent vnto the Emperor of Romans, wherwith he was ſatisfied, was dated in the year of the Prophet 1021.*

3 *Since the time that Agria, Caniſe, Alba-Regalis, Peſth, Buda, Solnoc, Hatwan, and other places haue bin taken, that the villages which were of their appurtenances ſhall hereafter remain annexed vnto them. But thoſe villages which ſince the peace of Situa Torok, haue bin hindred from paying of their tribute on either ſide, or haue bin held by force, contrary to the treaty of peace, that thoſe villages ſhall bee viewed by Commiſſaries appointed by vs and the Emperor of the Romans, and preſently ſhall bee ſet at libertie, and reſtored to their Lords and right owners. As for the villages which pay tribute to either part, thoſe which are ſcituat vpon the frontiers of the Emperour of the Romanes, toward Novigrade and other places, ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries therunto deputed, who ſhall take a regiſter, to the end thoſe villages may not be moleſted by their neighbors.* H *In like manner the Commiſſarie ſhall make a regiſter of the villages that pay to both ſides, lying neer the towns of the Emperor of Romans, of Strigonium, and other places; to the end they may take notice what villages are bound to the one or to the other party, that hereafter there might grow no controuerſie. And for that which concerned the 158 villages about Strigonium, for the which there was ſome controuerſie; the 60 lying neereſt vnto the ſaid towne ſhall be adiudged as it hath bin agreed, and the Commiſſaries of either ſide ſhall take order for it. The foreſaid villages lying neer to Strigonium, and all other of the realm of Hungary, which ſhall be adiudged to the one or other party ſhall not in any ſort be diſquieted, more than of antient cuſtome, and there ſhall nothing bee exacted from them more than the tribute.*

The Iudges of villages ſhall pay vnto the Lords the tributes according to the antient cuſtome; If the I *Iudges do not bring the tribute, the Baſſa or Beg of the place ſhall ſummon the Inhabitants thrice, to the end their Iudges may come and pay their tribute: and if they do it not after theſe ſummonings, hee ſhall write vnto the next Gouernor for the Roman Empire, that the Iudges of the villages may be ſent to him with the tribute. And finally, if after all theſe formalities it be not payed, the Baſſa or Beg may vſe force to fetch in theſe Inhabitants and make them ſlaues. The which ſhall be obſerued thorowout all the villages which owe vs tribute in the realm of Hungary; yet nothing ſhall bee exacted or demaunded of them, more than they haue been accuſtomed to pay in antient times. The Commiſſaries deputed, ſhall view and ſet down by a ioynt conſent, the limits and bounds of the lands and signiories which are held by either part in the vpper or lower Hungary, and in the realms of Croatia and Sclavonia.*

4 *They that ſhall break the peace of either part, if they canot be conuicted and puniſhed inſtantly, we* K *haue decreed, That there ſhall be order taken on either ſide, and iuſtice ſhall be don within three moneths. All priſoners of war, and others that haue bin taken ſince the peace of Torok, ſhall be ſet at liberty without ranſome.*

5 **Achmet Tahaia** *hath preſented vnto vs a Roll of places built and fortified ſince the peace, for the retreat of ſoldiers. Wherupon we haue ordained, That information ſhall be taken of all fortifications made on either ſide ſince the peace of Situa Torok; and if it be found that any fortification hath bin made contrary to the peace, it ſhall be viſited within three moneths, by the captains on both ſides, or by a Nobleman of either party, and the fortifications which ſhall be found to haue bin thus made contrary vnto the peace, ſhall be demoliſhed.*

6 *And for that ſome wicked and malicious ſpirits haue attempted many things vniuſtly, to infringe* L *this holy peace and good amity, we haue ordained, That if herafter any perſon on either ſide ſhall attempt or practiſe any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrary to the peace and mutuall correſpondencie, wee will aduertiſe the Emperor of Romans therof: and in like maner the Roman Emperour, King of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall write vnto vs to our Court, and no credit ſhall be giuen to the reports of ſuch perſons.*

7 *The Prieſts, religious men, and Ieſuits, among the people of holy* Ieſus, *which follow the Popes Religion, may build Temples in our Realms, there to ſay diuine ſeruice after their manner, and read the Goſpell. We will yeeld them all fauor, and will not ſuffer any one to diſturb them contrary to law and equitie.*

8 *It ſhall be lawfull for the inhabitants born in the realm of Hungary of either part, to re-edifie the villages ruined and laid waſt; and after they are inhabited, they ſhall pay tribute to the one and the other, if they be ſuch villages as haue bin accuſtomed to pay to both.* M

9 *Merchants ſhall haue free leaue to traffique, paſſing from our port into thoſe Countries; and the tranſport of merchandiſe ſhall be free to ſuch as ſhall take letters from the Gouernours of the frontiers, or from the Receiuers of the thirties; the which they ſhall repreſent in paſſing; and the Lord of the place, or*

the

A *the Receiuer ſhall atteſt the ſaid letters by his manual ſigne or ſeale; for the which they ſhall take nothing of the Merchant. If he be to paſſe by any dangerous place, they ſhall giue him a ſufficient conuoy to conduct him in ſafety; and after that the Merchant hath payd of either ſide the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man ſhall moleſt him, nor hinder him to go where he pleaſeth.*

10 *The Merchants which would paſſe from the realms and ſigniories of the Emperour of the Romans and the houſe of Auſtria, into our kingdom, with merchandiſe or mony, ſhal come vnder the enſigne of the Emperor of Romans, and ſhall haue his letters patents to vs, without the which they ſhall not be ſuffered to paſſe. And if they enter without enſigne or patents, the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Emperour may ſeiſe vpon their veſſels, merchandiſe, and mony, and ſhall giue aduice thereof vnto their Emperor. Wherfore all the Merchants of the Emperors countries, of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the King of* B *Spain, both as well thoſe of the Low-countries, as his other realmes, may come with all aſſurance into our realms, with their ſhips, mony, and merchandiſe, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Conſuls of the Roman Empire, they ſhall pay vnto them two Aſpers for the hundred: and in doing ſo, the ſaid Agents and Conſuls for the Roman Emperor ſhall haue a care of the merchants affairs. If any merchant ſhall chance to die, the Emperors Agent and Conſul ſhall cauſe his goods to be ſealed vp, and ſhall take them into his poſſeſſion, to which our Treaſurer ſhall haue no colour of pretenſion. And when as the merchants haue payd the cuſtom of three for the hundred in one place, they ſhall not be bound to pay in another for the ſame merchandiſe. If the Merchants haue any controuerſies amongſt themſelues or with others, the Cadi or Iudge of the place may take knowledge of the cauſe, if it exceed not the value of* 4000 *Aſpers, but it ſhall be iudged by the Cadi of our Port.*

C 11. *As long as this holy peace ſhall continue, the Poſts which ſhal be ſent with letters from the Baſſa's, Begs, Lords, and Agents, or by the Viſiers on our behalfe to the Emperor of the Romanes, and reſpectiuely from him to our Court, ſhall be honorably entertained by our officers: and if the way bee dangerous, they ſhall giue them aſſiſtance to conduct them into a place of ſafety with their letters. And if the agent which is with vs deſire to write any particular letter vnto the Emperor, and not ſend an expreſſe meſſenger, that this letter ſhall be caried by the poſt, and deliuered ſafely where it is directed. That the meſſengers of the Baſſa's and Begs ſhall go no more into the villages, but the Iudges ſhall bring the tribute and deliuer it where they ought.*

An Accord for the execution of the Articles touching the villages in controuerſie, and the raſing of fortifications.

D *To conclude all differences touching the diuiſion of Villages, and demolition of fortifications made in preiudice of the peace of Situa Torok; we the Commiſſaries deputed had agreed vpon the time of four moneths. But for that all controuerſies cannot be decided within that time, by a common conſent we haue concluded the time of twelue moneths, for the expedition of all that ſhall remaine vndecided; all things remaining in the ſame eſtate during the time. For the ending of theſe affairs on the behalf of the Maieſty of the Roman Emperor, ſhall be ſent the noble Lord* Adolph *of Althem Earle of the ſacred empire, with others according to his Maieſties good pleaſure. And on the behalfe of the Othoman Emperor hath been named the noble Lord* Ali *Viſier Baſſa.*

E *For the greater aſſurance of theſe things, we the ſaid Commiſſioners haue cauſed ſix copies of this treaty to be diſpatched in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkiſh tongues. And we the director or Preſident of the priuy Councell to his Imperiall Maieſty, and Cardinall, with other Counſellours of his priuy Councell, and Commiſſioners, hauing full power and authoritie, haue confirmed theſe preſents vnder our hands and the ſeals of our arms.*

As alſo we Ali *Baſſa of Buda, Viſier to the moſt powerfull Sultan* Achmat, Tyhaia Mutafaraga, *and* Gaſper Gratiani, *Embaſſadors for the Turkiſh Emperor with the Imperial Maieſty of the Roman Emperor, hauing full power and authoritie to conclude this treaty, haue ſigned it with our hands, and ſealed it with our ordinary ſeals: wherof there were three copies deliuered to either party. Given at Vienna the firſt of March, 1616.*

F This new declaration of the *Othoman* Emperor, vpon the firſt Articles concluded at Situa Torok, ſhewes plainly how much the Turks are of late daies refined from their antient barbariſme and rudeneſſe, hauing made themſelues capable of great affairs. And theſe frequent meetings betwixt the Emperor of the Romanes and the Sultan, by their Embaſſadours, as an G holy watering of the Oliue tree of peace, ſeemes to make it ſo flouriſhing, as the ſweet ſauour may pierce farther, and make vs hope that God wil make vſe of this peaceful vnion, to prepare vnto himſelfe ſome means for a new harueſt, or a healthful conquering of ſoules, wandring amidſt the falſhoods of the Alchoran.

Prince Coresky his wife caried into Tartary.

Alexandrina wife to prince *Coresky*, hauing bin taken at that vnfortunate ouerthrow of the Polonian Princes in Moldauia, by *Skinder Baſſa* and prince *Michna*; ſhe was carried away (as you haue formerly heard) by a Tartar captaine, and led captiue vnknowne to Bialigrot, where ſhe receiued many indignities being with childe; yea during the time of her lying in, beeing fiue or ſix months after her taking. All which time ſhe bethought her ſelfe of a means to haſten her own deliuery, and withall to free a Polonian ſoldier called *Iaques*, who had bore arms H vnder prince *Coresky*. This man although he knew the Princeſſe well, and might by her diſcouerie haue purchaſed his own libertie, yet he would not do it: wherfore the Princeſſe hauing tried his fidelitie, taught him a meanes how to work his owne libertie, and hers in the end, by his care and diligence. The Tartar one day being abſent, *Alexandrina* took occaſion to talke with this *Iaques*; telling him, That hauing found him faithfull vnto her, ſhe would direct him a courſe wherby hee might redeeme himſelfe out of captiuitie, ſo as he would principally obſerue what ſhe did preſcribe. *Iaques* hauing promiſed to execute whatſoeuer this lady ſhould enjoin him, though it were to the haſarding of his life; ſhe then ſaid vnto him, You know the Tartarian whoſe captiues we are hath an elder brother a very rich man, who of late is become blind and deaf, by reaſon of a great catarrhe and defluxion which is fallen down into his eyes I and ears, wherwith his brother ſeems to be much afflicted. I haue a jewel which my Lord and husband gaue me when we were made ſure; the which I haue kept carefully, hiding it ſometimes in my hair, ſomtimes in my old tatterd rags which I haue worn ſince my captiuity: the which I haue much eſteemed, for that my deare ſpouſe aſſured me, that the ſtone which was ſet in this jewel had many and ſingular vertues, and amongſt others, that it would reſtore the ſight which was loſt by defluxion, and cure deafnes, ſo as it were not natural or too inueterate. I am reſolued to take out the ſtone and deliuer it to thee: after which thou maiſt ſound the Tartarian, whether he wil ſet thee at libertie if thou cureſt his brother; making him ſweare ſolemnly not to retain the ſtone, but to ſuffer thee to carry it away, to the end thou mayſt reſtore it vnto me without his knowledge. Hauing reſolued vpon this plot, the lady ſaid vnto K him, You muſt alſo demand of the ſick man an horſe and ſome mony, with paſports to go into your country, to the end thou mayſt go ſpeedily to my deare husband, whereſoeuer thou ſhalt hear of him, and deliuer him my letters and bring mee an anſwer if it be poſſible. *Iaques* hauing ſworn to perform whatſoeuer the lady commanded him, beeing at libertie, the princeſſe deliuered him the ſtone, he ſwearing to reſtore it vnto her again ſo ſoone as hee had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by violence.

The Polonian attended with impatiencie, vntil that the Tartarian did talk vnto him of his brothers infirmitie: who finding him one day much afflicted, took occaſion to tel him, that he knew a certain means how to cure his brother without any pain, or taking any thing inwardly. I beleeue nothing (replied the Tartar) for all the phyſitians in the country canot do it: but if L he could effect his ſaying, he promiſed to ſet him at liberty without ranſom, and to giue him wherwithall to conduct him into his country. It is the recompence (ſaid the priſoner) that I meant to demand, and that you ſwear vnto me by your great God, not to faile of your promiſe when I haue performed mine, and not to detain, nor ſuffer any one to take from me the thing I ſhall vſe in the cure. The Tartarian hauing ſolemnly ſworne, and laid his right hand vpon his heart, the Polonian took a time to make preparation for his cure. The Tartarian although he diſtruſted his new phyſitian, yet he acquainted his brother with the project; who beeing deſirous to recouer his ſences, intreated his brother not to neglect the offer, promiſing to ſaue him harmleſſe, both in reſpect of the ranſom which he expected from the Polonian, and the mony he ſhould giue him. The day appointed being come, the Tartarian preſt his priſoner to M perform his promiſe. To whom the diſeaſed man alſo promiſed an horſe, with 50 chequines to return into his Countrey, taking the ſame oath which his brother formerly had done. All things being now readie, hee applied his phyſicall ſtone, binding it faſt vnto one of his eyes

A for the ſpace of ſeuen houres, after which being taken away he ſaw clearly, and in like manner he recouered his other eie, and afterward his hearing by the like application. Whereat the Tartars much rejoiced, giuing vnto the Polonian what they had promiſed, and procuring him paſportes from the Gouernor, without which he could hardly get out of the country.

Iaques ſeeketh out Coresky.

The Polonian before his departure told the Tartarian captain that he had a ſute vnto him, which was, That the Polonian woman which was alſo his priſoner was his neer kinſwoman, intreating him, that in reſpect of his good office he had don vnto his brother, he would vſe her and her little infant better, & that as ſoon as he were returned into his country, he would take a courſe for her ranſome, and perhaps would bring it himſelf. The Polonian hauing acquainted the Lady with what had paſt, and deliuered her jewell faithfully vnto her, hauing receiued B her letters to prince *Coresky*, and vowed to find him out, he took his leaue. This Polonian trauelling toward his country met with one of the ſame nation, who hauing bin taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, made an eſcape. Theſe two diſcourſing freely of their aduentures, *Iaques* inquired carefully what was become of the princes who had bin caried priſoners to Conſtantinople by *Skinder Baſſa*, and eſpecially of *Coresky*; and hearing that he was in the priſons of the Black ſea, he inquired by what means he might ſpeake with this prince, or at leaſt how he might conuey ſome letters vnto him. To whom he anſwered, that it was very difficult, for that he was ſtreitly garded: but he vnderſtood that the French Embaſſadour had ſometimes leaue to ſend to viſit him, whereof he might inform himſelf more particularly. After this, *Iaques* entreated his countryman to deliuer certain letters which the princeſſe had written vnto C her kinsfolks, the which he promiſed to perform faithfully, and ſo they parted. *Iaques* comming to Conſtantinople, grew acquainted with one of the French Embaſſadours men, who was ſomtimes imploied to viſit the Prince, & cary him mony & other neceſſaries; by whoſe means he had acceſſe to the Prince, and deliuered his letters, the which he receiued very ioyfully, hearing of his wiues health. Eight daies after, the Polonian comming to viſit the prince he receiued from him an anſwer to his wife, & ſo took his leaue: who after many troubleſome incounters returned to Bialigrot; where finding the lady all alone (the Tartarian and his ſeruants being gon a hunting) he gaue an account her of his negotiation, and deliuered his letters, wherat ſhe much rejoiced, hearing that he was aliue; though infinitly grieued at his captiuitie, vnderſtanding that the grand Seignior had refuſed to put him to ranſom. After their D diſcourſe, the Princeſſe aduertiſed her faithfull Agent, That ſince his departure the Tartar grew jealous of her qualitie, and had inquired of her what her husband, her kinsfolk, and their eſtates were. To whom ſhe had anſwered, That her husband was a Captain who had been taken priſoner with prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into Turky; and as for her other kinsfolks they were all ſoldiers, who had bin ruined during the wars of Moldauia. Deſiring the Polonian to remember it well, leſt they ſhould be found to differ when they ſhould come to treat of her ranſom. The Tartarian returning ſoone after to his houſe, he found *Iaques* the Polonian there, whom he entertained very kindly, both in regard of the good offices hee had done for his brother, and for the hope he had of his priſoners ranſome, remembring that *Iaques* had told him that ſhe was his kinſwoman, and that it might be he would bring it. After ſome E little diſcourſe, *Iaques* asked him what ranſom he would require for his Polonian priſoner. To whom the Tartarian anſwered, That he would haue 6000 chequines for her and her ſonne, vnleſſe he would giue him the ſtone with the which he had cured his brother. To whom the Polonian replied, That as for the ſtone, it was not in his power, hauing reſtored it to a Nobleman whom he had followed when he was taken priſoner. And as for the ranſom which he demaunded for his priſoner and her child, it was more than ſhe and all her kindred were worth, ſhee being wife to a captain who had bin taken priſoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was ſtil detained. The Tartarian interrupted him, ſaying, That he vnderſtood ſhee was of noble extraction, and that ſhe had rich kinsfolks, who would not ſuffer her to ſpend her life in captiuitie. I confeſſe, ſaid the Polonian, that ſhe is iſſued from noble parents, but they are F ruined during the troubles of Moldauia; adding withall, that he would not haue returned, if he had thought he would haue demanded aboue 1000 Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard ſhe was his kinſwoman, and for the good office hee had don for his brother. You haue bin ſatisfied, replied the Tartarian, and haue no cauſe to complaine.

Prince Coreſky his wife redeemed from the Tartars.

plain. Notwithſtanding after ſome conteſting, by the mediation of the Captaines brother
who had bin ſo wel cured, the ladies ranſome was ſet at three thouſand chequines, wherof her G
faithfull agent gaue preſent intelligence to prince *Charles* brother to prince *Coreſky*, who ſent
this ſum with all poſſible ſpeed: and ſo the princeſſe and her little infant were redeemed from
captiuity, and conducted into Polonia by her faithful ſolicitor. From whence ſhe aduertiſed
the prince by letters, of her deliuery. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who by his
report was preſent in all the troubles of Moldauia. But as touching her deliuery by meanes
of the cure, I canot warrant it, but leaue it to the cenſure of phyſitians and Naturaliſts, who
can beſt iudge of the vertues of ſtones, herbs, and plants; but it is certain that ſhe was impriſoned
and ranſomed as an vnknown perſon.

In the year 1617 there came to Paris a Chiaus a Spaniſh Renegado, called *Solyman*, ſent H
from Conſtantinople with letters from Sultan *Achmat* to the King, for the deliuery of twentie
eight ſlaues, who had redeemed their liberty for mony in diuers ports of Italy, and in their
return to Conſtantinople had bin taken by the ſhips of Marſeilles. The King cauſed them to
be ſet at liberty. But the Chiaus had charge alſo to intreat his Maieſty to cauſe juſtice to be
done vpon the Moores Granadines, expelled out of Spain, and wronged in their goods & perſons
vpon their paſſage into France: wherin he had what contentment he could expect of juſtice.
Notwithſtanding he did witneſſe openly his amaſement at their long delaies, in the diſpatch
of ſuits; ſaying plainly, That France which had the reputation thorowout the world,
to maintaine euery mans right inuiolably, did no juſtice but after long and tedious purſuits;
and that the execution of decrees was many times longer than the ſuit it ſelfe. Whereas the I
Turks juſtice (ſaid he) was ſpeedily adminiſtred to euery man, & within eight daies they ſaw
an end of the greateſt and moſt important ſuits. This Chiaus was fauorably entertained, and
defraied with his train for the ſpace of ſix or ſeuen moneths at the Kings charge.

As the Turks eſtate hath not growne great but by combuſtions, ſo it is ordinarily full of
troubles; wherby it ſeems the preſeruation thereof depends in making war vpon others, or to
ſupport it, when as neighbour princes ſeeke to recouer that which they had vniuſtly wreſted
from them by the *Othoman* force. So this great Eſtate entertained this yeare foure great Armies,
two at land, the one againſt the Perſian his antient enemy; the other (conſiſting in a
maner all of Tartarians) againſt the king of Poland, as ſupporting the part of the Vayuod of
Moldauia againſt the Turke, who had ſetled another in that prouince. And two nauall Ar- K
mies, the one in the Black ſea againſt the Coſſacks and Raſſians, who made daily incurſions
into the *Othomans* country; men wholly giuen to arms, who go to ſea in ſmall boats, able to
carry but fiue or ſix men, made of the bodies of hollow trees; but they are in a maner inuincible
with theſe kind of boats: for when as the diſaduantages of a combat forces them to ſound
a retreit, they retyre neer vnto the land, and in ſuch places where the Turkiſh gallies canot approch,
and ſo they eaſily preuent a totall ouerthrow. Finally, in caſe of neceſſitie they carry
their veſſels with them: for in the end of the laſt yeare, finding the paſſage of the blacke ſea
ſtopped at the mouth of the riuer of Danow, by the Turkiſh gallies, they put their boats into
carts, and taking the way by the mountains brought them eaſily into the ſea. Their fourth army
was in the white ſea, as they call it, imploied either to conduct the Carauan which brings L
the tribute from Egypt to Conſtantinople, or in ſearch of the gallies of Malta and Florence,
which ſcour thoſe ſeas continually to anoy the Turk. The army againſt the Perſian was led
by *Haly Baſſa* ſucceſſor to *Mehemet Baſſa*, he who fled into Perſia after hee had loſt ſixty thouſand
men in a ſet battel; after which being ſent for to come to Conſtantinople, fearing that
the Sultan would take reuenge of ſo great a loſſe vpon his life, hee retyred to the Sophy and
there remained.

The Turkes being much annoyed both at ſea and land by the Vſcoques, made great complaint
to the States of Venice, with whom they were in league, being greatly grieued at their
thefts, and complaining much, that they could not paſſe by ſea without danger of ſeruitude
or death: adding withall, That theſe pirats hauing gotten a way into Turky by the Venetian M
territories, they were by them made ſlaues and ſlain in their own countries; and although they
went not from their houſes, nor vndertook any voyages, yet they were ſtil in alarm and ſubiect
vnto ruin. That the ſmall reſiſtance which was made gaue great cauſe of jealouſie that there

was

A was ſome ſecret intelligence betwixt the ſubiects of the Seigniory of Venice, and the Vſcoques,
and that they diuided the ſpoyle betwixt them. Finally, that in what ſort ſoeuer the
matter paſt, they held them inſupportable to al men, but eſpecially to themſelues. The Turks
threatned to take their iuſt reuenge, the which being impoſſible to effect in the countrey of
the Vſcoques (for that by the letters of the commonwealth of Venice their paſſage was ſtopped)
they reſolued to be reuenged vpon their ſubiects, and recouer a part of their goods which
they had loſt. Finally, they prepared to come into the gulph of Venice with a mighty army,
the which without doubt had brought that State into great extremities, and been very prejudiciall
to many Prouinces of Chriſtendome. But for that the inſolencies and thefts of the
Vſcoques had like to haue ingaged the Venetians in a dangerous war againſt the Turke with
B whom they were in league, it ſhall neither be vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable to make a little digreſſion,
and ſhew what theſe Vſcoques were. About the yeare 1550, there aſſembled together
in certaine plains neere the ſea belonging to the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, people (who
were cruell, violent, and infamous) from diuers parts of the countrey of Chimera, Dalmatia,
and the other confines of Hungarie, and ſuch as had been baniſhed from the State of Venice;
whoſe delight was onely to liue vpon ſpoyle and bloud. All theſe theeues being thus
gathered together (whom they called by a generall name Vſcoques) as enemies to all art and
induſtry to liue honeſtly by their labours, retyred themſelues into a deſart country, receiuing
no pay from the Princes of Auſtria who commands there. Being thus by their naturall inclination
giuen to ſpoyle, adding thereunto the ſpurre of pouerty, nothing mooued them to
C ſtay in thoſe places, but all libertie was left them to rob and ſpoyle: whereupon they applied
all their minds and forces; ſo as hauing made certaine light foiſts, they began to make courſes
at ſea, with the moſt barbarous and impious crueltie that euer was practiſed amongſt the
Scythians, Tartarians, or any other inhumane Nation whatſoeuer. And for that it is an ordinarie
courſe for any one that will commit a great villanie, to ſeeke out ſome goodly pretext to
couer it: ſo they concluded among themſelues, to ſhadow their inſolencies and thefts with
a colour to goe againſt the Infidels. Wherefore in the beginning, there were no Merchants,
were they Turks, Iewes, or ſubiects to the Turke, although they were Chriſtians, but if they
entred into the gulf either to traffique or to furniſh Venice with prouiſion and merchandiſe,
they were taken by them, their goods diuided amongſt them, and they forced to pay a great
D ranſome, or to die miſerably. All the ports of the State of Venice, both of Iſtria, Dalmatia,
and the Iſlands from whence they receiued their victuals and prouiſion, were ſoon after ſhut
vp by theſe pyrats, who not content to ſpoyle the Turks (which trafficked no more by reaſon
of their great dangers and loſſe) allured by the rich ſpoyles which they tooke, and the deſire
they had to encounter them, they began to ſet vpon the Venetian ſhips, forcing the merchants
whom they tooke to confeſſe by torments, that the goods belonged to Turks, although in effect
their chiefe booty came from Chriſtians. Hauing drawne many vnto them of their owne
humors, and thinking their ſpoyles at ſea not ſufficient to ſatisfie their couetous deſires, nor
the Preſents which they were to giue to others, to be fauoured and ſupported in the Courts of
Princes, they ſtaid not long before they entred with all violence into the Turks countrey,
E through the Venetian territorie, to whom they were as hurtfull as to the Turks; from whence
they carried away rich ſpoiles and many priſoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich,
or good, but was ſubiect to the inſatiable greedineſſe of thoſe pitileſſe theeues and pyrats, if
paſſing by ſea they came neer vnto the maritine coaſts. Whereupon grew the great complaint
you haue heard made by the Turks, threatning to be reuenged vpon the Eſtate of Venice for
the inſolencie of the Vſcoques, which afterward bred a cruell war, betwixt that State and the
Archduke *Ferdinand* of Grets, now Emperor, who ſeemed to ſupport them, thereby to ingage
the State in a war with the Turke. But for that the ſucceſſe thereof doth not belong to our
Hiſtory, we will leaue it to them that haue written it at large.

The beginning of the Vſcoques.

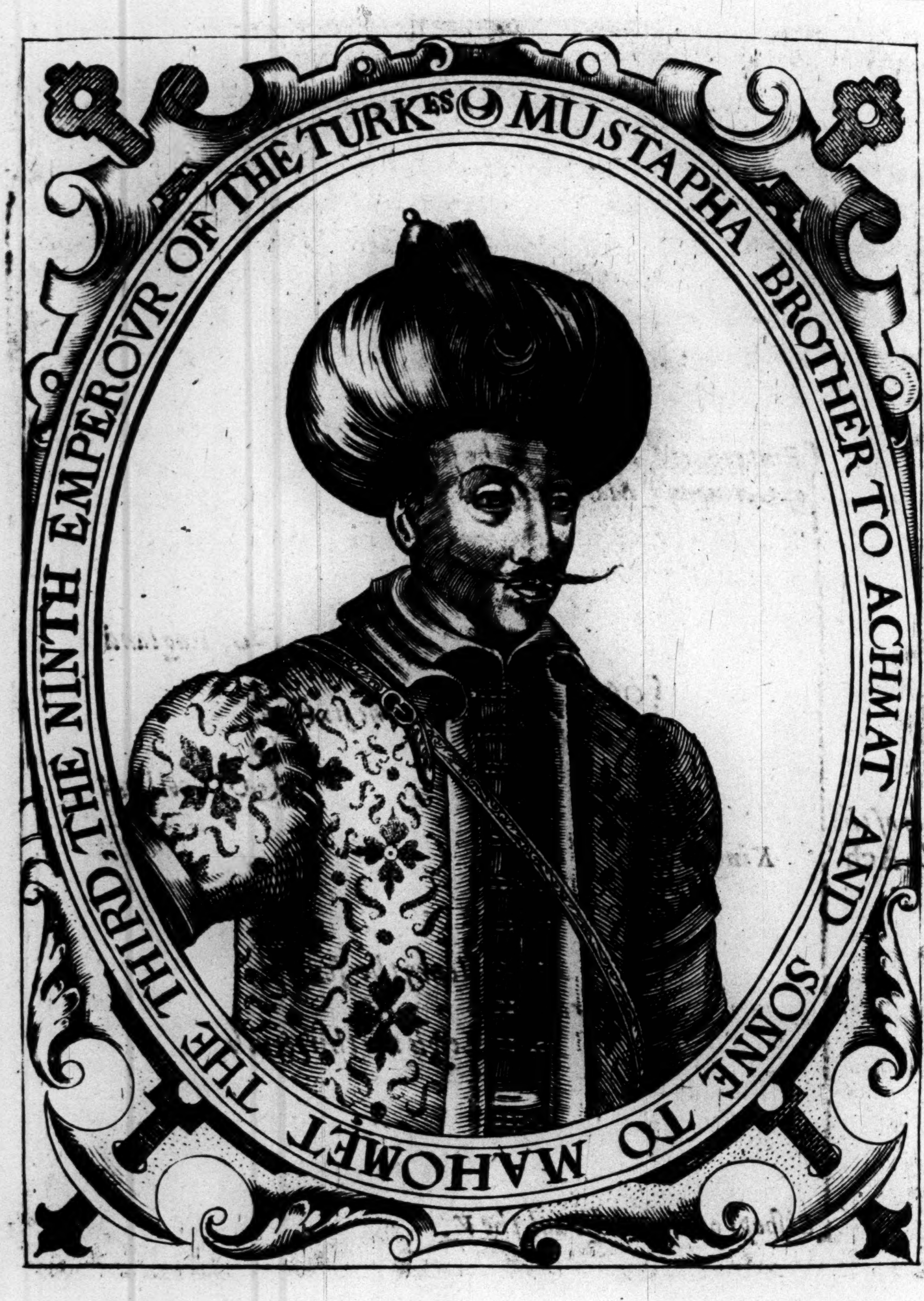
The death of Achmat.

On the fifteenth of Nouember this yeare, Sultan *Achmat Chan* hauing liued thirty yeares,
F and gouerned that great Empire of Turky fifteene, died. When hee came to the Empire, he
was but fifteene yeares old; he was of a good conſtitution, well complexioned, and ſomewhat
enclined to be fat, ſtrong and actiue, which appeared by his exerciſe in caſting of a horſmans
mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein hee exceeded any one of his Court; in memorie

whereof there are two pillars ſet vp in one of the courts of the ſeraglio at Conſtantinople,with G
an inſcription,as marks of his dexteritie. He was by nature ambitious and proud,which ſome
hold qualities befitting his great eſtate : he was not ſo cruel as many of his predeceſſors, but
was much giuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure,for which he entertained three thouſand Concubins
and virgins in a Seraglio ; being the faireſt daughters of the Chriſtians. His mother was
a Chriſtian of Boſna or of Cyprus,and therfore it was thought he was ſomwhat fauorable to
Chriſtians. He was much delighted in hawking and hunting ; and namely for hawking hee
kept in Grecia and Natolia forty thouſand falconers,who attended his comming in their ſeueral
places of charge,and had good yearly penſions. Neither were his huntſmen much fewer
in number,or of leſſe charge. As the Turkiſh Emperors are bound by the law of their religion
once euery day to practiſe ſome manual trade,ſo *Mahomet* his father gaue himſelf to the making H
of arrows,and *Achmat* to the faſhioning of horn rings ſuch as the Turks wear when they
draw their bowes. This they do in the morning after they are ready and haue ſaid their
prayers, then they call for their exerciſe ; but it is onely for faſhion-ſake
: for they ſcarce make an arrow or a ring
in a whole year.

Christian Princes of the ſame time with Achmat.

- *Emperours of Germany*
  - *Rodolphus the ſecond,* 1577. 35
  - *Matthias,* 1612.
- *Kings*
  - *Of great Brittain,*
    - *Iames the ſixth,*
      - *Of England* 1602.
      - *Of Scotland* 1567.
  - *Of France*
    - *Henry the fourth,* 1589.
    - *Lewis the thirteenth,* 1610.
- *Biſhops of Rome*
  - *Paul the V.* 1605.


MUSTAPHA BROTHER TO ACHMAT AND SONNE TO MAHOMET THE THIRD, THE NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TURKES

Nought but affliction thundring out of heauen,
makes men on earth to any goodneſſe giuen.
Nor longer than ſhe thunders, any fear
that any heav'n holds any Thunderer.
So *Muſtapha*, while Heaven reſtrain'd his ſtate,
and held him fetter'd in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his ſtudies driue,
was curteous, pious, and contemplatiue.
But when his brother could no longer liue,
and Libertie did to him Power giue;
Then Pride and Tyrannie his horſes were,
And driue him alwaies paſt Heavens loue or fear,
Greatneſſe, on Goodneſſe loues to ſlide, not ſtand,
and leaues for Fortunes ice, Vertues firm land.
Honor had rather be with danger driuen,
than ſtay with Vertue on the hand of Heauen.

MVSTAPHA THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

Muſtapha obtains the Empire, but is ſoon after depoſed.

Oſman the eldeſt ſon of *Achmat* beeing not aboue twelue years old, *Muſtapha* the brother of *Achmat* being 25, was drawn out of a Cell where he then liued as it were religiouſly and in contemplation, and proclaimed Sultan *Muſtapha Chan*. They write of him, That he grew cruell, cauſing yong *Oſman* to be kept vnder ſure gards, putting his brethren to death. Hee alſo did many indignities to the Chriſtian Embaſſadours. And to confirme him in his Throne, hee gaue great ſums of money to the Ianizaries and Spahi; and ſent a meſſenger to Vienna to the Emperor, to aſſure him that hee would maintain inviolably whatſoeuer had bin concluded betwixt him and his deceaſed brother *Achmat*. But growing odious by reaſon of his tyrannie, the grand Viſier came out of Perſia with an Army and depoſed him, forcing him to return to his cel, ſetting prince *Oſman* at liberty, & ſeating him in the Imperial throne. But for that it may ſeem ſtrange, that *Muſtapha* ſhould be preſerued aliue during the reign of his brother *Achmat* (contrary to the cuſtom of the *Othoman* Emperors, who do vſually kill all their brethren at their firſt comming to the crown, thinking thereby the better to aſſure their eſtates) it ſhall be fit to make mention therof. *Mahomet* the third of that name, dying in the year 1602, and leauing *Achmat* and *Muſtapha* his ſonnes by the Sultana *Flatra* a Lady of Cyprus, ſome ſay of Boſna, *Achmat* the eldeſt was ſent for ſpeedily out of Magneſia, by the Baſſa's, to take poſſeſſion of his fathers crown, being the firſt Emperour of that name. And for that the cuſtom of the Turkiſh Emperors was (as wee haue ſaid) to haue neither brother nor nephew aliue, vnleſſe they could ſaue themſelues by flight; yet the Viſier Baſſa's and other officers of the court concluded in Councel, That it was not fit that *Muſtapha* brother to *Achmat* ſhould die: grounding their opinion vpon a good reaſon of ſtate, For that their Emperor being but fifteen years old, they feared, that dying in his nonage without children able to gouern, the Empire might fall into combuſtion, and ruine it ſelfe by reaſon of ciuil wars: whereupon they decreed, That *Muſtapha's* life ſhould be preſerued, but with that caution and reſtriction, that he ſhould remain ſtill a priſoner in ſome chambers of the Emperours Seraglio at Conſtantinople.

During *Achmats* minoritie, and before hee had children, there was no cruel decree made againſt *Muſtapha*; but he onely continued in his contemplation without any liberty. But when as the Emperor ſaw himſelfe fortified with iſſue, and remembring the cruel cuſtome of his predeceſſors, he many times propounded the putting of his brother to death to his counſell. The which may ſeem very ſtrange it took not effect, hauing beene often concluded. Among others it is written, that his death was concluded one euening, and that it ſhould haue beene put in execution the next day. But *Achmat* was ſo frighted in the night with apparitions and fearefull dreames, that morning being come he ſaid, ſeeing the onely reſolution of putting his brother to death had ſo terrified him, hee did beleeue that his torments would much encreaſe if he ſhould put it in execution. And therefore he commanded, that his brother ſhould liue, more in regard of the terror of his mind, than for any brotherly affection. Another time Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the windowes of the Seraglio, beheld his brother *Muſtapha*, who by his permiſſion was walking in the gardens with his gard. Some one of the Baſſaes or other officers that were neere vnto him, and willing to flatter his humor, told him, That it was a matter of great conſequence to ſuffer him to haue ſo great libertie. *Achmat* (mooued with jealouſie and diſtruſt) grew into a rage at his words, and thereupon tooke his bow and arrow (being a very expert Archer, as all the Turkiſh Nation generally are) and aimed at his brother to kill him: but at that very inſtant he felt ſo great a paine in his arme and ſhoulder, as not able to let looſe his arrow, nor to perform what he had intended, hee ſaid with a loud voice, That *Mahomet* would not haue *Muſtapha* to die. This prince had three chambers in the Seraglio, where he remained a priſoner fifteen years, and ſpent his time in a contemplatiue kinde of life, after the manner of the Muſſulmans: his whole delight was to reade the Arabian bookes of their doctors in diuers ſciences. The grand Seignior gaue him leaue ſometimes to take the aire of his gardens with his Gard, and admitted him of his counſell in diuers affaires of ſtate; taking his aduice many times, for that he knew him to haue a ſound judgement.

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I

After a long impriſonment, and a daily apprehenſion of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling grieuouſly ſick in Nouember, as is before ſaid; the great Baſſa's of the Court and other Counſellors about him, ſeeing the great danger he was in, perſuaded him to take ſome good courſe for the ſucceſſion of his Empire. He had children by the Sultana, but they were all ſo young, that they were not capable to gouerne the Empire. Moreouer, this Sultana was dead, and the children left friendleſſe, hauing none to ſpeake for them. But on the other ſide, the Sultana *Flatra* mother to the Emperour *Muſtapha* was yet liuing, who thought that if the Baſſa's ſhould vndertake to gouern the State during the minoritie of the Emperors children, her honour would be much eclipſed: wherfore ſhe fauoured *Muſtapha*, and perſuaded the dying Emperour to make him his ſucceſſor. On the fifteenth day of Nouember, *Achmat* ſeeing his end draw neer, called for his brother and told him, that ſeeing death approch, he deſired to prouide for the preſeruation of the Empire, and therefore had made choice of him to ſucceed him; intreating him to take the gouernment vpon him preſently after his death. *Muſtapha* was much amaſed at his ſpeech, and anſwered him with words full of feare and humility, That he might not accept of the honour which he did him, ſeeing that the Empire did rightly belong vnto his eldeſt ſon. *Achmat* diſabled his ſon for ſo great a gouernment, both for his age and capacitie, being neceſſarie for the maintenance of ſo great a monarchie; and ſaid that he for his ripe yeares and deep iudgement, ſhould take vpon him the managing thereof: recommending the children he had by the Sultana, vnto him, intreating him to vſe them in the ſame manner that he had vſed him; leauing the other children which hee had by concubines being his ſlaues, to his diſcretion. Soon after theſe words *Achmat* died, and *Muſtapha* was generally acknowledged for ſucceſſor to the Turkiſh Empire. Who at the firſt was ſo amaſed, as he had thought he had bin in a dream, to ſee himſelfe aduanced to ſo great a power and ſoueraigntie, from a ſtreit priſon and a daily apprehenſion of death. At his firſt comming to the empire he cauſed the Perſian Embaſſador to be ſet at libertie, whom his brother *Achmat* had cauſed to be reſtrained, contrary to the publique faith, for that newes came to the Court, of ſome combuſtions raiſed by the Perſia. After which, he ſent ſpeedily to the Baſſa of Buda, commaunding him to entertaine the treaty of peace made by his predeceſſor with the Emperour inuiolably. Yet notwithſtanding, he carried himſelfe during the ſmall time of his

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reigne,

A reign inſolently and cruelly; for violating the Laws of Nations, he had il intreated the Baron
of Mole or Sancie Embaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſetting gards vpon him as a priſoner,
hauing cauſed his people to be put in priſon, and tortured after their maner. The reaſon
of this indignitie which *Muſtapha* did vnto the French Embaſſadour and to his people,
grew vpon an occaſion which will require an ample diſcourſe, for the better vnderſtanding
of that which hath gon before. After the ouerthrow and taking of the princes of Moldavia,
Prince *Concsky*, as you haue heard, was brought by *Skinder Baſſa* to Conſtantinople, wherat the
grand Seignior was wonderfully wel pleaſed, for that he was held, euen by his enemies, for one
of the moſt valiant and redoubted princes of Chriſtendom. Wherfore he was ſent away priſoner,
and confined to the towers of the black ſea, which are diſtant fiue miles from Conſtantinople;
B a place appointed for the gard of priſoners of great qualitie and importance, ſuch as
he was. He was ſhut vp with a French captain called *Rigaut*, in a little chamber which was on
the top of one of thoſe towers; in which Chamber there was a window capable for a man to
paſſe thorow, and yet it had no bars, for that the height of the place freed it from al ſuſpition.
This Prince was much ſolicited by the Turk to become a Renegado, as the princes *Alexander*
and *Bougdan* his brothers in law had don: but hee reſiſted it with a generous reſolution, reſoluing
rather to die in that tedious captiuitie, than commit ſo baſe an act againſt God and his
conſcience. The which being made known vnto the King of Polonia, it mooued him to compaſſion,
and cauſed him to write to the French Embaſſador, and to intreat him to be a means
that this Prince might be put to ranſom, and freed from captiuitie, at what price ſoeuer. The
C which the Embaſſador durſt not vndertake (although he deſired it much) for that hee had no
charge from the King his maſter. The Emperours Embaſſadour did what poſſibly he could,
knowing how much the liberty of this prince might auail Chriſtendom. For which conſiderations
the Turk would not yeeld in any ſort to ſuffer him to be releaſed; ſo as the friends of
this captiue prince were out of hope euer to ſee him at liberty. But moſt commonly in ſuch
extremities the Almighty works by the ſecret inſtruments of his diuine prouidence, & giues
aſſiſtance vnto them that feare him, when as all humane helpe and hope faileth; as you may
vnderſtand in the ſequell of this hiſtory, whence grew the Embaſſadours affront which hee
receiued.

About the ſame time there had bin a Lady taken out of Podolia, with a fair yong daughter
D of hers, and a maid ſeruant, by the Tartarians, who ſould them vnto a Turke, and he brought
them vnto Conſtantinople to make his profit. This Lady who was a Chriſtian, hearing nothing
from her husband for the ſpace of nine moneths, went accompanied with her daughter
to the French Embaſſadors houſe which was at Pera, to craue his aid and aſſiſtance. Where
his Secretary (who was called *Martin*) mooued with compaſſion and loue, promiſed vnto
them all ſeruice; and afterwards aſſured the mother, That if ſhee would promiſe hee ſhould
marry her daughter, he would indeauor to redeem them from captiuitie. Wherto the Ladies
yeelded, and paſſed their promiſe in writing vnto the Secretary. Whereupon he payd two
thouſand and fiue hundred Crownes for their ranſome, and ſent them home into their owne
Countrey. Being returned, the Lady made her husband and the reſt of her friends acquainted,
E how they had been freed from captiuitie, and of the contract of mariage which was paſt
between her daughter and the French Embaſſadors Secretarie. But the father did altogether
diſlike of this mariage, for that *Martin*, as he ſaid, was no gentleman, and had not an eſtate to
entertaine his daughter according to her qualitie. The mother aduertiſed *Martin* ſoon after
of the fathers refuſall; proteſting vnto him, that he alone was the hinderance. And as for the
mony which he had disburſed for their ranſome, they would ſend it vnto him if he pleaſed to
Conſtantinople with intereſt. *Martin* was much diſcontented, and diuers letters and expoſtulations
paſſed betweene them, but hee could not obtaine the execution of his deſire, and
their promiſe: whereupon he grew full of griefe and melancholy, and thereupon went to viſit
Prince *Coreskie*, who was in the blacke tower, to make his complaint vnto him, and to take his
F aduice, what courſe he were beſt to follow. Hee made his excuſe, That hee was ſent by his
maſter to carry the Prince ſome mony, as he had don at other times. Who making the prince
acquainted with his diſcontent, (for that he knew theſe Podolians, and had formerly allowed
of the ſuit which he had made to this virgin) he comforted him, ſaying, That if hee might

by any means get out of priſon, he would willingly ſupply the defects which they obiected againſt him, and would maintaine him againſt all that ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt the accompliſhment of his deſires. This made *Martin* ſtudy by what meanes hee might free the Prince, to the end he might bind him to ſuccor him when he was at liberty; and Loue, which is many times the author of many goodly inuentions, ſuggeſted one vnto him which was very ſubtil, and difficult to execute: which was, to ſend vnto Prince *Coresky* a bottom of packthred in a little pie; which hee ſent him with other meat, aduertiſing him by a letter, That vpon a certain night concluded betwixt them, he ſhould put downe the packethred at his Chamber window, wherunto a ladder of cords ſhould be tied, by the which hee might deſcend from the tower. The which was afterwards punctually effected, not by *Martin* himſelf, but by a Greek Prieſt who liued in Conſtantinople, to whom hee had imparted his enterpriſe, and had inganged him vpon hope of great reward from the Prince. In the mean time *Martin*, doubting that he ſhould be ſuſpected to practiſe this eſcape, reſolued to be gon, and took leaue of the Embaſſador, whom hee gaue to vnderſtand, That hee had ſome preſent vrgent affaires which did preſſe his ſpeedy returne into France: and therfore he left the execution of his deſigne to the Greek prieſt, who failed not at the time appointed to do as the Secretary had directed him. The Prince hauing drawn vp this ladder of ropes with the help of his packethread, and beeing come to the foot of the tower with his chamber fellow, he found the Greek prieſt attending for them; who told him that he had charge from *Martin*, to conduct them to a certain Caue which was is a great rock a league from thence, where they muſt remain all that day; and that in the euening he would not fail to come vnto them, and bring them habits like vnto his own; that being ſo diſguiſed, he might conduct them to his lodging in Conſtantinople, and there conceal them ſo long as they ſhould think fit. This deuice pleaſed them wel, and ſo they went all three vnto the ſaid caue, wheras the two camrado's hid themſelues, and the prieſt returned to his houſe.

Prince Coresky eſcapes out of priſon.

At the break of day, it being the 23 of Nouember 1617, ſome of the gards entring the priſoners chamber, ſaw that they were eſcaped, and found the ladder of ropes which they had vſed, tied to the window; wherat they were much amaſed, knowing wel that they ſhould ſmart for it. Notwithſtanding he who had the charge of the priſons, ſent ſpeedily to Conſtantinople, to giue notice of their eſcapes. So ſoon as this was known, they ſent poſts ſpeedily to all parts, to make inquiry for theſe fugitiues, eſpecially at the ports and paſſages, giuing them ſpecial charge to obſerue all men that paſſed, if there were not one of them who had the little finger of his right hand ſhrunk vp, as Prince *Coresky* had by a wound which hee had receiued. Within few daies after, the Turk ſeiſed vpon the ſeruants of the Baron of Sancy or Mole, Embaſſador for the French, torturing two of them after their manner; which is to lay the party vpon a table on his belly, and to giue him three or four hundred blowes with a ſtaffe vpon the ſoles of his feet, the calues of his legs, and his buttocks: yet could they not make them ſay any thing that might charge their maſter, as theſe Turkiſh tormentors did hope. Not contented herewith, they did as much to a poor Turk, who was a weauer by trade, and dwelt neer vnto the Embaſſador; thinking to force him by this cruel torture to depoſe falſly, that he had ſeen the Secretary *Martin* going and comming to his maſters lodging vntill the time of the priſoners eſcape: but God would not ſuffer the weauer to depoſe any thing but the truth, notwithſtanding all the miſerable and cruel torments which hee had ſuffered. The which is worthy the obſeruation, for that the Turks do generally hate the Chriſtians mortally, and do greatly rejoice at their diſaſters. As for the gards of the towers, ſome of them were impaled, and ſome were pouned or beaten to pieces in great iron mortars, wherin they vſually poun their rice to reduce it into meal.

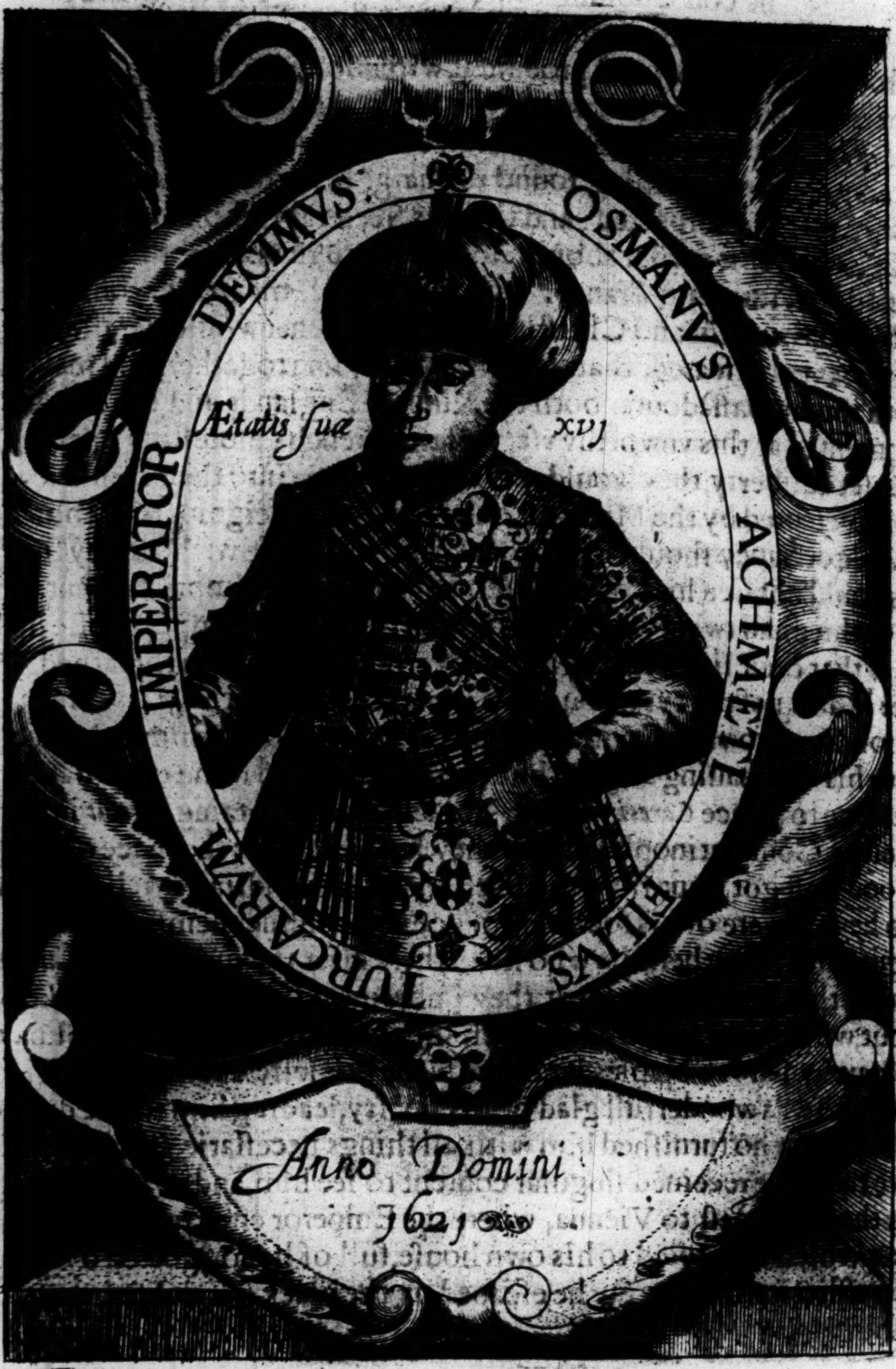
Three daies after, the Chiaus Baſſa had charge to ſeiſe vpon the perſon of the French Embaſſadour; the which he performed very ſeuerely and vnciuilly, without any reſpect vnto his qualitie. Hauing taken him, the ſaid Chiaus led him vnto the Viſier Baſſa's houſe; where hauing beene examined vpon many circumſtances touching the eſcape of the prince *Coresky*, they left him as a priſoner in the hands of the ſaid Chiaus, where hee continued for the ſpace of three daies. During the which time, the ſaid Embaſſador deſiring to write to ſome of his friends, and alſo to ſpeak with the Muſti, which is the Turks high prieſt, to acquaint him with his

The French embaſſadour impriſoned by the Turks.

A his iuſt grieuances, he could obtain leaue, but by giuing two thouſand crownes vnto his Iaylor. True it is, that this preſent made the Chiaus tel the Embaſſador, That if he would obtain any fauor from the Mufti, he muſt procure it with mony. According to which aduice he gaue three or four thouſand crowns; wherupon the Mufti became tractable, acquainting the grand Seignior *Muſtapha* with the Embaſſadors iuſt complaints, and of what importance his detention was, ſeeing there was nothing found to charge him, that he had fauored the eſcape of the Prince *Coresky*, as it was ſuſpected; and that his Secretary who had practiſed it for his owne priuat profit, had left his maſter aboue ten or twelue daies before the ſaid eſcape, with an intent, as he ſaid, to return into France. Finally, That all the world would taxe him to violate the law of Nations: and that no Chriſtian prince nor other would herafter put any confidence in him; and it was to be feared, that they would all ioine together, and make war againſt him. B And in truth the Embaſſadours, both the King of Englands and the Low-Countries, were much diſcontented at this vnworthy vſage of the French; proteſting openly, That if he were not ſpeedily ſet at liberty, they would retyre themſelues into their countries. All which conſiderations repreſented by the Mufti, mooued the grand Seignior to command, that the ſayd Baron of Mole or Sancy ſhould be ſent back vnto his houſe without any further diſpleaſure. But all this could not free his houſhold ſeruants from their impriſonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thouſand crowns for their redemption; elſe had they beene ſo tormented, as that their liues had been in danger: for ſo they were threatned. Soone after, the grand Viſier hearing of the tyrannous gouernment Of Sultan *Muſtapha*, returned from Perſia C with his whole army toward Conſtantinople, where he forced him to leaue the Empire, and to retyre into his Cel, hauing reigned but two moneths and ſome odde daies.

But to returne to prince *Coresky*, whom wee left with Captaine *Rigaut* in the lodging of the Greeke prieſt at Conſtantinople, wheras they lay hidden for the ſpace of two moneths, vntil that their good hoſt got leaue from the Patriark of Alexandria, as well for himſelfe as for two others (who he ſaid were of his ſocietie) to goe and confine themſelues in the deſarts of the Archipelagus, with many hermits who liued there after the maner of the antient Anchorits. Hauing gotten this leaue and paſport, they imbarqued, being diſguiſed like prieſts, and arriued at Etchut, where they found an Engliſh ſhip ready to ſet ſail for Meſſina in Sicily: from whence he went by land to Naples, where he made himſelfe known to the King of Poland his D Embaſſador, who was wonderfull glad of his liberty, leading him to the duke of Oſſuna, then Viceroy of Naples, who furniſhed him with all things neceſſarie, and a good conuoy to go to Rome; where the Pope receiued ſingular content to ſee him, and to hear of his ſtrange aduentures. From thence he paſt to Vienna, where the Emperor entertained him according to his merits. After which he retyred to his own houſe, full of honor, gotten by his valour and conſtancie in his afflictions. Some ſay he eſcaped by the black ſea, and ſo into Polonia.

Prince Coresky eſcapes from Conſtantinople.


OSMANVS ACHMETE FILIVS TVRCARVM IMPERATOR DECIMVS
Ætatis ſuæ xvi
Anno Domini
1621

Oſman, thy gentle nature far declin'd
from Turkiſh tyrannie and pride of mind;
Which made heauen raiſe thee, and extirpat them,
the proud Vſurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes, when their States are bleſt
with Power and Empire, think their intereſt
In thoſe their bleſſings, held but by the grace
Of Gratitude and Goodneſſe; and no place
Is held without them long: they ſoone would trie,
that Truth preuailes paſt all their Policie.

OSMAN

OSMAN THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, TENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

1618.

The French king ſends to Conſtantinople.

PRince *Oſman* beeing ſet at liberty by the Grand Viſier, hee cauſed him to be proclaimed Sultan, and ſeated in the Imperiall throne of the *Othomans*, with the generall applauſe of all the Baſſaes and army. The French Em- C baſſadour beeing by the ſame meanes freed from this guard, aduertiſed the King his Maſter, how barbarouſly he had beene entreated by *Muſtapha*, entreating his Majeſty to reuoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King ſent two Gentlemen to Conſtantinople to the new Emperour *Oſman*, to demand reparation of the indignity done to his Embaſſadour and Secretary; and to let him vnderſtand, that hee could not ſend any other Embaſſadour to his Court to condole the death of Sultan *Achmat* his father, nor congratulate his comming to the Eaſt, vntill that he had receiued ſatiſ- D faction from him befitting his dignity, and the wrongs he had receiued in his Embaſſador. The Grand Viſier and the Muphti hearing this Embaſſie, and conſidering of the actions which had paſſed, aduiſed the Emperour *Oſman* to ſend an Embaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King to confirme the league, and to teſtifie both by words and letters how much he was diſpleaſed for his diſcontent.

The Grand Seignior by the aduice of the Viſier and others, ſent *Vri* Chiaus into France, to confirme the articles of peace betwixt the French and the Turks. At his firſt audience he preſented a Letter vnto his Majeſty with this ſuperſcription.

To the moſt glorious and puiſſant Prince of the Beleefe of Ieſus, arbitrator of all the
E differences which happen among the Chriſtian Nations, and of all the moſt
noble, and the moſt antient, the Emperour of France, to whom
we wiſh the end of his daies to be happy, and
his deſire accompliſhed.

Oſmans letter to the French King.

KNow, that I ſend vnto you the capitulations and treaties of peace which are betwixt our majeſties: giuing you to vnderſtand, that there is not any thing firme or ſtable in this world, neither King nor beggar, although they liue long: that which pleaſeth God cannot faile. If all mens deſires ſhould ſucceed, without doubt all men would goe to heauen. Man whatſoeuer he doeth, or in what dignity ſoeuer hee be, ſhall not remaine in this fraile life, wiſe men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that which F *we haue ſaid, we deſire to let you know, that he who was in health, hath encountred death, and is gone to a goodlier place, to Paradiſe, my father Sultan* Achmat Chan; *the God which hath no reſemblance haue mercy on him. No man ſhall remaine in this lying World: And in Paradiſe are the approches to God, where there is no death. Finally he is gone.*

Since the beginning of the Othomans *vntill this preſent, the empire of my fathers and their countries from*

from father and ſonne, from hand to hand, and from father to ſonne, the inheritance comming ſo vnto vs; our Vncle Sultan Muſtapha Chan, *for that he was elder than our ſelfe, was preferred before vs to the throne of the* Ottomans, *and was ſome daies in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Empire, yeelding juſtice equally to all men both great and ſmall. But as he was ſhut vp many yeares in ſecret places, praying vnto God continually; ſo of himſelfe he hath relinquiſhed the dignity of the Emperour, and contemned it. The Empire then belonged to thoſe of our high linage, and for that by right it ſhould come vnto me, the Almighty God by his infinite bounty and mercy hath reſtored it into my hands, my Viſiers, Baſſaes, Lieutenants, the Mufti, and other great perſonages, and they that are in any reſpect with me: and finally, all my ſubjects and vaſſals, by a generall conſent haue acknowledged me for Emperor, in the happy yeare 1027. About the firſt day of the Moone of Ianuary, in a good houre. Wherefore I am ſeated in the great throne of the* Othomans, *like vnto that of* Solomon, *a powerfull and able Emperor: And in all our countries and cities, all the Muſulmans being aſſembled together in their churches to preach, the greatneſſe of my name hath beene proclaimed, and through all the mints of mine Empire they haue grauen it in their ſtamps, to coyne pieces of gold and ſiluer. Finally, whereoſoeuer there are any Muſulmans, and in what places there are men, my name ſhines like gold. Hereafter injuſtice nor impiety ſhall haue no place, but juſtice ſhall be done equally. Now we are in joy, and for that our naturall diſpoſition is good, and the antient friendſhip betwixt vs is perfect, I therefore thought good to aduertiſe you of all that hath paſſed here, and to ſend you our Letters of Imperiall alliance by* Vreiu *Chiaus who is my antient ſeruant, hauing had the managing of my treaſure, whereof he hath giuen me good account, being arriued at your Court, carrying my ſaid Letter, he deſerues to be receiued with honour: ſwearing and proteſting againe vnto you, to obſerue in all points the full capitulation made betwixt my predeceſſors, and your great grandfathers, and for our part, you may be aſſured, that the faith promiſed ſhall be maintained as it hath beene heretofore by our predeceſſors. And from the day I entred into my throne, I haue made my will knowne to all the Viceroyes, and other officers which do my juſtice, and generally to all thoſe of my obedience; entreating you to giue the like commandement to your Gouernours of Prouinces, and other officers of Iuſtice, as in like manner to all your ſubjects. And as your grandfathers haue taken the faith of our high family, ſo it may pleaſe you to continue with me, and we deſire on both ſides it may be good and firme. Know then that for my part it ſhall be obſerued, ſo as of your ſide there be nothing done contrary to the promiſed faith. And if before we came vnto the Imperiall throne, your Embaſſadour which did your affaires hath receiued any diſtaſte, and hath not receiued the honor and friendſhip accuſtomed, in my time he ſhall be the more honoured and reſpected as the chiefeſt Embaſſadors haue beene: I haue commanded that he ſhall be greatly fauoured, and our reſpect ſhall be vnto him as Quineo, that is to ſay, Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I do certifie you.*

The French King hauing receiued by this action a full ſatisfaction for the indignity done vnto his Embaſſador: ſoon after he called the Baron of *Mole* or *Sancie* home into France, ſending the Earle of *Sezi* to ſucceed him as Embaſſador at Conſtantinople..

A battell betwixt the Turks and the Perſians.

The war continuing ſtill betwixt the Turks and the Perſians, the grand Viſier was ſent to inuade Perſia with a great army, where after many exploits of war, newes came to Conſtantinople, that the Viſier had gotten a great aduantage vpon the Sophy of Perſia in a battel which had beene fought, wherein there had been 100000 men ſlaine. And although the Turks loſt the greateſt number, yet they remained maſters of the field, and ſpoiled the Perſian campe, who was retired or fled. For that the manner of the Sophy is to fight with the Turks in retiring or giuing way a little; and with this manner of fighting they haue alwaies made head againſt the Turks. After this ouerthrow the Viſier aduanced with his army, and entred far into Perſia, which made many doubt that his returne would proue difficult: yet ſoone after there came letters to Conſtantinople, importing that the Turks being in Perſia in great diſtreſſe for victuals, the Sophy had ſent an Embaſſador to the Viſier to demand peace, promiſing hereafter to ſatisfie the tributes of ſilkes which he ought yearely vnto the Turke; and that the Viſier (in regard of the neceſſity of his army) had accepted his offer, and granted him peace, the which Sultan *Oſman* did afterwards ratifie. After the concluſion whereof, the Sophy ſent many Cammels loaden with victuals vnto the Turks army, which was in great diſtreſſe and want.

A peace concluded betwixt them.

A comet ſeene ouer Conſtantinople.

During the Turks war in Perſia, vpon the anniuerſary day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the night a Comet ouer the city of Conſtantinople; in forme like a crooked ſword,

or

A or Turks ſcimiter: and it was ſo great as it extended from the meridian neer vnto our zenith, vnto the horiſon: the point began to ſhew it ſelfe an houre after midnight, and then it appeared little and ſomewhat whitiſh, and gaue but a glimpſe, after an houre it was more apparant and of a deeper colour, and the more it did riſe, the redder it was, and like vnto bloud; but at the breake of day it vaniſhed by little and little in the light: And it was ſo big when the point approched neere vnto the zenith, as the hilt was hidden vnder the horiſon; the Mathematicians did obſerue, that it followed the motions of the heauens; it did alwaies riſe in one place, and the bending of the ſaid ſword was towards Crates, more Southerly than it. It did appeare directly in the Eaſt a quarter towards the South, the point comming directly towards Conſtantinople, and the blade extending it ſelfe to the ſaid Eaſt a quarter to the South,
B which is juſtly the part where Perſia is ſcituated. The edge looked directly towards Conſtantinople, the which made men diſcourſe diuerſly, and many were amazed, fearing that it did ſignifie the loſſe and defeat of their army in Perſia, whoſe returne they feared much.

Vri or *Huſſeine* Chiaus hauing finiſhed his Embaſſie in France, came into England with the like charge, and had audience from his Majeſty at White Hall, Sir *Thomas Glouer* being Interpreter, from whom I receiued a true diſcourſe of his whole ſpeech, as followeth.

The Turkiſh Embaſſadors ſpeech to his Majeſty.

C *Hac ſubhanehu, ve Allahuteale, Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padiſhah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amin yah Rabil alemin.*

Ziyade cudretlu ve ſaadetlu Sultan Ali Oſman Chan *Padiſhah Hazeretleri; ſaadetlu Padiſhah Hazeretlerine juz bin ſelamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun ſaadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irſal idub: vmidleri oldurchi, maabenilerinde munakid olan ſulhu ſelah, bu anedeghin, ne veczuzre chywz olundiſe, halia dachi ol vſlub vzre her daim giunden ginne artirub mucarer olmaſina murad humaiunleridur:*

Ali Oſman, *Padiſhahung dachi Lala, ve Baſh vezirazam Baſſa hazeretleri, ſaadetlu*
D *Sultanum hazeretlerine juz bin ſelamber idub, bu mektub ſherifleri dachi haki pay ſheriſlerine irſal idub doaler ider.*

Aſsitanei ſaadette dachimutemekin olan elezighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay ſheriſlerine juz kylyndikdenſongra, mubarek aiaghyn puſſe idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irſal eiledy ler.*

The interpretation hereof is this.

That moſt true, incomprehenſible, and moſt high God, encreaſe and multiply your Majeſties yeares in
E *all happineſſe and felicity, Amen oh thou Lord of the World.*

The moſt inuincible, moſt mighty, and moſt happy Sultan Oſman Chan, *of the* Othoman *Empire Monarch, ſendeth vnto your excellent Majeſty a hundred thouſand ſalutations and greetings, euermore praying the moſt high God for your Majeſties happineſſe, ſendeth vnto your Highneſſe with all poſsible honour and renowne, this his Imperiall and moſt noble Letter; and withall hopeth, that the ſacred bond of peace, which hath beene hitherto inuiolably on your Majeſties parts kept and obſerued; your Majeſty will be well pleaſed ſtill on your part, with dayly encreaſe more and more of friendſhip, earneſtly to continue therein. And his Imperiall Majeſty on his behalfe is alſo reſolued in the like manner euermore punctually to keepe and obſerue the ſame.*

Alſo the moſt mighty Emperour his Tutor, and his chiefe Viſier Baſſa, hath addreſſed to the duſt of your noble feet, this his moſt honorable Letter, with a thouſand commendations, praying euerlaſtingly
F *that mighty God for your Majeſties long life and happineſſe.*

Alſo your Majeſties Embaſſadour at Conſtantinople, your ſlaue Paul Pinder, *bowing his forehead to the duſt of your Majeſties feet, and moſt humbly kiſsing your Highneſſe bleſſed feet, hath directed vnto your Majeſty this his ſubmiſsiue Letter.*

This

This that now followeth, is the ſaid Embaſſadors ſpeech to his Majeſty at the taking of his leaue at White Hall. G

Saadetlu Padiſhahum, Nitekim bu kullighiz haki pay ſheriflerine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali Oſman *Padiſhah Hazeretlerinung name humaiunlerin deſtimuzile teſlin eileduk : Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazaretcleri dachi angha giore effendimuze name ſheriflerile giouab idub bu killighize teſlim ei lemek erzany buiurila ve herdaim ſaadette ve deulette peydar ola.*

The Interpretation *Verbatim* is this. H

Moſt happy Emperor, as I haue with mine owne hands, bowing my ſelfe to the duſt of your Princely feet, appreſented vnto your excellent Majeſty the moſt mighty and high Sultan Othoman *my Lord and Maſter his Imperiall Letter, ſo likewiſe I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed in conformity thereof, to vouchſafe your Princely anſwer by your noble Letter, and to deliuer the ſame into the hands of me your ſlaue : and be euer partaker of all bleſſedneſſe and happineſſe.*

A Copy of the Letter of Sultan *Oſman* the preſent *Othoman* Emperour, written to the Kings Majeſty, and preſented by *Huſſeine* Chiaus. I

ALthough in this tranſitory World, if the King or the begger ſhould enjoy the longeſt terme of life that might be, and obtaine all that his heart could wiſh, yet it is moſt certaine, that in the end hee muſt depart and be tranſported to the Word eternall; and it is well knowne vnto the wiſe, that it is impoſſible for man to abide for euer in this World. The occaſion if this prologue is, that the immortall, omnipotent, and only God hath by his Diuine will and pleaſure called vnto himſelfe our father of bleſſed memory Sultan Achmat Chan, *who in life was happy, and in death laudable; and departing out of this momentary World to be neerer the mercifull Creator, being changed into perfect glory, and eternall bliſſe,* K
hath his habitation on high, and his reſt in Paradiſe. This paternall Empire and Monarchicall kingdome hath almoſt vntill this preſent bleſſed time, beene alwaies hereditary, from grandfather to father, from father to ſon, and ſo curſiuely on that manner; but hauing regard vnto the age and yeares of our great and noble Vncle Sultan Muſtapha, *he was preferred and honoured to ſit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being ſettled for ſome time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular. But hauing beene many yeares retired in ſolitarineſſe, and giuen to deuotion and Diuine obedience, being alſo as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire, of his owne accord withdrew himſelfe from the Gouernment; for that the Diademe and Scepter of the Empire of the ſeuen Climats, was the true right and inheritance of our moſt excellent Majeſty, of the which with the meeting and conſent of all the Viſiers, and other Deputies of State, of the Primat of the Muſſulman* L
Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the ſouldiers, and of all the ſubjects both publike and priuat, the Almighty God hath made an high Preſent and worthy gift vnto vs. And in the happy day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il euel of this preſent yeare 1027, in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was our bleſſed and happy ſitting eſtabliſhed vpon the moſt fortunate Othoman *Throne, the ſeat and wiſedome of* Solomon. *In the pulpets of all the Moſques the congregations of the faithfull, and deuotion of the Muſſulmen, throughout all our dominions is read to our Imperiall name the * Hutbeh. And in the mints (where innumerable ſummes of mony are coyned, as well vpon the ſiluer as the gold) our happy name and ſtampe is ſigned. And our moſt powerfull commandements are obeyed in all the parts and dominions of the World. And the brightneſſe of the light of the Sun of Iuſtice and equity, hath cauſed the darkeneſſe of injuries and moleſtations to vaniſh away.* M

** Hutbeh is a prayer only for the proſperity of the King.*

Now ſeeing it hath beene an antient cuſtome of our famous Predeceſſors to giue notice of the ſame vnto ſuch Princes as are in ſincere friendſhip, and do continue it with the Houſe of great Majeſty and our Imperiall Court : We alſo haue written theſe our princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his equals Huſſeine *Chiaus (whoſe power is great) one of the honoured and reſpected ſeruants*

A *ſeruants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that ſuch newes might cauſe great*
joy of our moſt honourable aſſumption. And we doe hope that when they ſhall come to your hands (in
conformity of the well grounded friendſhip vpon the ſure league, articles, and writings which hath been
eſtabliſhed of old with our moſt royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifeſt infinite joy and
gladneſſe, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Gouernours of the Dominions and Countries vnder you,
that they may know the articles of the peace and league, and the points of the oath which are firme and to
be deſired on both parts, from the time of our grandfather and predeceſſour of royall ſtocke now in paradiſe
(whoſe ſoule God enlighten) vndoubtedly during the time of our reigne ſhall be obſebued with all re-
ſpect. And let there not be the leaſt imagination of any want of due obſeruance of the ſignes of friend-
ſhip on our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundation of the peace
B *and league.*

The Copy of a Letter written by *Hallil Baſſa*, chieſe Viſier, and Generall in the expedition againſt the Perſian, at his returne from the wars, to the City of Senit in Aprill 1618, vnto Sir *Paul Pinder* Knight, then Embaſſador for the Kings Majeſty at Conſtantinople.

The humble Viſier Halil Baſſa.

T*O the courteous Lord of the Nation of the* Meſſiah, *both great and honourable among the people of*
C Ieſus, *and the true determiner of the Chriſtian affaires; our good friend* Paul Pinder, *the Eng-*
liſh Embaſſador, whoſe later daies be with all felicity. To whoſe noble preſence (after our many kind ſa-
lutations tending to all good affection and manifeſtation of joy, worthy and beſeeming our friendſhip)
our louing aduice is this, That if you deſire to heare of our eſtate and being, you ſhall vnderſtand, that af-
ter we departed from the happy port with the army, for the wars of Aſia, we arriued and wintered in Meſo-
potamia, and remouing thence in the Spring with all the Muſſulman hoſte (alwaies victorious) we went
to Van, from which place vntill we came to Tauris, the Muſſulman army went on alwaies ſacking and de-
ſtroying all thoſe places and townes of the Perſians which we met withall by the way in thoſe parts, where
were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, ſome thouſands of villages, and tormenting all thoſe people that came to
hand. And when we were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Perſian forces (of peruerſe religion)
D *called* Carelgai Han *(the accurſed) retired himſelfe into the ſaid Tauris, where beating vp his drums*
in euery quarter, he made a ſhew that he had a will to fight: ſo we ſent a little before vs ſome Tartars and
others of our army to hearken out and take notice of the enemy; who meeting with ſeuen or eight hundred
Perſians of note, put them to the ſword, very few eſcaping, and that with very great difficulty and ha-
zard. By which the ſaid Generall finding himſelfe vnable to reſiſt the power and fury of the Muſſulman
hoſt, or to ſtay any longer in the ſaid place, the very ſame day that we arriued there, the ſaid Generall ha-
uing ſpoiled all the city, fled away; ſo we tooke the place, ranſacked it, and burned all the buildings, towers,
gardens, and whatſoeuer elſe we found within it: And thus the great city Tauris by Diuine fauour and
grace became ours. Then forthwith we ſent after the enemy, the Tartar with ſome Beglerbegs, who ouer-
taking them gaue them battell; and albeit ſome of ours did fall, yet they which fell on the enemies ſide
E *were innumerable. And ſo going forwards towards Erdeuil (their obſcure reſidence) about ten days journy*
in the country, we went burning and ſpoyling it, and killing all the Perſians that we met; that indeed there
was ſo much glory and honour won, as that all the antient men of the country do affirme, there was neuer
ſeene the like; inſomuch, that from the confines vnto Erdeuill, twenty daies journey of the country was on
that manner by vs deſtroied. Thus afterward the King cauſed to empty the ſaid place of Erdeuill, and
fled into a place called Hulchal, and cauſed his army to go to the top of a high mountaine, from whence ha-
uing ſent three or foure times men of quality vnto vs, ſeeking and entreating for peace, with promiſe to
giue yearely vnto our Emperor a hundred Somes of ſilke, and all ſuch places as are vpon the confines
gotten in the time of Sultan Solyman, *except Der Ne and Der Tink; wherewith we weare contented*
with the peace, and his Embaſſador is vpon the way comming toward vs. And ſo we returning the ſame
F *way againe (alwaies ſpoiling) we came to Erzirum. And thus our preſent Letter is written vnto you for*
the reſpect and preſeruation of our friendſhip: and euen as our amity hath euer beene hitherto ſincere and
firme, ſo likewiſe by the Grace of God at our arriuall in the happy Port, it ſhall be in like manner main-
tained and continued, that more cannot poſſible be. And ſo God keepe you in health.

1619. The wars growing hot in Bohemia againſt the Proteſtants,and the Emperour raiſing what G forces he could to ſuppreſſe them,the directors or Gouernors of the country wrote their letters to *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Tranſyluania,to acquaint him with the eſtate of their affaires. To whom he made anſwer, That his country ſtanding euen in the very jawes of the Turks, whoſe councels were neuer quiet,but euer working like to the waues of the vaſt ocean,and alwaies watchfull to embrace all occaſions vpon any diſcord of the Chriſtians, eſpecially now when they had pacified all quarrels with the Perſian,and had no rebels in Aſia, againſt whom they might employ their forces; he had propounded to himſelf to attend the conſent and fauor of the *Othoman* Emperour, whereby he might take from him all occaſion to make any irruption into the neighbour countries,and haue the better means to imploy his beſt means to reconcile the diſcords among the Chriſtians; wherefore hauing ſent to Conſtantinople to H acquaint the Grand Seignior with his intent,and to craue his fauour,he receiued letters from thence the 17 of Auguſt,whereby he was aſſured of the Grand Segniors conſent and fauour. Wherupon he reſolued (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the houſe of Auſtria,the Pope of Rome,and others of that faction)to take arms in defence of the Bohemians; promiſing to be in September following vpon the confines of Morauia vnleſſe he found ſome ſtay in Hungary.Being aduertiſed of the ſtate of Bohemia and Morauia, he leuied an army at Clauſenburg, and entered into the vpper Hungary,whereas moſt of the Barons ſubmitted themſelues vnto him; only *Humanoie* a great man in that country oppoſed himſelfe; but not able to make his party good,he fled into Polonia. After which he ſent his army(being 18000 ſtrong)and took Filek,Ternan,Vacci,Nouigrade,and others; after which he ſeiſed vpon Neuheuſall,the Go- I uernour being deliuered bound vnto him. The Palatine of Hungary wrote letter to *Redei* Generall of the Prince of Tranſyluania's army, wiſhing him to conſider what the forces of the Kings of Spaine and France were,with the houſe of Auſtria and their allies,and that the Electors of the Empire(ſome excepted)would ſend aid vnto the Emperor. Who anſwered,that he doubted not of the power of thoſe Kings, and that the Electors would ſend ſupplies vnto the Emperour; yet hoped that before they came, all ſhould be ended, and their dinners ſhould be prouided.

Bethlem Gabor taketh many townes in Hungary.

Soone after, the Prince of Tranſyluania came to Presburg with his vrmy, a towne of note in Hungary, whereas their Kings are vſually crowned. The newes thereof comming to Vienna,they ſent 3000 ſouldiers with three pieces of ordnance downe the riuer of Danow, who K entred the ſuburbs on the 13 of October, the night was very ſtormy and rainy, and the Tranſyluanians taking this opportunity charged them,and ſlew the greateſt part, their Commander flying away with ſome few. The ſuburbs being taken, *Bethlem Gabor* ſent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yeeld the town and caſtle without force,giuing him ſome time to reſolue;who after conſultation with ſome noblemen,they reſolued to yeeld, and ſo the towne was deliuered into his hands. After which he ſent part of his army vnder good Commanders into Auſtria,to the gates of Vienna,where they committed great ſpoile, the particular relation whereof I leaue to the Hiſtory of the Emperours liues,to which it doth properly belong.

In Nouember *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſyluania,and the Eſtates of Hungary,ſent Embaſſadors to Prague, where they propounded diuers articles vnto the Counſell, and amongſt L others,That they ſhould joyntly ſend Embaſſadors to the Grand Seignior, & that the prince of Tranſyluania ſhould negotiate the buſineſſe. And for that the kingdome of Hungary was much exhauſted, whatſoeuer ſhould be taken in Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, ſhould be vnited vnto it, to the end it might be the better able to reſiſt the Turke: all which tended to the prejudice and ruine of the houſe of Auſtria. The Prince of Tranſyluania hauing taken diuers townes in Hungary,belonging to the Emperor as King of Hungary, and entred Auſtria in hoſtile manner in fauor of the Bohemians; knowing that hee had thereby much inſenced the Emperor,and the whole houſe of Auſtria,and that if he ſhould preuaile ouer the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the war would lie vpon him, he therefore in the end of this yeare ſent an Embaſſador with preſents to Conſtantinople,to craue aſſurance of the Grand Seigni- M ors aid and ſupport(vpon whoſe fauour he had alwaies depended) in caſe the Emperor ſhould inuade Tranſyluania: where being countenanced by many of the chiefe Baſſaes, he had aſſurance of Sultan *Oſmans* ſupport and protection, the which he confirmed by a ſolemne oath vnder his hand, as followeth.

A

The Great Turks oath to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of Tranſyluania.

Sultan Oſman,

By the grace of God vnconquerable Turkiſh Emperour, ſweares by the Higheſt, Almightieſt, and Almighty Gods Holineſſe, by his Kingdome, by the ſubſtance of the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, by the earth, and by all vnder the earth, by the braines and all the hairy ſcalpe of my mother, by my head, and all the ſtrength of my ſoule and body, by the holy Great Mahomet, *and by my Circumciſion, That I thee my brother and ſon* Bethlem Gabor, *ſucceeding King of Hungary, in no manner* B *of way, in thy great and weighty affaires will leaue, though it be to the ouerthrow of my Kingdome, to be brought to nothing, vntill there ſhall be no more left but my ſelfe, or foure or fiue Turks at the moſt, yet will I be ſtill obliged to defend thee, and all thoſe that do any waies appertaine vnto thee. And if thou ſhalt haue need of me, I will be alwaies ready to goe with thee. And in caſe this my promiſe ſhall in any wiſe be fruſtrated, then let Gods juſtice fall vpon my head and deſtroy me and my poſterity, and wipe away whatſoeuer belongeth vnto me, and gather it together into a rocke of ſtone, or ſubſtance of earth, and that the earth may cleaue aſunder and ſwallow me vp body and ſoule.*

Dated at Conſtantinople the fifth
of Ianuary, 1619.

C

Bethlem Gabor being aſſured by this oath, of protection made by the Grand Seigniour, in the beginning of the yeare 1620, he called an aſſembly of the Eſtates of Hungary at Preſburg, whither Embaſſadours were ſent from the King of Bohemia, and the States of that countrey, with the incorporate Prouinces, where a perpetuall league was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at Prague; where among other articles, it was concluded, that foraſmuch as neceſſity did chiefely require, that a peace ſhould be concluded and inuiolably kept with the Turke, therefore a new Embaſſie ſhould be ſent to the Grand Seigniour from all the confederate Kingdomes and Prouinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* ſhould take D vpon him the chiefe care of that buſineſſe; but yet in ſuch ſort, as the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces ſhould ſend their Embaſſadours with the Hungarians, and beare their ſhares of all that ſhould be disburſed, as well for the Preſents, as for the Embaſſadours charges.

1620.

A League betweene the Bohemians, Tranſilvanians and Hungarians.

In Iune following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an aſſembly of the Eſtates of Hungary at Neuheuſall, where he propounded diuers heads vnto the States: That he deſired nothing more than to reſtore the Kingdome of Hungary, ſo miſerably afflicted, to liberty; and that they might enjoy their religion and priuiledges: That hee had ſpared no coſt for the lawfull defence of the country; and for a teſtimony that he deſired peace, he had refuſed the Crowne which the Eſtates offered him at Presburg: that the ground of peace was to maintaine the E league which they had begun with the Bohemians: that hee had alwaies deſired peace with the helpe of other Princes, ſo as it were ſincere and without fraud or deceit, for the obtaining whereof hee had aſſiſted his confederats miſerably afflicted: That he knew for certaine the Emperour deſired not peace but war, hauing ſuffered the Coſſackes to enter into Hungary, and to ſpoyle many places with fire and ſword, and denied paſſage for the Embaſſadours of Bohemia and Auſtria; for this cauſe they were not now to treat of peace but of warre, and to conſult how it might be begun and maintained: for the leuying of money which is the ſinewes of war: for the furniſhing of their forts vpon the frontiers, and for the ſpeedy ſending of Embaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperor, leſt being ingaged in an inteſtine war, there might be ſome attempts made vpon theſe bordering forts. Hauing deliuered his minde vnto the F Eſtates, there came diuers Embaſſadours thither from Bohemia, Auſtria, Sileſia, and Luſatia, Venice, Poland, and Turky: The Venetian Embaſſadour was content their Commonwealth ſhould enter into the league, and the Turke made offer to conclude a perpetuall league with them.

On

Bethlem Gabor proclaimed K. of Hungary.

On the fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſyluania was proclaimed
King of Hungary by the Palatine, at the inſtance of the Turkiſh Embaſſadour, and G
with the conſent and applauſe of moſt part of the Eſtates of the country: after which he leuied
a great army of thirty (ſome ſay fifty) thouſand horſe and foot, and made many Enſignes
with diuers Emblemes and deuices; which being knowne, the Proteſtants of Vienna, with
the conſent of the Emperour, wrote vnto him, humbly entreating him to ſpare the city and
country, for their innocent wiues and childrens ſake: but in the meane time all the citiſens
were commanded to make prouiſion of victuals for ſix moneths.

A viſion ſeene at Medina Talnabi.

There came newes to Conſtantinople of a ſtrange apparition or viſion, which was ſeene
at Medina Talnabi in Arabia, whereas *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried: to viſit
whoſe tombe the Turks vſe to goe in pilgrimage, but they muſt firſt goe to Mecha, which is
ſome few daies iourney off, and there they take a ticket from the Grand Seigniours Beglerbeg, H
elſe they are not allowed to goe to Medina. This viſion continued three weekes together,
which terrified the whole country, for that no man could diſcouer the truth thereof.
About the twentieth of September, there fell ſo great a tempeſt, and ſo fearefull a thunder
about midnight, as the heauens were darkened, and thoſe that were awake, almoſt diſtracted;
but the vapours being diſperſed, and the element cleare, the people might reade in Arabian
Characters theſe words in the firmament, *O why will yee beleeue in lies*! Between two and three
in the morning, there was ſeene a woman in white compaſſed about with the Sunne, hauing a
cheerefull countenance, and holding in her hand a Booke: comming from the Northweſt,
oppoſite againſt her were armies of Turkes, Perſians, Arabians, and other Mahometans, I
ranged in order of battell, and ready to charge her; but ſhe kept her ſtanding, and only opened
the Booke, at the ſight whereof theſe armies fled: and preſently all the lamps about
Mahomets tombe went out; for as ſoone as euer the viſion vaniſhed (which was commonly
an houre before ſunne riſing) a murmuring winde was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguiſhing
of the lampes. The antient pilgrims of *Mah[illegible]ets* race, who after they haue viſited
this place neuer vſe to cut their haire, were much amaſed, for that they could not conceiue
the meaning of this viſion: onely one of the Deruices (which is a ſtrict religious order
amongſt the Turks, like vnto the Capuchins amongſt the Papiſts, and liue in contemplation)
ſtepped vp very boldly, and made a ſpeech vnto the company, which inſenced
them much againſt him, ſo as this poore prieſt for his plaine dealing loſt his life, as you ſhall K
heare.

A Deruice ſpeech vnto the Turkes.

„ The ſumme of his ſpeech was this: That the World had neuer but three true Religions,
„ euery one of which had a Prophet; firſt God choſe the Iewes, and did wonders for them in
„ Ægypt, and brought them forth by their Prophet *Moſes*, who preſcribed them a Law, wherein
„ he would haue maintained them, if they had not beene obſtinate and rebellious, and fallen
„ to Idolatry: whereupon hee gaue them ouer, and ſcattered them vpon the face of the
„ earth. Then preſently after hee raiſed a new Prophet, who taught the Chriſtian Religion.
„ This good man the Iewes condemned and crucified for a ſeducer of the people, not moued
„ with the piety of his life, his great miracles, nor his doctrine. Yet after his death, the preaching
„ of a few fiſhermen did ſo moue the hearts of men, as the greateſt Monarchs of the world L
„ bowed to his very title, and yeelded to the command of his Miniſters. But it ſeemes they
„ grew as corrupt as the Iewes, their Church being diſmembred with the diſtinction of the Eaſt
„ and Weſt, committing Idolatry againe by ſetting vp of Images, with many other idle ceremonies,
„ beſides the corruption of their liues, ſo as God was weary of them too, and not onely
„ ſent diuiſions among them, but forſooke them, diſpoſſeſſing them of their chiefeſt Cities Ieruſalem
„ and Conſtantinople: yet God is ſtill the Gouernor of the World, and prouides himſelfe
„ of another Prophet and people, raiſing our Great *Mahomet*, and giuing why to our nation,
„ ſo as no doubt we ſhall be happy for euer, if we can ſerue this God aright, and take example
„ by the fall of others. But ahlas! I tremble to ſpeake it, we haue erred in euery point,
„ and wilfully broken our firſt inſtitutions, ſo as God hath manifeſted his wrath by euident M
„ ſignes and tokens, keeping our Prophet from vs, who prefixed a time to returne with all
„ happineſſe to his people, ſo as there are now forty yeares paſt by our account: Wherefore
„ this ſtrange and fearefull viſion is a prediction of ſome great troubles and alterations.

A For either the opening of this booke in the womans hand, doth foretell our falling away from the firſt intent of our law, whereat theſe armed men departed as confounded with the guilt of their owne conſciences; or elſe it ſignifies ſome other booke wherein we haue not yet read, and againſt which no power ſhall preuaile: ſo as I feare our religion will be proued corrupt, and our Prophet an Impoſter, and then this *Chriſt* whom they talke of ſhall ſhine like the ſun, and ſet vp his name euerlaſtingly. Hitherto the company were ſilent; but hearing him ſpeak ſo boldly, they charged him with blaſphemy; and knowing their law, which makes all blaſphemy capitall, they preſently condemned him, and hauing the Beglerbegs conſent and warrant, they put him to death.

As their rage againſt him was violent, ſo their execution was extraordinary, for they nei- B ther cut off his head nor ſtrangled him, as they vſually doe to malefactors, but they tortured him by degrees: for ſtripping him firſt naked, they gaue him a hundred blowes on the ſoles of his feet with a flat cudgell, vntill the bloud iſſued forth, the poore prieſt crying continually on the woman that opened the booke. After which they tooke a bulls pizzle, and beat all his body vntil the ſinues crackt, and in the end they laid him vpon a wheele, and with an Indian ſword made of ſinews, they brake his bones to pieces, the poor man crying to the laſt gaſpe, *O thou woman with the booke, ſaue me*, and ſo he died: At which time there was a fearefull tempeſt. The Beglerbeg ſent certain Spahies to the port of Sidon to imbarke for Conſtantinople, to the end they might aduertiſe the Emperor of theſe tidings.

The Deruiſe put to death for his ſpeech.

Sultan *Oſman* from the firſt enterance into his reigne was freed from all cares of forraine C war, or inteſtine combuſtions; for hee had that happineſſe (being himſelfe young, and not able to gouerne ſo potent an eſtate) as by the counſell and aſſiſtance of *Halil Baſſa* his grand Viſier, he had forced the King of Perſia to demand a peace, and to pay the tribute which had been formerly promiſed. His rebels in Aſia were all pacified, and the truce with the Emperour (which had been ſomewhat interrupted by miſinterpretation, or the practiſe of bad miniſters) was newly confirmed a little before his comming to the crowne, onely Moldauia had beene the theatre of war for ſome yeares, where his father had exerciſed his armes, and imployed his forces, to aduance whom he pleaſed to be Vayuod of that countrey, againſt another party that was ſupported by the Polonians, as you haue formerly heard. *Michna* Prince of Valachia, being made Vayuod of Moldauia by *Achmat*, and the Polonian party wholly D ouerthrowne in the yeare 1616, hee enjoyed it not long: but whether hee died of a naturall death, or fell into diſgrace with the Grand Seignior, I do not reade: yet I finde that after him there was another Vayuod or Prince of Moldauia, who is yet liuing, but in diſgrace with the Sultan, his name is *Gaſparo Gratſiani*: and to the end you may vnderſtand, that the Turks neuer reſpect the birth and quality of any man in their aduancements, I will relate what this man was, from the mouth of him that knew him very well.

This *Gaſparo* was borne at Gretz (a towne of great ſtrength belonging vnto the Archdukes of Auſtria, by the which a branch of that houſe is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, and whereof the Emperour now reigning is the head) but being a man of ſmall fortune, and little expectance in his owne country, he went to Conſtantinople, and put himſelfe in ſeruice with Sir E *Thomas Glouer*, before that he was Embaſſadour for his Majeſty to the Grand Seignior, vnder whom he learned both to write and reade the Turkiſh tongue. After which he came with him into England, and there by his recommendation was employed to Conſtantinople for the redeeming of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who was then a priſoner among the Turks. Hauing performed his charge orderly, and being come to Venice with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glouer* was ſent Embaſſadour to the Grand Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to Conſtantinople to his old maſter, where he was emploied yearely to buy or exchange Chriſtians for Turks, carrying the Chriſtians into Italy, and ſo returning Turks for them. About the end of *Achmats* reigne arriuing at Conſtantinople with a ſhip full of Turks, which he had exchanged, he acquainted the Viſier Baſſa with the good ſeruice he had F done vnto the Grand Seigniour; who demanding of what countrey hee was, and his breeding, asked him if he would vndertake a ſeruice which ſhould be for his aduancement, which was to go vnto the Emperour to reconcile all difficulties concerning the peace, wherein he carried himſelfe ſo diſcreetly, as Commiſſioners were appointed, who concluded all difficulties, as you haue heard. But before his returne home, the Grand Seigniour was dead; yet he preſſed the Baſſa for the performance of his promiſe, deſiring him, that he might be made Vayuod of Moldauia, which the Baſſa effected: but the preſents he gaue aduanced him more than his merits. Since hee grew into ſome diſgrace; ſo as the Grand Seigniour making choice of another Vayuod, gaue charge to certaine Capigies, to go into Moldauia to ſtrangle *Gaſparo*, and that they ſhould take foure hundred Turks vpon the frontiers to aſſiſt them. But *Gaſparo* hauing good ſpies at Conſtantinople, who aduertiſed him of their deſigne, reſolued to preuent them; wherefore taking ſome troups with him, he met them vpon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to Yas, hee ſlew a thouſand Turks. After which he fled into Poland with two thouſand horſe; from whence they write that he hath made diuers incurſions into Moldauia, and committed great ſpoiles vpon the Turks, being aſſiſted by the Coſſackes, and keepes poſſeſſion of the country, although there be another Vayuod made by the Turke.

Gaſparo made Vayuod of Moldauia.

The Turks preparation to armes.

Sultan *Oſman* ſeemes to be much inſenced againſt the Polonians, as well for this ſupport, as for former quarrels, making it his colour for the leuying of the greateſt army that hath beene ſeene ſince that *Solyman* went vnto the ſiege of Agria, conſiſting, as it is ſaid, of three hundred thouſand men, hauing drawne downe all his forces out of Aſia. God knowes where he will imploy it, but it is much to be feared that he will make vſe of this diuiſion betwixt Chriſtian Princes, who ſhould vnite their wills and forces, to oppoſe them againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendome, who watcheth only to get an aduantage, little regarding his word and promiſe.

The Turke hauing no imployment for his forces by land, ſent threeſcore gallies by Sea, to make ſome enterpriſe vpon the Chriſtians. They came into the Mediterranean Sea, and hauing coaſted the Iſland of Sicilie, they ſent twenty gallies to land in the Kingdome of Naples, where they ſurpriſed the Towne of Manfredonia, and ſpoiled it, carrying away fourteene or fifteene hundred captiues, and ſo retyred againe to Sea. The reſt of their fleet lay about Vellona in the gulfe, which made the Spaniards jealous that the Venetian had beene acquainted with this enterpriſe. And ſince there is newes, that the Gallions and Galliots of Algiers, haue taken Iuiſa, a ſmall Iſland of foure miles compaſſe, neere vnto Majorca: It is a place of great importance, for that it hath a hauen able to containe much ſhipping; for the guard whereof the King of Spaine entertaines a great garriſon, and it did much annoy them of Algiers. They tooke the towne; but it is not yet certaine whether they haue taken the caſtle.

The greatneſſe of the Turks Empire.

This is all I could learne of the Turks affaires ſince the yeare *1609* vntill this preſent. The Reader may obſerue, that ſince the reigne of *Ottoman* their firſt Emperor, this great Empire of the Turks is proudly built vpon the foure Monarchies of the World; that is to ſay, of the Aſſirian, Perſian, Greeke, and Romane. For they enjoy Babylon, and all Chaldæa, with the country of the Medes: We haue ſeene them in Tauris the capitall city of Perſia, Greece is ſubject to the yoke of their command; Conſtantinople, ſometimes called New Rome, by the tranſport of the Imperial ſeat, is now made their Throne, and ſo many prouinces and realmes which in former times depended vpon the Romane Empire, do now acknowledge their power: they are Maſters of the Realmes of Ægypt and Cyprus; the Iſlands of Rhodes, Mitylene, Negrepont, Chio, and many others acknowledge them, the Empire of Trebiſond is theirs; the Realme of Colchos, now called Mingrelia, payes them tribute: they of Tunes and Algiers in Affrica obey them; Dalmatia, the Illyrians, Triballiens, the countries of Tranſyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia do them homage, and we ſee them command euen in the chiefe townes of the Realmes of Hungary: But all this power of the *Ottomans* had neuer bene ſo great nor ſo fearefull, but by the diſcord, diuiſion, and bad intelligence betwixt Chriſtian Princes, as you may reade in the courſe of this Hiſtory, as well in Greece, at Conſtantinople as in other parts of Europe, whereas theſe Princes contending one with another, haue furniſhed matter and meanes to the Turke to diſpoſſeſſe them of the chiefe peeces of their Monarchies. They meaſure the continuance of their Empire by the

diſcord

A diſcord betwixt the Princes of the beleefe of the name of Ieſus,and they confeſſe truely, that
this diuiſion is the onely cauſe of their greatneſſe, the which hath made them beleeue, that
among Chriſtians there was a bad Angell enemy to peace, which they call, *The ſtrong or pow-
erfull Spirit,* which kindling the fire of reuenge and ambition in the hearts of great men,
drawes from their affections the good of their beleefe, to entertaine them in perpetuall diſ-
cord; during the which, they promiſe vnto themſelues a firme and an aſſured reigne. So the
Mufti,and the Taliſmans praying on Friday in their Moſques, demand of their Prophet the
circumſtance of this bad intelligence betwixt Chriſtian Princes, to the end they may enjoy
the Empire which they haue vnjuſtly vſurped. Yet their prophecies doe not promiſe them a
perpetuall poſſeſſion; behold one in their owne tongue, which hath alwaies made them feare
B the vnion of Chriſtians:

A Turkiſh Propheſie.

*Patiſſahomomos ghelur, caiſerun menleker alur kenzul almai alur kapze iler ie di yla-
degh Giaur Keleci cſikmaſſe on ikigladegh on laron Begbhgheder. Enſi japar, baghi diker
bathe ſai baglar, ogli keſi olar; onichi ylddenſora Hriſtianon-keleci cſcchar, al Turkei ghereſ-
ſine Tuſchure.*

That is to ſay;

C *Our Emperour ſhall come, he ſhall poſſeſſe the Realme of an Infidell Prince, he ſhall take the red apple,
and make it ſubject to his power: if at the ſeuenth yeare of his command the Chriſtians ſword doth not
aduance, he ſhall rule vnto the twelfth yeare, he ſhall build houſes, plant vines, compaſſe in gardens with
hedges, and beget children: but after the twelfth yeare that he hath held the red apple, the Chriſtians
ſword ſhall appeare and put the Turks to flight.*

The expoſition of their Propheſie.

By the *Infidell Prince* they vnderſtand a Chriſtian Prince(for ſo they call them)and by the
Red Apple an Imperiall towne ſtrong and important; in the which, and elſewhere the Turks
ſhall *build houſes:* that is to ſay,conuert holy temples to the vſe of the Mahometan impiety:
D for by this word *to build*, they that haue commented vpon this propheſie, vnderſtand vſurpa-
tion of the houſes of God: *Plant vines*, by theſe words they ſignifie the extent of the Turkiſh
Empire,and the ſetling of their colonies, as we ſee in Hungary and Tranſyluania: *Compaſsing
in Gardens*, that is to ſay, they ſhall fortifie the townes which they haue taken from their ene-
mies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan religion far in the Chriſtians countries. *But af-
ter the twelfth yeare, &c.* within a certaine time beſt knowne to God, his diuine Majeſty, ope-
ning the eies of his clemency vpon the Chriſtians,will vnite the wills of their Princes, kindle
their affections with a holy zeale, and bleſſing their armes, will make them victorious ouer
the Turke,whom he will baniſh out of the Eaſt, and chaſe into Scythia, from whence they
came to be a ſcourge vnto Chriſtendome. Theſe are my wiſhes, wherein I hope all good
E Chriſtians do concurre.

The beginning of the Turkiſh Empire.

Hauing runne ouer the occurrents which haue happened in the Turks eſtate for the ſpace
of eleuen yeares, I muſt according to Maſter *Knolles* his method, conclude the worke with
a deſcription of the Grand Seigniours Port or Court, of his Gouernment, Officers, Riches,
Force, and Religion. The Turks (a people of Scythia) hauing like a violent deluge ouer-
throwne a great part of the Eaſt,and taken diuers Prouinces, being expelled from Ieruſalem
by *Godfrey* of Bouillon,and the Chriſtians, their remainder retired to Nicea where they liued
without any head or ſoueraigne commander, vntill that *Ottoman* about the yeare of our Re-
deemer 1300, by practiſe made himſelfe ſole and abſolute Monarch. His ſonne conque-
ring diuers Prouinces, remoued his Imperiall ſeat to Pruſia, now called Burſia, the chiefe
F abode of the Kings of Bythinia. *Amurath* the firſt(being drawne in by the Emperour of Con-
ſtantinople to ſuccour him,and allured with the wealth of Europe) turned his armes againſt
him, taking diuers prouinces and townes from him, amongſt others Adrianopolis, which he
made the ſeat and reſidence of the Turkiſh Emperours, in the yeare 1363. But *Mahomet* the

ſecond hauing taken the city of Conſtantinople, and expelled the Emperour in the yeare 1453, he made it the royall ſeat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reaſon, being one of the faireſt and ſweeteſt ſeats of the World.

Deſcription of Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople hath in circuit by the opinion of ſome Writers fifteene or ſixteene miles, and is called by the Turks themſelues Stambull or Stambolda, the ſea beating vpon it vpon the North and South ſides: Towards the Eaſt it is diuided from Aſia by a large chanell, which runneth from the one ſea to the other, and is about ſeuen miles in length, The City is built vpon the declining of a hill, in which there are many rare ſingularities which I omit being deſcribed elſewhere. There are in this City ſeuen little hils, vpon the which are built ſeuen principall Moſques or Churches, by ſeuerall Emperours, where of the faireſt and moſt ſtately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Vpon the North ſide of the City ſtandeth the Grand Seigniours Palace or Seraglio, commonly called by the name of the Port: The which hath on the one ſide thereof the Sea, and of the other ſide of it the hauen, the other two being towards the City, being about three miles in compaſſe, ſome write of foure. It is walled about, and within it are many gardens, orchards, medowes, and woods. Being entred into the firſt Port (which hath double gates of yron) into a large Court, on the left hand there ſtands a building like vnto a Turkiſh Moſque, which now the Grand Seigniour vſeth for a ſtore-houſe, wherein are great ſtore of armes which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other ſide of this Court are ſeuerall gardens walled in, from which they paſſe to another Court with a gate like vnto the former, where are targuets and ſcimitars hanging, and many Porters attending, as at the former. After this, they paſſe into another large Court which is planted with Cypreſſe trees, and full of graſſe, where deere feed; but round about it is a cloiſter which is in length about ſix hundred and foureſcore foot, and aboue fiue hundred in bredth, paued with ſtone, and couered with lead, it being ſupported with one hundred and forty pillars of white and gray marble, ſtanding vpon baſſes of copper, with capitals of the ſame; vpon the North ſide whereof ſtands the Diuano, whereas the Viſier Baſſa and the other Baſſaes ſit in Councell, and heare cauſes of importance, whereof we will ſpeake hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seigniour hath many chambers which are richly appointed, wherein hee remaines, and there he hath ſix young men which attend his perſon, and the ſeruice of his chamber, whereof two wait dayly, and at night they watch when hee ſleepes, the one of them at his head, and the other at his feet, with two torches burning in their hands. In the morning (as *Sanzouino* Writes) when the Grand Seigniour attires himſelfe, they put into one of his pockets a thouſand aſpers, and into the other pocket twenty duckats of gold, the which if he giue not away that day, is their fee at night, neither (as they ſay) doth hee euer put on the ſame cloathes: and whenſoeuer hee goes to hunting, or to any other exerciſe (beſides the money which hee hath with him) his Caſnadar Baſſa or chiefe Treaſurour ſtill followes him with great ſtore of money to giue away. The office of theſe ſix young men (who are changed as it pleaſeth the Grand Seigniour) is diſtinct, for the one carries his ſhooes, the ſecond his bow and arrowes, the third his veſt, the fourth a veſſell with water, the fifth carries a ſeat, and the ſixth called *Oda Baſſa* is head of the chamber.

Attendants vpon the Grand Seigniour.

The chiefe officers of his houſe

He hath dayly a great number of perſons reſident in his palace, imployed in their ſeuerall charges, ſome in one place, ſome in another, vnder their ſeuerall commanders. But among all the great men in the Court theſe are of chiefeſt eminency and note.

Firſt the *Capi Aga*, that is to ſay, the mouth of the Grand Seigniour, by whom the Sultan ſpeaketh to ſuch as haue any great ſuit vnto him: for no Embaſſadour is admitted vnto him, but at his firſt arriuall when he deliuers his letters of credit and his preſents, and when he hath any buſineſſe to treat of, he repaires to the Viſier Baſſa or his Aga.

The ſecond is *Caſnadar Baſſa*, the chiefe Treaſurour of the houſhold, or ſuperintendent of the Treaſuror.

The third *Chilergi Baſſa*, chiefe cupbearer.

The fourth is *Seraglio Agaſi*, ſteward or maſter of the houſhold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agaſi*, or *Saraidar Baſſa*, Ouerſeer of his Seraglio of concubines, who is alwaies an Eunuch as the reſt be.

A The ſixth and laſt is *Boſtangi Baſſa*, chiefe Gardener, and ouerſeer of all his gardens, Captaine of his Iamoglans, and ſteerer of his Barge whenſoeuer he goeth by water. He hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many gardeners vnder him, which are called Boſtangi, who when they come out of the Seraglio, become Ianizaries, Solacci, or Capigi, according to their qualities.

Theſe ſix Officers of the Sultans houſe aboue mentioned haue no authority out of his palace, yet the greateſt Baſſaes ſtand in awe of them, and feare them, for that they haue free acceſſe vnto the Sultan, and haue dayly opportunity to inſence him againſt them: for by their ſecret ſuggeſtions and falſe informations, many of the greateſt Baſſaes are many times ſuddenly and vndeſeruedly cut off in the height of all their pompe and glory.

The Sultans dumbe men.

B Hee hath many mutes or dumbe men attending about him, whereof eight be his dayly companions and play-fellowes in the Seraglio, in whoſe company hee takes great delight: beſides many others to the number of forty, which attend vpon him as pages. They are all borne deafe and dumbe, yet by long practiſe they grow ſo perfect, as they will vnderſtand any thing that ſhall be acted vnto them by ſignes and geſtures; and will themſelues by the geſture of their eyes, bodies, hands, and feet, deliuer matters of great difficulty, to the great admiration of ſtrangers.

A Seraglio of young men.

The Grand Seigniour hath within his palace a Seraglio of young men to the number of
fiue hundred, from eight yeares of age to twenty: theſe are the well-fauouredſt and beſt pro-
portioned of all the tribute children which hee draweth from Græcia and Natolia, and they
C are choſen out of his Seraglio's at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places, and brought to this
to be bred vp, where they are inſtructed in diuers Arts, according to their diſpoſition, but
eſpecially to reade and write, and in the doctrine of their Law, and to ride, there being a great
number of horſes kept within this Seraglio for their exerciſes, and for the Eunuches. They
neuer goe out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinkes them to be of fit age to vndergoe ſome
charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtary, and to ſome he giues greater pla-
ces, according to their valour, or the fauour they haue gotten with him.

They that carry his Launce.

He hath in like manner about fourescore Mutaferache, that is to ſay, Launce-bearers to the Grand Seigniour: which carry his Lance whenſoeuer he goeth to field, and acknowledge no other commander, and in time by his fauour or their merits, are made Captaines.

The Sultans Eunuches.

D He hath alwaies aboue one thouſand Eunuches entertained in ſeuerall places, whereof ſome of them are in very great credit with him, and can preuaile much: they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgines in his Seraglio. They are not only depriued of their genitors, but in their youth they haue their whole priuities ſmoothed off by their bellies, and in their turbants they beare ſhort quils of ſiluer, thorow which they make water. This inhumane cuſtome wes firſt inuented by Sultan *Solyman*, who ſeeing a Gelding make offer to couer a mare, grew ſuſpitious that they were able to do ſome ſmall thing, notwithſtanding the loſſe of their genitors.

The Sultans Seraglio of women.

The Grand Seignior hath a Seraglio for his women without his palace, in the which there
are alwaies foure or fiue hundred young Virgines, the faireſt of the Chriſtians children, which
E be gathered vp out of Græcia for tribute. The Sultan repaires ſometime thither to make
choice of ſuch as he ſhall like beſt for his pleaſure, wherof they are aduertiſed the day before
by the Eunuches, that they may prepare themſelues in their beſt habits to giue him content.
Being all in a roome, and ſtanding vpon either ſide, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch
or two, and viewes them; to her that hee likes, he caſts a handkercher, (whereof he hath many
hanging at his girdle) and in this maner it may be he makes choice of halfe a dozen, the which
his Eunuches obſeruing, they put them preſently into a Coach, and are carried into another
little Seraglio within his palace. In this Seraglio they haue good entertainement, and are
apparelled in ſilke twice a yeare, and are taught to make diuers works by antient matrons, and
attended on by the younger ſort. They haue many Eunuches with their Aga or Cap-
F taine, and they haue one hundred Capigi's and Ianizaries, which keepe their gates. When
as the number of theſe Virgine ſlaues decreaſeth, and they haue not wherewithall to ſupply
them with their tributary children, they ſend to the market in Conſtantinople, where they
ſay there are dayly ten thouſand ſlaues of all ages and ſexes to be ſold: and there they buy the

faireſt

faireſt they can get, but they will not haue them aboue eight yeares old, leſt they ſhould be corrupted before they come into the Turks Seraglio. G

The eſtate of his concubines.

As for the other Seraglio within the Sultans palace, there remaines the Sultanaes with their children, and ſuch other Concubines as he hath made choice of for his delight. He neuer marries, but when any one is brought vnto him, he giues her an attire for her head of gold, and ten thouſand aſpers, cauſing her to liue in a chamber apart, encreaſing her dayly maintenance. The firſt that beares him a childe, is called Sultana, and is miſtreſſe of all the reſt, and moſt fauoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his women, the reſt as they are fauoured by the Prince, are brought vnto him to haue his pleaſure, and then returned backe againe: if they chance to be with childe, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the vſe of, but no children by them, are giuen in marriage to his ſlaues, H who are aduanced to dignities, and made Gouernors of countries.

His guard, footmen, & porters.

He hath three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his perſon, and make as it were his guard, being vnder the command of the Aga of Ianizaries; they are richly attired, hauing lawne garments hanging downe beneath their knees, and ouer it a quilted waſtcoat with halfe ſleeues of taffata, damaske, or ſatten, and on their heads, caps and feathers like vnto the Captaine of the Ianizaries, and they attend on him with bowes and arrowes. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he rides abroad forty Peichi, that is to ſay, footmen or poſtes which runne wonderfull ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his commandements, where hee ſhall pleaſe to employ them they weare long coats of cloth of gold, with a broad girdle of the ſame, and caps like vnto womens thimbles, with a horne of ſiluer and gilt ſtanding vp before. I There are about foure thouſand Capigi's or Porters which continually attend his palace and Seraglioes, they are attired like vnto the Ianizaries, and haue ouer them three Capigi Baſſaes. Theſe men are many times employed to execute the Grand Seigniors commandements, when he will haue any great mans head, or his throat cut, as we haue ſeene of late yeares in *Gambolat Baſſa*, and in *Naſſuf Baſſa*, who was Grand Viſier to *Achmat*.

The Turks gouernment.

The Grand Seigniors gouernment is ſo abſolute, as they all tearme themſelues his ſlaues, and no man how great ſoeuer can aſſure himſelfe of his eſtate, no not of his life, but by the Great Turks ſpeciall fauour. He commits the mannaging of his eſtate to ſuch as haue abjured the Chriſtian religion, and haue been brought by way of tything in their infancies from Greece and Natolia, and afterwards for their merits are aduanced to great dignities, as Baſ- K ſaes, Beglerbegs, and ſuch other. The Prince hath a court or Councell which they call Diuano, and this is held within the Seraglio foure daies in the weeke; that is to ſay, Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the affaires of priuate men. To this councell are admitted the Grand Viſier, eight or nine Baſſaes who are called Viſiers, and are continually reſident at Conſtantinople, (for there are many more which are employed abroad in the conduct of armies or gouernment of Countries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the riſing of the court or councell, the Grand Viſier informes the Sultan of all the proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not diſſemble, for that the Prince hath a window joyning to the Diuano, where he may heare and ſee any thing and not be ſeene. L He ſeldome impugnes what they haue reſolued, vnleſſe it be to moderate ſome rigorous ſentence, or to giue anſwer to ſome Embaſſadour, and what he himſelfe concludes is irreuokeable.

The Turks Iuſtice.

Their ſuits are very ſhort, for they haue no aduocats to breed delaies, as they haue in Chriſtendome; yet commonly he that bribes moſt ſpeeds beſt; for the Turks are the moſt coueteous and corrupt Nation in the World, neither will they do any man a kindeneſſe without a fee; and yet they are not ſure to enjoy any thing they get no longer than it ſhall pleaſe the Prince. They puniſh crimes with great ſeuerity, and ſpeedily, the fact being prooued, which doth ſo terrifie them, as by the report of ſuch as haue conuerſed long there, you ſhall ſeldome ſee a murder or a theft committed by any Turke; and if any foule fact be committed, it is M moſt commonly done by the Græcians.

The Grand Viſier.

The chiefe of the Grand Seigniors Councell is the Grand Viſier, who weares the Princes ſignet, and is as it were the Lieutenant Generall of the whole Monarchy: he hath authority ouer the other Baſſaes, and they are bound to yeeld him an account of their imployments.

A He is ſtill about the Prince his perſon, and is not ſent abroad for any employment, vnleſſe it
be for an important war, as they haue done of late yeares againſt the Perſian. When the Viſier
is ſent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Baſſaes to be his Lieutenant and to execute
his authority, and he is called Chimacham.

The Beglerbegs and Sanzackes.

Next vnto the Baſſa (which is as much to ſay as great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and
haue their places in court next vnto them. They are men of great authority, and haue the
command of great kingdomes and armies, vnder whoſe obedience are diuers Sanzacks which
are ſent as Gouernors into Prouinces during the Princes pleaſure. Theſe are men of great experience,
and haue command ouer the Spahi, and Timariots, the Turks chiefe forces on horſebacke,
whom they call continually to exerciſe their armes. There is one Beglerbeg of Greece,
B which hath all the countries in Europe in the Turks dominions vnder his charge, and this is
the firſt of all the Beglerbegs, who hath vnder him aboue thirty Sanzackes. There are ſix
other Beglerbegs in Aſia, whereof the firſt is he of Natolia or Aſia the leſſe. He hath the gouernment
of Pontus, Bythinia, and other Kingdomes, and hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes.
The Beglerbeg of Caramania with ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Aladulcy, vnder
whoſe command are ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Amazia and Toccato, hauing foure
Sanzackes. There is alſo one in Meſopotamia, and vnder his command twelue Sanzackes or
Gouernours of Prouinces. There is likewiſe a Beglerbeg of Damas, Suria, and Iudæa, who
hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. And there is one of Caire, who commands ouer ſixteene
Sanzacks, his charge extends to the Arabians, but they are not ſo obedient as the Turks other
C countries.

The great Turks forces.

As for the Turks forces, they conſiſt of horſemen, footmen, and fleets at Sea. His horſemen
conſiſt of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari and Oloſagi, who haue aſſignations of
lands for the entertainment of them and their horſes. For no man can enjoy any poſſeſſions,
but he is enjoyned to entertaine a certaine number of ſouldiers proportionable to the reuenues
of the land: ſo as the Gouernour or Baſſa is alwaies bound to haue this number ready to
march when they are called. Of theſe Timariots they are able to raiſe about an hundred and
fifty thouſand horſe alwaies ready at the firſt call, for the which the Prince disburſeth not a
penny; for in regard of the land which is alotted them, they are bound to maintaine themſelues,
their horſe and armes in the war. Whereſoeuer the Turke conquereth any country, he
D diuides it among his ſoldiers; aſſigning 4000 aſpers yerely (which is little aboue ten pound
ſterling) to euery one for himſelfe and his horſe, and ſo proportionably if he haue more land.
Theſe horſemen are much peſtered with armes when they go to war: for they haue a jacke, a
ſpeare with a little white banner, a caliuer hanging vnder his left arme, a cimiter, a bow and
arrowes at his girdle, and a battleaxe at his ſaddle bow. And of theſe kinde of horſemen they
ſay there are 80000 in Greece, beſides an infinite number in his other countries. This Turkiſh
Cauallery worke two great effects, for they ſerue as a ſupport to his eſtate, to ſuppreſſe all ſeditions,
and they are ready to vndertake any enterpriſe. Beſides theſe, he entertaines many
horſemen about his perſon, whereof ſome are Spahi, and theſe are Chriſtian ſlaues bred vp
yong in the Princes Seraglio, who by their merits attaine to that degree, and afterwards to
E greater dignities. They are alwaies attending about the Princes perſon whereſoeuer he goes,
being commonly thirteene hundred.

The Timariots.

The Spahi.

The Caripices & Spacboglans

The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his horſemen, being in number about eight hundred,
who march ſtill about the Princes perſon during the wars. The *Spachoglani* which is as
much to ſay as young men on horſebacke, are aboue three thouſand, who haue yerely penſions
in mony, which they are bound to receiue yearely at Conſtantinople, or elſe they are held as
dead men. In the wars they march on the right hand of the Grand Seigniour, and are knowne
from the Spahies by the banners of their launces, which haue two points and of diuers colours,
the others being painted and all white, but they are armed alike. They are men at armes
of a good faſhion, and are commonly aduanced by the Sultan to higher places. They haue
F a Captaine or Aga of great eſteeme, with a Lieutenant, and euery twenty haue a Boluch
Baſſa.

The Salichtari.

The *Salichtari* are alſo horſemen, and lodge vpon the left hand of the Prince, being in number
about three thouſand: Their breeding is like to the Spahi, and there is no difference be-

betwixt

twixt them but in their march, the one hauing the right hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turks.

The Oloſagi.

There is yet another ſort of horſemen, which they cal *Oloſagi*, being about 2000 in number, and they march on the right and left hand of the Prince. Theſe ſeuerall troupes are as it were a nurſery for all the chiefe officers of that Empire; out of which they doe commonly chuſe their great commanders. Beſides, they haue their mercenary ſoldiers called *Alcanzijs*, which come to ſerue the Turks from Tartaria, Valachia, and Moldauia.

The Ianizaries and their breeding.

As for his foot forces they conſiſt chiefely in Ianizaries, into which number they haue not vſed to enroll many of Aſia, whom they haue held faint hearted, but thoſe of Europe, who haue alwaies had the reputation to be valiant. Their manner to entertaine this diſcipline, is, to ſend euery three yeares into all the Prouinces of Europe, from whence they bring ten or twelue thouſand Chriſtian children as a tribute, making choice of ſuch as haue any ſhew of magnanimity, agility, or courage, which are parts fit for a ſouldier. Theſe children being brought to Conſtantinople and viſited, ſome of them are ſent into Natolia, Caramania, and other Prouinces, to dig and weed the ground, where they forget their parents, countrey, and faith, and learne the language and vices of them with whom they conuerſe, and ſo become Mahometans. They continue in thoſe places three or foure yeares, without any charge to the Prince, being entertained by them for whom they labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultans Seraglio's at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places. But they that haue the beſt faces and are moſt actiue, are reſerued for their Princes ſeruice.

The Aiamoglani

Theſe children being brought into the Princes Seraglio's, are of two ſorts; the one are called *Aiamoglani*, that is to ſay, ſimple Boy: they are inſtructed by ſeuere maſters in diuers manuall and painefull exerciſes, as ſhoomakers, gardeners, and ſuch like baſe trades. Their feeding and apparell is very meane; and for the moſt part they lie in great and ſpacious roomes, like vnto religious men, hauing a light continually burning, and guards about them. Theſe haue liberty to goe abroad, who after the age of twenty yeares are diſmiſſed; whereof ſome are ſent into the Sultans gardens, which are many and great; others are emploied as car men to carry wood, hay, water, and other prouiſion for the palace, and ſome are ſent to the kitchens and ſtables; yet when places fall they are preferred to be Ianizaries, and haue competent penſions to mainetaine them during their liues. The leaſt hath fiue aſpers a day, and none aboue eight, and the Spahies ten. They are attired in long blew gownes girt with a broad girdle, and on their heads they haue long yellow caps without brims, and ſharpe like vnto ſugarloues: and of theſe *Aiamoglanes* there are alwaies aboue twenty thouſand which ſerue to ſupply his armies.

The Ich Oglani

The other ſort of youths, which are bred vp in the Turks Seraglio's or nurſeries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to ſay, chamber pages, being the choice of all the Chriſtians children for proportion and fauour, and theſe are better bred vp than the *Aiamoglani*, and come to better preferment, of whom we haue formerly made mention; for the meaneſt places theſe yong men attaine vnto at the firſt is to be Spahies, or to attend vpon the grand Seignior as his chamberlaines and pages. And many of them hauing extraordinary parts are ſuddenly aduanced to places of great dignity. Of theſe the Prince hath euer 5000, who vntill they come vnto the age of twenty yeares are neuer ſuffered to goe out of their Seraglio, nor to ſee any perſon but ſuch as inſtruct them and attend vpon them.

The Ianizaries.

The Ianizaries (who are the grand Seigniors chiefe ſtrength on foot) are raiſed out of Chriſtians children, bred vp in theſe nurſeries, as we haue ſaid, where they are taught to ſhoot with their bowes and arrowes, to vſe the harquebuſe, and all other weapons fit for ſeruice; and are at length enrolled among the Ianizaries, and are held the moſt valiant and reſolute ſouldiers among all the Turks. There are commonly reſident at Conſtantinople and thereabouts twenty foure thouſand of theſe Ianizaries when as the Grand Seigniour is there, (for in his whole eſtate he hath a far greater number) vnder their Aga or Captaine Generall, which is a place of great credit, but not like vnto any of their Baſſaes; the great Turke fearing to joyne power and authority together. Being once Ianizaries, they are either ſent to the wars, or put in garriſon, or elſe they remaine at the Sultans court (which they call port) where they haue certaine ſpacious places for their dwelling, like to religious houſes, where they liue vnder their

commanders:

A commanders: and the younger ſerue the antient with great reſpect. All the Ianizaries of one ſquadron eat together at one table, and ſleep in certaine long halls, and if any one chance to be abſent all night, he ſhall (the next night) be beaten with a cudgell, which he takes ſo patiently as he kiſſeth his hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much reſpected and feared of all men, and are diuerſly imploied in the city; as to ſee the peace and good orders kept; to looke to the prices of things, to arreſt malefactors, and to guard the gates. If they buy any thing they will haue it at their owne rate; they cannot be judged but by their Aga or Captaine. There is ſeldome any one puniſhed with death by the courſe of juſtice, without danger of a mutiny; and therefore they execute them very ſecretly. They haue many meanes to get mony; for ſome attend vpon Embaſſadours and keep their houſes; others go with trauel- B lers, to guard them ſafely through the Turks eſtate. They haue a great power in their Princes election; ſo as to win their loues euery new Emperour at his firſt comming to the Crowne giues them a donatiue and encreaſeth their pay, preſuming vpon their valour and multitude. They many times commit ſtrange inſolencies vpon any diſcontents; as in firing of houſes, brauing the Baſſaes, and ſometimes bearding the Sultan himſelfe: as you may reade in this Hiſtory.

The chiefe ſtrength of the Turks forces conſiſt in the Ianizaries; and yet there are other ſorts of footmen, whereof ſome are called *Acouizes*, which is a forlorne hope, and receiue no pay, but march before the army, and haue leaue to ſpoile; ſo as they giue the fifth part of their booty to the Prince. There is another kinde called *Azapi:* theſe are ſouldiers of ſmall effect, C and ſerue rather with the pickaxe and ſpade than with the ſword: they are fitter to tire an enemy with their numbers, than to vanquiſh them with their valour; and they are accuſtomed to fill vp ditches with their dead bodies to make a paſſage for the Ianizaries to aſcend vnto a breach. The Grand Seignior hath euer ſix thouſand Gunners in pay whom they call *Topegi*. And for the guard of the pouder and ſhot when the army marcheth, there is alwaies 12000 men in pay, whom they call *Iebegi*.

Acouices.

Azapi.

Topegi and Iebegi.

The Grand Seignior hath alſo certaine officers attending on him to the number of 3000, whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were ſergeant at armes. Theſe are men well eſteemed, and are often employed in Embaſſies to forreine Princes: They alſo carry letters and commendations from the Prince or his chiefe Viſier, and they apprehend offenders. Theſe neuer D goe to the warre but when the Sultan is there in perſon. They are commanded by a Chiaus Baſſa, who is of ſo great credit with all men (as *Sanzouino* writes) that when he is ſent by the Grand Seigniour to any Baſſa, Sanzacke, or Cadi, with order to haue any mans head cut off, he is obeyed, although hee haue no warrant in writing, as if the Prince were there himſelfe, and commanded it.

The Chiaus.

Thus we haue ſet downe the Grand Seigniors forces at land, whoſe numbers are ſo great, as in ſhew they ſhould breed confuſion, and ruine themſelues; but they keepe very good order and diſcipline, ſo as in that point they yeeld not to any. They liue of a little bread baked in the aſhes, with rice, and the pouder of fleſh dried in the ſunne: They may not drinke wine, and there are no women ſeene in their armies: they obſerue a wonderfull ſilence, and all the ſoul- E diers are gouerned by the becke of the hand or any ſhew of the countenance. Quarrels and thefts are ſeuerely puniſhed. When they march they dare not enter into any corne fields nor vines. The valiant are aſſured of preferments, and cowards of puniſhment.

The Turks diſcipline in their armies.

Hauing ſpoken ſufficiently of their land forces, let vs ſee what ſtrength he hath at ſea: they haue great ſtore of foreſts for the building of ſhips; neither want they good ſhipwrites, for that couetouſneſſe hath drawne many Chriſtian carpenters into the grand Seigniors arſenal: And he hath great numbers of men trained vp in marine affaires, in regard of the gallies which he hath at Mitilene, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and for the retreat hee giues pyrats at Tunes, Bona, Bugia and Algiers, from whence he drawes commanders and his beſt mariners, as hath beene ſeene by experience in the enterpriſes of Malta, Guletta, and elſewhere.

F To maintaine theſe great forces, it is requiſite he ſhould haue the ſinews of war; yet his ordinary reuenues (conſidering the large dominions) are not ſo great, as in reaſon they ſhould be: for ſome are of opinion, that hee hath not aboue eight millions of gold for his ordinary reuenue; for which they giue diuers reaſons: firſt, that the Turks haue no care but of armes,

The Turks reuenues.

the which doe rather ruine than inrich a country : ſecondly, they conſume ſo many men in G their enterpriſes,as they ſcarce leaue ſufficient to manure their land,ſo as the ſubjects(deſpairing to enjoy their wealth and neceſſary commodities,which they might get by their labour and induſty) imploy not themſelues to worke nor trafficke, no more than neceſſity ſhall conſtraine them : for to what purpoſe is it, ſay they, to ſow that another man muſt reape ? or to reape that which another will conſume ? And for this reaſon you ſhall ſee in the Turks eſtate whole countries lie waſt, and many times great dearth, which growes by the want of men to manure their land ; for that the country men for the moſt part either die in the voyages which they make,or in carrying victuals and other neceſſary things for their armies ; for of 10000 which they draw from their houſes to row in their gallies, ſcarce the fourth part returnes to their houſes,by reaſon of the great toyles they endure. Another reaſon why the Sultans reuenues H be no greater, is, for that when he conquers any country, he aſſignes the lands to his Timarri, who are bound to maintaine ſo many men, and ſo many horſes, according to the proportion of land which he giues them,reſeruing no rent.

But although his ordinary reuenues be no greater than we haue ſpoken,yet he drawes great profit by his extraordinaries,eſpecially by confiſcations and preſents;for being all his ſlaues, no man enjoyeth any thing longer than it pleaſeth him : yea, the Baſſaes and greateſt officers of that crowne, which oppreſſe his ſubjects, and gather together ineſtimable wealth, in the end for the moſt part, it comes into the Turks Caſna or Treaſury. It is not ſtrange there to ſend for any ſubjects head, vpon any ſuggeſtion whatſoeuer, which no man dare contradict : after which execution,his ſlaues and goods are ſold in the market at Conſtantinople, and the I mony applied to the Princes coffers. His preſents alſo amount to great ſummes,for no Embaſſador may come before him without a preſent, neither may any man expect any office or dignity without mony : no gouernor being returned from his prouince,dares preſent himſelfe to the Sultan empty handed, neither are their preſents of ſmall price. The Sultans exchequer is gouerned by two Treaſurers called *Deſtardari*, who are more rightly gouernors of the reuenues,for that they keep an account of the Princes Caſna or Treaſure,the one hath charge of the reuenues which are raiſed in Natolia, and the other in Europe. Alſo they draw great profits from their tributary prouinces, eſpecially from Valachia, Moldauia, and Tranſyluania, where the Princes maintaine themſelues by preſents and gifts ; ſo as they change dayly, for that they that offer moſt are aduanced,wherby they are forced to ruine the country,to perſ- K forme what they haue promiſed.

The lawes whereby the Turks are gouerned.

The Mufti.

But hauing ſpoken of the Turks forces and reuenues,whereby they maintaine their armies to inuade their neighbours,we muſt now ſpeake ſomthing of their lawes wherby the ſubjects are gouerned,which are inſtitutions and anſwers of wiſe men, the which they hold as an interpretation of their Alcaron,which is the ground of their law. Theſe inſtitutions are conteined in twelue volumes,treating of all things belonging to ciuill conuerſation. Some prouinces of Turkie are gouerned by cuſtomes, and enjoy their priuiledges, and their wiſe Iudges ſupply many things which are not written. The Sultan makes choice of the wiſeſt and worthieſt perſon that can be found,of a ſincere life according to their law, & he is called Mufti,that is, Interpreter of their Alcaron ; he is (as it were) their high prieſt,attending only matters of re- L ligion and faith:he is head of the church among the Turks,and decideth all queſtions of their law. He is of ſuch eminency, as all the Baſſaes are ſubject to his direction : he abaſeth not himſelfe ſo much as to ſit in the Diuano, onely paſſeth through it when he is ſent for by the Sultan,who (ſo ſoone as he ſeeth him) riſeth from his ſeat as it were to honour him, and then they both ſit downe face to face,and ſo confer together.

The Cadileſquiri.

They make triall of the ſufficienteſt of their Iudges,before they chuſe any,for which there are two *Cadileſquiri Taliſmani*, that is, Doctors of the law, and Examiners at Conſtantinople, or whereſoeuer the Prince remaines ; Theſe examine the Iudges or Cadi's of diuers prouinces. The one hath his charge ouer Europe,and is called *Cadileſquirie Romly*,before whom (after good information of his life,and ſufficiencie) he ſweares that he will do juſtice to all men, M and yeeld an account of his charge when he ſhall be called. The othe *Cadileſquirie* is for Natolia : they are ſoueraigne judges in all cauſes,and as it were Patriarks. They are of great authority,and haue place in the Diuano with the Baſſaes to conſult of weighty matters.

There

The Mulli, Muderiſi, and Cadi.

A There is a third degree of their churchmen, belonging to their law, called *Mulli*, which are
biſhops and chieſe gouernors vnder the Muſty; and their office is to place and diſplace
churchmen at their diſcretion. Next are the *Nuderiſi*, who are ſuffragans to the Biſhops, and
their charge is to ſee the Cadies doe their duties. Next come the *Cadi's* who are Iudges to
puniſh offendors, of which there is one in euery city vnder the Seigniors command.

The Naipi.

Vnder theſe are another kind of yong Doctors of the law called *Naipi*, who are not ſo well read as to be abſolute Iudges, but yet ſupply their places in their abſence.

The Hogi, Calſi, and Soſti.

After theſe are the *Hogi*, who write their bookes, for that they allow no Printing: and inferior vnto them are the *Calſi*, who reade vnto them that write. And the yongeſt of all are called *Soſti*, who are yong ſtudents or nouices in their law.

B These are their ſeuerall degrees of lawyers or churchmen: for the Turks are gouerned by
a kinde of Eccleſiaſticall law, according to their Alcaron. They haue colledges (called Medreſſæ)
at Conſtantinople, and in other places, where they liue and ſtudy their law and diuinity,
and ſo they aſcend by degrees to the higheſt dignity of their profeſſion.

The Turks religion.

As for their religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, when as the Empire
was much diſmembred by the hereſies of *Arrius* and *Neſtorius*. *Mahomet* borne in Arabia imbraced
this opportunity, ſeeking to ouerthrow the Diuinity of *Ieſus Chriſt*, which was oppoſed
by the Iewes and Arabians: he was aſſiſted by two hereticks, the one was *Iohn* a Neſtorian,
and the other *Sergius* an Arrian. After which (being aſſiſted by many ſlaues, to whom he
allowed all that was pleaſing to the ſence and fleſh, if they ſhould receiue this law) he obtained
C many victories. By *Mahomets* law they make a diſtinction of cleane and vncleane meats to
content the Iewes, and alſo it maintaines circumciſion, but not at the eight day of their birth,
as the Iewes vſe it, but after the eight yeare, when the infant is able to make confeſſion of his
faith, where lifting vp his finger he ſpeakes theſe words, which are grauen in their temples in
the Arabian tongue: *There is but one God whoſe Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equall Prophets*.
The circumciſion being ended, they feaſt three daies together, and then they carry the circumciſed
to a bath with great pompe; after which the gueſts conduct him to his houſe, and
preſent him with gifts. The women are not circumciſed, but only ſpeake the words. If any
Chriſtian abiure his faith and indure circumciſion (as they often doe by reaſon of their tributes
and vexations) they are led through the towne with great honor and reioycing of the
D people, who do alſo giue vnto them, and they pay no tributes. *Mahomets* law denies the Diuinity
of *Ieſus Chriſt*, to pleaſe the Arrians who were then powerfull: It is full of fables to
pleaſe Idolaters, and it giues liberty to the fleſh which is pleaſing to moſt men.

They confeſſe one God, and honor *Ieſus Chriſt*, not as the ſonne of God, but as a Prophet
borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They neither honor nor allow images. Friday is their Sabbath, as
Sunday is ours. They obſerue a Lent of thirty daies, which they call Ramadan; during which
they eate nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but ſwines
fleſh; yet they abſtaine from wine and women. They haue their Eaſter called Bayran, which
continues three daies, in which they enjoy all pleaſures: but this feaſt is not alwaies prefixed,
for that they account not the day according to the courſe of the Sun, but of the Moone; and
E therefore they do carefully obſerue the new Moone and ſalute it.

They haue no bels in their Moſques, neither do they ſuffer the Chriſtians which liue there to haue any. They put off their ſhooes when they go into their Moſques, and take them again at their comming forth. Whereſoeuer they ſit in their churches or houſes, they haue tapeſtry couerlets or mats vnder them: they are not much giuen to contemplation or learning, yet the Turkiſh women being married and hauing iſſue, are carefull to breed vp their children, and to be inſtructed; for the which there are many ſchooles, where they reade their lawes, to the end they may ſerue in their Moſques, and be able to gouerne the common weale.

The Turks by *Mahomets* law haue leaue to marry as many wiues as they can maintaine;
and a Turkiſh woman being once with childe, her husband neuer toucheth her vntill ſhe be
F deliuered, but lies with his ſlaues out of the houſe where his wife remaines. They haue a certaine
kind of marriage made at pleaſure, which they call Kebin, the which is many times praiſed
by ſtrangers, who being out of their country contract with women, whom they are to
enjoy during their pleaſure, and when they caſt them off, they giue them a certaine ſumme

of mony, and keepe the children. The Cadi's or Iudges allow not this kinde of contract, eſpecially amongſt Chriſtians, vnleſſe it be with an oath of marriage. A Turke hauing had the G vſe of a Chriſtian woman, they are both condemned to die, vnleſſe ſhe will adjure her faith: the like is obſerued betwixt a Chriſtian and a Turkiſh woman, if they haue been found together. Diuorce is allowed among them in caſe of barrenneſſe and incontinency.

There are foure orders of religious men among the Turks which differ in their liuing, habit, and ceremonies. Theſe be the *Terlaques*, *Deruis*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiemales*, and theſe laſt are very vicious, and wicked impoſters, deceiuing of the common people. The Deruis is a ſtrict order liuing in contemplation, much like vnto the Capuchins among the Romiſh Papiſts. The Turks forbeare to blaſpheme either God, Chriſt, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatſoeuer, and they puniſh blaſphemy ſeuerely. They conuerſe with Chriſtians, and eat and H traffique with them freely; yea, ſomtimes they marry their daughters, and ſuffer them to liue after their owne religion. But they hate the Iewes, and deſpiſe them as the baſeſt people in the World. They haue an aſſured confidence, that he that ſhall duely obſerue the lawes of *Mahomet*, ſhall haue eternall life, and a Paradiſe full of delights: and contrariwiſe they that ſhall breake the lawes of their Alcaron are threatned with hell and eternall death; yet they haue an opinion that hee that beleeues in the Alcaron when hee dies, ſhall be vndoubtedly ſaued.

The diſpoſition of the Turks.

To conclude this relation with ſome few lines of their humors and diſpotions; they write of them, that they are groſſe witted, idle and vnfit for labour. They are exceeding couetous and corrupt, aboue all other Nations; for juſtice is ſold to him that offers moſt. They are I humble among themſelues, and obey their ſuperiours with great ſilence. They are proud and inſupportable to ſtrangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are giuen to gluttony and drunkenneſſe, and will ſpend whole daies together in feaſting, and will drinke with exceſſe if it be in priuate, for that it is forbidden by their law. They are vain-glorious, proud and deceitfull, neuer keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to venery, and are for the moſt part all Sodomites. They are very ſuperſtitious, giuing credit to dreames and diuinations; and they hold that euery mans deſtiny is written in his forehead, which cannot be altered or auoided.

Thus I haue continued this Hiſtory for eleuen yeares, hauing informed my ſelfe out of the beſt authors and intelligencers I could fide that concerne this ſubject: I ſhould haue beene K
glad that ſome which haue reſided at Conſtantinople moſt part of this time, would
haue aſſiſted mee with their obſeruations, which ſhould haue beene for
the generall good of our Nation; but I hope notwith-
ſtanding the Reader ſhall finde contens
and ſatisfaction.

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A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORY, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1620, VNTILL THE ENDING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628.

COLLECTED OVT OF THE PAPERS and Diſpatches of S^r THOMAS ROWE, Knight, his *Maieſties Embaſſador with the grand Signior during that time.*

And ſince by Him re-viewed and corrected.

BEfore we come to ſpeak of the great preparations made by the grand Signior in the yeare 1621, 1620.
to inuade the kingdom of Poland; and thoſe by that king to reſiſt him: I hold it neceſſarie, briefly to ſet down the cauſes and reaſons of the inſuing war.

The Chrim Tartar, confining vpon the dukedome of
Ruſſia and borders of Poland, had made many incurſions,
E and did great ſpoile vpon the Coſſackes within that prouince
of Ruſſia, and other parts belonging to the Kingdom
of Poland, and carrying away the people of all ages
and ſexes, made ſale of them within the Turkes empire.
Now *Iean-beagh-Ghiray-Han* Prince of the Tartars, being
wholly dependant on the *Ottoman* Emperors, his Maieſty
of Poland ſent many ſeuerall Embaſſadors to complain at that Port; That notwithſtanding
the antient league betweene him and the *Ottoman* Family, the Tartars greatly ſpoiled his
Countries, which was both vniuſt and againſt the treaties. Howſoeuer the complaints were
many and great, yet the king of Polands miniſters found no redreſſe for thoſe their alledged
F wrongs; but were anſwered, That the Tartars were abſolute lords ouer themſelues, and that
they pretended to haue an annual tribute of 40000 Dollars from the king of Poland; which
being denied them, they had reaſon ſo to do: and that the grand Seignior could only intreat,
but not command them to ſurceaſe. The Tartars ſeeing the Polacke thus ſleighted at the
Port, grew more inſolent and outragious: wherewith the Turkes were well content, for the

great benefit they receiued by ſlaues which were continually brought to be ſould in their dominions, G
finding for the moſt part that thoſe men had able bodies, and fit to be applied to the
oare. It is true that the Chrim Tartars in antient time beeing ſo neere neighbours, were
woont to receiue ſuch a Penſion from the Crowne of Poland, for the which they were obliged
to ſerue in euery occaſion of Warre: but of later yeares that payment hath diſcontinued;
becauſe they rather receiued hurt, than any aſſiſtance from that vagabond and predatory
people.

When the Coſſacks ſaw that after ſo many complaints they could not liue at reſt, nor procure
reſtitution of their wrongs, nor take their reuenge vpon the Tartars, being a flitting and
fugitiue nation, who had no certain place of abode; they reſolued to fall into the dominions
of the grand Signior, who ſeemed, if not to protect, yet to conniue at injuries they receiued H
from theſe their neighbors. The Coſſacks then that inhabited vpon the banks of the riuer Boriſthenes
(which emptieth it ſelfe into the blacke ſea) were coniectured to bee fitteſt for the
execution of this reuenge: and therfore they prepared a number of wel armed Barques, & falling
down the riuer, did very great dammage, by robbing, ſpoiling, and burning diuers townes
and villages bordering vpon the black ſea.

This news being brought to Conſtantinople, the grand Signior took it in great ſcorne, that
ſuch a baſe and rude people ſhould come and afront him ſo neer his doores. Therfore he cauſed
ſome gallies to be armed forth with ſpeed to ſuppreſſe them: but his forces were foure or
fiue times valiantly repulſed, and ſtil the Coſſack went ſafely home with his prey. Now the
tide of affairs was turned, and this great Emperor who was formerly petitioned by the Polack, I
is now become a ſuitor to him, & finds his Miniſters meaſured by the anſwer the grand Signior
had giuen concerning the wrongs don by the Tartars: That though the Coſſacks adhere
to the Crown of Poland, yet are they a free people of themſelues: but when the Tartar ſhall
ceaſe from his hoſtilitie, it is like enough the Pole will intreat the Coſſacke to do the ſame;
and that is all the authoritie he can exerciſe ouer them.

The grand Signiors preparation for warre with the King of Poland.

Affairs ſtanding thus, no accommodation for wrongs on either ſide could be made; and
the grand Signior, although he was now but fifteen years of age, yet was hee ſtrong, vigorous,
and of a high ſpirit, and more than deſirous of a war, but eſpecially with the King of Poland,
from whom he looked for better ſatisfaction. This deſire was nouriſhed in him by the counſels
of *Ali Baſſa* great Vizier; and notwithſtanding it was vtterly diſliked by al the reſt of the K
Miniſters of ſtate, and officers of war in that Empire, a war was neuertheleſſe thereupon proclaimed
throughout all the Turks Dominions; which did in generall diſpleaſe the common
ſoldier alſo.

1621.

The grand Signior the foure and twentieth of Aprill commanded paiment to be made to
all the Soldierie; and the day following cauſed all his tents and pauilions, with thoſe of his
Viziers and other officers, to be ſolemnly pitched without the City, with all trades that were
to attend his Royal camp. Who hauing now gathered of foot and horſe three hundred thouſand
(though reported to be twice the number) ſet forward together with his court and train
out of Conſtantinople the 29 of April, with three hundred field pieces, beſide a hundred cannon
ſent vnto the frontiers by ſea; leauing *Achmat Baſſa* and the Boſtangi Baſſa gouernors of L
the ciry til his return.

When he was arriued at the confines of Poland, he firſt attempted the fortreſſe of Chotyn
in the prouince of Moldauia, lately giuen by *Gaſparo Gratiani* to the Polacks. The which being
ſtrong of ſcituation, and well furniſhed for defence, the Turke finding it difficult to carry
in few daies, left it beſieged; and paſſing the riuer of Boriſthene, found there the Chancellor
of Poland intrencht vpon the borders, in a ſtrong place and of good aduantage, with forty
thouſand Polacks and Coſſacks, and eight thouſand high Dutch, ſent by the Emperor in aid
of the King of Poland. The Prince was incamped at Caminitza, and ſtrongly intrenched
with ſixty thouſand ſouldiers; the King abiding in Cracovia, with the Nobilitie and his
Court. The grand Signior facing the Trenches vpon Boriſthene, with the multitude of his M
army incloſed them round, and ſhut vp all the paſſages; ſending preſently the prince of the
Tartars, *Iean-beagh-Ghiray-Han*, with thirty thouſand light horſe to make incurſions within
the heart of Poland: who did great ſpoile, and brought away captiues twenty fiue thouſand
ſoules of all ſorts; which dammage did not ſo much proceed from the will of the Prince, as
from

from a Captaine of his, a Nobleman of Tartarie called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great fauor at that time with the Emperour: for it was thought that betweene the King of Poland, and the Prince of Tartarie, there was ſome ſecret intelligence by the vertue of money.

During the ſpace of foure and thirty dayes that the Grand Seignior held theſe Trenches beſieged, almoſt euery other day he gaue them terrible aſſaults, but was alway forced to retyre with loſſe. The Polacke in brauerie making ſome ſallies, were alſo glad to recouer their ſtrength; onely once they ſo farre aduanced in the euening with their ſhot vpon the quarter of the Ianizaries, that they made a great execution, and almoſt put the whole camp into diſorder; and as the Turks themſelues did confeſſe, if this ſally had been giuen in the night, it had hazarded the confuſion of the whole army: All which being ſeen by the Grand Signior, and little hope of aduancing further, for diuers reaſons he was inforced to treat a ceſſation of Armes with the Chancellor. The firſt was, That he had ſpent ſo much time without any aduantage, and the Winter approched, whereby his army ſuffered great extremities of cold and other miſeries, by reaſon of terrible raines which had carried away diuers tents, horſes, and other cattell, and ſome part of his cannons. Secondly, the prouiſion of ſodder was become ſo deare, that diuers forſooke their horſes for want of means to feed them: beſides the great mortalitie of men, of fluxes, Feuers, & colds, and the horſes of Aſia not vſed to ſuch a climat, that many men of quality that came out with ten & 12, were compelled to return on foot. Thirdly, the army either for wearineſſe, or for diſcontent receiued from the Emperour himſelfe, for his narrowneſſe and auarice ſhewed to the ſoldier, contrary to the glorious example of his anceſtors in like enterpriſes not only refuſed to fight, but were little leſſe than mutined. Fourthly, this attempt from the beginning proceeding meerely from the obſtinacie of the Grand Signior, contrary to the counſell of moſt of his Viſiers, who deſired generally a peace: at their ſolicitation and by the mediation of *Radula* Prince of Valachia, both parts were eaſily induced to treaty, and the Chancellor was drawn to ſend a Secretarie to the Grand Signior; where it was agreed, as followeth.

Firſt, That the Emperor ſhould raiſe his army, and retyre from the confines of Poland; and the Tartars as the occaſioners of this war ſhould ſend an Emirze to reſide as a pledge from enſuing incurſions. The Chancellor promiſing in the name of the King of Poland, to keep another in the court of the Prince of Tartarie, with condition to pay yearely as aforeſaid forty thouſand florins (an antient pretention of the Tartars) as a donatiue from the King of Poland; promiſing moreouer, for the better confirmation of the future peace, to maintain a Reſident in the Port of the Ottoman *Court; and vpon the arriuall of euery ſuch Embaſſador, to ſend a Preſent conformable to the Ledgiers of other Chriſtian Princes. And as the Grand Signior was obliged for the Tartars that they ſhould forbeare all inuaſions vpon the Polacke; ſo the Polacks ſhould bind themſelues in behalfe of the Coſſacks, that they ſhould commit no roberies in the dominion of the Grand Signior. And further couenanting in the name of the Poliſh Merchants for the Priuiledge of free traffike, to make a Preſent of an hundred thouſand chequines in plate, ſables, and Bulgary hides; alway intended with this reſeruation, that this treaty ſhould not prejudice or bind, vntill the Grand Signior did ſend a Chiaus to the King of Poland with theſe ouertures, that he might haue time to aſſemble his Parliament, and there to reſolue to ſend an Embaſſador with ample authoritie to treat and conclude a finall peace in the Port.* Whereupon the Grand Signior being ſatisfied with theſe conditions, did diſpatch preſently his Nuntio into Poland, and ſuddenly to the great content of all his army, he raiſed his camp, and returned to Adrianople.

The loſſe in the Turkiſh & Poliſh armie.

By relation of diuers preſent, in that war, it was reported, That there died in the Turkes camp, by the ſword, famin, ſickneſſe and cold, about eighty thouſand men, and aboue an hundred thouſand horſe; and the remaine at their returne, appearing ſo naked, ſickely, and poore, made euident demonſtration of the great loſſe and miſerie ſuſtained. The Polacks in their trenches loſt aboue twenty thouſand by the famine ſuffered in their beſieging: ſo that if the winter and other wants had not conſtrained the grand Signior to riſe with ſome pretence of honor, and that he had ſtaid a few daies longer, they had bin forced to render or periſh: which is euident, for that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

The grand Signior being informed that the Emperour of Germany had ſent aid of eight thouſand Dutch to the King of Poland, and inraged that hee had ſo little aduanced in that

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The grand Signior inraged at the Emperour for aiding the Pole.

attempt, pretending that the Emperour by giuing ſuccors had broken the peace; to vent his choler, contrary to the aduice of his Councell, preſently vpon his ariſing from the confines of Poland, in his camp proclaimed war againſt Germany for the next Spring; commanding vpon great penaltie, all his ſouldiers and ſlaues to be ready for that inuaſion. Which gaue great diſcontent to the army, inſomuch as they did almoſt publiquely profeſſe, that they neither could nor would follow him. And conformable to this his raſh reſolution, hee gaue order to *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, a Tartarian captain then Baſſa of Siliſtra, to winter with 20000 of his ſoldiers in the frontier. Preſently hereupon *Caſar Gallo* the Emperours Embaſſadour was ſtayed at Buda; the Grand Signior pretending, that hee had promiſed vpon his life, that the Emperor would giue no aid to the King of Poland. Not conſidering that he himſelf contrary to the peace, the ſummer before had ſurpriſed Vatz a town of Hungary, and had permitted many of his ſouldiers to follow the prince of Tranſylvania, as Voluntiers againſt the Emperor.

The King of Poland hearing of this reſolution againſt the Emperour, called the Chiaus ſent about the Treaty, before him, and told him, That if the grand Signior ſhould proceed to make war vpon the Emperour for his occaſion, that he could conclude no peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperor as his deare brother and Confederate. Which meſſage the Chiaus ſent to the grand Signior when hee was yet at Adrianople, where hee either purpoſed to Winter to affright the Emperour, or to quicken the Polacke to a concluſion of peace; cold in his ſudden pretence, by the perſuaſions of the Viſiers and Mufti hee changed his reſolution, and tooke his way to Conſtantinople, where hee arriued the laſt of December.

Now it being giuen out, That the Emir of Syria or Sidon was in rebellion, and that hee had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city and caſtle of Tripolie, the grand Signior pretended to go in perſon againſt him, and gaue out 60000 Checquines to prepare his carriages and pauilions; and tooke order to prouide his palace in Aleppo, determining to paſſe that way, to amuſe and raiſe ſuſpition in the Perſian: and likewiſe commanded the army of Aſia to be in readines by the end of the month of April; and gaue out commiſſion for victuals, munition, and other neceſſaries. The Mufti, Hoja, and other the Viſiers who knew not the miſtery, miſliking this counſel, with great inſtances and reaſons diſſuaded him, as being a courſe very dangerous to his eſtate. Firſt, that his Maieſty ſhould go in perſon, leauing all Greece deſolate, and commit the care and gouernment of his Imperial ſeat to a poor Chimacham or lieutenant, it not being probable, that the Emir of Sidon would ſtay to oppoſe himſelf againſt the force of his royal army, but rather make an eſcape, and retyre himſelf to ſome part of Chriſtendom: and that a Generall by land, and the Captain Baſſa Admirall of the ſea, with his fleet of Gallies, would ſuffice to puniſh and deſtroy him. Beſides, if his Maieſtie vndertooke the journey in perſon, it was neceſſary that all his ſoldiers ſhould attend him, which were a charge ſuperfluous and aboue the enterpriſe, and almoſt impoſſible for them, hauing bin ſo harraſſed and diſtreſſed in the late inuaſion of Poland; who did euen publiquely murmure that they would not go. For which reaſons the King ſeemed to change his reſolution, and was contented to make a General by land, with the army of Aſia: to which charge was named the Baſſa of Cairo. The next day after, the grand Signior comming to the Arſenal, he called the Viſier Baſſa, the Admiral, and the great Treaſurer before him; where it was concluded, to make ready at leaſt an hundred gallies: for the preparation wherof ſixty thouſand Checquines were then deliuered; the Viſier promiſing to furniſh the reſt of the whole charge with expedition, of his own purſe, and to take it vp vpon the Kings Aſſignations. Wherupon the grand Signior with great content did veſt them as a mark of fauor, and gaue preſent commiſſion to the Admiral to be ready and to depart by the midſt of Aprill following: and for his better ſtrength he gaue a command to ſend for aids to Tunes and Algier. Which was thought requiſite, becauſe it was reported that the prince *Philibert* of Savoy, then Viceroy of Sicilie, had in readineſſe ſixty Gallies and ſix Gallions at Meſſina; which force was doubted would be imploied to giue ſuccor to the Emir of Sidon, or to reuenge the attempt and late ſacke of Manfredonia. So that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arſenall: and for prouiſion and preuention of the worſt, there was ordained twelue ſmall Gallies and the ordinary fleet of frigots to keep the black ſea from the incurſion of the Coſſacks:and though it was giuen out that this army was only prepared againſt the Emir,yet many that vnderſtood the ſecrets of that empire,knowing it to be too great,did beleeue it ſhould bee ſent to preuent a generall reuolt,which was then murmured and ſuſpected in Aſia.

About this time,contrary to the counſel and wil of all his miniſters,the grand Signior maried the grand child of a Sultana wife to *Pertau Baſſa*,only for her beauty,without any pompe: which was ill interpreted in that court; his anceſtors of late yeares not vſually taking wiues, eſpecially of a Turkiſh race, in reſpect of kindred. This and other inconſtancies, with extream auarice, made him odious to the ſouldier; and his daily haunting the ſtreets on foot, ſomtimes diſguiſed with a page or two, prying into houſes and tauernes like a petty Officer, increaſed his contempt euen in the city.

The grand Signior maried.

Secret order was giuen about the ſame time to *Diac. Mahomet* Baſſa of Caniſia, and to *Gelut. Emirze* a Tartarian,to vnite themſelues with *Bethlem Gabor* againſt the Emperour of Germanie. But the Baſſa of Buda did aduertiſe the graund Signior, That *Gabor* had concluded peace with the Emperour; which news did greatly diſpleaſe him,beeing ardent in the deſire of war.

The peace between the grand Signior and the king of Poland was not yet fully concluded, but Embaſſadors weekly expected at the Port from Poland and other places, to haſten a full conſummation therof. Among which, Sr *Thomas Rowe* Knight, Embaſſador in ordinary from his Majeſty of great Brittain to the grand Signior,arriued there the firſt of Ianuary, and had his audience ſpeedily,when he made this ſpeech vnto him in Engliſh:

The King of great Britains Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

Moſt high and mighty Emperor, his ſacred Maieſtie the King of great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, my moſt gratious Lord and Soueraign, according to the antient league of friendſhip and amitie, of long time begun and continued between the moſt noble Anceſtors of your Maieſties, and in his royall perſon confirmed by his ſundry Embaſſadors and Letters, both to your renowned father, and to your Imperiall Maieſty; being fully determined on his part, to maintain and inuiolably to hold a fair and good peace and correſpondencie with your Maieſty; hath commanded and ſent mee with his Letters of credence and friendly preſent, to reſide as his Embaſſador in your royall Court. Not doubting but your Imperiall Maieſty will accept them, and receiue me his vnworthy ſeruant with your wonted honor and fauour: and that you will giue credit vnto me in diuers matters of importance which hee hath commanded me to deliuer in his name; comprehended in fiue articles written in this Memoriall: And that you would be pleaſed to do therin according to the royall friendſhip of his Maieſty and your princely wiſedom and juſtice. The particulars wherof I deſire your Maieſty to reade and conſider at your eaſe and leiſure, and to affoord mee your royall anſwer; his Maieſty reſting aſſured he ſhall receiue content and ſatisfaction worthy his Royall friendſhip.

The Letter of Credence ſent by Sr *Thomas Rowe.*

IAmes *by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France, and Irelend, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, againſt all thoſe that falſly profeſſe the name of* Ieſus, *&c. To the moſt high and mighty Prince Sultan* Oſman Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman *kingdom and Empire of the Eaſt, ſendeth health and greeting.*

WE doubt not but you receiued our Letters ſent by our ſubiect Iohn Chapman; *whereby we ſignified vnto you our royall pleaſure, to recall and diſcharge our Embaſſador Sir* Iohn Ayre *from his imployment and reſidence in your Court; whom wee deſired you in your princely fauor to diſmiſſe for our eſpeciall ſeruice, and to receiue the bearer of our ſaid Letters as Agent, to remaine in your protection, for the better ſupport and maintenance of our ſubiects which do trade and abide in your dominions, and for the aduancement and continuance of the mutuall commerce and friendſhip which hath bin a long time contracted between your predeceſſors and ours, vntill the arriuall of Sir* Thomas Rowe, *of whom as then we made choice to ſend vnto your Port as our Embaſſadour; as well to propound vnto you diuers things*

things neceſſary for the generall peace, as to reſide in your court for our particular ſeruice. Notwithſtanding G *leſt the ſaid letters ſhould not come ſafely to your royall hands, wee haue thought fit again to make known our purpoſe of recalling our former Embaſſador Sir* Iohn Ayre, *and to deſire you to diſcharge and diſmiſſe him from your Port, and to receiue and admit in his roome our truſty and welbeloued Seruant Sir* Thomas Rowe, *one of the principall Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Priuy Chamber; whom wee haue expreſly ſent, and whom we authoriſe vnder our great Seal of England, as our Embaſſador to reſide at your Port, and to negotiate in our name, and in the behalfe of our ſubiects abiding within your Kingdomes. Of whoſe fidelitie and diſcretion as we are well aſſured ſo we doubt not but he will giue you good content in his demeanor and negotiation with you. Wee haue alſo thought fit to put you in minde of thoſe common Rouers vpon the ſeas, who are enemies to the Lawes of Nations, and ſpoilers of the quiet & peaceable Merchant, by whom amitie and friendſhip is maintained betweene Kings and Princes: That you* H *would pleaſe to exerciſe your great and mighty power to chaſtiſe and deſtroy them, as Traitors to your honour, and infringers of the ſacred and publique peace. In full aſſurance that you will extend the ſame good reſpect vnto vs, as your royall Anceſtours haue don vnto our moſt renowned predeceſſours, whereby that antient League and commerce may be inuiolably maintained between both our Kingdomes, which on our part we ſhall be very loth to infringe or diſſolue: We doe by theſe our Letters recommend vnto your princely fauour this our ſaid truſty ſeruant and Embaſſadour, to reſide and remaine in your Port, on our behalfe to treat with you in all affaires for the publique weale of our Dominions, and for the general peace of vs both, and our Allyes and friends, as alſo for the ſupport and aid of all our ſubiects which doe liue and trade within your Eſtates and Countries: To whoſe good diſcretion we commend their affaires, and by whoſe induſtry and mediation we conceiue our people may bee relieued in their iuſt and reaſonable demands,* I *to the perfect maintenance and aſſurance of that mutuall commerce which hath ſo long time beene continued betweene our royall progenitors. And as we haue great cauſe to profeſſe our grateful acknowledgement for many fauors which our former Embaſſadors and all other our ſubiects haue and doe receiue from your Royall hands, ſo in our princely loue we do intreat you to take knowledge of, and to commandredreſſe for diuers oppreſſions and wrongs done vnto ſome of our ſaid ſubiects perſons and goods that liue vnder the aſſurance of your friendſhip with vs; which we haue formerly ſignified to our Reſidents at your Port, but as we verely beleeue, they haue neuer come vnto your eares, which are open to the iuſt complaints of all ſtrangers: whereof we haue now giuen charge to our ſeruant and Embaſſadour to acquaint you with more at large. Vnto whom we deſire you to giue protection and credit in whatſoeuer he ſhall moue or propound, for the eſtabliſhing, confirmation, and inlargement in all occaſions, of thoſe liberties and priuiledges which our ſubiects haue antiently enioyed, by the benignitie of your ſelf and of your royall Anceſtors;* K *and in all other things and occaſions, wherin he hath or ſhall receiue our commands, as if our ſelf did communicate them with you, which wee doubt not ſhall redound vnto the great vtilitie and honor of both our Empires. And ſo we wiſh you health and true felicitie.*

Dated at our royall city of London the ſixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1621, *and of our reign of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, the nineteenth.*

Articles propounded by the Embaſſador to the grand Signior.

L

F*Irſt, his ſacred Maieſtie of great Brittaine, according to the moſt noble and renowned League of Amitie betweene your Maieſties, and your Crownes and Dominions, hath commaunded mee to renew the antient Capitulations and Priuiledges granted by your Imperiall Maieſtie and your royall Anceſtours, and therein to mooue your Maieſtie, That you will be pleaſed to inlarge and extend your fauour vnto our Nation that liue vnder your protection, and to giue remedie to diuers iniuries done vnto them by the Cuſtomers of this royall Port, Aleppo, Smyrna, Scio, Patras, and other places, contrary to the iuſtice and honour of your Maieſtie: And to giue order for ſeuerall commaunds in theſe places, in all* M *our iuſt occaſions; that both the fame of your iuſtice may bee renowned, and the friendſhip of your Maieſties confirmed, and the correſpondence and commerce betweene your Dominions eſtabliſhed and increaſed.*

Secondly, His Maieſtie hath commaunded me to offer himſelfe as a Mediatour of peace, to ac-

commodate

A *commodate the late breach with the kingdom of Poland: the King of Poland hauing ſent his Embaſſador expreſſe into England to deſire his aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his honor, and to the antient league of friendſhip, to vſe his credit with your Maieſtie, to procure the generall quiet and peace of the princes of Chriſtendom; deſiring your Maieſty to conſider his intereſt in the publique cauſe, and not to deſpiſe the forces of ſo many as may partake in the quarrell: which if your Maieſty ſhal hearken vnto the rather for his ſake, as your royall Anceſtor hath done in the like occaſion, his Maieſty will accept it as a reſpect of your loue, which will aſſure and increaſe the commerce and friendſhip of your Dominions; in which his Maieſtie hath giuen me more particular and full Inſtructions to treat and mediate in this buſineſſe.*

III. *Thirdly, his Maieſtie hath commanded me to moue your Imperiall Maieſty for the releaſe of diuers of* B *the Poliſh Nobilitie, now your captiues; and for one Scottiſh gentleman, a ſubiect of his Maieſty my royall Maſter.*

IV. *Fourthly, his Maieſtie deſires that you will take ſome order with the pyrats of Tunes and Algiers who ſhelter themſelues vnder your royall protection (to the great diſhonour of your Maieſtie) and doe many robberies vpon the ſubiects of Kings and princes in amitie and league with your Empire, and take euen the ſhips ſent vnto your royall Port. Admoniſhing your Maieſtie to conſider, that if they be ſuffered to continue, they will occaſion the diſſolution of all commerce and trade; being common enemies to all honeſt Merchants, by whom the friendſhip of theſe kingdoms are maintained and increaſed. And that if your Imperiall Maieſtie pleaſe not to exerciſe your Royall power and authoritie to bridle or deſtroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Maieſtie with other Princes his Allyes, ſhall make an army to* C *puniſh both him and all others that receiue and cheriſh them: which hath hitherto bin forborne onely in reſpect of your Maieſtie; and that the towns where they harbor themſelues are or ought to bee vnder your Imperiall command.*

V. *Fiftly, his Maieſtie hath commanded me to require iuſtice and reſtitution of a great ſum of money taken from* Arthur Garaway, *here impriſoned by force and iniurie in the time of* Achmet Baſſa: *wherof his Maieſties former Embaſſadors haue complained to Sultan* Achmat *your Maieſties renowned father, and to* Mehemet Baſſa *Vizier, to* Huſſen Baſſa, *to the Hoja of the King, and to the Mufti; wherin your Maieſties moſt noble father gaue commaund for our ſatisfaction. All the ſaid great Officers hauing heard the cauſe, vpon examination giuing their teſtimonies, of the great wrong don vnto him:* Mehemet Baſſa *alſo writing a letter, by the order of your Maieſties royall father, promiſing iuſtice and reſtitution:* D *which his Maieſtie doth yet expect, and again demand. And hauing ſo often written in this cauſe, his Maieſtie will not beleeue, but that in iuſtice and honor this royall court would do right; imputing the fault to his own Miniſters and Embaſſadors, that they neuer complained to your Imperiall Maieſty, according to his Highneſſe command. Alſo his Maieſtie hath commaunded mee to require and deſire your Maieſtie to giue me your Royall anſwer in all theſe particulars, by your letters in writing, as ſhall be fit for your own honor, and conformable to the antient league of amitie and friendſhip between your Royall Maieſties.*

His Maieſties Embaſſador not many daies after ſent to the Vizier, who had promiſed him an anſwer vnto theſe articles: Who returned him this that followeth.

The grand Signiors anſwer.

E To the firſt he ſaid, That the Emperor his Maſter had giuen him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any ſuch additions as ſhould be requiſit, agreeable to their law, & conformable to their antient league; and that therin the Embaſſador ſhould finde no difficultie: for they honored his Maieſtie, and were reſolued to giue him aſſurance of their will to maintain a true friendſhip; and therfore deſired the Embaſſador to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and ſend them to him and the Chancellor, who would conſider them, and being ſuch as were fit to be granted, he ſhould haue ſpeedy order.

To the ſecond the Vizier anſwered with great ſubtiley; Firſt, iuſtifying the occaſion of the war, and imputing the fault to the Coſſackes, maintained by the Pole to rob euen at the port of Conſtantinople: therfore that the Emperor could not in honor but chaſten and deſtroy F them, hauing firſt by meſſage demanded iuſtice againſt them; and now his Maſter beeing ingaged with great charge, and in his honor, he could make no peace with them who had beguiled him: pretending that they had no other intention but the war, becauſe hauing raiſed his Camp, and diſſolued his Army, the Polacks now ſcorned him, and kept no faith, neither ſending Embaſſadour nor meſſenger, no not any letter ſince their returne. That therefore they

could

G could not hearken to any condition: and that his Maieſtie of great Brittain did not value the grand Signiors honor in this motion.

To the third he replied, That the motion for the priſoners was vnſeaſonable, becauſe in order it ſhould follow the general treaty and making peace; which if finiſhed, his Maieſtie of great Brittain ſhould finde, that for his ſake all thoſe mentioned in the Memorial ſhould be free, except only the prince *Coresky*, who had bin the cauſe of many troubles, and had made eſcape from priſon formerly.

To the fourth he made proteſtation in the grand Signiors name againſt the pirats, offring that his Maieſties Embaſſador ſhould haue what commands, what meſſage he would deſire, in company of any Engliſhman.

H To the fifth hee replied, That it was an old obſolete quarrell, and that the Embaſſador did him iniurie to preſſe him, when in the time of three former Viziers his predeceſſors could obtaine no reliefe. Therefore he would not looke backe vpon the actions of other men, nor rake among the bones of the dead; but he deſired the Embaſſador ſhould reſt ſatisfied, That while he had the honor to gouerne, there ſhould no wrong be done vnto the Engliſh Nation, and that he would heare all complaints, ſo as no man ſhould need to looke backe vpon his actions.

This perfunctory anſwer did not much ſatisfie his Maieſties Embaſſador, but that hee deſired ſome other of effect, being loth to accept of generalities; and therfore required a direct reply for his own diſcharge. Which was promiſed after much preſſing, by the Viſier who had firſt vndertaken the ſame. I

1622. The long ſtay of the Duke of Sbaraskie (choſen extraordinarie Embaſſadour by the King of Poland, to conſummate the peace between him and the grand Signior) did much trouble the Emperors court, and eſpecially the Viſier, who procured a ceſſation of arms, but that a letter was writ by the King of Poland, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the mean time the Emperor divulged a pretence to viſit Mecha, the tombe of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrary to the counſell and inſtance of all his Viſiers that knew not the ſecret, and euen to the haſard of a generall reuolt; for they were jealous, that vnder colour of that voyage he had ſome other deſigne; and it was feared, the duke would not proceed to follow him at random, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port. For the Polacks ſeemed in performing and aſſuring the peace, a little too glorious of their good ſucceſſe; and the Nobilitie not ſo obedient to the King as that he could abſolutely command. K Which did both trouble their agents at the Port, and diſcontent the Turkes: ſo that a little motion of the Coſſackes or Tartars at that time (ſpoil being both their liuelyhoods) had kindled new fires, and had diſturbed or quite broken off the treaty.

In the mean ſpace the grand Signior writ his letter to his Maieſty of great Brittaine, in anſwer to his royal letter by his Embaſſador; wherin was contained a ſatisfactorie reply to all the particulars of thoſe fiue articles deliuered to him: & the grand Signior had ſuch demonſtration of great care to giue his Maieſty all content and ſatisfaction, that his letter was preſented to his Embaſſador with ceremonies of honor, requiring that it ſhould bee ſent by an expreſſe meſſenger, and gaue command for a ſafe conduct for that purpoſe. The true tranſlated copy wherof doth immediatly follow. L

Prince *Oſman*, euer victorious.

The grand Signiors letter to his Maieſty of great Brittain.

To the mightie Prince, renowned amongſt the Maieſties of the Princes of the Law of Ieſus; *obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Meſſia, the onely Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren people; Soueraigne of the limits of power and honour; Lord of aduancement and authoritie the moſt glorious* Iames, *King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland; to whoſe laſt dayes Wee wiſh all felicitie.*

M

This our Imperiall arriuing you ſhall know, That your honourable and famous Embaſſadour Sir Thomas Rowe *is with your Royall and acceptable Letter come vnto our happy Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the world. Wherof the ſincere contents and ſubſtance was, That our antient Capitulations ſhould be renewed, and diuers Articles therein reformed and explained, and ſome*

A ſome other inſerted. And whereas certaine Cuſtomers and other officers of our Empire, haue often tranſgreſſed our Royall agreements, and done many violences and iniuries to the Merchants your ſubiects, that for the time to come they may be ſecured from all oppreſſion: and concerning the affaires of the Polacks, that the enmity and war lightly begun betweene vs and them, might be conuerted into peace and friendſhip; and that there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a ſincere league and amity, as in the time of our Anceſtors. And that diuers Noblemen of Poland, and one of your Maieſties Subiects now detained in our captiuity, ſhould be ſet at liberty. Complaining alſo againſt the Inhabitants of Tunes and Algier, That they who haue violated our Imperiall Capitulations, Amity, and League, ought to be duely puniſhed. And laſtly, That whereas one of your ſubiects named Arthur Garraway, from whom vpon a pretenſion there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done vnto his perſon, you deſire that his cauſe may be with iuſtice B reuewed: All which being made knowne vnto vs, with prudent and mature deliberation we haue both duely weighed and perfectly conceiued them. Wherefore by the fauour of the great and proſperous God we do promiſe, that in all theſe matters propounded, we will apply our Imperiall care and diligence: And we haue already giuen our high and expreſſe command, that our antient Capitulations ſhall be renewed and confirmed. And ſuch conditions as are correſpondent to the peace, amity, and league betweene vs, ſhall in due time be granted. And there ſhall be ſent with all expedition, our Royall Edicts to all our (a) Beglerbegs, (b) Beghs (c) Cadees Gouernors, Cuſtomers, Farmors, Superintendents, and Commiſſioners of our Reuenues, that from henceforth none of them ſhall giue any moleſtation to any of your Merchants or other Subiects. And inſomuch as our happy gates are euer open to any, who with ſincerity ſeeke our friendſhip, good will, and fauour; and the table of our liuely Graces is alwaies prepared for all men: C Therefore whenſoeuer on the behalfe of the Polacks, an Embaſſadour ſhall arriue at our high Court, and kiſſe the hemme of our veſture, and repent of their former errors, and preſent vnto vs a good friendſhip and ſincere league, and ſhall deſire our fauour and amity; by the mediation of your Reſident now in our Imperiall Port, all matters ſhall be pacified and ended, and with a pen we will blot out all former differences. And the peace being ſo eſtabliſhed your inſtances and deſires for them ſhall haue gratefull acceptance with vs, and we will giue fit order for the priſoners.

(a) Viceroys.
(b) Preſidents.
(c) Iudges.

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunes and Algiers, and to all other our ſlaues in thoſe parts, we will preſently ſend our expreſſe and high commands, and other orders, that they ſhal neuer hereafter traſgreſſe the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, nor commit any iniuſtice, nor do any violence to the Subiects of your Maieſty. And concerning the buſineſſe of the Merchant Arthur Garraway, wherein you haue informed vs, D that there hath beene taken from him by oppreſſion a great eſtate and faculty, in the time of our father Achmat Han of happy memory (the Vizier Achmat Baſſa being then Deputy here) vpon pretence that diuers Muſſulmens goods were found in his hands: which cauſe being now ouerpaſſed many yeares, you require a new hearing and inquiſition. By the grace of the great God it ſhall be reuiewed and examined with all Iuſtice: in the proceſſe and iſſue whereof you ſhall be aſſured to receiue a right and fit anſwer from your Embaſſador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we ſhall neuer permit, that any the leaſt iniury or iniuſtice ſhall be done to any. Giuing you aſſurance on our behalfe, that the foundation and nerues of peace, friendſhip and league betweene vs, are of vs ſtreightly preſerued, continued, and encreaſed: and your amity, correſpondency, and loue, is euer reſpected, eſteemed, and pretious with vs. Therefore in the meane time, while our capitulations are making perfect, and that the full concluſion may be certified vnto you; your Embaſſadour hauing ſolicited vs for an anſwer to the propoſitions made by E you; by an expreſſe Meſſenger, Robert Rowe, this our Imperiall letter is written and ſent vnto you. Which arriuing, we hope that as in times paſt, the antient, perfect, and acceptable courſe of friendſhip, amity, and league, adorned with aboundant ſincerity, reſplendant loue, and benigne correſpondency on your part, hath beene alway obſerued and maintained; ſo it is now alſo requiſite, that you preſerue the ſame affections, with all pure, firme, and conſtant good will, grace, and goodneſſe: or rather that you aduance and encreaſe therein, as we ſhall euer do by all ſincere waies of loyall friendſhip and holy peace, nouriſhing it with our perfect intention and affectionate diligence, neuer admitting any occaſion that may be thereunto preiudiciall.

F Giuen in our Imperiall City of Conſtantinople, the firſt day of the
Moneth Gemaziel Achir (or Aprill) in the yeare of the
departure of our Prophet Mahomet 1031; that is, Anno
Chriſti Dei pari, 1622.

The Grand Signior diſcontented ſince his diſgrace in Poland, as ſoone as he became to G Conſtantinople, meditating reuenge vpon his ſouldiers, and finding that his pretence for Sidon did not reliſh, gaue out that he would paſſe into Aſia to viſit Mecha the tombe of his falſe Prophet; but hauing ſecret intelligence with *Delauir Baſſa*, he prepared a ſelect army of his followers to be ready in Aſia, to execute his ſecret deſigne.

The Grand Signior deſirous of peace with the Polacke.

To make this voyage the more ſecure in apparance, hee ſeemed content to accept of any treaty with the Polacks, euen to conditions both of diſaduantage and diſhonour, for his eſtates in Hungary, he re-inforced the frontiers with diuers troups; and though he were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germany and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he diſſembled it ſo, as that he would not diſpleaſe the Tranſyluanian, but rather offered new ſuccours, and forbearance of his tribute. From the incurſions of the Coſſackes he hoped to aſſure H himſelfe by the treaty of the Poles; and in occaſion of breach, he had the Tartars ready to requite them; and for more ſecurity, he added to the number of his gallies appointed to keepe the Blacke Sea. The common people and Viſiers of the Port which loued reſt, and knew not the deſigne, were much troubled and diſcontent at this journy; and made many remonſtances to him of the inconuenience and danger, to leaue the ſeat of his Empire to the truſt of a Deputy, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be truſted; and the Polackes ſcarcely reconciled to him, and therefore to be miſtruſted. Diuers other reaſons were made to him, many petitions deliuered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Eſtates. But melancholy reuenge had wholly poſſeſſed him, ſo that by no meanes he could be perſuaded to deſiſt. The ſouldierie paſſed I ſo far as to threaten publiquely, and to proteſt they would not follow, but rather ſet vp another King in his abſence, that ſhould ſtay among them. In concluſion, carried by his owne fate to deſtruction, hauing firſt commanded away his Armado to the Leuant, and thereby diſpoſed many of his ſouldiers, vpon Wedneſday the ſeuenth of May, he began to paſſe ouer his tents and Pauilions to Aſia ſide, with great quantities of treaſure. The Ianizaries and Spahies, who had alſo ſecret intelligence vpon the King; his owne words and actions betraying ſome further project than a Pilgrimage (for he made preparations to carry away all his jewels and treaſure euen defacing his palace, and taking from Churches, and his Ward-robes whatſoeuer could be conuerted to Bullion) ſuddenly met at the Hippodrome in the city, vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without armes, and K there according to their barbarous mutinies, cryed out for their King (hauing firſt taken order to ſtop the paſſage of any thing vpon the water.) Who appearing to them, asked, What this inſolency meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the monſter) demanded firſt, That he ſhould not proceed in his purpoſe to go to Mecha, nor into Aſia; but that he would abide in the city. Secondly, they required to haue deliuered to their fury, the great Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*, the Hoja or Confeſſor of the King, the Caſlariaga, Gouernour of the women, the Deſtardar or Treaſurer, the Cadeleſchar or chiefe Iuſtice, and ſome others, as enemies to the State, and conſenting to this voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The firſt, after a little diſpute, the King granted vnto them, promiſing to giue ouer his journey; but they not content, L exacted it in writing. To the ſecond he replied, That it was diſhonour to him to haue his ſeruants torne from him without order of Iuſtice: but perſuaded them to haue patience, to ſtay vntill Saturday, the next Diuan or publique Councell, where they ſhould appeare, and if they were found culpable, they ſhould receiue puniſhment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their preſent fury. Theſe fellowes not content with this moderate anſwer, vndertooke to know that theſe officers were guilty, and therefore that they needed no other witneſſe, tryall, nor judge, but themſelues; and with extreame clamor called to haue them rendered. But the King refuſing to giue them any other ſatisfaction, and they vnprepared for force, returned into the city, which now was all in feare, euery houſe and ſhop ſhut vp, expecting a generall ſacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and firſt M went into the houſe of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But not finding him, they proceeded to the great Viſiers, who made ſome defence, and they (being vnarmed) beat them off; and ſo they ſeparated, being now euening, but yet kept a guard in ſome parts of the town.

That night the King made an attempt to ſend ouer to Aſia ſide, but was preuented; and to

fortifie

A fortifie and defend the Seraglio,which was ſtrongly walled about,and had alway in it of houſhold ſeruants about three thouſand : but it ſeemed no man would arme in his cauſe : for the next morning the Mutiniers aſſembled againe,and taking their arms, went firſt to the Muſti, or Arch-prieſt among them, and inforced him and diuers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded thoſe officers, but with more inſtance and fury. In the meane time the Hoja, Cadaleſchar,and Teſterdar fled,and were not in long time diſcouered. The Viſier retired to the King, and perſuaded him earneſtly to go ouer in perſon in his owne boats (which from his garden he might eaſily doe) to Aſia, and there to take horſe, and hee would ſecure him from all perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him ſtay,confident and aſſured that he would puniſh theſe Rebels.

The Ianizaries mutiny againſt the Grand Signior.

B The wiſe old man ſeeing this conſtancy or obſtinacy, deſired leaue to ſhift for himſelfe, which he tooke or obtained, and ſo got away to the hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongſt them; who (like himſelfe) betraied him,yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the multitude,but perſuaded and carried him backe to the Kings houſe. At this time it was diſputed in the Seraglio about the deliuery of thoſe officers;the Emperour refuſing,the Rebels clamouring and threatening;inſomuch as he began to feare they would breake in,and in their rage do worſe than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the Kings order, or by his owne conſent,willing to be the peace offering)the braue Viſier went out to them, and with a good aſſuredneſſe demanded what they ſought of him,and wherein he had offended. At firſt they were amaſed; but one inſolent villaine breaking the generall modeſty, they anſwered C him with their ſwords,and ſuddenly cut him in peeces.

The great Viſier ſlaine by the Ianizaries.

The Emperour ſeeing their fury ſo outragious,had now more cauſe to doubt, and retired himſelfe, then too late, when he had loſt his faithfull Counſellor; and would haue fled into Aſia, but could not, yet he conueyed himſelfe into a priuate place prepared by his Boſtangi Baſſa, or chiefe Gardener. The Rebels continued without in their madneſſe, asking for the King,and for more ſacrifices. But the ſeruants proteſting they knew not where he was, they ſaid they muſt haue a King, and if he would not appeare, they would make another : and hauing a while attended,they reſolued to enter the Palace(but firſt tooke a generall oath not to ſacke the Imperiall Throne,which they called their Houſe and their Honour) and there ſeeking for the King,not able to finde him,they extorted by confeſſion the Caſſariaga, and ſlew D him; and then they demanded for *Muſtapha*,vncle to *Oſman*, by him formerly depoſed, a man eſteemed rather holy(that is,franticke) than wiſe,and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter. The King the firſt day of this tumult had put *Muſtapha* into a vault with two Negro women, without bread or drinke;in which eſtate theſe new electors found him,almoſt naked,and halfe pined. At firſt ſight he thought they had beene the meſſengers of death: but that feare paſſed ouer,and his firſt requeſt was a cup of water. Whom they tooke vp,and inſtantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loth to accept, in a manner aſhamed to be raiſed to that dignity. How vnſtable are the eſtates of the greateſt Princes! for he that was but euen now in the jawes of death, naked, ſtarued, and dying for thirſt, is become a great Monarch, may drinke gold,or the bloud of innocents.

The Ianizaries demand Muſtapha.

E The ſouldiers as yet not knowing what was become of *Oſman*,and loth to truſt *Muſtapha* in the palace, carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the ſacke of the Viſiers houſe, and ſo in the euening to their Rendeuous, where they kept both good guard and good order in the city, from fires and other inſolencies. Sultan *Oſman* amaſed with theſe newes, ſo ſoone as they had left the court, came out, and called to councell in the night *Huzein Baſſa* late Viſier in the Poliſh war,and the Aga of the Ianizaries,both faithfull to him, and demanded their aduice: firſt hauing ſent to the old Seraglio, to practiſe the women there to ſtrangle *Muſtapha*; but ſome of them taking his part, a new vprore began in the houſe between that Sex; and the ſoldiers that kept watch hearing the noiſe,entred in and reſcued him, & from thence remoued him to the chambers of the Ianizaries,where they garded him for that night in an ill lodging. F All this while,*Oſman* conſults what courſe to take. Theſe two his friends,and ſome others,tell him that the caſe was deſperat, and could not be cured but by a deſperat remedy: and therefore they agreed, that the Aga ſhould go and perſuade with the Muſti; and that the King in the morning ſhould ſuddenly preſent himſelfe to the ſoldiers at their owne dore, and make experience what his preſence, his ſubmiſſion, and his beneuolence promiſed, could worke, to moue them to loyalty or compaſſion. Which counſell early in the morning they put in practiſe. The King accompanied with the Mufti (who neuer conſented to his depoſing, though he fauoured the ſouldiers againſt the Viſier) with *Huzein Baſſa*, and about twelue horſmen, went directly to the Ianizaries Colledge, where *Muſtapha* was kept, and there in teares made them an oration; offering great recompence, repenting of his errour, and finally inuoked them by the merits of his father and all his Anceſtors, to haue ſome pity vpon their true Maſter. The multitude (*tam prona in miſericordiam quam immodica ſæuitia fuerat*; ſometime as prone to pitty as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a ſilent murmure ran among them, and they were halfe conuerted: but the Aga of the Ianizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnſeaſonably for him, with ſome harſh words of vpbraidure (*vt natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as the nature of the ſea is to ſwell with euery blaſt of winde) anew moued their fury, ſo that they cried out *Treaſon*, and fell vpon him and *Huzein Baſſa* and cut them into peeces, euery man taking a part of their fleſh to ſatiate their reuenge. The Mufti would ſpeake, but was withdrawne by ſome, for reſpect to his place, and with difficulty conueied away. Now the poore *Oſman* ſaw his friends ſlaine, and knew not which way to conuert himſelfe, but binding vp his eies with a napkin, expected death as the laſt of their fury. But they carried him firſt before *Muſtapha*, and accuſed him as the diſturber of the peace of the Empire, and demanded ſentence againſt him (*More vulgi ſuum quiſque flagitium alijs obiectans.*) The forſaken Prince pleaded for life, and the new King knew not how to condemne, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At laſt they conſulted with themſelues, and put him vpon an horſe (an inſolent Spahy changing turbants with him) and ſent him away priſoner to the ſeuen towers, vnder good gard (in his paſſage begging a draught of water at a fountaine) and then returned to their new maſter, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperiall Throne; where he had need to haue good broaths and nouriſhment to reſtore his decayed body.

Daout Baſſa ſtrangleth Sultan Oſman in priſon.

The ſouldiers now thought all was done, and (only ſacking the houſes of *Huzein Baſſa* and ſome others their conceiued enemies) returned in quiet to their ſeuerall lodgings, and had no further malice. But the new Viſier *Daout Baſſa*, made by *Muſtapha*, knew well, if *Oſman* liued, that this ſtorme might paſſe ouer, and he would as eaſily, and by the ſame means returne to his eſtate, as he fell from it (*vulgus vt mos eſt cuiuſque noui motus cupidum:*) Therefore he conſulted with ſome few intereſſed in *Muſtapha's* preferment, and thereby obnoxius to *Oſman*, to ſearch how many of the Royall bloud were left aliue, and reſolued if there remained two, to make an end of *Oſman*. Two of his brothers were found, the one about thirteene, the other about nine yeares of age: and thereupon the Viſier went himſelfe to the priſon with a packe of hangmen, and gaue order to ſtrangle the vnfortunate Prince: who now hauing had no reſt in two nights, and thinking himſelfe ſecure for a ſeaſon, was newly falne aſleep: but awaked by the comming of theſe meſſengers, asked, *What newes?* and blaming their ſudden intruſion, they at firſt ſtood amazed, and the King made ſhew to defend himſelfe; but a ſtrong knaue ſtrooke him on the head with the battle-axe, and the reſt leaping vpon him, ſtrangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greateſt Monarchs in the World was firſt affronted by mutined troups, his owne ſlaues, almoſt vnarmed, and few in number, no man taking vp a ſword to defend him: and they who began this madneſſe, not meaning to hurt him, by the increaſe of their owne fury, which had no bounds, depoſed him againſt their owne purpoſe, and at laſt expoſed his life, againſt their will, to the counſels of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freſhly, as they raged vnreaſonably; knowing they had ſtained their honour, being the firſt of their Emperors they euer betraied, and that they had ſet vp another that in all likelihood they muſt change for diſability. *Nunquam tulit documenta ſors majora quam fragili loco ſtarent ſuperbi.*

This was the laſt act of the life of Sultan *Oſman*; but his intents and great deſignes, which drew vpon him this fatall blow, will not be vnworthy the communication: the practiſes, reaſons, ſecrets, and counſels, of all actions, being the ſoule of Hiſtory, and *res geſta* but the bare carkaſſe: and, as many ages haue not produced ſo ſtrange an example of the incertainty of humane greatneſſe, ſo in the diſpoſition thereof, and in the waies leading thereunto, there was

A ſeene euidently the wonderful prouidence of God, in confounding the counſels of the worldly
wiſe, who had laid a foundation of new greatnes, wherby this Prince aſpired the vniuerſall
Monarchy. And the world may ſee vpon how weake foundations this Monarchy was at firſt
builded, how eaſily it was now ſhaken & corrupted; how their Kings are ſubject to the rage of
a few ſlaues, how Anarchy hath prepared in as eaſie prey to any able hand that would attempt
it. From the inuaſion of Poland all theſe changes tooke their beginning. Sultan
Oſman aduanced to the throne in his youth, full of heat and bloud, being of a great and haughty
ſpirit, very couragious, ſtrong of body, and a mortall hater of Chriſtians, enuious of the
glory of his anceſtors, and ambitious to raiſe his name aboue any of theirs, had projected in
himſelfe the conqueſt of the remaines of the bordering Europe. But to ſo great deſignes,
B he had one vice that reſiſted all hope of proſperity, which was extreme auarice; vnnaturall to
youth, and a ſymptome of the decrepit age of Monarchy: *Vbi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra
veterem diſciplinam & inſtituta majorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res militaris melius
ſtetit.* His firſt enterpriſe was that of Poland, moued by the incurſions of the Coſſackes;
which then he vndertooke of his owne head, without the counſell of any of his Viſiers (who
in a tyranny grown to a height by eaſe, and wealth, are euer corrupt and lazie) and againſt the
liking of all the ſouldiers, who (contrary to their inſtitution, being married and fathers of families,
entered into trades, receiuing nothing in war more than in peace, beſides danger and
trauell) are not eaſily drawne from their owne chimnies. This action he thought ſo eaſie, as
he had diſpoſed of his conqueſt, and diuided the liue lyons skinne. But being met vpon the
C borders with a poore army in compariſon, he was firſt arreſted at Chotyn, a little fortreſſe,
which hee was faine to leaue behinde him vntaken; and then ſeeking to aduance into the
plaine country, by forcing the trenches of the Chancellor of Poland oppoſed againſt him,
he could neuer procure his Ianizaries to fight, though ingaging his perſon once or twice beyond
the regard of his quality, and his owne troupes ready to mutine againſt him, or to forſake
him; hee was at laſt enforced ſhamefully to raiſe his campe, and to accept of any treaty
to ſaue his outward honour. In this attempt hee loſt aboue a hundred thouſand horſes for
want of fodder, and eighty thouſand men for want of fighting: for they would rather die running,
or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the enemy. For this diſgrace he conceiued ſo
inward, and rooted an indignation againſt the Ianizaries, and ſo juſtly, that he often lamented
D himſelfe, and complained, that he was no King that was ſubject to his own ſlaues, vpon whom
he ſpent great treaſures, and yet they would neither fight in war, nor obey in peace, without
exacting new bounties and priuiledges. *Delauir Baſſa*, a man of great wit and courage, lately
called from the Eaſterne parts, where he had long gouerned with honor, who came in though
late, yet in a very braue and warlike equipage, aboue all other his captains, was ſuddenly made
great Viſier, the former *Huzein Baſſa* being in the ſame diſgrace common with the ſouldier,
though not in the ſame fault. This man was neuer bred at Court, but had liued many yeares
in action, and ſo had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but ſtood vpon himſelfe and
his owne merit: and being now vnexpectedly aduanced to this high dignity, he wrought vpon
the Kings diſcontent, and nouriſhed it: and in concluſion brake with him, That it was
E true he was no Emperor, nor could be ſafely aliue, while the Ianizaries had the power which
they lately vſurped. Informing him, That they were corrupted from their antient inſtitution,
and were lazie cowards, giuen ouer to eaſe and luſt: *Et animi per libidines corrupti nihil honeſtum
remanet.* But if his Majeſty would pull vp his ſpirits, and follow his aduice, hee would
prouide him a new ſoldiery about Damaſcus, of the Coords, men euer bred in the frontier,
with hardneſſe and warre, of great courage and experience; and that of them he ſhould erect
a new *Militia*, that ſhould wholly depend of him, entertaining forty thouſand in pay, which
ſhould alway be his guard: and that in the diſtribution of euery Prouince, he ſhould conſtitute
that the Begler-begh in his gouernment ſhould traine ſome of the inhabitants, who
in all occaſions of making a great army, ſhould be in readineſſe, and thereby he ſhould ſpare
F infinite treaſures ſpent vpon theſe drones that eate vp his eſtate; and with men of new ſpirits
and hopes, he ſhould be enabled to do greater matters than any of his anceſtors: but withall
he deſired the King to communicate this counſell to no man; nor to truſt his life vpon
anothers ſecrecy. *Delauir Baſſa* neuer reuealing himſelfe to any but the King, who extremely
pleaſed

The Grand Signior his deſigne to conquer Europe.

pleaſed with this aduice, that flattered his owne humour, conſented, and remitted all to the G
Viſiers direction, who was a true ſouldier, and a very wiſe man, able by his credit in Aſia, to
performe all he had vndertaken: for he was exceedingly beloued in thoſe parts, very rich, and
had kept Damaſcus, whereof he was Gouernour, for himſelfe in a late rebellion. Vpon this
concluſion betweene them, it was firſt agreed, That the King ſhould pretend to go in perſon
either to viſit Mecha, or againſt the *Emir de Sidon*, who was moued to take armes really to
aſſiſt in the deſigne; but they vſed it to colour the departure of the Emperour: which when
it was well weighed, was found, that then the army of the Ianizaries muſt be kept together,
which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the journey of the pilgrimage was divulged,
That the King might vnder the ſhadow of an holy deuotion goe out with a ſmall
traine, and diſperſe thoſe who were ſuſpected to him. And for this, preparation was made, H
but ſomewhat too groſſely, by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of houſe, Lampes
of Churches, and whatſoeuer could more eaſily be conueied away in mettall, with all the
jewels and treaſury. This gaue the firſt ſuſpition, which was confirmed by diuers vnaduiſed
words let fall from the King; of diſdaine againſt the cowardiſe of the Ianizaries, and that he
would ſhortly finde himſelfe ſouldiers that ſhould whip them: and laſtly, diſmiſſing all his
houſehold, except ſome few ſelect; the diſcontented ſort obſerued this and betraied him.
Delauir Baſſa kept his own ſecret, and in the mean time prepared by his friends in Aſia twenty
thouſand men; about Damaſcus ten thouſand, from the Coords as many, beſides thoſe in
readineſſe of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all vpon pretence of defending the borders of Perſia, who
might take ſome aduantage of the changes in thoſe parts: and gaue order, That all theſe I
ſhould meet the King at Damaſcus, where hee would preſently cut off his guard and ſtay
there, vntill he had regulated his new army and diſcipline, and then to returne triumphant to
Conſtantinople, and vtterly root out the order of Ianizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to
exauctorate all their captaines and officers, to ſettle a new Gouernment, and to change the
name of the city. And theſe things ſucceeding, hee then reſolued with his new ſouldiers to
attempt the recouery of his honour in Chriſtendome; in the meane time to hold a diſſembled
friendſhip there in all parts. Certainely, this was a braue and well grounded deſigne,
and of great conſequence for renewing of that decaied Empire, languiſhing vnder the inſolencies
of lazie ſlaues, if God had not deſtroied it: it being very true, That the Turkiſh Emperour
ſtands at the deuotion of his owne troupes for peace, or war, life, or death, and is in effect K
nothing but the Steward or Treaſurer of the Ianizaries. If this project had taken effect,
what euents it might haue produced by a ciuill war, is not eaſie to judge. For doubtleſſe the
ſouldiory would haue ſet vp another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and
the Europeian part had beene in danger to haue beene torne away by the diuiſion. Beſides,
Delauir Baſſa hauing the King and the treaſury in his poſſeſſion, and his owne credit ſo great,
and his inclination *velle imperare*, ſo willing to beare rule, once diſcouered, it might well be
thought that hee had ſome ends of his owne to ſhare a part of this mighty eſtate: if on the
other ſide the Viſier had proued true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the
diſcipline of war, and the encreaſe of treaſure conſequent to the diſmiſſion of the old *Militia*,
would haue beene fearefull to all Chriſtendome; but *Vbi eſt ſapiens? vbi diſquiſitor ſeculi hujus?* L
Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium. It is a great
queſtion whether then were the wiſer wiſh, That theſe counſels had ſucceeded, or not: for
either diuiſion or ſubuerſion, or a new proſperity and enlargement of their dominion had neceſſarily
followed.

Obſeruations vpon Sultan Oſman.

Some obſeruations vpon this occaſion, will not bee impertinent, to thoſe that deſire to
know as well the diſpoſition and vſe, as the things themſelues. Firſt in the purpoſe of the
ſouldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much leſſe to depoſe and murder him; but
only to take away thoſe about him whom they thought aſſiſtants in this project: yet the fury
once on foot, they proceeded by inſenſible ſteps, to the vttermoſt of outrage, againſt many
innocents in that buſineſſe (though otherwiſe obnoxious) and againſt the throne and life of M
their owne Emperour, *Vbi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadère*; where rage and fury
hath got the vpper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly, in the degrees;
that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if firſt he had not loſt that awe and reuerence which
alway

A alway attendeth vpon Majeſty, if it be kept vp; by vnſeemly offices done by him in the ſtreets and Tauernes, apprehending many ſoldiers for petty faults; like a Conſtable, making his perſon common, cheape, and deſpiſed amongſt them; which was wont only to be ſeene and feared, as ſomewhat aboue humane greatneſſe. And this he did alſo in hatred and diſdaine of thoſe that had in the warre forſaken him. And now in this laſt act, if his owne obſtinacy had not plunged him into deſtruction, but that he had ſoftened them by a reaſonable yeelding to time, he had preuailed onely by time. Thirdly in the order, that theſe mutiniers hauing no head or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their fury, in hot bloud, in the Kings yard, not to diſhonour, ſpoile, nor ſacke the Imperiall Throne; neither committed nor ſuffered any inſolence nor violence in the city to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed peace
B and iuſtice. Fourthly in the conſequents, that at the third daies end all was quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no ſuch thing had hapned; only the Ianizaries ſuffered no Diuan nor Councell vntill they had receiued a Donatiue as guerdon of their iniquity. In which alſo the infinite waſte of treaſure is worthy your conſideration, which was exceedingly exhauſted by three changes in foure yeares, and by the late warres in Perſia and Poland; for euery Ianizary, abſent or preſent (whoſe rolle was about forty thouſand) receiued twenty fiue Checquines of gold; beſides the Spahies, Iamoglans, and other Orders, at euery alteration: which amounts in all neer to two millions. And now thoſe fellows that had taſted the ſweet of proſperous mutinies (*haud ignari ſumma ſcalera incipi cum periculo peragi cum præmio*) tooke ſuch a head as could not ſafely be ſuffered on, nor ſecurely be taken off. Fifthly, of certaine preſages
C that fore ran: for *Oſman* dreamed in the night, *That he rid a Camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to goe by faire meanes nor ſtripes: and that then diſcending in a rage to reuenge it with his ſword, the body of the beaſt vaniſhed, and left the bridle and head in the Kings hand.* Who next day troubled at this fancy, ſent to a learned man familiar with him, for the interpretation. He excuſed himſelfe, as vnfit to giue opinion in a matter of that conſequence, but perſuaded *Oſman* to enquire of the Mufti. He alſo craued pardon; but withall ſaid, there was none ſo fit to interpret it as *Muſtapha* the Kings vncle, who was eſteemed a holy man, that had viſions and Angel-like ſpeculations (in plaine tearmes, betweene a mad man and a foole.) The King repaired to *Muſtapha*, who briefely told him, *The* Camell *ſignified his Empire: his* riding, *abuſe in gouernment: his* deſcention *or* alighting, *his depoſing: the* vaniſhing of his Body, *the reuolt of*
D *his Subjects: the* Head remaining in his hand, *only a bare title; and that he ſhould ſhortly die within a few moneths, and loſe his kingdome, onely the empty name of Emperour ſhould accompany him to his graue.* A ſecond of leſſe conſequence in the Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*; with whom his Majeſties Embaſſadour hauing contracted particular friendſhip, about ſix daies before this vprore, he went to viſit; and hauing no other buſineſſe but to perſuade him to ſtay the King from this intended pilgrimage, the Embaſſadour gaue him many reaſons in the preſent eſtate of their owne affaires; eſpecially, the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Baſſa replied very grauely. Then the Embaſſadour vrged the feare of ſome tumult, collected from the licentious ſpeeches rumoured in the towne: And he was bold to deale plainely, ſincerely, and friendly, That if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, the fault would be imputed to the Baſſa, as
E being of authority to perſuade the King; whom his quality and youth would excuſe, but all the fury would be diſcharged vpon the greateſt Miniſter: deſiring him to conſider the euent, at leaſt to take his affection in the beſt part.

The Engliſh Embaſſadors aduice to Delauir Baſſa.

The Baſſaes reply.

The old *Reinard* ſtaied a while from reply: at laſt, ſmiling to himſelfe, that he ſhould be perſuaded againſt that which was his owne counſell, he gaue a finall anſwer, That there was no remedy, he durſt not hazard himſelfe to oppoſe the Kings reſolution: but aſſured him he would ſo order the matter, as this iourney ſhould not proceed ſo farre as was expected. The Embaſſadour concluded for himſelfe, deſiring then that he would leaue him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputy as his friend. To which he ſuddenly replied, *Trouble not your ſelfe, nor feare; I will neuer remoue ſo farre but that I will leaue one of my legges in*
F *this city to ſerue you.* Which the poore man fulfilled; for being murthered within few daies after, one of his legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the moſt publike place of the city.

The reading of Hiſtory, to know what is done and paſt, hauing in it no recompence but delight, vnleſſe it looke foreward to vſe and action, either to correct errours, or by that light to gather aduantage in future, it will not be an vnprofitable degreſſion to obſerue what was like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous alterations. It was feared, by contemplatiue men, that the ſouldiers in Aſia, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit downe with this afront, but rather attempt ſome reuenge for the death of the King, who was their martyr: or that ſome great Baſſa, farre remoued from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an vſurper, ſet vp by treaſon; and vnder that colour to hide his owne ambition: or laſtly, that the whole State would fall into combuſtion, and inteſtine warre. This they themſelues foreſaw, and it came to paſſe, as will appeare in the ſtory; for within few moneths *Abaſſa Baſſa* of Arzirum declared himſelfe reuenger of his Princes bloud, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the whole Empire. The Perſian apprehended the opportunity, and recouered the Prouince and City of Babylon: and the ſame ſoldiers that had betraied their Prince, were neuer quiet vntill they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his brother and right heire: only it pleaſed not God to open the eies of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the inconuenience of their owne vnciuill quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mighty Empire did inuite to conquer it, and to diuide it as a proſtituted prey.

A practiſe to murther the brethren of Sultan Oſman.

On Saturday euening the firſt of Iune following, the Capi-Aga or Major Domo of the Seraglio, hauing receiued a ſecret order to remoue the brethren of *Oſman* from their lodgings, and in the night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his command, aided with a few of his carnifices to carry away the Princes, they cryed out: the Pages running to the noiſe, and incouraged by the Caſlariaga, who had ſome ſuſpition, without further examination killed the Capi-Aga, now almoſt euery Order hauing riſen againſt his owne head. That night they ſent ſecretly to the Ianizaries and Spahies, to enforme them what they had done; and in the morning early hanged his body in the Hippodrome for a publike ſpectacle. The ſouldiers returned in fury to the Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded juſtice againſt thoſe that had conſented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; only this *Muſtapha* being left aliue, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not people the World with ſinners, nor endure any woman neere him. The innocent King proteſted he knew nothing of this purpoſe: and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was eaſily beleeued. But his mother, another *Liuia*, and the new Viſier, *Daout Baſſa*, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell; but the ſoldiers would ſuffer none, vntill they had an account of this treaſon. The Viſier denied all; the mother was a woman, and hidden in the houſe: yet it is very likely they both were guilty, to vphold and ſecure their owne authority; it being rumoured, that the Viſier determined to place ſubditiouſly in the roome of the elder Prince his owne ſonne, and very like him, and ſo to gouerne *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remoue to eſtabliſh himſelfe and his race for euer. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the people; therefore *Daout Baſſa* was degraded from his office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arriued from the gouernment of Cairo, aduanced to his place, with promiſe of further examination. But the fury once ouer, there was no great ſearch nor diſcouery made, for perhaps the Sultana's Chequines quieted the matter. The new Viſier was a man without friends, yet very rich, of a ſtubborne and obſtinate nature, reported juſt in his waies, but peremptory and vnflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout animum intendit, pravus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whom all men might expect much good, or much ill: he began his gouernment roughly, and vndertooke to puniſh inſolencies early, and profeſſed a reformation, or to be a ſacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were deſperate: for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure their fury. In the meane time he procured a little awe, and reſtored the face of juſtice: yet it was thought it could not laſt long, the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt vntill there were ſome *parentalia* made vnto him. The nature of the Viſier was vnſupportable; but if he preuailed, and were once ſetled, he reſolued anew to change the King, and lay an obligation vpon the brethren of *Oſman*; for he did neuer thinke himſelfe ſecure vnder a man gouerned by an inſolent woman, *dominandi auide*, deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could hee haue in that Prince, in whom there was no judgement, neither loue, nor hatred, but as it was infuſed? and though the particulars could not be foreſeene, nor where the ſore would breake out, yet the whole body was ſicke, their

King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a child vnfit for action, and all the great men and ſoldiers decayed, mutined, and corrupted.

In the mean time the Duke of Sbaraſky came neer vnto the borders of the Turkiſh empire, and ignorant of thoſe great changes which had happened, ſent a ſeruant with a Letter to the dead Viſier *Delauir Baſſa*, with whom only the Poles had treaty. The contents were, That the King of Poland had ſent him to conclude a peace, vpon ſuch conditions as were agreed vpon by the Viſier and the Commiſſioners of Poland, ſigned on both parts; but that it was reported vpon the death of the grand Signior, That the new Gouernment had varied from ſome of them: That he had no other inſtructions to intreat anew, but if he would giue his word to the Engliſh Embaſſador, that there was no alteration in the intents of peace, he was ready to ſet forward on his journey. This letter receiued by the new Viſier was Greek to him, who was lately come from Cairo, and vnderſtood no article nor piece of the buſineſſe: Which was ſo ſecretly carried by *Delauir Baſſa*, that Sultan *Oſman* and he being dead, there was no man had ſo much as a copy, or knew the ſubſtance of that agreement. So that the Viſier giuing good words, aſhamed to confeſſe his ignorance, promiſed all things, but knew not what to write in particular anſwer, and therfore was at a ſtand. The meſſenger neuertheleſſe importuned a diſpatch, the which he had in general terms, and ſo returned again to the Duke his Maſter vpon the confines.

With this Nuntio the Duke wrot to Sr *Thomas Rowe*, and being very doubtfull to intangle himſelfe in this vnſetled gouernment, deſired him both to counſell him, and to tel the Viſier that he would not aduance, vnleſſe hee might receiue ſuch aſſurance of ſafety and publique faith, as that he might ingage his credit to him: hoping therby to haue both aſſiſtance & witnes in all his proceeding. Which gaue the Viſier occaſion to intreat the Engliſh Embaſſador, both to promiſe for the good vſage of the Duke, and to haſten him, and alſo to informe himſelfe by him, of the ſubſtance of the Treaty of Chotyn. Which being by him vndertaken, it turned to the great aduantage of both, eſpecially of the peace it ſelf.

The 17 of Iune in the morning, the Prince *Coreſky* one of the Lords of Poland, taken priſoner in the late war, recommended by his Maieſtie of great Britaine, who had formerly made an eſcape from the Turks captiuitie, was ſtrangled in priſon after two years of durance. This put all into murmur and deep conſideration, for what politique end this ſhould be don, euen when they themſelues deſired a peace with the Pole, and yet neuertheleſſe did that which might vtterly breake it. But it ſeemed they were at that time either caried with a brutiſh furie, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by intimation, that his remuant nature would neuer ſuffer the peace long to continue between the Crowne of Poland and the Grand Signior.

Prince Coreſky ſtrangled in priſon.

The Viſier (who cauſed this Polack prince to be ſtrangled) vpon ſome ſpleene towards the Aga or chief captain of the Ianizaries, took this occaſion to caſt the fault on him, and to caſſier him, and ſent him to the Iſlands to be ſtrangled; & gaue order to murder ſome other Baſſa's and officers, that therby way being made to depoſe the Emperor *Muſtapha*, to ſet vp *Morat* the child, and brother of *Oſman*, many being of his party. Wherupon the ſoldiers roſe all in arms at the Seraglio, taking the alarm at the medling with their Aga, reſcued their Captaine and the reſt, and demanded the head of the Viſier. Wherupon he fled, and order was giuen to kil him where he could firſt be found. The ſoldiers alſo required the life of *Morat* Aga cuſtomer, and diuers others: but for feare of other complices they durſt ſearch no further into the conſpiracie; only the Viſiers houſe was ſacked and infinit treaſure taken; ſo as the ſoldier was quieted for a day or two, by making a new Viſier, *Muſtapha Baſſa*, who was of a ſoft nature, and ſcarce durſt do juſtice for fear of offending any man. Now a new faction was made betweene *Muſtapha* and *Morat*, and it was expected hourly when there ſhould be ſome great ſlaughter or maſſacre in the city; for of neceſſitie one ſide muſt fall.

The Viſier attempts to depoſe Muſtapha.

There was then no ſecuritie for any man, when the King and Viſiers and all Officers held their liues and dignities at the courteſie of the mutined ſouldier, who had taſted the ſweet of rebellion, and caſt off all awe and reuerence, and could not eaſily be reduced to order, without much bloud and haſard of the whole. Therfore the wiſer men retired from Office and imployment, and the inſufficient did cauſe their owne daily change and ruine. The ſouldier adhered to the King of their own creation, and hee was in effect their creature, for they did wholly gouern him. But the lawyers and church-men made ſecret conuentions, and ſtill practiſed ſome great alteration; and feared not to ſay openly, That the foundation of their State was diſſolued, the king vnlawful, and all that had adhered vnto him lapſed into hereſie, hauing deſpiſed the inſtitutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wiſe counſels, and held a large correſpondencie with thoſe of their own coat, and ſpread their confederacie to all parts of the Empire, to procure a faction, and kindle a greater fire than that of the ſoldiers: for at Bagdat the captain of the Ianizaries roſe and ſlew the Baſſa, burnt the Mufti and all his kin, and gaue his daughter in mariage to one *Aſlan Begh*, a pretender to the antient inheritance of a bordering prouince, to cantonize that part. All Aſia was in doubt whom to obey, and Cairo was eaten vp with oppreſſion: and that which was moſt dangerous, they had no ſence of the ſicknes in the court, wherby to cure it, nor any of them ſo wiſe as to diſſemble it.

The Prince of Tranſyluania's Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The 22 of Auguſt the extraordinary Embaſſador of *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſylvania arriued at Conſtantinople; who amongſt other inſtructions had order to excuſe his Maſter, and to declare the reaſons why he had made peace with the Emperor without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the war had continued three years in the kingdom of Hungarie, and had ſo conſumed and deſolated the country, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtay longer in the field and to maintain an army, for the great famin and ſcarcitie of all things which the ſoldiery ſuffered, and could from no place be ſupplied: ſo that if he had not accepted of peace offered, he had bin forced to quit the country of neceſſitie, and by his ſeeming flight haue left the enemy victor. Therfore he was conſtrained to win time, and to return into Tranſylvania to refreſh his men of war, and to re-inforce them: as alſo his own preſſing affaires calling him back, his brother whom he had left Gouernour in his abſence, hauing aduiſed him, That the king of Poland, by the inſtigation of the emperor, by intelligence with ſome of the principal Lords, did practiſe a reuolt, and promiſed aid to make a new prince that ſhould wholy depend vpon the Empire and Poland. Laſtly, ſeeing the grand Signior had ſuddenly concluded a peace with the Poles, he feared he ſhould be left alone to the burthen of the war, in which the King of Poland being at eaſe might aſſiſt the Emperor, which he was not able to ſuſtain: therfore he was content to take the opportunitie to accept of that at the inſtance of the emperor, which he ſhould haue bin forced to do by neceſſitie.

Yet afterward, although he made this apologie for his maſter for concluding a peace, hee aſſured the Port, that his maſter meant not long to keep the ſame: informing them, That the Emperour had made a league (being at that time quiet in Germany) to inuade the *Ottoman* Empire; perſuading the Port to grant a Commiſſion, with full power and authoritie to him and the Baſſa of Buda (who had bin twenty years in that charge, and knew all the borders) if they ſaw it fit, to preuent the Enemy, and to inuade the Empire, or the kingdome of Poland. This demand was made by *Gabor* to inſinuate with the ſtate of Turky, and to get a power dormant into his hands, to aduance into Hungarie if he ſaw aduantage, or to oblige the Emperour; and to aſſure the peace, by hauing means not to care if it were broken. But the grand Signior finding himſelfe, by reaſon of Ciuile diſtractions at home, vnfit for a Warre abroad, and that they ſaw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his owne deſignes and fortune, his Embaſſadors Propoſitions began to be altogether ſleighted and neglected.

The Poland Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

The Duke of Sbarasky, who came to conclude the peace betweene his Maſter the King of Poland, and the grand Signior, after long delay vpon the confines did at length arriue at the Port, but they made him ſtay fiue weekes before he could haue audience, forcing him to giue a Preſent, contrary to his Inſtructions. Notwithſtanding he could not get them to enter into a Treaty, finding nothing but falſehood and vncertaintie amongſt them, no promiſe nor faith kept, no priſoners deliuered, nor indeed any thing at all performed: for now that they had him within their liberties, they hoped to worke their owne ends, and to wearie him out, who had twelue hundred of his ordinary traine. They threatened to keepe him, and to denounce a War againſt his Maſter: yet by the mediation of the Engliſh Embaſſadour, the Miniſters of the Port and he were pieced again, and the peace concluded, as ſhall be hereafter ſet down at large.

A After many difficulties to obtaine admiſſion to the preſence of the grand Signior, cauſed by the forwardneſſe of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, then in the place of *Muſtapha* depoſed (who diſcouering that the duke would complain againſt *Tomſha* Vayuod of Valachia, and his creature, endeauored by al fraud, cunning, threatning, and faſtidious delayes, to diuert him from that purpoſe, being loth that the actions of him whom hee had foſtered and maintained in many tyrannies, eſpecially in the occaſion of the laſt Warre, ſhould be examined or layd open to juſtice) when hee ſaw that nothing could preuail, but that he muſt haſard a direct breach, by the diſcontent of the duke; and that the people began to murmur, and the Engliſh Embaſſador to proteſt him; he was admitted, and nobly receiued according to the pompous cuſtom of that court; who with his letter of Credence ſpake theſe following words:

B

The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky to the grand Signior.

Sigiſmund *by the grace of God, King of Poland, Sweden, Gothia, Vandalia, great Duke of Lituania;*
and of many other prouinces Prince and Lord: To your moſt renowned Maieſty, moſt mighty emperor
of Aſia and Europ, and King of many kingdoms and prouinces, euer moſt happy, wiſheth health; and by
me his great Embaſſador ſalutes you with all conuenient reuerence and honor: deſiring to your Maieſtie
C *from the moſt high God, fulneſſe of all proſperitie, happineſſe, long life, triumph aboue your Anceſtours,*
Princes worthy of all memorie.

His high Maieſty of Poland, conſidering the depth and highth of the Decrees of the great God, mar-
uelling with all the world, and praiſing his high name, doth comfort and ioy himſelfe, beeing more
than certaine, That that Eternall power which hath preſerued your Maieſtie from all euill deſtinies of
men, and from the bowels of the earth, and hath placed you in this ſhining Throne, hath not done it but
for the publique good. And like a wiſe Gardener, who hath weeded out all venomous and noyſom plants,
that he hath placed your Maieſtie in their roome, as a noble and ſweet ſmelling floure, full of vertue, cle-
mencie, and peace, deſired of all the world. His Maieſty my Lord and Soueraigne hath alwaies wiſhed,
D *That not onely the actions of later yeares, but of many Ages paſt, might haue beene forgotten; and*
that that friendſhip and peace begun with the renowned Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more yeares*
ſince, might haue beene without interruption continued. But ſeeing that the great God hath beene plea-
ſed to chaſtiſe the people of both parts, by the meanes of wicked men, that muſt be accepted for good, which
commeth from his Diuine will. And therefore blotting out of memory whatſoeuer is paſt, doth now re-
turne to deſire the continuance of the firſt antient peace, and doth offer himſelfe vnto your high Maie-
ſtie to keepe it inuiolable, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan Amurath *of happy memorie. In*
witneſſe of which his ſinceritie, he hath not apprehended the opportunitie of the breach begun by the Per-
ſian, the expiration of the truce with the German Emperour, nor the many reuolts and troubles in Aſia,
nor hearkned to the inſtigations of many Chriſtian Princes his friends and allyes, nor to the Tartar diſcon-
E *tented: but rather hauing refuſed all other wayes, hath with the bloud of his own ſubiects, and the charge*
of his purſe, regained from the Rebell Valachia, Moldauia, and a part of Tranſyluania, and rendered
thoſe Prouinces into the hands of your Maieſties father, and ſuffered no man at any time to diſturbe on
that ſide the friends of your Empire; giuing intelligence like a good friend and neighbour to your An-
ceſtours, of all your Enemies deſignes and machinations, and in as much as was poſsible, endeauoured to
preſerue a good peace and friendſhip; which he offereth vnto your ſerene Maieſty; contenting himſelfe
with the Capitulations which were treated at Chotyn, and thoſe of your moſt happy father and brother;
praying your Maieſty that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Maie-
ſtie will reſtraine the Tartars, as he will do the Coſſackes, and that you will ſuffer no occaſion of kindling
new fires, he beſeecheth your Maieſtie to doe what juſtice you thinke meet, vpon Cantemir *and* Tomſha,
F *who contrary to the agreements and publique faith, hath made ſpoile and new incurſions into Poland, euen*
ſince my departure from thence, and with many deceits and falſe deuices haue deſired to diſturbe the hap-
pie beginnings of accommodation. And ſeeing that by the antient Capitulations made with the moſt
warlike Sultan Solyman, *and his ſucceſſors the father and brother of your Maieſty, the prouinces of Mol-*

dauia, the Baſſaes of Siliſtria, and the Beghes of Ackirman ought to keepe the paſſages of the Riuers to G
reſtraine the Tartars; and that thoſe now in poſſeſſion of thoſe Gouernments are already knowne, and
growne old in their rapine and ſpoile, the King my Lord deſireth your renowmed Majeſty, that they may
be diſmiſſed, and their Prouinces giuen to ſome others more enclined in peace. For Cantemir, *it is a*
true rule obſerued, That one Tartar can hardly gouerne another, where both liue vpon ſpoile: and how
eaſily vpon any occaſion new troubles are apprehended by thoſe who are antient enemies, I leaue to your
Highneſſe wiſedome; in which his Majeſty is ſo aſſured, that he doubteth not, that for the publike good,
and for the complaints, and teares of both ſubjects, you will alſo vouchſafe to accept the requeſt of your
friend, and a King your neighbor. And if all the World, and the people thereof rejoyce, and praiſe God of
the friendſhip and peace betweene your Majeſty and the King my Maſter begun and concluded, he hopeth
that the poore and miſerable priſoner ſhall participate of your clemency, that they may joyne in the general H
care to pray to the eternall God for encreaſe of your greatneſſe. The King my Maſter doth therefore de-
ſire your Majeſty to grant liberty to thoſe who are in your captiuity, as he bindeth himſelfe to ſet free all
ſuch of your Majeſties ſubjects, as are now his priſoners; and I do promiſe on the behalfe of my Maſter,
that he ſhall be a friend to your friends, and an enemy to your enemies. In concluſion, he deſireth all hap-
pineſſe and proſperity to your Majeſty from a cleere heart; in ſigne and teſtimony whereof, and of the
friendſhip begun on his part, he honoureth you with a Preſent, which you may be pleaſed to receiue with
your accuſtomed benignity; and ſhutting your eares to ſuch enformers, enemies of peace, as are found at
your Port, that you will eſteeme him a friend and neighbour of the moſt royall and antient Kings of your
moſt Princely Family. I

The ſouldiers continued ſtill in their mutinous diſpoſition, euen in Conſtantinople the
head city of the Turkiſh Empire, and grew to that height of inſolency, that going in troups
to the court, they demanded all offices of gaine; to be Stewards to the reuenues of the Chur-
ches, which are great; to take the Farmes of cuſtomes; and there committed many other out-
rages which were vnſufferable. The Viſiers durſt deny them nothing; they drunke wine in
the ſtreets without prohibition, contrary to their law; and ſtood in companies in the open
day exacting mony of all Chriſtians to pay for their wine; and being denied it, ſtabbed and
murthered without any puniſhment: and when complaint was made to the Viſier or Magi-
ſtrate, they anſwered, None durſt meddle with them, who had murthered their own King; and
the Baſſaes themſelues deſired the Complainants patience, and that they would beare a part K
with the generall ſufferance.

The Ianizaries aſſault the houſes of the Chriſtian Conſuls at Smirna.

About the ſame time, the Ianizaries in the gallies which rid before Smirna, commanded
by the captaine *Halil Baſſa*, aſſaulted againſt his will the houſes of all the Chriſtian Conſuls
there. The Engliſh with all thoſe of the Nation, were forced to runne naked from their lod-
gings, and to ſwimme to the Admirals galley to ſaue their liues: they ranſacked the lower
part of the houſe, and carried away to the value of two thouſand dollars; the French ſuſtai-
ned more loſſe; and the Venetians at leaſt ten thouſand, and one of the ſubjects of that State
cut in peeces. The Generall had much adoe to appeaſe them by threats or perſuaſions, or to
ſaue the liues of all; inſomuch as they miſcalled and threatened him, becauſe he would not
conſent to their madneſſe. In concluſion, he was faine preſently to put to ſea, or elſe they had L
finiſhed the Trade at that place.

In Aſia there was then three open rebellions; one at Babylon, another at Arzirum vpon
the borders of Perſia neere Tauris, and the third in Meſopotamia. The Viſiers at the Port
diſſembled all this, and durſt take no knowledge thereof, nor ſo much as to ſend a command
thither, for feare of blowing the fire, which would haue put all into combuſtion: whereupon
they held a ſecret counſell and conſented to remooue themſelues, to proue, if they could re-
couer the deſperate eſtate of that Empire, and tooke reſolution to make *Halil Baſſa* (the beſt
ſouldier and moſt beloued) great Viſier; and in his roome *Daout Baſſa* captaine of the Sea;
and the preſent Viſier, Chimacham or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following,
they reſolued to ſend the Viſier into Aſia, with all the force they could make: to which end M
they ſent into Greece, to warne all the ſouldiery to be ready at Adrianople, not daring to
make a rendeſuous at the Port, for feare of new trouble; and ſo to paſſe the Helleſpont, wide
of the city, to appeaſe (if they could) thoſe reuolts, and by that way to draw the mutiniers from
the

the Court into action, and to reduce them vnto obedience. And notwithſtanding that there was no other ſymptome or prediction but ſuch as threatned the deſtruction of that Empire, yet were they neuer prouder, nor more ſeeming not to diſtruſt themſelues, their only ſecuritie being, That they had no enemie but themſelues.

The treaſurie was far exhauſted, the reuenue abated, by the oppreſſion of euery Baſſa in his gouernment: the ſoldier increaſed both in pay and number, and ſo impatient of delay, that at euery quarter, (beſides borrowing, and taking vp the farmes of the Cuſtomes before hand) there were ſo many intollerable exactions to raiſe monies, that the apparance of domeſtique quiet could not long endure betweene two extreames; for meanes could not be found, and the Ianizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred. And this was their general eſtate at that time.

While the Poliſh Embaſſadour was treating the peace at the Port (whereof there was no great doubt, becauſe neither ſide was fit for war) there arriued an Embaſſador from the great Duke of Muſcovia, which gaue ſome interruption therin, preſſing the grand Signior to continue the war ſeuen years againſt Poland, according to the promiſe of Sultan *Oſman*: offering that his Maſter ſhould enter into Poland with an army, and that they would diuide the country between them. But his propoſition was reiected, becauſe they had had ſufficient triall of his Maſters cunning proceedings in the laſt war; for the Muſcouite hauing made peace with Poland (before the inuaſion of *Oſman*) for fourteen years, and being inuited by him to break it, and to inuade that country, vpon promiſe that he would continue the war for ſeuen yeares, & make no agreement without their comprehenſion; firſt anſwered, That he could not break the peace, thinking that the other was but a flaſh of a yong prince. But ſo ſoon as he ſaw the Turks in the field and borders of Poland, then he began to hope he might make aduantage; and therfore promiſed Sultan *Oſman*, on thoſe conditions mentioned to enter into the quarrel. And to that end diſpeeded his Embaſſadour to Poland, with inſtructions to demand three things. Firſt, That the prince of Poland ſhould renounce the title of elect Duke of Muſcouy. The ſecond, That the Poles ſhould reſtore a territory in the border of Lituania, taken in the late wars. Laſtly, That the peace ſhould be perpetuall: threatning, That if they refuſed thoſe conditions, he would enter into the country with an army and get what he could. This Embaſſador being arriued in the confines, heard news that the Poles had repulſed the Turke at Chotyn, that he was retyred, and a peace treated. Wherupon he feigned himſelf ſick, and ſent back a poſt with this aduice, and his old inſtructions, deſiring in this alteration ſome new order from home. The gouernor of the town where he lay, ſuſpecting ſomwhat, intercepted the meſſenger and his packet, and ſent it preſently to the King. The man returned to his Maſter the Embaſſador as robbed, and was again diſpeeded the ſecond time, and ſent backe with another ſtile, to wit, with letters of congratulation, joy, and offers of all help and continuance of the peace: with theſe the Embaſſador went forward to the court, and hauing audience, the King anſwered him, That if his meſſage were ſincere it had bin very acceptable; but he knew it to be a ſugred treaſon, and no faith intended by the Muſcouite, and therfore commaunded him to depart.

The Embaſſador proteſted, vowed, and vſed all meanes to aſſure the integritie of his meſſage; vntill hee was confronted by the Chancellour, with his owne Letter, and his Maſters inſtructions. Hereupon was this other diſpatched to the Port to hinder the peace, and to offer their concurrence to continue an inuaſion. In the meane time the Muſcouite neglected no means to ſecure himſelf, & by renuing two embaſſadors obtained a peace with Poland, which was then again confirmed. To which the Poles were the willinger to agree, not knowing what effects the negotiations of the duke of Sbarasky might produce at the Port: and now the Muſcouite was forced to diſſemble again with the Turk, and make his preparation to depart.

The great Viſier *Georgi* enuying the authoritie of *D'aout Baſſa* the beloued ſonne in law of the Queene mother, and brother in law to the Emperour *Muſtapha* (who had formerly been depoſed) who had bin both the inſtrument and the counſellor to murther Sultan *Oſman*, ſcorning that he ſhould vnder hand gouerne in his reigne, eſpecially becauſe hee countenanced in oppoſition the Duke of Sbaraskies buſineſſe, he therefore practiſed to put him to death: but not daring to do it by his owne authoritie, and in vain to procure it from the Court, he

The great Viſier plots the death of Daout Baſſa.

ſtirred vp the Spahies to demand juſtice of him for the death of their laſt king. This looked G farther than the firſt aſſent; for the ſubtil Viſier, who was faithful to his true lord, & knowing the rage of an vnguided multitude aimed at a by-reuenge vpon others, whom he hoped would be involved and accuſed of the murther: and the ſoldier ſoon raiſed and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded *Daout*, who inſtantly fled: but now that the buſines was on foot, if hee were not found, the Viſier himſelf was in danger: but the poore man was brought to the Divan, and there being called to publique juſtice, hee muſt excuſe himſelfe vpon ſome greater perſon; wherin the Emperor and his mother ran a new haſard, which was the ſecret end. Therfore both of them forſook him and left him to the law, and without any trial he was brought before the ſoldiers, ſtripped, his turbant taken off, and on his knees ready to receiue the ſtroke of death. But ſuddenly the Ianizaries came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their cham- H bers. The Spahies who began this action took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would haue him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publique juſtice. Thus thoſe two mutined factions were ready to come to blowes. *Daout Baſſa* now in ſome hope of life, bribed the Ianizaries, and that day diſtributed 40000 Chequines of gold, and they promiſed to protect him. Who did not now think but hee was taken away for ſafety? But the Spahies followed their firſt reſolution, and to appeaſe the fear of that diſſention it was agreed he ſhould die. They that meant to ſaue him could not, but preſerued him for a greater example of juſtice. They would not now let him loſe his head in the Court, for that death was too honorable for him that had murdered his prince. Then the Ianizaries ſent him ſecretly in the ſame coach wherin he had ſent Sultan *Oſman* to execution: twice in the way I being dry with ſorrow, he drank at the ſame fountains where his late maſter begged drink, and ſo was conueyed into the ſame chamber where he had murthered him. The executioners beginning to tie him, himſelf ſhewed the very corner where hee had committed that foule fact, and deſired that there he might, if poſſible, expiate it: and ſo he was at laſt miſerably ſtrangled. Thus he had his reward, and God was iuſt alſo euen for the wicked.

About the 20 of February, the peace after many rubs between the grand Signior and the King of Poland, by the mediation of the Engliſh Embaſſador (who was choſen by the Viſiers as Arbiter of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Baſſa* Commiſſioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke hauing firſt been forced to ſend this following remonſtrance for his expedition; which much mooued the Viſier, and quickened the conclu- K ſion.

The Duke of Sbaraskies remonſtrance
to the great Viſiers.

YOur Excellencie may be pleaſed to remember the happy and honorable treaty made before Chotyn: in which a peace was concluded between the Ottoman *Empire and the kingdom of* Poland, *ſigned by Commiſſioners on both parts; wherin (with reference to other antient Treaties) it was agreed, That a* L *great Embaſſador ſhould come to the Imperiall Port, as well to confirm and ſwear the peace, as to ſet in order ſome other incident circumſtances, as then not fully taken into conſideration. Since which, the King and Republique of* Poland *hauing elected me for that imployment, his Maieſty and my ſelf haue receiued many letters from* Delauir, Daout, Huzein *and* Muſtapha, *Baſſa's, all great Viſiers; not only promiſing a ſpeedy end and diſpatch of the concluſion of peace which on both parts is ſo much deſired, but alſo a releaſe of our captiues, and all other effects of loue and friendſhip, according to the antient honor of the Imperiall Port; deſiring me vpon that aſſurance to proceed with alacritie and expedition. And further, it hauing pleaſed his Maieſty of great Brittain (a friend to both) to mediate in this pious office, by his Embaſſador reſident and ſent to that end, who hath giuen me by his letters great incouragement and hopes of a reall* M *and true proceeding in this buſineſſe, agreeable to diuers promiſes made vnto him, which he accordingly hath informed his own Maſter; I was very glad of this honorable function, and hoped to haue found as ready performance as is by his Maieſty and all the world expected.*

To this end I am come to the Port, with full power and inſtructions from his Maieſtie and the Re-

publique

A *publique of* Poland, *to conclude and finiſh a full and perpetuall peace, with all ſinceritie and heartineſſe, and in his Maieſties name to ſwear the ſame; offering to be friend to the friends, and enemie to the enemies of this Imperiall Port reciprocally, and to be ready to treat and accommodate all or any other circumſtances incident to a buſines of ſo great conſequence.*

Since my ariuall, notwithſtanding that I haue produced both the mentioned treaty at Chotyn, and Letters, how little I haue aduanced in the main affairs, and the doubtfull conſequences of a long protraction, I deſire you to conſider; hauing as yet proceeded no further in ſubſtance, than the deliuery of my letters and preſents; and to that end there may neuer be imputed to the King and republique of Poland any ſlacknes in preſent, or any breach in future; out of a ſincere and good deſire to eſtabliſh this treaty ſure and firm, and to open a clear and true heart, I am inforced to make this true declaration, and deſire your Excellency to
B *weigh maturely the motiues following.*

I do not repine at myne own ſtay at this Imperiall Port, where I receiue all honour; I do not doubt of the ſincere and faithfull meaning of the Emperor to conclude the peace; but the deferring hereof may againſt our wills breed three inconueniences.

Firſt, your Excellencie doth know, that the Coſſacks are a people not eaſily to be reſtrained, if they bee once at libertie, and that they liue vpon their arms. They haue ready eight hundred boats to make an inuaſion into the black ſea: in the winter they canot moue; they attend onely the aduice of the concluſion of peace: therfore now is the ſeaſon to finiſh and publiſh it; for if by long delaies it ſhal be deferred vnto the Spring, and that jealouſie or their own deſire ſet them free, your Excellencie doth know in wiſedome how difficult it is, to reduce into order a people of that condition; which for our parts we are now able and rea-
C *die to preuent; the State hauing ordained to ſatisfie them, and to buy their boats vpon the firſt intimation of a concluſion.*

Secondly, It is the order of our Nation euery Spring, to call a parliament for the reglement of all publique affairs; of which aſſembly I am a member: if I ſhall be ſtaied here, and not able to render a reaſon therof, it will breed great ſuſpition and diſturbance in the general reſolution: you may conſider that in all parts there are ſome vnaduiſed men, friends of ſedition and war; and many that make aduantage of others troubles, who may do ill offices, ſuch as the innoſent may be ſorry for, but canot help.

Thirdly, The eies of all princes are ſet vpon the honor and faith kept on both parts in this treaty, and accordingly will gouern their own occaſions.

For theſe reaſons I do in his Maieſties name deſire your Excellencie to giue me a Diſpatch, ſuch as may
D *bring ioy and content to all, by auoiding the miſeries of war; and in ſuch time, that the ſnows and commodities of winter ſhut me not vp, but that I may return, as well to ſatisfie his Maieſtie and the Republique in our generall aſſembly, as to retain thoſe who may be cauſe of much trouble, without our conſents.*

There is no difficultie that I vnderſtand; I am content to accept the antient and honorable treaties made with the famous Emperor Solyman *and his ſucceſſors; and now laſtly at Chotyn: if there be any other difference, I haue power and am ready to accommodate it.*

My deſire then only is, That a preſent end and concluſion be made of a peace, firme and perpetuall: and that the Emperor will be pleaſed, according to many promiſes, to deliuer and ſet free the captiues taken in the laſt wars: as I do in his Maieſties name giue my word that all others taken on our part ſhall haue libertie and paſport to return. And if there haue bin any difficultie made by occaſion of my preſſure for the
E *reiection of* Tomſha *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I doe make this true proteſtation, That as it is the requeſt of his Maieſtie my King in friendſhip, ſo there is no other end nor cauſe of that deſire, but only to remoue all occaſion of offence and breach with this Imperiall Port, which thoſe ill naighbours are euer ready to miniſter. But if that be any inconuenience to this Imperiall Port, I onely then ſeeke that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may liue quietly, without offence of the publique peace.*

I deſire your Excellencie to weigh and conſider theſe my reaſons and proteſtations, which proceed only from a good and ſincere heart, to promoue and maintain an inuiolable and good friendſhip with this Imperiall Port.

F

Within two dayes after, the Duke of Sbaraskie tooke his leaue of the Emperour, to the great ioy of himſelfe and his traine, who thereby ſaw themſelues deliuered out of captiuitie.

The three great and noble priſoners were ſet free, and did make a publique acknowledgment G of his Maieſtie of great Britains fauor; to whom both the Embaſſadour and they attributed the beſt part of their good ſucceſſe, and gaue particular thanks by letter.

Articles contracted between the grand Signior and the King of Poland.

HIs Maieſty of Poland hauing ſent into our happy Port his well deſeruing and famous great Embaſſador the moſt illuſtrous Duke of Sbaraskie, to offer vs ſincere peace, loyal friendſhip, and good correſpondence, and to ſeeke that the antient peace and friendſhip ſhould H *be of vs anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the time to come there might be eſtabliſhed an eternal peace and friendſhip: his kingly friendſhip hath bin moſt pleaſing to vs, and the peace and friendſhip by vs accepted: and wee haue ordained, That all the antient treaties ſhall be renewed; and at the preſent haue giuen this our Capitulation with the following Articles.*

I. *FIrſt, That neuer vpon our part, nor of any of our Viziers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor ſoldiers, any harm ſhall be done to the Prouinces, Cities, Caſtles, Towns, villages,* I *and other places pertaining to the King and State of Poland. And likewiſe vpon the part of his Maieſty of Poland, That by his Princes, Miniſters, or Coſſackes, nor any other his ſubiects, there ſhall be no wrong don in any part of our Empire, city, caſtle, towne, or village, but that both parties ſhall alwaies remain friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.*

II. *And ſeeing that the Tartars of Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, and Siliſtra, and the people of Moldavia, do enter, inuade, and damnifie the State of Poland: We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of Siliſtra, and all other Beglerbeghs of Bender, ſhall take care to keepe all thoſe paſſages and riuers, to the end that herafter the ſaid Nations ſhall haue* K *no paſſage by thoſe waies to damnifie the ſtate of Poland. And whenſoeuer it ſhall be known that the ſaid Miniſters haue vſed negligence in keeping thoſe paſſages, according to the treatie with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy memory, that ſuch Miniſters bee degraded and ſeuerely puniſhed.*

III. *The Vayuod of Moldauia likewiſe ſhall neuer grant any paſſage to the ſaid Nations. And whenſoeuer it ſhall be known that the ſaid Vayuod hath tranſgreſſed in this our will, he ſhall be degraded and ſeuerely puniſhed.*

IV. *And whenſoeuer the ſaid Tartars and others, contrary to this our will, ſhall make any in-* L *uaſion or ſpoyl in the ſtate of Poland, all our miniſters and gouernors ſhall apprehend and ſeuerely puniſh them: and as it is ſet down in the agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the ſlaues and priſoners which ſhall by ſuch malefactors be brought into our dominions, ſhall bee ſet at liberty, and their goods reſtored to them again, and the malefactors puniſhed for hauing tranſgreſſed our Imperiall Capitulations.*

V. *And if any of our Subiects ſhall buy any perſon or Poliſh goods, vniuſtly taken by ſuch malefactors, and it ſhall be made knowne vnto vs by the king of Poland; the buyers for hauing bought vnlawfull goods their eſtate ſhall be confiſcate, and they themſelues ſeuerely puniſhed.* M

VI. *The Prince* Chrim *Tartar ſhall be obedient vnto vs, and all the Tartarian Nation vnder his commaund.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his bloud, from henceforth ſhall neuer enter into nor inuade any part of the State of Poland, nor euer do any damage*

A mage, either by the way of Moldauia, the open field or deſart, nor ſhall euer enter into or inuade any part or juriſdiction of the ſame. And at all times that his Majeſty of Poland ſhall giue notice, That the ſaid Prince or others aboue mentioned haue broken this our will and capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their diſobedience, the ſaid Prince as well as the others, ſhall be by vs puniſhed and chaſtiſed; and we command that neuer any one, in any part of our Dominion, ſhall ſell either people or goods robbed from the State of Poland; and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy men, or goods, robbed from them, ſuch ſhall be immediately puniſhed with confiſcation. And as before mentioned, the B Beglerbeghs of Siliſtria, with all diligence ſhall keepe the ſtreights of Oſu, and neuer ſuffer the ſaid people to paſſe; and if it ſhall be knowne they haue trangreſſed they ſhall be puniſhed with loſſe of their charge and office.

VII. And whenſoeuer the ſaid Prince Crim Tartar, or his Kalka, Emirze, or others ſhall by our order be called and commanded in their proper perſons, to go to any part of the war in our ſeruice, if by chance they ſhould paſſe by the confines of Poland, as it is ſet downe in the capitulations of my father of happy memory, They ſhall not enter into any Village, Borough, Caſtle, or City of Polonia, or do any kinde of dammage to the people thereof; and finding that they haue giuen any moleſtation or hurt, they ſhall be corrected, as is aforeſaid.

C VIII. And in conformity of my my fathers ſaid capitulation, euery time that his Majeſty of Poland ſhall inuite and call the ſaid Prince Crim Tartar in his occaſion of war whiles he giueth him his annuall ſtipend, the ſaid Prince with all his forces and army, ſhall go, helpe, and aſſiſt his Majeſty in euery ſuch occaſion, and ſhew all friendpſhi and ſincerity: to which effect we haue giuen order, that our Imperiall Letters be written to the ſaid Prince, in this particular, who ſhall obſerue all according to our will and pleaſure.

IX. And for the better eſtabliſhing of this our peace and amity according to the antient capitulations and obſeruance, his Majeſty of Poland promiſeth to ſend his great Embaſſador to D the ſaid Prince of Tartars; and (beginning from this preſent, the foure and twentieth of the moneth of Iune) to pay yearely to the ſaid Prince his accuſtomed ſtipend in this forme following. Euery yeare his Majeſty ſhall ſend the ſaid ſtipend into the Caſtle of Chotyn in Moldauia, and the Vayuod thereof ſhall certifie the ſaid Prince Crim, who ſhall preſently ſend his Embaſſadour to receiue the ſame, by the hands of the Vayuod. The which Prince ſhall alwaies obſerue this forme, and ſhall be alwaies obedient to this our Imperiall Will.

X. And in caſe that his Majeſty of Poland ſhould faile in any yeare to ſend the ſaid ſtipend, E the Prince Tartar ſhall not ſuddenly riſe with his army and inuade Poland; but, according to the agreement of Sultan Solyman, continuing ſtill in his obedience, he ſhall certifie vs, and we will procure and recouer his right.

XI. His Majeſty of Poland doth promiſe that from henceforward, the Coſſackes ſhould not enter nor come into any part of our Empire by the riuers of Oſu or any other, nor make any ſpoile therein: and if the ſaid Coſſackes do enter into any part of our Dominions and doe any hurt, we certifying his Majeſty by our Imperiall Letters, he promiſeth to correct them ſeuerely, and to put to death the malefactors for breaking the capitulations, and violating the peace and amity.

F XII. And all our ſubjects which ſhall be made ſlaues, and impriſoned by the ſaid Coſſackes, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty; and the miniſters of his Majeſty ſhall alwaies be diligent to puniſh the tranſgreſſors, and wholly reſtore thoſe perſons and goods, which they ſhall haue taken from our ſaid ſubjects, and that neuer any ſubject of the King of Poland ſhall buy any *ſtollen goods : and if any haue preſumed and bought, that he be ſeuerely puniſhed : and in generall, all that which we haue promiſed concerning the Tartars and Moldauians, ſo his Majeſty alſo doth promiſe to vs for the Coſſackes and other his ſubjects.* G

XIII. *After the concluſion of this Peace, if vpon the confines or open fields, fiſhers or hunters on either part meeting together, ſhall happen to fall out or be at difference by their owne occaſion, it ſhall be no diſturbance to this our peace and amity.*

XIV. *Alwaies according to the antient agreements, the Princes or Vayuods of Moldauia, ſhall ſhew to his Majeſty of Poland all due reuerence and reſpect, good amity and neighbourhood: and ſeeing that the ſaid Vayuods haue euer beene as it were inſtruments of preſeruation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the ſaid Vayuods, nor other of our Beglerbeghs or miniſters, ſhall build in thoſe confines any new Caſtle, Fort, or Bridge; and that in thoſe Caſtles or Forts of thoſe frontiers which are already built, there ſhall neuer any other garriſons be kept but Moldauians: and according to the antient Capitulations, the Tartars ſhall not inhabit, dwell, or till within thoſe confines, of both nations.* H

XV. *And to the end this peace and amity may be alwaies kept betweene vs, we ſweare by the name of God, and aſſure by this our Imperiall Article, that all the Embaſſadors, great or inferiour, which ſhall be ſent from vs to his Majeſti, or thoſe great or leſſe which ſhall be ſent from his Majeſty to vs, ſhall alwaies be ſafe and ſecure, as well in their comming, as their returne; and that there ſhall neuer be need of any other paſport, but that they ſhall be of vs by all waies honoured and well receiued.* I

XVI. *Concerning merchants, paſſengers, and other Polacke negotiators, they ſhall alwaies come ſafely and ſecurely by ſea and land into all the parts of our Empire; and for cuſtomes, tolles, and other duties of their merchandiſe, and in caſe of debt, credit, ſuretiſhip, and ſuch other like accidents concerning the courſe of Iuſtice and Law, we command that it ſhall be alwaies obſerued according to the agreements with our father of happy memory, Sultan* Achmat. *Which Articles we at this preſent accept and confirme, ratifie, and command that they be of all our ſubjects for euer punctually obeyed and obſerued.* K

XVII. *Furthermore we promiſe, and in the name of God ſweare, to obſerue and maintaine for euer, all thoſe couenants and Articles agreed vpon and written in our Capitulations, by our great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and neuer to diſanull any of them.*

XVIII. *And whereas to ſhew greater deſire of ſincerity concerning this peace, his Majeſty of Poland hath ſought of vs by his ſaid great Embaſſador, that the ſubjects of Poland may ſafely and ſecurely come by the riuer of Turla with diuers merchandiſe, and ſell, buy, and trafficke in Ackirman, which trafficke being vſed will be of great benefit to both Eſtates; We ordaine and command from henceforward, that the ſaid Nation may come and negotiate ſafely and ſecurely in the ſaid Ackirman. And to the end that this buſineſſe be eſtabliſhed and concluded in a good manner, we will giue order to our Embaſſador, whom we intend to ſend ſhortly to his Majeſty for the ratification thereof.* L

XIX. *Which preſent Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amity, League, and Correſpondency, by the grace of God we promiſe vndoubtedly to maintaine ſo long as we liue in this World: and do hereby conclude betweene vs and our poſterity, and the Kings and State of Polonia, an euerlaſting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with theſe words,* Friends to Frends, and enemies to Enemies. M

Notwithſtanding all this, after the Duke was departed one daies journey, where he ſtaied to receiue the treaty ſigned, they altered ſome of the articles to their own aduantage, without his knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his letters to the Port of the abuſe offered vnto him, and made haſte rather to eſcape than returne. But the Coſſacks at the ſame time being ſtirring about the Blacke ſea, the Viſier and State (hauing nothing more in care than to ſhut vp that backe Port, whereby they ſuffered much loſſe and diſhonour, and could not reuenge it vpon a fugitiue people; which diuided their nauall army, being forced to ſend a portion of gallies to defend the trade, the beſt part of reliefe of the city of Conſtantinople comming from thoſe coaſts) reſolued to giue content to the Poles, and to aſſure the Peace; that they might with more ſecurity attend their affaires in Aſia and Hungary; which action was fauoured vehemently by the preſent Viſier. To which end, hee ſent anſwer into Poland, with promiſes of faith, and reparation for the injuries committed by the Tartars; laying the fault of miſwriting the treaty vpon the Chancellor, which though they amended not, yet they did explaine and interpret: and for better eſtabliſhment and ſecurity on their behalfs of the peace, they reſolued to depoſe *Iehan-Begh* Prince of Tartaria, and to ſend *Michmet Gheray* his couſin german and firſt of the blood, late priſoner in the Rhodes, to take poſſeſſion of his dominion; who vndertooke to quiet and reſtraine that people: which he cauſed to be ſignified to Poland, that the King might ſee, theſe alterations were only for the full ſecurity of the peace of their ſide, that the Pole might take the like courſe with the Coſſackes, who were not as yet reclaimed.

1623

The ſouldiers ſtill continue in their fury.

The ſoldiers continued ſtill in their height of fury and madneſſe, and thoſe that were to go vpon the gallies for the defence of the Blacke ſea, and other deſignes, being ready to depart, robbed, ſlew, brake houſes in the face of the Magiſtrate in the open day: What was it not lawfull for them to do that had ſlaine their King, and made and deſtroied their great Miniſters at their will and pleaſure, as their Stewards and ſeruants? and God did ſo blinde them, that they ſhould not ſee, that they digged vp their own roots, and were made by his permiſſion the blind inſtruments of their own ruine. The mint alſo was remoued into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the ſaddles, bridles, ſtirrops, that had any gold or ſiluer vpon them, with all old plate, to make money to patch vp a quiet, and to ſatisfie and content the ſoldiers, and all little enough for the preſent, to ſaue the city from a totall ſacke.

The Embaſſadours of the Prince of Tranſyluania departed from the Port.

The Embaſſador of the Prince of Tranſyluania, hauing changed their ſtile of excuſing a firme peace with the Emperor finding the opportunity of a friend now made great Viſier in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated new matter, aſſuring the Port, that by the troubles of Germany, a faire occaſion was giuen to recouer Hungary, and to ſet the crowne vpon their Maſters head; and that therefore if the Grand Signior would be pleaſed to grant vnto their Prince the aid of the Græcian army, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greateſt enemy of that Empire; which they eaſily obtaining (the ignorance and auarice of the Turke opening a way to credulity, which was the conſtant aduantage of *Gabor*, who could conuert both ther vnderſtandings and forces to his owne ends) being in all fully ſatisfied, they departed the 20 of Aprill. Which reſolution of the Port was much wondred at by all wiſe men, who knew how vnfit the Turke was at that preſent for a warre. The Prince was then at Caſſouia, expecting the iſſue of his Embaſſage, and in hope of Turkiſh aid; which beeing granted and gathered vpon his frontier, and joyned at laſt with his owne forces, his whole army was not very great, nor had he any cannon to march withall to beſiege any place: his chiefeſt truſt conſiſting in his intelligence in Hungary, where he expected a generall reuolt, and that all the garriſons would open to him, or at leaſt ſome diuerſion in Sileſia (which he was promiſed) facilitate his waies; and he was not in deſpaire, that vpon the firſt appearance of an army, Morauia by the fauour of the Count of Torne, who had aſſiſted his Embaſſadors in the negotiation of the Port, and his friends would follow the ſame example; and this was the deſigne which his Embaſſadors had ſo long ſolicited at the Port, and diſſembled at their firſt comming. Now there was nothing expected but a war: but not long after, there arriued a new Embaſſador from the Prince, without any mention of the affaires of thoſe parts; which made all men inquiſitiue, thinking he was either come to haſten the ſuccours, or to change ſomething in the manner and other circumſtances depending thereon: but it was found that the States of Tranſyluania had aſſembled at Alba Iulia, and were very loath to entertaine a war, or to breake with the Emperor; and therefore diſpeeded two Commiſſioners towards

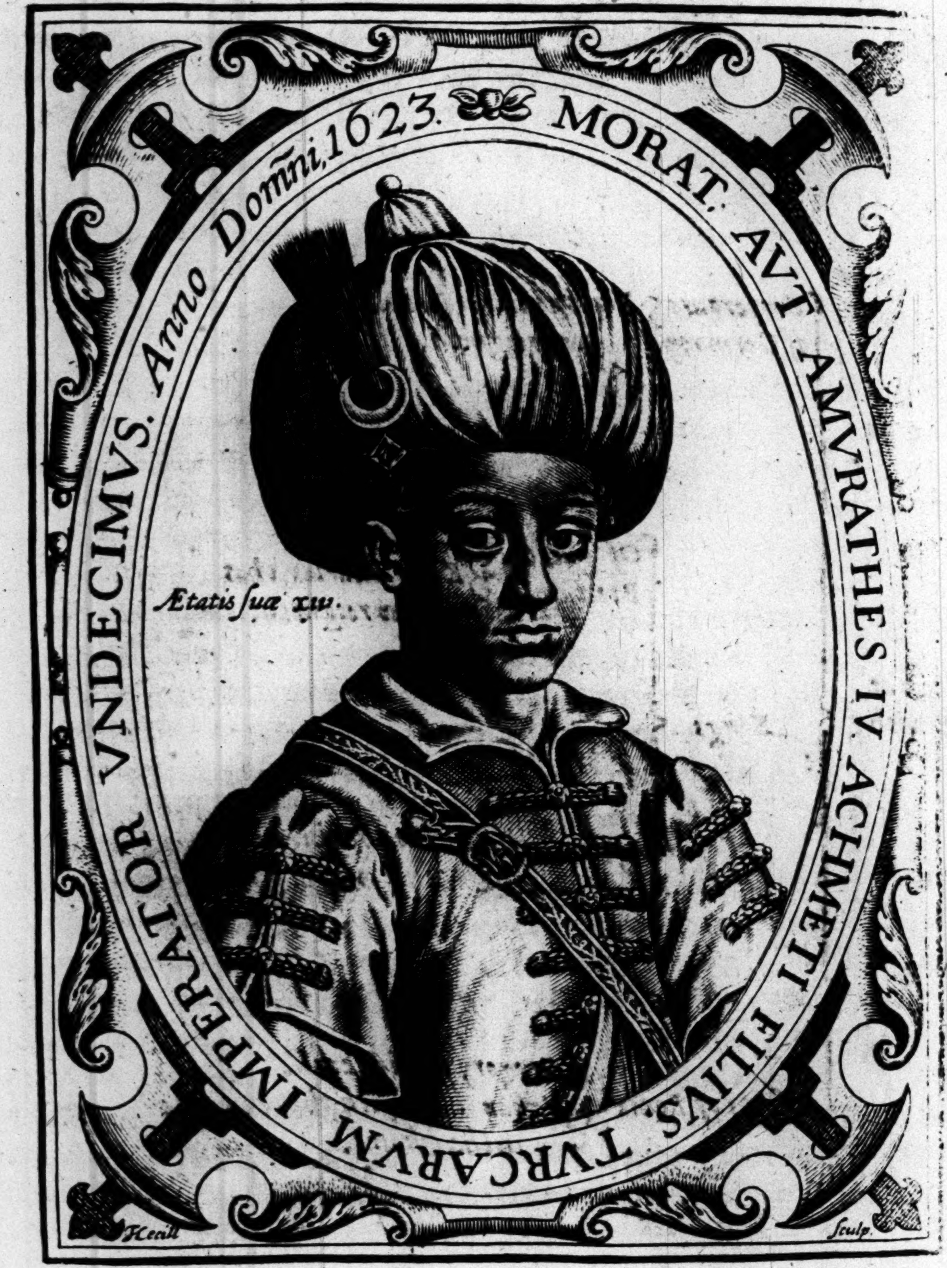
him, who were well receiued and treated at Vienna: and from the Emperor was ſent to Tranſyluania
the Biſhop of Nittia. Whereupon a new peace was treated, and this Embaſſador G
ſent to procure the recall of the former commands, giuen to the Baſſaes to moue with their
armies. Whereby it was ſuſpected he neuer had any purpoſe to make a war, but only to ballance
by the continuance thereof his cares and laſt agreement with the Emperor.

The Baſſa of Arzirum in rebellion.

All men propheſied (by reaſon of dayly diſorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now
Abaſſa Baſſa the Baſſa of Arzirum who was joyned with diuers others, and had made a great
army, was in his march towards Angria, the direct way to Conſtantinople (Babylon yet reſting
in rebellion) with a pretence of reformation; he tooke nothing by force, but the treaſure
of the Empire. He held a generall Counſell in his campe, and ſent to the port to require the
Mufti, Cadees, Baſſaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to puniſh the traitors that H
murthered the late King, and to ſettle a new one lawfully, that ſhould be able to goueгne, to
reduce the mutined city ſouldier to obedience and diſcipline, and to place about the Emperor
ſome great Viſier, choſen by the State, able to direct and apply remedies to the diſeaſes
then growne to a deſperat height; complaining, that euery three or foure moneths, by the
change of the Viſier, the Prouinces were deſtroied (for they placed and diſplaced the Gouernors
according to their owne factions) and ſo contrary orders were ſent abroad dayly, inſomuch
as no man knew who was King or Viſier, nor whom they ſhould obey. Theſe were his
pretences, and if the preſent State would not conſent to this aſſembly, he then reſolued to
come to the Port, and ſettle all things at his pleaſure by the ſword. The great Officers in
poſſeſſion of the Emperor and gouernment, loth to be called to an account by the ſouldier, I
tooke a worſe reſolution, To make a war; and made choice of *Cicala Baſſa* for Generall: which
he refuſed vpon the ſame pretence, that in his abſence alterations would be ſo frequent, that
he ſhould not pleaſe, or at leaſt vncertainely, and according to interpretation. Therefore he
required an abſolute Dictatorſhip for the time, equall to that of a great Viſier, or elſe he
would not ſtir. This was granted him, and mony giuen out, and order to paſſe the water ſpeedily;
enrolling for his army fifteen thouſand Ianizaries, & thitty thouſand Spahies. But thoſe
did demur, and alledged it was a war againſt their owne brethren, and ſought any excuſes rather
than to come to blowes. But the ſecret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their holy Lent, at
the end of which they were to receiue their pay; and therefore they would not moue, but pretended
religion. Next day after their feaſt, when they ſhould march, they ſhewed themſelues K
in their colours, (hauing firſt held many conſultations) and would not moue at all, vnleſſe
the Emperor or great Viſier would go in perſon. So euery day brought forth new ſubject
of trouble, and the Empire to a great deale of hazard and danger.

- *Chriſtian Princes at the ſame time with* Morat.
  - *Emperours of Germany*
    - *Ferdinand the ſecond, that now reigneth.*
  - *Kings*
    - *Of great Brittain,*
      - *King Iames.*
      - *King Charles, that now reigneth.*
    - *Of France*
      - *Lewis the thirteenth, that now reigneth.*
  - *Biſhops of Rome*
    - *Gregory the fifteenth.*
    - *Vrban the eighth, that now ſitteth in the Chaire.*

MORAT


MORAT. AVT AMVRATHES IV. ACHIMETI FILIVS. TVRCARVM IMPERATOR VNDECIMVS. Anno Domini, 1623.
Ætatis ſuæ xiu
T. Cecill
Sculp.

Morat in tender age the Throne aſcends,
For wanton luſt more apt than Princely ends:
Sporting he lies in a luxurious bed,
Whileſt Bagdat is by Perſia conquered;
A greater loſſe than this, who can diuine,
Vnleſſe to loſe the ſeat of *Conſtantine*.
His other Acts, and how he ſtill proceeds,
Shall here enſue in ſtory of his deeds.

THE REIGNE OF *MORAT*, OR *AMVRATH*, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, ELEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS; HE THAT NOW SWAYETH THAT MIGHTY MONARCHIE.

Sultan *Muſtapha* depoſed, & Sultan *Morat* placed in his Throne.

VPon the laſt day of Auguſt, Sultan *Muſtapha*, brother of *Achmat*,
who had beene twice Emperor, was depoſed; and Sultan *Morat*,
C ſon to *Achmat*, and brother to *Oſman* murthered the yeare before,
placed in the Throne. But it will not be vntimely nor vnprofitable,
to diſcourſe of the cauſes and reaſons of thoſe great mutations,
which are the intrinſique part and ſoule of action.

That State for fifteene moneths after the denth of *Oſman*, was a
ſtage of variety, the Souldiery vſurping all gouernment, placing
and diſplacing as the winde of fauour or diſfauour moued them.
In that time there were three Emperors, ſeuen great Viſiers, two
Captiane Baſſaes, fiue Aga's of the Ianizaries, three Treaſurers, ſix Baſſaes of Cairo, and in
proportion as many changes of Gouernors in all the Prouinces; euery new Viſier making
D vſe of his time, diſplacing thoſe in poſſeſſion, and ſelling their fauour to others: ſo as the
whole Empire was in a manner fined ouer foure or fiue times; ſuch was the exaction fot a
welcome of euery Baſſa to their gouernment. *Huzein Baſſa* the laſt Viſier of them (a tyrant
hated of all men, and now reſtored to the dignity by bribing the ſouldiery) conſumed the
publique treaſure ſo faſt, and exacted mony from priuate men ſo violently, to maintaine his
faction with the Ianizaries, that euen the Receiuers were afraid, and weary, and the wiſeſt of
them foreſaw their owne ruine in the generall conſumption: when there was any murmure
againſt him, he preſently ſilenced it either by gifts or bloud. As ſoone as he had diſpatched
away the Generall *Cigala Baſſa* with the army for the ſuppreſſion of the great rebellion in
Aſia (which vpon the depoſition of *Georgi*, and the making of him Viſier, was content to
E march) which he did rather to disburden himſelfe of feares, by ſending out of the way the
Spahies, who were his oppoſites, than for any loue to the Srate: which Army, what inſolencies
they committed for thirty daies before their paſſing the water, euen in the face of Iuſtice,
was as incredible as impoſſible to relate, he ſent priuatly to ſtrangle *Halil Baſſa*, *Georgi*,
and *Muſtapha* late Viſiers; hoping thereby he had remoued all concurrents. Whether this
gaue the occaſion, or that his ſin was ripe for reuenge, the Spahies ſuddenly gathered head,
and the old Wolfe fled to his truſty guard, the Ianizaries. The city was almoſt diuided; but
the Spahies ſent their reſolution plainely, being the weaker in number, That they deſired not
to come to blowes with their Brethren; but if the Ianizaries would protect him, that they
ſhould keepe him, Conſtantinople, and Greece: but they themſelues would depart and diſpoſe
F of Aſia. Which was a bold profeſſion, but eaſie, the forces of the Rebels being of their
ſociety. The wiſeſt foreſaw the perill, and they all agreed to depoſe him; and ſo the Seale
was giuen to *Aly Baſſa*, a man reputed honeſt, but melancholy & vntried for ſo great a charge.
Euery one ſaw thoſe outward wheeles of motion, but the ſpring within that moued them
was not ſo ſoon diſcouered: The army mentioned for Aſia, arriuing at Nicomedia, fiue daies

journy from Conſtantinople, ſhewed little bedience; many disbanded, and the reſt had no
deſire to fight with thoſe of the ſame profeſſion both in religion and in humour. The newes G
came dayly to the Port, of the taking of Forts by *Abaſſa Baſſa* the head of the rebels and of
other defections and combuſtions in thoſe parts; and that that quarrell was taken vp againſt
the Ianizaries and the preſent gouernment, of whom he ſlew all that fell in his power, as guilty
of the bloud of *Oſman*. This ſuddenly wakened and ripened the project of thoſe who had
plotted ſecretly this alteration to reſtore *Morat* to the Imperiall crowne. Hereupon the new
Viſier *Aly*, with the counſell of the Mufti and ſome Captaines of the ſouldiers of both Orders,
laied their foundation: they ſhewed the imminent perill and difficulty to reſtore or preuent
the rebels by armes: the Ianizaries ſaw that they alone muſt (as the marke of enuy) beare
the whole burthen; and therefore all reſolued, that the eaſieſt and ſafeſt way to appeaſe their
troubles, was to reſtore the true heire, the preſent Emperor; hoping that thoſe who pretended H
their riſing for the loue of his brother, and in reuenge of his cauſe, would obey that Prince,
and quiet themſelues. Vpon this reſolution they aſſembled at the Seraglio without any tumult,
and deſired to haue Sultan *Muſtapha* come forth and ſpeake to the ſouldiers, and to anſwer
to ſome queſtions: which he refuſing (as truly vnable) they tooke out Sultan *Morat* and
declared him King, with vniuerſall joy and acclamation: inſomuch as the Ianizaries (but the
day before his oppoſites) being ſhewed the want of treaſure and the neceſſity of the State,
were content to remit their donatiue and encreaſe of pay, vſuall at euery change: a wonder
that was not like to laſt long, for many of them did afterwards repent, and demand it freſhly.

The new Emperor the next day made his ſolemne entry into the city, a youth of foureteene I
yeares of age, fat, and of a liuely countenance, and good ſtature, a Prince of two faire hopes
for ſuch a people; whoſe actions afterward (though vnder gouernment) ſhewed that he would
ſoone know himſelfe, and proue of a ſtirring nature. At the returne of the gallies from the
Blacke ſea, who brought ſome Coſſacks priſoners aliue, and ſome heads of the dead, he would
ſee them all brought before him, a cuſtome vnuſuall. This deſire, and ſome anſwers he gaue,
made all men judge he would be actiue, and cruell. All ſeemed then ſerene and quiet, and
neuer appeared ſo great a change euen in affections. The moſt diſordered did then aſſume a
face of obedience (which was once thought to be vaniſhed that city) and choſe rather ſubmiſſiion
to lawes than threatened deſtruction. The calme was as violent as the ſtorme. The
firſt actions ſhewed peace, but ſo, as to prepare for neceſſity of warre. They ſought out, and K
dayly found the treaſure, plate, and jewels giuen and conueied away by *Huzein Baſſa*, which
returned apace, and many voluntarily rendred them. The laſt Aga of the Ianizaries, who
was but three moneths before Caja or Lieutenant (afterward Baſſa of Cairo) did for his part
receiue, and reſtore, eight hundred thouſand dollars, to buy his place and peace: ſo that euery
day made new diſcoueries; onely he that had beene the author of all this was fled away, and
could then by no meanes be found: whoſe apprehenſion would haue aſſured many, and haue
brought backe a great treaſure.

Aſia in that ſearch for mony, and new ſettlement of affaires, was almoſt quite forgotten; ſo
that the army was ſtaied from proceeding; for it was beleeued, *Abaſſa Baſſa* depended vpon
the new Emperor and would ſubmit. But he had aduanced too far to truſt to any ſafe retreat, L
euen although he was the indirect occaſion of the raiſing of the new Emperor. Yet the way
was not warrantable in the rule of Monarchy, nor perhaps ſincere in the intent; for Kings ſeldome
pardon thoſe that are able to be traitors, and haue ſhewed but a will to reuolt; and that
power is neuer ſecure which is too much. Sometimes they make vſe of traitors as a ſafegard
for the preſent, and for the future a ſubject of their reuenge. And this maxime *Haly Baſſa* in
the former great Aſian defection approued with the price of his life, being taken into the fauour
of Sultan *Achmat* in all priuacy, made Baſſa of Buda, and within foure months ſtrangled,
vnder colour of putting on a Veſt of honour. Therefore it was doubted, that they who had
diſcouered ſo high thoughts, and exaſperated the Ianizaries, would not ſo eaſily diſpoſe
armes, by which only they might be ſafe; and it was then feared they had intelligence with M
Perſia. There reſted one great difficulty, to introduce that awe of Majeſty which had beene
trampled vnder foot; and it was a great one, when a people, like the ſea, had made a breach into
antient reuerence, and proſpered; the taſte of profitable wickedneſſe was not ſo eaſily loſt.
It was imagined that theſe changes would worke great effects vpon the bordering parts of

A Chriſtendom intereſſed; for they intended peace vniuerſally, to recouer mony, and a habit of
obedience and ciuil gouernment. To which purpoſe a letter was written to the Baſſa of Bu-
da, to leaue it to his diſcretion in the mouing of arms againſt the Emperor (being lately exci-
ted therto by the prince of Tranſylvania) as a man experienced vpon the border, to doe what
ſhould moſt conduce to the ſafety and profit of the ſtate: for as they durſt not abſolutely pro-
hibit them and recal the former licence, for fear of diſpleaſing *Gabor* and the Baſſa, who were
vnited; ſo they would inſinuat their deſires and fears by counſel, now only tending to peace.

In the midſt of this appearing calm, the Ianizaries, ſome repenting (as was ſaid before) and
ſome denying their conſent to remit their donatiue and increaſe of pay, did anew ſharply de-
mand it, with threats of innouation: ſo as they were forced to content them, and euery order
B of men and officers that were not of the ſword, were compelled to contribute to it. The Viſier
ſent ſolemnly to the 4 reſident Embaſſadors, to borrow 30000 checquines, as the friends and
allyes of the Port, to whom in confidence they durſt open their ſecrets. Many old experienced
officers miſliked this betraying their own wants, as diſhonourable, and vnlike to take dffect:
which indeed it did not, for mony was ſo abaſed, and trades ſo poor, as the ſtranger had no ful
purſe. The new emperor to ſerue his turn, gaue out 400000 drams of gold, being his beſt veſ-
ſel, to make coin; which was ſtamped baſe, to meet with the inſolencie of the ſouldier, who
would take no ſiluer, as falſe mony. Except in this ſearch, the ſtate and city appeared to be at
ſome quietnes; only the Baſſa of Cairo (Boſtangi Baſſa to *Oſman*, newly made Baſſa of Buda)
ambitiouſly ſeeking the dignitie of grand Viſier, by the gift of 100000 Checquines, his of-
C fer was ſeemingly accepted, part of the mony payd, and he ſent for priuatly into the Seraglio,
as to receiue the ſeale. But the Emperors beſt Counſell within ſaw how dangerous it was to
giue way to ſuch innouations (beſide a priuat grudge, this man being the inſtrument to ſtran-
gle the queen mothers eldeſt ſon, when Sultan *Oſman* went to the Poliſh war) where in ſted of
aduancement a hangman took off his head, & his houſe & goods, being very rich, ſeiſed vpon.

Cantemir Mirza Baſſa of Siliſtra was al this time in diſobedience; whom the late Viſier at-
tempted to diſplace, and gaue order to the Chrim Tartar to remoue him by force. But it was
thought fit, not to thruſt him further out, and to make him a dangerous enemy. Wherfore a
confirmation of his gouernment was ſent him, a ſword & a Veſt, in all honor; the Poles miſli-
king of it, he being their mortal enemy, & to be remoued at their inſtance in the late Treaty.

Abaſſa aſſaults and takes the caſtle of Tocat.

D At the change of the Emperor all men hoped for peace with *Abaſſa Baſſa* the great rebel of
Aſia; but he ſhewed that he had further intents than to ſet vp the brethren of *Oſman*; when pre-
tending obedience, hee ſuddenly aſſaulted and took the caſtle of Tocat, which is in the Mint
of Aſia, 7 Beglerbegs and 16 Sanzacks being joined with him: all that part of Aſia obeyed
him, for he oppreſſed none, only executing his wrath vpon the Ianizaries. This aduice beeing
brought by a captain of that Order, made much rumor at the Port; the ſouldiers raiſing a tu-
mult in the Seraglio, demanded to be led out to fight, and to haue thoſe of Aſia declared Re-
bels: to which end a councel was called, where they receiued ſo cold an anſwer, that they grew
into ſome diſorder, accuſing *Halil* and *Georgi Baſſa* to haue correſpondence with them; & ſee-
ming to doubt that the whole ſtate did conniue at this action, to proſecute the firſt deſigne
E of *Oſman*, To root out that corrupted Order which did diſorder all gouernment: inſomuch as
they openly profeſſed, *If we be true Muſſulmen and the Emperors ſlaues, let vs go out and fight with
his enemies and ours; if not, and that you maintain them againſt vs, we are reſolued to die together, and
not to be waſted by pieces*. There was much likelihood of this, but that *Abaſſa Baſſa* had proceeded
too far: therfore to ſatisfie the ſoldier, the banner was ſet out at the court gate, and that of the
Aga of the Ianizaries at their gate, and Warre proclaimed, That all the force of the Empire
ſhould be ready to march within four daies. When they ſaw this reſolution in the great ones,
(whether diſſembled or in good erneſt) that day being the 18 of October, 1623, the Ianizaries
and Spahies held a councel, and changed their minds; alledging, That Winter approching,
and no prouiſion made, they would not moue. The Viſiers were glad, reſpecting their owne
F eaſe; and ſo all Aſia was left to the curteſie of the Rebell, and to giue other friends leiſure to
declare: of which the Perſian was moſt doubted. In the meane time *Abaſſa Baſſa* aduanced
and tooke the city of Angria, which was ſurrendred vnto him as ſoon as hee came before it;
but the Caſtle held out againſt him: and it was reported, he wept at the gates thereof, publi-
ſhing the cauſe of his taking vp of armes, which he ſaid was onely in reuenge of the blood of

Oſman; deſiring ſuch as fauored him to come on his ſide (diuiding the people) the reſt to depart
in peace euery man to his own houſe. He did no harm, nor tooke the value of a penny: his G
army was very great, and euery Ianizary that he could catch, he ſacrificed to the ghoſt of the
dead Emperor. Men report, he was firſt aduertiſed by a dream to reuenge: after that, *Oſman* appeared
vnto him, and laſtly *Mahomet*. He called himſelf the poor *Mechmet*, deputed to reform
the world from the great God. The Aſtrologers publikely augured his proſperitie, and euery
mans diſcourſe was ful of fabulous fears and prophecies. It was ſaid he would come to the
Port and demand audience by juſtice, and haue the cauſe betwixt him and the murtherers of
their prince tried by law; and that if he were condemned as a rebell, hee would lay downe his
head; if they as traitors, he would execute the reuenge. And it was generally thought, out of
the coldneſſe of the Emperor and all the Viſiers, that he was ſecretly maintained by them, and H
came to fulfil *Oſmans* deſigne, to wreſt the gouernment from the mutined ſouldier, and to root
out their Order. For all the lawyers and churchmen ſmiled, and rather rejoiced than feared.
The Ianizaries openly murmured, that they were betraied, and accuſed many, yet they eſcaped;
and now few ſpoke againſt him as againſt a Rebell. Yet the firſt of Nouember, whether
for colour or earneſt, the great Viſiers tents were paſt ouer the water in haſt, with thoſe of the
Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the force which could be then made at the Port, commanded to
winter on the other ſide in Bruſcia, to amuſe the rebels, and ſtay them til the ſpring; perhaps
being willing the blow ſhould be taken on the other ſide, to ſaue the city from a general ſack.

It was afterwards conſidered, that to preuail againſt *Abaſſa Baſſa* with arms was a doubtful
matter, and therſore the Sultan ſent vnto him a Capigi Baſſa, with a Veſt, ſword, and a Letter; I
giuing him thanks for the loue ſhewed to his brother and his bloud, but now the reuenge belonged
to himſelf, of which he would take care; and therefore deſired him, if he were a true
ſubiect, to return to his gouernment of Arzirum, and to diſſolue his army, and there to reſt til
further occaſion of ſeruice. Vpon this order from the Emperor he excuſed himſelf, That the
incommoditie of winter would not ſuffer him to retyre, but promiſed to liue in peace vntill
the Spring, and then he would return in obedience to his gouernment.

The Emir of Sidon takes the city and caſtle of Damaſcus.

During theſe troubles, the Emir of Sidon poſſeſſed himſelfe of the city and caſtle of Damaſcus,
with ſome other places and forts, as it were in an inſtant; threatning Ieruſalem, hauing
demanded ſupplies, or at leaſt neutralitie from the Baſſa of Aleppo. This defection was of
greateſt conſequence, becauſe he was a prince of deſcent, and a pretender in right vnto thoſe K
Countries; who had four or fiue good ports to let in Chriſtian ſuccors; with whome it was
thought he had intelligence, hauing in the time of *Achmat* retyred to Florence and Rome; and
that he was in ſome meaſure able to ſubſiſt of himſelf, hauing 30000 ſoldiers in his army, and
a good foundation and eſtate of his own to maintain them. And yet his actions were only lamented
at the Port, and no order taken to ſtop or reduce them, excepting ſome Letters & promiſes,
the ordinary remedie that was then applied to thoſe manifold troubles. For that State
was then in a kind of lethargie, hauing no ſence nor wil to make ſhew to feele the inward diſeaſes
conſuming it; either becauſe they were vnable for want of money (the treaſure being
much exhauſted) or that they miſtruſted their own ſouldiers, euery day apter to mutine than
to fight; or that the neighborhood of *Abaſſa Baſſa* did amuſe and confound them: and ſo many L
circumſtances croſſed one another as the ſymptomes of confuſion, all things being equally
feared, and nothing thorowly vndertaken. Yet a little more ſencible they were of *Abaſſa* the
enemie that was neereſt, whoſe followers took a paſſage and bridge about foure daies journey
from Conſtantinople, as if he meant either to poſſeſſe himſelf thereof for his own meanes to
aduance his army, or to keep it that none ſuddenly from the other ſide might aſſail him: but
how ſoeuer, it manifeſted that he was not yet quiet, nor reſolued to obey, as he had promiſed.
This new attempt of his was very hotly taken at the Port, and many councels held; but (as all
things do there) the fury once paſt, the warmth cooled by degrees in 3 or 4 daies, ſo that only
a few more Ianizaries were ſent away to make gariſon, and to defend the paſſages; with whom
were imploied the falſe French regiment and their Colonel, all the force they could then wel M
ſpare. No Spahies entred into that quarrell, as if theſe were purpoſely expoſed to bee cut in
pieces: which many beleeued, by the faintnes and diſunited maner of their proceedings; or els
that they went out of themſelues, knowing the danger to be moſt iminent vpon them, & that
the Emperor and his Councel did ſtil conniue with the actions of that Baſſa.

Bechir-

A *Bechir-Subbaſſa* who had reuolted in Babylon, and held that caſtle againſt the Emperor all the laſt ſummer, hauing bin ſtreitly beſieged by *Haſis Achmat Baſſa*, and in danger to be forced, ſent his ſon to *Sha-Abas* the king of Perſia for ſuccors: wherupon he obtained ſome Perſian horſe. Vpon diſcouery of which, the Baſſa fearing he ſhould be compelled to raiſe his ſiege, betook himſelf to diſſimulation, as if he had ſuch authoritie from the grand Signior; he made a compoſition, and not only pardoned *Bechir*, and all offences paſt, but conferred the gouernement of that city and prouince vpon him as Baſſa, and ſo retyred his army. Yet although *Bechir-Subbaſſi* was content to free himſelfe from the preſent neceſſity by treaty, yet really hee held the place for the Perſian, and to his vſe; whoſe Agent at the Port demaunded both that and Abiska, as the antient patrimonie of his Anceſtors.

B *Bethlem Gabor* hauing with great expedition marched ouer Hungary, and reduced moſt part thereof to his obedience, except the townes of Presburgh, Rab, Comoran, and ſome few other forts; his army conſiſting of 33000 Tranſyluanians and Hungars, and almoſt as many Turks and Tartars voluntarily following for booty; met with no ſhew of reſiſtance vntil he approched Tyrnavia, within four daies march of the borders of Auſtria: whither ſending before ſome regiments of his horſe, to the number of foure thouſand, to ſummon the town, they diſcouered ſome Imperiall troupes ſent to make gariſon therein, being ſome 2300 foot and 200 horſe, and arriued within half an Engliſh mile; betweene whom and the city they thruſt themſelues. Theſe troups perceiuing they were ſuddenly preuented, and not knowing how far the Princes whole army was behind, tooke downe to a ſmall village, and fortified themſelues in a C church and church-yard walled. The commander of the Hungars diſpatched away a Currier to *Bethlem Gabor*, with aduiſe that he ſhould ſend him ſome foot with expedition; relating the maner how he had incloſed this garriſon. In the mean time he ſummoned the Imperaliſts, and told them that he had taken poſſeſſion of Tyrnavia for his maſter: And at the ſame time ſummoned the town and told them, that their ſuccors ſent had yeelded vnto him; keeping all intelligence one from another, and both from attempting any thing. The next day, the Prince with his Vantgard arriued in ſight, and then this Colonel ſent ſome troups to make gard before one of the ports very neer the wall. Thoſe Germans ſhut vp in the Church-yard, ſeeing the enemies horſe vnder the command of the town, and no ſhot made at them, beleeued that it was true that the place was rendred: ſo before the foot came forth to force them, they D yeelded themſelues and tooke pay of the Prince, all except ſixe and thirty of the principall, who had licence to depart. Thoſe beeing then won, the Citiſens the next day opened their gates, and receiued *Bethlem Gabor* for their Lord; and thus theſe were gained without any ſtroke. From thence he marched directly toward Moravia, and ſent before him a daies journey, eight thouſand horſe to diſcouer and ſpoile. The Emperor finding theſe beginnings vrgent, ordered the brother of the prince of Licheſtein, to draw downe his garriſons from Bohemia and Moravia to the frontire; and ſent the Marquis of Montenegro, with *Colalto*, *Don Baltheſar de Maradas*, the Count *Slick*, *Walſtein*, *Tiffenbacke*, Count *Torquato* kinſman to the Pope, *Sampach*, and all his principal Captains to meet them, and to form an army for defence. There was gathered together fifteene thouſand beſides the baggage; who being lodged at the foot E of an hill in the borders of Moravia, and many of their ſouldiers ſtragling to gather grapes, were by the Auantcurriers of *Bethlem Gabor* diſcouered, and preſently beſet, who took & ſlew ſeuen hundred. Some eſcaped and gaue the alarme, or elſe the whole Imperiall Campe had beene ſurpriſed without Sentinell or gard; theſe hauing proued as ſeruiceable as the Geeſe to the Capitol. The Hungars hauing gotten the top of the hil, and ſeeing the Bohemian and German army ſo neer in the bottom, and in ſome confuſion, reſolued to make triall how they were prouided, and made ſhew of a charge; but finding them in better order to receiue them, they retyred: one Captain only aduenturing too neer, was taken priſoner, and carried to the Imperial quarter: who being examined, told them, that the prince with a mighty army would the next night be in ſight; and therefore hee aduiſed them to prepare for their ſafety, for that F he came with a reſolution to fight, and ouermatching them with their number, there was no poſſibility of other than death or captiuity. The Imperials rather ſcorned than beleeued theſe threatnings; but the captain aſſuring them it was no time to jeſt with his own life and theirs, they remoued the next morning, and marched toward a town called Ghoding, vpon the Riuer of Moran that diuides Hungary from Morauia, about which was a ſmall trench, and within it a caſtle of ſome defence. The horſe of ***Bethlem Gabor*** ſeeing them mooue towards that place, preſſed in a gallop before them, and ſet all the houſes on fire, which burned a day and a night, vntill the whole was conſumed. In the meane time ***Bethlem Gabor*** arriued with his army; and the Imperialiſts ſtood in battalion to expect their fortune: but the fire being ended, gaue them leaue to enter among the ruines and aſhes, and to make the beſt of neceſſitie, where they fortified themſelues, hauing no ſtore of prouiſion. In this eſtate being cloſed about thirteen daies, it was diſcouered to *Gabor* by a priſoner, that they were in great want, and that the ſoldiers began to mutine; demanding of their captains either to lead them out to fight, and die like men, or to make ſuch a party for them, as their preſent condition would admit. *Don Balthaſar* General of the horſe, in the name of all the commanders, gathered the army together, and acknowledging to them, firſt the great vertue they had ſhewed to abide at once the aſſaults of perill and famine, for their honour; and proteſting that their caſe and their Generals, was all one for matter of allowance, intreated them to ſtrengthen themſelues with hope and conſtancie, and required of them an vniuerſall promiſe, that they would abide with patience, vntill the end of October then at hand: if in that time, neither God nor the Emperour ſent them ſuccours, he would make ſome compoſition for them; not doubting to finde ***Bethlem Gabor*** a Chriſtian and a ſouldier, though an enemy; and to this propoſition they all gaue their words and faith. The reaſon of this ſhort obtained time, proceeded not from any thought of ſupply from the Emperour, but from an opinion and cuſtome, that the Turks would breake vp their campe vpon Saint *Demetrius* day the ſix and twentieth of the month of October; neuer vſing to ſtay longer in the field for the incommodities of Winter; and that now they ſerued in the nature of voluntaries, and had gotten their prey, it was likely nothing could hold them from riſing: but if that hope failed them, they then reſolued to giue the ſoldiers leaue to make quarter for themſelues; the Generals and commanders purpoſing to retire into the caſtle with ſome competent numbers, which they doubted not to keepe vntill ſupplies or weather ſhould force the enemy to diſlodge. The Prince of Tranſyluania knowing likewiſe that at that time he ſhould haue trouble enouh to ſtay his ſuccours, and if they ſtaied, hee feared they would prooue ill Winter gueſts, and diſcredit him with his Hungars, whom they indifferently ſpoyled, tooke counſell either to force the enemie by that day, or to winne them by policie; but the later was the ſafer way: for it ſeemed he had no deſire to put ſo many perſons of qualitie into the power of the Turks, whoſe priſoners by agreement they muſt remaine; and hauing alſo intelligence, vpon what hopes the Imperialiſts held out, hee counterwrought with the Turks, to giue him a promiſe to abide with him fifteene daies after Saint *Demetrius*; in which time he pretended to deliuer the Fort and all into their hands; conjecturing as it ſeemed, that before that day the Germanes would make ſome ouerture, out of which hee might worke his owne aduantage, and obtaine his owne ends, and they would admire and feare his power and credit in the Turkiſh army: for doubtleſſe hee might haue forced them if he had pleaſed, but then he had made his eſtate deſperat of any reconciliation with the Emperour, and muſt reſolue to continue the warre; vncertaine of the conſtancie of the Turks, aſſured, they being once retired, would very late draw againe into the field; and perhaps hee doubted the various ſucceſſe of warre, and of the ſetling of the State of the Grand Signior in Aſia, where all things were in diſtemper; and was ſomewhat carefull of his reputation in Chriſtendome, which he knew was farre aduentured in this action: for which aboue twenty thouſand poore ſoules loſt their libertie, and endangered their faith. Therfore he made vſe of his time and his wit, and the Imperials finding themſelues deceiued in the hope of breaking vp of the camp, now no longer able to ſuſtain their wants, ſent Commiſſioners to him in the Emperors name, to treat ſome agreement. Hee ſeeing his fifteene dayes weare out apace, and the Turks beginning to diſlodge, accepted the offer; and that very day to giue ſatisfaction to the Port, diſpeeded one of his chamber in poſt to make knowne to the Vizier (a man not vneaſie to abuſe) that hee had done his vtmoſt, to detaine the Turks to winter in Hungarie; but being not able longer to hold them together, hee was forced to come to a treaty: for to venture to aſſault the trenches, was full of perill; to riſe without ſome concluſion, were to quit the place, to honour the enemie, and to weaken his owne reputation: to continue the ſiege after the depar-

ture

A ture of his ſuccours, would haſard his owne Army into mutinie: therefore he was reſolued to
make a truce for eight moneths; that ſeeing the grand Signior had conſented to receiue the
Emperors Embaſſadour, time might be allowed for treaty and final concluſion. He gaue him
inſtruction to ſay, That as then he had not fully agreed, but that it was reſolued on to be don,
onely with a formall reſeruation of the approuement of the Viſiers, without which it ſhould
be held as not done. That he ſhould require the finall reſolution of the Port, Whether the
grand Signior would continue conſtant, and maintain him in the war or not. If they reſolued
vpon Warre, then to demand prouiſion of munition, money, ſouldiers, and all other neceſſaries,
in ſeaſon and in a meaſure, in thoſe times impoſſible. If they deſired peace, that they
ſhould giue a draught of what conditions they affected. But withall, an abſolute power vnto
B himſelfe to mitigate them, and to make ſuch other at his diſcretion as the neceſſity of the affairs
and time required for the profit of the Empire. The Prince at the firſt arriuall of the
Commiſſioners of the beſieged at his Quarter, diſcouered ſome jealouſie and diſcontent in
ſome of his followers: Wherupon he called before him moſt of his Commanders, and deſired
them not to miſtruſt him; he ſhewed ſome reaſons why he might be inforced to make a truce,
but proteſted he would neuer depoſe armes, nor conclude a finall peace with the Emperour,
except he would alſo diſarm, and leaue thoſe prouinces and the Empire in quiet. For though
it were a hard choice for him to be bitten by a Wolfe or by a Dog, (which were his owne
words) yet ſeeing he could better truſt the one than the other, hee would make vſe of one to
curb the other. This gaue not full ſatisfaction; but the words of a Prince muſt bee currant
C payment, becauſe they beare his ſtampe; for his meaning, or what he treated, he truſted none
withall but his own breſt. The meſſenger hee ſent vnto the Port, played his part ſo well and
ſecretly, as he gaue ſatisfaction to that State, ready enough to beleeue well, and procured a
ratification of the Truce ſuppoſed then to be made: and for inſtructions in the intended treaty,
he propounded in his maſters name three articles, and one Commiſſion. Firſt, That the
Emperor ſhould diſclaime all right and title to Hungary, and ſhould leaue the people free,
and the Prince of Tranſylvania to gouern them. Secondly, That the Princes and all the prouinces
that had ſent their Embaſſadours and preſents to the Port, and had made league with
him, and had taken the Imperial protection, ſhould bee reſtored to their priſtine liberty and
eſtates. Thirdly, That the emperor ſhould pay a tribute of forty thouſand dollars for Auſtria,
D pretended to be granted in the daies of Sultan *Solyman*. But the Commiſſion was the key of
the work, wherby the Prince, with the counſel of the Baſſa of Buda, obtained ful power at his
own diſcretion, if he found peace conuenient, to make and conclude it, this laſt being (as was
ſuppoſed) the end and ſcope of *Bethlem Gabors* deſires: the other propoſitions onely a garniſhing,
to make the Turks beleeue that he was careful of their honor and ſeruice; and the Emperor,
that he was very powerfull, and much eſteemed at the Port. Which all men imagined
would produce an end of thoſe wars: for the prince of Tranſylvania confeſſed, That hee drew
not in the Turkes for any need he had of their ſuccours, nor for any benefit intended to them,
but to make a glorious ſhew to the Emperour, of his credit with the grand Signior, therby to
facilitate his ends.

E After ſome time ſpent in treaty with the Commiſſioners of the army, a truce was taken between
the prince of Tranſylvania and the Marquis *de Monte Negro*, General for his Imperiall
Maieſty, before the town of Ghoding on the frontier of Morauia, where the Germans were beſieged;
and letters preſently written therof by the prince to the great Viſier, which were dated
the tenth of Nouember. The mediator between them was the Palatine *Staniſlaus Turzow* an
Hungarian. The articles of greateſt importance, or that were then publiſhed to the world,
were foure:

A truce betweene the Emperor and the Prince of Tranſylvania.

I. *That on both parts armes ſhould be depoſed for ten months (ending the ſixt of September*
F *1624.) and all other acts of hoſtility giuen ouer. That there ſhould of neither ſide any attempt*
be made, nor by force nor fraud to take any caſtles, forts, cities, or places of defence during this
time; and that both Germans, Hungars, and Turks ſhould be alike comprehended.

The Articles of the truce.

II. *That if the Emperour were deſirous to treat and conclude a finall peace with the Graund*
Signior,

Signior, he ſhould vſe Bethlem Gabor *as the mediator, and doe nothing therein without his priuitie.*

III. *That all the places and forts taken in by the Prince of Tranſylvania in his late expedition, ſhould reſt quiet in his poſſeßion vntil the time expired. And that all cities and caſtles now in the poſſeßion of either, ſhould ſo remain without any alteration.*

IV. *That all paſſages ſhould be open for free trade and ſecure intercourſe of Merchants, and all other the ſubiects and friends of either ſide.*

This done, the Prince of Tranſylvania made a ſhew of redeeming all the poor captiues taken by the Turks, at his own charge, with ſome help from the Imperials, vpon whom hee layd the blame, as hauing failed to meet him vpon a paſſage of water, where hee entertained the Turkiſh army; but they not comming, he pretended the Turkes roſe in the night and carried them all away, to the number of twenty thouſand.

The Prince warned the Turks to keepe in order, and not to ſtraggle in their retreit, nor to commit any inſolencie and ſpoil, the country being all in arms, and already inraged. But they followed not his counſel; which cauſed ſome 2000 Hungarian horſe to ſet vpon them as they were diuided, and ſlew fiue or ſix hundred of them, and recouered ſome priſoners: whereupon the Turks vnited and returned, and killed as many of the Hungars, took one man of qualitie, and many other ſlaues.

The King of Perſia inuades the prouince of Babylon.

Vpon aduice from *Haſis Baſſa* General of the prouince of Babylon, That the King of Perſia with a powerful army had entred thoſe quarters, and that both the city & that country would be loſt, if aids did not ariue very ſpeedily; and the rebels in Aſia continuing their inſolencie, a War was ſuddenly proclaimed at the Port, in ſuch termes as neuer had bin heard of in former times; to ſay, That whoſoeuer took pay of the grand Signior in any kinde as a ſouldier, if he came not to the rendevous appointed, with his arms, he ſhould be confiſcated, eſteemed as a Rebel, and his wife and children ſold for ſlaues. This was ſent into Greece, Natolia, Trabizond, and all the vtmoſt confines of the Turkiſh Empire. Herupon the grand Signior and the wiſeſt of the Baſſa's inclined to buy *Abaſſa Baſſa*, and to ſend him a generall pardon and grant of all his demands, vpon condition, That he would preſently march and turn his army againſt the common enemy: fearing either the doubtfulnes of a battel with deſperat men, or to force him to retyre and join with the Perſian, where he might be wel receiued. And as the preſent condition of the ſtate then ſtood, the counſel was good: but the Ianizaries would not conſent nor hearken to any reconcilement with their profeſt enemy; but required to be led out againſt *Abaſſa Baſſa* firſt, and ſo to proceed in the war: and becauſe their own Aga, brother in law vnto the Emperour, did not concurre with them in opinion, they mutined againſt him, who wiſely gaue way to the ſtorm, and ſurrendred his charge, to which a Page of the court was preſently aduanced. Thus whilſt it was vnreſolued how to proceed againſt the Perſian and *Abaſſa Baſſa* jointly, who continued to ſpoil and put to ranſom all the leſſer Aſia, and could not be reconciled for the Ianizaries, nor ſafely attempted for the Spahies (between which two orders there was as yet bad intelligence and emulation) the king of Perſia conquered the prouince and city of Babylon, put to flight *Haſis Achmet Baſſa* the General of that defenſiue war, & tooke priſoner *Chur Haſſen Baſſa* a renowned old ſouldier, cut in pieces all that oppoſed him, poſſeſſed himſelf of * Moſul, and Leska on the Perſian ſea, and diuiding his army, ſent part toward Van and Diarbeck, and the other toward Mecha; as if he had hope and deſigne to ſhare all the Eaſtern part of the Turkiſh empire.

* *Niniuie.*

His Maieſtie the King of great Brittain hauing by his firſt letters in 1621, complained to the grand Signior, and commanded his Embaſſador to ſeek redreſſe againſt the piracies and inſolencies of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, who in the two former yeares had taken aboue an hundred ſhips and Veſſells of all ſorts, and had made ſlaues of aboue twelue hundred of his Maieſties ſubiects, and had then vpon their wharfes a thouſand pieces of iron ordnance, beſides thoſe in their ſhipping, taken from the Engliſh and Dutch; The Embaſſadour preſſing to obtain juſtice againſt them, or that they might be abandoned and left to the

iuſtice

A juſtice of his Maieſty, without offence of the Port; the great Viſier offred to giue what commands ſhould be required. But he knowing how weake effect thoſe letters of courſe had produced in other occaſions, and how little obedience and reſpect thoſe common Theeues did beare vnto the Port (the Baſſa's themſelues conniuing, and nouriſhing therby their own gain) eſpecially conſidering, that what face and ſeeming diſlike ſoeuer was ſhewed and pretended, yet inwardly the Turks did take pleaſure and glory, that the Chriſtian was robbed, weakned, and ſpoiled, vnder the ſhadow of peace; did vtterly refuſe to accept of ſuch feigned remedies, but inſiſted vpon two points, wherby only there might be ſome hope of redreſſe in that affaire.

Firſt, That the grand Signior would ſend an expreſſe Chiaus to Algier and Tunes, to call B to the Port ſome of the principal inhabitants and aduenturers of all the Orders of thoſe Cities, ſuch as ſent and armed out the ſhips of courſe; that being conuented face to face, and accuſed & conuinced of the fact, the State might be truly informed of the conſequence of their outragious theeuery, and prouide ſuch remedie as ſhould be requiſite and ſufficient in the future, to ſecure the commerce and free nauigation in thoſe ſeas.

Secondly, That the Baſſa's who were ſent from the Port rather for cuſtome and pretence of dominion, than for any great fruit or hope of obedience (yet becauſe they returned at the end of their gouernment, they might be reſponſible for matters concerning themſelues) might receiue ſtrict and abſolute order, not to take the tenths of the prizes, becauſe being diſ-intereſſed, and ſharing no profit, there might be more hope, by their authoritie, of execution of the C grand Signiors pleaſure in reſtraint of their robberies.

Theſe propoſitions at firſt found much oppoſition, but the Embaſſador refuſing all other ordinary & vneffectiue means, required either this form of proceeding, or that the grand Signior would declare them out of his protection, and ſtanding neutrall, leaue them to their own defence: proteſting, That this courſe was offered for good reſpect to the Port; yet if really ſome order were not eſtabliſhed, that there was no remedie but to redreſſe theſe injuries by the ſword, and to puniſh thoſe Barbarians as *Inimici humani generis*, publique enemies to mankind. Deſiring the Viſiers to take it to ſerious conſideration, that ſeeing amitie and correſpondence between the kingdom of England and the Turkiſh empire, did principally and almoſt integrally depend vpon commerce and traffique, the whole foundation was ſhaken and D made vſeleſſe to both, by the interruption of thoſe theeues. Theſe reaſons concurring with the diſtemper of thoſe times, and their own fears, ſo far preuailed, that by a general conſultation it was concluded, to ſatisfie the Embaſſador in his own waies; and accordingly a meſſenger was diſpatched from the Port, to call to juſtice ſome of all the orders, to anſwer as Deputies for the Cities, before the Viſier and Divan, in ſuch accuſations as ſhould be obiected againſt them.

This negotiation was begun and finiſhed, as much as concerned the authority of the grand Signior, *Anno* 1622; but being not perfected and tranſlated vntil the next, and that time full of various mutations, we haue thought fit to continue the thred of the former hiſtory, and not to mingle and confound it with relations of ſeueral and vnlike ſubiects and relations: and al- E though this part be found a little out of his own time, yet both wil be the clearer by the diſſeueration.

The Baſſa and inhabitants of Algier hauing receiued letters by *Mehemet Aga*, both reprehending them for inſolencies committed vpon the Engliſh nation, and commanding them to keep the peace of the Empire, and to bring with him ſome of the principall of that gouernement, did elect foure and twenty Commiſſioners (amongſt whom the Mufti was both head and Aduocate) and gaue them inſtructions and order to recriminate and accuſe the Engliſh of many depredations and iniuries: hoping thereby either to extenuate their own offence, or by pretending iuſt cauſe, to leaue themſelues at libertie to continue their piracies. And the Baſſa and city of Tunes hauing receiued by the ſaid meſſenger reprehenſions and commands F to the like effect, they reſolued to conſult with their fellowes of Algier, and in their paſſage to Conſtantinople, to joyne to them two of their Councell, and gaue them inſtructions to bee aſſiſtant. But with this caution, That they ſhould not declare themſelues openly, but to obſerue the proceedings of thoſe of Algier, and to conforme with them; that if they were inforced to make peace, they ſhould concur and be comprehended; but if it were poſſible for both to eſcape, that they ſhould leaue the breach open, and themſelues at libertie.

They arriued together at Conſtantinople in the month of Nouember, in that yeare in the reign of *Muſtapha*, and made their firſt addreſſes priuatly to the Engliſh Embaſſador, ſubtilly pretending to end all differences ſecretly with him, becauſe they were vnwilling to anſwer and diſcouer to juſtice, what infinite ſpoiles they had gotten; and that if they could accommodate with him, and treat without the authoritie of the Port, they reſolued to promiſe any thing, which they meant not to obſerue; and ſo eſcaping for the preſent, they hoped to doe more miſchiefe, by the aduantage of the ſecuritie of the Engliſh, and their owne breach of faith. But the Embaſſador refuſed to treat with them, as being ſubiects, and not *ſui juris*, and to giue them any hearing, but in the preſence and by the mediation of the great Viſier, Wherupon they applied themſelues, and returned to their reſolution of complaint, and the Embeſſador proſecuting their accuſation, after many meetings and diſputes, by the interpoſition of *Halil Baſſa*, there was an *Amneſtia* accepted on both parts, and a peace concluded on the Articles and conditions following; which were ratified by the proper ſignature of the grand Signior *Muſtapha*, and re-confirmed by Sultan *Morat*, proclaimed in Tunes and Algier, and recommended by ſeuerall letters from the Viſier and Captaine Baſſa, to the Baſſa's, Caddees, and Councell of both cities.

Imperiall Commands ſent by the Grand Signior

to the Baſſa's of Tunes and Algier, Caddees, Aga of the Ianizaries, Dyes, Captaines, Antients, and other gouernors.

OVr high and Imperiall Firm° being come vnto you, know, That from the time of our great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of happy memory, the Kings of England haue alwaies bin firme and conſtant with all ſinceritie, in friendſhip, league and correſpondencie with the Imperiall Port, our glorious progenitors, and with our Maieſtie. And in conformitie of the Imperiall Capitulations, League, and peace heretofore agreed vpon betweene both parties, and alwaies vntill now obſerued of vs; Foraſmuch as the Engliſh nation, their Merchants and ſubiects, with their merchandiſe, ſhips, and goods, are free to come and go, traffique and negotiate ſafe and ſecure in all the parts of our Empire; it hauing neuer been our Imperiall will and permiſſion, that by any of our ſubiects or ſlaues they ſhould at any time be troubled, ſpoiled, or damnified. Which Nation, whileſt vnder the ſhadow of our juſtice and protection they paſſe through the ſeas with their ſhippes and goods, for traffique and negotiation, diuers of you my ſlaues of Algier and Tunes, without conſideration or reſpect of the friendſhip, peace, and League betweene vs and the ſaid King, whereſoeuer you meet with the ſhips of the ſaid Nation, either at ſea, or in any port or hauen, take the ſaid Ships, ſpoiling them of their goods and merchandiſe, making ſlaues and killing the men which you finde in their ſhips, a thing not onely vniuſt, but alſo contrary to our Imperiall capitulations. Wherfore that for the time to come the ſaid Nation ſhall not be ſo vniuſtly ſpoiled and indammaged, there haue bin ſent to you diuers times our Imperiall and expreſſe commands: but you ſhewing your ſelues arrogant and diſobedient, (as we vnderſtand) do ſtill continue to rob and ſpoile the ſaid Engliſh, contrary to our ſaid capitulations, intention, and will. The concourſe of merchants and traffike being the nutriment and ſplendor of kingdoms; you ſhall vnderſtand, That it is by no means our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Nation, now in league and friendſhip with vs, be any more in like ſort, contrary to aur capitulation, will, and promiſe, ſpoiled and moleſted. Which iniuries and other wrongs don vnto them, beeing a great diſhonor to our ſtate and Imperiall Maieſtie, all you haue not only deſeruedly fallen into our iuſt diſpleaſure, but alſo are worthy of all diſgrace, ſhame and puniſhment. And to the end hereafter all things may be performed by you, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, and that all ſuch as haue committed ſuch inſolencies and ſpoiles, be apprehended and worthily puniſhed, we haue at this preſent vnder our Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded, and haue ſent you this our Imperiall commandement by this bearer Mehemet Aga, *who as ſoon as you ſhall be there arriued, we command you that you call together all, great and ſmall, noble and mean, which dwell in the ſaid places of Algier and Tunes, and publikely in the preſence of them all, with a loud voice you ſhall reade this our Imperiall commandement; and after* *that, with the aſsiſtance and aid of this our Meſſenger, you haue deliuered into the hands of the Engliſh men, there appointed for the ſame, without further excuſe and delay, all ſuch Engliſhmen, their goods and merchandiſes and ſhips; which haue beene taken, contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations, from the ſaid Nation; all thoſe tranſgreſſors and malefectors, whoſoeuer they be, who haue committed theſe outrages, and cauſed ſuch diſturbance to the peace, league, and friendſhip, you ſhall without any fauour chaſtiſe and puniſh according to their deſerts. And afterward ye ſhall haue care, that the Nation, Merchants, and ſubjects of England be not ſo vnjuſtly ſpoiled, hurt, or moleſted, contrary to our Imperiall promiſe and will. Therefore you ſhall publikely proteſt and declare vnto all, That hereafter no man do trouble or moleſt them, but rather meeting them in any place whatſoeuer by ſea or land, to helpe and ſuccour them, obſeruing the termes of true peace and friendſhip, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations; and that euery one take heed and beware, that he do, or permit nothing to be done contrary to our will, peace, and Imperiall Cipitulations. And eſpecially you ſhall looke and procure all things to be obſerued, conformable to this our Imperiall will. And if, according to the antient cuſtome, the King of England will eſtabliſh there any Conſull, we command, that the ſaid Conſull, as alſo the Merchants, and other ſubjects, be accepted, aſsiſted, and protected at all times, according to the intention of our Imperiall Capitulation. And all of you, with all your care, endeauour, and diligence, ſhall alwaies prouide that the ſaid Nation may paſſe free and ſecure vnder our Imperiall protection and ſhaddow, and traffique and negotiate, buy and ſell through all the parts of our Dominions, to their content and full ſatisfaction. And if after the date of this our Imperiall Commandement, we ſhall vnderſtand that the ſaid Nation be again robbed and ſpoiled by you; be you hereof aſſured, that our true ſlaues and ſubjects are thoſe which do obey our Lawes and Commands, and obſerue our will, as alſo it is written in our Alcaron,* Obey God, the Prophet, and your Souereigne Lord: *But thoſe that doe not obey nor obſerue our Lawes and commandements, are not our ſlaues nor ſubjects, but rather by their diſobedience do fall into our diſpleaſure, diſgrace and malediction. For which, our Imperiall Commands ſhall be ſent throughout all the parts of our Empire, eſpecially to Tunes and Algier, and to all the Ports of Natolia and Gracia, and to what places ſoeuer elſe they ſhall come, to be alwaies driuen from thence, abandoned, and puniſhed, and by all our Officers and Gouernors perſecuted. Therefore take you heed, that you ſay not hereafter you were not warned hereof before hand, but giue notice publikely vnto all men, of the effect of this our command, and looke that you cauſe euery man to be obedient thereunto. By which doing, you ſhall be bleſſed of God, and obtaine our fauour: for if the ſaid Engliſh Nation be againe troubled and moleſted, and the King of England do ſend any forces againſt thoſe tranſgreſſors, to chaſtiſe and puniſh them, do you conſider that it ſhall diſpleaſe vs, that ye are the cauſe to diſturbe the peace and friendſhip betweene vs. Therefore take heed and beware of all ſuch actions as may any way tend to the diſturbance and violating of our ſaid Peace and friendſhip. And it being our chiefeſt deſire, that this buſineſſe be duely fulfilled and effected when this our Imperiall commandement ſhall come vnto you, and that you haue performed our will therein, and ſhall haue deliuered into the hands of the Engliſhmen, all ſuch men, ſhips, and goods as haue beene taken from them; you ſhall aduiſe vs particularly and punctually thereof, and in what manner you haue ſatisfied and contented them, and ſend the ſame to our Imperiall Port. And all this let be knowne vnto you, giuing alwaies credit and obedience to our Imperiall Firmo.*

Written the laſt of the Moone *Gemaziel Abir*, from the depar-
ture of the Prophet 1031. Giuen at our Imperiall City
of Conſtantinople.

The Capitulations or agreement of the peace made with Tunes and Algier at Conſtantinople, and accepted and ſigned by the Commiſsioners of Algier and Tunes.

LEt infinite laud and praiſe be alway giuen to the moſt omnipotent God, who of his great mercy and grace hath bleſſed this World with peace and tranquility, for the ſafety and repoſe of his people: Jn conformity to whoſe diuine will and pleaſure, the moſt inuincible

and mighty Emperor hath alwaies entertained peace and amity with all thoſe who haue deſired
his friendſhip, that both rich and poore, and all ſorts of people might liue at their eaſe and G
content, to giue thankes, and ſerue the diuine Majeſty. Which moſt bleſſed peace and correſpondence
hath euer been obſerued by all the Ottoman Emperors. Therefore whereas heretofore
in the happy time, of famous memory, of Sultan Morat Han now tranſlated into Paradiſe
(vpon whoſe ſoule let the diuine mercies be multiplied) the Kings of England, according
to that truth and integrity infuſed into them, hauing alwaies made demonſtration of their
loue and ſincerity to this happy Port, then, on both ſides there was concluded and eſtabliſhed a
true peace and amity, and from that time to this preſent haue maintained their Embaſſadors
here: And whereas there was then granted and giuen to the Engliſh Nation an Jmperiall H
Capitulation and priuiledge (To ſay) That the ſubjects and Merchants of England, with
their ſhips and faculties might freely and ſecurely nauigate in our ſeas, and traffique and negotiate
at their owne pleaſure and content, in any part of the Imperiall dominion: Notwithſtanding,
ſome yeares paſt there haue hapned ſome diſcontents and quarrels betweene the ſaid
Engliſh Nation and the Souldiery of Tunes and Algier; and thereupon haue ſucceeded diuers
acts of hoſtility, and mutuall damages, contrary to the honour of the ſaid Jmperiall Capitulation:
for which cauſe, the mighty and famous Prince, among the Princes of the faith
of Jeſus, obeyed of the greateſt followers of the Meſſiah, only Gouernour of the important I
affaires of the Nazaren Nation, Souereigne of the limits of honour and power, Lord of
greatneſſe and authority, the benigne and ſincere friend, the glorious IAMES King of England,
to whoſe affaires we wiſh all proſperity, and whoſe laſt daies may be filled with honour
and felicity, hath ſent to this happy and high Port his elect, eſteemed, and prudent Embaſſador
Sir Thomas Rowe, Knight, with his Royall Letters; complaining vehemently againſt
the ſaid Souldiery of Algier and Tunes. The ſubſtance of which Letters being ſignified to
the Imperiall Majeſty of our Emperor, he with his owne proper hand Imperiall Seale hath
expreſſely commanded, and giuen his Imperiall order, that the people of Algier and Tunes K
for the future ſhould alway be obedient and obſeruant, according to the Imperiall Capitulations,
and ſhould neuer commit nor make ſhew of any act contrary thereunto. Which Imperiall
command and Edict being ſent to thoſe cities by one Mutafaraca, of the high court, and
our eſteemed Capigi Baſſa Mahomet Aga; who arriuing there, and cauſing the Imperiall
Commands to be read with a loud voice, in publique Councell, and in preſence of the Beglerbegh
and the whole ſouldiery of the countries, euery one of them with all readineſſe and ſubmiſſion
did ſhew themſelues obedient to the ſaid Orders and Edicts of his Jmperiall Majeſty.
But withall replied, That while we did remaine conſtant and firme in the Peace with
the Engliſh Nation, ſome of their Ships, contrary to the Capitulation, league, and Frendſhip L
long ſince contracted on both parts, haue done diuers damages and injuries vnto vs. And
whereas from vs there ſhall neuer any action proceed contrary to the ſaid Imperiall Capitulations,
the ſaid Engliſh Nation oftentimes made warre vpon vs; for which cauſe wee
haue alſo been inforced to reuenge our ſelues: but now our deſire is, That his Imperiall Majeſty
may be truely informed of our ſtate and cauſe in this buſineſſe, and accordingly let his
Majeſty diſpoſe and order vs at his owne will and pleaſure: for we will alwaies remaine,
and be obſeruant and obedient. To which purpoſe they haue joyntly and with one conſent, choſen
the wiſe and honourable Lord, reuerend among the prudent, the prouinciall Mufti called M
Seich Seidi, and the honourable and diſcreet, the Mufti of the City, Seich Salmi, and the two
Caddees, Judges of the Prouinces, two that haue beene Gouernors, two Colonels of the army,
two Captaines of foot, aſſiſted with other Antients, both Burgeſſes and ſouldiers, whom they
haue

A haue with one conſent created and eſtabliſhed as their Generall Procurators and Commiſſioners; and in company of the ſaid Mahomet Aga, ſent to this happy Port: who being here arriued, and hauing made knowne his petition to his Imperiall Majeſty, he and his abſolute miniſter the Grand Viſier, haue expreſſely commanded vs, That we ſhould call before vs the Engliſh Embaſſadour and the ſaid Commiſſioners, and with all ſincerity and juſtice that we ſhould heare their differences, and make a finall and good concluſion betweene them; to wipe out all diſtaſte and rancor, and for the time to come, to conuert, and in place thereof to plant a firme and holy peace and amity. In obedience to which order, we haue ſent for the Engliſh B Embaſſador and the ſaid Deputies; betweene both whom, after long and litigious diſcourſes, we, according to the expreſſe command of his Imperiall Majeſty, haue declared and commanded in the name of his Imperiall Majeſty, to the ſaid Commiſſioners of Algier and Tunes, That for the times to come they ought to obey and obſerue the tenour of the Imperiall Capitulations, and in this particular to conforme themſelues to this Imperiall order and ſubſequent Articles: viz.

I. That for euer hereafter, the hoſtility and enmity betweene them and the Engliſh ſhould be anulled and blotted out of memory, and conuerted into a good peace and commerce. And after the date of this preſent writing, That the Engliſh Ships ſmall and great, merchants, and all C other ſubjects of England, freely and ſecurely, at their owne will and content, ſhall and may paſſe in the ſeas, and come not only to this our Imperiall City, but alſo ſafely go to any part of our Dominion, without any oppoſition or hinderance, according to the antient vſage, and Imperiall Capitulations granted in behalfe of both parties.

II. And that his Majeſty the King of England, hereupon may giue order through all the cities and ports of his Kingdomes, to publiſh, That from henceforth euery traueller or paſſenger ſhall ſecurely go in his buſineſſe peaceably, and that they ſhall receiue neither in their waies outward or returning, any moleſtation, trouble, or impediment; but that the ſubjects on both D parts ſhall alway obſerue and be obedient, conformable to the tenor of the Imperiall Capitulations made from the beginning of the peace vnto this day; and that for the time to come, there may in Algier be eſtabliſhed an Engliſh Conſull, prouided he be a man of quality and credit: to which Conſull and his Merchants, and to all his Nation and their goods, neither from thoſe of Algier, nor from any other ſubjects of the Imperiall Port, ſhall be offered or ſuffered to be done, any wrong or injuſtice whatſoeuer; but arriuing at the Port, the Officers of Algier (as it behoueth all ſtrangers ſhould be protected and cheriſhed) ſhall receiue them with all manner of courteſie and honour. And for the time to come, in caſe any of the Engliſh Nation ſhould commit any act contrary to the peace, amity, and Imperiall Capitulations, for E ſuch offence the publique peace ſhall not be broken, but the officers of Algier ſhall certifie the ſame to the Conſull, who (if it lie in his power) ſhall puniſh any ſuch offendor; if not, he ſhall then certifie his cauſe to his Majeſty of England, or elſe to his Embaſſador reſident in our happy Port, to the end, that the diſturbers of the publike peace may be duely puniſhed. In conformity whereof, if for the time to come any of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, ſhall haue committed any action contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, by continuing to trouble or quarrell with the ſaid Engliſh Nation, the ſaid Conſull ſhall make certificate and complaint to the Beglerbeghs and Commanders of the army, who ſhall alwaies ſeuerely puniſh all ſuch F malefactors, to the end that thoſe of Algier may be carefull, neuer to do any act prejudiciall to this peace and amity.

III. All thoſe Engliſh ſlaues which ſhall be found now in Algier ſhall be ſet free, who with a note or liſt of their names ſhall be deliuered to the ſaid Conſull at his arriuall; in exchange *whereof there ſhall be another liſt giuen vnto the ſaid Conſul, of the names of diuers Muſſulmen taken not long ſince by their Engliſh ſhips and made ſlaues: which liſt the ſaid Conſull ſhall ſend to his Majeſty of England to procure their liberty; and in this particular, of either ſide there ſhall be vſed no fraud or deceit.*

IV. *For the time to come, all the Merchants and other Engliſh which ſhall arriue at Algier or Tunes, ſhall be receiued, cheriſhed, and protected from all wrong and injury; and as in all other parts of the Empire they do ſafely and ſecurely traffique and trade, ſo alſo they ſhall peaceably, quietly, and ſafely go, come, and negotiate in theſe cities, without any moleſtation, and alway they ſhall liue according to the antient Capitulations.*

V. *That the ſhips of Algier and Tunes, ſmall and great, meeting with any Engliſh ſhips vpon the ſea, or in any Port, or ſeale, or other where, ſhall alway ſalute one another; and the Engliſh ſhewing their Colours, that they are Engliſh and friends, there ſhall be no diſturbance or quarrell betweene them, but all mutuall courteſie ſhall be ſhewed; and they ſhall do one to the other all ſuch offices of friendſhip as may encreaſe and fortifie this good amity and correſpondence: and there ſhall neuer be don any wrong or outrage one to the other; prouided that the Engliſh Ships ſhall not take part nor aſſiſt the enemies of the Imperiall Port, nor tranſport in their veſſels the armes or faculties of our foes, nor protect nor defend them. And if it ſhall happen after this concluſion, that it ſhall be found that any Engliſh Ship ſhall ſo carry or protect the goods of our enemies, they ſhall ſtand to their perill, and receiue puniſhment; and yet this our accord and Peace ſhall remaine ſafe and vnbroken vntill the day of Iudgement: And that alway on both parts, with all care and reſpect the antient and Imperiall Capitulations and Commands ſhall be preſerued and obeyed.*

The ceremony of the acceptation of the Peace.

T*He Commiſſioners, (to ſay) the two Muftics, Caddees, and other aboue mentioned, in our preſence made anſwer, That,* We all in the name and behalfe of our city of Algier, and as the generall Procurators thereof, are content, and do accept of this accord and agreement, and we doe all ſweare and promiſe to obſerue the ſame; and that for the time to come, on our parts, nor on the behalfe of our ſucceſſors and poſterity, there ſhall neuer any act be committed nor ſuffered in prejudice or diſturbance of this peace and agreement. *All which foreſaid Commiſſioners hauing before vs confeſſed, promiſed, and ſworne; the ſaid Engliſh Embaſſador did alſo ſay,* I in the name of my Lord and King, and as his full Procurator, do accept and receiue theſe Conditions; and do promiſe, That the Subjects of his Majeſty my Lord and Maſter, ſhall alway maintaine with the Subjects of his Imperiall Majeſty, peace, according to the antient Capitulations; and that neuer on our parts ſhall be done any act of wrong, injury, or hoſtility: and at all times, when of either ſide there ſhall ariſe any controuerſie, or be done any injuſtice, that this peace ſhall not therefore be broken, but that the malefactors ſhall be ſought out and duely puniſhed.

Which declaration made on both parts, it was by vs regiſtred and publiſhed, and this our preſent aſſurance and writing giuen the firſt of the moneth Gemaziel, *in the yeare of* Mahomet 1032, *being the middle of March 1622. Signed by the Commiſſioners of the Grand Signior, deputed for the Treaty.*

A Ratification of the former Treaty and, Peace ſent by Sultan Morat at his aſſcention into the Imperiall Throne.

The Commands ſent to Algier and Tunes by a Capigi of the Grand Signiors, in company of Iſerug the new Baſſa of Algier.

[Written by the Grand Signiors owne hand :]

In conformity hereof let it be obeyed of all my Subjects.

To the Diuan of Algier.

THe Imperiall Command ; To the Caddee of Algier, to all the Doctors and Churchmen, to all the
Captaines of Iſuph ; to all the Commanders, Elders, and Officers ; to all the heads and Antients,
and to all the Souldiery of Algier, and many ſlaues there inhabiting : At the arriuall of the high and Im-
C periall Affirmo, you ſhall know ; that whereas from the times of happy memory of my Grandfathers and
Fathers (entred into mercy, whoſe Sepulchres let God glorifie) vnto this day, alwaies the Kings of Eng-
land haue with all ſincerity beene in good peace and friendſhip with this high Port and all my Ance-
ſtors ; and therefore the Imperiall minde and will alwaies hath beene, That according to the Imperi-
all Capitulations contracted at the firſt Treaty betweene both parties, That the Subjects and Engliſh
Merchants might freely and ſecurely go and come into all parts of this well-gouerned Empire ; and that
they ſhould neuer be troubled, hindered, nor dammified by any man, and that the ſaid Engliſh with all
their Ships ſhould haue ſafe and ſecure paſſage in the ſea, vnder the Imperiall protection, and to their
hearts content and quietneſſe they ſhould follow their trades and merchandiſe ; and whereas in all times
paſt, there was neuer done to them any wrong or dammage by any of our ſubjects : you my ſlaues of Algier,
D or ſome of you, not reſpecting the friendſhip of thoſe with whom the high Port hath peace and correſpon-
dence, do whereſoeuer you meet their Ships, either in the Sea, or any other Port or harbor, take them and
all their goods, doing them many injuries & violences ; and contrary alſo to the Imperiall Capitulations,
do make them ſlaues, and many others you kill : for which your actions ſo vnjuſt, contrary to the Imperi-
all will and Capitulations not long ſince in the time of our brother Sultan Oſman Han (now in mercy
placed in Paradiſe) his Majeſty the King of England hauing ſent his expreſſe Embaſſador, and his
Royall Letter, aduiſing him of the wrongs and ſpoiles (ſo contrary to the League and peace contracted,
and the Imperiall will) committed by you : to the end that all you ſhould obey, and with all diligence,
care, and reſpect, ſhould maintaine and obſerue the peace and friendſhip with all the friends of the high
Port ; that all thoſe who had committed ſuch actions, ſo contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations,
E ſhould be puniſhed ; the ſaid our brother did then ſend you his expreſſe Imperiall commands, ſigned with
his hand ; which was deliuered vnto you by one Mutafaraga, of the high Port, called Mahomet, whoſe
dignity God encreaſe. Which commands being read in the preſence of you all, euery man did anſwer,
ſaying, You were ready to obey the Order and Commands of your Lord ; but that you had ſome particu-
lars requiſite to be preſented to the Imperiall ſtirrop, and therefore that you did elect certaine of the prin-
cipall of your Country, and ſent them hither to him as your Procurators ; who being arriued in the time
of the regiment of my honourable Vncle, and hauing made knowne at the foot of the Throne of his
Majeſty, all thoſe your reaſons which you had giuen in inſtruction ; He gaue command, that thoſe ſaid
Commiſſioners, come hither in your behalfe, with the Embaſſador of England reſident in our happy Port,
ſhould haue a conference in the preſence of my late Viſier Halil, then Captaine Baſſa ; and that all things
F there ſhould be accommodated and appeaſed. Which conference being made in the preſcribed forme,
there all your grieuances were largely repeated, to the end that by reaſon of the aboue mentioned inconue-
niences, there ſhould not happen any breach of the antient Peace and friendſhip, all matters were then
anew pacified, and by writing and new treaty accorded, That according to the antient cuſtome there ſhould
be ſent an Engliſh Conſul to Algier and Tunes, and that their Merchants ſhould ſafely and friendly go

thither, and into all other parts of this well gouerned Empire, and traffique in all parts thereof, and that G they ſhould neuer hereafter be any way hindered, offended, or moleſted by any of you; and for more caution and aſſurance, there being written an authenticall Letter, ſent vnto the King of England, he gaue order and hath appointed a Conſul with many rich merchandiſes arriued in thoſe Ports. Which my ſaid Vncle did alſo then ſend you his expreſſe Command, That you ſhould obſerue all the ſaid agreement. But now being newly aduertiſed, That you my ſlaues of Algier, who wholly contrary to the laſt promiſe, contract, and faith giuen, do get, take, and ſpoile the Engliſh Ships, that you meet on the Sea, robbing them of their goods, and making ſlaues of their men, doing them all wrong and damage; and conſidering the King of England is conſtant and ſincere in his Peace and League with vs, and that the protection and cheriſhing of his ſubjects is neceſſary vnto vs; and that for you of Algier, or other of my Beghs whoſoeuer, to take veſſels, goods, or men from the ſaid Engliſh nation, ſo contrary to the laſt agreement made, H and faith giuen, is a thing much againſt our will and the Imperiall Capitulations by vs granted; and alſo it being our will, that betweene you and them there ſhould be a good peace and correſpondency, and that the ſaid Engliſh Nation may ſafely and ſecurely traffique in all parts of this our well gouerned Empire, and that no man preſume to do them any dammage or injury, and that for the time to come the tenour of our Imperiall Capitulations in their Land may be duely obſerued, we haue ſent you this our Imperiall Command, and We do command you,

That euery one of you, of what condition ſoeuer, do obey according to the tenour of this my Imperiall Command, ſent you on purpoſe for this only reaſon; That whether by ſea, or in any other place where you ſhall meet any Ship of the Engliſh, their people or goods, you do vnto them no violence or wrong whatſoeuer; but alway according to the Capitulations giuen them, and the laſt treaty and agreement made with you, that you hold and keepe a true peace and friendſhip with them; and alſo that you obey according to I the commandements formerly ſent to you in this buſineſſe; and that you neuer do nor ſuffer to be done any act contrary vnto them, but that you with all diligence obſerue and obey this my Command ſent you: in doing whereof you ſhall obtaine our fauour and benediction. And ſeeing according to the agreement made betweene you, there were diuers ſlaues ſet free and ſent vnto you from England, you alſo ſhall ſet free all thoſe Engliſh ſlaues that ſhall be found in your hands, and ſhall conſigne them to the Engliſh Conſull. And that whereas the Ship of England which was ſent vnto you with diuers Engliſh goods, hauing beene diſcharged, and receiuing your ſafe conduct, and returning to their Country, being met by ſome of Algier, who had no reſpect to the accord and faith giuen, they did take both the Ship and goods, and make the men ſlaues: therefore that act being very contrary to our louing peace and friendſhip, you K ſhall deliuer the ſaid Ship and goods and men to the Engliſh Conſull; and take heed you do not herein ſhew diſobedience to our Command, and that thoſe whoſoeuer, who haue been ſo bold to commit ſuch an offence ſo contrary to the Peace and faith giuen, you ſhall cauſe to be ſeuerely puniſhed. In concluſion, know you, that in no caſe it is our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation hereafter ſhall be any way troubled or damnified, ſo contrary to our Imperiall Capitulation. Therefore let euery one of you be admoniſhed, That according as it is written in our Law, ſaying, Obey the Lord God, the Prophet, and the Emperor; that thereby obeying you ſhall obtaine my bleſſing; you ſhall neuer conſent nor permit that any thing be done contrary to my Imperiall will: for if hereafter it ſhall be made knowne vnto vs, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation ſhall be againe outraged and injuried by you, be aſſured that euery one of you ſhall fall into my indignation and diſgrace, and you ſhall bee puniſhed with all ſeuerity. Therefore L be you aduertiſed, that the obeying of my Imperiall Command ſhall be vnto you an aſſurance and ornament both of glory and felicity; and hauing my benediction, euery one of you undoubtedly ſhall obtaine happineſſe in this World, and glory in the World to come, and you ſhall enjoy all your deſerts. Then you my ſlaues of Algier, according to the tenor of this my command ſent you, be you friends with the Engliſh ſincerely and perfectly, and doe you entirely obſerue the Peace and League, and vſe kindely the Engliſh Conſull among you; and protect and defend their Merchants, and whether by Sea or in Port you ſhall meet any of their Ships, ſhew vnto them all friendſhip, and omit no occaſion to aid, defend, and to ſhew loue vnto them: and this our Imperiall Command, both of the arriuall, and in what ſort you haue accepted and obeyed it, and in what forme you haue eſtabliſhed the Peace, and reſented my will and command, you ſhall aduiſe the whole by your anſwer vnto our high Port. And thus let it be knowne vnto you, giuing alway M credit vnto our Imperiall Signature.

To

To the Baſſa of Algier.

THe *High and Jmperiall* Affirmo *being arriued, you ſhall know, Whereas in times paſt the Gouernorus in that Prouince before you, by receiuing the fifths and tenths of the ſhips, goods, and men, which the Souldiery of Algier did take and rob from the Engliſh Nation, and by giuing them leaue and authority to do ſuch depredations and acts, ſo contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, the ſaid ſouldiery haue taken ſo much boldneſſe and daring, that they continue to do innumerable ſpoiles and violences vnto the ſaid Engliſh Nation: which their inſolent actions being made knowne vnto the high Port, and there was inſtantly written and ſent vnto them exſpreſſe and Jmperiall Commands, That in no way, nor by no meanes it was not the will nor the Imperiall minde, that the Gouernours, ſhould in ſuch ſort conniue, and ſo euidently (contrary to the Imperiall Capitulation) ſhould take any fifths or tenths, nor giue nor permit any licence vnto the ſaid ſouldiers, to do ſo injuſt things; but that in this particular they ſhould all do their diligence & loue, and that they ſhould neuer take any fifths or tenths of the goods of the ſaid Engliſh, ſtollen by the ſaid ſouldiers, nor that they ſhould permit vpon no pretence, that the Engliſh ſhips, goods, and men, ſo contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, ſhould be neither by them nor any other, outraged, moleſted, or damnified; and that if hereafter it ſhould be knowne, that the ſaid Gouernours ſhould notwithſtanding anew haue taken and accepted the fifths and tenths of the ſhips, goods, or Engliſhmen, robbed and taken by the ſaid Souldiery, and becauſe they haue conſented and ſuffered the Soulaiery to doe ſuch depredations, wrong, and ſpoiles, and for hauing alſo beene the cauſe to violate the Peace, League, and friendſhip betweene vs and the King of England; that as faulty and guilty men they ſhould be condignely puniſhed. Now being that we are anew informed, That the Souldiers do not obey the ſaid Commands and Orders ſent by vs, and that by you the Gouernors there is leaue giuen them to continue in their injuſt courſe of robbery and oppreſsion, and that ſtill you do take the ſaid fifths and tenths, and that you proceed in violating of the Imperiall Capitulations; Know you, That you are fallen into a diſgrace, being it is in no ſort our Imperiall will, that the ſaid Engliſh Nation ſhould be ſo damnified and outraged. And to the end that all the Commands giuen and ſent into thoſe parts for this buſineſſe, may be obſerued and obeyed, and that hereafter by no meanes there may neuer be giuen nor permitted any liberty to the ſaid Souldiers to do the like depredations vpon the ſaid Nation, and that neuer you nor any after you, do neuer take any fifth nor tenth, nor any part, but that alway the ſaid Nation ſhould be protected and defended, We haue giuen this our Jmperiall Chmmandement, and we do command,*

That when this ſhall be arriued, you ſhall obſerue and do according to this our high and Jmperiall Command; onely giuen for this reaſon, and alſo in conformity of the former Commands ſent in this buſineſſe: which you ſhall obey with all diligence and care; and that you ſhall neuer take nor accept any fifth nor other ſhare, of the ſhips, goods, or men, that the Souldiers of Algiers ſhall ſo vnjuſtly take (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) from the ſaid Engliſh Nation: nor neuer hereafter ſhall giue leaue, nor ſuffer, that the Souldiers, ſo contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations, ſhall doe ſuch ſpoiles and depredations to the ſaid Engliſh Nation; and that in no caſe you ſhall neuer permit that Engliſhmen ſhall be there ſold, but you ſhall alway protect and defend them. And know of certainty, That if after the arriuall of this our Command, we ſhall vnderſtand, that the ſaid Nation ſhall be anew outraged and injuried, no excuſe from you ſhall be accepted nor heard; and not only you ſhall be depriued *of your gouernment, but you ſhall be ſeuerely puniſhed. Therefore be aduiſed, and take heed that you commit no act that ſhall be contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations giuen to the ſaid Nation. And in concluſion, take you order that all my ſlaues of Algier may keepe peace and friendſhip with the ſaid Engliſh; becauſe it is my Imperiall deſire, that the ſaid Nation and their Merchants may come, go, and traffike in all parts of our Empire. Therefore do you do all your diligence and endeauour, and to ſee that the Peace be ſetled with the ſaid Engliſh, and take heed that you commit no negligence nor errour whatſoeuer. And thus be it knowne vnto you, giuing alway faith to our Imperiall Signature.*

The like three ſeuerall Commands, only ſome circumſtances altered, according to the requiſites of the place, were written and ſent to the Dye, and Baſſa, and Diuan of Tunes.

This Peace thus concluded and promulged, was well and exactly obſerued for fiue yeares, and not one Engliſh ſhip aſſailed or taken, and at laſt ſix hundred Mariners, ſubjects of his Majeſty, releaſed from a miſerable ſeruitude and captiuity; vntill a ſmall offence was done to them, which they eaſily apprehended, to renew their deſire of ſpoyle, by which onely they liue, as being a people without induſtry or traffique; there being but one way to maintaine a Peace with them who are glad of any occaſion of warre, not to begin, nor to vnbinde their hands; for the ſoule of Wiſedome is Preuention. And ſo we proceed to our generall Story.

1624

Ali Baſſa the great Viſier beheaded.

On the foure and twentieth of March *Ali Baſſa* the great Viſier, by whoſe meanes Sultan *Morat* was aduanced to the Crowne, was ſent for into the Seraglio; where being queſtioned by the young Emperor about the affaires of the Perſian inuaſion, he was condemned inſtantly to loſe his head, which was executed in the place, and his body throwne out naked into the ſtreets. The occaſion of his ſudden death was attributed to his diſſimulation with the Grand Signior in the loſſe of Babylon, that he had ſuborned falſe aduice that there was no ſuch matter; either for ſloath, or feare to take vpon him the charge of the war, with an army that would not obey in the city: and the baſe mony which he had cauſed to be coyned, being but one fift ſiluer, with which he made a whole payment to the Souldiery, putting the good dollars into his owne purſe. But indeed the true cauſe was his owne ſordid couetouſneſſe, who in ſix moneths had heaped vp an infinite treaſure, by ſale of all Iuſtice and Offices; which in the end weighed him downe to the ground, and ſupplied (like a large ſpunge) their preſent wants for the intended war in Aſia. To this dignity was aduanced *Cerques Mechemet Baſſa*, an antient Viſier, a man of an honeſt and ſincere nature, and one too good for thoſe times; who after he had enjoyed his place but a ſhort while, laboured to ſurrender it, as vnable to ſupport or content the inſolency of the Spahies in their vnreaſonable demands of impoſſible benefits. In the meane time the preparation for the warre in Aſia was aduanced, though the reſolution to ſet forward was deferred, vpon hope that by the authority of *Cherques Mehemet Baſſa* and other new Miniſters, *Abaſſa Baſſa* might be reduced to obedience, and that great feare and impediment remoued; they hauing vndertaken to endeauour it, though it appeared very difficult, being that he yet continued the ſiege of the caſtle of Angria; and that his ſcattered army that wintered abroad, begun to returne to him from all parts, it was iudged he would be loth (although the Grand Signior had ſent him another) to truſt his life vpon a pardon.

The Emperor prepares for a war in Hungary.

While the Grand Signior was thus threatened in Aſia with the King of Perſia, and his owne Rebell *Abaſſa Baſſa*, the Emperor of Germany made great preparations for Hungary, to the number of fifty thouſand men, which bred great jealouſie at the Port: But his Embaſſador the Baron of Curcy, lately arriued, to preuent a generall breach, and the expiration of the laſt Treaty made for twenty yeares at Zitwar, in the yeare 1606, diſſembling all the aids giuen to *Gabor*, gaue the Grand Signior full aſſurance, that his Maſter had no intent of breach with him; but openly diſauowed the Truce with the Prince of Tranſyluania, made at Goding: and that *Cæſar* would make war vpon him, vnleſſe he might haue all the places in Hungary in *Gabors* poſſeſſion reſtored; deſiring only a neutrality from the Port, according to the antient

A antient Treaty. The Prince of Tranſylvania, who now repented that he had giuen away the
vſe of his late victorie which he might haue enjoyed,and foreſeeing the ſtorme that was like
to fall vpon him, ſent to the Port for ſuccors:who with much ado obtained ſome Tartars,and
Commands to the Baſſa's of Boſna,Buda,Caniza,Agria, and Temizuar, to be ready with all
their frontier garriſons to defend and aſſiſt him in any motion of the Emperor, or elſe not to
ſtirre:being vnwilling to abandon him,who was then their chiefeſt bulwarke toward that part
of Chriſtendom,whilſt moſt of their forces ſhould be employed againſt the Perſian in Aſia;
who had then entred Diarbech,the antient Meſopotamia,and taken Misbin and Merdin,two
principall places,and all that prouince,except Hamit the chiefe city, wherin was a Baſſa who
defended the ſame with great valor and reputation:and it was not then known where the Per-
B ſian would limit his ambition, many other parts fearing him for that which he had alreadie
done:for he had ſeparated the Arabia's,and all to the Eaſt of the Perſian ſea,from the Turkiſh
empire: as hauing conquered from Balſara Northward, almoſt all to his own Derbent vpon
the Caſpian ſea.

Vpon the 18 of April the Victuallers for the Aſian army paſſed ouer the water, but the di-
ſpatch of the Vizier and the army was ſtill delaied, and little ſpeech when they ſhould de-
part. In the mean time the Perſian preuailed,without any oppoſition of conſequence: & no
man could diſcern the inward cauſe of this ſlowneſſe,only the outward appearance was, a ſu-
ſpition and complaint from the Black ſea, the City of Caffa hauing ſent their Mufti & other
Commiſſioners to inform the grand Signior, That 400 boats of Coſſacks were abroad; That
C they had done great ſpoiles in the coaſt of Tartaria and the Turkiſh Empire, and taken many
ſhips laden with prouiſion for the Port; and forty thouſand more armed and horſed,ready for
ſome land attempt:which put all thoſe parts into great fear; of which they deſired that pre-
ſent care and prouiſion might be taken and ordered for their defence. Whereupon there was
held a new Councel,and *Ibrahim Baſſa* diſpatched with thirteen gallies,to make gard til more
aids could be prepared; intending not long after to ſend a land army, and the Captain Baſſa
with their whole fleet.

Abaſſa Baſſa (the ſuppoſed rebell of Aſia) hauing collected his Army together, ſuddenly
roſe from Angria, and departed Eaſtward, hauing done no ſpoile to the city nor inhabitants,
but left behinde him a better fame than any Gouernour ſent from the Port: he now accepted
D of the grand Signiors pardon, and in obedience to his command,and ſhew of his ſubmiſſion,
marched directly towards Diarbecher, to vnite himſelfe with *Hafis Achmet Baſſa*,as was ſup-
poſed for the defence of that Countrey, who onely made ſome head againſt the Perſian. This
reſolution of his departure did much ſeruice to that State,for thereby the Ianizaries & Spa-
hies were accorded, and incouraged to goe to the Warre,who before could not be drawn out,
ſuſpecting one another, and fearing Him more than the common enemy. For it was euident,if
he had ſtaid in the way, either the ſouldiers would neuer haue gone out, or beene ſubiect to
delay, mutinies, and diſſentions, by reaſon of their factions. But now vpon this good fortune
to the State,the great Vizier, Treaſurer, Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the Officers and Army
were paſſed ouer to Scutari, and muſtered the tenth of May, beeing ordained to march the
E twentieth; which was expected with great longing, in reſpect of the Souldierie, who as yet
behaued themſelues ſoberly, and made ſhew of reformation and obedience to Laws. They
were all about 30000 Ianizaries and 40000 Spahies, many being gon before to make the ar-
my compleat,and the place of their rendevous about Bruſſia.

In the mean time a report was ſpred,that the king of Perſia was dead;but that gained little
credit with the Turks,who knew it to be a vſual policie of that King,in hope therby to ſlacken
the haſt of their forces ſent againſt him: but it did rather quicken them, inſomuch that they
ſaid he had bin often dead,bur ſtil reuiued to ſome greater miſchief.

Biram Baſſa was diſpatched General of the frontier of Poland & Bugdania,with four thou-
ſand ſoldiers,and order to draw together and command al the Beghs and gariſons,and to raiſe
F forces in that quarter,in preuention of ſome attempt feared from the Coſſackes, who were in
arms vpon the border, and had put all into diſtraction. To the 13 gallies before mentioned,
to make a gard in the Black ſea,were added ten more; who firſt tranſported *Iean Gheray Han*,
to re-eſtabliſh him Prince of the Tartars,and depoſe *Mechmet* aduanced the year before. That

reſolution was caried very ſecretly, and though there was ſome whiſper, yet he was not declared vntil the day he kiſſed the grand Signiors Veſt, took his leaue, mounted his gally, & departed. The cauſe of this ſudden mutation was pretended, That *Mechmet* was accuſed by the Poles to haue broken the peace, and ſo they would pacifie the Coſſackes on better hopes: but the truth was, he was ſuſpected, becauſe he had excuſed to ſend aid to the Aſian War, being therto required, as fearing the entry of the Coſſacks into his country; and the rather, becauſe his brother *Shachin Gheray*, who fled twelue years before to the Perſian, being in diſgrace with *Achmat*, was now returned into Tartaria, at the inſtant when the Perſian did inuade the Turks dominions, as if there had bin ſome confederacie between them, both thoſe brethren beeing braue ſoldiers: and therfore it was feared that a dangerous reuolt or war would breake out in thoſe parts; for if *Mechmet* were not ſuddenly ſurpriſed, it was thought he would defend himſelf and his poſſeſſion. When the Gallies had performed their ſeruice to the new prince, they were appointed to join with the others, and to diſcharge *Ibrabim Baſſa*; one *HuZein Baſſa* a Vizier of the Bench being ſent to that command: *Biram Baſſa* hauing likewiſe order to haue an eye vpon the Tartars, as well as on the Poles. At the firſt departure of the firſt gallies, as ſoone as they came into the Blacke ſea they met with a ſmall Carmiſal, who reporting, That only forty boats of the Coſſacks were before them, the Ianizaries mutined, and forced their General to retire into the chanel, and demanded more ſtrength; who were ſupplied with more men, and ſo proceeded.

The Pyrats of Tunes and Algier in rebellion

Amongſt other diſtractions and reuolts of the ſubiects of that Empire, the pyrats of Algier and Tunes caſt off all obedience, not only vpon the ſea where they were maſters, but preſuming to do many inſolencies vpon the land, and in the Grand Signiors beſt ports. They began at Rhodes, where the caſtle ſhot at them. Afterward, a fleet of ſix pyrats of Tunes met with a Flemiſh ſhip called the Moon, laden at Alexandria; with whom notwithſtanding their peace, they fought and fired her, not ſauing any thing but ſome of the men, whom they made ſlaues: and after comming into the port of Salines at Cyprus, they found two Flemings more, and two Venetians, able to fight with two ſuch fleets. As ſoone as they came into the Road, they now claimed peace of the Flemings, ſeeing themſelues too weake to ſet vpon all foure; proteſting, That if they would aſſiſt their enemies, the breach was on their parts: who therupon vnworthily promiſed a neutralitie. Then they ſet vpon the Venetians, the captains wherof went aſhore to craue protection of the Caſtle in the graund Signiors port; for which the Begh demanded fifty thouſand Dollars, or elſe they ſhould take their fortune. Which they refuſed, and ſo were expoſed to their own defence; and the pyrats beginning with the ſmaller ſhip, ſhe made a good reſiſtance, but hauing no help, ſhe was thrice fired, and at laſt burnt to the water. The Captaine of the Dolphine (the greater ſhip) not ſhooting a ſhoot, with his men ſtole aſhore and fired her, being a Veſſell of eight hundred tunnes, and armed with forty eight braſſe pieces. The ladings of theſe two were valued at 300000 dollars, of which the Pyrats ſaued nothing: & in euils it was a bleſſing that ſuch a ſhip fel not into their hands, ſeeing the Cowards were not able to hold ſo ſtrong a fort. From thence they ſailed to Scandaron, where finding another Fleming and a Polacra, they ſurpriſed both, and then prepared to land. The Aga of the Scale and all the inhabitants fled, and they ſacked the town, and robbed all ware-houſes: and not therwith content, they ſet it on fire, ſo that nothing remained but ſtone walls, that would not burn. The greateſt loſſe to ſtrangers fell vpon the Dutch and Engliſh; for the former loſt about thirty thouſand, and the later about ten thouſand dollars; and ſo they reigned in the port eight daies and departed. An inſolencie vnſufferable, if that State had any ſenee of honor or profit: for by this example there was no Scale of the grand Signior ſecure, and all trade muſt be giuen ouer, if no preſent courſe were taken for a ful redreſſe.

Vpon the laſt of May, after long expectation, the great Vizier *Cerques Mehemet Baſſa* and the Army for Aſia began to march: and *Abaſſa Baſſa* had made ſo many halts on the way, that he was greatly ſuſpected of the Ianizaries, that he lingred vpon purpoſe for them; and at the beſt it was feared, that he would onely returne to Arzirum and keepe the ſame. The Perſians death was no more ſpoken of, but it was rather doubted hee would be found aliue ſuddenly neer Aleppo: and the Emir of Sidon did once more threaten Damaſcus and Ieruſalem. Thus

Troubles in Tartary.

A the miſchiefs and feares of that State followed one another like claps of thunder: For *Mechmet
Gheray*, made Tartar Han the yeare before, being encouraged by his brother *Shachim*,
newly come from his baniſhment in Perſia, would not ſubmit to the Grand Signiors Order,
and reſigne his Principalitie to his Couſin *Iean Gheray* (not long after ſent and made
Prince) and therefore he was againe recalled, fearing to put that countrey to trouble. But
before that Order could ouertake him, hee was landed, and *Mechmet Gheray* came downe with
a great army to reſiſt him; and the Generall of the gallies in the Blacke Sea was forced
to land both his Ianizaries and Artillerie for his defence, and with ſuch power as they
could make (not exceeding foure thouſand) to entrench them vnder the countenance of their
Ordnance, whence there paſſed ſharpe blowes in three ſkirmiſhes, and on both ſides about
B two thouſand ſlaine; the Generall diſpatching one galley to the Port with aduice, and requiring
preſent ſuccours. Whereupon the eleuenth of Iune a peremptorie Order came from
the Grand Signior, That ſeeing his honour was now ingaged, hee would maintaine *Iean
Gheray*, and giue him ſpeedy ayds. To which end a Councell was held the ſame day, and
reſolution taken to ſend ſupplies, either the Captaine Baſſa, who was then ready for the Mediterran,
or by order to the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia. And thoſe brothers, then
in poſſeſſion, had no retreit, but muſt maintaine their diſobedience by the ſword, which was
a matter of as much danger as euer befell the Turkiſh Empire. Hereupon the Captain Baſſa
with ſixteene gallies went into the Blacke Sea in ayd of *Iean Gheray*, made Prince of the
Tartars, whom *Mechmet Gheray* had beaten off the land, and forced him to retire to the Grand
C Signiors gallies that carried him thither. The Emperour being ſtill reſolued to giue thoſe
people a Prince, ordered all the frontier ſuccours to meet him to place him by force; which
was, in the opinion of many that knew the countrey, held a matter of great difficultie, all the
Tartars taking part with *Mechmet*, who had in his army neere threeſcore and ten thouſand
horſe.

In the mean time the great Vizier *Cerqués Mehmet Baſſa* marched towards Dierbecker; from
whence there was news, That the Arabs, ioyned with ſome of the Grand Segniors forces, had
giuen a checque to the Perſian: which did encourage their owne army, who were not yet out
of feare of *Abaſſa Baſſa* and his troupes (that ſtayed about Keſarie) earneſtly expecting what
part he would take. Yet the ſeaſon being hot, the Perſian aduanced little, but onely forraged
D the countrey.

The Coſſacks enter the Boſphorus.

Vpon the ninth of Iuly, betweene ſeuenty and foureſcore boats of the Coſſackes, with
fifty men apeece (rowers and ſouldiers) watching the opportunitie of the Captaine Baſſa's
being ingaged in Tartarie, entred the Boſphorus about breake of the day; where diuiding
themſelues, they ſackt and burnt almoſt all the villages and houſes of pleaſure on both ſides
the Riuer, as farre as the Caſtles, and within foure miles of Conſtantinople. The principall
places were Biugdary and Ienicoie, on the Grecian; and Stenia on the Aſiatick ſhore: where
hauing made great and rich booty, they ſtayed vntill nine of the clocke in the forenoone;
and then all the City hauing taken the alarme, the Grand Signior came downe to the water
ſide, the Chimacham to the water Port: *Halil Baſſa* made himſelfe Generall in this tumult,
E and hauing not one galley ready for defence, hee cauſed to be manned and armed all the ſhipboats,
barges, and other ſmall wherries, to the number of foure or fiue hundred, with ſuch
people, as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; and diſpatched all the horſe and
foot in the city, to the number of ten thouſand, to defend the coaſt from further ſpoyle. Neuer
was there ſeen a greater feare and confuſion for the time: yet they expected that thoſe
poore Theeues would vpon their preparation preſently retyre. But they ſeeing the Turks
boats make towards them, drew themſelues together into the middeſt of the channell, not
farre aboue the Caſtles, and ſtayed firme vpon their Oares in battalion (in forme of a Creſcent)
expecting the aſſault, the wind and current being againſt them. *Halil Baſſa* cauſed ſome
ſhot to bee made afarre off, but they anſwered not with one musket, onely houered from one
F ſhore to another, without any ſhew of retreit. Hereupon, the Generall ſeeing their forme
and reſolution, thought it not fit to aſſaile them with ſuch boats as hee had, but eſteemed it
wiſedome enough to keepe them from further attempts; fearing if they had broken his fleet
of boats, which was eaſily done, that they would venture downe to Conſtantinople, which
was now empty of all defence. And thus theſe few Rouers hauing firſt made great ſpoile, lay

the whole day vntil Sun-ſet, facing and brauing that great and formidable city of the World, G and all the force it could make, and departed with their booty, with their Colours ſpred, vnfought with or almoſt reſiſted.

This ſmall action and bold attempt to affront ſo great an Empire, made a ſtrange diſcouerie, how much vnder the reputation the terror and ſtrength of the ſtate was then, how weake and vnprouided they were. But as the Oracle commanded them, firſt to ſeat ouer againſt blind men, it hath bin their fortune euer to haue blind enemies. *Philip* of Macedon had neuer proiected, nor his ſon *Alexander* neuer aduentured with ſo ſmal forces, the large enterpriſe of ſubduing the Eaſtern Empire, if they had not diſcouered the effeminate and faint courage of the Aſiatiques, by the admirable retreit of *Xenophon*, & ſwift incurſion of *Ageſilaus*, Great armies not daring to oppoſe the vertue of their ſmall numbers. So we ſee, of ſmal beginnings H oftentimes great matters do ariſe; for by this attempt of the Coſſackes the Poles had abſolutely broken the peace with that Empire.

Huzein Baſſa ſtrangled in the Court.

Huzein Baſſa that had beene twice great Viſier, and vpon the tumult of the Souldierie had made an eſcape the yeare before (a man turbulent and hated of all men) beeing at laſt taken and carried into the Seraglio; after hee had (by many faire promiſes) confeſſed and reſtored much of the treaſure carried away by him, was ſtrangled in the Court, and had the iuſt reward of his tyrannie. And the preſent great Viſier, ſent to make head againſt the Perſian, did yet ſtay at Iconium, expecting the Soldierie, who did ſlowly draw to him: ſo that it was thought he would Winter in Aleppo, being not able to proceed in the war that ſummer.

The Captain Baſſa, ſent into the Black ſea, to eſtabliſh *Iean Gheray* Prince of the Tartars, I was forced to retyre to Caffa, being repulſed from the land; the people retaining *Mechmet* in poſſeſſion. Wherupon, to cure the wound with as little skar as was poſſible, he in the Grand Signiors name was conſtrained to confirme the other, and to be content to accept a curteſie, for which he gaue ſmall thanks. And *Cante-Emir-Emirze* hauing again entred Poland, & done ſome ſpoil by the cutting down of ſome woods, was intercepted in his retreit, and routed with the loſſe of two thirds of his Army: and the Poles with a very great Campe intrenched neer Chotyn (the fort beſieged by Sultan *Oſman* in the late war, & ſurrendred vpon the peace) expecting the euent of the great troubles on that ſide.

The Coſſackes returne to the Boſphorus.

The Coſſackes after their firſt retreit returned again to the mouth of the Boſphorus, with double the number of their firſt fleet, being an hundred and fifty boats at the leaſt, the ſupply K hauing lurked behind, either for ſuccour in caſe of need, or for ſome other aduantage. They ſtaied off and on vpon the coaſt three daies more, burnt the Pharos, and ſome two or three villages. They threatened to come to the Arſenall, putting all the City in great confuſion. Gards were continued and re-inforced in all parts vpon the land; and at laſt two Gallies, filled with porters and labouring men taken vp in the ſtreets, and about twenty boats, were ſent out to keep watch, where they remained at the entrance of the Channels. But the Coſſackes with their great booty, and two or three Carmiſals taken, retyred; and ſo the feare was paſt for that time. But ſome of the poore Coſſacks beeing taken ſtragling too far vpon the land, confeſſed vpon examination, that *Mechmet* Prince of the Tartars was confederat with them in this attempt, in reuenge of the offer made to diſplace him. And this confeſſion haſtened L the death of *Huzein Baſſa*, who in the time of his gouernment, of a priſoner made *Mechmet* a Prince, and gaue libertie to the Lords of Poland that were priſoners at the Port, (of whom mention hath bin made before) and diſpeeded ſuddenly the Duke of Sbarasky, who if they had then bin there, without doubt they had been kept hoſtages; for in this tumult the Agent of Poland ranne ſome haſard, if by the wiſdome of the* Chimacham it had not bin preuented.

** Lieutenant to the great Vizier.*

About the four and twentieth of Iuly the Prince of Tranſylvania made an abſolute Peace with the Emperor, without the knowledge or warrant of the Port. Which cauſed great ſuſpition among them, but they bare it both ſilently and patiently, in reſpect of their own troubles then in Aſia and other places, Therfore the Prince kept the conditions the more ſecret: M howſoeuer, it was known that he ſurrendred and diſclaimed all title to Hungary, and conſented that the Emperors ſon ſhould be preſently choſen King thereof, and keepe his Court at Presburg: That all the Eſtates of Hungary ſhould receiue him, and the prince of Tranſilvania aſſiſt and ſerue him in all his occaſions: That *Bethlem Gabor* ſhould remain quietly prince

of

A of Tranſylvania, and Earle of the Siculi: That he ſhould hold Caſſovia, & two or three other Signiories which he formerly poſſeſſed, during life; and after, that they ſhould returne abſolutely as members to the Crown of Hungary. And this article did trouble the grand Signior, That the Prince at all had mentioned Tranſylvania without any relation to him, as if that prouince had depended of the Empire. Some other articles there were concerning the eſtates of priuat men, and mutuall pardons; this which hath bin ſet downe is the ſubſtance of the Treaty.

In the mean time a Chiaus (ſent by the grand Signior to the Emperor, with newes of his inauguration, and to offer the continuance of the antient leagues and treaties between them) returned to the Port with the Emperors letter of acceptance, and confirmation of the Treaty B made at Zitwa, which was the laſt: wherein it was agreed, That what either ſide poſſeſſed at that time ſhould remain as it was; and if any road ſhould be made, and priſoners taken, or places ſurpriſed during the truce, on either part, that reſtitution and full ſatisfaction ſhould bee giuen by him that innouated. *Ali Baſſa* the Viſier before, and *Cerques Baſſa* at that preſent, did both of them conſent to the renuing of this treaty, which was often broken: ignorant vtterly of the affaires of thoſe parts, and of the diſaduantage to the prince of Tranſylvania and their own State; for herby the Truce being again in vigor, the grand Signior was bound to ſurrender Vatz, and many other places of importance, which had bin ſurpriſed in a time when there was neither abſolute peace nor war between them, and was obliged to make many other reſtitutions of damage. But the Imperial party did not preſſe thoſe ſmaller matters, only deman- C ding Vatz, with all the country depending, held themſelues for their limits, ſtrictly vnto that treaty, which was then again confirmed on both ſides. This concluſion diſcontented many, who laid the blame on the information of the Baſſa of Buda, a ſuſpected pentioner of the emperor: but it was the grand Signiors troubles in Aſia that made him ſilent, and ſuffer both that loſſe and many affronts from Tartary and the Coſſacks.

There arriued in the mean time from the Black ſea two gallies, which brought the bodies of two Viſiers, and certain newes of the ouerthrow of the Army, ſent vnder the command of the Captaine Baſſa to plant the new prince of the Tartars: who hauing landed his forces and artillery, was routed and beaten, himſelfe wounded, twenty eight pieces of Ordnance loſt, two Viſiers of the Bench, and about fiue thouſand ſoldiers ſlain and taken, the reſt ſaued by flight D vpon the Gallies; onely the Captaine Baſſa with his fleet ſtaied about Varna to receiue new order. There had not happened to that Empire in many Ages a loſſe of more importance in reſpect of the conſequences; An Imperiall Army beaten, and thereby Tartaria ſeparated from obedience to the Turkiſh Empire, and that people taught to know, That they were able to make and maintaine their owne Prince. But this was no time to take too much knowledge of that diſgrace; Policie teaching them, rather to cure, than to make the breach greater. For the grand Signior after that, diſpatched a galley to the Prince of the Tartars, with a Veſt, and a Sword for his ſonne, and a confirmation to him of his place. Caſting all the faults vpon the Captaine Baſſa, and diſavowing his attempts; though hee was ſent with Commiſſion to do it. Which (to make the diſſimulation good) was like to coſt him his head, being ſent for E in to anſwer the ſame. The ſudden yeelding on the grand Signiors part ſhewed a great weakneſſe and feare, to flatter a victorious enemy: and it was doubted how the Tartarian would accept a gift which he had gotten by his own ſtrength: for if he ſtood out hee would proue a dangerous neighbor, the city of Conſtantinople being alwaies open to him; for Adrianople and the borders did then fear him, and euen ſome Coſſacks did ioyne with him, although before they had been mortall enemies. Yet to make ſome compenſation of this defection, *Abaſſa Baſſa* the ſtrong rebell had made his peace with the great Viſier in Aſia, and to ſeale the credit of his faith by another trecherie, ſent in the heads and eſtates of three of his chief followers to redeem his own. Which much raiſed the dul countenance of that Court; for although the pardon was diſhonourable, yet was it ſeaſonable. But they durſt not ioyne their F Armies for fear of new ſtirres, for he went toward his own gouernment of Arzirum, with promiſe to keep it ſafe; and the Viſier marched ſlowly towards Babylon, as then held by the Perſian.

Newes of the Turks army ouerthrowne by the Tartars.

About the twentieth of September the great Viſier *Cerques Baſſa* abiding in Iconium, and

Abaſſa reconciled to the great Viſier.

Abaſſa Baſſa in Kaiſerie (neer thereunto) he was erneſtly prouoked by the Ianizaries to ſet vpon
him. But the Viſier hauing expreſſe order, not to make the breach greater with the rebel, G
but to vſe all means to appeaſe him, and to reconcile him to them, would not be drawn to conſent
therunto: for which cauſe, and ſome other their ſmall diſcontents, they twice ſtoned the
tents of the Viſier, and wounded him in the head. Wherupon hee aſſembled the Commanders
of the Spahies, declaring vnto them the great truſt the grand Signior had in them; and
ſhewing them an abſolute Order giuen him to keepe good-tearmes with *Abaſſa*, and neuer
to fall to blowes with him, he deſired them to finde ſome way of pacification betweene him
and the Ianizaries: who inſtantly promiſed their obedience and aid to execute all his commands.
Then, the Viſier called together ſome of the Captaines of the Ianizaries, and perſuaded
them ſo to worke with their companions, that a peace might bee concluded betweene H
them and *Abaſſa Baſſa*. Who finding their fellowes very vnwilling, had much adoe to perſuade
them: in the end it was agreed, that the Viſier ſhould treat and accommodate all differences.
Who preſently ſent to conferre with *Abaſſa Baſſa*; but he by no means would truſt
himſelfe, or giue a meeting, and anſwered, That hee would neuer depart from his Followers
and Army; but if he deſired to ſpeake with him in priuate, that he ſhould firſt ſend his brother
the Beglerbegh of Caramania, and *Elias* Baſſa of Natolia in hoſtages, and that then he
would come vnto him. Which diffidence of his much diſpleaſed, and the Viſier was conſtrained
to treat the peace by mediation. Which hauing at the laſt brought to effect, he took
his oath three times vpon the Alcaron, To hold him as a friend, and neuer to doe him any
violence. The Ianizaries alſo gaue their conſent in publique, promiſing to maintaine the I
word of the Viſier: and the articles of their reconciliation being drawn in writing, were ſent
to *Abaſſa*; who reciprocally made the like oath, and accepted the peace vpon the conditions
following, ſigned by the Viſier: That he ſhould be confirmed Baſſa of Arzirum, his ſon Beglerbegh
of Orfa, and his Lieutenant of Maras (all on the borders of Perſia) and that he ſhould
depart with all his army to the defence and cuſtodie of that prouince, and wait vpon the aduantages
of the Enemy.

While *Abaſſa Baſſa* did treat this accommodation, *Colophon Muſtapha Baſſa* (the principal
of his Colleagues in all his rebellion) made ſome ſhew of retyredneſſe from him, and vnderhand
to parle with the Viſier apart; and in concluſion wrot vnto him, and promiſed to deliuer
or to kill *Abaſſa Baſſa*. Which Letters of his being either intercepted or ſent him, and ſeeing K
that *Colophon* had reſolued to kil him treacherouſly, he called him into his tent, and asked
him plainly, Why he went about to betray him; and withall ſhewing him his own hand, hee
drew his ſword and claue his head, deliuering all his goods to ſome ſeruants of the Viſier, to
conſigne vnto their maſter. Then it was anew moued to *Abaſſa Baſſa*, That he ſhould aduance
with his forces preſently towards Babylon, againſt the Perſian, who had retired his main Army
to oppoſe the princes of Vsbecke, who had made ſome incurſion; leauing fiue thouſand
garriſon ſouldiers in the city. But *Abaſſa* refuſed to go, vrging, That hee was onely bound by
the Treaty to returne and make gard in his gouernment of Arzirum. Whereupon the Viſier,
forced to ariſe and aduance, he arriued at a caſtle called Nigda (neere Aleppo) wherein were
diuers chiefe followers of *Abaſſa Baſſa*; who hauing vnderſtood of the Pacification made, L
came out with preſents and victuals to meet the Viſier and his Army, and were of him well
receiued. But the Ianizaries enuying to ſee them ſo well vſed and honoured, in a fury fell vpon
them and killed them all; and vſing the opportunitie, entred the Caſtle, put to execution
their wiues and children, and euery perſon found therin, and all others that could be diſcouered
in the bordring villages appertaining to him, to the great diſcontent of the Viſier. Which
being known to *Abaſſa*, and ſeeing they had broken their oath and faith, he roſe with his Army,
and marched right to the Imperial camp; where arriuing, one of his captains with 400
horſe began the dance, and without delay fell into the Quarter of the Ianizaries, doing ſome
execution for an hour and half; in which ſkirmiſh there fell on both ſides two or three thouſand.
The Viſier ſeeing this beginning, partly forced by the Ianizaries, and partly for his honor, M
drew vp his whole army to come to a battell in their defence. Which *Abaſſa Baſſa* perceiuing,
and that which hee expected not (who hoped that the Vizier & Spahies would haue
giuen him leaue to reuenge many iniuries vpon the faith-breakers) vnwilling to fight with
the

A the grand Signiors General ſounded a retreat, and got himſelf and his army a mile or two diſtance
off. The Vizier to ſhew himſelfe faithfull to the Ianizaries, and to keepe in grace with
them, ſent four Beglerbeghs with their regiments in purſuit of him; who finding *Abaſſa Baſſa*
and his army in good order and firm, made ſome ſhew of ſkirmiſh to little purpoſe. But they
returned to the campe, and told the Vizier, that they had found him in battalion with 40000
men, and that they were not able to deale with him. The next day *Abaſſa* with many great
threatnings marched away directly for Arzirum; and the Viſier to Diarbecher, for his hybernation;
in great diſpleaſure of the Ianizaries, and the rather for that he was beloued and protected
by the Spahies.

The brother of *Mechmet Gheray* in the mean time brake through the prouince of Bugdania
B (*Radula* the Vayuod hauing made eſcape) and entred into Poland, firſt ſpoiling the country,
and driuing away all the cattel; and afterward entred Wallachia, and beſieged his ſon prince
of that country, in his caſtle of Tergouiſta, notwithſtanding they were ſubiects of the graund
Signior. And in ſted of ſending back the artillery loſt in the laſt defeat (which was expected)
he entred the caſtle of Caffa, the chief port of the Negropont, and carried away from thence
all the cannon and munition, which he tooke vp into the land to his town of Bagchaiſeray, as
if he meant to fortifie himſelfe, a practiſe at that time vnknown to the Tartars. Which were
ill ſignes of ſubmiſſion, & yet the name of Muſſulmen, at any time when they come to blows
doth eaſily accommodate all quarrels.

The Tartars make an incurſion into Poland.

About the 12 of March following, the Tartar Han ſent an Embaſſador to the Port, with an
C offer of his Maſters ſeruice, which was receiued with great joy; excuſing the entry of the Tartars
into the frontier of the Turkiſh empire, as being don in the ſeruice of the grand Signior,
only to fetch *Cante-Emir-Emirze* and his followers out of Siliſtria, and to compel them to retyre,
to auoid and take away all occaſion from the Poles to lament the injuries don by them;
that therby they alſo might take the like order for their Coſſacks, and ſo the peace might be
duly obſerued on both ſides. Whereupon a poſt was diſpatched into Poland, aduiſing what
was done, and requiring that on both parts the like correſpondence might be obſerued; or els
that the grand Signior would vnderſtand, if the Coſſackes made any new attempt, that the
peace was broken on that ſide, being they could haue no excuſe to lay the fault vpon the Tartars.
This vſe was made of the Embaſſage: yet the Vizier was not without jealouſie of the
D ſinceritie of the meſſenger, but thought he was ſent for exploration, to diſcouer the force, preparation
and reſolution of that State; and therefore they made all ſhew of good prouiſion,
arms being giuen out to the Boſtangies, and a great fleet dreſſing for the black ſea, wherin the
Coſſacks had bin already ſeen, and rumor made them to exceed 300 boats: inſomuch that all
the inhabitants of the Boſphorus did daily retyre to Conſtantinople. The fear was generall,
which was ſufficient argument of weakneſſe; and the year before had ſhewed what might be
don with a ſmall and reſolute force.

Tartar Han ſends an Embaſſadour to the Port.

1625

Now that the ſeaſon ſerued, the Perſian prepared to continue the inuaſion, and the Vizier
to oppoſe him. All the Soldierie departed towards the campe, though they intended not to
E meet, but to make war by diuerſion. *Abaſſa* got ſome credit at the Port, and they eaſily apprehended
all occaſion to beleeue his reconciliation. One of the chief commanders in the Perſian
army ſent to *Abaſſa*, to perſuade him to deliuer Arzirum his gouernment to the Sha:
which he ſeemingly accepted, and trained him on with 8000 men to take poſſeſſion; when in
the mean time he drew together his troupes, and ſuddenly ſent them vnder the conduct of a
prince of Georgia, and ſet vpon them, who ſuſpected no ſuch treaſon, routed them, and ſlew a
thouſand, whoſe heads he diuided and ſent for preſents to the Port and the camp. Vpon which
action, by the multitude he was proclaimed to be the beſt ſubiect of the graund Signior, and
named to be Vizier. But ſome thought it not ſo great an aſſurance of his fidelitie, becauſe he
went not in perſon, nor would come out of his ſtrength, though commanded to draw into the
F field to aſſiſt in the generall ſeruice: excuſing himſelfe vpon the neceſſitie of defending the
frontier. Neither could he refuſe to ſend ſome of his followers to this exploit (being vrged
therto by ſome of his Captains) without diſcouering himſelf too ſoon; his reſolution vndoubtedly
being, That while thoſe two great Oppoſits ſtroue for the whole, he would keepe a part

of Aſia,and his own head; knowing that hee could make his peace with the ſurrender to the G Conqueror,at pleaſure.

From theſe parts were not the greateſt nor neereſt feares: for the Prince of the Tartars hauing made peace with the Poles, and taken the Coſſackes into his fellowſhip, made ſhew of ſome deſigne againſt the Turkiſh Empire, and the people were indifferent,many inclining to him. The Coſſackes with three hundred Frigots croſſed the Black ſea,ſacked and burnt the ſuburbs of Trapezond,and all the adioyning coaſt; and retyring, were receiued into the port of Ghioſleue,belonging to the Tartars; which augmented the jealouſie, that they would vnite.

A new rebel in Aſia.

At the ſame time there appeared a little rebel in Natolia,one *Ianet Ogli*,a ſimple Spahi not aboue 24 years of age,dwelling in the plains of Tyria; who vnder the colour of reformation H of the commonwealth, came down to Smyrna with ten thouſand ſoldiers. The city amaſed, ſent to Conſtantinople for ſuccours, but receiued an anſwere as cold as their means to helpe them: The Chriſtians fled to their ſhips, by chance in the Port: the gouernor to the Caſtle. But it ſeemed he had priuat quarels with ſome great men in the towne,whoſe faction ſent out 4000 ſhot to keep the paſſage, which being beaten, he came before the city and executed his wil,beheaded two Caddees,puniſhed diuers inſolent ſoldiers,placed and diſplaced the Officers,and proclaiming peace in the grand Signiors name,offended no man, nor did any ſpoyle; but giuing a particular protection to the Conſuls,and promiſing them in their quarel,if they were oppreſſed,to return with his rod of correction,he departed to his own home without any further trouble. The operation of that medicine proued wholeſome, though it appeared dangerous; I and he pretended to haue had order from the State, a diſorderly way: but it was likely they did rather conniue at, than approoue of that rude execution of juſtice. Howſoeuer,not long after he had diſturbed Smyrna, he tooke vp armes again with a greater power; which followed the impunitie or proſperitie of his former attempt; for he marched toward Burſia in Natolia: and the State was forced then to take his actions into conſideration,which they would haue ouerſeen. There were two Councels held about him,and a reſolution taken, while his forces were but new and wauering, to reſiſt the beginnings, and to ſend out ſome ſtrength to ſuppreſſe him: but who ſhould command,who would obey,or whom to truſt,could hardly be agreed. He ſtill vſed the name of the Grand Signior, and the common blind of rebellion,Reformation: but what he would haue,or whither his deſigns drew him, was the more K dangerous for the vncertaintie.

The Armado ſent into the Blacke-Sea for ſuppreſſing the Coſſackes, arriuing at Varna, a garriſon towne kept by Gebegies (an inferiour Order of ſouldiers) there fell out a quarrel betweene them and the Ianizaries. Theſe (after the ſway of their inſolence) would take from the other their Ouens in their owne Towne: which being not endured, a priuate fray was begun betwixt them; which breaking out into a faction, the fellowes of both Orders became intereſſed and ingaged, and they fought a ſharp battell; many of both ſides fell,to the number of a thouſand. The Captaine Baſſa, who could not preuent this quarrell, ſought to appeaſe it, by doing ſome juſtice againſt the Gebegies; but it proued onely enough to inrage them againſt him as partiall; L and too little to ſatisfie the Ianizaries,who thereupon forſooke the gallies,and kept the land,leauing the Armado without ſoldiers to gard it,in danger of the Tartars and Coſſackes.

The great Vizier in Aſia gaue command, That no ſoldier ſhould retyre to Winter Garriſon,but ſtay with the army about Babylon, the fitteſt ſeaſon being then to make the war; diſpoſing himſelfe in the mean time to take in places of leſſe import. *Abaſſa Baſſa* moued not, and promiſed obedience in other things,but to go out of his hold of Arzirum he did peremptorily refuſe.

Strange predictions of a great plague inſuing.

The yeare and ſeaſon was full of contagion, which was obſerued by ſome forewarnings, and ſome extraordinarie diſpoſition of the aire and accidents: For on the eighth of May at midnight there was a great and fearfull earthquake at Conſtantinople, which indured about M ſix minutes, and croſſing the ſea, was felt in Greece, Aſia, and the Iſlands. And on Munday being the twenty ninth of Iune, at night there began a moſt terrible tempeſt, with ſo violent and continual thunder & lightning,that al the city of Conſtantinople ſhewed as if it had bin

on

A on fire; at the end whereof fell a ſtorme of haile, that brake tiles and glaſſes, ſo that ſtones by
report were taken vp of a hundred and fifty drams; but from credible witneſſe that weighed
diuers of them, the next morning there were found of ſixty and ſeuenty drammes apiece,
(which is about ſeuen or eight ounces) wherewith many were wounded. On Sunday the
third of Iuly, another tempeſt of thunder and lightning began at Conſtantinople, which burned
a woman and her childe in their bed, and ſlew much cattell in the field. And the fifth of
Iuly the ſickeneſſe was growne to that height, that the Turks proclaimed their publike proceſſion
and prayers; which is performed with great ſolemnity by the Muſti and all the Mullaes,
accompanied with the Viſiers and chiefe of the city, attended by the people at a little
Moſchy on the edge of the plaine of Achmadan, ouer the water on Grecia ſide: which ceremony
B is neuer vſed vntill the mortality exceed a thouſand a day; which was eaſily knowne
by the burials, that were all made without the wals, and account of them were kept at euery
Port; and that day was numbered only to go out of the gate of Adrianople nine hundred and
ſeuenteene. On the eighth following there died a thouſand thirty foure: by computation
of the whole (being many Ports of buriall) there could not die leſſe than two or three thouſand
a day, beſides Galata, Pera, and Scutari, the infection being ſpred almoſt into all the villages.
The ſame day, Proclamation was made in the city, That no Butcher ſhould kill mutton;
a murrion or plague (whither was vncertaine) hauing taken that ſort of cattell ſo violently,
that they died in multitudes with ſores in the fields; and it was not knowne what men
ſhould eat, nor where ſafely to prouide it.

C Vpon the approch of the great Vizier toward the Prouince of Babylon, there was a motion
made on the part of the King of Perſia, of peace; but it was vnderſtood by the Vizier to
be but an artifice to delay his Army. There came Embaſſadors from the Princes of Georgia,
who hauing formerly depended vpon the Perſian, were about nine yeares before betraied and
tyranniſed by him: in reuenge whereof they hauing taken protection of the Grand Signior,
and the laſt ouerthrow giuen to the Perſian (though attributed to *Abaſſa*) being executed by
a Nobleman of that Nation, they then ſent to offer themſelues in a confederacy of that war.
The meſſage was acceptable, and the Archbiſhop of Calcedon their countryman appointed
to receiue, entertaine, and returne with them as Embaſſador from the Port, to confirme and
diſpoſe the whole Nation (who were gouerned by three Princes) to enter into this League,
D and to make warre vpon the King of Perſia. The race of thoſe three Families had long ruled
that Countrey, whereof one was accounted the chiefeſt (though the others had ſeuerall juriſdictions)
of which the maſculine line was then failed, except only one, who being made
Turke young, was a Baſſa neere the Red Sea. The State ſent vnto him, and made meanes to
the Vizier, that hee might returne and be their Prince; but on condition that he ſhould become
a Chriſtian: but that being denied them, they elected the daughter of their laſt Prince,
notwithſtanding their antient Law, that excludes the ſucceſſion and rule of women; and hauing
procured therein a diſpenſation from the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, thoſe Embaſſadors
had alſo order for formes ſake, to procure the confirmation from the Grand Signior;
which was granted them.

The Perſian feignedly deſires peace, and the Georgians ſend their Embaſſadors.

E The Ianizaries mutined in the Blacke-Sea being againe appeaſed, the Captaine Baſſa ſent
out *Sackſachi Baſſa*, hauing made a fleet of an hundred and foureſcore frigots, and armed
them, to keep the riuers about Oſu, by which the Coſſackes deſcended. *Sackſachi* arriuing at
Oſu, and finding all quiet, on the Biram day went aſhore; and being at dinner, was ſurpriſed
by the Coſſackes, and hardly eſcaping, loſt all his fleet, and many of his men. The Captaine
Baſſa hauing aduice of this ouerthrow, made all haſte to Oſu, and finding no ſhew of enemy,
reſolued to go on towards Caffa; but that night the Coſſackes deſcending with their boats
by many out-lets, the Baſſa of Oſu ſent to him to returne ſpeedily and make haſte towards
Conſtantinople, for that the enemy, growne proud with their late victory, ſuppoſing no other
force abroad, were directly gone for the Boſphorus, and were reſolued to aſſault the Imperiall
F city, or at leaſt (as they boaſted) to burne the Arſinall. Vpon this aduice, the Captaine Baſſa ſet
ſaile, and the next morning by breake of day, and in a fog, fell in with the fleet of the Coſſackes
(conſiſting of three hundred and fifty frigots, that carried from forty to foureſcore
musketiers apeece) and was ſo mingled with them, that he could neither vſe his ordnance for
the danger of his owne gallies, nor auoid them without fight. Thus engaged, the Coſſackes

The Coſſackes returne to the Boſphorus.

furiouſly began the aſſault, and being three or foure boats to one gally, boorded them; twice they entred the maine maſt of the Admirall galley of the Turks, killed three at the helme, G and broke the rudder off; which being againe faſtened by foure Chriſtian ſlaues, and the Sunne breaking out, ſo as the gallies could vſe their great ſhot, and the winde riſing, the Coſſackes were forced to leaue their fight, and betake them to their oares; where in parting, with the ordnance (as was reported) thirty boats were ſunke, and ſix or ſeuen hundred men taken vp. The conflict was bloudy on both ſides, being come to hand blowes, and therein the Ianiyaries almoſt conſumed. The Captaine Baſſa ſent to the Port for ſupply of men, and all that tooke pay of the Grand Signior, euen to the old ſoldiers which were put to penſion, were ſent away, ſome to make gard at Chanakchy by land, on the mouth of the Boſphorus; other by water to re-enforce the Armado, and all was filled with trouble and terrour. The feare of the H Tartars likewiſe was not ſo extinquiſhed that there was not cauſe to expect ſome attempt by land, *Shachi Gheray* being in armes; and thoſe motions if not ſuddenly appeaſed, would occaſion another breach with Poland.

The Plague at that time raged as if it would haue diſpeopled the city of Conſtantinople and the villages adjacent, and the Francke Nations did all feele it; but the Turks and Iewes by Armies, as if they went to conquer hell, if there were no league and confederacy betweene them. On the three and twentieth of Iuly there was Corban or ſacrifice made at the gate of the Seraglio, two Beeues and a hundred Sheepe: at euery other Port of the city two Beeues and ſome Sheepe for the contagion and warre.

Ianet Ogli returned againe towards Smyrna, and the Chaya or Lieutenant of the Bey of the I city, raiſing three thouſand ſouldiers, went out againſt him, hoping to draw more to follow him: they met at a plaine, and fought valiantly, *Ianet Ogli* remaining victor, with the death of the Chaia, and two thouſand of his men: and he was dayly expected at Smyrna, hauing ſent before to aſſure the people that he would do no violence to any Trader or Inhabitant, but only renew the Oath of obedience to him, and puniſh ſome that were authors of this enterpriſe againſt him. The Merchant-ſtrangers were ſo confident in him, as they purpoſed not to ſtir, but to receiue him as their Protector; and thought the Rebell an honeſter man, than any Iuſtice of their Towne. The myſtery of this ſtrange courſe could ſcarce be penetrated, for he ſtill reported he had authority from the Grand Signior; though it was denied at the Port, for they were glad to know how to quiet him. K

Ianet Ogli taken and ſlaine.

Yet not many daies after, he fought a battell which he loſt, and was taken, being betraied by his owne followers; and it was deſired that he might be brought aliue to be ſeene at the Port; but the Ianizaries crucified him, and ſent his, and his mothers, and his brethrens heads together, ſo that the tumor was ſuddenly allayed.

About the foure and twentieth of September the gallies returned from the Blacke-Sea, with the loſſe only of foure, by a great ſtorme. The Captaine Baſſa brought in triumph two hundred and ſeuenty poore Coſſackes, and was receiued, as if *Pompey* had againe finiſhed the Piratique war, that almoſt famiſhed Rome. But they did not triumph at the victory, but ouer the conquered people; and they eſteemed this ſea fight next to that of Lepanto; but the nobler for the eſcape: for doubtleſſe if the winde had not riſen too great for the frigots, which L were in number neere foure hundred, the whole fleet had beene in danger to haue been towed Northwards euen vnto the jawes of the Enemy.

The great Deſterdar ſtrangled and throwne into the ſtreets.

About the ſame time, the great Deſterdar, Treaſuror of that Empire, was ſent for into the Kings Gardens, and there by the Buſtangi Baſſa ſtrangled and flung out in his ſhirt into the ſtreets; an vſuall end of riches and greatneſſe in that Court. Otherwiſe, the State of that Empire did then produce no remarkeable alteration: for the jealouſie of the Tartars was ſomewhat appeaſed; but the Termes with Poland were vncertaine, while the Coſſackes were yet vnreſtrained. The Grand Signior vſed all flattery to the Tartar *Han*, to enter Poland in reuenge: Which he promiſed, and rode as farre as Akyrman; but from thence excuſed his not proceeding vpon the waters: which was doubtfully interpreted, That he had no will. In the M meane time the King of Poland ſent an Army againſt the Coſſackes, to ſhew his ſincerity to the Peace; which was very well taken of the Turks.

The Perſians ouerthrown by the Georgians.

The Georgians in the meane time gaue a blow to the Perſian, and ſent many of their heads to the Port by a Nuntio; who was preſently diſpatched away with the Biſhop of Calcedon,

as

A as Embaſſador of the Grand Signior, to enter league with thoſe Princes, to make ſome di-
uerſion. *Abaſſa* the old Rebell would not yet truſt himſelfe with the Viſier, but pretended
he would vnite himſelfe with the Georgians in the ſeruice of that State; although he fortifi-
ed himſelfe ſtrongly, and diſcharged all his Ianizaries. The Grand Signior to aſſure him, or
to preuent that hee ſhould not reuolt, ſent him the dignity of a Viſier, a Sword and a Veſt,
and authority to make war in company of the Georgians, in quality of a Generall (ſo well a
ſtrong Theefe proſpered there:) and hee arriued not long after with his army at * Moſull, a ** Niniue.*
place recouered from the Perſians in the way to Babylon: who vnderſtanding of ſupply of
eight thouſand, ſent thither by the Perſian to re-inforce the garriſon, ſent out a party of
Courds, that encountred and broke them, obteining a full victory with the fall of two thou-
B ſand, and the Generall and two young Sultans taken priſoners; who were ſent to the Port,
with the heads of their followers. The news of which ouerthrow was receiued with much joy
and content in the Court. The Viſier demanded a million and two hundred thouſand Chec-
quines to be ſent before-hand for foure moneths pay of the Army; giuing this reaſon, That
foreſeeing he muſt Winter in thoſe parts, and that Babylon would be defended, it was neceſ-
ſary to haue mony to hold his ſouldiers together; for if he ſhould diuide them to their Hy-
bernation, it would be Auguſt before they could be drawne into the field, and the Spring loſt:
and to hold them that were already almoſt in mutiny, were impoſſible, vpon credit. To this
end all waies were vſed to raiſe money; a third of which ſum was ſent from the Port, but the
reſt was hardly found (for the ordinary charge far exceeded the reuenue) and fell very heauy
C vpon ſuch as were forced to contribute.

The Perſian King, reported to be taken in his limbes at the ſame time (which did com-
monly forerunne ſome ſudden enterpriſe) lay with his Army about Tauris, indifferently to
ſuccour Babylon, and to attend the Circaſſians, or to make ſome diuerſion when he ſhould
ſee the Viſiers Army ſetled and ingaged in a ſiege: Which was not long deferred; for hee
beſieged Babylon, wherein was eight thouſand Perſians in defence. His regular army (conſi-
ſting of Ianizaries and Spahies, directly paied from the Grand Signior) were lodged on the
one ſide; and the Beghs (which were thirteen) with the Timariots and Souldiers repartited
on their gouernments on the other. As they began their approches, in a morning twenty
thouſand Perſian horſe fell into the quarter of the Vizier, and did a great execution: but the
D alarme taken by the Beghs, they came to his reſcue, and the Perſians retired. In that faction
there fell fiue or ſix thouſand Turks. Whereupon after there was made a generall muſter,
and not found aboue foure thouſand Ianizaries of twelue thouſand; nor ten thouſand Spa-
hies, of thirty thouſand that were written for the war: ſo that all the ſtrength did reſt in the
Beghs, who were well followed, and little care or obedience in the other Orders. There were
ſeuen Princes of the Arabs, who were ſubject to the Grand Signior, and ought to ſerue and
aid him when they were commanded; but being ſummoned, they raiſed their forces by com-
mon conſent, and ſtaied vpon their owne borders; anſwering, They durſt not diſpleaſe the
poſſeſſor of Babylon; but if the victory did returne, they would yeeld their antient obedi-
ence vnto the Grand Signior: and if the Perſian did hold his recouered right, they alſo
E would no longer acknowledge any ſuperiour, being (as they pretended) borne of free An-
ceſtors.

About the fiue and twentieth of March there fell a great ſtorme vpon the Bailo of Venice, 1626.
for an accidentall fight by a Venetian Veſſell with a Bey of Andry: Many of the Turks were
ſlaine, and the Captaine Baſſa pretended great damages; auerring, That their gally was rich
and rifled. He anſwered wiſely and ſtoutly, That it was a chance, and would vnderſtand of no
compoſition, but onely write to the Senate to examine the cauſe by juſtice. But the Turks
ſought to draw an inference, That he, as Procurator of the Republique, was bound to ſtand in
Law before the Iudges of the Port (where he was like enough to be heard and condemned
F together) and then to remaine as a Pledge for ſatisfaction. But he would not yeeld ſo much
aduantage; inſiſting, that he was an Embaſſador, to expound the ſence of his Prince, and to
maintaine the amity: and ſo by his ſtanding mute the buſineſſe reſted in diſcontent.

The gouernment of the Turkiſh Empire daily declined, and (as a great and ſtrong Body) *The Ianizaries*
had violent luctations before it yeelded and waſted. The Ianizaries about the laſt of March *mutine againſt*
the Boſtangi
Baſſa.

mutined againſt the Boſtangi Baſſa, for beating one of their Order (for diſorder in the night) G by the Grand Signiors command, and before his window. For by their Canon, they ought to be deliuered to their owne Capes to be judged and puniſhed; yet, though the Emperors Word ſhould be aboue the Law of his ſlaues, and though he avowed the fact, ſent, and wrote vnto them, nothing would appeaſe them; onely his life they pardoned, exacting his diſplacing, with ſentence of incapability euer to beare office. He had beene a good ſeruant to his Maſter, carefull of the publique Honour, ſeuere againſt the licentiouſneſſe of the times, and therefore vnfit for them. Afterward (following the example) they began to quarrell with the Vizier, who had fauoured the Boſtangi; and with much labour they were ſilenced for a time, but not quieted. This was their eſtate: What could then ſtrangers expect, when the Emperor ſuffered injuries of his owne bondmen? H

At the ſame time, an open rupture betweene the Grand Signior and the King of Poland was like to ſucceed an inuaſion made a little before into Podolia by the Tartar *Han*; who returning from thence with a great prey, was met, and loſt with a part of it, the greateſt part of his Army. Whoſe brother *Shachin Gheray* refuſing to accompany the action, as contrary to the Peace and his Oath, ſent the Generall *Koneſpolsky* the copy of the Order from the Port; which being diſcouered, the Vizier hearkened after any ouerture or meanes to make vp the breach, and to procure a new reconciliation. But the ouerthrow giuen to the Tartars encouraged the Poles to declare their reuenge, and to auow the attempt of the Coſſackes, who were then ready with ſeuen hundred frigots to fall vpon ſome part neere Conſtantinople, munition being allowed them, and a Poliſh captaine to euery boat. They threatened to fight with I the Grand Signiors Armado, and made a vow to inueſt and carry away the Admirall galley. All the villages on the Boſphorus to the gates of Conſtantinople trembled, and the city it ſelfe was not without feare; ſoftened by certaine propheciés and Aſtrologians, who foretold a great blow from a Northerne people. Twenty gallies kept the mouth of the channell, and the Captaine Baſſa was to depart within ten daies with forty more; almoſt already conquered with his owne and the common feares.

The Grand Signiors army beſieged before Babylon.

Certaine newes was brought from Babylon, That the King of Perſia had beſieged the Viziers campe, and that he was lodged vpon his Trenches, and had cut off all acceſſe and prouiſion: ſo that the Grand Signiors care was then greater to ſaue his Army, than to recouer that City. Yet his Miniſters did abate little of their pride, but were more ready to doe a wrong or any inſolency than euer; inſenſible of their owne eſtate, or diſſembling it a peruerſe K way.

The King of Poland being yet very loth to breake the peace with the Grand Signior, which had been concluded betweene them chiefely at the inſtance and mediation of his Majeſty of Great Britaine; although the Tartars had entred his countries, and done great ſpoile, he cauſed his Miniſter to write to his Majeſties Embaſſador at the Port, to lay downe their juſt complaint: which the Embaſſador did, in confidence of his friendſhip with the Chimacham; to whom he went, directly preſſing him as well to a conſideration of his Maſters and his owne eſtate, as of that of the King of Poland: That all the burthen and blame would finally light vpon him; it being the vſuall way of great Princes, to diſcharge their failings and L errours vpon their Miniſters. This admonition moued the Chimacham much, and this was the ſubſtance of his anſwer:

In all Lawes and Religions (ſaid he) *there is nothing more odious than to be eſteemed a Lyar; becauſe Law and Religion preſuppoſe truth, eſpecially in great Miniſters, vpon whoſe faith much of the publique quiet doth depend: but moſt eſpecially at ſuch a time* (for then it was * Ramazan) *ſeparate to deuotion, that it was moſt abhominable to God to ſweare a lye, by whom he ſwore, and by the life of the King, all whoſe benefits might be poyſon to him in his heart, if euer either he or his Maſter gaue any order or intimation to the Tartar* Han *to enter Poland, or to doe any act contrary to the Peace: which if he had done he might juſtifie, ſeeing the Coſſackes the yeare before did make the firſt breach, and gaue the occaſion.* To witneſſe this aſſertion hee called the * Reitzkatab, who made no M ſcruple, *jurare in Verba Magiſtri*, to ſweare to what his Maſter had ſaid: onely he confeſſed there were Commands written to *Mehemet Gheray*, by intelligence and conſent of the Poliſh Generall, to enter the country of the Coſſacks on both ſides, to reduce them to obedience; with reſtriction of any damage to be done to thoſe comprehended in the Peace: and that what-

** Lent.*

** Chancellor.*

A whatſoeuer the Tartar Han had don more, was and ſhould be diſauowed, as beyond his Commiſſion.
Many other matters he repeated, as the remoue of *Cante-Emir*, and the death of *Hagy-Key*,
only to auoid any occaſion of their parts. And in concluſion, all his diſcourſe tended
to an expreſſion of deſire to maintaine a good and perfect Peace. His Majeſties Embaſſador
asked the Chimacham, what he was willing he ſhould write in anſwer to the King of Polands
Miniſters? Who briefely anſwered, That they had no other intent but to keepe the
late Treaty; and that if vpon the Poles part (as they had begun) the Coſſackes ſhould be reſtrained,
they would take abſolute order with the Tartars; who had no other pretence of
quarrell, but a claime of a certaine penſion (mentioned in the Treaty) vſually giuen them;
which if his Majeſty of Poland would eſtabliſh, there ſhould neuer be more occaſion of thoſe
B mutuall laments: that it were a diſhonour to the Grand Signior, to ſeeke and entreat the
comming of an Embaſſador to ſettle thoſe late diſorders; but if the King of Poland pleaſed
to ſend one, he ſhould be receiued with all rites and reſpects. To this the Engliſh Embaſſador
replied, That he doubted ſome ill example of the vſage and detention of others, would
make the Polacke wary, and difficult to engage any perſon of Quality. To which he gaue all
ſuch aſſurance of good and free acceptation as words could expreſſe. All which, the Embaſſador
returned in writing to the Miniſters of Poland; entreating both parties to conniue at
what was paſt, and endeauor by all meanes afterward to reſtraine thoſe mutuall incurſions,
which were begun anew by the Coſſackes, the noiſe of whom had ſtrucke the Imperiall city
with great feare.

The Spahies cauſe the Chimacham to be ſtrangled.

** Maſter of the horſe.*

C Vpon the third of Iune the Spahies aſſembled in the Hippodrome; diſcontent with the
gouernment of the old Chimacham *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa* (the ableſt and wiſeſt man in that
State, but to Chriſtians malicious, and of the Poles a continuall perſecutor) who had the authority
of the great Viſier in his abſence at the war; and in great fury ran to the houſe of the
Mufti, and demanded of him to pronounce a ſentence of death againſt him, and that hee
would riſe and informe the Grand Signior of their will; which if he refuſed, they threatened
a generall reuolt, and to doe their owne juſtice. There was no remedy; the Emperor being
enformed, was pleaſed inſtantly to diſplace him, and to giue the office to *Regeb* Captain Baſſa,
or Admirall, and his office to * *Imbrahor Baſſa*; hoping thus to quiet all matters. But this
gaue them no ſatisfaction, they demanded in greater fury his life. The poore old man was
D retyred into the Grand Signiors protection, who vſed all meanes to appeaſe them, offering to
baniſh or confine him: but nothing would content or ſeparate them vntill he had deliuered
him vp; who the next day was ſtrangled and throwne into the ſtreets, where the Barbarians
vented their ſpleene vpon his dead body, cutting off his eares and noſe, and carrying them in
triumph to their fellowes. Preſently they demand the life of ſome others, principally of *Morat
Chiaus* the Cuſtomer (odious to all men) whom when they could not finde, they ſacked
his houſe. Within a day or two after they began to be quiet, vpon promiſe, That if he could
be found he ſhould be rendred to them, and others be brought to Iuſtice: but all feared that
that Peſtilence and Deſtruction of the city would eſcape by force of his money, hauing three
times before beene in the like danger. That great Miniſter or Chimacham was ninety ſix
E yeares old, had been forty fiue yeares Viſier, and thrice Chimacham. The great ſeruices he
had done, euen to the preſeruation of the Empire, nor any other reſpect could protect him
from this rage. The occaſion then taken againſt him, was, That he did conceale the ill eſtate
of the army in Babylon, flattering the Grand Signior, while their fellowes periſhed; and certaine
Letters written in bloud, pretended from the Campe, produced to accuſe him; which
afterward were diſcouered to be written in Conſtantinople. When the ſentence was deliuered
to the Boſtangi Baſſa, he came to the lodging of the Chimacham in the Kings Garden,
where he thought himſelfe in ſanctuary, and for reuerence to his age and place, held it (being
written) in his hand, rather to intimate, than to be the meſſenger. The poore old man perceiuing
it, deſired an houre to pray; and conjured him to warne the Grand Signior, hereafter, not
F to be ſo eaſie to conſent to ſhed innocent bloud, which within few daies he would repent: and
laſtly he entreated, that he might not die by the foule hands of the Hangman: which coſt him
deare; for the Boſtangies executioners, either for reſpect, or for want of skill, could not finiſh
his life (ſo great was his old heart) in one houre: he was buried by a few Raſcals, his owne
ſeruants hid, and no man daring to accompany him to his laſt Bed.

The immediate foregoing diſcourſe was filled with the injuſtice and inſolency of man; G but this bringeth with it the example and juſtice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his enemies and wicked men, vnjuſtly ſpilt, to preſerue his image euen amongſt them that ſtudy to deſtroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldneſſe, *Non eſſe curæ deus ſecuritatem eorum, eſſe vltionem*: The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the laſt ſedition, or being innocent, vnwilling to participare in the infamy, or rather it was theit turne to do ſomewhat; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Conſtantinople in the channell, and came downe to a garden houſe vpon the ſea in the night, where the Emperor priuatly repoſed, and began to exclaime againſt the death of the innocent; proteſting they had no ſhare therein, but as obedient ſlaues they deſired the peace of the State, and that Iuſtice and quietneſſe might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accuſed as H the authors of thoſe tumults, they named their owne * *Segmen Baſſa* as the principall, and eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Signior gaue them milde words, and promiſed to do juſtice, and to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be found guilty: but nothing being don to ſatisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a party to all their counſels, at leaſt his preferment made him obnoxious to that ſuſpition; and it was moſt true, that the *Segmen Baſſa* and his followers & faction were the contriuers of the fall and muther of *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not protected by the new Miniſter; the Ianizaries roſe againe, and by force brought downe the gallies I neere the City, and landed and held a Councell very ſecret in their chambers. This bred much ſuſpition and feare; but the day of publique audience being come, according to the cuſtome, they repaired all to the Seraglio, and waited in their order: their *Segmen Baſſa* only did not appeare; and it was thought he abſented purpoſely by agreement with the Chimacham, leſt there ſhould be ſome occaſion to examine the paſt buſineſſe, which would not endure the light. The * Diuan being finiſhed, and the Viziers and * Caddee Leſchers comming towards the gate, they were ſtopped by the Ianizaries, and told plainely they would ſpeake with the King. Such perſuaſions as were requiſite were vſed; but there was no remedy, they would deliuer their owne meſſage. The young Emperor at firſt was afraid, and retired; but to auoid greater inconueniences, reſolued to come out to them. Order was inſtantly K giuen to ſend for the Mufti and the Antients of the Law, and many * Santons, for the *Segmen Baſſa*, and others of quality to be preſent at this action. 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They deſired their Petition might be accepted, and thoſe diſturbers of the peace ſought out and executed, in which they would aſſiſt: and that new names and titles might be forbidden, which many had taken vp as Heads of Factions; and the Souldiery reduced to their antient diſcipline: Which if his Majeſty would grant and ſpeedily put in practiſe, they were ready to die in his ſeruice; otherwiſe, as there was no hope of quietneſſe, ſo they did foreſee greater miſchiefes dayly contemplated, which they would oppoſe as well as they were able.* At the end of this Oration (which might haue become a *Cato*) they deliuered a briefe petition in writing, wherein they modeſtly accuſed the new Chimacham of confederacy and conniuence with their *Segmen Baſſa*, whom they anew appealed, and gaue vp the names of thoſe their owne Officers, and Spahies, vpon whom they layd all the burthen of the dayly tumults. 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While the Grand Signior was thus troubled with appeaſing his diſordered and mutinous C Miniſters and ſlaues at home, newes was brought from Babylon, That his campe there was in great extremity, beſieged without by the Perſian, Maſter of the field, and conſequently of their prouiſions; nakedneſſe, famine, and diſeaſes within, were more terrible than the Enemy; and the ſupplies ſent, ſtaied at Dierbeker, not daring to proceed without better gards: inſomuch as if ſpeedy ſuccors were not giuen them, the army muſt diſhonourably and dangerouſly breake and ſteale away. But hereupon there was a publike Councell held, in which all Orders as well ciuill as military aſſiſted; and a preſent ſupply collected, and a Generall choſen to conduct them.

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To the moſt glorious amongſt the great Lords of Ieſus, and chiefe amongſt the higheſt of the people of Meſſiah, Directors of all the affaires of Chriſtians, Princes of the limits of power and honour, Lords who direct to greatneſſe and glory, and Kings ouer many Nations, who antiently haue declared themſelues to beare true loue and affection to our high Port: and to all Kings and Princes, glorious Potentates, and other Gouernors of the people of Ieſus, whoſe laſt daies we pray God may euer be happy: but eſpecially to thoſe who haue at the preſent deſired the friendſhip of our moſt happy Port, the ſanctuary and refuge of the Cæſars *and Princes of our age. To them let it be knowne, vpon the ſight of our moſt high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at our happy Port, a meſſenger with a Letter from the moſt glorious amongſt the followers of Ieſus, and the moſt reſpected and honoured amongſt the people* F *of the Meſſiah, Director of the affaires of the Nazarene people, Patron of the limits of honour and power, and Lord of greatneſſe and glory,* Bethlem Gabor, *Gouernour of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungary, whoſe laſt daies be propitious; being a true ſeruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by the great mercy of the moſt high God euer preſerued; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of Prophets our Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha *(whom God bleſſe) kept ſafe, with a moſt noble, high, and*

The immediate foregoing diſcourſe was filled with the injuſtice and inſolency of man; but this bringeth with it the example and juſtice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his enemies and wicked men, vnjuſtly ſpilt, to preſerue his image euen amongſt them that ſtudy to deſtroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldneſſe, *Non eſſe curæ deus ſecuritatem eorum, eſſe vltionem:* The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the laſt ſedition, or being innocent, vnwilling to participate in the infamy, or rather it was their turne to do ſomewhat; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Conſtantinople in the channell, and came downe to a garden houſe vpon the ſea in the night, where the Emperor priuatly repoſed, and began to exclaime againſt the death of the innocent; proteſting they had no ſhare therein, but as obedient ſlaues they deſired the peace of the State, and that Iuſtice and quietneſſe might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accuſed as the authors of thoſe tumults, they named their owne * *Segmen Baſſa* as the principall, and eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Signior gaue them milde words, and promiſed to do juſtice, and to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould be found guilty: but nothing being don to ſatisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a party to all their counſels, at leaſt his preferment made him obnoxious to that ſuſpition; and it was moſt true, that the *Segmen Baſſa* and his followers & faction were the contriuers of the fall and muther of *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not protected by the new Miniſter; the Ianizaries roſe againe, and by force brought downe the gallies neere the City, and landed and held a Councell very ſecret in their chambers. 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To them let it be knowne, vpon the ſight of our moſt high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at our happy Port, a meſſenger with a Letter from the moſt glorious amongſt the followers of Ieſus, and the moſt reſpected and honoured amongſt the people* F *of the Meßiah, Director of the affaires of the Nazarene people, Patron of the limits of honour and power, and Lord of greatneſſe and glory,* Bethlem Gabor, *Gouernour of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungary, whoſe laſt daies be propitious ; being a true ſeruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by the great mercy of the moſt high God euer preſerued ; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of Prophets our Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha *(whom God bleſſe) kept ſafe, with a moſt noble, high, and* continued off-ſpring: which did ſignifie, That ſome of you who in theſe parts be Kings and great Gouernors, and chiefeſt and moſt glorious of the honoured and famous amongſt the Lords that are obedient to the Meſsiah, haue antiently ſhewed your ſelues conſtant and firme in your affection and ſincere good will to our high Port; and that ſome others of you, being Lords of great Countries, do now deſire friendſhip and acquaintance with our Imperiall Majeſty; and that the Gouernour of Tranſyluania and King of Hungary, holdeth at the preſent good friendſhip and correſpondence with you, and that you haue vnited your ſelues with him for good and honourable ends: who letteth vs vnderſtand, That you haue ſent Meſſengers and Letters to him; certifying him, That although ſome of you were antient and vndoubted friends long before of our high Port; yet others of you who haue beene more remote, doe now deſire to approch our familiarity; and that he ſhould be the guide and preſenter of the ſincere Faith and good affection which you pretend to haue with vs. And the ſaid Bethlem Gabor King of Hungary, in obſeruance of the perfect obedience and loue to our happy Port, hath enformed vs of the truth of your ſtate, and your offered friendſhip. Which his Letter, with all the particulars therein contained, we haue cauſed to be tranſlated by our Viſiers, and preſented to our Imperiall view; ſo that nothing therein hath been hidden or vnknowne to vs from the beginning to the end: the particulars whereof hath pleaſed our happy eies, and the friendſhip which you haue deſired to make with our high Port, hath been accepted of our Imperiall Majeſty: and all thoſe things he certified there are moſt acceptable to our ſincere minde; aſſuring you, That our high Port hath and ſhall be at all times open to the whole World, but eſpecially to thoſe who by a freſh and new friendſhip ſeeke to enter in and receiue it. And as all our Progenitors, and we our Selfe, to all the Friends of our houſe haue beene euer benigne and courteous, ſo to you ſhall be ſhewed all honour from our Imperiall dignity, and more fauour than to others who are your equals. And in token that you may know we do accept of your loue and friendſhip offered, we giue you ſafe conduct to ſend your Embaſſadors into our high Court; writing this our Letter vnto you, full of all affection and integrity. At the arriuall whereof it is meet, that in conformity of the good affection and ſincere friendſhip which you haue promiſed and expreſſed to our high Port, you vſe all diligence and care to fulfill and proſecute this worthy and good buſineſſe which you haue begun, hauing your minds attentiue and ſetled vpon the ſame, in ſuch ſort as they be ſtable and ſure, according to antient cuſtome in like caſes. And to other Kings, friends of this Port, you ſhall ſend your Embaſſadors of Honour, that the means of loue and friendſhip may encreaſe euery day; and the good effects vpon our part ſhall be dayly augmented, and the houres of our affection ſhall go forward and continue: and by the grace of the high God, your Embaſſadours or other Miniſters comming to our happy Port, ſhall haue aſſigned them euery one apart their houſes; and according to the forme and manner of our Imperiall Majeſty, ſhall be entertained and protected; and when it ſhall be fit for them to returne to you againe, we will take order that they ſhall haue commodious and ſafe paſſage. Therefore reſt ſatisfied in minde, and giue good credit to theſe our happy lines ſet downe concerning this affaire: and be you alſo firme and conſtant in your friendſhip, correſpondence, and confederacy. And we haue ſent to Muhemet Baſſa our Viſier, &c. (whoſe glory God continue) who at the preſent is Gouernor of Buda, our expreſſe Commands, and giuen order, That all the Armies belonging to him, of Buda, Boſnia, Temeſware, Caniſia, and Agria, and other places adjoyning thereunto; and beſides them, to the moſt eminent Beglerbeghs of the Prouince of Greece (whoſe Armies belong vnto him) the moſt valiant Captaines of all our Empire; and to other perſonages of eminent ranke, who haue vnder their command many thouſands of men; That they repaire to our ſaid Viſier and Generall, (whoſe glory God encreaſe) and being all gathered together, that they make their Muſters and Campe at the confines neere Buda, in ſuch a place and part as ſhall be fit for that purpoſe. And on the other ſide alſo, That Bethlem Gabor (Gouernour of Tranſyluania, and King of Hungary, ſhall leauie a good Army, and keepe good correſpondence with our ſaid Viſier, that they may be in a readineſſe and prepared, in caſe that any Enemy inuade the ſaid King of Hungary, or the Prouince of Tranſyluania; that then they vſe all their diligence and readineſſe to repell them, and fulfill all thoſe duties which concerne the honour of our State, and are beſeeming the reputation of our Religion. And by the grace of God, after that your Embaſſadors (honourable and fit perſonages) ſhall come here with your Letters, and eſtabliſh a good Peace and friendſhip, there ſhall be no doubt but you and your Countries and Allies ſhall be protected by vs, and hereafter comprehended in all our Treatiſe of Peace which we ſhall conclude and eſtabliſh. In concluſion, All that which our noble minde can expreſſe or promiſe, ſhall be effected: whereof we haue giuen notice at large to all our Miniſters. Of euery other particular the Gouernor of Tranſyluania and King of Hungary will write to you more amply; to whom I deſire you to giue faith and credit; and to obſerue good correſpondence, both with him and our ſaid Viſier Muhamet, Baſſa of Buda; and you ſhall write vnto vs

(when

A *(when this our Imperiall letter ſhall come to your hands) of what other thing ſhall happen, by your embaſſadors; which by the grace of God you ſhall ſend to our high Port: and you ſhall be very carefull alwaies, to fulfill the beginnings of this our friendſhip and amitie.*

Written in the middle of the month of Iuly,
1626. In Conſtantinople.

About this time there arriued a Letter from the King of great Brittaine to the grand Signior, concerning the Treaty of Algier and Tunes, and complaining of diuers injuries done to B his ſubiects, and requiring juſtice and redreſſe, Which being reſpectiuely anſwered, are worthy of publique communication.

His Maieſties Letter to the grand Signior.

CHARLES *by the grace of the moſt high God, King of great Britain, France and Ireland; Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, &c. To the high and mighty Emperor Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman Kingdom, *ſole & ſupreme* C *Monarch of the Eaſtern Empire, ſendeth greeting.*

WE haue vnderſtood by our Embaſſador reſident with you, with how much honor and reſpect the death of our dear Lord and Father of euer-glorious memory was condoled at your Imperiall Port; And if the ſignification therof, and of our peaceable ſucceſſion to theſe Crowns, haue not in all this time come vnto you immediatly from our ſelfe, it hath not bin through any default of our affection, or reſpect to you, but many important affaires vpon our firſt acceſſe, and the dangerous infection wherewith our royall city of London, and many D *other principall parts of our Kingdom haue been viſited, haue diuerted vs, and forced vs to defer theſe offices longer than we intended or deſired. And as we hope you will for theſe important reaſons, readily and freely excuſe thoſe omiſſions which in ſo weighty occaſions may well be diſpenſed withall; ſo we pray you to be aſſured, That wee are deſirous that the amitie which hath of long time bin held between our predeceſſors, may be renued, continued, and confirmed; and the intercourſe of trade betweene our ſubiects and yours, be maintained and preſerued, for the good of both our kingdoms and people. And to giue you the better proofe of our reall and ſincere intentions therein, we haue ratified, and do ratifie the treaty made by our Embaſſador Sir* Thomas Rowe *in that your Imperiall Port, with your* E *Subjects of Algier and Tunes; and we canot doubt, but that you for your part will keep a conſtancie in the exact performance thereof, and to that end will lay your royall command vpon theſe your vaſſals of Algier and Tunes, duly to obſerue the articles of that Treaty in all reſpects toward our ſubiects. We do likewiſe recommend vnto you, and pray you, in conformitie to our deſire of friendſhip and good correſpondencie, to confirme and ratifie thoſe priuiledges which haue bin formerly granted by your predeceſſors to our Merchants, and to inlarge the ſame according to preſent occaſions, and as ſhall be moſt conuenient for the good of both our Kingdomes: which as we will ſtudy by all good means to keepe vp in full force, and moſt aduantagious* F *execution; ſo we may not omit to repreſent vnto you the grieuances of our ſubiects when they are vniuſtly wronged, contrary to the capitulations between vs, and we preſume without your knowledge or conſent. That which we haue now to deſire your juſtice in, is, Firſt, for extreame injuries done by inferior officers, and eſpecially by one* Morat Chaus *a Cuſtomer of*

that Port, who hath not only broken, but alſo ſcorned and contemned the articles of the Capi- G
tulation, and that in the publique Divan, to your diſhonour, and to the great preiudice of our
Merchants. Secondly, an open injuſtice don to our ſubiects in Algier, wherin our Engliſh Con-
ſul and the reſt of our Nation were reſtrained of their liberty, their goods ſeiſed vpon, and
forced to pay great ſums of mony, contrary to juſtice and the direct terms of the Treaty. But if
while we on our behalfe do obſerue the Capitulation, and all good tearmes of friendſhip, ſuch
meane perſons as Cuſtomers and other Officers be ſuffered and borne out in theſe vniuſt inſo-
lencies and oppreſsions vpon our ſubiects, in a manifeſt breach of the Capitulations, we canot
ſhut our ears againſt the petitions of our ſubiects, but muſt according to their humble ſuit, giue H
order to withdraw their perſons and eſtates from ſuch dangers, wrongs, and injuſtice; vnleſſe
vpon this our inſtance we find a ſpeedy redreſſe & exemplary puniſhment inflicted vpon ſuch
as haue or ſhall tranſgreſſe the rules of juſtice, and the amity and contract between vs; which
we recommend to your iudgement and care, as a matter wherein the welfare of our and your
people and countries is intereſſed. We do further particularly pray you, to giue expreſſe order
for the vpholding and maintaining of that article of priuiledge, for the paying but only of one
Cuſtom within all the ports vnder your juriſdiction, with free liberty to export any commodi-
tie, hauing once payd cuſtom, without further charge, and that our ſubiects be not exacted vp- I
on contrary to that priuiledge. The further particulars of our ſubiects grieuances, and what
elſe we deſire to be negotiated with you, we haue giuen in charge to our Embaſſador Sir Tho-
mas Rowe, *to whom we pray you to giue credit, and to return vs full anſwers to the ſeuerall*
points of this our letter. Wherin if you ſhall giue reliefe to our ſubiects, and puniſh thoſe that
violate the capitulation, we ſhal receiue it as a ſingular teſtimony of your juſtice, your good in-
tentions toward vs, your conſtancie in your contracts, and your iudgement in what hath
relation to the good of your owne Dominions; and we ſhall be ready to anſwer that realtie of
yours, in whatſoeuer ſhall reſt on our part to perform.

Dated the firſt of March, 1626.

The grand Signiors Anſwer to his Majeſties *Letter of Great Britain.*

Prince *Morat*, euer ſucceſſefull;

L

TO the mighty Prince, reuerend amongſt the Maieſties of the Princes of the Law of Ieſus, obeyed of the great Potentates Followers of the Meſsia, *the onely Director of the important affairs of the Nazaren people, Soueraign of the limits of honor and power, the most glorious* CHARLES *King of Great Britaine; To whoſe laſt dayes we wiſh all felicitie.*

M

TO the ſublime and happy Throne of our high Port, the Seat of the perpetuall Vicariat, *the which by the mercy of the Diuine Maieſtie of the mighty God, and by the grace of the Lord was the Seale of the Prophets, vpon whom be continuall bleſsing, and the refuge of the Princes vpon the face of the earth, and the Sanctuarie of the Potentates of the world; your Letter with accuſtomed ſinceritie is* arriued, by the hands of your Embaſſador, the elect among the Nation of Meſſiah, Sir Thomas Rowe, reſident in our happy Port, to whoſe end we wiſh bleſſedneſſe. The which, according to the antient Ottoman cuſtome, and the vſed Imperiall forme, was by our ſupream Vizier and glorious Vicegerent tranſlated and expounded; and being preſented before our State of moſt ample honour and felicitie, and ſeene by our Imperiall eies, and conſidered by our benigne ſight, from the beginning to the end, our noble vnderſtanding hath intirely perceiued the inſerted buſineſſe, and all particulars thereof; and our diſcreet aſpection, from the leaſt to the greateſt, hath comprehended all your propoſed affaires, all which conduce to loue. The principall whereof is (beſides that you haue fully mentioned, and declared the ſtate of the Amitie that between both Dominions hath been preſerued by your Fathers and Anceſtors) That now your Majeſtie, after your Father of glorious memorie, being by iuſt inheritance aſcended to the Regalitie of thoſe Crownes, doth aduiſe vs, That you alſo more than your Father, are ſtable and firme in the ſame way of friendſhip, and moſt conſtant towards vs, in preſeruation of the Peace and good correſpondence, and daily attentiue to endeauour the ſtrengthning of the Peace and Amitie with our Port, and reſolued to accompliſh the ſame; and not to faile in any part of louing correſpondence. With which your friendly aduice, with moſt ſincere words expreſſed, are to vs moſt gratefull; That you in a bleſſed houre, and a happy time, haue poſſeſſed, and begun to reigne in the Kingdomes of your Father; the ſecret of our pureſt heart was greatly reioyced, and did conceiue abundance of contentment, and our Imperial Maieſty alſo hath therfore obtained, and together expreſſed all manner of gladneſſe and loue toward your Majeſty, in diuining you all happineſſe.

You haue alſo aduiſed vs, That your aboue named Embaſſador, yet abiding in our bleſſed Port, hauing formerly treated with thoſe of Tunes and Algier, and contracted concerning your Merchants, and their free traffique and commerce in thoſe partss, and conformably with them agreed, concluded and confirmed the Peace; the which being very profitable and commodious to both our Kingdomes, that you haue alſo ratified, and in the whole condiſcended thereunto; deſiring, That on our behalfe alſo the ſame ſhould be obſerued: and to the end that for euer hereafter there may be no deuiation from the ſame Accord, and that to the Merchants, according to the antient Cuſtome, going and comming to thoſe parts to traffique and negotiate, contrary to the Imperiall Capitulation, no iniury may be by them done; That we ſhould ſend to our Vice-Kings our expreſſe commands. Therefore you ſhall know, That we haue already ſent to our ſaid Vice-Royes, with expreſſe order, our moſt efficacious and Imperiall Commandements, and ſtrictly charged them, Neuer to tranſgreſſe the ſame contracted Agreement; and that they take heed, Not to do any wrong or violence to any of your Merchants (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) trading and vſing thoſe parts.

And furthermore hauing ſignified vnto vs, That certaine Magiſtrates and Cuſtomers of ſome Scales of our well defended Empire, contrary to the Articles and Couenants written in the Imperiall Capitulations, do make diuers demands of grieuances and impoſitions of your Merchants, and vnder the name of Meſteria,* and ſuch like, do pretend and exact money from them: and hauing alſo aduiſed vs, That conformable to the Imperiall Capitulation, your Merchants hauing paid their due cuſtome, and tranſporting their goods to other Scales; That they alſo demand of them a new Cuſtome: Therefore it being in no wiſe our Imperiall will that in our proſperous days, and iuſt and peacefull reigne, according to our Imperiall Capitulation, That wrong ſhould be done to any man; We haue giuen vpon this particular, our requiſite and ſufficient Imperial Command, and ſtreitly commanded and ordained, That they ſhall neuer tranſgreſſe our Imperiall Capitulation; and that the Nation of your Merchants, in what place or Scale ſoeuer they ſhall go, the Magiſtrates and Cuſtomers do all diligence, that the ſaid Merchants may liue quietly, contentedly, and ſecurely; and hauing payd in one Scale the cuſtome of any merchandiſe, which being not ſold, and that they ſhall tranſport it to any other Scale, that they take great heed, not to demand nor take of them any new Cuſtome, nor euer, contrary to the Canon, to exact of them any new impoſition or other grieuance.

* Church duties.

You haue alſo further aduiſed vs, That the late Huſſreph Baſſa, while he remained in the charge of Vice-King of Algier, did vniuſtly take your Conſul, reſident in Algier, with the Merchants which liued with him, and hauing impriſoned them contrary to the Law, Iuſtice, and the friendſhip betweene vs, did take from them certaine thouſands of Dollars, and had done to them other great wrong and damage: therefore, ſeeing it is more cleere than the Sunne-ſhine day, that it is not in any ſort by our conſent, that ſuch injuſtice and inſolent actions ſhould be committed, and there being then preſent in our happy Port ſome of the principall perſons of the garriſon of that place of Algier, who did know the whole proceeding, and we hauing commanded they ſhould bee examined of that buſineſſe, they were preſently

brought to Iuſtice, and being all of them variouſly reprehended and affrighted, they did anſwer, confeſſing G
and obliging themſelues, That all the money taken they would repay from the reuenue of the cuſtome, and
Fiſts collected; and as ſoon as they ſhould arriue in Algier, they would take order that the Conſul and all
the Merchants ſhould be ſet free. In conformity whereof, we alſo haue written our moſt effectuall and noble
Command, reprehenſiue and threatning, directed to the Vize-Re of Algier, and commanded him, That in
this buſines he vſe no negligence, but that without further delay he ſet at liberty the ſaid Conſul and Merchants,
and reſtore vnto them entirely all their goods taken from them, and that he know, that hereafter no
ſuch action ſhall be pardoned; and that your Conſul ſent into thoſe parts, according to antient cuſtome,
ſhall be entertained and honoured, and that hee doe punctually obſerue and execute the due tearmes of
friendſhip.

And in the Concluſion, concerning all the included particulars of your Letter; in due forme, and H
befitting our Majeſtie the Fountaine of Iuſtice, and conformable to the Tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations,
there haue been written diuers our noble Commandements, and conſigned to the hands of your
ſaid Embaſſadour; and for the time to come, in all things which ſhall lead to the increaſe of our friendſhip,
and thoſe offices, commodious and profitable to the Merchants of both our Dominions, our Imperiall
ſtudy and attention ſhall not bee ſpared: and be you aſſured, that the termes of our Amitie and
good correſpondence which to this day hath been continued, ſhall bee of vs with excellent endeauor maintained.

But being informed from our honorable Gouernor, wiſe Councellor, and Viſier, **Haydar Baſſa** (whoſe
ſplendor God preſerue) whom wee haue aſſigned and ſent to the cuſtodie of the boundleſſe Ayman, that
there is come a petition, with a repreſentation and atteſtation of the principall of that Kingdome, to our I
happy Port, declaring, That in times paſt, in the gouernment of our **Fezeli Baſſa**, Vizier, now dead, being
that certaine men of war appertaining to your Kingdomes, had contrary to the Capitulations, aſſailed
the Merchants which with their goods returned from India, and fought and taken their ſhips, and it
being made knowne to the ſaid **Fezeli Baſſa**, that our Merchants had been damaged to the value of ſix
hundred thouſand Dollars: which action being it was contrary to Law, Iuſtice, and our Imperiall Capitulation,
and that it was requiſite that the ſpoylers ſhould be condemned, the ſaid **Fezeli Baſſa** did collect
from the Maſters of the ſaid men of warre, for the ſaid goods taken from our Merchants, an hundred
thouſand Dollars, and did conſigne it to the true owners: and whereas there was yet remaining to them
fiue hundred thouſand Dollars, the which to this day is not ſatisfied, the ſaid men of warre not containing
themſelues in due forme, haue armed a new ſeuen ſhips from your Countrey, and haue come and aſſailed K
fourteen ſhips of our Merchants, which from India were ſailing to the Scale of Ayman, and hauing
taken the Maſters priſoners, haue made ſpoyle and depredation of all their facultie; and that now
the Dutch Nation and your men of warre ride at anchor in the Port of Mecha, and do pretend the return
of the hundred thouſand Dollars taken by **Fezeli Baſſa**. Which brute and ſcandolous wickedneſſe, in affront
of our Imperiall power, to dare to perſeuer, and to ſpoyle and ranſacke thoſe parts, being ſignified to
the feet of our Imperiall Throne, the Ocean of Iuſtice, and that thoſe robbed Merchants are ſubjects of
our well defended Dominion. Being in no manner our Imperiall will, that there ſhould be loſt one of the
ſaid Veſſels, nor any the leaſt part of their goods detained; and being that ſuch an action is very ingratefull,
and oppugnant to the Peace and friendſhip between vs contracted, to the end that all the ſaid Merchants
may bee ſet free, and that their goods and faculties taken, may bee entirely reſtored to the true L
owners; which your Majeſtie cauſing to be done, you ſhall accompliſh the requiſite termes of true Amitie,
and ſhall fulfill the offices of our ſincere Correſpondence, and ſhall ſtrengthen the foundation of our
good and mutuall fidelitie and League, wee haue written you this our preſent Letter, full of all effectuall
Loue.

At the arriuall whereof it is conuenient, that in conformitie of the great perfect and ſpotleſſe Amitie
between your Anceſtors and our happy Port, and the Imperiall houſe of eternall glory, and the antient
good Concord, Vnion and Correſpondence, that alſo your Maieſtie ſhould be firme and ſtable in all waies,
with iuſt proceedings to preſerue and maintaine the meanes and Orders of friendſhip deſcended from
your Fathers and Anceſtors. And if your Maieſtie deſire and will, That the termes of Amitie, and
our good correſpondence ſhall be carefully obſerued and kept, you will then beſtow your good diligence and M
care, that the aboue mentioned happened action, ſo diſcrepant from our Imperiall minde and will, that is,
as is aboue written, That the fourteene ſhips of our Merchants which came from India to our well defenced
Dominion, and Scale of Ayman, and were taken and ſurpriſed by the Engliſh Men of war, and
the Merchants which were found in them all made ſlaues, and all their goods and faculties made prize;

that they may be all ſet free, and all the goods taken from the ſaid Merchants may be entirely reſtored to the true owners; and ſo your Maieſtie ſhall haue conſerued our moſt happy mind and affection, and protected our moſt honorable and noble deſires: the performing of which your friendly office, vndoubtedly will produce to your Kingdomes many beneficiall and profitable effects; and certainly you ſhall finde, that it will redound to the great honour and fame of your Maieſty. And by the Grace of God, after that this our happy and moſt louing Letter ſhall arriue by ſome honourable perſon, and to you faithfull; be you pleaſed to ſend aduice to our excelſe Port, of the manner of your vſed diligence and affection in this buſineſſe, and of the effect of the libertie of our ſhips and Merchants, and of the full reſtitution of all the goods taken, to their right owners; and with what readines you haue expreſſed your ſinceritie and affection to our Imperiall Maieſty. Which buſineſſe we haue alſo earneſtly recommended to your aboue named Embaſſadour, that when he ſhall more largely haue enformed you, that you be pleaſed to giue him credit, and that in the time to come you will attend to apprehend all thoſe means worthy the conſeruance of our Friendſhip, Peace, and Correſpondence.

Written in the fifteenth of the Moon *Gemaziel evell*, in the yeare of the departure of the Prophet, vpon whom be eternall bleſſing: 1036.

Giuen in our well-defenced City of Conſtantinople.

Which is the 20 of Ianuary, 1626.

Vpon the opportunitie of the foreſaid troubles within the Turkiſh Empire, and either to giue reputation to the Armes of the Houſe of Auſtria in Germany, or to affright *Gabor*, and diſſolue the correſpondence which he had practiſed with ſome Allyes, or perhaps hoping really to obtaine a peace, and by the eaſe both of expence, and vſe of ſo many ſouldiers on the the frontier of ſo great an enemie as the grand Signior, to effect with more expedition their vniuerſall ends; there was in the month of Iune, in the yeare 1625, a Gentleman diſpatched from the Vice-Re of Naples, in a frigot of the Spaniſh King, accompanied with ſix or ſeuen ſeruants, with Commiſſion to goe to Conſtantinople, and being there arriued, to deliuer certaine Letters of ouerture of a peace between the grand Signior and the King of Spaine. To aſſiſt him in his Negotiation, there was ſent by ſeuerall waies a Benedict Frier called *Padre Beril*, and a Greek brought vp in the colledge at Rome, called *Cannachi Roſſi*, both practiſed in the waies of that court, and formerly imploied in other ſeruices of intelligence and exploration. Their Inſtructions were forked; theſe to practiſe on the Greek Church to ſupplant the Patriark; and if both the treaty & their machinations ſhould fail, to attempt to raiſe the Coſſacks, by promiſe of a ſum of mony, to trouble the grand Signior, and to diuert his forces and reſolution from aſſiſting the Prince of Tranſylvania in Hungary, as ſhall bee at large mentioned in a ſubſequent diſcourſe. The gentleman was born a Bologneſe, and had ſerued *Gaſparo Gratiani*, late Prince of Walachia, and by that means had ſome experience and acquaintance at the Port. On the way he gaue himſelf out for an Embaſſador: which raiſed more rumor, and gaue warning to thoſe who were diſaffected to the ſucces of his vndertakings. But before we relate how he proceeded, it will giue ſome light to later negotiations, to look a little higher, vpon what ground and occaſions this enterpriſe was aduanced.

The State of Spain hauing often (eſpecially when it was preſſed with any neceſſitie) practiſed to make a peace with the Turkiſh Empire; particularly by the mediation of a Iew, taking the name of *Gabriel de Buona Ventura*, who was ſent with Letters and inſtructions from *Chriſtophoro de Mora* and *Catagneo* the Secretary in the time of *Rodulphus* the ſecond, who had then war with Sultan *Morat*; whoſe enterpriſe being diſcouered at Vienna, was by the Emperor interrupted. In the year 1619, the Baron *Molart* being then Embaſſador for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, he diſpatched firſt a Captaine called *Franciſco*, and after him *Padre Antonio Berill*, with inſtructions of one tenor vnto the Duke of Oſſuna, then Vice King of Naples. The ſubſtance was, That he found the opportunitie faire, and the Turkes inclined to make a generall peace with the Houſe of Auſtria: that therfore this ſeaſon ſhould not be omitted, but that the duke ſhould preſently diſpeed to him ſome man of qualitie and wit to aſsiſt, and fit to manage ſo great a buſineſſe: That this man ſo choſen, ſhould not take on him as directly ſent G from Spaine, becauſe it would then be expected that hee ſhould appeare as an Embaſſadour; which would require great expence in preſents and traine, and waſte much time in ceremony. Thus the Negotiation would be moſt properly and expeditely perfected by him and the embaſſador of *Cæſar*, becauſe in the Capitulation of 1606, betweene the Emperor and the Grand Signior, it was expreſly cautioned, That it might be lawful for the King of Spain to enter into that Treaty, & to be compriſed, if it pleaſed him. To theſe were added diuers reaſons inſtructions, examples, and accuſations againſt the Venetians and Hollanders: but the cardinall argument was, That by obtaining this peace, the King of Spain might with ſecuritie ſubdue his Rebels, and finiſh his conqueſts, and defend his Indies from fear of inuaſion, threatned after expiration of the Truce in Holland. Some other ouertures were made in theſe inſtructions, H and reaſons to inforce them, which the modeſtie of Hiſtorie and reuerence to Princes ought to omit. But this negotiation being involved in that of the Emperour, which ſucceeded not according to their expectation, fell before it was ripe. Yet the reaſon continuing, to ſhut that backe port, when their Armies were buſied with other deſignes, the ſaid practiſe was renued by the mediation of another Portugal Iew called *Cormaro*; who went into Spaine in the year of our Lord 1624, and was thence returned to Naples, and from him and his offers occaſion was taken to ſend this Bologneſe to the Port. Who beeing now arriued at Conſtantinople, tooke firſt ſanctuarie at the houſe of the Agent of the Emperour: where meeting with *Beril* and *Roßi*, and conſulting which way to lay or begin their buſineſſe, they at laſt reſolued to I work by the Agent to whom they were adreſſed, and not to diſcouer themſelues vntill they ſaw how the generall propoſition was taſted. Their Inſtructions were framed of fiue articles. 1. To mooue a perpetual peace between the King of Spain and the *Ottoman* Empire. 2. To induce the acceptance wherof, to offer to ſet free all the Turkiſh ſlaues, to the number of four hundred, which were then in the Spaniſh captiuitie. 3. To vndertake and promiſe to ſecure the ſubiects of the grand Signior from all loſſe and ſpoil in the Mediteranian ſea, and to keep the coaſts and ſhores from all inuaſion. 4. To vndertake by the Red ſea to ſerue all the empire with the riches and commodities of Eaſt India, at better rates than they did buy of the Engliſh and Hollander, and in them to aduance the Cuſtoms eighty thouſand Dollars yearly. 5. Laſtly, That the King of Spaine ſhould oblige himſelfe to procure the King of Poland K to reſtraine the Coſſacks from their vſuall excurſions in the Euxine ſea. Theſe were amplified with many reaſons, arguments, and accuſations; but in the concluſion reſtrained, That if they ſaw no probabilitie to obtain and aſſure the Peace, that then *Berill* ſhould proceed to prouoke the Coſſackes; and this Gentleman ſhould not appeare in the Negotiation, but reſide in the houſe of the Emperours Agent, vnder the name of his Secretarie, vntill further direction.

When theſe propoſitions were firſt moued, the ſpecious ſhew made them acceptable; but when the particulars were weighed, eſpecially that offer, To keep the ſea and the coaſts of the Mediterran free from any ſpoyl or inuaſion; the Vizier moued a queſtion, Whether the king of Spain were ſoueraign Lord of the Duke of Florence and the grand Maſter of Malta? and L if not, how he could command and reſtraine the Knights of Saint *Stephano* and Malta, who were Religious Orders, and ſworn enemies to the Port? To this obiection receiuing no clear and ſatisfactorie anſwer, the Vizier began to miſtruſt, and to demurre. But delayes (which are vſuall in that Court) not ſuting with the account which this Bologneſe was bound to render vnto the Duke of Oſſuna, of his ſucceſſe, Either to aſſure the peace, or not to loſe the opportunitie of a diuerſion by the Coſſackes; cauſed him to attempt both at once, and to imploy *Padre Berill* to execute his part. Who beeing taken in Siliſtra vpon ſuſpition, by the Baſſa *Diac Mehemet*, and his Letters opened, the Spaniſh friendſhip was diſcouered; and the Bologneſe ſtole himſelfe out of the Countrey, and as it was reported, was at his returne impriſoned, for the vanitie of intituling himſelfe as a publique Miniſter, and venting his maſters M name vpon ſo great a Theatre. And the Agent of *Cæſar* aſſiſted to accuſe him, as not able to containe him within the limits of his Commiſſion, but that hee would wilfully break out, and diſpute, That hee ought perſonally in the name of the Vice Re to treat with the Vizier: threatning, To cauſe his Penſion from Spain to be retrenched, as cold in the ſeruice

of

A of that Crown,the ciuile ſtriſe proceeded from heat to blowes: and it was beleeued, that the
Agent vnder hand both haſtned his flight,and procured his puniſhment.

The ill and diſgracefull ſucceſſe of this attempt, and the diſſention between miniſters ſo
ſtrictly obliged by common ends, made many beleeue, that the wiſe State of Spaine would
not again raſhly and ſuddenly ingage their reputation to a ſecond ſcorn. But fear and neceſſitie,
that obey no rules, inforced as it ſeemes the Vice-king of Naples (for all theſe practiſes
were maſqued vnder his name) to do a ſeruice that would be moſt acceptable when it was
done. For the rumor, That the Prince of Tranſylvania did prepare an army,and that the grand
Signior had giuen order to the frontier Baſſa's to aſſiſt him, and that the Count of Mansfelt
and Duke *Weymar* were expected with their troups to ioyn with him; this collegation appeared
B terrible,and to threaten Vienna it ſelfe; and therfore it was iudged the beſt counſel,openly
to offer a Peace, to amuſe or ſeparate the force of the Turk,or vnder the ſhadow of a treaty,
to ſteal away the firſt opportunitie of action. So that contrary to all expectation, ſuddenly
in Aprill of this year, it was ſuddenly aduiſed from Raguſa,That there was there arriued in a
Galliot of Naples, another *Mercury*, a Spaniſh Gentleman,that openly avowed himſelf to be 1626.
really ſent from the Vice-Re, to offer a peace to the grand Signior, and to prepare the acceptance
of Embaſſadors or Commiſſioners fit to treat it. He was well attended, and furniſhed
with exchange,and earneſtly commended by the Vice-King to the Senat of that City. At his
firſt landing he made grauitie,and expected ſome ceremonies and reception:but thoſe ſmall
States,who are like a grain between two mill-ſtones, thinking their greateſt ſafety conſiſted
C in taking no notice,and in being on both ſides diſ-intereſſed, would not vnderſtand him,and
he finding himſelfe deceiued,was caried in a cloſe chaire to the Monaſterie of the Friar Minors,
and kept himſelfe priuat; only ſending another Letter(which was written to a Vizier at
the Port) to thoſe Magiſtrats,deſiring them to diſpeed it by Poſts to Conſtantinople, and to
prouide him Guides for his journey thither. Both which were done, and two Turks appointed
to conduct him. Before his departure, hee diſpatched another Curri or to Belgrade to a
Correſpondent there. It was likewiſe aduiſed from Raguſa,That he was laden with preſents,
and had order to ſpend freely: which was dangerous in a Court where all things were vendible;
and thoſe that fauoured the Deſigne triumphed, and accounted the prize already won;
nothing being more diſcourſed,than the Peace between Spaine and Turkey. As a fore-runner
D of this negotiation, to ſmooth the waies, there was ſpred ſome weekes before this newes,
a Letter printed in Spaine, *Cum Licentia*,as written from the grand Signior to the Catholike
King; offering Peace, and promiſing to ſeparate from all his Enemies, and to leaue them to
iuſt puniſhment, and neuer to aſſiſt or ſupport them: with a Catalogue ioyned, of an infinite
preſent that ſhould bee ſent by the Turke to procure the acceptance of this amitie. At the
firſt ſight this Letter was deſpiſed as a fiction: only ſome contemplatiue men did make conſtruction,
That it was ſpread to encourage the people of Hungarie,and to remooue the feares
of the Turke; or to raiſe a jelouſie in *Gabor* and his friends: eſpecially being ſeconded with
a concurrent rumor,That a Miniſter really was ſent to treat peace, and an Embaſſador expected
to follow him, that at leaſt he ſhould be receiued to gaine time. But theſe were poore
E ſhifts for ſo great and wiſe a State; yet whatſoeuer the purpoſe was,whether it was a counterfeit,
or directed to ſome end,it was taken vp and vſed as an inſtrument to reject the embaſſage
and to prohibit the bearer to approch the court. For whether it fel into the hand of a Moore-Franke
expelled Spaine, or were made vſe of by any Embaſſadour that deſired to croſſe the
concluſion of ſuch a peace,in ſuch a conjunction, ſo dangerous to many princes and ſtates, it
was ſhewed the great Viſier and Mufti, commented vpon, and vrged as a great affront to the
grand Signior. At which they took ſo high and ſudden diſdain,that they gaue inſtant Commands,
and ſent horſmen to beat the waies,with commiſſion to all the Beghs and Caddees to
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the duke ſhould preſently diſpeed to him ſome man of qualitie and wit to aſſiſt,and fit to manage ſo great a buſineſſe: That this man ſo choſen, ſhould not take on him as directly ſent from Spaine,becauſe it would then be expected that hee ſhould appeare as an Embaſſadour; which would require great expence in preſents and traine, and waſte much time in ceremony. Thus the Negotiation would be moſt properly and expeditely perfected by him and the embaſſador of *Cæſar*,becauſe in the Capitulation of 1606,betweene the Emperor and the Grand Signior, it was expreſly cautioned,That it might be lawful for the King of Spain to enter into that Treaty,& to be compriſed,if it pleaſed him. To theſe were added diuers reaſons inſtructions, examples,and accuſations againſt the Venetians and Hollanders: but the cardinall argument was,That by obtaining this peace,the King of Spain might with ſecuritie ſubdue his Rebels, and finiſh his conqueſts,and defend his Indies from fear of inuaſion, threatned after expiration of the Truce in Holland. Some other ouertures were made in theſe inſtructions, and reaſons to inforce them, which the modeſtie of Hiſtorie and reuerence to Princes ought to omit. But this negotiation being involved in that of the Emperour,which ſucceeded not according to their expectation,fell before it was ripe. Yet the reaſon continuing,to ſhut that backe port, when their Armies were buſied with other deſignes, the ſaid practiſe was renued by the mediation of another Portugal Iew called *Cormaro*; who went into Spaine in the year of our Lord 1624, and was thence returned to Naples, and from him and his offers occaſion was taken to ſend this Bologneſe to the Port. Who beeing now arriued at Conſtantinople, tooke firſt ſanctuarie at the houſe of the Agent of the Emperour: where meeting with *Beril* and *Roſsi*, and conſulting which way to lay or begin their buſineſſe, they at laſt reſolued to work by the Agent to whom they were adreſſed, and not to diſcouer themſelues vntill they ſaw how the generall propoſition was taſted. Their Inſtructions were framed of fiue articles. 1. To mooue a perpetual peace between the King of Spain and the *Ottoman* Empire. 2. To induce the acceptance wherof,to offer to ſet free all the Turkiſh ſlaues, to the number of four hundred,which were then in the Spaniſh captiuitie. 3. To vndertake and promiſe to ſecure the ſubiects of the grand Signior from all loſſe and ſpoil in the Mediteranian ſea,and to keep the coaſts and ſhores from all inuaſion. 4. To vndertake by the Red ſea to ſerue all the empire with the riches and commodities of Eaſt India, at better rates than they did buy of the Engliſh and Hollander, and in them to aduance the Cuſtoms eighty thouſand Dollars yearly. 5. Laſtly,That the King of Spaine ſhould oblige himſelfe to procure the King of Poland to reſtraine the Coſſacks from their vſuall excurſions in the Euxine ſea. Theſe were amplified with many reaſons,arguments,and accuſations;but in the concluſion reſtrained,That if they ſaw no probabilitie to obtain and aſſure the Peace, that then *Berill* ſhould proceed to prouoke the Coſſackes; and this Gentleman ſhould not appeare in the Negotiation,but reſide in the houſe of the Emperours Agent,vnder the name of his Secretarie, vntill further direction.

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1626.

The ill and diſgracefull ſucceſſe of this attempt, and the diſſention between miniſters ſo ſtrictly obliged by common ends, made many beleeue, that the wiſe State of Spaine would not again raſhly and ſuddenly ingage their reputation to a ſecond ſcorn. But fear and neceſſitie, that obey no rules, inforced as it ſeemes the Vice-king of Naples (for all theſe practiſes were maſqued vnder his name) to do a ſeruice that would be moſt acceptable when it was done. For the rumor, That the Prince of Tranſylvania did prepare an army, and that the grand Signior had giuen order to the frontier Baſſa's to aſſiſt him, and that the Count of Manſfelt and Duke *Weymar* were expected with their troups to ioyn with him; this collegation appeared terrible, and to threaten Vienna it ſelfe; and therfore it was iudged the beſt counſel, openly to offer a Peace, to amuſe or ſeparate the force of the Turk, or vnder the ſhadow of a treaty, to ſteal away the firſt opportunitie of action. So that contrary to all expectation, ſuddenly in Aprill of this year, it was ſuddenly aduiſed from Raguſa, That there was there arriued in a Galliot of Naples, another *Mercury*, a Spaniſh Gentleman, that openly avowed himſelf to be really ſent from the Vice-Re, to offer a peace to the grand Signior, and to prepare the acceptance of Embaſſadors or Commiſſioners fit to treat it. He was well attended, and furniſhed with exchange, and earneſtly commended by the Vice-King to the Senat of that City. At his firſt landing he made grauitie, and expected ſome ceremonies and reception: but thoſe ſmall States, who are like a grain between two mill-ſtones, thinking their greateſt ſafety conſiſted in taking no notice, and in being on both ſides diſ-intereſſed, would not vnderſtand him; and he finding himſelfe deceiued, was caried in a cloſe chaire to the Monaſterie of the Friar Minors, and kept himſelfe priuat; only ſending another Letter (which was written to a Vizier at the Port) to thoſe Magiſtrats, deſiring them to diſpeed it by Poſts to Conſtantinople, and to prouide him Guides for his journey thither. Both which were done, and two Turks appointed to conduct him. Before his departure, hee diſpatched another Currior to Belgrade to a Correſpondent there. It was likewiſe aduiſed from Raguſa, That he was laden with preſents, and had order to ſpend freely: which was dangerous in a Court where all things were vendible; and thoſe that fauoured the Deſigne triumphed, and accounted the prize already won; nothing being more diſcourſed, than the Peace between Spaine and Turkey. As a fore-runner of this negotiation, to ſmooth the waies, there was ſpred ſome weekes before this newes, a Letter printed in Spaine, *Cum Licentia*, as written from the grand Signior to the Catholike King; offering Peace, and promiſing to ſeparate from all his Enemies, and to leaue them to iuſt puniſhment, and neuer to aſſiſt or ſupport them: with a Catalogue ioyned, of an infinite preſent that ſhould bee ſent by the Turke to procure the acceptance of this amitie. At the firſt ſight this Letter was deſpiſed as a fiction: only ſome contemplatiue men did make conſtruction, That it was ſpread to encourage the people of Hungarie, and to remooue the feares of the Turke; or to raiſe a jelouſie in *Gabor* and his friends: eſpecially being ſeconded with a concurrent rumor, That a Miniſter really was ſent to treat peace, and an Embaſſador expected to follow him, that at leaſt he ſhould be receiued to gaine time. But theſe were poore ſhifts for ſo great and wiſe a State; yet whatſoeuer the purpoſe was, whether it was a counterfeit, or directed to ſome end, it was taken vp and vſed as an inſtrument to reject the embaſſage and to prohibit the bearer to approch the court. For whether it fel into the hand of a Moore-Franke expelled Spaine, or were made vſe of by any Embaſſadour that deſired to croſſe the concluſion of ſuch a peace, in ſuch a conjunction, ſo dangerous to many princes and ſtates, it was ſhewed the great Viſier and Mufti, commented vpon, and vrged as a great affront to the grand Signior. At which they took ſo high and ſudden diſdain, that they gaue inſtant Commands, and ſent horſmen to beat the waies, with commiſſion to all the Beghs and Caddees to aſſiſt them, That whereſoeuer they did meet or find this gentleman, they ſhould carry him directly back to the ſea ſide, and ſee him ſhipt; with admonition, not to preſume to land on penaltie of death. And other letters to check the Senat of Raguſa, for receiuing any miniſter of their enemy, without asking leaue or conſulting the State.

The Gentleman was by this time aduanced four daies journey toward the Port, where hee fel and brake his leg, and was caried back in miſerable pain to Raguſa, and returned to his old lodging. Where the horſemen found him, and deliuering their letters to the Senat, demaunded to haue him giuen vp into their hands. But they refuſed to break their ſanctuary, and only promiſed to obey the effect of the grand Signiors command, ciuilly to ſhip him & to ſend him back to Naples: which was don in the preſence of thoſe Turks, and letters written by the Senat, both to the Vice-King and the Vizier, to excuſe themſelues, That they durſt diſpleaſe neither party, but deſired to liue in the grace of both princes.

The grand Signiors Command to all the Sanzacks and Caddees of Greece, to return the Spaniſh Gentleman ſent from the Vice Re of Naples.

VPon the ſight of this our Imperial Signature, you ſhall take notice, That the Spaniards (being alwaies antient enemies of our happy Port, the Fountaine of felicity) haue of late ſought to aduantage themſelues of ſome princes which keep good friendſhip & correſpondence with vs: To which end the Viceroy of Naples did ſend the laſt yeare a Meſſenger to our Jmperial Port, intimating, That the King of Spaine was deſirous to haue a peace with vs. But in regard they haue bin euer our enemies, and that the peace which they did then offer was fraudulent, and only to ſerue their own ends; we did not vouchſafe to giue him audience, but rather reiected both himſelfe and his meſſage. And now again we haue notice giuen vs, That there are others come to Raguſa from the ſaid King of Spain, about the ſame buſineſſe, with intent to come forward to our happy Port; Therefore wee haue ſent Muſtapha *our Capigi with our Imperial Command, That if any ſuch perſons ſhal come within any of your ſeueral juriſdictions, that you ſtay them, and without one houre or moment of delay deliuer them to him, to be caried forth of our dominions, and made return into their own country. This is a buſines of very great importance, and therfore we command you to be very wary and circumſpect in ſearching out for ſuch perſons; and that you vſe no negligence or delay therein, but ſpeedily obey and put in execution this our Imperial Command, not ſuffering any one whatſoeuer, comming either from the Vice-King of Naples, or the King of Spain, to proceed forward toward our happy Port. And you ſhall certifie vs in writing by the ſaid Capigi, how and in what maner you haue executed our Command. And if any ſuch perſons comming from the Vice-King of Naples or King of Spain, haue any letters or writings, you ſhal take them from them, and ſend them to our happy Port. And after you ſhal haue ſeen and vnderſtood this our Commaund, you ſhall giue faith and credit to it, and reſtore it again to our ſlaue* Muſtapha Capigi.

Giuen at Conſtantinople in the middle of the Moon of Saban, in the year 1035.

Which is in the middle of May, 1626.

Another of the ſame Tenor was ſent by the ſame Meſſenger, vnto the Commonwealth of Raguſa.

About the ſixth of September the Prince of Tranſylvania ſent a meſſenger in great haſte to the Port, with Letters and Inſtructions to his Agent there; the ſubſtance whereof was reduced to two heads: Firſt, to declare to the grand Signior, That his Eſtates in their Dyet,

by

A by his conſent, had elected his Lady to the ſucceſſion of that Principality: and to require the confirmation, according to the antient Rites and Capitulations betweene them. For his ſudden reſolution, without conſulting the Grand Signior, and in excuſe of the ſex, he propoſed many reaſons, all directed to one ſcope: That the encreaſe of the Houſe of Auſtria was ſo dangerous to all Germany, that it was requiſite to prouide for Tranſyluania, to preuent the corruption of an *Inter Regnum*, wherein the Imperials might worke diſtemper and diuiſion: and therefore it was neceſſary that a Succeſſor ſhould be declared, and in poſſeſſion; and one well allyed and ſtrengthened by the Princes oppoſite to the Auſtrians; which conditions meeting in his wife, made her without all exception. That this election was paſſed with the conſent, and in contemplation of his Allyes and friends of the Port, and vnder their aſſurance B of protection. And that therefore he ſhould vrge the Grand Signior to concurre and approue his care, emploied onely to preuent and humble the Common Enemy. Secondly, That whereas then ſix yeares paſt, when hee liued in peace, without offence of the Emperour, he had beene commanded by the Grand Signior to moue his Armes, and to prouoke an enemy, now become irreconcileable: Which Councell had beene continued vntill that time, by the moſt experienced Miniſters of the Turkiſh Empire; and Letters ſent him the yeare before of the ſame tenour; and that he had lately required a plaine approbation of his proſecution of thoſe deſignes, which being formerly indifferent, were now become neceſſary; He ſhould now perſuade them, not to loſe this opportunity of confining the Emperor for euer within Germany, and ſetling an aſſured peace and ſafety to the Turkiſh frontier; that was by C his conqueſt of Hungary. That if he found any difficulty in either of theſe, That the ſucceſſion were refuſed to his Lady, or ſuccours to him to proſecute the warre; that he ſhould vnmaske, and plainely proteſt, That he had been engaged firſt by the Grand Signior, and made confederation with many friends, with his conſent and approbation, too late to be reuoked, and his owne honour ſo far thereby expoſed, that he could not retire, but would prouide for his owne ſafety. Therefore as he would pay his tribute, and continue his faith; ſo, if they would leaue him to himſelf, they muſt not diſdaine the like meaſure in their occaſions, from him and his friends.

His Letters and meſſages were roundly deliuered to the Miniſters of the Grand Signior; and a generall anſwer giuen, That for the ſucceſſion they would conſult and reſolue to his fit D ſatisfaction; and that a Letter ſhould be preſently written to approue the antient Councels. The Agent not content with that coldneſſe, nor well diſcerning the times, preſſed the Vizier to a more direct and particular anſwer.

But in the inſtant there arriued newes from Babylon, That the campe was riſen and fled, by the fauour of the night, forced to burne their Tents and Prouiſions, and to breake their great Artillery, and caſt it into the Euphrates; That the miſeries in the Army had been ſuch as men in the field neuer ſuffered (conſumed by famin, and ſuffocated by heat: by this, twelue thouſand died in one day; the other might be judged by the price of a buſhell of Barly, ſold for thirty eight checquines of gold.) That the Great Vizier had beheaded three of the moſt valiant Baſſaes, hoping thereby to caſt the enuy of his ſhame vpon them: and, That retyring E to * Moſul, the Perſian vſed his victory, and following a flying Army, did continuall execution for ten daies vpon the Reare. So great a blow the Turkiſh Empire neuer receiued; the newes whereof was taken with ſo much ſadneſſe, that it was no ſeaſon to treat of making new warres. The Emperors Agent made vſe of this dejection, and oppoſed all the Tranſyluanian negotiations diametrally, and promiſed the preſent comming of a great Embaſſadour to ratifie the Peace betweene the Grand Signior and his Maſter. And the Turke knew not whom to beleeue, weakened in ſpirit by their ſucceſſe and the preſent conſtitution; *Futuri ambiguus, & magis quid vitaret quàm cui fideret certus*; doubtfull of the future, and rather certaine what to auoid, than whom to truſt. Wherefore the Prince of Tranſyluania's Agent, reſolued, not to prouoke by an importune preſſure, a diſpairefull anſwer; but to giue them F time to recollect and gather heart, and to accept of their generall Letters, with a promiſe from the Chimacham annexed, That as ſoone as a few daies of conſultation and prouiſion for their affaires in Aſia were paſt, that he would enter into a particular conſideration of his Maſter, and giue him ample content in them; and that in the meane time he might proceed cheerefully.

The Grand Signiors army riſes from Babylon.

* *Niniuie.*

The Duke of Weymar and Count Manſfelt arriue in Sileſia with an Army

The Baſſa of Buda in the meane time ſent a Poſt to the Port, with certaine newes of the G arriuall of the Duke *Iohn* of Weymar and Count *Mansfelt* in Sileſia; and that the Prince of Tranſyluania was riſen to joyn with them, hauing mutually exchanged and ſent ſome troups one to the other; and that himſelfe was marched neere Vatz, to conferre with the Prince in his paſſage, to reſolue together of the proſecution of their deſignes. Whereupon the Emperors Agent at the Port made violent exclamations; proteſted the breach of Peace, and vſed ſome ſcandalous arguments againſt the Friends of the Prince; begged, threatened, and enforced all his powers to diuert or affright the Chimacham; who knew no more than was infuſed into him and for the moſt part beleeued the laſt man, or as his feares guided him. This cauſed ſome ſtop of the diſpatch of the inueſtiture of the Princeſſe of Tranſyluania obtained by Sr *Thomas Rowe*, and other negotiations of the Prince: And the Agent had procured a letter H from the Grand Signior to his Maſter the Emperor, of excuſe; yet referring all concluſion, if they ſought Peace, to a treaty with the Prince of Tranſyluania and *Morteſa Baſſa* of Buda. Other Letters were diſpatched to the Baſſa, to beware of impertinent actions, to occaſion an vnſeaſonable rupture: yet ſo mingled and qualified, as that they intimated, any thing would be accepted that was throughly done: Againſt the inueſtiture the Emperors Agent ſhewed all his wit and ſtrength; objecting, That ſhe was a woman, a ſtranger, and a German. By this only he hoped to begin a diſcontent betweene the Grand Signior and the Prince of Tranſyluania; knowing, that the election once paſſed, would not be recalled, and that if it were not confirmed at the Port, the Prince and Eſtates of Tranſyluania would finde themſelues wronged, and their liberty encroached vpon and perhaps ſeeke other refuge: for the Emperor I would willingly haue accepted any returne or aſpect towards him. But the art, to ſow a diſſention, or to entice the Prince to depend vpon the Emperor, and to take of him that which he could not obtaine at the Port, being at large opened to the great Miniſters of the Grand Signior, it was againe reſolued to diſpatch the Grant, and to ſend the Embaſſador with vſuall ceremonies: who was to depart within ſix daies.

The Prince of Tranſyluania being vnited with *Morteſa Baſſa* of Buda, diſpatched from his Campe at Zetzen aboue Nouegrade, a Currier to the Grand Signior; aduiſing, That *Walſtein*, and *Iſterhas* Palatine of Hungary, were drawne vp with their Army to oppoſe his proceedings, and to keepe him from joyning with Count *Mansfelt*: Who ſent to him a Gentleman to know the cauſe of his entring the Imperiall Dominions; and profeſſing they came K as friends, and offering many conditions, deſired that order might be giuen to both their Armies to retyre a daies journy, and betweene them a place aſſigned for Commiſſioners to meet and conſider of ſome accommodation. To whom the Prince anſwered, he had no purpoſe to vſurpe any thing in Hungary, but only to deliuer them from the tyranny of the Germans, and to relieue his Allies oppreſſed, whom he could not betray; nor had he any power to treat with them. The Armies being neere, and parties abroad, did occaſion ſome blowes, and great skirmiſhes for two daies; wherein on both ſides ſome bloud was ſpilt, the Prince taking himſelfe to haue the better, hauing gotten twenty ſix German Launciers priſoners, and ſome light Hungarian horſemen; and that *Walſtein* the third day retyred fiue Dutch miles, and fortified himſelfe at Wiuar. This faction was begun vpon the fifth of October. L Vpon the Enemies remoue, Meſſengers did mutually paſſe betweene the Prince and Count *Mansfelt*, and appointment made for their ſecure meeting the third day after: Vpon which, *Gabor* promiſed to follow the Imperials, and to attempt them. *Morteſa Baſſa* made an offer to ſet downe before Nouegrade; but was withdrawne by the Prince, not to ſpend time before a Towne, and loth to giue it to the Turks. He wrote, That Count *Mansfelt* had made agreement with the cities of Sileſia, all ports being open to him; and that he paſſed without any offence, and had brought with him ſome Deputies from Breſlaw and the Nobility of that Prouince. That all the ſtrong places of Hungary had ſent to him, That they would not aid the Emperor againſt him, if he committed no ſpoile; and were ready to receiue and obey him, if he were Maſter of the field, and able to protect them: And therefore hee now deſired M a Command from the Grand Signior, to the Baſſa of Buda, that hee might not retyre (according to the Turks vſe) but Winter with him; leſt his Allyes thereby diſcouraged, the opportunity of his part ſhould be loſt, and a faire entrance opened to the Emperor to follow a reuenge. The Grand Signior, who formerly was ſo wary and backeward to conſent

A to any breach, being now vnawares engaged, *Lupum auribus tenens*, holding the Wolfe by the
eares, without ſcruple granted his deſire, and the Orders were ſent away; That what was
done being paſt recall, *Morteſa* ſhould Winter with the Prince of Tranſyluania, and not retire
without his conſent, but in all things follow his direction: yet limited according to their
neceſſities and the nature of feare, full of caution, not to aduenture vpon vncertaine grounds;
with power and inſinuation to make a Peace, if profitable and ſafe Conditions ſhould be
propounded.

At length Count *Mansfelt* joyned with the Prince of Tranſyluania and *Morteſa Baſſa*, hauing
vnder his command ſouldiers, but miſerably worne out with a long march (and diuided
with the Duke of Weymar, who ſtaied in Sileſia) without any munition or fit armes: which
B diſcouraged *Gabor*, who expected ſuccors, but found (as he pretended) a charge: yet as they
were they reſolued to ſet vpon the Army of *Walſtein* neere the riuer Gran the ſixteenth of
October; which retiring continually, vpon the paſſage of the water, they fell on, and made a
great diſorder, and tooke many priſoners, whoſe heads they afterwards cut off. *Walſtein* being
not able to ſuſteine their fury, after this loſſe plainely fled. Whereupon the Vantgard
of the Prince of Tranſyluania followed him, and had ſlaughter of his Reare all the way betweene
Gran and Vaghe; which riuer the Enemy paſſing vpon two bridges of boats, there was
a new fight begun, and many of the Imperials cut off. The Princes troups entering the bridges
peſle meſle with them, got the paſſage, and hauing ſlaine a great many, put all the Army
into greater feare: ſo that now they were reſolued to follow them euen to the gates of Preſburg
C and Vienna as they wrote to the Port.

The army of the Imperialists defeated by the Prince of Tranſyluania's troups

Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſſe of the Prince againſt the Imperialiſts, he in the beginning
of Ianuary (by reaſon of the hardneſſe of the Winter, and that he receiued not ſuch
ſupplies of contribution from his Allies as he expected, and the Turks very deſirous of a
Peace with the Emperor, by reaſon of their wars in Aſia againſt the Perſian) ſent a meſſenger
to the Emperor, excuſing his taking vp of Armes, vpon the vnperformance of ſome Articles
in his late Treaty, and the not ſending an Embaſſador to the Port; aſſuming the neceſſity of
obedience, and offering to make a Truce for three moneths, and to diſpatch Commiſſioners
to the Emperor, to mediate the concluſion of Peace with the Grand Signior. To which he
receiued anſwer, That if firſt he did not diſmiſſe the Turks, and ſeparate himſelſe from Count
D *Mansfelt* and his Troups (with whom he would admit no parle, nor make any accommodation)
he would giue no audience to any that came from him. Vpon which anſwer the Prince
returned to Caſſouia, and *Morteſa Baſſa* to Peſth.

Count *Mansfelt* alſo returning toward the State of Venice, in his way thither died at
Boſna-Seray neere Spalato in Dalmatia: the newes whereof comming to Duke *Iohn Erneſtus*,
already weakened with a Feuer foureteene daies, he alſo fell into an Apoplexy, and di-
ed at Turocz in the North part of Hungary, where hee was quartered for the Winter. His
body was opened, and not one drop of bloud found, but his heart withered to the ſmalneſſe
of a Nut.

The death of Count Mansfelt and Duke Erneſt

The Agent of the prince of Tranſyluania, in excuſe of his maſter for this ſudden defection,
E had order to declare vnto the Embaſſadors of his Friends and Allies at the Port, That the
Truce with the Emperor was not made by his Maſter alone, but by a conſultation, where
were preſent a Commiſſioner of the King of Denmarke, Duke *Iohn Erneſt*, Count *Mansfelt*,
and diuers Deputies of the Prouinces of Morauia and Sileſia; and the generall conſent of the
Councell of War, induced thereunto for theſe reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe the Baſſa of Buda was
expreſſely commanded to retyre; who muſt obey, vntill he could better informe the Grand
Signior, and if poſſible, incline him to the war. Secondly, Being to enter into conſideration,
if the Turks by no meanes could be induced to continue their Aids, that it might be gained
to acquaint the Confederates with their eſtate, and to conſult with them, of meanes to proſecute
the Enemy with their owne Forces: and to that purpoſe, that Count *Mansfelt* had taken
F his voyage toward Venice. Laſtly, the neceſſity of drawing to garriſon, being a Truce in
effect, they thought it no prejudice to aduantage themſelues by one in words. That vpon the
eighth day of December the Embaſſador of the King of Denmarke returned to his country,
fully ſatisfied and enformed of all their proceedings and Counſels; in which it was concluded
to re-inforce their Troups in the Spring, by the aſſiſtance of the Barons of Morauia and

The Prince of Tranſyluania's excuſe for making a Truce with the Emperor.

Sileſia,

Sileſia,whoſe Deputies were ſent purpoſely to enter into the Confederacy,promiſing to join their forces: and that in Iune following the Prince would draw into the field, and march directly into Auſtria, to make that Prouince the ſeat of the war; where it was promiſed that the King of Denmarke ſhould meet him,and vnite their Armies,by which meanes only they hoped to finiſh the miſeries of Chriſtendome.

The miniſters of the Grand Signior hauing made a great complaint vnto his Majeſties Embaſſador reſident at the Port, That ſome of his majeſties ſubjects had robbed ſome of the Grand Signiors at the Red Sea, for which they required reſtitution, according to the Capitulations of Peace. Whereupon his Majeſties Embaſſador writ this Letter to them as followeth:

To all Admirals, Captaines, and other Commauders of Engliſh Ships, Subjects of his moſt ſacred Majeſty, trading or nauigating in the Red-Seas.

After my hearty commendations and greetings; theſe are to let you know, That Haydar Baſſa *of Ayman hath giuen information to the Grand Signior, That ſome Engliſh ſhips in company with Hollanders, haue ſurpriſed diuers Indian Ships, wherein (as they pretend) were many Merchants and Subjects of the Grand Signior; and haue taken their goods, contrary to the Peace and Amity betweene his Majeſty and the Grand Signior. Which Information (we being aſſured of your diſcretion, and well knowing you haue no ſuch authority from his Majeſty, nor any other deriued from his Royall power) although we hope it is falſe, and that you no way haue exceeded your commiſſions and inſtructions; yet the lament of thoſe parts being vehement and many (wherein the Grand Signior hath complained by his Letters to his Majeſty purpoſely written; demanding Iuſtice of ſuch action) and to preuent the proſecution of ſuch courſes, contrary to the Peace, and being thereunto ſolicited by the* Chimacham, *as a meanes to auoid all occaſion of breach betweene both Nations, I haue thought fit to ſend you theſe our Letters of Aduice, to put you in minde, exhort, and require you, That you be very heedfull, not to giue juſt occaſion of offence and ſcandall, nor that you take or make priſe of any ſhips or goods belonging to any ſubject of the Grand Signior, contrary to the Peace, Amity, and Capitulations of his Majeſty for free commerce. Wherein you are wiſely to conſider the conſequences of this buſineſſe, and of our trade in the Grand Signiors Dominion; and that his Majeſty will do juſtice vpon all ſuch as interrupt the publique Peace. We further deſire you to examine the truth of ſuch accuſation, and to make certificate to me, of all the late proceedings of our Ships in thoſe parts, that I may be able to giue a reaſon, and to anſwer for you, according to my duty; that all our trouble here (which may be a great conſequence) may be auoided: And for the future, exhorting you to do no action or violence to any of the Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to the Peace, for that ſuch is his Majeſties will and pleaſure. And ſo I bid you heartily farewell.*

Giuen in Conſtantinople the nineteenth day of Ianuary, 1626.

Although the Prince of Tranſyluania kept his Army in their Hybernation, and that the Grand Signior had giuen order (at the inſtance of ſome of his Miniſters, fauorers of peace) to recall *Morteſa Baſſa* of Buda from his gouernment, yet it was moſt cleere, euident, and vndiſputable, that the Prince did with all ſincerity endeauor to continue the war, notwithſtanding his Treaty, made for neceſſity, and referred for ratification to the Grand Signior. His priuate negotiation with the Capi-Aga and Caſlar Aga, not communicated to any, and the good effect it wrought, was ſufficient teſtimony of his conſtancy and inward purpoſes: and vpon the death of Duke *Iohn Erneſtus*, that Army being in want and almoſt in mutiny, he relieued them, and gaue them two moneths pay, one in meale, butter, hony, cheeſe, barley, and other victuals, and the other in mony; aſſuring them that they ſhould not want, vntill both meanes and orders came from the Princes, to whom the Count of *Manſfelt* was diſpatched. This the Prince writ to the Port, as a greater argument (becauſe chargeable) of his deſire to confirme the Grand Signior; which if he meant peace, had beene caſt away. But after the death of the old Chimacham (protector of him and all his actions) the Emperours friends wrought vpon the pretended patriots, and conuerted their feare into a ſeeming ſincerity and care of auoiding an engagement in a double war: who finding the State entangled in the troubles of Aſia, made that the foundation, not only to diſpute againſt any other, but to threaten the contradictors of their opinion. Theſe for the moſt part were men popular, but vtterly ignorant of the preſent condition and affaires of Hungary; yet they ſo preuailed *(quod in ſeditionibus accedit, vbi plures erant omnes fuere*, which hapneth in tumults where many are, all men run) that the Vizier, to ſatisfie them, was enforced to command the retreit of *Morteſa*. Theſe things hapning in the inſtant when they concluded to diſpatch a new Vizier, and to raiſe the ſoldiery to follow him, there was no time to ſpeake of another enemy, and thoſe wiſe men could do but one thing at once. But the zeale of this Councell laſting no longer than while it was blowne by *Cæſars* Miniſters, and that the ſupply of Aſia was reſolued, and the Grand Signior being fully informed by *Gabors* laſt Letters, which threatened as much on the other ſide, That if that opportunity was loſt, and that the houſe of Auſtria ſhould poſſeſſe Germany; or at the beſt, the Princes colleagued take the example and make peace, he muſt expect a ſharpe inuaſion and reuenge, then when he ſhould haue no friends, and their Army buſied in Aſia: vrging the neere alliance of the Emperor with the King of Poland, the inſtigation of the Pope, and whatſoeuer might beget a feare that they ſhould be incloſed with enemies. This admonition taught them the wiſedome to be content to keepe their oppoſites exerciſed at anothers charge; and though as yet they durſt not, or would not ſo openly declare, as to pull the war vpon themſelues, yet they found it neceſſary to be continued, and therefore they reſolued to temporiſe, and to auoid a preſent extremity, by the colour of the Truce. In the meane time to leaue *Bethlem Gabor* at his liberty, and to obſerue how the Princes proceeded to maintaine and ſupply their Troups; meaning to ſtep in when they ſhould ſee their Army in the field. To this purpoſe *Morteſa Baſſa* was re-eſtabliſhed in his gouernment, and the buſineſſe ſo carried with him, that he ſhould make no ſhew of mouing, vntill the time fit to take horſe; and that then hee ſhould haue leaue and command to correſpond with *Gabor* according to the occaſion.

The Emperor hauing had notice of theſe counſels and deſignes, diſpatched a Dutch Gentleman toward the Port, with Letters and Inſtructions to his Agents and Friends there; and commanded him to make his journey by the way of Raguſa, giuing it out that hee was a French man, leſt hee ſhould be diſcouered in the ſhorter way by Buda, and ſtopped, and his Papers and Inſtructions ſearched. Notwithſtanding all this diſguiſe, notice came to the Port beforehand of the comming of this Meſſenger; and the Miniſters of the Grand Signior cauſed him at his arriuall to be confined, not ſuffering him to open a packet, and the Vizier forcing him to decipher his Letter to the Emperours Agent in his preſence, not truſting him with his owne ſecret. The ſubſtance whereof was vehement complaint againſt the Prince of Tranſyluania; accuſing him to be the author of all the troubles and diſcontents of the frontier. That ſince his aduancement it was not poſſible to maintaine the Peace, nor that Amity which was contracted betweene their kingdomes; intimating a deſire to haue him depoſed, as a perturber of the World. Expoſtulating the mouing of thoſe new Armes and the preparations of the Baſſa of Buda. He had Letters likewiſe to the Grand Signior, but was not ſuffered to deliuer them: but they reſolued to ſend him backe to Buda, there to diſcouer his meſſage, and if it ſhould ſeeme fit to *Bethlem Gabor* and the Baſſa to treat peace, that then an Embaſſador from the Emperor ſhould be accepted, but no inferiour perſon, nor querelous Letters. Thus it was plotted to be referred to the aduice of *Gabor*; who gaue this counſell; that he might in all occaſion both know the ſecret, and direct the anſwer, and by making himſelfe ſeeme neceſſary to the Turks, he guided all their reſolutions to his owne ends. On the other ſide, *Morteſa Baſſa* hauing had notice, that a meſſenger was ſtollen by, and arriued and heard at the Port, ſent a Poſt with Letters, complaining, That he ſhould haue any entertainment there, or was admitted any audience: That if the Grand Signior had with confidence really referred the concluſion of the peace or warre to *Bethlem Gabor* and himſelfe, all other Treaty was impertinent and hurtfull, and might produce vncertaine or contrariety in the reſolution; deſiring that he might be diſmiſſed inſtantly and ſent to him, becauſe one of the Imperiall Commiſſioners being arriued at Comara, had aduertiſed, That they could not enter

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A Dutch Gentleman diſpeeded to the Port by the Emperor diſguiſed in French attire.

enter into conference vntill the returne of this Meſſenger. Whereupon the Vizier diſpeeded G
him without any anſwer to the Emperor, or treaty, or other reſolution than that which was
formerly mentioned; rather taking from him, than receiuing his Letters; only a *Fede* for his
diſcharge was giuen him, that he had brought and preſented them, but comming from the
country of an Enemy, they could not be accepted. Thus he was ſent to *Morteſa* by a Chiaus,
and with him an anſwer to the Baſſa, That his negotiation was wholly referred to him and
the Prince of Tranſyluania; with this caution, That hee ſhould protract, and beware to be
raſhly ingaged in an open war.

About the one and twentieth of Aprill news came to the Port from Cairo, ſignifying the
reuolt of Gemen in Arabia, vnder a pretending Prince whom they call an Ayman or Prieſt:
That he had ouerrun the country, and beſieged the Baſſa in the principall city. To whoſe H
reliefe the Baſſa of Cairo had ſent by Suachin in the Red-Sea three thouſand ſouldiers; but
it was aduiſed, that if more ſuccors were not ſupplied, that the Holy Country would be loſt.
This cauſed frequent Counſels, and did much trouble the State; eſpecially the feare of Mecha,
Medina, and the deuotion to their Prophet. The great Vizier arriued at Aleppo, but complained
for men, munition, and mony: to raiſe the firſt, the Viziers of the Bench were ſent
abroad; one to Greece, another to Natolia, a third to Tartary, others to other places; inſomuch
as the City was left deſolate. Munition was aduentured by Sea to Scanderone; and
mony was extorted from the poorer *(per fas & nefas)* or drawne from rich ſubjects *(precario)*
to concur to aſſiſt in the publique want.

A dead ſilence now poſſeſſed all things; and there was little newes from the Prince of I
Tranſyluania, how he proceeded, nor what he purpoſed: only the tripartite Commiſſioners
were met at Comara, where they treated; and the generall inclination of the Miniſters at the
Port being wholly bent to peace, they aduiſed *Morteſa* ſecretly, and excuſed themſelues to
Gabor vpon the Mufti; whoſe feares the Imperials had made the ground of their hopes, and
that Councell. But it ſeemes it was reſolued at leaſt, not to breake; the Emperours Commiſſioners
preſſing a reſolution on the one ſide, and *Gabor* on the other raiſing new difficulties,
and endeauouring to diſſolue the Treaty, and to leaue the occaſion of the warre open to time
and opportunity. The Turks being driuen vp in a ſtreight how to pleaſe both, fell at laſt vpon
the Prince, accuſing him, That he had in December before treated apart, and made his
owne peace with the Emperour, vpon conditions to his owne aduantage, without conſulting K
the Port: which was true; for vpon the retreat of his Army, and the deſpaire of the forces of
Count *Mansfelt*, (which he found weakened by a long march) and the diſunion of the Generals,
he had treated and ſigned Articles; but as he pretended, they were concluded in a Councell,
with the conſent of his friends or their miniſters: which as he could not directly deny,
ſo he did not abſolutely confeſſe; tempering what he had done, with diuers conditions; of
the declaration of the conſent of his Allies, and the ratification of the Grand Signior. This
Treaty was noiſed and bruted from Vienna, and the copy ſent to Conſtantinople purpoſely
to diſcredit him: ſo that it was no more a ſecret; and thereupon the Prince diſpatched a Poſt
to his Embaſſador, to ſatisfie thoſe who might except againſt him: profeſſing not only what
he had done apart by neceſſity, and for want of ſupplies, but that he would proceed in the generall L
Treaty: becauſe there was no other way to vnblinde the Miniſters of the Grand Signior;
who ſo much affected the aſſurance of the Border, that they would not beleeue any arguments,
as fauouring of other intereſts, but that he would at the conuention raiſe ſo many
rockes and impoſſibilities, as that the breach of the conference ſhould be the beginning of
the war, and a bond of neceſſity in the Turks to partake in it. The Emperor remaining ſtill
jealous of delaies, ſent another meſſenger to the Port, with a ſecond plaint againſt *Bethlem
Gabor*, and *Morteſa Baſſa*, as the diſturbers of the antient Truce; and an expreſſion of his feruent
deſire to maintaine a good peace with the *Ottoman* Empire, which he ſaid could neuer be
ſecured, vnleſſe the Grand Signior ſhould place ſuch Miniſters in the frontier gouernments,
as were louers of the publique quiet. For the eſtabliſhing whereof he had ſent his Deputies M
to meet thoſe of the Port, who hauing agreed (as he pretended) vpon Articles, and reconciled
all differences, that he was ready to ſend a great Embaſſador thither, to confirme whatſoeuer
ſhould there be concluded. This was done only to get an acceptance of ſome perſon of Quality
to be preſent at the Port; which *Gabor* and *Morteſa Baſſa* hindred, to keepe that State
without

A without any light but ſuch as they pleaſed to giue them. But it being objected to the Meſ-
ſenger by the Vizier, That the Emperour had made a peace apart with the Prince, and that
therefore he had obtained his ends without the communication of the Grand Signior, which
gaue much ſuſpition of ſiniſter purpoſes: the Emperours Meſſenger did not deny but that
there was ſome ſuch thing done; but that his Maſter did not truſt in it, nor could euer reſt
ſecure in the word of that Prince, vnleſſe the authority of the Port did ſtrengthen it. In con-
cluſion, feare on the one part to loſe an opportunity of peace; the death of *Mansfelt*, ſome
diſaſters of the Friends of the Prince in Germany, and the failing of aids expected, all con-
curring on the other part, made both parts ſoften and decline, and reſolue to take care only
of their owne affaires, and to leaue the World at liberty.

B The Captaine Baſſa was ſent vp to the Euxine ſea with a gallant fleet for flags and ſtrea-
mers, reſolute to attempt the ſhutting in of the Coſſacks by building two Forts on the out-
lets of the Boriſthenes: who prepared to reſiſt him, and were intrenched neere his expected
deſcent. The Poles made ſome braues, That they would aſſiſt them, and maintaine their fron-
tier, as Lords of that ground: but it was not beleeued they would hazard their peace with
the Grand Signior, by fighting with his Generall, but rather conniue till he ſhould be re-
turned, and then to raze and ouerthrow what was raiſed, and excuſe it vpon their out-lawes.
This enterpriſe was like to coſt ſome knockes; but as matters then ſtood, the Poles were not
in ſtate to make any great progreſſe, the King of Sueden hauing diuerted them to their owne
defence in Pruſſia: yet howſoeuer they reſolued in this particular, they muſt keepe an Army
C on foot, leſt they tempted the enemy to vſe the occaſion.

The Captaine Baſſa diſpatched with an Armado into the Blacke Sea.

While all the Sea forces were imploied in this deſigne, the Arches were left vngarded,
and ſix gallies of the great Duke of Tuſcany came to the mouth of the Helleſpont, and took
one Gallion, and many leſſer ſhips of the Cairo fleet; the booty whereof by report amounted
to ſome millions of Dollars. This ſudden alarme cauſed the Grand Signior to ſend into the
Blacke Sea to recall ſome forces, and inſtantly from the Armado twelue gallies were ſpared,
and diſpatched to ſeeke the Chriſtians, who were departed with their riches.

There arriued at the ſame time a Perſian Embaſſador at Aleppo with ouertures of peace:
vpon whom the great Vizier put gards, neither accepting nor refuſing his meſſage; and ſent
to the Port to declare, that the State muſt either furniſh him with a million and half of gold,
D and ſtore of munition, or elſe grant him a Commiſſion to entertaine that opportunity and
motion of Treaty; for with leſſe ſupplies hee could not proceed. The firſt was impoſſible,
and the later much againſt the ſtomach; but a freſh aduice bringing the report of a great Em-
baſſador following the former with rich Preſents, and faire offers, made many beleeue or hope
a happy concluſion; though men of beſt judgements eſteemed it very difficult, vnleſſe Baby-
lon ſhould be ſurrendred. All men made this concluſion, That if peace could be ſettled on
that ſide, the Turks had yet ſpleene enough to reuenge the braues they had endured from the
Imperials; who though they ſought a Truce, proſecuted it inſolently, threatening fire and
ſword if they obteined not their deſires. And thus the Treaty at Comara had ebbs and flouds,
heats and colds, as the feare or hope of the affaires of Aſia did temper it.

An Embaſſador from Perſia arriueth at Aleppo.

E This expected Perſian Embaſſador not long after arriued at the Port, with little hope to
buy peace at a cheaper rate than the ſurrender of Babylon. And the gallies of the Grand Sig-
nior ſent in purſuit of the Florentines, by great diligence ouertooke them in a Port of Morea,
and recouered all the prizes, [So their great wealth was like a dreame, when they awaked it
vaniſhed:] And vpon the ſixteenth of Iune they returned and entered in triumph, towing in
all the repriſed booty. It ſeemes they were become too rich to fight, and the Turks, though
ſuperiour in ſtrength and number, were content with the gaine, and glad not to force men
already ſpoiled, into diſpaire.

The Perſian Embaſſador arriueth at the Port.

About the firſt of Iuly the Baſſa of Buda ſent poſt to the Port, with aduice, that the Empe-
rors Commiſſioners at Comaran had preſented certaine Articles, containing accounts and
F reſtitutions; which being ſent to him, he had receiued, but could not allow them; anſwering,
That the Grand Signior did not treat with Merchants; Which had like to haue bred con-
fuſion: but that they were ſince entered into new conference, and had concluded in the gene-
rall, a reſolution to peace; with conſent that both parties ſhould haue time to ſend to their
Maſters for freſh inſtructions in particulars. Whereupon he had diſpatched that Meſſenger

to the Port, to vnderſtand the ſence, and to receiue abſolute directions from thence. By him G
Bethlem Gabor did write a ſharpe Letter; confeſſing plainly (ſeeing he could not longer conceale
it) that he had made peace for himſelfe; but accuſed the negligence of thoſe Miniſters
as the cauſe thereof: Firſt, That they would neuer conſtantly truſt his aduiſes of the opportunity
of the war, but their Mufti and Book men, who were fitter to enterpret their Law, than
to judge of the World and matters of State. That he would be true to the Grand Signior,
but yet not neglect himſelfe, when he ſaw how little care of him was had, how little authority
and credit was giuen to him. That the Letters written to him from the Vizier were ambiguous
and irreſolute, but diuers others priuately had threatened him not to be the occaſion
of a war. And therefore to proue himſelfe faithfull and true to his owne firſt counſels, he
offered, That if the Grand Signior would breake off the Treaty, and reſolue to vſe the time, H
that he was ready to march in ſix daies warning. He amplified the proſperity of the remains
of *Mansfelt* Army in Sileſia, the occaſion, and all other fit arguments to moue them to a
change of thoſe degenerate counſels of peace. But this was an art to caſt the fault on others,
for the concluſion of that which he had ſuffered to proceed, and was beyond his power to remedy.
Yet it much perplexed the Vizier, who excuſed himſelfe, and returned all the blame
vpon the Lawyers, as men ignorant, by whom he had been ouerborne; and that he neuer conſented
to Peace or Treaty in his owne judgement, but had promiſed ſincerely according to
his engagement, as far as he durſt, and, that ſo much his continuall Letters witneſſed for him;
promiſing, that he would cauſe a Conſultation to anſwer theſe aduices, and that he would
not agree to any concluſion without the ſatisfaction of the Prince, and all others that were I
friends to the Port, and the reſtitution of the oppreſſed liberty. Which ſolemnly handled
in a full Counſell, Orders were diſpatched away as the finall reſolution of that State; to leaue
the power of making Peace, or breaking the Treaty, to the judgement of *Gabor* and the Baſſa
of Buda, wholly and without reſtriction.

What effects this would worke was ſomewhat vncertaine; but ſuch appeared the inclination
of thoſe into whoſe hands the Treaty was now referred, that there was a ſtrong opinion,
the Emperour of Germany ſhould faile of the ſecurity expected: Eſpecially becauſe the
ouertures of peace which the Perſian made by his Embaſſador arriued at the Port, together
with their neceſſity, had raiſed ſome ſhew of inclination to hearken to accomodation in thoſe
parts. But it came aduiſed from the Treaty, That the Commiſſioners being met the ſecond K
time, the Imperials inſiſted vpon high termes, demanding a ratification of the old Peace of
Zitwa, then expired, without any addition or diminution; and by vertue thereof, reſtitution
of Vatz, ſtollen during that time: declaring they had no authority to proceed to any new negotiation.
To which the Turks replied, That ſo much ceremony needed not, to appoint a
ſolemne meeting to confirme that which two Letters onely from their Princes might haue
done: That that Truce being run out, was no longer in vigor nor in being. If they would
treat a new Peace, that they were ready; but to expect any reſtitution, or reuiuing of the old,
it was in vaine, and their meeting fruitleſſe. And the Germanes as ſtiffely preſſing their own
propoſitions, the Conference was for a while interrupted, and a current rumour ſpread, The
Conuention was diſſolued. But *Morteſa Baſſa* diſcouering by diſcourſe, That the Imperials L
ſtood vpon ſo peremptory points, as ſuppoſing that all the forces were drawne into Aſia, and
that the Grand Signior could not ſhew an Army on that ſide; ſuddenly gaue order to all the
troups that were ready about Buda, and in the frontier to march to Peſth, and to ſhew themſelues
in the field. Whereupon the Germans began to mollifie, and were content to renew
the Treaty. At a third ſeſſion they reſolued to employ the force of gold, and to win *Morteſa*
by corruption; to whom they preſented from the Emperour ſix thouſand Dollars, with promiſe
of a greater reward. This Caſt changed all the Game; and he vndertooke both to diſcouer
the deſignes of *Bethlem Gabor*, and to croſſe him in his Maſters Court.

The Miniſters of the Grand Signior hauing exhibited a ſecond complaint to his Majeſties
Embaſſador, for ſome wrongs done vnto his ſubjects in the Gulph of Perſia, he ſent vnto them M
this enſuing Command, to obſerue the antient Capitulations.

To

To all Gouernors, Admirals, Commanders of Ships,

Or other his Maieſties Subiects trading in the Kingdome or Gulfe of Perſia.

After our louing commendations:

WHereas Aly Baſſa *of Balſara, hath ſent his Letters to this high Port by the hands of two of his ſeruants inhabiting in thoſe parts, by them informing the Grand Signior, That the Engliſh Nation trading in the Perſian Gulfe, in Ormus, Iaſques, Mumbrun, and other parts of the Kingdome of Perſia, do make prize and take the Veſſels and Frigots of the Subiects of the Grand Signior dwelling in Balſara, Laſha, and the Coaſts of Arabia, trading to Meſchit, India, Goa, and Calicut; and that they make Slaues of all the paſſengers, Merchants or other, that they finde vpon the ſaid Veſſels, being Subiects of this Empire. Further, That they do vnite themſelues with the Perſian (now in warre with the Grand Signior) aſsiſting him not onely with munition, but Veſſels and Frigots; and that they help and teach the Perſians (enemies of this Port) to build Gallies, Galliots, and other Veſſels of warre to arme in thoſe ſeas; prouiding them of Shipwrights and all other neceſſaries for the fitting of an Armado, thereby to inuade or beſiege the Port of Balſara, or Laſha, or to make incurſions vpon the territories of this Empire. Which actions being alleadged to be contrarie to the Capitulations of his moſt ſacred Majeſty, and to the publique Peace and Commerce betweene theſe Kingdoms; I haue been called before the Chimacham, Deputie to the great Vizier, to make anſwer to theſe Obiections, and to prouide ſome timely remedie, before thoſe proceedings ſhould giue further occaſion of diſcontent. To which accuſations, I being able, concerning the fact, to ſay nothing; but that knowing ſuch actions to be vniuſt and vnlawfull, and contrary to the will of his ſacred Maieſtie, and your Commiſsions and Inſtructions from the Companie and your Principals, for whom you ſerue: I do hope that herein you haue not offended, nor giuen any iuſt occaſion of lament, vnleſſe you haue been thereunto by like acts of hoſtilitie prouoked. Notwithſtanding being vrged by the great Miniſters of this Port; and that it will require ſo much time to informe his Maieſtie, and to ſeeke redreſſe by ſo long a courſe, (to whom neuertheleſſe the Grand Signior will write his Letters of complaint, to require Iuſtice in ſuch caſe) and for the preuention of future euils of very great importance to the Subiects of his Maieſtie (which you may eaſily conceiue) and for the declaration of his Maieſties ſincere and conſtant purpoſe to maintaine a good and iuſt Peace with the Grand Signior and all his Dominions, which I know to be his Maieſties royall will: and that I make no doubt of your obedience to all his Orders and purpoſes, like good Subiects that muſt anſwer your actions at the Tribunall of his High Iuſtice; I haue thought fit and very requiſite to ſend you this our Declaration, and in the name of his Maieſtie to admoniſh and require you, That you preſume not to take or make prize of any of the Veſſels or Subiects of the Grand Signior, trading in the Sea whereſoeuer; nor to make any ſpoyle of their goods, or hurt or detaine their perſons: nor that you intermeddle in any inuaſion or attempt of the King of Perſia, to aſsiſt him or his Armies againſt the Subiects or Dominions of the Grand Signior, neither by Sea nor Land, nor by prouiding them of munition, Shipwrights, or other Artiſmen, to teach them the vſe of gallies, thereby to inuade the Territories or Subiects of this Empire; but that therein you carry your ſelues neutrally and indifferently, betweene two Princes both in Peace and Amitie with his Maieſtie. Wiſhing you well to conſider, the inconuenience which may ariſe to others, and the damage in time to your ſelues, by teaching a powerfull Nation to vſe their ſtrength in Sea cauſes, of which they are now vtterly ignorant, and of which practiſe wee haue a lamentable example in theſe Seas. And no way doubting, That like good Subiects, you will conforme your actions and proceedings in thoſe Seas to the rules of his Maieſtie (for that ſuch is his will and pleaſure, In declaration whereof I haue affixed his Royall Seale) yet I am inforced to proteſt, That the contrarie will giue occaſion of much trouble and danger vnto your ſelues, and in the end loſſe and damage to your Principals.*

Giuen in Conſtantinople the third of September, in the yeare of Grace, 1627.

The Perſian beſiegeth Achiska

Halil Baſſa made great Vizier vpon the rout of the army mentioned at Babylon, was ſent to G
the war in the end of the laſt yeare, being arriued at Dierbecher, reſolued to enter Perſia (not-
withſtanding that the King had an Embaſſador at the Port treating of peace) and gaue order
to certain Beglerbeghs to make another inuaſion by Van; and did endeauour to draw *Abaſſa
Baſſa*, with his forces ioyned with the Georgians, to do the like on his frontier, who gaue good
words, and hopes of due obedience. Whileſt theſe deſignes were in preparation, the Perſian
by his General beſieged Achiska, a city of great importance neer Arzirum: Whereupon *Ha-
lil* ſent *Diſlenk* Baſſa of Natolia, with ſix other Baſſaes, to *Abaſſa*, to perſuade him preſently to
performe his word, and to riſe and vnite his ſtrength with them. With theſe hee ſent three
thouſand Ianizaries vnder twelue Captaines, with his owne Letters; who being arriued neere
the City, he appointed them to incamp, and ſent them prouiſion for a day or two, till he could H
put his affaires for his departure in order. Theſe reſting ſecure, in the night he ſet vpon them,
and cut them in pieces, ſome few eſcaping to the Port. *Diſlenk* and another, *Muchmet Baſſa*,
were ſlaine; the Captaines that he tooke aliue, or came to him to treat, he ſent to the Perſian:
whereby Achiska being in great diſtreſſe, and vnſuccoured, was preſently ſurrendred to the E-
nemy. This newes being brought to the great Vizier, the next morning hee roſe with all his
whole army, laying aſide all deſigne againſt Perſia, and marched right to Arzirum; vowing to
puniſh the Rebell, or there to end his life: who was ſtrong, fortified, victualled, prouided, and
reſolute.

Bethlem Gabor certifieth the Port, of peace betweene him and the Emperor.

Notwithſtanding all the colours, proteſtations, and perturbations of the Prince of Tran-
ſyluania, That hee would finde occaſion and quarrell to diſſolue the treaty of Comaran, or I
that he would ſeparate himſelfe from the Turks; yet at laſt hee ſent his Embaſſadour *Francis
Microferentz* to the Grand Signior, about the later end of October, to acquaint him that the
peace was concluded. And within a few dayes after, the Internuntio of the Emperor arriued
with a branch of Oliues at the Port: And this Embaſſador and two Agents of *Gabor* went to
the Chimacham with a Letter from their Maſter, vnder the Seale, of great ſecrecie; of freſh
aduice, That the King of Denmarke was vtterly broken and fled into certaine Iſlands, all his
Countrey, and Germany proſtrate at the mercy of the Emperour (which newes the Imperi-
als had formerly ſpread) counſelling the Chimacham to make an end of their peace with the
Emperor, and to diſpatch and to accept of any conditions, and to ſend the Internuntio away
with ſpeed and content; leſt the Auſtrians puffed vp with thoſe victories, ſhould take the ad- K
uantage of their delay, and preſent them worſe termes, or refuſe it abſolutely. Whereupon
the Miniſters of the Port reſolued eaſily to peace; changing their former Ænigmaticall let-
ters, and hudled vp a haſty concluſion. They added further, That the Princes of Germany trea-
ted a Pacification, which was like alſo to take effect; and either way, that the Emperor would
be at liberty to make war vpon him. Whether they feigned the firſt part, to accelerate the ra-
tification; or feared the later, and that their Maſter ſhould therein deſeruedly be left out, was
hard to iudge: but they only by this office (which the Turke did beleeue was ſincere) merited
of the Emperor the conſummation of what was done; and thereupon they Both made their a-
tonement with the Emperor according to their ſeuerall Capitulations.

What was the ſecret cauſe and reaſon of this ſudden alteration, (*Gabor* hauing made all de- L
monſtration, that he would continue the war; hauing proceeded euen to threats and proteſts
againſt the Miniſters of the Port; and being irritated anew after the concluſion of his owne
Treaty, by the complaints and practiſes of the Emperors Agents, to bring him into diſgrace
or ruine; ſo that hee could repoſe no truſt in an enemy newly reconciled, and ſo often prouo-
ked) did breed much inquiſition, and many doubted ſome great myſterie, either of his reuolt
wholly to the Imperiall part, or that he had ſome other high deſigne in Poland. But thoſe who
were leſſe ſpeculatiue and curious, and looked only vpon euident matter, concluded, That the
King of Denmarke being indeed diſtreſſed by *Walſtein*, who vpon the priuat accord of *Gabor*,
was let looſe, and was become triumphant in Germany; and finding himſelf betrayed and for-
ſaken by *Morteſa Baſſa*, and that he could no longer diſguiſe his owne ends, which were, To ob- M
lige the Emperour to him for the Peace if it were made; and to blinde the Turks, to conuert
their force and authoritie to better his conditions in the Peace; and that hee foreſaw ſo
much renitencie and inconſtancie in them to proſecute the warre, the vigor whereof de-
pended vpon contingencies and the ſucceſſe of the Viſier in Aſia; that he reſolued to

A preuent being preuented, and diſcouered. For certainly if he had not ſoundly ſhut vp the oc-
caſion, by being the firſt that ſeemed to merit of both parts, by reconciling the difficultie hee
himſelfe had raiſed, he had bin ſtript naked, and left in the ſtate of the Conſtable Count of
S. Pol, between *Lewis* the 11 of France, and the Duke of Burgondie. This only was obſerued
by all, That whatſoeuer the ends of *Gabor* and *Morteſa* were while they were vnited in counſel,
they did ſuffer the grand Signior to know no more, than conduced to their own ends; & that
they had practiſed power to change the reſolutions of the Port, with euery wind of rumor
they pleaſed to obtrude: And that if *Gabor* had bin countenanced and nouriſhed in his hopes,
to wear the crown of Hungarie (which was the ſcope of all his intentions) that he had credit
and wit enough to haue moulded the Turks (who ſaw the affairs of Chriſtendom only thorow
B the glaſſe of his relations) to his own deſignes; and that hee would continue the War at his
pleaſure, and they at whoſe coſts it had bin made, ſhould haue bin the leaſt and laſt, to know
the internal motiue. For ſo it often happens, That great Princes and States haue bin invol-
ued in troubles, and ſhut vp with peaces, vnder the ſpecious name of the publique good, by
the paſſions, deſignes, or ambitions of their Allyes or Miniſters, the cauſes and pretexts being
ſeldom rightly diſtinguiſhed.

It hath bin formerly intimated, That *Gabor* had ſecretly treated apart; and now the general peace being concluded, the Articles themſelues will moſt cleerly diſcouer, either to what ſtreits the Prince was driuen, or what were his intentions: the order of time giuing place to that of Story, we haue choſen this period to publiſh them.

C

Articles of Peace concluded between the Emperor of Germany, *Ferdinand*, and *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Tranſylvania, in the moneth of December, 1626.

D

THe Prince of Tranſylvania doth promiſe by the faith of a Chriſtian, neuer to moue arms, or vſe any hoſtility againſt the Maieſty of the Emperour, or the Houſe of Auſtria, or their Succeſſors; much leſſe to enter into their dominions with an army: Not to aid his Enemies, nor to keep correſpondence with them: Not to plot any innovation in the kingdom of Hungary, or other Chriſtian Countries; neither to ſtirre vp and prouoke the Turkes or Tartars, or others to inuade them: Not to entertain nor aſſiſt in any euill Counſell againſt his Maieſty, nor to giue ear to the requeſts and deſires of his Enemies; but rather to reueale all
E *their conſpiracies and wickedneſſes which ſhall be made known vnto him, and by all means to demonſtrate and ſhew a ſincere minde, truly deſirous of Peace, and ſolicitous of the Common good.*

That the Prince ſhall inſtantly depart with his whole army out of the territories & cities of the Emperor; and that he ſhall reſtore as well all goods belonging to the Imperiall Treaſure, as thoſe of his faithfull ſubiects.

That he ſhall remoue from him the Rebel Mansfelt, *and all other his followers and Adherents deſirous to inuade the dominions of the Emperor. And that he ſhall not aid any ſtranger whatſoeuer, who at his inſtance hath entred into the territories of his Maieſty with Count*
F *Mansfelt; to whom letters of publique ſafety ſhall be giuen, that they may returne by twenty or thirty in a troup; with condition, That in no place of their retreit they ſhall ioyne with the enemies of the Emperor.*

IV. *That ſeeing it is fit for the eſtabliſhing of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of countries and cities belonging to the Prince, by the conſent of the Emperor ſhould remain during his life, in obedience and fidelitie to him; and that thoſe inhabitants ſhould do homage to the Emperour (ſauing their corporall oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate theſe articles: That they ſhould haue leaue by Letters of full authority and power granted them by the Prince, in their firſt aſſemblies and conuentions to make ſuch oath of Homage.*

V. *That at the ſame time of the performing of the Homage and Oath, beſides the Oath before the laſt War, they ſhall take a new oath, according to the agreement betweene the Prince and the Commiſſioners of the Emperor.*

VI. *The Prince ſhall procure, That all places vpon the confines which were taken by the Turkes in the laſt war, ſhall be reſtored, and that all Captiues on both ſides ſhall be ſet at liberty: and that the Prince ſhall procure the freedom of all ſuch the Emperours ſubiects as ſhall bee in the Turkiſh captiuitie.*

VII. *That all the ſubiects of the Emperour, lately incited and drawn to the ſeruice of the Prince, ſhall be free from their oath; and if the Prince haue any of their letters of obligation in his hands, that he ſhall reſtore them: And that theſe conditions confirmed, all other things formerly treated, ſhall remain in their former ſtate and vigor.*

VIII. *That if any other difficulties ariſe, they ſhall be accommodated with fidelitie and quietneſſe, by Commiſſioners on both parts. And that all thoſe who in the laſt commotion haue ſerued the Prince, ſhall be abſolued, according to the treaty and agreement at Vienna.*

IX. *That all the inhabitants of counties and cities which haue ſerued the Prince, ſhall be abſolued; only thoſe excepted who haue voluntarily taken vp arms againſt the Emperor, for whom he ſhall only intercide: excuſing alwaies priuat men which haue done priuat wrongs, for they ſhall according to law and cuſtom, ſeek their reſtitution by Ciuile Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of peace concluded at Nichilsburg and Vienna, ſhall remain in their former vigor and force; except vpon the behalfe of the Emperor, the paiment of thirty thouſand Dollars to the Prince, and the care of the confines granted vnto him. And that all goods of the Emperors Clergy poſſeſſed by the Prince, ſhall be reſtored, from the year* 1619, *till this preſent day. Except the Abbies of Replana, belonging to the Seminarie of Strigonium; for which the Prince ſhall pay to the Emperor yearly fiue hundred florens.*

At the arriuall of the Meſſenger ſent from the commiſſioners of the Emperor, to the Port, with the news of the concluſion of the Treaty, and the ratification on the part of *Cæſar*, he preſented this letter.

The Emperors Letter to the grand Signior, a little before the ratification of the Peace.

FErdinand *the ſecond, by the grace of God Emperor of Germanie, &c. We giue notice hereby to your Maieſty, That by the diligence and wiſdome of our Commiſsioners on both parts, all controuerſies which haue hertofore hapned, are wel accommodated, and all iniuries and hoſtilities for the future preuented. Now for the better and more exact obſeruance of this our ſaid Treaty, we haue ſent vnto your Maieſty our Internuntio* Stephano Baloco,

Captain

A *Captain of Tata, to giue you notice of the agreement betweene our ſaid Commiſsioners, and to preſent you with the Capitulations, ſeuerally ſigned and ſealed by them. Which wee pray your Maieſty to accept word for word; and hauing ſigned them with your Imperiall hand, that you will ſend them back vnto vs with all expedition: Not doubting but your Maieſty out of you benignitie and greatneſſe, will obſerue and keep the ſame, as we vpon our part do promiſe euer to do.*

Giuen in Prague the 21 of *Zilhege* (or September) in the yeare of the
B Meſsiah 1627.

Ferdinando.

Count Colalto *Counſellor.*

Sberinger *Secretary.*

C

Articles of peace agreed vpon between *Ferdinand* Emperor of Germany, and the grand Signior Sultan *Morat*, in Comaran, in the moneth of September, 1627.

I *Sultan* Morat, *King of Kings, &c. To thee* Ferdinand, *honored King of the Romans,*
D *Almaines, Bohemians, Hungars, Croats, Auſtrians, Emperor of Germany, and moſt glorious Prince amongſt Chriſtians: whoſe laſt daies be euer happy.*

B*Y vertue of our Imperiall Commiſsion granted to* Morteſa Baſſa *our magnificent Vizier, vpon the frontiers of Buda; to the Beglerbegh of Agria,* Mehemet; *to the Mufti of Buda,* Iſſa; *to the Sanzack of Strigonium,* Achmet; *to the Bey of Sonluc,* Muharem; *to the Aga of Aſſapi,* Ghian; *and to* Michael Todolaghi *Embaſſador of* Bethlem Gabor, *on our behalfe: And the illuſtrous Palatine of Hungary, and the Chancellour* Stephano *and*
E *others, on the part of the Emperor. Which Commiſsioners being met in the field of Sona, and hauing found the peaces which had formerly bin concluded at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, to be diſturbed by diuers inſolencies and outrages don vpon the ſubiects of both parties. Wherupon the ſaid Commiſsioners in the aforeſaid place did treat and conclude a good peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue years, in the current year of our great Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha *the Meſſenger of God,* 1037, *and of the Venerable Chriſt* 1627, *as appeareth by a ſealed Capitulation containing eleuen Articles. And you alſo deſiring and accepting the good peace for ſo long time, hauing ſent the ſacred Capitulation to our happy Port, by your eſteemed and honored amongſt Chriſtians,* Stephano Baloco, *Captaine of Tata; deſiring in your Letter,*
F *that it may be obſerued word for word. And although we haue declared heretofore vpon our Imperial part, That we would haue made other Capitulations; yet ſince it hath euer bin our regal cuſtome, affectionatly to correſpond with the intentions of thoſe great princes that profeſſe amitie,*

amity, deuotion, and friendſhip to our high Port (by the immenſe fauour of God, the ſtay and G *refuge of great Lords and Princes;) We declare and demonſtrate our ſingular greatneſſe and magnificence, and approue ſufficiently, and hold lawfully the confirmation of the Peace for the ſpace of twenty fiue yeares, according to the ſaid Letter, beginning from the yeare 1627. Wherupon our high Order is giuen out in writing, for ratifying and confirming of theſe our new Imperiall Capitulations.*

Thus much is the Preface, according to the ſtile of that Court: That which followeth is the Capitulation, as it was accepted H and ſent by the grand Signior; tranſlated out of the Turkiſh word for word, without any alteration.

That ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, hath remained in the ſame ſtate, and in the ſame articles, without any alteration, it ſhal not be violated by any new occaſion of contention.

That the difference of Vatz, whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame ſtate that the Commiſsioners on both ſides ſhall agree.

That the new Forts built vpon the confines of Croatia, contrary to the Peace, ſhall be de- I *moliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputy* Mehemet, *and our Viſier* Morteſa Baſſa, *ſhall meet vpon the frontiers of Buda with your Deputies, at the time appointed by the Treaty, and there vpon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace: wherin if they find any impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant men to performe and execute the ſaid ſeruice.*

That after the approbation of this happy Peace, your great Embaſſadour ſhall come to Comar; and ours ſhall repaire with our Imperiall Letters to Strigonium: and there one of them aduiſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall aduance to you. K *For ſo it is agreed by our Imperiall Order, both carrying with them the new Imperiall Capitulations.*

That all complaints of Villages ſubiect to both parts, ſhall bee layd aſide, and no violences, taxes, or contribution, contrary to our former Conuention, ſhall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common confines ſhall be raſed. And reciprocally it ſhall be made knowne, according to the antient Treaty, what great men doe dwell amongſt our Tributaries. And for the execution of the ſixteenth and ſeuenteenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, the tenth of Vienna, and the fourth of Comar and Chiarman (for ſuch was then the agreement) two Capigi Baſ- L *ſa's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpeeded, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the Danuby. And vpon your part you ſhall ſend two ſuch qualified perſons to the ſame places: who being met together with the deputies of* Morteſa Baſſa *and the Palatine of Hungary ſhall rectifie all diſorders, and ſee that good iuſtice be done on both parties: for ſo it is our moſt high pleaſure.*

That the Slaues which haue been taken during this our Treaty, ſhall be freed and ſet at libertie without any ranſome: and thoſe who were taken before the ſaid Treaty ſhall be exchanged and redeemed, according to their qualities and eſtates; by the interpoſition of Morteſa M Baſſa *and the Palatine of Hungary deputed for that purpoſe.*

For the good of poor people on both ſides, the Commiſsioners haue thought it fit to conclude this renued peace for 25 years, from 1627. Wherunto we haue giuen our Imperial aſſent.

That

A VIII. *That all Merchants, and other our ſubiects on both parts, ſhall haue ſafe paſſage and conduct through both our Dominions: and we haue giuen command to our Baſſa's, Beglerbegs, Generalls, Beghes, and Captaines, vpon our confines, to apprehend, bring into iuſtice, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall any way diſturbe or moleſt them contrary to the peace. As likewiſe the Palatine of Hungary and other your Miniſters ſhall doe on your part, if they finde any ſuch offendors.*

IX. *That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Gouernors; and your Generals, Commaunders, and Captaines, ſhall vpon occaſion employ all ſuch perſons as are louers of the peace and common good.*

B X. *That there ſhall be no damage or hurt done to any of our ſubiects in any of your Kingdomes or Dominions, neither by ſea nor land: as there ſhall none be done to yours in our Dominions.*

XI. *That all by-paſt wrongs, enmities, and vnkindeneſſes on both parts ſhall be forgotten and layed aſleepe: and that this happy Peace ſhal be ſincerely and firmely continued and kept inviolate.*

Vpon condition that the Emperor performe and obſerue all the aforeſaid Articles, and that
C *there follow no action from any Miniſters, contrary to the ſaid Peace; We promiſe and ſwear*
by God our Creator, who made the whole world of nothing; and by the honor which we bear
to our moſt high Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha, *That there ſhall not bee done during the*
whole term of the ſaid Peace, the leaſt hurt or damage to the Subiects, Countries, Kingdomes,
Caſtles, or Forts of the ſaid Emperor, by any of our Miniſters or Armies, nor to any Chriſtian
ſlaues ſubiect to our happy Port.

I haue choſen the Capitulations as they were ſigned by the grand Signior, which though
D the Articles are very generall, and matters of greateſt moment either referred, or not fully
eſtabliſhed; yet being therfore aduantagious for the Turk, who would not deſcend into particular
definition, becauſe by the vertue of former treaties, all places ſurpriſed ought to bee
reſtored, and depredations ſatisfied, he would neither break, nor yet oblige himſelf to reparation:
and indeed the difficulties were inſuperable in reſpect of the Turkiſh Law; for no place
can be ſurrendred to the Chriſtian, where a Moſche hath been erected; which was the caſe of
Vatz: And the Emperor could not conſent to abandon his claime with charitie and honour,
grounded on the articles of Zitwa. So that both ſides were contented to bee appeaſed, rather
than righted for the time, and both did thinke that they had the aduantage: The Emperor, In
preſuming his title; the Turke, In not declaring. So the one part accepting the ſignature of
E the other, without diſpute, the bodies of the Treaties were very different, if not contrary: yet
ſo deſirous they were of peace, that they did wittingly ouerſee one the arts of the other; and
in effect there was no firm peace eſtabliſhed, but that either ſide might finde iuſt matter, and
ground it on the Capitulation it ſelfe, when occaſion ſhall inuite them to breake. Therfore I
obſerue, That it is not the letter but the minde that makes a true peace: and I am perſuaded,
That the minds of theſe Princes, howſoeuer neceſſitie hath reſtrained them, are ſo diſcrepant,
that the firſt opportunitie wil diſcouer them in their own colours and nature. And this ſort of
concluſion was moſt fit for *Gabor* (not to haue matters ſoundly examined and healed) who
was principally ſafe by an il intelligence, and maintaining of jealouſie and ſubiect of new diſcord
between thoſe Empires.

F *Halil Baſſa* General of the Army in Aſia, whom we left furiouſly marching to be reuenged of the Rebel, was forced to riſe from the ſiege of Arzirum; and retyring, *Abaſſa* followed him 7 days, and cut off all his rear, and took his treaſure, cannon, and baggage, to the great diſcouragement of the Turkiſh ſtate. The army afterward fel into mutiny, and ſought to ſtone their

General. Whereupon he wrot to the grand Signior, That there was no hope of obedience, G
vnleſſe the reuerence of his perſon did reuiue it. Yet he reſted at Tocat, and the ſoldiers diſbanded,
and returned naked to the Port,as from an ouerthrow:and it was threatned, that thoſe
which did ſtay with the Vizier,would bring him to Conſtantinople perforce; ſo that in the
next Spring,much trouble, if not a great deſolation was preſaged. Yet it was reſolued to
proſecute the Warre: for though the renitencie of the ſoldier,and many other impediments
perſuaded againſt it,yet not to haue moued at all, was thought too plain a diſcouery of their
owne infirmitie, and would too much encourage the Enemy, eſpecially *Abaſſa Baſſa*, who
had practiſed both the Tartars,Poles,and Coſſackes. Whereupon *Huſſeruph Baſſa* a Vizier,
and late Aga of the Ianizaries, was choſen Conductor of the *Militia*, and ſent ouer the water
to Aſia ſide with all prouiſion. Much new Ordnance was caſt, which the grand Signior H
went in perſon to ſee in the Founders office. And from thence to the Arſenall, to giue order
for the gallies. And it was concluded,That the new Generall ſhould march directly to Diarbecher,
to oppoſe the Perſian, and there remaine as Baſſa of the prouince, with one diuiſion
of the Army. But ſecretly he was made great Vizier, and the Seale appointed to bee giuen
him when he ſhould be vpon the way. This was done partly to ſaue charges,becauſe to that
great degree appertained great expence in ſetting out; and partly for reſpect of *Halil Baſſa* in
Tocat,that he might not ſeeme to be diſplaced in diſgrace,but that he ſhould ſurrender to the
other, and retyre to the Port,*ſalvo Honore*. And when *Huſſeruph* ſhould be declared prime Vizier,
he had order alſo to change his wayes, but whither, was not divulged. Howſoeuer it was
iudged they could not attempt much that year,but only make ſhew to keep the field,and the I
reputation of an army.

1628. About the fiſt of April *Huſſruph Baſſa* was declared Vizier;who intended to march directly
towards Babylon,for of *Abaſſa* they had enough the laſt year; who had writ a letter to the
grand Signior, That he was his ſeruant and ſlaue,& would hold the prouince for him: but if
he ſought to force more, plainly that he would deliuer the poſſeſſion to the Perſian,againſt
whom as the great Enemy,if they would proſecute the war,that he would doe all ſeruice hee
could with his ſafety. And this was accepted as a full ſubmiſſion.

Whilſt the grand Signior was thus buſied to ſettle the affaires of Aſia,and to reduce *Abaſſa* K
Baſſa to obedience; the Tartar *Han* was openly declared a Rebel,and Enemy to the Turkiſh
Empire: and his brother *Shachin Gheray* hauing exacted a tribute of the Princes of Bugdania
and Wallachia, had receiued an ouerthrow of *Cante.Emir* a Tartar, his Æmulous, but
obedient to the grand Signior. Whereupon it was ſuddenly reſolued to take *Ghian Gheray*
(formerly depoſed) out of the Rhodes, and to ſend the Captaine Baſſa with the whole
Armado to eſtabliſh him Prince, and to diſplace the other. So that for that year the Mediterran
was like to be free,and the Turkiſh Empire ingaged in ſo many troubles, that euerie
thing ſeemed to worke toward their ſubuerſion. But great bodies haue ſtrong luctations,and
die not with one fit,or by one blow; and ſuch was the miſerie and iniquitie of the times,that
while Chriſtian princes contended for ambitious and enuious, rather than iuſt quarels; that L
none of them had leiſure to help to puſh down that enemy, who tottered by his own weight;
nor to vindicate the Chriſtian Honour; nor the Holy Land, oppreſſed and poſſeſſed by a
Tyrant, that onely ſubſiſted by their diſſentions: and I feare, the loſſe of the opportunitie
hath loſt the Grace that gaue it; and that a common repentance will requite a common ſinne
and folly.

Hauing drawn our Hiſtorie for matters concerning the Temporal eſtate, and the revolutions
therin, vnto a period,of our own knowledge or practiſe, it will not be impertinent nor vnprofitable,
to make ſome relation of the Greek Church,and the affaires therof, which ſuffered
many perturbations and aſſaults during theſe times; as if one influence had diſpoſed all
things to vniuerſall trouble: but the cauſes were far differing. There are yet remaining vnder M
the Patriark of Conſtantinople 111 Metropolitans and Biſhops, who liue with freedome of
conſcience and Religion vnder the grand Signior, and gouerne the Chriſtian Flocke vnder
their ſeuerall Iuriſdictions. Who haue their antient Churches, with ſome competent

reuenue

A reuenue in their owne poſſeſſion, teaching, preaching, and adminiſtring of the holy Sacraments according to their owne Rites, without any moleſtation for matters of Religion. The preſent Patriarch is called *Cyrillus*, formerly gouerning the See of Alexandria, a reuerend and learned man, who hath deſired to reforme many errors, and to enlighten much of the blindeneſſe of his Church; inſenſibly preuailing, for want of Lectures, Schooles, and Books, and by the mixture of Barbariſme. His reuenue, (though very good) and that of his Biſhops, not ariſing wholly out of viſible lands and rents, but by ſecret contribution, and other duties; and the ſimplicity of their life and habit, without ſhew or pompe, giuing no occaſion formerly to the Turks, to expect any profit by vexing them, as is vſually practiſed vpon other lay Chriſtians, they liued in great peace and tranquility; vntill of late yeares the Church of Rome, hoB ping either by the pouerty of the one, and the greatneſſe of the other, to force the Greeks to a ſubmiſſion, or perhaps, enuious of their quiet, to weary them by trouble, or to ſubuert them. To this end a Greeke Colledge was by the laſt *Gregory* erected in Rome, to breed vp the Youth of that Nation, where they had liberty of all their owne Rites, only acknowledging the ſupremacy of the Pope, which they muſt do, or not be admitted: and that ground being layd, for point of doctrine it matters not; there is enough gained to make him that had ſworne obedience, to accept of all the reſt. By this foundation the Pope hoped to breed Proſelites enow in time to poſſeſſe all the Biſhoprickes, and to ſubdue the whole Church. For theſe Students returned admired men for their education and knowledge, and wanted not meanes to promoue their preferment; which was a great aduantage ouer the ignorant C breeding and diſcipline of the meere Greeke. But by the foreſight and wiſedome of *Cyrillus* this plot taking little effect, as it did irritate the Pope and Cardinals againſt his perſon, ſo it did incite them to ſeeke other more powerfull meanes of corruption, or to ruine him. And both were put in practiſe. To this end a Congregation was erected to take care of the Eaſterne Church, and to direct the practiſes vpon it; whereof a principall Cardinall was made Protector; and many Conſiſtories were held, by which way to reduce the Greeke Church to obedience, or to root out all thoſe that oppoſed it. It was reſolued to make titular Biſhops of almoſt all the Sees (eſpecially in the Iſlands) where any Greeke Biſhop had reſidence; ſo that there were many Paſtors without a flocke. But theſe Emiſſaries being diſcouered to be ſupplanters and diſturbers of the poor Church, were alſo reſiſted, and ſome caſt D into priſon; and ſome aſhamed of their empty honour, voluntarily returned. But all theſe deuiſes failing, they fell at laſt vpon the round and moſt aſſured way of force, to worke their ends by the Embaſſadors of Chriſtian princes of the Romiſh Religion reſiding at Conſtantinople; and the moſt potent, of bribery and corruption: making vſe of the impotency of the Turkiſh Miniſters, who they knew would ſell *Mahomet* himſelfe for gold: *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta mouebo.* From this reſolution did all the danger and miſchiefe ſpring: and certainely the zeale of the Romiſh Church is cloathed with ſo much honour and ſolicitouſnes, that in that only it prouoketh enuy. But whether they haue in this purſuit and cauſe proceeded with the rules of Chriſtian charity, in that place, among Falſe-Beleeuers, where euery ſcandall did concern the honour of Chriſt himſelf, or not; I leaue to the judgement of E euery ingenious man. And becauſe this Part, of the quarrels betweene the Roman and Greeke Church, though acted in ſeuerell yeres, hath beene related entirely by a ſincere Pen, in a Letter directed to a noble Senator of Venice, whereby the paſſages will be more cleere and continuous, than if they had beene mingled and interrupted with other affaires; I haue rather choſen mine owne eaſe and the Readers profit, by tranſlating that Letter, to ſerue it in all at once, than by peeces and fragments. The occaſion whereof ariſing (as I am informed) from the variety of reports and Printed pamphlets, of the laſt Act concerning the baniſhment of the Ieſuits, and a rumor ſpread, that they were reſtored: the truth whereof it ſeemes that Senator did deſire to know, and therefore prouoked ſome Friends to ſatisfie him. And ſo without other prejudice, I referre the Reader to the Text it ſelfe following.

The Copy of a Letter written to a Senator of Venice; concerning the contentions betweene the Roman and Greeke Churches in Conſtantinople.

My Lord,

Your Letter hath laied vpon me a charge, that (if I were able to performe) is ſo full of enuy, and ſubject to diuers cenſures, according to the preparations of the hearers of a matter of that nature, that I would haue choſen to haue obeyed you in any other way, rather than in that of a Relator. For I perceiue by you, ſome prejudice is already gone out, and hath taken poſſeſſion of a part of the World, harder to remoue than to teach a new hereſie. But hoping that you ſeeke the ſatisfaction of your owne curioſity, and that you purpoſe not to controuert, I will not refuſe, againſt my owne reaſon, and little leiſure, to returne you aſſurance, how far you haue power ouer them and me.

IT is now ten moneths ſince this conflict between the Greeke Church, and the Ieſuits here fell out, but not the firſt time they haue been in trouble, impriſonment and oblegation, They were ſettled in Galata by the Grand Signiors Licenſe, vnder the French protection, about twenty fiue yeares ſince; in which time they had gotten a good Seat, builded much, gathered together a faire Library, and won greatly vpon the weaker Sect, and age, women and children. I ſpeake of the Greeks; for with the Romaniſts they had leaſt credit, who adhered to their antient Orders of S. *Francis* and *Dominicke*; and were affraid that this new Society would be too buſie, and caſt them into danger of their old priuiledges: for the Turks are plaine, and yet raſh, and eaſily apprehend euery innouation.

The pretence of this Colledge was, To teach children for nothing, or charity, Grammer, the Arts and Tongues. And there being no open Schoole in thoſe parts, and few bookes for want of Printing, the Greekes (who loue learning beſt, when it is beſt cheape) were content their children ſhould gleane tares in any field, to ſaue their purſes: and their wiues were won by eloquence and affability, to open their ſins to them, who had more witty penances than Greekiſh ſhrift and faſting, which did decay their beauty, and deject their countenances. But the wiſer ſort, eſpecially the Patriarch *Cyrillus*, and his Biſhops, diſcouered *Anguem in herba*; and did foreſee, That by this ſeeming benefit, the Youth of their Nation might be corrupted (*Seruabit odorem teſta diu*) and their owne boſomes tempted by the Daughters of *Eue*: And they likewiſe did feare, That vpon this foundation might be nouriſhed Proſelites to Rome, that in time would vndermine the whole Church. And therefore did as modeſtly as they could (to preuent an open diſſention) ſeeke to withdraw both, from this bait of ſeducement. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*: For when the Ieſuits did diſcouer they were diſcouered, they began to practiſe that by force, which they had long deſigned in the darke. The firſt open warre brake out in February 1622; when theſe Fathers (protected by the French Embaſſador) attempted to depoſe the Patriarch, and to place another Greeke in his Chayre, who had ſecretly ſubmitted to the Pope, and promiſed to render new obedience to the See of Rome.

Whereupon *Cyrillus* conſulted his friends, how to auoyd their enuy. He reſolued to proceed with mildeneſſe and charity; and firſt to deale with the ſeduced Biſhop, as one of his owne Flocke: and the Sunday following hee preached and publiſhed the Counſels held againſt him, and the danger of his Church; not naming the Ieſuits, otherwiſe than by admonition, to beware of certaine fiery Organs and Inſtruments, againſt whom he ſhould be enforced to proceed with more ſeuerity, if they deſiſted not. And then being aſſiſted with foure Archbiſhops, and the Clergy preſent, he excommunicated that Greeke joyned with his enemies: hoping by this gentle Exhortation to the one, and Example on the other, to obtaine the bleſſing of Peace, recommended by Chriſt to his Church. The pretence of this quarrell

A from Rome and preſent diſdaine, was publiſhed by the French Party, to haue root, becauſe that the Patriarch kept company with Lutherans and Heretiques, and therefore muſt needs ſauour of the ſame Leauen. This modeſt courſe of the Patriarch did but exaſperate; for the Ieſuits hauing a Viſier fit for them, in Aprill following, by ſubornation of others, did accuſe *Cyrillus* of a practiſe to betray an Iſland in the * Arches, to the Florentines; and by the promiſe of twenty thouſand Dollers for the eſtabliſhment of the excommunicated Biſhop, they preuailed to haue the Patriarch apprehended, depoſed, and ſent priſoner to Rhodes, where he ſuffered many miſeries and outrages, and their Friend to be placed in his Seat. But the Greeke Church, though they durſt not oppoſe the preſent fury, yet they would neither acknowledge *Paſtorem qui non intrauit per Portam*, nor reſort to the Cathedrall, nor contribute B any mony to pay the fine due to the Grand Signior vpon remoue, vpon which the French relyed, for though they had promiſe from Rome of aid, yet was it not leuied. Whereby finding themſelues in a ſtreight, they made meanes to a ſilly Archbiſhop of Adrianople, who was rich, to take the charge; the other willingly reſigning vnto him: who accepted the offer, aduanced part of the Symony, and leuied the reſt by force of Turkiſh Commands vpon the poore Greeks; and ſo he was in appearance fully, if not Canonically ſeated. Their purpoſe was not long to ſuffer this man to continue, but only to hold the See full, vntill ſupply came from the Pope, and then to depoſe him, and place one fitted for their deſignes. By this mutation they hoped to recouer all the Greekes to the Catholique Cauſe, and Spaine. And in theſe changes the Patriarchat was robbed of moſt of the antient Manuſcripts, and other Or- C naments of the Church.

* Mare Ægeum.

In September following, *Cyrillus* by helpe of friends, and force of money, was reſtored to liberty, and returned to Conſtantinople. Where being arriued, all the Greekes flocked to him: Which the Archbiſhop of Adrianople obſeruing, and knowing himſelfe an Intruder, (the true Patriarch neither reſigning, nor being Canonically depriued) ſecretly and voluntarily came and ſubmitted, and offered to ſurrender the charge to him. But *Cyrillus* not daring to accept it, vntill meanes were made to the State, or that he were recalled by a Synod, was content the Church ſhould be vacant, to ſee what would of it ſelfe emerge. The French Embaſſador hearing of this ſudden defection from him, by the counſell of his Ieſuits, fetched their Archbiſhop into his houſe, and encouraged him to reſume his place; promiſing him D protection from the Pope, from the King his Maſter, and to ſpend forty thouſand Dollars for his ſuſtentation. And thus, partly by faire words abuſing the impotency, and partly by force compelling him, they won the weake man to yeeld: and then the French Embaſſador ſent his Interpreters and Ianizaries to re-ſeat him in the Cathedrall, and in Galata proclaimed him Patriarch, and threatened all thoſe that would not obey and acknowledge him. An inſolence full of proportion to the deſigne, to maintain an ill cauſe by worſe meanes.

But the Clergy and people knowing the vnlawfulneſſe of this intruſion, and the vndue conſecration, and foreſeeing the ruine to come, if ſo pernitious example ſhould preuaile, did ſtill adhere to their old Paſtor. Which the new better weighing in his owne retiredneſſe, than in the French Houſe, where his ambion was fomented; and fearing that if *Cyrillus* ſhould reco- E uer his juſt right by the ſame way he had done his liberty, ſome greater diſgrace or puniſhment might fall vpon him; without further conſulting his high Protector, in the night quitted the See, and came to his Patriarch and caſt himſelfe into his mercy, asking abſolution; and vtterly renouncing French, Spaniſh, or Romane Factions, freely reſigned. Herewith *Cyrillus* encouraged, by the ſtrength of money and friends was againe with the Letters of the Grand Signior reſtored, in deſpight of the Enemy, who now found himſelfe ouermatched. But this ſtrife did coſt the Greeks threeſcore thouſand Dollars, taken at Intereſt, almoſt to the deſtruction of the Church, eſpecially to haue diſcouered to the Turks a way to extort great ſums by changes, from them, who formerly were eſteemed poore Monks: which will neuer be forgotten, and will finally ruine the See. This was the effect of pretended zeale to F Religion, and a Romiſh charity.

Now all men hoped for Peace; but there brake out another ſtorme. In Ianuary following, a Coloyre was ſent from Rome, called *Archemadrita*, and was receiued by the French into his houſe; who brought a promiſe from the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, That notwithſtanding the firſt faile for want of money, that now twenty thouſand Dollars ſhould be ready and returned thither, if they could make ſure the depoſition of *Cyrillus*, and place an obedient Sonne in his roome. To this end it was promiſed, that ten thouſand Dollars giuen by a widow in France to charitable vſes, ſhould by the Popes authority be conuerted. And thus new practiſes and new accuſations were aduanced; but being timely diſcouered, they were preuented: yet againe it coſt the poore Church a round ſumme of mony.

The next yeare the perſecution was calmed in outward appearance, but more ſubtile and cloſe machinations ſupplied it: for it was then reſolued in Rome, to corrupt *Cyrillus*, and ſo to winne him: then to diſcredit him with his friends, and to lay him open and vndo him. To this purpoſe were ſent from Rome about February 1624, two ſeuerall Agents, one called *Padre Berillus*, to ingage the Patriarch in a practiſe with the Coſſackes, which was treaſon: and a Ieſuited Greeke bred in the Colledge at Rome, named *Cannachi Roſsi*. To whom were giuen inſtructions vnder the hand and ſeale of Cardinall *Bandini*, to make ouerture to *Cyrillus* of reconciliation, with great conditionall promiſes of ſupplies and this following Commiſſion. But Sir, becauſe you will beſt judge of the ſcope of this negotiation, by the copy it ſelfe, the originall vnder the ſeale, remaining with the Engliſh Embaſſador, and from whence this hatred tooke root; I, that haue onely taken vpon me the part of a Relator, haue made it here a Parentheſis, and leaue your judgement to collect your owne ſence.

Inſtruttioni per Canacchio Roſsi.

1 *NOn vi eſſendo lettere ne del Patriarcha, ne de' Prelati non le ſi può riſpondere ſe non in voce, conformandoſi alla relatione del meſſo.*

2 *La chieſa Romana ha ſempre deſiderata l'unione & pace con tutte le Chieſe, ſpetialmente con l'Orientali, tanto per altri tempi bene merita della Chieſa Catolica, e non ſolo ne' tempi antichi mà vltimamente ancôra, nel tempo de Patriarcha* Hieremia *ha fato quel che ha potuto per aiutarla, e reunriſela, non perdonando in ciò ne à ſpeſe, ne à fatiche, Anzi per queſto ſteſſo fine hà fondato, & mantiene il* Collegio *de giouani* Greci *con li ſui renditi, acciò quella natione ſi nobile & ingegnioſa ritorni a fiorire in pietà & in lettere, come altre volte ha fiorito.*

3 *Nel particolar propoſto del Patriarcha preſente:* Noſtro Seigniore *(tanto grand fautore, & Padre della* Natione Greca *in particolare, come voi ſteſſo ſapete, & hauete veduto congli occhi) volentaria mente ſpenderebbe ogni gran ſumma di denaro per riunir ſi nobile membro alla Chieſa, & aiutare in particolare quella ſedia dalla quale dipende il rimamente del'* Oriente*; ma ſuppoſte le relationi, che di* Conſtantinopoli *ſono venute, & vengono continoüamente del Patriarcha, non veda in che maniera ſi poſſa fare.*

4 *Di lui ſiamo auiſati, che nega l'Inuocatione de* Santi*, il colto & veneratione dell' Imagini, &* Reliquie *de* Sante*, la Preſenza reale de Chriſto nell' Euchariſtia, la Liberta del Arbitrio, l'Autorita de ſacri Concilij, le Traditioni, l'Autorità de* Santi Padri*, la neceſsità della Confeſsione auriculare, & lo ſpiegare in eſſa li Peccati della mente, & che in loco di lei haueſſe introdotto vna certa Confeſsione fatta a* Dio *publicamente con parole generali, che manda li giouani a ſtudiare nell' Vniuerſità d'Inghilterra, & di Germania, doue s'inſegna queſta dottrina; per poter poi per mezzo di loro diſſeminarla per il' Leuante. Che a queſto fine ha fatto ſtampare, & egli ſteſſo diſſemina, dandoli alli Veſcoui, come Chatecheſi, pieni di queſti, & ſimili errori condannati già, tanti anni fa, non ſolo dalla fede Apoſtolica & dal* Concilio Tridentino*, ma dalli ſuoi Predeceſſori anchora, come egli ſteſſo teſtifica*

nella profeſſione della fede laſciata tanti anni fa in mano del Arciueſcouo di Leopoli riconoſcendo queſta, & ſimili altre dottrine per hereſie & dicendo che perqueſto era impoſſibile, che la chieſa Greca s'uniſſe mai con li Proteſtanti; che a contemplatione delli Ambaſciatori Hugonotti (con li quali liberamente communica) ha tolto via il Sinodico, & ha laſciato di far riuerenza alla ſantiſſima Euchariſtia.

5 *Che deſiderarebbe ſua Santita che tutte queſte coſe foſſero falſe & che lui come Capo de ſi nobile natione foſſe tale quale rechiedono li biſogni preſenti, e ſpirituali, & temporali de' ſuoi ſubditi per poter con bona faccia, & conſcienza, mettere mano ad auitarlo.*

6 *Che ſi queſte ſono calumnie, & le pare di poter far conſtare a ſua Santita la ſua innocenza, ne faccia Capace l'Ambaſciatore di Francia, ó dell' Jmperatore, che alla relatione loro per eſſere perſone di tanta autorita & virtu, ſi preſtera ogni fede, & per mezzo loro mandi a N. S. la confeſſione della ſua fede, nella quale accetti il Concilio Fiorentino, & danni li errori de' Caluiniſti & Luterani, dannati prima da ſuoi Anteceſſori, che non manachera la ſede Apoſtolica d'ogni aiuto & fauore per aiutare & rimettere in piedi la Chieſa di Conſtantinopoli & tutte l'altre dependenti da lei.*

7 *Che non e per richieder S. Santita ne da lui, ne da gli altri Prelati Greci, altre conditioni, ſe non quelle che ſi ſono conchiuſe & ſtabilite nel ſacro Concilio Fiorentino, per che come ſin hora ha fatta la Chieſa Greca, condanni & anathematizi le biaſtemie delli heretici Settentrionali, cioè Luterani, Caliuiniſti, & ſimili.*

Roma xxj. Febraro, 1625.

Il Cardinale Bandini.

Locus Sigilli.

Tranſlated.

Inſtructions giuen to *Cannachi Roſſi.*

1 *Hauing neither brought me Letters from the Patriarch, nor from any other Prelate, we cannot giue an anſwer other than by word of mouth, conforming to the relation you haue deliuered.*

2 *The Church of Rome hath alwaies deſired an vnion and peace with all other Churches, but eſpecially with thoſe of the Eaſt, (who haue heretofore ſo well merited of the Catholique Church) and not onely in antient times, but euen lately in the life of the Patriarch* Hieremy, *ſhe hath done what ſhe could poſſible, to aſſiſt and vnite the Greeke Church vnto her: not ſparing therein either coſt or labour: yea, to effect the ſame, ſhe hath founded, and doth yet maintaine a Colledge of young Greekes with her owne reuenue, to the end that, that noble and ingenious Nation ſhould flouriſh in godlineſſe and learning, as in former ages it hath done.*

3 *Concerning the propoſition of the preſent Patriarch, our Lord and Maſter the Pope (a Fauourer and Father of the Greeke Nation, as particularly your ſelfe haue knowne and ſeene) would diburſe a round ſum of mony to re-unite ſo noble a Member to the Church of Rome, and aſſiſt in particular that See, vpon which the reſt of the Eaſterne Churches doe depend. But conſidering the reports which haue been ſpread, and continually do come from Conſtantinople, of the Patriarch, we do not ſee in what manner it can poſſibly be effected.*

4 *Concerning him, we are aduiſed, That he denieth the Innocation of Saints, the worſhip and veneration of Images and reliques of the Saints, the Reall preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt, Free-wll, the authoritie of Sacred Councels, and Traditions, the authoritie of Holy Fathers, the neceſsitie of Auricular Confeſsion, and in it, the reuealing of ſecret ſinnes: In ſtead of which he hath introduced a publike Confeſsion made to God in generall words. That he ſends young men to ſtudy in the Engliſh and Germane Academies, where this Doctrine is taught and profeſſed: that by their means he may ſpread it in the Leuant. And to this end, that he hath cauſed to be printed, and that he himſelfe hath diſperſed and giuen to ſome Biſhops, certaine Catechiſmes full of this and other like erronious Doctrine, condemned long ago, not only by the Apoſtilique See, and the Councell of Trent, but euen of his owne Predeceſſors, as he himſelfe hath teſtified in that Confeſsion of Faith which he left many yeres ſince in the hands of the Archbiſhop of Leopoli, acknowledging this and the like Doctrine for hereſie; and therefore concluding, That it was impoſſible that the Greeke Church ſhould euer vnite it ſelfe with the Proteſtants. And that in contemplation of the Hugonot Embaſſadours (with whom he doth freely conuerſe) he hath taken away the * Sinodicon, and hath laid aſide the reuerence due to the moſt holy Euchariſt.*

* It ſignifieth an Aſſembly: I take it to bee the power of Excommunication. But enquire how it is vſed by the Romiſh Church.

5 *His Holineſſe doth deſire, That all theſe reports were falſe; and that he being the head of ſo noble a Nation, ſhould be ſuch a one as the preſent condition, both in matters ſpirituall and temporall of the flock vnder his Iuriſdiction doth require; that he might with a cheerfull countenance and ſafe conſcience extend his liberalitie and aid vnto him.*

6 *If theſe ſhal proue calumnies, and that the Patriarch doth think he can make his innocence appeare before his Holineſſe, let him iuſtifie himſelfe to the French or the Emperors Embaſſador: to whoſe relation (being perſons of great vertue and authoritie) credit and faith will be giuen: and by their meanes let him ſend to his Sanctitie the Confeſsion of his Faith, in which he doth accept the Councell of Florence, and condemne the errors of* Caluin *and* Luther, *condemned alreadie by his Predeceſſors. And the Apoſtolique See will not be wanting in all fauour and aſsiſtance, to raiſe vp the Church of Conſtantinople, and all others on it depending.*

7 *That his Holineſſe will not require either of him or the other Prelates of Greece, any conditions but ſuch as were concluded and eſtabliſhed in the ſacred Florentine Councell; ſo that (according as the Grecian Church hath alway done) hee condemne and anathematiſe the blaſphemie of the Septentrionall Heretiques; to ſay, of Caluiniſts, Lutherans, and ſuch like.*

Rome, the xxj. of February, 1625.

Cardinall *Bandini.*

The place of his Seale.

This *Channachi Roſsi* arriuing with his Commiſsion at Conſtantinople, became an vndertaker of his owne accord, to merit of the Church of Rome, to conuert the Patriarch: who was amaſed at the boldneſſe, and feared both waies; either to anſwer, and ſo to be ingaged in a penwarre; or to be ſilent, and condemned as ſtanding mute. But at laſt hee reſolued, that ſeeing the Cardinall vouchſafed not to write directly to him, to take no notice; but to ſee how patience would deliuer him out of this ſnare. But the Ieſuits content with no temper, but preſent ſubſcription, ſtirred vp ſome Biſhops now made of their faction, anew to depoſe him; and there was offered twenty thouſand Dollars to eſtabliſh one of them. This tempeſt forced *Cyrillus* to retyre and hide, vntill his Friends had reuealed to the State the myſterie of this forked practiſe, and opened the treacherie of both of theſe Miniſters, imploied only to introduce a change aduantagious to the Pope, and dangerous to the Grand Signior. Yet ſuch is the cuſtome of this Court, that his peace was againe bought at the expence of ten thouſand Dollars.

Once more the Patriarch expected peace and ſecuritie; but the Congregation at Rome fell vpon a new counſell: Firſt, better to fortifie themſelues before they attempted their enemies. And to this end, vpon diuers pretences, it was reſolued to ſend to Conſtantinople, an

Anti-

A Anti-Patriarch from the Pope, qualified with abſolute authority, but vnder the title of *Suf-*
fraganeo Apoſtolico, and with him a Treaſurer for the Church (for Saint *Peter* durſt not truſt the
French Embaſſador with money) yet with theſe to ioyne him, for his zeale and countenance,
and the Ieſuits for their Counſell. To this Triumuirate was giuen all power to plant, diſplant,
to ſow, and root out, and finally to do all things that might aduance the Romane cauſe. For
their better ſtrength & abetting, it was alſo decreed to create new Romiſh Biſhops in Smyr-
na, Naxia, and many Iſlands (a ſhift learned at Trent) to oppoſe the Greeks, and by aduantage
of learning to ſupplant them. Of this miſſion there was great expectation.

About December, 1626, the Suffraganeo arriued at Naxia, whither the French embaſſador
ſent the Romane Biſhop of that place his Chaplein, and two Ieſuits to receiue him: who con-
B ducted him as far as Scio, where he was acccepted with great Ceremonie. But beginning his
office too roughly and too ſoon (for he ſhould not haue declared himſelfe vntill he had crept
to Conſtantinople vnder the French wings, and had bin ſetled by degrees) many took offence
at this noueltie. The Lay-men feared ſome prejudice in their right of Patronage ouer the
Churches: the wiſeſt foreſaw the danger of Chriſtian libertie, and that their practiſes in this
innouation would inuolue all others into a ſuſpition of ſome conſpiracie: and if any ſcandall
ſhould from hence ariſe, the Turks would not diſtinguiſh betweene the guilty and the inno-
cent, beeing in one Liuerie by the name of Frankes. Yea, the Friers could not endure a po-
wer ſo neere aboue them, but refuſed him lodging in their Conuents. The Greeke Clergy be-
gan euidently to diſcouer the ſubuerſion of their authority, and antient Faith. Only the Ieſu-
C its triumphed, and thought the prize now their owne. But deſperation forced ſome, and chari-
ty others to defend their poſſeſſions. Thus encouraged by ſtrong friends to oppoſe this fatall
blow, all the plot was opened to the Vizier, and their deſign quietly and without ſcandal fru-
ſtrated. The Suffraganeo retired without noiſe; their new Biſhops made by ſubreptitious Li-
cences were impriſoned, their Letters of Priuiledge taken from them, to the extreme anguiſh
and diſgrace of their Protector. This laſt repulſe made them furious; but *Infeſtis animis deerat*
occaſio.

In Iune, 1627, here arriued vpon an Engliſh ſhip one *Nicodemo Mataxa*, a Coloyre borne
in Cephalonia: he brought with him the Greek ſtamp made at his expence, and diuers bookes
printed in London, as he pretended, for the benefit of his Nation, drowned almoſt in inuinci-
D ble ignorance, eſpecially for want of means to learn and ſtudy. As ſoon as he came aſhore, and
had ſpoken with the Patriarch, and made knowne his zeale to that Church, hee was from him
by the Archbiſhop of Corinth recommended to the Engliſh Embaſſador, to aſſiſt this pious
intention, to paſſe theſe heauy commodities through the Cuſtome-houſe without ſuſpition.
In which though he foreſaw ſome trouble, yet he willingly vndertook the protection. But firſt
conſulting with *Cyrillus* of Conſtantinople, and *Gelaſius* Patriarch of Alexandria, (then for his
priuate affairs at the Port) and with the Reſident of the vnited Prouinces, he was of opinion,
That in a matter of that nature, which was in it ſelfe honeſt and iuſtifiable, it was requiſite to
proceed openly, and with leaue: which hauing obtained of the Vizier, tooke vp, and brought
both ſtampe and Bookes to his houſe. Now ſuppoſing all the difficultie had been ouercome,
E and neuer ſuſpecting any ſcandall from Chriſtians, for that which hee thought did not, nor
ought not to offend them, hee gaue countenance and helpe to *Mataxa* to put his induſtry in
order.

The Patriarch deſired the Stamp might worke in the Engliſh Houſe; but the Embaſſador
for priuate reſpects would not conſent, but offered to take a Houſe, and to giue both it and
them his protection. Which he did, not far from his owne, and neerer to the French Embaſ-
ſadors: who pretending the vnion of the two Churches, there appeared no feare of him, that he
ſhould enuy a Chriſtian worke, or do any act that might ſeparate them for euer. As ſoone as
Mataxa was ſetled, and his print in order, the French and the Ieſuits tooke offence at it, as ſet
vp to publiſh Bookes againſt the Church of Rome, or at leaſt to take away their trade of tea-
F ching, and ſeducing children by his printing of catechiſms, *Magna eſt* Diana *Epheſiorum*. Firſt,
they attempted to draw him into their gouernment, inuiting him to their Monaſterie; intima-
ting, That adhering to them would take off ſome ill ſuſpition raiſed on him for hauing ſtudi-
ed in England. When he could not be woon by flatteries, they reported him to be an Here-
tique and a Lutheran, becauſe he took ſanctuarie from the Engliſh. Againſt the ſtamp they
excepted

excepted, at the Armes of the King of Great Britain, which they ſaid was ſcandalous, and being in the Frontiſpeece of euery Booke, was *malum augurium*; and did foreſhew, that within they muſt ſauor of hereſie: for, What could be expected from an hereticall Fountain, or from the Man that conuerſed with Heretiques. G

These obloquies little moued the Engliſh Embaſſador, who knew their malice proceeded *Meleſius, Pat. Alex.* from the matter of one Author that wrote againſt the Supremacie. But the rage extended ſo far, that it was reuealed to *Mataxa*, That he ſhould be murthered in his bed, or in the ſtreet, as he paſſed in the night from the Engliſh to his owne houſe. Whereupon at his great inſtance the Embaſſador was content for his perſon to giue him lodging. So in the day he continued his worke, and at euening retyred vnder protection.

As yet they found no occaſion to worke their purpoſe: but the Patriarch ſent a little Treatiſe to the Preſſe, made by himſelf (being an expoſition of the Faith, and Tenets of the Greek church, without any mention of controuerſie, or cenſuring the opinions of others; principally to ſatiſfie the world in thoſe calumnies ſpred, That he had introduced new Doctrines, to the ſcandall of his own Flocke) which he had reſolued to dedicate to the King of England; but now hauing opportunitie to print at home, prepared an Epiſtle fit for it. This prouoked the Ieſuites, who not able to endure any application of the Eaſt Church to that Monarch, could no longer containe themſelues, but conſpired with their Embaſſadors to ouerthrow both the Author, Worke, and Workman: and hauing gotten another Booke written by the Patriarch, printed in England, and brought by *Mataxa* againſt the Iews, they found ſome paſſages which did modeſtly condemne the opinions of the Turks. When they had this ſuppoſed aduantage, they practiſed with a Buffone, but a crafty knaue, who had credit with the Vizier, and had bin Vayuod of Galata, to inform him, That this *Mataxa* was a Captain ſent hither to raiſe ſedition, and that vnder the colour of printing Bookes for children, hee diſperſed others againſt the Alcaron; That they were brought from England ſecretly, and that the Engliſh Embaſſador protected him and his deſignes: That theſe Bookes were written by the Patriarch, to ſtir the Greeks, and to draw them into defection; and many of them ſent to the Coſſacks, to prouoke them to vnite vpon the occaſion of the Grand Signiors expedition into Aſia, that was then rumored. H I

Theſe accuſations were capitall, as they concerned *Cyrillus* and *Mataxa*; and ſufficient to impaire the credit of the Engliſh Embaſſador, if not to ruine him in the affairs for which he did reſide. K

The Vizier without further conſideration reſolued to aſſault the houſe of *Mataxa*, and ſurpriſe him in the act of Sin, of printing againſt their Law; and gaue order to a Captaine and companie of Ianizaries to execute it. Which was out of courſe, to ſet at liberty vnruly ſoldiers, that ſeldome containe themſelues within their Order, or can be appeaſed without booty. The exploit ſhould haue bin done on Friday the fourth of Ianuarie: but the French Embaſſador hearing the Engliſh had inuited the Patriarch, & Venetian Baylo, to ſome entertainment on the day of Epiphanie, he ſtayd it two daies, as he ſaid, to make ſauce to their Feaſt. On that day at high noone, a hundred and fifty Ianizaries armed beſet *Mataxa's* houſe, and guarded all the paſſages to the Engliſh: all was full of fears and rumor, and no man knew the cauſe. In this tumult, the Engliſh Embaſſadors Secretarie and *Mataxa* returning from Church at Galata, paſſed by; and ſome of the Coloyres ſeruants that were apprehended, ſhewed their Maſter, to free themſelues: but he being in a hat, and the Secretarie anſwering he was one of his Lords Followers, he eſcaped ſafely, and got into the Engliſh houſe. The Captaine miſſing him the Principall, bound all his ſeruants, brake open his cheſts, and carried all away, ſtamp, books, papers, plate, mony, cloths, and whatſoeuer was portable, as the goods of a traitor, to the value of ** Interpreter.* ſeuen thouſand Dollars. And returning thus full, a French * Drogaman told them, That the Offendor was fled to the Engliſh Embaſſador: but the Turk, that had more charity, anſwered, he had no order to follow him thither. L

Now the Engliſh Embaſſador thought himſelfe intereſſed; yet that day not to ſeeme to bee moued, made as merry as ſuch rumours would beare; That hee had practiſed againſt the State; others, That the Stampe was to counterfeit the Grand Signiors Letters; others, To make falſe money; and other ſuch as Ignorance and Accuſation beget among the Multitude. M

The

A The next day the books were examined by two Greek Renegado's, and the Folio by the Ieſuits noted where the blaſphemy ſhould be: the place was interpreted before the Vizier and ſome * Mulla's, but there was nothing found that by law could touch the life of the author or printer; yet the Patriark was conuented, and many crimes obiected to him without proof or probabilitie.

* Churchmen and Lawyers.

There yet reſted ſome diffidence in the Vizier, at the report, That *Mataxa* was a man of war, and held correſpondence with the Coſſacks, and that he ſhould liue vnder the Engliſh protection; which was nouriſhed by ſhewing the Armes of England on the frontiſ-piece of that book. But when the Mufti had giuen ſentence, That euery doctrine againſt their opinions was not blaſphemy, nor criminal; and that the grand Signior giuing leaue to Chriſtians to B teach their own law, and to preach matters contrary to Mahometiſm, it could not be thought but it was daily don in their Churches, for which they were not puniſhable; ſo they could not be culpable of treaſon for writing the ſame, ſo long as they did not ſcandal their Law, but only oppoſe it. The main obiection being thus fallen, it was more eaſie to refell the acceſſaries grounded vpon it.

The third day the Engliſh Embaſſadour ſhewed himſelfe openly, and went to the Vizier, and profeſſed, That he had receiued that *Mataxa* into his houſe, to keepe him from the fury; but that he ſhould be ready to maintain his innocencie. He put him in mind, That this buſineſſe and man accuſed he himſelfe knew, that hee was a Gentleman of Coloyre, a ſubiect of the Senat, and preſented vnto him by the Venice Baylo; and that he had giuen leaue to land C and vſe the ſtamp, and that nothing was done without his communication and conſent: That therefore he much admired that he would be ſo raſh to ſuſpect his friends, and ſo ſcandalouſly to aſſault their houſes, to ſpoile their goods at the inſtigation of thoſe whom hee had cauſe to know for enemies; and to be ſo far tranſported at the winde of an occaſion, without acquainting him, to ſend ſouldiors that might haue done miſchiefe to bee too late repented.

When the Viſier had called to minde the man, and all circumſtances, and remembred whom the matter concerned (the Engliſh Embaſſador, with whom he had confidence) hee was aſhamed of his precipitation, and proteſted he had no doubt of him, nor purpoſe to affront him: That hee wondered at the impudence of thoſe that had ſo groſſely abuſed him; and D concluded with this profeſſion (as the Engliſh Embaſſador for his credit did publiſh) That if againſt his will he had done him wrong, when he ſhould ſee all the goods of *Mataxa* reſtored, their honour repaired, and thoſe that had procured this ſcandall, fallen into the ſnare they had made for others, and exemplarily puniſhed, then hee deſired to be acquitted of iniuſtice, and to be eſteemed ſtill his true friend. By this office the Patriarch was wholly cleared, and reſtored to the good opinion of the Vizier, and afterward of the Mufti; to whom the Engliſh went immediatly, to inſtruct him of the malice of the one part, and innocencie of the other.

Within few daies, the Vizier ſent home to the Embaſſadors houſe all the ſtamp and print, (except ſome few letters loſt in the tumult) and all the books and papers that were ſeiſed, in E publique ſatisfaction, attended with Officers and ſouldiers: in which he ſhewed ſo much reſpect and care to recouer euery particular, that there was not much miſſing of any value. Amongſt rhoſe books, there was printed Biſhop *Iewels* Apologie tranſlated into Greeke, a Catechiſme and Confeſſion of the Patriarch, and ſome new Treatiſes at the Preſſe; but one, and one only Iewel was miſſed, and can neuer be recouered: There was preſented to the Engliſh Embaſſador a Manuſcript that had with great veneration and care bin preſerued in the library of a Biſhop, and was averred and beleeued the only copy in the world, of the Lectures and controuerſies againſt the Biſhop and Church of Rome; read cathedrally by the moſt famous and learned *Photius* Patriarch of Conſtantinople. This booke the Embaſſador highly eſteeming as the raritie of the Eaſt, had deliuered to *Mataxa*, to be tranſcribed by his Deacons F that attended the correction of the print; that hauing double copies, ſo great a riches might not periſh in one bottom. But this too much care to ſaue it, loſt it: for beeing halfe finiſhed, and in the aſſault of the Ianizaries amongſt other ſurpriſed, neither the original nor any leafe could euer be recouered. Such was the diligence of the ſetters and ouerſeers of this conſpi-

racie. The Embaſſador mooued the Viſier, who vſed all his power: the Patriarch publiſhed G
an Excommunication for many moneths, if perchance any Greek had bought it of the ſouldiers,
to return it: but all in vain. Wherby it was reaſonably concluded, That this book was
a principal envy of the Ieſuits, who feared the publication; and that their miniſters beeing
Spies and in part Actors of the aſſault, had ſo eſpeciall an eye vpon it, that it fel into their vnredeemable
power, and ſo by them either ſent to Purgatorie or the Vatican.

The next day after the fury, *Cannachi Roßi* the Agent of Cardinall *Bandini*, went to the Patriarch
to braue him in aduerſitie: who mildly asking him, How long they would tempt his
patience by wicked conſpiracies? and, What had driuen them to this extremitie to ſeek his
life? he replied, That they were ſcandaliſed at him for two things; for fauouring *Mataxa*, and
ſuffering him to preach, being an heretike, and liuing in the houſe of an heretique. Secondly, H
That he had begun to print a book ful of hereſies, dedicated to the King of England the head
of Heretiques. But if he would retract the one and renounce the other, the French Embaſſador
ſhould procure his accommodation.

With the next Poſt after this trouble, there came from Rome a copy of a Conſiſtory held
in the houſe of Cardinal *Bandini*, entituled for Conſtantinople; wherin this practiſe againſt
the Patriark was debated and reſolued: the cauſe grounded vpon his conuerſation with Calviniſts,
and ſending of ſtudents to be brought vp in their Schooles; that therfore he ſhould be
accuſed of contriuing an inſurrection againſt the *Ottoman* empire. And the execution of this
plot commended to the Embaſſadors of the Potentates reſiding in this Court, fauorers of the
Catholique cauſe. Which Councel being compared with the laſt practiſe, it did euidently I
appear, that one was dependant on the other. Which the Patriarch wel conſidering, and finding
that he had no more ſafety in patience, reſolued to vſe his friends, to ſend them away
that would not let him liue in peace. And the Engliſh Embaſſador taking deep offence at the
inſolence of *Cannachi Roßi*, vſed to the name of his king; it is thought that they, together with
the help of a good friend no leſſe powerful than either of them, vnited to baniſh the Ieſuites;
and to ſhew their Protector, that they had no leſſe power to offend, becauſe they had leſſe malice
and deſire to do it.

For the way they wrought (to omit other obſeruable circumſtances) it is true, the Engliſh
Embaſſador was angry, and declared, and had good credit, and was ſeen often abroad: but hee
was not alone, for the Patriark (that is a wiſe man) knew he ſtriued not now for victory, but for K
life. The Ieſuits guilty of deſeruing a iuſt reuenge, retyred all to the French Embaſſador his
houſe, where they lay hid about fourteen daies: but in that time hearing no noiſe, and hoping
that all was ſecure, and that the Patriark and Engliſh Embaſſador trauelled onely in their defence,
and to recouer their loſſes, they returned to their houſe triumphant; when ſuddenly we
heard that a meſſenger came to them, to let them know that ſome Greeke women were come
to make confeſſion, and ſtayed for them in their garden. To whom two of them came downe,
and were preſently areſted by the Viziers officers, who then entred their lodgings and apprehended
another. This was done without any noiſe or ſcandall, and the actors had ſuch care,
That their Church was ſealed, all their altars and plate ſaued, and whatſoeuer appertained to
them, inviolated: only their perſons and Library, *per Legem Talionis*, were caried to the Viſiers L
houſe, where they were kept in irons about a moneth, and their bookes likewiſe viſited; in
which were found much more aduantage to haue drawne them within compaſſe of the Turkiſh
law, than their diſcouerie on the Patriark. And the ſame inſtant *Cannachi Roßi* was alſo
taken and his papers in his lodging, and caried to bear them ſad company. The French Embaſſador
deſired audience, but could not obtain it: he viſited euery great mans port, eſpecially
the Mufti, where he had no other acceptance, than admonition to carry himſelf with more
temper, and to meddle with the buſines for which he was imploied. Hee vſed all meanes, but
could no where preuail for relief: he threatned a breach of amitie, and to ſurrender the Capitulations,
and interdicted the Traffique; but the Turkes were prouided with anſwers, That
they would inform his maſter the French King, and giue him ſatisfaction. In concluſion, the M
Ieſuites weary, and in feare of death (for there was crime enough) the Engliſh Embaſſador,
whom they ſuppoſed their Enemy, to auoid ſcandall and the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, interpoſed
for them, and obtained their liues; and after many Conſultations, it was agreed to

baniſh

A baniſh their Order out of all the grand Signiors dominions, to deliuer back their books; and this grace at the interceſſion of him, of whom they had not merited that courteſie. That it might clearly appear there was no purpoſe of robbery, nor to take the goods that were innocent, and in the French Kings protection. In proſecution of which Councel there were commands ſent to Scio, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, to diſcharge thoſe places from the practiſe of this fraternitie; who had a deſign to get the Sepulchre at Ieruſalem into their hands, and to ſupplant the Franciſcans (which controuerſie is wel known at Rome, and would make a long Section in this narration:) and finally they were put into a Barque, with good gard, in their irons, and ſent to Scio; with order to ſhip them and their fellowes vpon the next veſſell that went for Chriſtendome, and in the mean time to keep them priſoners. When they came to B the caſtles on the Helleſpont, the French Embaſſadour had procured, that the Caſtellane would not ſuffer them to paſſe, for want of the Captain Baſſa's Letter; and ſo they were returned to Conſtantinople, but ſtill kept in their Gaol: and ſuddenly it was rumored, they were revoked, and ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. But when the Vizier heard his authoritie was contemned, and this trick put vpon him, he was ſo much inraged, that again their liues were in danger. But the preſent fury appeaſed euen by their ſuppoſed Enemie, they were returned, baniſhed firſt to Scio, and ſo ſhipt for Italy. I muſt confeſſe that I haue not obſerued any one ſorry but the French Embaſſador, ſcarce his houſhold; all other Catholiques, eſpecially the Orders of Friers, and the Franciſcans of Ieruſalem, were glad they were eaſed of their Dominion, and the fears of their deſignes. And I haue heard it reported, That themſelues did ingeniouſly confeſſe an obligation to the Engliſh Embaſſadour; and in their relations to Rome C laid all the fault vpon the precipitation of their Protector.

There was another command ſent to Smyrna, to apprehend a couple that had crept in vnder the French Conſuls protection: who at firſt hid themſelues; but being aduiſed to giue place, and a means opened to them to eſcape, fled ſecretly; there beeing no other purpoſe in their perſecutors, but to be rid of ſuch negotiating fathers.

And thus S^{r} you haue a true relation of what I haue obſerued, & for your ſatisfaction collected of thoſe that had better means to know particulars than I, who am buſie enough if I do myne own buſineſſe. There reſts only to tell you, That during the Engliſh Embaſſadors ſtay (which was about fiue months after) the French ſate down and ſtirred not. But conſidering D that his credit in France depended much from Rome, and from an opinion of his zeale to the Catholique cauſe, and his power to ſupport it; hauing made the Colledge of Cardinals beleeue that he would ſubdue the Greek Church (wherein wiſe men thought hee did diſſeruice both to the Cauſe and his Maſter: for the ready way to vndoe the Catholiques, was to innovate any thing in their antient maner of life, gouernment, and priuiledges, which they enjoyed with their conſciences freely) he thought himſelfe vtterly loſt, if he did not do ſomewhat to recouer his reputation there, by a ſeeming reſtitution of the Ieſuites. Vpon which deliberation, hauing yet two of them refuged to his houſe, and hid there a month after the departure of the Engliſh embaſſador; he petitioned the grand Signior, That his Chapleins might haue leaue to bury his Dead, and do other offices of their Function. Which being granted, it was E publiſhed, That he had reſtored the Ieſuites.

And becauſe you are ſo curious to know all, and in what eſtate that reſtitution now ſtands, I conclude with the true copy of the command obtained, and leaue it to your iudgment, whether the breach be made vp ſo whole as is ſuppoſed. For euery plaiſter is not a ſound cure.

The Grand Signiors Command, directed to *Aſſan Baſſa* Captaine of the Sea; and to the Caddee of Galata.

AT the ſight of this our high and Imperial Signature, you ſhal take notice, That the French Embaſſador by an * *Arz giuen to our happy Port; hath made vs to vnderſtand, That (their Law and Religion being not like to that of other Chriſtians which liue in our wel gouerned Empire) they with our Imperiall Licence did procure to come from the kingdome of France certain* Religious *men called Ieſuites, who for the ſpace of twenty fiue years haue had their abode in the Church of Saint* Benet *appointed to them in* Galata; *and lately by ſiniſter information made againſt them, were ſent away to their owne countrey: from which time the ſaid Church being ſhut vp, and hauing no other Religious who could aſſiſt in the neceſſary Offices of men ready to die, or dead; haue therfore petitioned for our noble Command. To which end (excepting alway the aboue named* * Religious, *ſent away, and others of other Nations) that he may place in the ſaid Church ſuch perſons of Religious French, and French Religion, which are found at this preſent here, elect, and appointed by him, without moleſtation or injury to be done vnto them by any whomſoeuer. Therefore in conformitie to his requeſt, this my Command is obtained; and I doe command, That at the ſight of this my Imperiall Order it be obeyed and executed: That becauſe, as is before pretended, the French haue not thoſe* * Religious *who can performe the Functions neceſſary for the Dead (excepting alway thoſe* Religious *already baniſhed, and all others comming from the countries of our Enemies) that they may put into the ſaid Church ſuch perſons for Religious men, as are naturall Frenchmen, and of their owne Nation, which at preſent are found in* Galata, *and that ſhall by them bee appointed: and that ſo long as they commit no faults in their charge, and that they practiſe nothing contrary to our Imperiall will, that they be of no man moleſted.*

* Petition.

* In the original it ſignifies an Order.

* or Orders.

Vpon the obtaining of this Command, the two Ieſuits in the French houſe were ſolemnly and with great oſtentation caried to S. *Benetto's* Church, and placed there as the Embaſſadors Chapleins; and an opinion ſpread, of an abſolute re-eſtabliſhment of their Order, and ſo it was divulged in Rome. But it was not ſuppoſed by the French, that this Copy ſhould bee ſeene by any but himſelfe; and then the Act would haue appeared as truth. But ſome Criticall and captious men haue made many *Quare's* vpon this matter: Firſt they haue aſked, What then is the French Religion, if it differ from all other Chriſtians in the Grand Signiors Dominions; when in Galata there were fiue Romiſh Churches and Monaſteries, with French Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciſcans, and others? Secondly they haue aſked, What Ceremonies are neceſſarie to a Frenchman, in danger of death, or after it, that none of theſe Orders can aſſiſt or performe? Again they aſke, Who are reſtored by this priuiledge, if the *Religioſi ſupra nominati*, and Strangers are excepted? What is meant by French Religion, and the ſame Religion? To which it is anſwered firſt, That this new French Religion is onely Ieſuitical, not approued by the moſt Chriſtian King, improoued by the Sorbons, and reproued by all the louers of the libertie of the Gallican Church. To the ſecond, That they dying muſt be abſolued only by a Ieſuite, or buried in his habit, or ſhut out of Paradice. Again they anſwer, They finde none reſtored but a new French Religion, and ſuch men as were perſonally then in Galata; that is, two Chapleins only to aſſiſt in caſe of death, but no Order of Ieſuits. And they finally conclude, That the French Embaſſador hath more diſhonoured his nation, to reſtraine their Religion to the Ieſuites; and the whole Clergy, to renounce all other Orders;

Orders, that he hath done benefit to the Ieſuites, except he had need of ſome colour in ſtead of truth.

Sir, I will not comment at all; to obey you I haue gon thus far extra provinciam meam*: And now I return home to my ſelfe, to aſſure you that I haue been, and will ſo die,*

Your true, &c.

Galata *jx. Novembr.* 1628.

This Trage-Comedie being ended, and a ſeeming peace returning with the Spring; whilſt the new Vizier marched towards Babylon, to ſettle the affaires of thoſe parts, Sir *Thomas Rowe*, then his Maieſties Embaſſador reſident at the Port, procured his leaue to return home, and was recalled. By whom the grand Signior writ this inſuing Letter to his Maieſtie of great Britain.

The grand Signiors Letter to his Maieſtie of Great Britaine.

To the moſt glorious amongſt the greateſt Maieſties of the Princes of Jeſus, moſt reverenced amongſt the people of the Meſſiah, ſole Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren Nation; Lord of the limits of Honour and Power; and Patron of Grace and Authoritie, CHARLES, *King of Great Britain and Ireland: To whoſe laſt dayes we wiſh all compleat and true happineſſe.*

Be it known vnto your Maieſty at the ſight of this Letter, That your Embaſſador Sir Thomas Rowe, *reſpected and beloued amongſt Chriſtians, to whom we wiſh a happy end; (being heretofore ſent to reſide as your Embaſſador at our happy Port, to be watchfull ouer all offices of good correſpondence between vs, and that all requiſit terms of honor ſhould be fulfilled; and to renew the Mantle of our affection) hath from his firſt arriuall here, vntill this preſent, moſt perfectly attended vpon the charge impoſed vpon him, and in all his actions proceeded with extraordinary diligence and induſtry, for the high honour and great fame of your Maieſty his Soueraign. And now your Maieſty hauing ſent in his place one of the chieſe of your moſt eſteemed, Sir* Peter Wyche, *to reſide at our Imperiall Port, and that the ſaid Sir* Thomas Rowe *hath taken reſolution to return to your Maieſty with our Imperiall conſent: We ſend them vnto you with theſe our Imperiall Letters; hoping in the moſt high* God, *that when he is ſafely arriued with you, out of your abundant and innate clemencie, and your ſingular and ſincere goodneſſe, in reſpect of his good and faithfull ſeruice, that you will ſee him honored and rewarded. And to the end that the great affection and loue which we nouriſh to your Maieſtie, may be daily encreaſed, we deſire you readily to imploy your benigne care in the keeping and obſeruing of this our Imperiall Capitulations, with euery Article therein contained; as we on our part will likewiſe do in all things that are meet to bee done concerning their perfect obſeruation: wherof you ſhall find a good and clear teſtimony by the future effects.*

Giuen at Conſtantinople, 1628.

Though impertinent to the Hiſtory of Turky, yet a conflict haping betweene the ſhip G which tranſported Sir *Thomas Rowe* to Italy (returning from Conſtantinople) & the gallies of Malta; I haue thought it would not be an vngrateful concluſion, to obſerue and record the mighty deliuerance of thoſe whom God is pleaſed to keep; by communicating the copy of a relation made of that fight.

On the eleuenth of Auguſt, about ten of the Clocke in the forenoone, the *Sampſon* beeing becalmed before Malta, the ſea as ſmooth as glaſſe, not a breath of winde, wee diſcouered foure Gallies to rowe from the Towne. They came vp all abreſt, right with the ſtarre-boord quarter of our ſhip; which warned vs to fit our ſailes and our ſelues to fight, not knowing their purpoſe. When they came neere, the Admirall Galley, without ſending boat, or ſpeaking with vs, made a ſhot, which fell ſhort; then rowing neerer, made another which did almoſt reach vs. H And comming ſtill on, the Vice-Admiral gaue a third, all demy-Cannon, that flew ouer vs between our maſts. Theſe we ſuppoſed they made to try the length of their ordnance, and to lie there for battery; for they ſtopped, and piked halfe their oares. Whereupon wee ſent them a Culverin ſhot, that grazed vnder the Admiralls ſtarre-boord bow; and ſo we began a ſharpe fight betweene twelue and one. The Gallies were full of Cavagliero's and ſouldiers as they could ſtand: They lay on that quarter about three houres, changing ſhot with vs, often hitting one the other. Then Captaine *William Rainsborow* (who behaued himſelfe with braue courage and temper) finding a breath of winde to giue the ſhip motion; conſidering that he was a great marke on the broad ſide, and the Gallies very narrow, keeping their prowes ſharpe toward him, and that he could beare little vpon them, trimmed his ſailes I before the winde, and brought them to a Sterne fight, where they continued their batterie two houres more; and the Sampſon could then beare vpon them two whole Culverin in her Sterne-Chaſe, and two tranſom Culverins in the Gunne-roome, and two Sakers in the great Cabbin; and by yawing of either ſide both her quarters, and ſome pieces forward on: This gauled them, and they found it hot. Their manner of fight was, when they were all laden, they rowed vp, and brought all the maſts of our Ship together, and then gaue all their guns; hauing fired, they fell aſterne; and this in order, *Alternis vicibus*: but yet we reached them. The Admirall of the Gallies gaue eight Pieces at once, ſo that ſhe appeared all fire: one demy-Cannon of twenty fiue pound bullet, two demy-Culverin, fiue Saker and Minion. All the reſt were alike armed, and they plyed their Ordnance very hard, and often dangerouſly. K Being aſterne at firſt, they ſhot at the maſts and yards of our ſhip, and maimed them almoſt all in a line; hoping to ſee ſome fall, and then they had layne by vs. But it was ſo calme that the maſts ſtrained not, though they were almoſt ſpoyled. The Gallies kept a man on the end of their after-moſt Oare, to obſerue where their ſhot fel; and ſent boats often off, of which one returned well waſhed. About fiue a clocke they pauſed, and the Admirall ſent to his fleet; whereupon they tooke a reſolution, either to boord, diſmay, or ſinke vs; and came vp on our larboord quarter all abreſt, within piſtoll ſhot, and their ſwords drawne, and Trumpets ſounding; bidding vs Amaine for Malta. The Captaine cauſed one from the poope to waſt them aboord, and anſwered a point of Warre. Then began an hot fight, and too hot for them; for the *Sampſon* forbare, and gaue them not a ſhot vntil they were very neer, L and almoſt vnder vs, and then poured in two Culverin, and two demy-Culverin, and one Saker with a round ſhot and a caſe, that raked them fore and aft: and they hauing giuen vs all their Gunnes together, began to fall againe aſterne. But wee tacked and ſent them a broad ſide at parting; and ſo they lay and renewed their Sterne batterie vntill Sunne-ſet. What blowes we receiued is in a note following: What harme the Enemie receiued we knew not; only this we ſaw, the Admirals foremaſt was ſhot by boord, his poop caried away into the ſea, one culverin round ſhot ond caſe that fel in the bow, and went out in the quarter thorow the banks of Rowers; and many other that raked them through. The Admiral lay athwart a good ſpace to men ſomwhat, & let men down her ſides in baskets; and neuer came more vp: for that ſhot that brake out her poup, made them all at once take in their flags; which being an vnuſuall thing, M we conjectured that their Generall was ſlaine. And ſo they left vs, and hoyſing their ſailes, and rowing, made all haſte into their port, in ſight whereof they fought. The laſt ſhot they made came into the gun roome of the *Sampſon*, the force being ſpent, yet hurt three men:

A men: and ſhe hauing a Culverin laden, ſent it to take leaue of them; which raked the Admirall. When they came vp with vs, they did not expect ſuch bullets, but hoped to batter vs to the water out of our ſhot. They left vs at halfe houre paſt ſix a clocke, ſo that the fight laſted ſeuen houres. The Gallies gaue the *Sampſon* 400 ſhot, and hit her in the hull, maſts, yards, or rigging, with more than a hundred and twenty; and we ſhot fifty ſix whole Culverin, & ſpent in all aboue ten barrels of pouder. Neuer Gallies had ſo much aduantage of a time, nor did ſo brauely, but they were at their own dores. By Gods grace we had but one man a paſſenger ſlain, four hurt, and ſome bruiſed; but our ſhip terribly battered, her maſts, yards, ſailes, and ropes all torn. That night continued with little winde, and the ſea ſmooth, and wee plugged vp our wounds the beſt we could. The next day we were inforced to ſtand out of the way to B Southward of the Iſland Lampadoſa, when we found our danger; and there we lay fiue daies without ſail, to fiſh our maſts and yards, and mend our ſailes, and to make firme our breaches by and vnder water. Which we could not haue don if it had not continued calme; for thoſe demy-cannon bullets of twenty fiue pounds made too great holes, and ſplit all plankes and timbers; and the Carpenter was forced to hang like a Tortoiſe vpon the water, and driue many nailes vnder the ſending of the ſea, waſhing him ouer continually; eight ſhot either with, or within three fingers of the water. So if that night or the next day there had bin any ſea, we had neuer made this Relation, for the pumpes of our ſhip were as well exerciſed as the men. But God helped vs.

A Note

A Note of the ſhot and dammage receiued by the Sampſon *in fight.*

In the Rigging:

Four main ſhrouds cut by ſeuerall ſhot.
Main Runner. Main Tye.
Main top-Maſt-ſtay. Main top-gallant Halliers.
Main top-gallant braces.
Three Main top-gallant ſhrouds.
Main tack. Main top-ſail Sheats.
Main Buntlines. Fore back ſtay.
One fore ſhroud.
The chain that ſlung the main yards cut all to pieces.
Three parrels of the main yard.

Shot in the Sailes.

Miſen top ſail two ſhot. Miſen one.
Main ſail in the Brailes fourteen. Main top ſail thirteen.
Fore ſail nine. Fore top ſail fiue.

In the Maſts and Yards, Demy-cannon of twenty fiue pound weight.

The main Maſt ſhot through half way between the deck and head.
The main Yard cloſe by the parrels.
The Fore Maſt half way between the deck and head.

Demy Culverin.

The Spritſail yard through by the ſlings, and ſpoiled.

Dangerous ſhot through the Hull; being all Demy-cannon of twenty fiue pound the bullet: beſides many Demy-Culverin, Saker, and Minion, that did not or not much damage vs.

Demy Cannon.

Three in the Stern cloſe by the water, through the bread room and bread, into ſacks of wooll.
One in the Stern and the gunne room, vnder the tranſome port, hurt three men.
One through the Cuddy.
Two through the great Cabbin killed a Parrat.
One grazed vpon the ſteeredge, and caried away the Bend.
Two by the maine Maſt: one through the Cabbins killed a Iew a paſſenger: the other brake the larboord ruſter, and three timber heads.
One through the forecaſtle into the furnace, hurt two men.

A One ouer the fore-caſtle killed two ſheep, and caried away a timber head.

On the ſtar-boord ſide nine; whereof one in the quarter, and three forward on by the edge of the water. Fiue between decks, among our men and ordnance.

On the Larboord ſide four all below the deck; wherof two between wind and water, the other two not much aboue: and one between Decks, that ſplit the bits.

One ſhot that crackt the ſheat anchor at the flouk.

One that ſtaued the Ladder in the chaines.

B These eight ſhot between wind & water were all dangerous, they ſtaued on our lower deck two barrels of beef, two of peaſe, a Butt of wine; ſome of the ſhot paſſing through nineteen inches of plank and timber, pierced into bales of Grograms, and caried one into another: two went thorow all the bread and two ſacks of ſtiued wools: They bare in whole planks, ſhooke and ſplit the timbers, and ſtarted the trunnels, and made vs very leaky.

When we arriued at Ligorn, we vnderſtood of eighteen knights of Malta killed in the fight; but after by an Engliſhman that came from thence it was knowne, That the Generall of the Gallies was ſlain, and thirty ſix Knights and Officers, and two hundred ſixty four ſlaues Rowers and Souldiers. Which was too great an exchange for one Iew. But
C ſuch is the reward of arrogance, & ſhal be the protection euer
of a good cauſe, and of them that truſt not in the
broken reed of Fleſh, but in Almighty God.

A brieſe Diſcourſe of the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Empire: As *alſo wherein the greateſt ſtrength thereof conſiſteth: And of what power the bordering Princes, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, are in compariſon of it.*

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

THe Hiſtory of the Turks (being indeed nothing elſe but the true Record of the woſull ruines of the greater part of the Chriſtian Commonweale) thus as before paſſed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now vpon earth far the greateſt) as a proud Champion ſtill ſtanding vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I thought it good for the concluſion of this my Labour, to propoſe vnto the view of the zealous Chriſtian, the greatneſſe thereof, and ſo neere as I could, to ſet down the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodneſſe of God) as yet contained, together with the ſtrength and power thereof, as alſo in what regard it hath the neighbor princes bordering or confining vpon it; with ſome other particularities tending to the ſame purpoſe. All or the moſt part therof, although it be by the Conſiderat wel to be gathered out of the whole courſe of the hiſtory before going, yet ſhal it more plainly here together in the ful therof appear, than by the long and particular conſideration of the riſing and increaſe therof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrown tree, at the greatneſſe whereof euery man wondereth, no man in the meane time either perceiuing or marking, how by little and little in tract of time it grew vp to that bignes, as now to ouertop al the reſt of the wood. The Imperial ſeat of this ſo dreadful an empire, is the moſt famous city of Conſtantinople, ſometime the glory of the Greeke Empire, but now the place where *Achmat* the firſt of that name, and fourteenth of the *Othoman* Emperors, acknowledging no man like himſelfe, triumpheth ouer many nations; a city fatally founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be the beſt ſeated for the Empire of the world. In which city (taken from the Turks by *Mahomet* the ſecond, by the Turks ſyrnamed the Great, and the Greeke Empire by him ſubuerted) as the *Othoman* Emperours haue euer ſince ſeated themſelues, ſo haue they wonderfully, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the World, out of the ruines of that ſo glorious a State, increaſed both their ſtrength and empire, almoſt altogether fixt euen in the ſelfe ſame kingdoms, countries, and regions, as was ſomtimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attain to the vttermoſt bounds that that empire ſometimes had, eſpecially in Europ, albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride therof moſt mightily ſwoln, and in ſome few places therof ſomwhat alſo exceeded the ſame. Among the reſt of the *Othoman* emperors, this great Monarch of whom we ſpeak (namely *Achmat* the firſt, which now reigneth in that moſt ſtately and Imperial city) hath at this preſent vnder his command and Empire, the chiefe and moſt fruitful parts of the three firſt known parts of the world: onely America remaining free from him, not more happy in the rich mines therof, than in that it is ſo far from out of his reach; for in Europ hee hath all the ſea coaſt, from the confines of Epidaurus (the vttermoſt bound of his Empire in Europe Weſtward) vnto the mouth of the riuer Tanais, now called Don, with whatſoeuer lieth betwixt Buda in Hungary, and the Imperial City of Conſtantinople: in which ſpace is comprehended the better part of all Hungary, all Boſna, Seruia, Bulgaria, with a great part of Dalmatia, Epirus, Macedonia, Grecia, Peloponeſus, Thracia, the Archipelago, with the rich Iſlands contained therin. In Africa he poſſeſſeth all the

The bounds of the Turks Empire.

the ſea coaſt from Velex (or as ſome call it Belis) De Gomera, or more truly to ſay, from the Riuer Muluia (the bounder of the Kingdome of Fez) euen vnto the Arabian Gulfe, or Red-Sea Eaſtward, except ſome few places vpon the riuage of the ſea, holden by the king of Spain; *viz.* Merſalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon: and from Alexandria Northward vnto the city of Aſna, called of old Seine, Southward: in which ſpace are contained the famous Kingdomes of Tremizen, Algiers, Tunes, and Ægypt, with diuers other great Cities and Prouinces. In Aſia all is his from the ſtreits of Helleſpontus Weſtward, vnto the great city of Tauris Eaſtward: and from Derbent neer vnto the Caſpian Sea Northward, vnto Adena vpon the Gulfe of Arabia Southward. The greatneſſe of this his Empire may the better be conceiued by the greatneſſe of ſome parts thereof: the Meere of Meotis, which is all at the Turkiſh Emperors command, being in compaſſe a thouſand miles; and the Euxine or Blacke Sea in circuit two thouſand and ſeuen hundred; and the Mediterranean coaſt which is ſubiect vnto him containing in compaſſe about eight thouſand miles. But to ſpeake of his whole territory together; he goeth in his owne dominion from Tauris to Buda, about three thouſand two hundred miles. The like diſtance is from Derbent vnto Adena. From Balſera vpon the Perſian Gulfe vnto Tremiſena in Barbarie, are accounted little leſſe than foure thouſand miles. Hee hath alſo in the Sea the moſt noble Iſlands of Cyprus, Eubœa, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and others of the Archipelago. In this ſo large and ſpacious an Empire are contained many great and large countries, ſometime moſt famous Kingdomes, abounding with all manner of worldly bleſſings and natures ſtore: For what Kingdome or countrey is more fruitfull than Ægypt, Syria, and a great part of Aſia? What countrey more wealthfull or more plentifull of all good things, than was ſometime Hungarie, Grecia, and Thracia? In which countries he hath alſo many rich and famous Cities, but eſpecially foure, which bee of greateſt wealth and trade; namely Conſtantinople, Caire, Aleppo, and Tauris. Conſtantinople for multitude of people exceedeth all the Cities of Europe; wherein are deemed to be aboue ſeuen hundred thouſand men; which if it be ſo, is almoſt equall to two ſuch Cities as Paris in France. Aleppo is the greateſt City of Syria, and as it were the centre whereunto all the merchandiſe of Aſia repaire. Tauris, of late the Royall ſeat of the Perſian Kings, and one of the greateſt Cities of that Kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by ***Amurath*** the third, hath in it aboue two hundred thouſand men. Caire amongſt all the Cities of Africa is the chief, leauing all others farre behinde it (although that ſome make the City of Cano equall vnto it in greatneſſe) beeing as it were the ſtore-houſe not of Ægypt onely, and of a great part of Africa, but of India alſo; the riches whereof being brought by the Red Sea to Sues, and from thence vpon Camels to Caire, and ſo downe the riuer Nilus to Alexandria, are thence diſperſed into theſe Weſterne parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time been much impaired, and ſo like more to be; the Chriſtians (eſpecially the Portugals) traffiquing into the Eaſt-Indies, and by the vaſt Ocean tranſporting the rich commodities of thoſe Eaſterne Countries into the Weſt, to the great hinderance of the Grand Signior his cuſtomes in Caire.

The foure chief cities for trade in the Turks Empire.

The *Othoman* gouernment in this his ſo great an empire is altogether like the gouernment of the Maſter ouer his ſlaue, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is ſo abſolute a Lord of all things within the compaſſe of his empire, that all his ſubiects and people, be they neuer ſo great, do call themſelues his ſlaues, and not his ſubiects: neither hath any man power ouer himſelfe, much leſſe is hee Lord of the houſe wherein hee dwelleth, or of the land which hee tilleth, except ſome few families in Conſtantinople, to whom ſome few ſuch things were by way of reward, and vpon eſpeciall fauor giuen by *Mahomet* the ſecond, at ſuch time as hee won the ſame. Neither is any man in that empire ſo great, or yet ſo far in fauor with the great Sultan, as that he can aſſure himſelfe of his life, much leſſe of his preſent fortune or ſtate, longer than it pleaſeth the Sultan. In which ſo abſolute a ſoueraignty (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preſerueth himſelfe by two moſt ſpeciall means: firſt, by taking off all armes from his naturall ſubiects; and then by putting the ſame and all things elſe concerning the ſtate and gouernment thereof into the hands of the Apoſtata or Renegate Chriſtians, whom for moſt part, euery third, fourth, or fift yeare (or oftner if his need ſo require) hee taketh in their childehood from their miſerable parents as his tenths or tribute children.

A Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: firſt, for that in ſo doing he ſpoyleth the Prouinces,
hee moſt feareth, of the floure, ſinues, and ſtrength of the people, choice being ſtill
made of the ſtrongeſt youths, and fitteſt for war: then, for that with theſe as with his owne
creatures he armeth himſelfe, and by them aſſureth his ſtate; for they in their childhood taken
from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that purpoſe,
quickly and before they be aware become Mahometans; and ſo no more acknowledging
father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan; who to make vſe of them, both
feeds them and foſters them, at whoſe hands onely they looke for all things, and whom alone
they thanke for all. Of which fry ſo taken from their Chriſtian parents (the only ſeminarie of
his wars) ſome become horſmen, ſome footmen, and ſo in time the greateſt Commanders of
B his ſtate and Empire next vnto himſelfe; the naturall Turks in the meane time giuing themſelues
wholly vnto the trade of merchandiſe, and other their mechanicall occupations; or
elſe to the feeding of cattell, their moſt antient and naturall vocation, not intermedling at all
with matters of gouernment or ſtate. So that if vnto theſe his ſouldiers, all of the Chriſtian
race, you ioyne alſo his fleet and mony, you haue as it were the whole ſtrength of his Empire:
for in theſe foure, his horſemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, eſpecially conſiſteth his
great force and power: whereof to ſpeake more particularly, and firſt concerning his money:
It is commonly thought, that his ordinary reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and
albeit that it might ſeeme, that he might of ſo large an Empire receiue a far greater reuenue,
yet doth hee not, for that both hee and his men of warre (in whoſe power all things are) haue
C their greateſt and almoſt onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to waſt and deſtroy countries,
than to preſerue and enrich them: inſomuch that for the preſeruation of their armies,
and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they moſt grieuouſly ſpoyle euen
their own people and Prouinces whereby they paſſe, ſcarce leauing them neceſſaries wherewith
to liue: ſo that the ſubiects deſpairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much leſſe the riches
which by their induſtrie and labour they might get vnto themſelues, do now no further
endeauour themſelues either to husbandrie or traffique than they needs muſt, yea, than
very neceſſity it ſelfe inforceth them. For to what end auaileth it to ſow that another man
muſt reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it commeth,
that in the territories of the *Othoman* countrey, yea euen in the moſt fruitfull countries
D of Macedonia and Greece are ſeen great forreſts, all euery where waſt, few cities well peopled,
and the greateſt part of thoſe countries lying deſolate and deſart: ſo that husbandry (in all
well ordered commonweales the Princes greateſt ſtore) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth
her increaſe vnto the paineſull husbandman, neither the matter vnto the artificer, neither the
artificer wares to furniſh the Merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine
and decay. As for the trade of merchandiſe, it is almoſt all in the hands of the Iewes, or the
Chriſtians of Europe, *viz.* the Raguſians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or Engliſh; the naturall
Turks hauing therein the leaſt to do, holding in that their ſo large an Empire no other
famous Cities for trade, more than the foure aboue named, *viz.* Conſtantinople, Tauris, Aleppo
and Caire: whereunto may be added Caffa and Theſſalonica in Europe; Damaſcus,
E Tripolis, and Aden in Aſia; Alexandria and Algiers in Africke. In our countries here in this
Weſt part of Europe, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariſeth dearth; but in many
parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground: moſt part of the poore
countrey people drawne from their owne dwellings, being inforced with victuals and other
neceſſaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom ſcarce one of ten
euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way periſhing, if not by the enemies
ſword, yet by the wants, the intemperateneſſe of the aire, or immoderate paines taking.
But to come neerer to our purpoſe, although the great Turks ordinary reuenues bee no greater
than is aforeſaid, yet are his extraordinarie eſcheats to be greatly accounted of, eſpecially
his confiſcations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, cuſtoms
F tythes and tenths of all preyes taken by ſea or land, with diuers other ſuch like, far exceeding
his ſtanding and certaine reuenue: his Baſſaes and other his great Officers like rauening Harpies
as it were ſucking out the bloud of his poore ſubiects, and heaping vp ineſtimable treaſures,
which for the moſt part fall againe into the Grand Signior his coffers. *Ibrahim* Vizier
Baſſa

The Turks ordinary reuenues

Baſſa (who liued not long ſince) is ſuppoſed to haue brought with him from Cair to the value G
of ſix millions: and *Mahomet* another of the Viziers was thought to haue had a farre greater
ſum. His preſents alſo amount vnto a great matter; for no Embaſſadour can come before
him without great gifts; no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment without
mony, no man may with empty hands come to the preſence of him ſo great a Prince, either
from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition hee was ſent vpon;
neither vnto ſo great and mighty Prince are trifles preſented. The Vayuods of Moldavia,
Valachia, and Tranſylvania, before their late reuolt, by gifts preſerued themſelues in their
principalities, being almoſt daily changed, eſpecially in Valachia and Moldavia: for thoſe
Honors were by the grand Signior ſtil giuen to them that would giue moſt; who to performe
what they had offred, miſerably oppreſſed the people, and brought their prouinces into great H
pouertie. In brief, an eaſie thing it is for the great Tyrant to find occaſion for him at his pleaſure
to take away any mans life, together with his wealth, be it neuer ſo great: ſo that he canot
well be ſaid to lack mony, ſo long as any of his ſubiects hath it. Neuertheleſſe the late Perſian
war ſo emptied the late couetous Sultan *Amurath* his coffers, and exhauſted his treaſures,
that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was beyond all credit inhanced, inſomuch that
a Chequine was twice ſo much worth as before. Beſides that, the mettal whereof his gold and
ſiluer was made, was ſo embaſed, that it gaue occaſion vnto the Ianizaries to ſet fire vpon the
city of Conſtantinople, to the great terror not of the vulgar ſort only, but of the grand Signior
himſelf alſo. And in the city of Aleppo only were in the name of the great Sultan 60000
chequines taken vp in preſt of the merchants there, which how wel they were repaid we leaue I
for them to report.

Now albeit that the Turks reuenues be not ſo great as the largeneſſe of his Empire and the
fruitfulneſſe of his countries might ſeem to afford, all the ſoile being his own; yet hath hee in
his dominion a commoditie of far greater value and vſe than are the reuenues themſelues;
which is the multitude of the Timariots or Penſioners, which are all horſemen, ſo called of
Timaro, that is a ſtipend which they haue of the great Sultan, *viz.* the poſſeſſion of certaine
villages and towns, which they hold during their life, and for which they ſtand bound, for euerie
threeſcore ducats they haue of yearely reuenue, to maintaine one horſeman, either with
bow and arrowes, or elſe with targuet and Launce, and that as well in time of peace as war: for
the *Othoman* Emperors take vnto themſelues all ſuch lands as they by the ſword winne from K
their enemies, as well Mahometanes as Chriſtians, all which they diuide into Timars, or as
wee call them, Commendams, which they giue vnto their ſouldiers of good deſert for tearm
of life, vpon condition that they ſhall (as is aforeſaid) according to the proportion thereof,
keepe certaine men and horſes fit for ſeruice alwaies ready whenſoeuer they ſhall bee called
The two chiefe pillars of the Othoman Empire.
vpon. Wherein conſiſteth the greateſt policie of the Turke, and the ſureſt mean for the preſeruation
of their Empire. For if by this meanes the care of mannuring the ground were not
committed vnto the ſouldier, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the
plaine painfull husbandman, all would in that ſo warrelike an Empire lie waſte and deſolate;
the Turkes themſelues commonly ſaying, That whereſoeuer the Grand Seigniours horſe
ſetteth his foot, there the Graſſe wil grow no more; meaning the deſtruction that their great L
Armies bring in all places where they come. The inſtitution of theſe Timariots, and the taking
vp of the Azamoglans (for ſo they call thoſe children which are taken from their Chriſtian
parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two chief pillars of the Turkes Empire,
and the ſtrength of their wars; both which ſeem to be deuiſed vnto the imitation of the Romans,
as are diuers things moe in the Turkiſh gouernment: for the Romane Emperours vſed
their own ſubiects in the wars, and of them conſiſted the Prætorian army, which neuer departed
from the Emperors ſide, but were ſtill to gard his perſon, as doe the Ianizaries the great
Turk. And in the Roman empire lands were giuen vnto ſouldiers of good deſert, for them to
take the profit of during their liues, in reward of their good ſeruice and valour, which were
called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as we term them, Benefices, and beneficed M
men. *Alexander Severus* granted ſuch ſoldiers, heirs that might inioy thoſe lands & commendams,
conditionally that they themſelues ſhould ſerue as had their fathers, els not. *Conſtantine*
the Great alſo gaue vnto his Captaines that had wel deſerued of him, certaine lands
for

A for them to liue vpon during the terme of their life. The like fees in France, which they call
Feuda, were of Temporaries made perpetuities by theſe their late Kings. Theſe Timariot
horſemen in the Turkiſh Empire ſerue to two great and moſt notable purpoſes: wherof the
firſt is, That by them the Grand Seigniour, as with a bridle, keepes the reſt of his ſubiects in
euery part of his great Empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoon mooue, but that they ſhall
haue theſe his Timariots as falcons in their neckes; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all
ouer his dominion and Empire. The other vſe of them (and no leſſe profitable than the former)
is, that out of them he is alwaies able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thouſand
horſemen well armed, ready to goe whitherſoeuer hee ſhall command them: with all
whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of horſemen cannot continually
B be maintained for leſſe than fourteene millions of duckats yearely. Wherefore it is
to bee maruelled, that ſome comparing the Turkes reuenues with the Chriſtians, make no
mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* Emperors wealth and ſtrength, ſeruing him
firſt for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch tumults as might ariſe in his Empire, and then as a moſt
principall ſtrength of his continuall Warres, alwayes ready to ſerue him in his greateſt expeditions.
The number of theſe Timariot horſemen is now grown very great, taking increaſe
together with the Turks Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the third, grandfather vnto
Achmat that now reigneth, in his late warres againſt the Perſian, ſubdued ſo much territorie
as ſerued him to erect therein forty thouſand Timariots; and appointed at Tauris a new Receit,
which was yearely worth vnto him a million of gold. Theſe Timariots are in al accounted
C to bee ſeuen hundred and nineteene thouſand fighting men; of whom 257000 haue their
dwelling in Europ, and 462000 in Aſia and Africk.

The number of the Timariots.

Beſides theſe Timariots, the grand Seigniour hath a great number of other horſemen vnto whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurſeries and ſeminaries of the great officers and gouernors of his Empire; for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards through their good deſerts or the Sultans great fauour, become Viziers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſa's, the chiefe rulers of that ſo mighty a monarchy.

The Spahi, Vlufagi, and Carapici.

He hath alſo ſtil in his army a great multitude of other horſemen, called Acanzij, being indeed
but rural clowns, yet for certain priuiledges which they haue, are bound to goe vnto the
D wars, being euen of the Turks themſelues accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon
of the Timariots. Hee receiueth great aid alſo from the Tartar in his wars, as alſo from the
Valachians and Moldavians (vntil that by the example of the Tranſylvanians, they to the
great benefit of the reſt of that ſide of Chriſtendom reuolted from him) all which are to bee
accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſſiſt him. And thus
much for his horſemen.

The Acanzij.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his footmen, and eſpecially in his Ianizaries:
in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation, and dexteritie in Armes. Concerning
their Nation, ſuch of the Azamoglans as are born in Aſia are not ordinarily inrolled
in the number of the Ianizaries, but ſuch as are borne in Europ, for they of Aſia are accounted
E more effeminat, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight. Wheras the
people of Europ haue euen in the Eaſt been accounted for better and more valiant ſouldiers,
hauing there to their immortal glory, ſet vp the notable trophies of their moſt glorious victories.
The ſouldiers of Aſia be called Turkes, after the name of their Nation, and not of their
Countrey, (no countrey being indeed ſo properly called) and they of Europe, Rumi, that is
to ſay, *Romani*, or Romans; as the Country, eſpecially about Conſtantinople, is called by the
name of Rum-Ili, that is, the Roman Countrey, as it was in antient time, of the notable Roman
Colonies therein, knowne by the name of Romania. Now as concerning their dexteritie,
ſuch male children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the greateſt
ſignes of ſtrength, actiuitie, and courage; for theſe three qualities are in a ſouldier eſpecially
F required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except neceſſitie inforce it to bee made
ſooner; as it happened in the late Perſian Warre, wherein not onely oftner choice was made,
but they were glad to vſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing neuer before by them done. For
thoſe Youths (the Children of Chriſtian parents) beeing by them that haue taken them

The Ianiſaries.

vp, brought to Conſtantinople, are taken view of by the Aga of the Ianizaries, who cauſeth to be regiſtred the name of the youth, with the name of his father and the countrey wherein hee was born. Which done, part of them are ſent into the leſſer Aſia (now called Natolia) and other prouinces; where learning the Turkiſh language and law, they are infected with the vices and manners of them with whom they liue, and ſo in ſhort time become true Mahometans. Another part of them, and thoſe of the moſt towardlieſt, is diuided into Cloiſters which the grand Seigniour hath at Conſtantinople and Pera, of whom the faireſt and moſt handſome are appointed for the Seraglio of the great Sultan himſelfe. All the time that theſe Youths thus ſent abroad liue in the leſſer Aſia, or other the Turkes prouinces, they are not appointed to any certain exerciſe, but ſtil kept buſied, ſome at husbandry, ſome in gardening, ſome in building, ſome in other domeſtical ſeruices, neuer ſuffred to be idle, but alwaies occupied in painful labor: where after certain years they haue bin thus inured to labour and pains taking, they are called into the Cloiſters of the Azamoglans (for ſo they are called all the time vntil they be inrolled into the number of the Ianizaries) and are there deliuered vnto certain ſpeciall gouernors appointed to take charge of them; who keep them ſtill exerciſed in painfull worke and labour, intreating them euill enough, as well in their dyet, as in their apparell and lodging: they ſleep together in large roomes, like vnto the religious Dormitories, wherein are Lampes ſtill burning, and Tutors attending, without whoſe leaue they may not ſtirre out of their places. There they learn to ſhoot both in the bow and piece, the vſe of the Scimiter, with many feats of actiuitie; and beeing well trained in thoſe exerciſes, are inrolled amongſt the Ianizaries and Spahi; of whom the Ianizaries receiue no leſſe than fiue aſpers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Beeing recorded amongſt the Ianizaries, they are either ſent away into the wars, or into ſome Garriſon, or elſe attend at the Court. Theſe laſt haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto three Monaſteries in the City of Conſtantinople. There they liue vnder their Gouernours to them deputed, the younger with great obedience and ſilence ſeruing the elder, in buying of things for them, in dreſſing their meat, and ſuch like ſeruices. They that be of one ſeat or calling liue together at one table, and ſleep in long walkes. If any of them vpon occaſion chance to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next euening he is notably beaten, with ſuch nurture and diſcipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kiſſeth the Gouernours hands that ſo corrected him. Theſe Ianizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honoured, although they bee moſt inſolent, and are feared of all men, yea euen of the grand Sultan himſelfe, who is ſtill glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions and trauels they rob the poore Chriſtians cottages and houſes, who muſt not ſay one word to the contrary. When they buy any thing, they giue for it but what they liſt themſelues: they can be iudged by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an inſurrection; and therſore ſuch execution is very ſeldom done, and that very ſecretly. They haue a thouſand royalties: ſome of them are appointed to the keeping of Embaſſadours ſent from forreine princes: other ſome of them are aſſigned to accompany Strangers Trauellers, eſpecially them that be men of the better ſort, to the intent they may ſafely paſſe in the Turks dominions; for which ſeruice they are commonly wel rewarded. They haue made choice of their prince, namely *Selymus* the firſt, his father *Bajazet* yet liuing. Neither can any the Turks Sultans account themſelues fully inueſted in the Imperiall dignitie, or aſſured of their eſtate, vntill they be by them approoued and proclaimed. Euerie one of their Sultans at his firſt comming to the Empire doth giue them ſome great largeſſe; and ſometime the better to pleaſe them, increaſeth alſo their pay. In euery great expedition ſome of them goe forth with their Aga or his Lieutenant, and are the laſt of all that fight. There is no office among the Turks that moe enuy at, than at the office of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the greatneſſe of his authoritie and command: onely he and the Beglerbeg of Grecia chuſe not their owne lieutenant, but haue them nominated vnto them by the grand Signior. Vnto this great man the Aga of the Ianizaries nothing can portend a more certain deſtruction than to be of them beloued; for then is he of the great Sultan ſtraitway feared or miſtruſted, and ſo occaſion ſought to take him out of the way. The number of the court Ianizaries is betwixt ten and 14000. This warrelike Order of ſouldiers is in theſe our daies much imbaſed; for now naturall Turks are taken in for Ianizaries, as are al-

The Ianizaries great priuiledges.

A ſo the people of Aſia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Chriſtians of Europe only: beſide that, they marry wiues alſo, contrary to their ancient cuſtome, which is not now forbidden them. And becauſe of their long lying ſtill at Conſtantinople (a city abounding with all manner of pleaſure) they are become much more effeminate and ſloathfull, but withall moſt inſolent, or more truely to ſay, intollerable. It is commonly reported, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire to conſiſt in this Order of the Ianizaries: which is not altogether ſo; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks beſt footmen, and ſureſt gard of the great Sultans perſon, yet vndoubtedly the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate and empire reſteth nothing ſo much in them, as in the great multitude of his horſmen, eſpecially his Timariots. Beſide theſe Ianizaries, the Turkiſh Emperour hath a great number of baſe footmen, whom B the Turks call Aſapi, better acquainted with the ſpade than with the ſword, ſeruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquiſhing of them with their valour: with whoſe dead bodies the Ianizaries vſe to fill vp the ditches of towns beſieged, or to ſerue them for ladders to clime ouer the enemies walls vpon. But as the Romans had both their old Legionary, and other vntrained ſouldiers which they called Tirones; of whom the firſt were the chiefe ſtrength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and ſupply: euen ſo the Turke accounteth his Timariot horſemen the ſtrength of his army, and the Acanzij (which is another ſort of baſe and common horſemen) but as an acceſſory: and ſo amongſt his footmen he eſteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romans of the Prætorian legions, but of his Aſapi as of ſhadows. The Ianizaries are by none to be commanded, more C than by the great Sultan himſelfe, and their Aga: as for the Baſſaes, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes foule entreat euen the greateſt of them. The Aſapi, as they are but baſe and common ſouldiers, ſo haue they alſo their ordinary captains and commanders, men of no great place or marke.

The great commanders of the Turkes Empire.

The whole ſtate of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counſell of the Vizier Baſſaes, which were not wont to be in number aboue foure, ſo prouiding for the ſecrecy of his high deſignes or important reſolutions, hardly by a great multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later time haue had ſometimes moe, ſometimes fewer, as their pleaſure was. Theſe men are of all others in that Empire the greateſt, and for their high places moſt honoured: vnto them euen the greateſt D Princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, ſue and ſend their honourable preſents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his war in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the Embaſſadours of forreine Princes, who from them receiue their diſpatch. The greateſt honors and preferments (which are many in that ſo great and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be ſought vnto. Some one or other of them are ſtill Generals ouer the great armies of the Turks, eſpecially in theſe their late wars, their three laſt Emperors neuer themſelues going forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit with his men of war, came downe into Hungary, and there won the city of Agria:) which leading of ſuch mighty armies is ſtill with great emulation and ambition of the Viſier Baſſaes E amongſt themſelues ſought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them ariſing, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greateſt. But leauing theſe great ones, the chiefe counſellors for his ſtate; the whole body of his ſo large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of martall men) is gouerned by other great Baſſaes, whom they by a moſt proud barbarous name call Beglerbegs, that is to ſay, Lords of Lords, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzacks, who are lords and rulers alſo ouer ſome particular Cities and Countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all ſtill at the command and becke of their Beglerbeg. In antient time there was wont to be but two of theſe proud Beglerbegs in all the Turks Empire: the one commanding ouer all the Prouinces the Turke had in Europe; and the other ouer all that he had in the leſſer Aſia, now of the Turks called Natolia. But F the Turkiſh Empire greatly augmented in Aſia by *Selymus* the firſt, and alſo afterward much enlarged both in Europe and Aſia by *Solyman* his ſon, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him encreaſed, and in ſome ſort alſo changed: who although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (eſpecially in the time of peace) in the managing of his ſoldiers, and affaires of his country is not ſubject to any other, but is onely at the command of the Great Turke; yet notwithſtanding in the time of war, where the Beglerbeg of Romania is, all are obedient vnto him, as the chiefeſt of the reſt; inſomuch that none of them but only he and the Baſſa of Natolia are called by the ſtately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then only called the Baſſaes of ſuch and ſuch places, as of Buda, Aleppo, and ſuch like; although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and ſo written in their Records. For the more manifeſting of which their gouernment, as alſo that they which come hereafter may by comparing of that which is here written, with the ſtate that then ſhall be, ſee how much this great Empire in the meane time encreaſeth or diminiſheth, I haue thought good here briefely to ſet downe all the ſaid Beglerbegs, with their Sanzacks and Timariots, and as neere as I could (either by reading, or the credible relation of others well trauelled in thoſe countries) together, and as it were at one ſhew, ſet forth the whole ſtrength and power of this ſo mighty an Empire, as alſo in what Countries and Prouinces the ſame is eſpecially placed.

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in EVROPE.

1 *The Beglerbeg of Romania chiefe of the Beglerbegs of the Turks Empire in Europe.*

The firſt and chiefeſt of all the Beglerbegs in the Turkiſh Empire, is the Beglerbeg of Romania or Grecia, called of the Turks Rum-Ili (as we ſay the Roman country) the principal reſidence of whoſe Beglerbegſhip is at Sophia, a city of Bulgaria, ſo appointed for the commodious ſcituation thereof, for the better command of the reſt of the prouinces of Europe; howbeit that he for the moſt part, or rather altogether abideth at the court: which the other Beglerbegs cannot do, for they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of their Prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares only, the great Sultan ſtill changing and altering them at his pleaſure. This Beglerbeg hath vnder his own enſigne and command forty thouſand Timariots alwaies ready at his call, vnder the conduct of theſe and twenty Sanzacks following; namely, the

Sanzack of
1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2 *Nicopolis*.
3 *Cliſſe*, or *Quadraginta Eccleſia*.
4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
5 *Kirmen*
6 *Siliſtria* all in *Macedonia*.
7 *Giuſtandil*
8 *Bender*, neer vnto the Euxine.
9 *Acherman*, in the confines of *Moldauia*.
10 *Vſcopia*.
11 *Priſrem*
12 *Salonichi* all in *Theſſalia*.
13 *Trichala*
14 *Miſitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*.
15 *Palæopatra*, in the ſame Prouince.
16 *Ioannina*, in *Ætolia*.
17 *Deluina* both in *Achaia*.
18 *Elbaſſan*
19 *Auelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20 *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
21 *Iſcodra*, or *Scobra*, in *Albania*.

2 *The Beglerbeg of Buda.*

The Beglerbeg of Buda, who there reſideth in the frontiers of the Turkiſh Empire, hauing vnder his charge eight thouſand Timariots, beſide 12000 other ſoldiers, which in continuall pay lie ſtill ready in gariſon in the confines of Hungary, Croatia, Stiria, and other places bordering vpon the Chriſtians, but eſpecially the territories belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria. He had of late vnder his enſigne and command theſe fifteene Sanzackes, *viz.* the

Sanzack of
1 *Nouegrade*.
2 *Filek*.
3 *Setſchen*.
4 *Zolnock*.
5 *Gran*, or *Strigonium*.
6 *Segedin*.
7 *Alba Regalis*.
8 *Sexard*.
9 *Simontorna*.
10 *Copan*.
11 *Mubatz*.
12 *Zigeth*, or *Saſwar*.
13 *Petſchen*, or *Quinque-Eccleſia*.
14 *Sirmium*.
15 *Semendria*.

Of which, Filek, Zetſchen, and Strigonium are in theſe late wars won from the Turks by the Imperials, and ſo yet by them holden; as was alſo Alba Regalis, which but of late was by the Turks againe recouered.

The Beglerbegh of Temeſwar in Hungary, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his command ſeuen thouſand Timariots, with theſe eight Sanzackes, the

3 *The Beglerbeg of Temeſwar.*

Sanzacke of
1 *Temeſwar.*
2 *Mudaua.*
3 *Vilaoſwar.*
4 *Tſchinnad.*
5 *Wiſchitirni.*
6 *Iſwornick.*
7 *Vidin.*
8 *Lippa.*

The Beglerbeg of Boſna, who lyeth at Bagnialuca, hath vnder him theſe Sanzackes, the

4 *The Beglerbeg of Boſna.*

Sanzacke of
1 *Bagnialuca.*
2 *Poſchega.*
3 *Cliſſa.*
4 *Hertzegouina.*
5 *Lika.*
6 *Sazeſchna.*
7 *Giula.*
8 *Briſrem.*
9 *Alatſchia-chiſſar.*

The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha, who there reſideth in Taurica Cherſoneſus, and beſide the Countrey thereabout, commandeth ouer all the Sanzackes neer vnto the great Riuer Tanais, and the Fennes of Mœotis. It was at firſt but a Sanzackeſhip, ſubject to the Beglerbeg of Grecia; and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in name, than in ſtrength and power.

5 *The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha.*

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Aſia.

The Beglerbegs of the Turkes empire in Aſia.

The Beglerbegh of

1 *Anatolia*, who hath his reſidence in *Cutaie*, the Metropoliticall city of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyai*) and hath vnder his enſigne and command thirty thouſand of the Timariot horſemen, with twelue Sanzackes.
2 *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caiſaria* (in antient time called *Cæſaria*) a City of Cilicia, and hath vnder him ſeuen Sanzackes, with twenty thouſand Timariots.
3 *Siuas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebaſtia*, a city of the leſſer *Armenia*, and hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.
4 *Tocatun*, who reſideth at *Amaſia*, the Metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath vnder him fiue Sanzackes.
5 *Dulgadir*, ſometime part of the Kingdome of *Aladeules*, and commandeth ouer foure Sanzackes.
6 *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a City of *Syria*, and one of the moſt famous Marts of the Eaſt, who hath vnder his Regiment fiue and twenty thouſand Timariots.
7 *Sham*, otherwiſe called *Damaſcó*, a moſt famous city of *Syria*, who commandeth ouer forty thouſand Timariots.
8 *Tarapolis*, or *Trapolis*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous city of *Syria*.
9 *Maras*, a city vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Meſopotamia*, who hath vnder his command ten thouſand Timariots.
10 *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe called *Meſopotamia*, who making his abode at the city of *Amida*, or as the Turks call it, *Cara hemid*, who commandeth ouer twelue Sanzackes, and thirty thouſand Timariots.
11 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he reſideth, not far from the ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath vnder him forty thouſand Timariots.
12 *Balſara*, not far from *Bagdat*, vpon the Perſian gulfe, who hath vnder his rule or gouernment fifteene thouſand Timariots.
13 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and neere vnto the Perſian, hath vnder his regiment ten thouſand Timariots.
14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous cities in *Arabia Fœlix*, vpon the coaſt of the Red-Sea, who hath vnder him thirty thouſand Timariots.
15 *Chebetz*, or *Zebet*, vpon the coaſt of the Arabian gulfe, neere vnto the Kingdome of the great Æthiopian King *Prejanus*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter Iohn.*

The Beglerbegh of

16 *Cyprus*, who lieth at *Nicoſia* or *Famaguſta*, commandeth ouer all that great Iſland, ſometime of it ſelfe a Kingdome. G
17 *Scheheruzul* in *Aſſyria*, bordering vpon the Perſian, who hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.
18 *Wan*, a city in the confines of the greater *Armenia* towards *Media*, who hath vnder him twelue thouſand Timariots.
19 *Artzerum*, or *Erzerum* in the borders of *Armenia* toward *Capadocia*, about foure daies journey from *Trapezond*, who commandeth ouer twenty thouſand Timariots.
20 *Teflis*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Muſtapha Baſſa*, Generall of *Amurath* the third his army againſt the Perſian, in the yeare 1578. H
21 *Siruan*, or *Media*, erected by the ſame *Muſtapha*, and at the ſame time, commandeth ouer all that great country, ſometime a famous Kingdome.
22 *Temir-Capi*, or *Derbent*, neere vnto the Caſpian Sea, taken by *Oſman Baſſa* the ſame yeare 1578: who hauing ſlaine *Schehemet Chan* his father in law, reduced that country into the forme of a Beglerſhip.
23 *Cars*, a city of *Armenia* the greater, diſtant from *Artzerum* foure daies journy, by *Muſtapha Baſſa* made a Beglerbegſhip in the yeare 1578.
24 *Tſchilder* or *Tzilder*, in the confines of the Georgians, erected by the ſame Generall *Muſtapha*, in the yeare 1579.
25 *Faſſa*, or *Phaſis*, in *Mengrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Vluzales*, the Turks Admirall, the ſame yeare 1579. I
26 *Sochum*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan*, in the yeare 1580.
27 *Batin*, there erected alſo by the ſame *Sinan Baſſa*.
28 *Reiuan*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, Generall of the Turks Army, taken from *Tochomac Chan* the Perſian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the firſt Beglerbeg.
29 *Sumachia*, in the Countrey of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the yeare 1583.
30 *Tauris*, a moſt famous city of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the Regall ſeat of the Perſian Kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame yeare 1583. K

But theſe late erected honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of Teflis, Siruan, Temir-Capi, Cars, Tſchilder, Faſſa, and the reſt gained by *Amurath* from the Perſians and the Georgians, although they containe a great territory, are not of themſelues any of them worthy of thoſe proud titles, or yet able to maintaine the ſame (Siruan, Reiuan, and Tauris only excepted) but were by the great Baſſa's, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath* his Lieutenants, for their owne greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend thoſe their new conqueſts, erected; being indeed nothing either in power or ſtrength comparable with the other more antient Beglerbegs either in Europe or Aſia. L But hauing thus paſſed through the great Kingdomes and Prouinces by the Turks holden in Europe and Aſia, with their proud honours therein, let vs go forward toward the South, to ſee what great Kingdomes and territories they at this preſent hold in Africke alſo.

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in AFRICKE.

The Beglerbegh of

1 *Miſſar*, who ſtill making his abode at the great city of *Caire*, hath vnder his command all the Kingdome of *Ægypt*, with ſixteene Sanzackes, and an hundred thouſand Timariots. M
2 *Ceſair*, in antient time called *Iulia Caſaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbegh ſtill reſiding, commandeth ouer all that Kingdome, wherein are forty thouſand Timariots.

A The Beglerbegh of
3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large Kingdome.
4 *Tripolis*, the ſeat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the Knights of Malta in the yeare 1551.

There are beſide theſe, two other Kingdomes in Africke inrolled in the Turks records as their owne, although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbegſhips, namely the Kindomes of Fez and Moroco, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and Vaſſals.

But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatneſſe and forces of this ſo mighty a monarchs Empire by land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out, let vs conſider alſo his power by B ſea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of Perſia and Arabia, moſt of his territories lying vpon the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas, or elſe more inwardly into the heart of Aſia neere to no ſea. Now for theſe ſeas, no Prince in the World hath greater or better meanes to ſet forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergrowne woods of Epirus and Cilicia, and more than they, thoſe of Nicomedia and Trapezond, are ſo great and thicke, and ſo full of tall trees fit for the building of ſhips and gallies of all ſorts, as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of ſhipwrites & carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of timber, large pay drawing euen the Chriſtian skilfull carpenters and workmen into his Arſenals at Conſtantinople, Synope, Callipolis, and others. For proofe whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond in our freſh remembrance, the next yeare af- C ter that notable ouerthrow by him receiued at the Echinades (commonly called the battell of Lepanto) rigged vp a fleet wherewith *Vluzales* his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederate Chriſtian Princes at Cerigo. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good ſtore of expert ſeamen after the manner of thoſe ſeas; for beſide thoſe he hath in ſtore at Callipolis and Sinope, out of his gallies which he hath alwaies in readineſſe at Lesbos, Chios, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and from the pyrats which he continually receiueth into the ports of Tunis, Bugia, Tripolis, and Algiers, he can and doth from them when need is, chuſe captaines, marinors, and rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his fleet. What he is able to do in thoſe ſeas, was well ſeene in our time, by thoſe fleets which he had at Malta, Cyprus, the Echinades, and Guletta. He hath beſide of all neceſſary and war- D like prouiſion aboundant ſtore, and of great ordnance to furniſh himſelſe withall both by ſea and land an infinite quantity. Out of Hungary he hath carried away aboue 5000 great peeces, out of Cyprus 500, and few leſſe from Guletta, not to ſpeake what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in diuers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of ſhot and pouder he ſhewed at Malta, where hee diſcharged aboue 60000 great ſhot; at Famaguſta, where hee beſtowed, 118000; and at Guletta, where in the ſpace of 39 daies he by the fury of his great ordnance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Chriſtians had bin 40 yeares in building. So that to returne againe to our purpoſe, the great Turke ſo well prouided of men, mony, ſhipping, and great ordnance, and hauing done ſo great matters at ſea as is before rehearſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of, than as of a moſt mighty and puiſſant Prince as well by ſea as E land: which to be ſo, the greatneſſe of his Denizi Beglerbeg or great Admirall (commonly called *Capitan Baſſa*, of whom we haue not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great man hauing charge of all the grand Signiors ſtrength at ſea, is alway one of the Viſier Baſſaes, not bound ſtill to follow the court, as the other Viſiers be, but alwaies or for moſt part reſiant at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, ſo to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honourable place is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honorable family of that name in Genoa: who commonly reſiding at Conſtantinople or Callipolis, hath vnder him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great commanders and men of great place: namely, the

The great power of the Turks in the Mediterranian and Euxine ſea.

From whence he hath his chiefe ſeamen.

6 *The Denizi Beglerbeg.*

F Sanzack of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Canala* in the frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napolidi Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

The Princes as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, vpon whom the great Empire of the Turk confideth, and of what power they be in compariſon of the Turks.

The greatneſſe, wealth,and ſtrength of this ſo mighty an Empire,as well by ſea as land, G
thus in ſome ſort declared, let vs now ſee vpon what Princes it alſo confineth, and of what
power euery one of them is in compariſon of it ſo great and ouergrown a State. The Turks
toward the Eaſt border vpon the Perſians, according to a right line drawne by imagination
from Tauris to Balſara : vpon the Portugals at the Perſian gulfe, and ſo there likewiſe to-
ward the South : at the Red Sea,vpon the great Æthyopian King *Prejanus*, commonly called
Preſter Iohn: towards the South, in Affricke vpon the King of Moroco; and in Europe, vp-
on the Kingdome of Naples,with ſome part of the Venetian ſigniory : toward the North vp-
on the Polonians,and the teiritories of the houſe of Auſtria. Now to begin with the Perſi-
an, the great Turke no doubt is in field too ſtrong for him, as by prooſe hath beene often-
times ſeene; for *Mahomet* the Great, in plaine battell ouercame the valiant *Vſun Cuſſanes* : *Se- H
lymus* the firſt, and after, *Solyman* his ſon put to fight the noble *Hyſmael* and *Tamas*, the two
great and famous Perſian Kings : and now of late in our time *Amurath* the third by his Lieu-
tenants hath taken from the Perſians all Media, with the greater Armenia, both ſometimes
famous Kingdomes,together with the regall city of Tauris. That the Turke ſo preuaileth,
is by reaſon of his footmen, which the Perſian wanteth; and of his great ordnance, whereof
the Perſian hath neither ſtore nor vſe : and although the Perſians by valour of their horſemen
haue ſometime in open field foiled the Turk,yet haue they ſtill loſt ſome part of their coun-
try; *Solyman* taking from them Meſopotamia, and *Amurath* Media and Armenia. Neither
did the Perſians alone feele that harme, and loſe their owne, but vndid their Confederates
alſo; *Selymus* the firſt ſpoiling the Mamalukes of Ægypt and Syria, and vtterly rooting them I
from off the face of the earth;and *Amurath* by his Lieutenants hauing brought to a low ebbe
the warlike Georgians,both of them the Perſian Kings friends and confederats. Now is not
the Turke ſo much too ſtrong at land for the Perſian, but that he is as much too weake at ſea
for the Portugals; in thoſe ſeas I meane where their forcss haue more than once to the Turks
coſt met together in the Eaſt Indies:the Portugals hauing in thoſe rich but remote countries,
many ſure harbours and ports,yea,faire countries and territories abounding with victuals and
all prouiſion neceſſary for ſhipping,with ſome alſo of thoſe great Eaſterne princes their allies
and confederats:wheras the Turke on the other ſide hath nothing in the Perſian gulfe ſtrong,
beſide Balſara; the ſea coaſt of Arabia which might ſtand him in beſt ſtead,hauing no more
but foure townes, and thoſe but weake and of ſmall worth. So that there, as alſo in the Red K
ſea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficulty for him to ſet out any great fleet into
thoſe ſeas, for that thoſe countries are vtterly deſtitute of wood fit to make ſhips of. For
which cauſe, thoſe few times that hee prepared his fleets in the Red ſea (to haue cut off the
Portugals trade into the Eaſt Indies)being not able to performe the ſame in the Perſian gulf,
he was inforced to bring the timber for the building of his gallies out of the Port of Bithy-
nia and Cilicia (out of another World as it were) vp the Nile vnto Caire, and from thence
vpon camels by land to Sues,where he hath his Arſenall,a thing almoſt incredible. And yet
hauing done what he could, as oft as he hath made any expedition againſt them, he neuer
gained any thing but loſſe and diſhonor : as in the yeare 1538 at the city of Dium;and in the
yeare 1552 at the Iſland of Armuz, and after that at Mombaza, where foure of the Turks L
gallies,with one galliot,which by the fauour of the King of Mombaza had thought to haue
ſtaied in thoſe ſeas,were by the Portugals taken:who ſtill haue a ſpeciall regard and care that
the Turks ſettle not themſelues in thoſe ſeas; but as ſoone as they perceiue them to prepare
any fleet,they forthwith ſet vpon them, and to that end oftentimes without reſiſtance enter
into the Red ſeas. *Preſter Iohn*, of whom although men ſpeake much, yet is he nothing in
ſtrength to be compared vnto the Turke,but far inferior vnto him both for Commanders and
ſoldiers,as alſo for weapons and munition:for that great Prince hath a great kingdome with-
out fortification, and a multitude of ſoldiers without armes:as appeared by the ouerthrow of
Barnagaſſo his Lieutenant towards the Red Sea; who hauing loſt all that Sea coaſt vnto the
Turks, was brought to that extremity, that to haue peace with them, he yeelded to pay vnto M
them a yearely tribute of a thouſand ounces of gold. In Africke the Turke hath more Terri-
tories than hath the King of Moroco, otherwiſe called the *Xeriſe*; for he poſſeſſeth all that
there lyeth betwixt the Red ſea and the kingdome of Fez:but the *Xeriſe* hath the better part,
the richer,ſtronger,and more vnited : yet dare neither of them well make war vpon the other,
for

A for the neereneſſe of the King of Spaine, enemie vnto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes bordering vpon the Turke; and firſt the King of Polonia. What theſe two Princes can do the one againſt the other, hath beene ſeene in ſome former expeditions, wherein the Polonian had ſtill the worſe: yet it ſhould ſeeme, that of later time the Turke hath not bin greatly deſirous to mooue the Polonian too farre, for that being prouoked by diuers occaſions (namely in the reigne of *Henry* the third, in the warres that *Iohn* the Vayuod of Valachia had with the Turkes, many Polonian horſemen ſerued the ſayd Vayuod, though not indeed ſent from the King: and in the time of *Sigiſmund* the Polonian Coſſacks haue with diuers incurſions not a little troubled them: beſide the late motions of *Iohn Zamoſchy* the great Chancellor, and Generall of the Polonian forces, for the ſtaying of B the Tartars by the Turks ſent for) he hath bin content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be thereof reuenged, as he hath for far leſſe vpon ſome other princes. And on the other ſide, the Polonians ſince the vnfortunat expedition of King *Ladiſlaus*, neuer tooke vpon them any warres againſt the Turkes, neither gaue ſuch aid as they ſhould, vnto the Valachians their Confederats, but ſuffered to be taken from themſelues whatſoeuer they had toward the Euxine or Blacke Sea: a thing imputed rather vnto the want of courage in their Kings, than in the Nobility of that Kingdome. *Sigiſmund* the firſt being by Pope *Leo* X. inuited to the war againſt the Turks, anſwered them in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian Princes at vnity amongſt themſelues, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the ſecond ſo abhorred the wars, that he not only declined the Turks, but prouoked by C the Muſcouites, neuer ſought to reuenge the ſame. King *Stephen* (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen King of Polonia) an indifferent eſteemer both of his enemies Forces and his owne, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to joyne battell with the Turke, and yet in priuate talke with his friends, would oftentimes ſay, That with thirty thouſand foot joyned vnto his Polonian horſemen, he durſt well to vndertake an expedition againſt the Turke: which he was ſuppoſed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the Houſe of Auſtria, are by a longer tract of ground joyned vnto this great empire of the Turks, than any one other Prince of the World, and beſtow in fortifications and maintenance of their garriſons, (wherein they haue continually aboue twenty thouſand horſe and foot) the greateſt part of their reuenues euen in the time of peace, much more in theſe D their long wars: and with the German forces joyned vnto their owne, are more carefull how to defend that they haue yet left, than how to recouer that they haue already loſt, or to enlarge their Empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand* with greater force than ſucceſſe vndertooke the vnfortunate expedition of Buda and Poſſega: which ſo euill fell out, not for that his forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong enough, but for that they wanted agility and dexterity. The truth is, thoſe his armies were ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary, but conſiſted for the moſt part of Germans and Bohemians, ſlow and heauy people, vnfit to encounter with the Turks, a more ready and nimble kinde of ſouldiers. The Venetians alſo confrontier the Turks by many hundred miles, both by ſea and land, and defend themſelues rather by peaceable policy than force of armes: notably fortifying their ſtrong E Holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all meanes the dangers and charges of war, by Embaſſages and rich preſents, leauing nothing vnattempted (their liberty and ſtate preſerued) rather than to fall to wars. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both coyne and warlike prouiſion ſufficient, yet want they men and victuals anſwerable to ſo great a war againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy. There remaineth onely the King of Spaine, of all other the great Princes either Chriſtians or Mahometans bordering vpon him, the beſt able to deale with him; his yearely reuenues ſo farre exceeding thoſe of the Turks, as that they are alſo probably thought to counteruaile the greateſt part of his Timariots: and his great Dominions in Spaine, Portugall, Naples, Sicilia, Millaine, Sardinia, and the Low-Countries (if they were with him at vnity) able to affourd vnto him ſo great and powerfull a ſtrength both by F ſea and land, as might make him dreadfull euen vnto the Great Turke when hee ſwelleth in his greateſt pride: but conſidering how his Forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his wars at once in diuers places; as alſo for the neceſſary defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed territories, not all the beſt of themſelues affected to the Spaniſh gouernment,

The King of Spaine, of all other Princes that border vpon the Turks, beſt able to wage war with him.

ment,he is not to be thought of himſelf ſtrong enough againſt the vnited forces of the great G Turke, whenſoeuer they ſhall chance to be imployed vpon him. So that by this we haue already ſaid,is eaſie to be gathered, how much the Turke is too ſtrong for any one the neighbor Princes, either Mahometans or Chriſtians, bordering vpon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet leſt ſome miſtaking me, might thinke, What, is then the Turke inuincible ? Farre be that thought from me,to thinke any enemy of Chriſt Ieſu(be his arme neuer ſo ſtrong) to be able to withſtand his power,either quite to deuoure his little flocke, rage he neuer ſo much about it. As for the Turke, the moſt dangerous and profeſſed enemy of the Chriſtian Commonweale, be his ſtrength ſo great, yea, and haply greater too than is before declared (the greatneſſe of his Dominion and Empire conſidered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either inuincible,or his power indeed ſo great,as it in ſhew ſeemeth for to H be:his Timariot horſmen(his greateſt ſtrength)diſperſed ouer his whole empire,being neuer poſſible the one halfe of them by him to be gathered into the body of one army: neither if they were ſo,poſſible in ſuch a multitude long to be kept together, liuing vpon no pay of his, but vpon ſuch ſtore and prouiſion only as they bring with them from their Timari,neuer ſufficient long to maintaine them. Beſides that,the policy of his ſtate hardly or neuer ſuffereth him to draw aboue a third part of his Timariots out of his countries where they dwell,for feare leſt the reſt of the people,by them ſtill kept vnder, ſhould in their abſence take vp arms againſt him in defence of themſelues and their antient liberty:whereafter the greateſt part of thoſe poore oppreſſed Soules, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians in euery Prouince of his Empire, awaiting but the opportunity,moſt deſirouſly longeth. So that more than two I parts of them being alwaies to be left at home for the neceſſary defence of the ſpacious borders of his ſo large an Empire, as alſo for the keeping in obedience of ſo many diſcontented Nations; it is a great matter, if he euen in his greateſt warres draw together of theſe kinde of ſouldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, making vp the reſt of his huge multitude with his Acanzij,liuing of no pay of his,but vpon the ſpoile of the enemy onely, the fifth part whereof they pay vnto him alſo. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what valour, not onely the ſmall Armies of the Chriſtians vnder the leading of their worthy Chiefetaines, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others, haue to their immortall glory in former times made good proofe; but euen in this our age, and that as it were but the other day,the Tranſyluanian Prince, with diuers other Captaines and Commanders yet liuing, haue done the like alſo, as well witneſſeth the late battell of K Agria, wherein the Chriſtians, in number not halfe ſo many as the Turks, by plaine valour draue the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe,(with *Ibrahim Baſſa* his Lieutenant Generall)out of the field, and had of him had the moſt notable victory that euer was got againſt that Enemy,had they not by too much careleſneſſe and vntimely deſire of ſpoyle, themſelues ſhamefully interrupted the ſame.But thus to let his horſemen paſſe,the chiefe ſtrength of his footmen are his Ianizaries,neuer in number exceeding twelue or foureteene thouſand,yet ſeldome times halfe ſo many euen in his greateſt armies,except he himſelfe be there in perſon preſent in the middeſt of them: who beſide the ſmall number of them, in the time of theſe their late voluptuous and effeminate Emperors,corrupted with the pleaſures of Conſtantinople, L and for want of their wonted diſcipline, haue together with their antient obedience and patience,loſt alſo a great part of their former reputation and valour: all the reſt of his footmen filling vp the body of his populous Army, being his Aſapi, rather pioners than ſouldiers, men of ſmall worth, and ſo accounted of both by the Turks and their Enemies alſo. So that all things well conſidered, his beſt ſouldiers being the leaſt part of his greateſt armies, and they alſo farre vnlike their predeceſſours the ſterne followers of the former *Othoman* Kings and Emperours, but men now giuen to pleaſure and delight; it is not otherwiſe to be thought,but that he bringeth into the field farre moe men than good ſouldiers, more brauery than true valour, more ſhew than worth, his multitude being his chiefeſt ſtrength, his ſuppoſed greatneſſe the terrour of his neighbour Princes, and both together the very Maieſty of M his Empire. Which although it be indeed very ſtrong,for the reaſons before alledged,yet is it by many probably thought to be now vpon the declining hand,their late Emperors in their owne perſons far degenerating from their warrelike progenitors, their ſouldiers generally

The ſignes of the declining of the Turks Empire.

giuing

A giuing themſelues to vnwonted pleaſures, their antient diſcipline of war neglected, their ſuperſtition not with ſo much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported: all the ſignes of a declining State. Which were they not at all to be ſeene, as indeed they be very pregnant; yet the greatneſſe of the Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth nothing more than with the weightineſſe of it ſelfe, it muſt needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it ſelfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when nor how ſo great a worke ſhould be brought to paſſe, but he in whoſe deepe counſels all theſe great reuolutions of Empires and Kingdomes are from eternity ſhut vp: who at his pleaſure ſhall in due time by ſuch meanes as he ſeeth beſt, accompliſh the ſame, to the vnſpeakeable comfort of his poore afflicted flocke, in one place or
B other ſtill in danger to be by this roaring Lyon deuoured. Which worke of ſo great wonder, He for his ſonne our Sauior Chriſt his ſake, the glory of his name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians, fed with the bread of carefulneſſe amidſt the furnace of tribulation, in mercy haſten, that we with them, and they with vs, all as members of one body, may continually ſing, *Vnto him be all honour and praiſe World without end.*

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TO THE HONORABLE
Sr Thomas Rowe.

Sir,

AS your Vertues haue made you eminent, ſo your Fortunes haue confirmed that eminence, not only with knowing diſcerners, but others the moſt ignorant, that informe themſelues from mens outſides, and the Gloſſe which ſucceſſe ſets vpon their actions. Amongſt thoſe vertues, your φιλανθρωπία with all it's ſignifications, hath not the leaſt place; being one free to cheriſh worthy endeauors in others, by condeſcending to their defects: And in this aſſurance, I (a ſtranger) am bold to preſent my following labors to be judged of by you; and to the ſentence you paſſe vpon them, all other cenſures ſhall ſubſcribe. I confeſſe I wiſh ſome of my few yeares had been ſpent abroad, where I might haue informed my ſelfe better from obſeruation, than from report: for my contemplatiue knowledge renders me more ſubject to errors, than a practiue would haue done. Yet if the enſuing hath an allowance from you, your known judgemnt will command in all men a good opinion of it, and my defects herein be made excuſeable, by the ſlenderneſſe of my intelligence. My deſire is to be reckoned amongſt the humbleſt of your Seruants,

Thomas Nabbes.

A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORIE, FROM THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628, TO THE END OF THE YEARE 1637.

Collected out of the Diſpatches of Sr Peter Wyche Knight, *Embaſſador at Conſtantinople, and others:*

By Thomas Nabbes.

D THat I begin with a ſeeming impertinencie, if it appear an error, it is voluntarie and conſideratiue; and therfore let the following reaſons ſatisfie or excuſe it. Actions that may be preſidents to poſteritie, ought to haue their records, and merit a carefull preſeruation. This (if wee conſider the perſon, deſigne, or ſucceſſe) will be allowed both honorable and imitable, though ſubiect to diuerſitie of cenſures, till clear judgments confirm it from the circumſtances. Why it ſhould or may take place here, is, That the Scene of its execution was in places belonging to the Turkes, and by conſequence had, or at leaſtwiſe required a determination of juſtice by the grand Signior.

E SIR *Kenelme Digby* (authoriſed by his Maieſtie of Great Britaines ſpecial Commiſſion vnder the great Seale of England, for a deſigne againſt the French, then his Maieſties enemies (the period of which deſigne pointed at thoſe parts) with ſix ſhips, of which his own went Admirall; after many encounters by the way, vpon the 10 of Iune 1628, came before cape Congure, where hee lay at Hull faire all that night. The Cape is about ten leagues from Scanderon; whence on the morrow in the afternoone he ſent his boat wel armed to deſcry the road, and to bring him ſome intelligence. Which they did the next morning,
F hauing met with ſome Venetian boats that were fiſhing, with which Venetians they paſſed for Maltæſes: for there were in Sr *Kenelmes* boat both Maltæſes and Greeks. They brought word that there were at anchor in the road two Venetian Galliaſſes, (which the Engliſh call Galligroſſes) two other Gallions, two Engliſh ſhips, and foure French Veſſels, one of which came in but the day before, being very rich, and hauing as yet vnladed nothing. Sir *Kenelme*

1628. ſpent all the night following in ouerſeeing the preparations for fight and firing in his ſeuerall G ſhips; for that hee expected a fierce onſet the next day from the Venetians, who had declared themſelues the garders of that Road, and were reported to haue giuen out, They would ſink all the Engliſh men of War they ſhould meet either in their own, or in the grand Signiors ſeas. Which peremptorineſſe, if true, including an intent of diſhonor to the nation, could not but exaſperat any true Engliſh ſpirit, eſpecially of the nobler difference. This mooued not yet Sr *Kenelme* to any violence of paſſion, but that with a carefull temper and diſcreet iudgement, he prepared himſelfe and fitted his ſhips at all points, for all occaſions.

And here though it be a digreſſion, (ſince it may be worth an obſeruation, eſpecially with the Curious) let me inſert a report of his own, with the preface of his proteſtation in the way of caution, That he was neither ſo ſimple or ſuperſtitious, as vainely to builde a faith vpon H any waies of diuination, ſuch as the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, which the Antients much relied vpon, and of which the Romane hiſtories haue many ſtrange examples, that make them ſeeme no leſſe than Oracles: yet thus it hapned to Sr *Kenelme*, that being wearied with cares, and deſirous to ſleep vpon the poup, till the wind might ſerue to bring them in; amongſt other cogitations, the remembrance of theſe *Sortes* intermixt it ſelfe, and by accident one that was neere him was reading *Virgil*. Which Sr *Kenelme* taking, hauing firſt conceiued the chance of a number for the verſe which hee ſhould take; vpon that leafe where hee opened the booke, theſe two following preſented themſelues:

Æneas celſa in puppi jam certus eundi I
Carpebat ſomnos, rebus jam ritè paratis.

In's lofty ſhip *Æneas* bent to goe,
Slept, at all points prepar'd to meet his Foe.

Which falling out ſo fit to the preſent circumſtances, and the relation they had to the Trojans inſuing fortunes, was receiued betwixt jeaſt and earneſt for a very good omen, and became the inſtrument of an encouragement, by being made the concluſion of a ſhort ſpeech to his men. For it ſeemed to confirm their reſolutions, and preuent the diſturbance of them, by any diſpute that might ariſe concerning the iuſtneſſe of Sir *Kenelmes* deſigne and pro- K ceeding.

But his iudgement took another courſe for the ſtrengthning of his cauſe, and that the iuſtneſſe of it might the better commaund the attendanſe of ſucceſſe (reſpecting notwithſtanding his Honour, before any politique ſafety which might tend to diſreputation) he ſent his Sattie in before to the Venetian General (the Galliaſſes hauing weighed anchor, and beeing come within halfe a league of his ſhips) with letters; which letters declared to the Venetians, That his voyage of warfare was by his Maieſties Commiſſion; and gaue them aſſurance of all reſpect and friendſhip, and that the French were the onely obiects of his attempts, for which he had ſufficient Warrant. To the two Engliſh ſhips he likewiſe ſent letters, to ſettle the diſquiet he conceiued their fears had put them in, and to giue them ſatisfaction, That his L buſineſſe was no way to diſturb their negotiations. But before the Satties boat could come aboord to deliuer the anſwer, the Admirall Galliaſſe of the Venetians diſcharged ſeuen or eight ſhots; the firſt of which lighting ſhort, was receiued as a ſalute, and returned with a piece from themwards: but ſome of the reſt hitting his ſhip, and one ſhot at his flag, together with the Satties ariuall and information, their intents were known; and Sr *Kenelm* to let them know, that his long forbearance was no apprehenſion of fear he had of their ſtrength and aduantage, but a ſtrengthning of his Cauſes juſtice, gaue them three or four broad ſides in a verie ſhort ſpace, which did ſo much ſpoyle both to the French and the Venetians, (who found pretence by this time, That their quarrell was the protection of the French, which they had vndertaken) that they were inforced to retyre, and fight at a more wary diſtance. In the mean M time Sr *Kenelm* playd ſo wel vpon their gallions, that the men ſtowed themſelues vnder hold, and left the Veſſels to their fortune without any guidance. The Galliaſſes then comming vp to their ſuccour, receiued ſuch a rude welcome, that they rowed away, to ſhelter themſelues vnder the Engliſh ſhips which lay in the road. Which policie was a ſure defence to them;

A them; for Sr *Kenelme* was ſo cautious, that he would rather loſe an opportunitie of offending
his enemies, than take hold of it to his countrymens offence. The Galliaſſes thus leauing
action, to be witneſſes of it only at that ſafe diſtance, the gallions were in great danger, their
men being ſtowed vnder hatches; but that Sr *Kenelme* directing all his indeauors againſt the
French (from whom hee had receiued the moſt dammage) gaue way to their quiet without
much diſturbance, more than what proceeded from their owne feares; and perceiuing the
French to come vp cloſe (their ſhips being luſty Veſſels, ſome hauing ſix and twenty pieces
of ordnance) he firſt directed his two leſſer ſhips to deal with them: but quickly taking notice
of the aduantage, ſent the rere-Admirall to their ſuccor; by which means the three ſhips
boorded and took each of them a ſeuerall prize; the fourth French ſhip being run aground at
B the beginning of the fight: to which this ſucceſſe gaue an end after three houres.

It is remarkable, That in this fight not one of Sr *Kenelmes* men receiued a hurt to death, and
of the Venetians and French there were ſlain ninety nine perſons: of whom one was commander
of the Venetian land ſoldiers, a braue and generous man, whoſe loſſe was much lamented
by them, and pittied by Sr *Kenelme*. The Admirall Galliaſſe of the Venetians was the onely
one of thoſe four which the Venetians ſent to the King of Spain, that returned from the battel
of 88; where ſhe fought with Sr *Martin Frobiſher* in the Triumph of the Queen, whilſt the
other three were ſunk or fired. Since when, ſhe hath been preſerued by putting in of new pieces
where need required (as they ſay the Athenians did the gally of Salaminco) ſo that now
nothing of her was remaining of thoſe times but the mould.

C This action and ſucceſſe of Sr *Kenelme*, though perhaps clear in it ſelfe, became queſtionable
by the grand Signiors Miniſters, through the complaints of the French and Venetians;
ſo that the Baſſa of Aleppo and the Cadi of Scanderon took hold of the occaſion, to practiſe
& exact an Auanea vpon the Engliſh Merchants, taking from the Engliſh Conſul at Aleppo
a large ſum, which he through fear of any ſhips retention deliuered without much reſiſtance,
and ſo appeaſed and calmed that ruggedneſſe, which notwithſtanding proued afterwards an
aggrauation in other cauſes.

For ſhortly after, *William Bundock* captain of an Engliſh ſhip called the Safe Bonaventure,
hauing lien ſome time at Zant in harbor, went out to ſea for purchaſe, and fell vpon a ſhip trading
betwixt Meſſina and Malta, that belonged to *Haggi Caſſum*, *Coſmo Orlando*, and others,
D ſubiects of the grand Signior, and had letters of ſafe conduct from the Imperiall Port. This
ſhip Captain *Bundock* making prize of, the complaint arriued at the Port, to a ſudden diſturbance
of Sr *Peter Wyche* the Engliſh Embaſſador there reſiding. Which complaint made
the more noiſe, for that the Chimacham, Captaine Baſſa, and other principall miniſters pretended
themſelues intereſſed therein, hauing committed monies to the charge of the Captain
of the ſhip taken, for the redemption of Turkiſh captiues at Meſſina, Malta, and other
places. Which particular pleading, with their aptneſſe to make any thing a cauſe for practiſes
vpon ſtrangers, the Vizier ſent his expreſſe commaund for the detention of two Engliſh
ſhips then in the Port, called the London and the William, ſo to compell a reſtitution. Vpon
which the Embaſſador went to the grand Signiors Court, and after much arguing, and a
E ſecond repair to the principal Miniſters, making it appear what a diſreſpect it would bee to
his Maieſty of England, and how vniuſt it would ſeem to the world, obtained a releaſe for the
preſent, but without any final determination.

The Embaſſador in this buſineſſe made vſe of all faire endeauors and policies, for the gaining
of time, til his delaies bringing him into ſome ſuſpition of a neglect, the Ianizaries anew
inſenced the Vizier, by reuiuing it, with a pretence of loſſe which they receiued by *Bundock*;
and procured a peremptory order, that all ſhould be made good preſently. Which Order
being notified to the Embaſſador by a Chiaus, he replied, and ſent it by a Druggerman:
which notwithſtanding gaue no ſatisfaction to the paſſion of the Vizier, who to inſinuate
himſelfe with the Ianizaries, gaue way to moſt of their outrages. So that the Embaſſadour
F to preuent his houſe being aſſaulted, was inforced to giue 500 Dollars amongſt the Ianizaries,
and ſo all was calmed again, till ſome following accidents of like nature reuiued the memorie
of it.

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majeſty of Great Britaine. G

TO the glorious amongſt the great Maieſties of the Chriſtian Princes, and reuerenced
of the great Potentates of the people of Meſſiah, *Director of the eminent affaires*
of the Nation of Nazareth, true Lord of the Robe of Honor and Grace, and Patron of
greatneſſe and glory ; CHARLES *King of England, whoſe daies the Lord accompliſh*
with happineſſe. H

AT the arriuall of this our ſublime and Imperiall Signet be it informed, That at the bleſſed
Throne of our high Port, which at this preſent (by the mercy of the Diuine Majeſtie
of the high and iuſt God, and the celeſtiall protection and care of our Prophet
Mahomet Muſtapha, *the Sun of this and the other world) is the true ſanctuarie of the*
Princes of the world, and the refuge of the Emperours of the preſent Age ; there arriued
your Maieſties Royall Letters, ſent with your Embaſſadour, the honoured amongſt the
people of Meſſias, *the eſteemed and famous Lord, and your truſty Sir* Peter Wyche, *whoſe* I
end be happy. The intent whereof being by our honoured high Counſellors and Procurators
declared and interpreted, and preſented at our Imperiall Throne, wee haue entertained euerie
particular affaire thereof into our perfect knowledge, and admitted the aforeſaid Sir Peter
Wyche, *with your former Embaſſador Sir* Thomas Rowe, *to be conducted to our Imperiall*
Divan, and with all acceptance, Royall curteſie, honour and gratitude, entertained and honoured
; both of them being graced and renowned with hauing kiſſed our Imperiall Veſt. The
former we haue diſpatched to your Maieſtie with our Imperiall Letters, and his ſucceſſor is
ſetled in our bleſſed Port in charge of his Embaſſage ; both of them be bleſſed, in regard they
haue borne themſelues loyally, and alwaies proceeded wiſely, in all worthy and commendable K
wiſe procuring the continuance of friendſhip, from both parts, and duely obſeruing the Articles
of our good Peace: The worthineſſe of whom is deriued from your Maieſties moſt ſincere
affection ; which is alſo the cauſe of the increaſe of our loue and reſpect. For as when
the root of the tree is ſound and nouriſhing, it bringeth forth good and perfect fruit, ſo the
Seruants of gratious and wiſe Princes are alwaies diſcreet and prudent.

The grand Signior remits the cuſtom of Engliſh cloath.

The chiefe particular in your Maieſties letters intimated (and of which alſo your Embaſſador
Sir Peter Wych *hath informed vs) is, That our Viſier Baſſa* Muſtapha *being aſigned*
to examine certaine grieuances in Natolia ; *ariuing in the parts of Smyrna, hath vniuſtly taken* L
four thouſand Dollars from your Conſull. As ſoone as it arriued at our knowledge, That
he had contrary to honourable Juſtice, committed ſo vile an action, wee called him before our
bleſſed throne, and to the example and diſcipline of others, chaſtiſed and gaue him his deſerued
puniſhment. For in this time of our bleſſed reign, it is not our Imperiall will that the leaſt iniurie
be committed, as in this particular it ſhall be manifeſted, and appear to reaſon.

He hath further ſolicited with vs, That the cuſtome appointed to be impoſed vpon cloath,
which from your Realme of England is brought into our Dominions, might be diſclaimed:
which we haue alſo granted, and whatſoeuer elſe is due to loue and friendſhip, or anſwerable M
to the termes of relation and commerce. From antient times to this we haue beene euer accuſtomed
to obſerue and honor thoſe gratious Princes, that with ſincere and loyall mindes haue
ſhewn pure loue and affection to our renowned and Imperiall Throne ; at whoſe requeſts wee

are

A *are ready to imploy our ſublime care and attention, ſo that whilſt your Maieſtie ſhall continue*
in the direct way to be conſtant in loue and affection, our friendſhip ſhall certainly be, as it euer
hath bin, firm and inviolable.

Your Majeſty ſhall vnderſtand, That Haggi Caſſum *and* Coſmo, *Owners, inhabitants*
of our well fortified city of Conſtantinople (the Centre of our Empire) going in their Veſſell
from Ligorne in Meſſina, towards Malta, to redeeme certain Muſſulman Captiues, were
incountred by an Engliſh Captain named William Bundocke, *who boorded them, and tooke*
from them in mony, ſilkes, pieces of ordnance, with other goods and merchandiſes belonging to
B *the ſhip, to the value of* 34000 Dollars. *Of which preſumptuous action (ſo contrary to our*
good peace and friendſhip) we being informed, haue thought it requiſite and neceſſary to
acquaint your Maieſty, and haue therfore expreſſed it in theſe our Imperiall Letters, to the end
that your Majeſty may cauſe the 34000 Dollars *to be reſtored to the aforeſaid* Haggi
Caſſum *and* Coſmo *the true Owners. Therefore it is neceſſary at the arriuall hereof, That in*
conformitie to the great loue and ſincere affection which your Majeſty beareth to our ſublime
Port, your Majeſty cauſe the aforeſaid Captaine to reſtore the ſaid foure and thirty thouſand
dollars to the iuſt owners, & that herafter the conditions and articles of peace and friendſhip
betweene vs contracted and eſtabliſhed, may be obſerved and kept inviolable; as on our
C *part the aforeſaid articles and agreements of peace and friendſhip haue bin, and ſhall euer be*
continued: whereupon peace and good correſpondence ſhal not only increaſe and flouriſh euery
day, but produce more good and profitable effects.

To conclude, Your Maieſty knoweth that in no wiſe it is our conſent, That in the time of our
Empire the leaſt iniury be done to any: and therfore if your Maieſty remain conſtant and firm
in the friendſhip and ſinceritie profeſſed, and deſire we ſhould obſerue the good peace and
correſpondence, your Majeſty will cauſe the ſaid Captaine to reſtore the full value of the money
and goods to the wronged Owners; and puniſh the ſaid Captain, that hereafter none ſhal dare
D *to commit the like hoſtile action, ſo contrary to our good peace and friendſhip.*

Written in the middle of the moneth Rebiul Euel (which is November) in the yeare 1038;
which is 1628.

Giuen in our well fortified and Imperiall City of Conſtantinople.

Vpon the receit of theſe Letters from the grand Signior, his majeſtie returned this anſwer
E following.

CHARLES, by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; the moſt puiſſant Defender of the true Chriſtian Faith, *&c.*

F *TO the moſt high and mighty Emperour, Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe*
Lord and Commander of the Muſſulman *Kingdome, ſole and*
ſupream Monarch of the Eaſtern Empire, &c. ſendeth Greeting.

Right

1628. Right high, right excellent, and right mighty Emperour: By your Princely letters, G of the tenth of Nouember 1628, which came not to our hands vntill the month of June laſt, we haue vnderſtood of the receipt of our Letters directed to your Majeſty by our faithfull ſeruant Sir Peter Wyche, our Embaſſadour reſident in your Imperiall Port at Conſtantinople, and with great and ſingular contentment haue taken notice of your Princely fauours, in the admittance of our ſaid ſeruant and Embaſſador to your Jmperiall preſence, thereby expreſsing your firme and conſtant purpoſe to continue in ſtrict amity with vs; which we do embrace with all Princely entertainement, and ſhall be ready to performe all good offices which may conduce to the maintenance and preſeruation of the H ſame. In our ſaid Letters we recommend vnto your royall Majeſties juſtice, That reſtitution and ſatisfaction might be made vnto our Merchants, trading in your Majeſties Port at Conſtantinople, for Dollars, 4000, vnjuſtly, and with great oppreſsion, extorted from our Conſull reſident in Smyrna, by Muſtapha Baſſa, vpon whom your Majeſty writeth puniſhment hath been inflicted according to his deſerts, but our Merchants haue receiued no ſatisfaction, as we expected out of your Princely juſtice they ſhould haue had. And therefore they are againe become humble petitioners to our Majeſty, to recommend their ſaid complaint to your Imperiall Majeſty, deſiring that juſtice may be done them accordingly. Whereof we ſhall I not doubt, in as much as your Majeſty maketh ſuch royall expreſsion of your deſire and willingneſſe to correſpond in amity with vs. And whereas it hath pleaſed your Majeſty, vpon the inſtance of our Embaſſador reſident in your Jmperiall Port, to take off the Narge vpon all ſuch Cloath as ſhall be brought into your Dominions; therein your Majeſty hath expreſſed your prudent reſpect to encourage our Merchants, for the inlargement of their trade into your Dominions, for the profit of both our Subjects, and the firme eſtabliſhment of the loue, friendſhip, and good correſpondency betweene our Kingdomes.

And to teſtifie with how great and intire affection we deſire to entertaine, and continue K peace and friendſhip with your Imperiall Majeſty, and as far as is poſsible and in our power to preuent occaſions tending to the contrary, We haue cauſed that part of your highneſſe Letter concerning the complaint made by Haggi Caſſum and Coſmo Orlando, againſt William Bundocke our ſubject, That he ſhould haue taken a ſhip belonging to the ſaid Haggi Caſſum and Coſmo, and taken out of her in mony, ſilks, artillery, and other goods belonging to the ſhip, to the value of 34000 Dollars, to be duely examined in our high Court of Admiralty, and by examination of the ſaid Bundocke, and many others of his ſhips company, and ſome of the mariners belonging to the ſhip of Coſmo, taken vpon Oath: Thereby it appeareth, L That he tooke not in mony and goods, aboue the value of 8500 Dollars, which we cauſed to be depoſited immediately vpon the arriuall of the ſaid Bundocke, in our Court of Admiralty, where there hath beene a Legall proceeding before our Judge. And for that our merchants trading in your majeſties Dominions, vpon whoſe humble petition we cauſed the ſaid mony and goods to be ſtated, had not receiued any authenticall Teſtimony, or Procura from the Proprietars of the ſaid mony and goods; they wanted meanes to proſecute the ſuite, and in the meane time one Almango Saluettey, a ſubject of the Duke of Florence, hauing receiued a ſufficient power and authenticke proofes from Coſmo Orlando, hath obtained ſentence in our Court of Admiralty for all the ſaid mony and goods, and is in poſſeſsion of the ſame, M to the vſe and behoofe of the ſaid Coſmo Orlando; who being an inhabitant within your maieſties royall City of Conſtantinople, is ſubject by your maieſties juſtice to be reſpondent to any others, which may pretend intereſt in the ſaid mony and goods, and to that purpoſe our Embaſſador

A *Embaſſador is fully inſtructed, and ſhall receiue authenticall Coppies of the whole proceedings* 1629.
in our Court of Admiralty, to whom your maieſty may pleaſe to giue credit. And as it will
plainely appeare vnto your Princely maieſty, with what affection and readineſſe we haue
expreſſed our care and princely attention to do iuſtice to all your ſubiects, and to entertaine and
cheriſh all occaſions to teſtifie our ſincere loue and friendſhip, and to maintaine the termes of
our good neighbourhood and correſpondency betweene vs. So if your maieſty ſhall deſire to
maintaine and continue the ſaid peace and friendſhip together with vs, we ſhall expect from
your highneſſe the like correſpondency of iuſtice to our Subiects. Aſſuring your maieſty it
B *ſhall be much diſpleaſing vnto vs, when any occaſion ſhall be offered by any our Subiects, to*
call in queſtion the antient friendſhip inuiolably on our parts continued, betweene our royall
Progenitors and the mighty Monarchs of the Othoman Empire. *And although we cannot*
doubt but that your maieſty with like affection and ſincerity, doth embrace our Princely loue
and friendſhip; yet our Subiects trading in your highneſſe Dominions, haue lately made
humble Petition vnto vs, lamenting their wrongs, and vnſufferable iniuries and damages
done vnto them by your Miniſters and Officers in Aleppo, by impriſoning their Conſull, ſealing
vp their Warehouſe-dores, and extorting from them 50000 Dollars *in mony at the*
leaſt, no cauſe at all being giuen by our ſaid merchants, or any of them, the particulars whereof,
C *our Embaſſador is able to informe your maieſty at large, praying your maieſty to take into*
your Princely conſideration, that ſatiſfaction may be giuen for ſo great an oppreſſion, and
the Offenders puniſhed, as in iuſtice their offence ſhould deſerue. Conſidering how much it
doth import vs in our Princely honour, to take care that our Subiects may be righted in
their iuſt grieuances, and that it is alſo neceſſary, in conformity to the loue, and ſincere affection
that your maieſty beareth to vs and our friendſhip, that our Subiects may be maintained
in their peaceable trade, within your Dominions, and freed from exactions, extortions,
and oppreſſions. And that all ſuch as ſhall agrieue them therewith, may be held as contemners
D *and violaters of the ſincere Peace and Amity betweene vs, and receiue puniſhment according*
to the offence of ſo high a nature. We haue alſo thought good to ſignifie vnto your
maieſty, That whereas of late yeares, diuers of our Subiects haue letten out to fraight vnto
the Venetians ſome of their ſhipping, both aſwell to, as from your maieſties Ports, and doe
therby beare the Colours of the State of Venice, to the great diſhonour of our Perſon and Soueraigntie,
contrary to the expreſſe command by vs giuen vnto our Subiects, and do alſo deny
to pay vnto our Conſull, ſuch antient duties as hath beene vſuall, and accuſtomed, and belonging
vnto vs, by our Capitulations, and Commandements from your maieſtie in that behalfe,
E *pretending that your maieſtie hath of late giuen your royall command vnto the Venetian*
Embaſſador reſident in Conſtantinople, That they ſhall neither pay thoſe antient duties,
nor beare our Flags in our owne ſhipping, whileſt they remaine in their ſeruice. The particulars
whereof we ſhall referre to our Embaſſador, expecting that your maieſtie, both herein,
and in all other cauſes of our Subiects iuſt complaints, will do nothing contrary to the Law of
Nations, the diſhonour of our ſelfe, and the preiudice of the amity and friendſhip betweene
vs, which on our part ſhall be kept inuiolable. And ſo we wiſh you health and true felicity.

Giuen at our Royall Honour of Hampton Court, the eleuenth
F day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1629,
and of our reigne of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,
the fifth.

The

1629. The grand Signior after much debating in counſell, made prouiſion to renew his War in G Perſia, as the only deſigne of honor and conſequence. For though the Turkiſh Empire, ingaged in many troubles, required a judicious and more than common prouidence to keepe it vpright where ſo many dangers attempted it, and bearing more ſhew of declination now than euer; yet the diſgrace of *Halil Baſſa's* retyring from Arzirum, and the loſſe of the treaſure and munition there, ſo much inflamed the new choſen Vizier *Huſſeruph Baſſa*, that he minded nothing but a vindication vpon the Perſian. Neither did it want a ground of policie; for had he not declared himſelf ready to attempt ſomthing that way, there was appearance he might haue ſhared in *Halil Baſſa's* puniſhment, which was diſplacing from his great authority of Vizier: which notwithſtanding to *Halil* might not iuſtly be imputed a diſgrace, ſince the fault that drew on this puniſhment might not be want of vertue but fortune. H

Huſſeruph Baſſa now great Vizier, hauing made prouiſion the year before, and all things being now in readineſſe, paſſed ouer with the army into the plains of Scutari on Aſia ſide, vpon the 27 of May, *1629*; where he remained fourteene daies, and then proceeded in his march towards Babylon. In the mean time the Captaine Baſſa went forth with the gallies into the Mediterranian; where after many incounters by the way to Rhodes, whilſt he remained there in harbor, he ſent *Huſſein* the Sangerbegh of Lemnos with ſome veſſels to diſcouer the Enemies coaſts. Where *Huſſein* incountring with a veſſel of Genoa laden with ſpices, made prize of it, and hauing manned it with twelue Turks, ſent it toward the port. By the way a ſhip of London called the Golden Cocke, of which *Iohn Barker* was maſter, meeting with this Sattia, again repriſed her, and caried her away to Zant. Vpon which the Captaine Baſſa ſent his I complaint to the Engliſh Embaſſador, to his great diſturbance, and almoſt a danger of deſtroying all Engliſh trade in the Levant. For the Captain Baſſa preſently to reuenge & command reſtitution, cauſed an Engliſh ſhip called the Rainbow to be detained and carried into the Port of Scio. Which ſhip by the Embaſſadors endeauors, and the expence of ſome money, being releaſed, was vpon a new aggrauation of the former complaint againe detained: which drew new troubles vpon the Embaſſadour, that could not end in a ſucceſſe, vntill the grand Signior had diſpatched his letters of complaint to his Maieſty of England, drawne from the articles and capitulations of peace concluded vpon, and on the Engliſh part in this particular violated. Which letters had this form following.

K

The Grand Signiors Letter to his Majeſty of Great Britaine.

TO the glorious amongſt the greateſt Maieſties of Chriſtian Princes, and reuerenced amongſt the great Potentates of the people of the Meſſias, *ſole Director of the eminent occurrences of the Nation of the Nazarits, and* L *true Lord of the habit of Honour and Grace, and Patron of the appearances of Greatneſſe and Glory,* CHARLES *King of England; whoſe laſt days we pray almighty God may end in goodneſſe: Vnto whoſe Royal preſence ſhall be made known by our high and Imperiall Form,*

WHereas from antient time vntill this preſent, the termes of good correſpondence haue alwaies bin obſerued with the happy Port and our Imperiall Houſe, and that the ſtipulated conditions of the Peace and amitie between vs, haue bin kept and obſerued, and that alwaies your Merchants that goe to trade by ſea, and your ſubiects ſhips which come to our bright Port, meeting at ſea with the Turkiſh ſhips M *and others, they haue not done them any moleſtation or damage; your ſaid ſhips comming and going alwaies in theſe parts with all friendly tearmes, and likewiſe there not being committed by our ſubiects any action or thing contrary to our Imperial Couenant giuen, nor proceeded againſt the conditions of our good Peace, which hath bin euer obſerued by vs in the year paſt: The Sanderbegh of Lemnos, the worſhipful among*

A mong the noble Captaines, called Huſſein Begh, he being charged by our Imperiall Command, to go and 1629.
inquire news from the coaſt and enemies parts, and to get ſome knowledge of their fortunat actions ; being
ariued with his Galley neer vnto the ſaid Enemies country, hee hath met with a pinnace of the Enemies
which came from the parts of the Indies, laden with pepper, Cinnamon, Sugar, and other Indian commodities
; and the men in the ſame ſeeing the ſaid Captaine, and not being able to reſiſt him, fled on ſhore
and left the Pinnace empty. The ſaid Captain took her, and made it his prize, and put twelue Turkiſh men
of his into her, without taking any the leaſt thing out of her, and ſo ſent and directed her thus vntoyled;
vnto our happy Port ; and afterwards he returned to performe the ſeruice committed to his charge, to inquire
after newes. Which twelue Turks conducting and bringing hither the ſaid Prize, beeing arriued
neer the Iſle of Zant, ſubiect to the Venetians, an Engliſh ſhip called the Golden Cocke, of which Iohn
B Barker was Maſter, incountred with her, and going vpon her, tooke all the Turks which were in the ſayd
Pinnace, into his ſhip, and examined them. They hauing told him the truth of the ſucceſſe and caſe iuſt
as it is before related, he permitted ten of them to go away, and with great vexation gaue the torture to the
two remaining ; telling them, That they muſt ſay the ſaid Pinnace was a prize taken from them of Algier,
or otherwiſe he would cauſe them to be ſlain. Which vntruth the two men would not conſent to ſay, but
related the ſame to him in the manner aforeſaid. Neuertheleſſe he would not beleeue them, but tooke the
ſaid Pinnace vniuſtly out of their hands, and brought her to Zant, and cauſed to be emptied out of her into
his own ſhip, all the wares and merchandiſes which were found in her, which goods amounted to 80000
Dollars. And after that, the ſaid Captaine by his Letter to our high Port certified, That the ſaid Maſter
afterwards ſold the ſaid Pinnace in the ſaid place of Zant. There came alſo one of thoſe two that had been
C tortured by him, and did tell and relate it all : and there being at that inſtant one of your Gallions detained
here at our happy Port, and that on the behalfe our ſea Generall, there were letters written and ſent to
the Gouernor of Zant, to the end that the ſaid pinnace might be recouered out of his hand ; there comming
a letter and anſwer from the ſaid Gouernor of Zant, That before the ſaid letters were arriued, the
ſaid ſhip-maſter had already emptied all the goods of the ſaid Pinnace into his owne ſhip, and had ſold the
ſaid pinnace, and with great ſpeed was departed for England. And this beeing intimated to our Imperiall
preſence, ſuch deeds of the ſaid ſhip-maſter being a thing proceeding much againſt the good peace and couenants,
our Imperiall command was giuen, That your ſaid Gallion ſhould not be permitted to depart. But
there being a new petition made to our Imperiall Throne by our aforeſaid ſea Generall, That your Embaſſador
now here in our happy port prayed, that your aforeſaid Gallion might be ſet at libertie, and that hee
D would ſee the goods and merchandiſes recouered, that were vniuſtly taken out of the ſaid Pinnace : We accepted
of the petition and requeſt of your ſaid Embaſſador, and of the ſurety giuen to our ſea General, That
the ſhip-maſter who committed ſuch an act ſo contrary to our good friendſhip, ſhall be puniſhed and chaſtiſed,
and that all the goods and merchandiſes which were taken out of the ſaid Pinnace, ſhall be ſent back
to our high Port : We gaue our Imperiall command, That your ſaid Gallion ſhould be permitted to depart
in manner. Becauſe your Maieſty ſhould be pleaſed not to conſent, that any action be committed by any
one, contrary to the ſame our good peace, we haue writ and ſent vnto you this our preſent Imperial letter ;
at the arriuall whereof it is required, That according to the ſincere friendſhip and louing affection which
your Majeſty beareth vnto vs, and vnto our happy Houſe, you would vſe your benigne care and fauour in
this particular buſineſſe, and to giue order that the ſaid ſhip-maſter may be found, who hath violated the
E couenants of the good peace contracted between vs ; and to do ſo, that all the goods and merchandiſes may
be wholly recouered, or the monies for the ſame, which were leuied and taken out of the ſaid Pinnace, and
that all of it may be conſigned and ſent hither to our high Port : and that ſuch deſerued puniſhment and
chaſtiſement may be inflicted vpon the ſaid ſhip-maſter, who hath bin bold with ſuch indignation to interrupt
and cauſe the diſturbance of the good friendſhip betweene vs, which now for ſo long time hath beene
proſperouſly aduanced ; that he may ſerue for an euident example, and a good leſſon for after ages, that in
time to come, not any one in the leaſt maner whatſoeuer, may haue any more inclination, or bee diſpoſed to
preiudice our good peace. Finally, Since on our part and our Captains that go to ſea, there is not any moleſtation
or wrong done to any the ſhips or merchants your ſubiects, but that they go and come ſafely and ſecurely
into our Dominions, and the articles of the good peace and amitie between vs are punctually by vs
F obſerued ; it is euident and clear, that ſuch vnreaſonable and euill deeds committed by your ſubiects , ſhall
neuer be praiſed or admitted by wiſe perſons. Therefore we remain confident, that your Maieſty will not
only ſhew your loue herein, and not in any maner permit any conditions that ſhall tend to the preiudice of
the good foundation of our ſaid good peace and beſt correſpondence, but alſo according to our Imperiall deſire,
will mke, that all the aforeſaid goods taken out of the ſaid pinnace ſhall be wholly recouered from the

1629. *ſaid Shipmaſter, and that the ſame be ſent with the firſt vnto our high Port, aſſuring your ſelfe that by giuing him his due puniſhment, your Majeſty will manifeſt and ſhew your ſincere loue and affection that you haue vnto our high Port. And ſo we reſt, expecting that you will aduiſe vs with the firſt to haue effected it all.* G

Written in the Moneth of December 1629.

The Captaine Baſſa all this while practiſed according to his inclination, with Turkiſh violence and liberty in any vſe of occaſion, according to *Menander* (though I preſume the Captaines learning deriued it not thence) καιρὸς ἐςὶ τῶν νόμων κρείττων πολύ: Occaſion is more powerfull than Lawes. So that whatſoeuer he did, though vnjuſt, his pretences excuſed and gloſſed with a ſhew of lawfulneſſe; vntill his Majeſty of England returned a ſatisfaction to the Grand Signior by his Letters royall, wherein the puniſhment of *Barker* by impriſonment was notified, together with his Majeſties command for reſtitution (which was accordingly performed by the Embaſſador, notwithſtanding, ſome practiſes of the Venetian *Baylo*, who argued to deale vnderhand, and thereby obtaine ſome pretences of his owne, which the Embaſſador conceiued might be prejudiciall to his Majeſties juſtice) ſetled all theſe diſquiets by a releaſe from the Grand Signior. The forme of which releaſe, followeth his Majeſties Letter. H

I

CHARLES, by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the moſt puiſſant Defendor of the true Chriſtian Faith.

TO the moſt high and mighty Emperor, Sultan Morat Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Muſſulman *Kingdome, ſole and ſupreme Monarch of the Eaſterne Empire, ſendeth Greeting.* K

RIght high, right excellent, and right Mighty Emperor, There are now fifty yeares paſt, ſince a friendly correſpondency of peace and amity hath been contracted and continued betweene the Imperiall Othoman *Family, and our Regall State, and is now without intermiſſion deſcended to the preſent time of your Imperiall Majeſty, and our Royall Selfe; which the eternall God continue with length of yeares and all other felicities.*

Now foraſmuch as it is impoſſible that friendſhip betweene States ſo diſtant and remote, ſhould continue ſincere, without caſuall and vnpreuentable miſunderſtandings, vnleſſe there were vſed the interceſſion of interuenient Miniſters for negotiations; We for our parts in proſecution of the laudable proceedings of our Royall Progenitors haue continued our honourable Embaſſadors at your Royall Port, where at this preſent is reſiding for vs our noble Seruant Sir Peter Wyche, *Knight, one of the Gentlemen of our priuy Chamber, being the eighth in number that hath ſucceſſiuely reſided for that purpoſe; whoſe mediations vpon all requiſite occaſions, as they haue beene heretofore, ſo wee haue expected, and do yet hope, that no occurrence, howſoeuer repreſented by ill affected Miniſters, ſhall diſappoint the expectation of ſucceſſefull iſſue of ſo neceſſary a meanes for continuance of peace and friendſhip. Yet we know not how it comes to paſſe, but of late time, wee finde that neither the preſence of our ſaid Embaſſador at your Port, nor other our publike Miniſters elſewhere reſiding in your Dominions, can preuaile to accommodate diſpatches for our honour, nor defend and keepe in ſafety the Perſons, and States of our Subjects the Merchants, from the injuſtice of your ſubordinate Gouernors, but that vpon euery falſe pretence and ſuggeſtion, they are ſo wrongfully troubled, and heauily oppreſſed, that beſides many great and important ſums of mony lately extorted from them, they haue beene generally expoſed to the fury of ſuch, as haue both diſturbed them in the proſecution of their trade, and endangered their liues and perſons.* L M

And

1629.

A And whereas vpon former complaints of our ſaid Subjects, we addreſſed our Princely Letters of the eleuenth of October laſt, to your Majeſty, thereby repreſenting ſundry great and vnſufferable injuries and oppreſsions impoſed vpon them by your Miniſters, wherein we no way doubt, but vpon receit of our ſaid Letters, your Majeſty in your Princely juſtice will afford to our ſaid Subjects ſuch reliefe and reparation in their grieuances, as may ſtand with the league of amity and good correſpondency ſo long and happily continued betweene vs, our kingdomes, and people, and we to ſettle ſome effectuall order for the peaceable and qaiet trading of our ſubjects in your Dominions, as they may haue no further cauſe of lament vnto vs, nor we of repreſenting the ſame vnto your Imperiall Majeſty.

Since which time, vpon ſeuerall and great complaints of our Subjects, we could do no leſſe out of the true ſence of our owne honour, and juſtice to our Subjects, than to repreſent the ſame by theſe our ſecond B Letters to your Imperiall Majeſty, thereby ſignifying the wrong and damage done them by your Captain Baſſa in detayning one of their great Ships, bound for your Imperiall Port; vpon pretence that one Barker, a Subject of ours had taken a Sattie pretended to be formerly taken by Huzein Begh, Captaine of a Gally belonging to Corone: Herein as we are tender that our Subjects ſhould not ſuffer vnjuſtly, ſo ſhall it alwaies be our Princely care that they neither offer nor doe wrong to the Subjects of any Prince in amity with vs. And therefore we haue giuen eſpeciall order, That the ſaid buſineſſe be duly examined, and when the truth thereof ſhall be made manifeſt, then we ſhall proceed therein, as may be agreeable to juſtice, and the mutuall amity betweene your Majeſty and Vs; meane while, we haue cauſed the ſaid Barker to be impriſoned, and his perſon ſecured to anſwer the ſaid fact. And becauſe it cannot otherwiſe fall out during our warre with the King of Spaine, who is likewiſe in war with your Imperiall Ma- C jeſty, but that Ships of our Subjects which by vertue of our Commiſsion, make prizes of ſuch as aſsiſt that King with armes or any kinde of munition, or ſuch Ships as are laden with Spaniſh goods, and for that purpoſe frequenting the Seas, as well within the Streits as without, may happily vnder that pretence commit ſome acts which may be offenſiue to your Majeſty. We in regard thereof, haue of late daies forbidden, and from henceforth do expreſſely forbid all our Subjects, (Merchants only excepted) to enter with their Shipping within the Steights: whereby may appeare our former intention, to liue in peace and good correſpondency with your Majeſty.

And further, we do likewiſe repreſent vnto your Majeſty a great and inſupportable injury of a high nature, done vnto our Merchants by your great Officers at Aleppo; who giuing eare to an vnjuſt complaint againſt our people, for a fact done by Sardinians, ſubjects to the King of Spaine, vpon your Ma- D jeſties Subjects of Arſoes, and not admitting of any plea or proofe, produced on the behalfe of our Merchants to the contrary, did after many vnſufferable indignities, offered to the perſon of our publike Miniſter the Conſull, to the great diſhonour of Vs, and our Nation, moſt injuriouſly, and directly contrary to the Capitulations, impriſon our ſaid Subject in a loathſome dungeon for many daies, threatning to take away his life, with the liues of others of our People, to make ſlaues of the reſidue, and make ſeiſure of their eſtates, cauſed his Druggerman in moſt bloudy manner to be murthered; and in concluſion, before he could be releaſed, there was great ſums of mony extorted from our ſaid Subjects.

The former vnſufferable injuries (of which as yet we heare not of any ſatiſfaction) and theſe laſt intollerable oppreſsions, all done vpon our Merchants and Subjects, are moſt diſpleaſing vnto Vs, and we cannot in reſpect of our own honour, and care of the ſafety and protection of our ſaid Subjects, paſſe them ouer without due conſideration, and repreſentation to your Imperiall Majeſty.

E We do therefore hereby demand, and ſhall expect by your highneſſe Princely order, ſuch ample ſatiſfaction in euery particular, as vnto juſtice appertaineth, to the end we may as our Predeceſſors haue formerly done, hold all good correſpondency with your highneſſe, in maintaining an Embaſſador our publike repreſentant in your Port, and incouraging our Merchants to continue their trade into your Dominions; which otherwiſe, neither the reſpect of honour to our ſelfe, or profit to our Subjects, will ſuffer Vs to doe. And for the better ſatiſfying of all complaints and ſetling of differences, We haue expreſſely imployed our truſty and welbeloued Seruant Iohn Wandesford Eſquire, vnto your Princely Port vpon this occaſion, whom we haue addreſſed to our Embaſſador Sir Peter Wyche there reſident, to be preſented to your Imperiall Majeſty, with order and inſtructions to them both more amply, to acquaint your Majeſty F with all occaſions of complaints and differences, praying your majeſty to giue them audience and credence, and to eſtabliſh ſome ſuch effectuall order, for the behoofe of our Subjects in the quiet proſecution of their trade in your Dominions for the time to come, as may be agreeable to your high and Princely juſtice, and the good correſpondency continued betweene vs. Giuen at our Royall Pallace of Whitehall, the 21 day of February. An. Dom. 1629, in the fifth yeare of our Reigne, of England, &c.

1629. G

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majeſty of Great Britaine.

TO the glorious amongſt the famous Princes of IESVS,
honoured among the great Potentates of the people of Meſſiah, *Compoſer of the affaires of the Nazaren Nation, Lord of Honour and Grace,*
Poſſeſſor of Greatneſſe and Glory; CHARLES *King of England, whoſe* H
end be in happineſſe.

AT the report of this our ſublime and noble Seale be it knowne; That heretofore the Vizier
Haſſan Baſſa, *when he was my Generall by ſea, hauing declared to our happie*
Port, That ſending the Begh of the Iſland of Lemnos, called Huſſein Begh, *towards*
the Enemies coaſts, to take information, and he with his Gally going in purſuit thereof, meeting
with a Sattia of the Enemies, laden with Sugar, ſpicerie, and other Indian commodities,
tooke her, and put into her ſome of his owne men, and ſent her towards our moſt glorious I
Port: Which in the way comming neere vnto the Iſland of Zant, was met by Iohn Barker
Maſter of the ſhip called the Golden Cocke, *and by him taken, and the men that were therin*
put on land, and he lading the ſaid goods and merchandiſes in his owne ſhip, hauing ſold the
Sattia in the ſaid Iſland, ſailed thence for England. Which act being altogether contrarie to
the due termes of peace, friendſhip, and confederation made between vs, was then by vs aduiſed
to your Maieſtie by our Imperiall letters; requiring that the authors of ſuch vnworthy
action might be puniſhed, and the goods of the ſaid Sattia ſo taken, might bee recouered
and ſent to our Imperiall Port. Whereof notice beeing giuen to the moſt honourable amongſt
the Chriſtian Lords, Sir Peter Wyche *your Embaſſadour, Preſident in our ſublime Port,* K
That when our Letter ſhould come vnto you, and that you ſhould vnderſtand our Roiall meaning
herein, your Majeſtie in contemplation of the great affection and loue which wee beare
vnto you, when the ſaid Maſter ſhould arriue in your Dominions, would giue order that hee
might preſently be layd hold on, and for his tranſgreſſion committed in an action ſo contrarie
to our correſpondence and friendſhip, be ſeuerely puniſhed, and all diligence vſed for the recouerie
of the ſaid goods and merchandiſes ſo vniuſtly taken.

Now foraſmuch as all the ſaid goods and merchandiſes by the ſaid Iohn Barker *taken out* L
of the ſaid Sattia is recouered, as alſo the value of the ſaid Sattia, and all intirely arriued at
our Imperiall Port, and the ſame deliuered into our roiall Treaſurie by the hands of the ſayd
Embaſſadour; and that of the particularities of the ſaid goods and Sattia, there reſteth no
further pretence or demand againſt the ſaid Barker, *hauing receiued for the ſame an entire*
and full ſatiſfaction; we haue written and ſent you this our moſt affectionat Letter: The tenor
whereof being declared vnto you, it is conuenient, that as your Majeſtie hath bin pleaſed
to demonſtrate in this particular your great loue and ſinceritie which you beare vnto our happie
Port; ſo in time to come, in all other our occaſions, in contemplation of the good amitie and
correſpondence betweene vs, you will alwaies yeeld your moſt noble attention and fauour. For M
by the grace of the moſt high God, for our part, the moſt requiſit tearms of our friendſhip
ſhall be alwaies moſt readily obſerued, and for whatſoeuer ſhall concern the conſeruation of our
ſincere peace and correſpondence, you ſhall alwaies ſee our exquiſit diligence for the augmen-

tation

A *tation thereof; applying our deſire and Imperiall deuotion to reſerue a moſt affectionate regard to your Majeſtie. In this particular of the Prize, the Bailo of Venice hath made ſome ſmall motion, pretending that the lading of the ſaid Prize did belong to Venetian Merchants, and therefore demanded of vs authentique writing, that the goods be conſigned vnto them: but in regard that his ſaid pretence was vain and vniuſt, it was not regarded, neither was there giuen vnto him any ſuch writing, neither were we pleaſed with his ſaid vnreaſonable demands. Therefore in concluſion, all the monie for the value of the ſaid goods and merchandiſes, as alſo of the ſaid Sattia, is by your Embaſſador Sir* Peter Wyche *fully and intirely delivered vnto vs, and all entred in our Imperiall Treaſurie, and we reſt fully ſatisfied For* B *which particular there remaines no further pretence againſt the ſaid* Iohn Barker *: And ſo much be known vnto you.*

Written the firſt day of the moneth called *Ramazan*, in the year 1041.

In the Imperiall city of Conſtantinople.

C The grand Vizier in October, following his firſt entrance on the deſign for Perſia, after many vſuall accidents of War, interruptions in his march, and ſo ſtrong a reſiſtance of his ſiege to the loſſe of the third part of his army, together with the approch of Winter (the common hinderer of the Turkes proceedings, as greateſt enemy to their conſtitutions) hee withdrew his forces, and returning by the way of Aleppo, remained there ſome time to practiſe his tyrannies. Which had theſe grounds of policie: The Turks being men that conclude all actions from the ſucceſſe, and thence allow them merit, grew into ſome ſuſpition of the great Vizier; beſides, their depredations being ſometimes hindered by the enemies, other times recouered with the loſſe of ſome liues, moſt of their ſouldiers returned home poorer than they went forth; a ſtrong motiue to a mutiny. To preuent which, and to keep his ſcattered troups D in ſome order, as alſo to hinder the Perſians further attempts, at Aleppo he vſed a tyranicall ſeueritie againſt all Nations during his ſtay there; the end of which was exaction onely of fiues vpon his iudgements, which paſt vpon euery complaint, iuſt or vniuſt, which either malice or couetouſneſſe could beget vpon inuention; which ſoon became pregnant vpon obſeruance of the grand Viziers diſpoſition. With theſe exactions he inriched himſelf, appeaſed the muttering of his ſoldiers, and made himſelfe popular: and the aſperſion thrown vpon his valour, was preſently loſt in the opinion conceiued of his juſtice. The Engliſh Merchants felt more of this ſtorme than any other nation; for the buſineſſes before declared being reviued, pretences were ſoon found to impriſon the Engliſh Conſul there, and for the more terror to hang his Druggerman. An inſolencie much diſtaſtefull to the Embaſſadour, who not- E withſtanding as yet found not conueniencie for a complaint; the Viziers greatnes and fauor with the grand Signior beating him out in all his actions. 1630.

The Captaine Baſſa returning from the Blacke ſea, after a diſpute vpon his proceedings (ſome of which wanted a cleare iuſtification) was diſmiſſed his place vpon the fourteenth of October; and another aſſigned to it, who was Maſter of the grand Signiors horſe, a man of great eſteeme, and reputed for a very good Turke, how rare ſoeuer it be. For Turkes (as Topographers obſerued the Carthaginians to be perfidious *Naturâ loci*) are noted by Hiſtorians to be vitious for the moſt part, *Naturâ populi*.

The great Vizier could now no longer conceal his ill ſucceſſe before Bagdat, but that it arriued at the Port, and cauſed the grand Signior to ſuſpect him. For the Vizier had a long F time by his Inſtruments filled euery place (eſpecially thoſe remote) with reports of a proſperous proceeding; which multiplied at length to a rumour of certaine victorie. The contrarie of which appearing, his diſplacing was determined, and the aduancement of the new Captaine Baſſa vnto it. Of which the Vizier receiuing a priuate information, ſtrengthened himſelfe in Moſul, and hauing won to him the hearts of the Ianizaries, reſolued to refuſe a

ſurrender.

1630. ſurrender of his authority. Whereupon a new Viſier *Halis Achmat Baſſa* was made; an old G
man of a pettiſh froward diſpoſition, and very couetous: who was commanded to prepare
anew for the war of Perſia, and to be ſetting forward the next Spring. In the meane time, the
old Captaine Baſſa was employed in Græcia to raiſe forces and ſend them away for Perſia:
which proceeding, his death from ſickeneſſe hindred: an end vnuſuall for great perſons employed
in that State, of whoſe laſt action the State could be jealous.

The French Embaſſador receiued this yeare a great afront, vpon occaſion of complaints
by Turks that were taken by ſome French Ships, and carried to Malta. He appearing before
the Chimacham to cleere the buſineſſe, was found ſo weake in his defences, that he was
diſmiſſed without any reſpect, and his Druggerman impriſoned before his face in the Baſſa's
houſe. On the laſt of September, a French ſhip from Marſeellis arriued at the Port, wherein H
came a new French Embaſſador, his inſtructions and buſineſſe of the ſame nature and conſequence
as formerly were renewed.

The new Captaine Baſſa made the entrance into his authority with an acceptable preſent;
returning to the Port with foure ſhips taken in the Archipelago, three ſmall French
ſhips, and one Sauoyard: hauing receiued vſuall coſtomes from all other ſhips he met, according
to their ſeuerall values and conditions.

The old Viſier being diſplaced (who was yet abroad with the ſouldiers) there was publiſhed
a ceſſation of the war with Perſia for two yeares. Which though really it proceeded
from feare in the Grand Signior, yet was it interpreted, to ſaue his honour, a policy: for the
ſouldiers by this ceſſation, hauing leaue and order to depart, and returne euery man to his
owne home, and place of repoſe, they would be pacified from muttering, and be ſeuered the I
more eaſily from the late Viſier, if the diſgrace throwne vpon him ſhould exaſperate his
high ſpirit to be obſtinate and factious.

This politicke intention found a contrary end; for after the diſplacing of the great Viſier
Huſſeruph Baſſa, (who had won the affection of the ſoldiery in generall) a diſcontent began
to appeare and breake out amongſt them, and the more, in that they conceiued a diſtaſte
againſt the placing of *Haffis Achmat Baſſa* in that office; a man for his want of liberality towards
them in great contempt and hatred. For though couetouſnes in Turks is a vice almoſt
neceſſited, yet the ſouldiers finde the differences in their ſeuerall Generals, ſome being freer
by diſpoſition, others for State ends. But this *Haffis Achmat Baſſa* was the moſt noted with K
that marke of infamy, which (according to *Sophocles*) includes in it ſelfe all ſorts of barbariſme.

This Viſier, endeauouring by many practiſes ſuting with his owne nature (which neither
danger nor any thing elſe could alter) to pacifie the muttering of the ſouldiers conceiued,
he had laboured effectually, and perfected the way of his owne quiet proceedings.
But it hapned otherwiſe: for three daies after, as in this confidence he was riding to the Diuan,
diuers Ianizaries and Spahies joyning themſelues ſuddenly together, tooke head towards
the Seraglio, where they ſurpriſed him in the firſt yard, and ſtoned him from his horſe:
which brunt for the preſent he eſcaped, by the help of ſome Miniſters getting into the Seraglio
where the Grand Signior then was. Which notwithſtanding, proued no ſanctuary to the L
great Viſier, for the ſouldiers proſecuted their ſedition ſo violently, that the Grand Signior
was compelled to appeare in perſon before the multitude, preſuming ſo, *Regere dictis animos
& pectora mulcere*; queſtioning the cauſe of their inſurrection: which the ſouldiers would
neither anſwer, nor receiue any other ſatiſfaction from the Grand Segnior to pacifie them,
but a deliuery of *Haffis Achmat Baſſa* into their hands. Who being expoſed by the Grand
Signior to their fury (which was the beſt ſecurity the Grand Signior himſelfe could at that
ſuddaine make vſe of for his owne ſafety) was preſently by the ſouldiers, without any regard
to his age or dignity, euen before the Grand Signiors face moſt barbarouſly torne in pieces.
Which ſpectacle reuiued in the memory of the Grand Signior (who then likewiſe found
himſelfe at the mercy of the tumult) the manner of the death of his brothe *Oſman*, no way M
differing from this but only in the difference of the perſon.

After their furies had thus ſacrificed the Viſier, the ſouldiers began for the preſent to be
a little quiet: but the next morning the torrent of their violence increaſed, and rouled them
headlong with more dangerous cateracts of inſolency; for entring the Seraglio in a diſordred

A dered tumult, they brought new feares vpon the Grand Signior, by demanding him in perſon to deliuer them likewiſe the Mufty and the Teſterdar with many other perſons in office: 1630. but at the great inſtance of the Grand Signior, and in a manner ſubmiſſiue intreaty made to them, the ſouldiers mitigated their intended puniſhment (for the multitude would haue all their acts called iuſtice) which was death, and deſired onely a diſplacing of thoſe officers; which through feare of a worſe progreſſion in their vnruly courſe, was preſently effected: which together with putting into the office of great Viſier the late Chimacham *Regeb Baſſa*, againe quieted the ſtorme for the preſent; the ſouldiers amongſt themſelues propoſing a condition, That *Regeb* ſhould hold the place of Viſier no longer, but till the returne of *Huſreph Baſſa*, though himſelfe and ſome others hoped it for longer continuance.

B These ſtormes had now a ſhew of being calmed, and gaue ſome liberty to the Grand Signior for conſideration: in which, his reuenge vpon ſuch inſolencies guided him to circumſtances, that concluded *Huſreph Baſſa* to be the onely inſtigator of the ſouldiers to theſe attempts: the firſt was his diſgrace by being diſplaced from his office of great Viſier, which might exaſperate him, and pricke forward his diſcontent to ſuch actions, as might aduantage his deſire of proceeding to a vindication of his loſt honours: another was the opinion he had amongſt the ſouldiers, to which he had won them by his liberality, and diſtribution of thoſe exactions he had practiſed in Aſia: a third was his keeping out vnder pretence of prouiding for the next Summers war; all which interpreted and wreſted to the worſt ſence, confirmed the Grand Signior in a reſolution for his death. For which *Morteſa Baſſa* had ſe-C cret inſtructions, that whereſoeuer he was found, he ſhould be ſtrangled, and his head ſent with all priuacy to the Grand Signior. This command did not long want execution, but that within few daies after at a place called Tocat, in the Prouince of Amaſia on the Aſian ſide, *Huſreph Baſſa* yeelded to that fate, againſt which (though his policy and prouidence were great) he had not the power of preuention.

This act could not be ſo cloſely carried, but that the next day after his head was preſented to the Grand Signior, the Spahies and Ianizaries arriuing from ſuſpition to knowledge of it, ſuddenly made vp their many headed monſter, full of reſolues to take reuenge vpon euery one that had beene directly or indirectly a mouer in this buſineſſe of the death of their beloued *Huſreph*. Their fury firſt guided them to the houſe of the preſent Viſier *Regeb Baſſa*, D where rudely entring, they demanded cauſe, why *Huſreph* was put to death, and who were the Grand Signiors counſellors to ſuch an worthy fact, towards a man that had ſo well deſerued of the Grand Signior, and his State; that he had beene the protector of their liberties, and ſcourge of their enemies, as it were flattering his memory with many attributes of praiſe. To which the Viſier *Regeb Baſſa* made anſwer with proteſtation, that he was wholly ignorant therof, it being contriued and reſolued vpon at ſuch time as he was out of place. Whereupon the ſouldiers compelled him to go with them to the Seraglio where the Grand Signior was that by him they might receiue ſome ſatisfying anſwer, & a grant of leaue to execute iuſtice vpon the homicides. When they were entred into the firſt yard of the Seraglio, out of a reſpect to their King they ſtaied there, ſending in *Regeb Baſſa* to expoſtulate the buſineſſe with E him: who enforced through feare to be their vnwilling agent, did accordingly, and returning to them ſomwhat late in the euening, after declarations of the Grand Signiors promiſes to ſatisfie them in all that they demanded, his perſuaſiue Oratory preuailed for that time, and won them to withdraw themſelues; till the next morning taking head againe, they compelled *Regeb Baſſa* as before to be their ſpeaker: who yeelding to neceſſity (which *Valerius* calls, *humana imbecilitatis efficaſiſſimum duramentum*) ſeemed to the iealouſie of the State, a ring-leader of this ſeditious faction.

By this time the multitude had fallen vpon new pretences, and from a grounded ſuſpition of the Aga of the Ianizaries, (who at their firſt riſing by conueying himſelfe away had betraied ſome guiltineſſe) as alſo of the late Mufti and Teſterdar, together with an inward ſer-F uant of the Grand Signiors, whoſe accuſation was grounded only vpon the great grace and fauour he had with the Grand Signior (a miſery that no court minion could euer ſhun) they gaue inſtructions to *Regeb*, that their perſons ſhould be demanded of the Grand Signior, who fearing his own danger (that had now no preuention but the ſatisfying & appeaſing of the tumultuant ſoldiers) anſwered the demand with proteſtation, that they were not in his cuſtody.

Where-

1629. Whereupon a new and ſudden rumor paſt amongſt them, that the Grand Signior had murdered his three younger brothers: thus kindled a new flame of rage that could not bee quencht but by preſenting the three brethren before them; which for that night quieted their diſorders.

The next morning they had an early conuention, before the houſe of the great Vizier *Regeb Baſſa*; where after he had a long time endeauoured to pacifie them by his eloquence (a gift he had) but whether he moſt vſed it *ad hominum ſalutem & conuerſationem*, or *ad bonorum peſtem & perniciem* (both which according to *Cicero* may be the vſe or abuſe of eloquence) is much to be doubted, their fury began to attempt farther; to preuent which he preſently deliuered into their hands the fauorite ſeruant, ſent to him the night before: Vpon him they acted a ſecond Scene of their Tragedie, leauing him in pieces as they had formerly the Great Vizier *Halis Achmat Baſſa*. But the day being as yet not halfe ſpent, this was no abſolute pacification; neither had the Vizier or the Grand Signior a power ſufficient for their ſuppreſſion; but that in this height of rage, enforcing againe *Regeb Baſſa* to be their Oratour, they entred the Seraglio: where after ſome expectation they receiued by *Regeb* an anſwer like the former, and no more ſatisfying; notwithſtanding diuers the chiefe Officers endeauoured to appeaſe them, by taking their oathes vpon the Alchoran, That they ſaw the Grand Signior lay his hand vpon the Booke, ſwearing there ſhould be contentment giuen them in whatſoeuer they demanded. They were prompted now to a new ſuſpition, That the Grand Signior the night before had cauſed his three brethren to be made away, after they had been preſented to the ſoldiers. This emboldened them to an inſolence that had ſcarce an example: for no reſiſtance had power to repell them from entring the Grand Signiors chamber: vpon which his feares expreſt themſelues, and as *Virgill* ſaid of *Turnus* when the fury appeared to him,

Illi membra nouus ſolvit formidine torpor.
Arrectaque horrore come & vox faucibus haſit.

Which include this ſenſe:

A new amazement made his limbes to ſhake;
His haire ſtood vp, and words his mouth forſake.

So this ſudden feare proceeding from the apprehenſion of an apparant danger, and preſenting to him anew the manner of his brother *Oſmans* death, oppreſſed it ſelfe in a trembling and long ſilence. But as there is in Majeſtie a certaine ſecret vertue that commands ſubiects and awes their actions and attempts by a hidden working, ſo here it begot a rare effect. For no ſooner had the ſouldiers beheld their King; but his preſence woon them to the practiſe of their wonted reuerence, and ſuffered them only to lament the death of *Huſſeruph Baſſa* their loued Generall, finiſhing it with a complaint, That the King would ſo weakly yeeld to the counſels of them that contriued and perpetrated ſuch an euill as his death: deſiring withall, that they might again ſee the three brothers of the grand Signior: for that rumor, (on which the Vulgar feed eagerly, and

——— *è minimo ſua per veſtigia creſcit)*

had poſſeſt them with a ſuſpition they were made away. The grand Signior finding himſelf diſtreſſed, and in ſuch a ſtreit, ſuffered himſelfe to be humbled ſo farre by his fears, that hee gaue way to all their motions, and ſending for his three brethren preſented them to the ſouldiers. Who ſeeing them, bleſſed them with great acclamations, recommending them to the grand Signiors fauour: but with a peremptorie charge to the chiefe Officers and Miniſters about them (euen before the Kings face) to be carefull of the yong Princes ſafety; for if they miſcarried, the ſoldiers threatned to require their liues from thoſe officers.

The ruggedneſſe of this ſtorm began now to be taken off, eſpecially by the grand Signiors command for finding out the Aga of the Ianizaries, and the Teſterdar; with rewards propoſed to the diligent executers of thoſe Commands. So that the next morning following, the

A Aga being diſcouered, was by order from the grand Signior deliuered into the hands of the
Souldiers; who preſently tore him in pieces, and hanged vp diuers parts of his limbs in ſeue-
rall places of the city. His death was the cataſtrophe of this tragedie, which had few ſpecta-
tors more than the actors themſelues; for all men, eſpecially ſtrangers, were inforced to ſecure
themſelues as wel as they could within their own houſes, till the violence of the ſtorm being
quite ouer, and a ſerene skie of peace and order appearing, they might without danger attend
their ſeuerall occaſions.

This mutinie left behind it the dregs of many euills, that poiſoned the State, and made it
breake out into many dangerous impoſtumes: which ſeueritie of reuenge on the grand Sig-
niors part, for the loſſe of his officers and fauorit, durſt not venture on to cure by violent in-
B ciſion, nor the policie of Counſellors practiſe vpon, by the digeſtion or purging of peccant
humours. For if the grand Signior had anew prouoked the ſouldiers by puniſhment, hee had
brought vpon himſelf and the Empire an ineuitable danger: for the ſoldiers were now grown
perfect in the Tenent, *Populus conſentiens regnum dat & aufert*; and if the counſell had preuai-
led, That *Morteſa Baſſa* (becauſe the death of *Huſſeruph Baſſa* being the ground of the mutiny,
there could be no perfecter quieting of the mutiniers, than the full reuenge of his death vpon
the inſtruments of his death, the chiefe wherof was *Morteſa Baſſa*) ſhould be deliuered vp to
the ſouldiers; he being a gallant braue fellow, and in charge of General vpon the borders of
Perſia, would rather haue turned rebell to the grand Signior, and been a ſcourge to the ſoul-
diers, than yeelded vp himſelfe a ſacrifice to their fury; either of which would haue brought
C the State into a new diſorder, and conſequently into a new danger of ſubuerſion: For,

Ordine ſeruato, mundus ſeruatur, at illo
Neglecto peſum, totus & orbis abit.

Order being kept, the world is kept, but when
That is neglected, all the world's gone then.

The time now of the Turks Bayram was come, which helpt much to the ſetling of theſe
diſorders, which hauing found ſucceſſe according to their vnruly wils of the ſouldiers, be-
got ſuch inſolence amongſt the generalitie of common people, That all bad actions, thefts, 1632.
and murders were coloured vnder the name of the ſouldiers, and executed many times euen in
D the preſence of the Magiſtrate. And of this danger the Dutch Embaſſadour very narrowly
miſt his ſhare; for the ſouldiers hauing pretended their intereſt in certaine ſhips lading with
corn (a trading there of the moſt dangerous conſequence) taken in the Archipelago by Flem-
mings, and by them made prize of, aſſaulted the Embaſſadours houſe; who had no other re-
ſcue than to refer it to a tryall of iuſtice. Vpon which iudgement was giuen by the Captaine
Baſſa, that a preſent reſtitution ſhould be made: but the Embaſſadour appealing to the great
Vizier, it was ordred he ſhould ſtand to a tryal before the Cadiliskars. The euent wherof was
that ſome formall reſtitution to the ſouldiers and many bribes to the officers (men ſeldome
without that vice of which *Diphilus* ſaith; *Niſi lucrum faceret, nemo quidem improbus foret*: he
purchaſed a coſtly peace, and remained for a time in ſome ſafety.

E The French Embaſſador likewiſe had trouble of the ſame nature, about a ſhip of Tripolis
in Barbary bound for the Port. Which falling into the hands of ſome Maltæſi ſuppoſed to
be French, a French ſhip that was bound out was detained for reſtitution; and after the like
trouble and expenſe of mony, releaſed to the Embaſſador.

Elcas Baſſa about this time, hauing for ſome time concealed his diſcontents (the grounds
whereof were likewiſe vnknowne, vnleſſe his Ambition, that whetted him to the deſire of
of honours, which either the grand Signiors iealouſie, or the States, refuſed to beſtow vpon
him) declared himſelfe in open rebellion, and hauing fortified in a towne called Magneſia,
but two daies iourney from Smyrna, hee much infeſted the Countrey round about with his
outrages and depredations; inſomuch that the Conſull and merchants at Smyrna were infor-
F ced for their ſafety to tranſport themſelues and goods to Scio.

The news of this rebellion no ſooner arriued at the Port, but the grand Signior gaue order
for the ſuppreſſing of it; and forthwith a ſufficient ſtrength was ſent againſt the Rebel, vnder
the conduct of ſeuerall Captaines: who falling vpon *Elcas* (being abroad in purſuit of prey)
a fierce battel was fought, in which, victory fel to the grand Signiors party, moſt of the rebels

being ſlain or taken, only *Eleas Baſſa* himſelf flying to Magneſia eſcaped, and hath euer ſince G
kept himſelfe vndiſcouered.

This Victory was the induction to a new tragedy at the Port. For the Grand Signior a-
mongſt other reuolutions, conſidering mens ſeuerall natures, and that ſome hauing ſcapt
puniſhment, became the more confirmed in their euils, when contrariwiſe, *quem pœnitet pec-
caſſe, penè eſt innocens*; and that there were ſo many examples in his State, and amongſt his
ſubjects, the memory of the ſouldiers late outrages reuiued, and preſented him *Regeb Baſſa*
the great Viſier: who though in himſelfe innocent, yet was ſuſpected to be the firſt moner
in thoſe tumults, whithout whom, the other wheeles muſt of neceſſity haue ſtood ſtill. One
argument to conuince him, was his not ſubmitting himſelfe, which had he done it, had beene
a voluntary accuſation of himſelfe. But from theſe circumſtances he was condemned, the H
Grand Signior vſing *Dantes* diuiner ſentence, to this bad purpoſe,

Abſoluer non ſi puo, chi non ſi pente.

Vpon this ſentence giuen before his arraignement, he was called to his execution into the
Seraglio, vnder pretence of ſome ſerious affaires; where he was inſtantly ſtrangled vpon the
ſeuenth day of May, and the ſame day another great Viſier made, named, *Molamet Baſſa.* This
act of the Grand Signiors cauſed ſome feares, That the ſouldiers would againe mutiny, to re-
uenge his death that ſufferedit for their actions. But *Morteſa Baſſa* being abroad in Perſia with
ſome part of them, and the rendeuous of the reſt, that went out againſt the Rebell *Eleas Baſſa*, I
not yet fully diſſolued, the want of number to perfect ſuch riotous attempts, might be the
occaſion of their quietneſſe; which ſcarce appeared diſturbed in any the leaſt murmuring.

1633. The Captaine Baſſa being a man inſinuated into the very boſome of the Grand Signior,
became the chiefe mouer in many actions of this yeare: the firſt had relation to the Engliſh
chiefely, and one the moſt lamented for the ill ſucceſſe, which cauſed a loſſe not to be repai-
red, the order of which followeth. The Captaine Baſſa beeing abroad with the ſquadron
of gallies in the Bay of Caſſandra, there lay then at anchor in the ſame Bay two Engliſh
ſhips, called the *Hector*, and the *William* and *Raph*, which ſhips were laden with corne. Vpon
Whitſunday in the morning, by the breake of day, the ſhips diſcouered thirty ſayle of gal- K
lies to come ſuddenly vpon them: whereupon they weighed anchor, got vp their yardes, and
fitted their ſhips, and towed out; ſo that they wore two miles from ſhore when the gallies
came thwart them, and it being a flat calme went fairely by them; the ſhips ſaluting them
peaceably, but receiuing no anſwer, till the Baſſa put forth his bloudy colours, and comming
betwixt them and the ſhore, by thoſe ſignals declared his intention of fight, hauing put his
gallies in forme of a halfe Moone. The *William* and *Raph* (of which one Maſter *Harris* was
Maſter) being the neeremoſt, and diſtant but musket ſhot, the Baſſa diſcharged his prowes
twice, the reſt doing ſo likewiſe: when preſently the Bey of Rhodes layd hard aboord with
foure gallies that diſcharged their prowes at the boording: with which they did ſo much
ſpoil, that the Beyes men accounted the ſhip won, and poſſeſt themſelues of the cuddy round L
houſe, and great cabin, carrying away ſome of the mea from the Captaines quarter into their
owne gally. By this time the Captaine Baſſa, and the Chiahar, with three other prime gal-
lies, did the like by the other ſhip the *Hector*; who at firſt encounter beat them off, euen
from their owne ordnance; and enforced the Captaine Baſſa to leaue his owne gally, and be-
take him to the maine maſt; that, had there beene men enough in the ſhip, they might haue
taken the Admirall gally eaſily. The ordnance of the other ſhip beginning to play againe,
there was ſome hope of victory; but the maine ſtrength of the gallies comming vp and en-
compaſſing them, they were enforced to vſe all their guns at once, which for want of cooling
fired their ſhips, the Admirall gally aduantaging it by being faſtned in one of their ports:
ſo that ſeeing themſelues in flames (the quenching whereof was but a vaine endeauour) hol- M
ding out to offend the gallies as long as they could, and plying their fireworkes, at length be-
ing no longerable to endure it, firing ſome barrels abaſt the maſt, to make ſure that nothing
ſhould be ſaued to aduantage the enemy, after foure times boording and cleering, all the men
that remained aliue, forſooke the flaming veſſels, and yeelded to the mercy of the water or

A the enemy, refuſing in this deſperate ſtate, like good Chriſtians, to be their owne executio- 1633.
ners. Some of them were killed as they endeauoured to get to ſhore; The two Captaines,
Maſter *Harris* and Maſter *Wilde*, with others to the number of threeſcore, were taken vp and
put to the oare: ſo the ſhips (after their decks were burnt) ſinking, the fight ended, which
had continued foure houres. There were ſlaine of Turks in this ſea fight, one thouſand and
ſeuen hundred: amongſt whom were diuers Beghs of great note; the Captain Baſſa himſelfe
eſcaping very narrowly, not without ſome hurts, and the Admirall gally with many others
made vnſeruiceable.

The Captaine Baſſa returning to the Port, hauing inſinuated himſelfe into the fauour of
the Grand Signior, preferred his complaint, which included a reſtitution from Engliſh Mer-
B chants: howbeit the actors in this were largely puniſhed, for thus raſhly ſhewing their Eng-
liſh valour, by the loſſe of their ſhips, and their miſerable captiuities: ſo that they might
be conceiued capable of no more, but death: the execution whereof had beene next to liber-
ty, a mercy. Thers was ſome pretence of plea againſt the Capitulations of Peace on the
Engliſh part in this point broken, for that the voyage of the two ſhips was vnlawfull: but
the Embaſſadours endeauors preuailed, to haue the ſeuerity of that opinion mitigated, and
conſtrued otherwiſe, by declining it to the perſons; who notwithſtanding, had his compaſ-
ſion ſo farre, that he laboured earneſtly for their redemption, and procured Letters from his
Majeſty of Great Britaine to the grand Signior in their behalfe. The forme whereof fol-
loweth.

C

CHARLES, by the grace of the moſt high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the moſt puiſſant Defendor of the true Chriſtian Faith.

D *TO the moſt high and mighty Emperor, Sultan* Morat Han, *chiefe*
Lord and Commander of the Muſſulman *Kingdome, ſole and ſu-*
preme Monarch of the Eaſterne Empire, ſendeth Greeting.

WE haue receiued aduertiſement from our Embaſſadour reſident at your glorious
Port, That this Summer your Captaine Baſſa being at Sea, aſſaulted with his
whole fleet, two of our Merchants ſhips, and forcing them to their defence, did
with the ſpoile of many of his gallies, and with the deſtruction of many hundreds of his men,
gaine nothing in the end, but the burning of both the ſhips, and the recouering from the Sea,
E *of a few reſolute men, whom he hath vnworthily made his ſlaues. If they had committed*
Piracy, or done any violence or wrong to your Subjects, we would not protect or defend
them in any ſuch offence, but would our ſelues haue executed ſeuere juſtice vpon them, as
heretofore vpon ſuch like complaints we haue done: But being now aſſured that theſe ſhips
proceeded in a faire and peaceable manner, not for ſpoile or ſtealth, but for trade, as Mer-
chants vſe in thoſe parts; and that ſo ſoone as the Baſſa came in ſight, the Sea-men did him
honor and ſaluted him with the vſuall reſpect ſhewed to friends; & the Merchants in homage
to your Imperiall power, offered him a preſent: We can no otherwiſe eſteeme of the Baſſaes ho-
F *ſtile incurſions, without ſummons, & in fury, but as a moſt vnjuſt act, and moſt diſhonourable*
in a Commander, vnder ſo great a Monarch, whoſe power he diſparaged by ſo vnworthy and
vnequall an engagement. That then we expect from your Majeſties Imperiall juſtice, and
whereof we aſſure our ſelues in regard of the antient amity betweene our Crownes, is, That

1629: *you will make in this caſe a braue example, both of your clemencie and moderation, in ſetting* G *free all our ſubiects; and of your Princely indignation againſt him, who to ſo great diſparagement of your Magnificence and his owne Honour, committed ſo vnworthie and ſo foule an Act.*

This will aſſure and fortifie that correſpondence which hath ſo long been profitable to the intereſts of both our States, and will encourage and encreaſe more and more the free commerce of our Subjects, to the great inriching of your Cuſtomes: And finally, will magnifie in your vertue the luſtre of the Othoman *greatneſſe in the eyes of all the world. This Wee commend to your Imperiall wiſdome, and expect the good ſucceſſe.* H

Giuen at our Royall Palace of White-Hall, in
the yeare of our Lord 1633: being the ninth
yeare of our reign of Great Britaine, France,
and Ireland.

Theſe Letters being deliuered by the Embaſſadour, preuailed but little to the end intended, which was redemption of the Captiues: but rather reuiued the memory of the loſſe ſuffred I on the grand Signiors part by the action of the two ſhips, which on the ſudden wrought him to a determination of putting them all to death. But the execution was preuented by the diligence of the Embaſſador, and ſome of them deliuered to him vpon ſecuritie. In the meane time a Decree was made in his Majeſtie of great Britaines Court of Starre-Chamber, that prohibited all Engliſh from Corn trade in the Levant; thereby to giue the Grand Signior a fuller ſatisfaction, and to preſerue the other Trade from an vtter diſſolution. By this the Embaſſador conceiued new hopes to perfect his worke of Charitie toward the Captiues. But the two Captaines, before any thing could be brought to effect, were made vncapable of any benefit but buriall and memory; the one dying in the Engliſh Embaſſadours houſe, the other in the Baneo. K

In this year a ſudden fire breaking forth (the original whereof though diuerſly ſuſpected, could haue no clear diſcouerie) made ſuch a gap in that part of the City of Conſtantinople, that it is left as it were of purpoſe vnbuilt, to confirme the report which the Turkes giue of it, that it conſumed in a very ſhort ſpace ſeuenty thouſand houſes. A monument which may aptly authoriſe that nice Etymon of fire, *quod nihil gignit:*

Nataque de Flammâ corpora nulla vides.

The Perſian Wat was this yeare renewed with much preparation and noiſe, but little ſucceſſe: the Perſians being ſo accuſtomed to victorie, that they ſeemed to command it, & euen L in the beginning of an attempt concluded the euent of a conqueſt. In this confidence of their fortune (the attendant on Vertue) they beſieged Van, a place of great conſequence vpon the confines neer Diarbecker. The newes whereof arriuing ſuddenly at the Port, prouiſion was made for the ſuccor thereof, as alſo for a farther progreſſe to action in Perſia: Orders beeing ſent to all the Beghs in Aſia, that they ſhould repaire to the ſuccour; who ſhould meet at a place appointed for the rendeuous, with eight thouſand Ianizaries and Spahies to bee joined with them.

This reſolution of ſending the ſouldiers forth from the Port (by reaſon of a declaration of the grand Signiors intent to go himſelfe in perſon the next Spring) was not affected; and the keeping of ſome ſouldiers at home had another ſecret ground, of preuenting a danger, in reſpect M that ſtrangers were ſo much diſcontented, that their paſſions betrayed them to ſome ſuſpition. The grand Signior notwithſtanding, ſome few daies after ſent the great Vizier forth with a part of the *Militia:* who after he had proceeded fourteene dayes march, meeting with the report of Vans being taken by the Perſians (who were now increaſed likewiſe in

ſtrength

A ſtrength and number) his iudgement commanding his valour, hee withdrew himſelfe by the way of Aleppo; where hee remained ſome time, vnder colour of ſtaying the further proceeding of the Perſians. And that hee might not returne without the doing of ſome thing that might render him honourable to opinion, he wrought ſo, that a notable fearefull iudgement was executed vpon the Cadee there, a man that was learned, and ſo had practiſed himſelfe to ſell juſtice honourably, to the beſt aduantage of the buyer, and ſomewhat cheaper than other Miniſters had formerly done. This had ſo great a ſhew of an offence, that it cauſed him to be arreſted by the grand Signior, and as he was found, ſo caried in fetters to be a ſlaue at Cyprus; his haire being firſt cut, and the great eſtate of which he was poſſeſſed, ſeiſed vpon and confiſcate to the vſe of the ſtate: who rather complied with the ſeuere proceedings againſt B this great Iudge for that end; and though his crime were not perſonall, it was a politique act of ſtate, for the vſe which the grand Signior had of his mony, to ſatisfie the ſoldiers and preuent a mutiny. 1629.

The ſuſpition had of ſtrangers, began now to moue the wheeles of ſome practiſes vpon them. The firſt whereof was, the ſearching of all Chriſtians houſes in generall, as well ſubiects as ſtrangers, that the intention of the State might not ſo eaſily be diſcouered; & the longer they were kept in ſuſpenſe, the greater their fears would be, and work the more vpon them to the aduanrage of what was intended:

——— Multos in ſumma pericula miſit
C *Venturi timor ipſe mali.*

So the fears of all men, joined with their ignorance of what would be the euent, made counſell vſeleſſe to the preuention of what they moſt feared would follow. The officers imploied in this ſearch of houſes, ſealed vp many, and after three or four dayes continuance of it, a new terror was added to the former, to increaſe the apprehenſion by an example. For they hauing taken one that being borne in that countrey, had for many yeares together paſſed for a Venetian merchant, and had married one of his daughters to a Druggerman of the Venetian Embaſſadors, (by which he had better conueniencie for his practiſe in the trade of merchandiſe) D they caried him to priſon, and on the day following, after ſome formal triall and a ſentence of death were paſſed vpon him, they returned him home to his owne houſe, and there vpon a turret which he had made on his houſe, hanged him; putting forth a red flag for a ſignall, but of what, the amaſed beholders were ſtil ignorant: vntil at length it was vnderſtood, that the flag was a ſigne only, whereby the grand Signior might diſcern, that the merchant was executed, and his houſe and goods confiſcate, which the next day were ſeiſed vpon by the officers, and all things portable caried away.

This entrance being made, the ſame day they proceeded further, in apprehending all ſtranger merchants, in whoſe houſes they had found a ſword, a gunne, or piſtoll, or any the leaſt weapon whatſoeuer; making it ſo criminall, that judgement was preſently giuen for their E deaths, who would not yeeld to purchaſe their liues with mony; and but a very ſhort time allowed for conſideration. But this was condeſcended to, and the ranſome of euery Merchant of the foure Nations, Engliſh, Venetian, French, and Dutch, ſet at 2000 dollars apiece. The fears ſtill of what end theſe proceedings would haue, increaſed by new actions that ſeconded the former, and had ſhew of greater conſequence; as if they had ordered the miſchiefe intended, to haue its gradation, and ſo conclude. For now the Captaine Baſſa ſent to the foure Embaſſadours to conuent them into the Arſenall: Whither they being come, the Baſſa appearing, deſired their expectance of what he ſhould ſay when hee returned from the Graund Signior to them. Their doubts queſtionleſſe were great, and they had no time for any other reſolution, than

F *——— Gaudet patientia duris.*

for they were where they were ſure ſeueritie of juſtice would be vſed if they were delinquent; and libertie in outrages would find but little ſuppreſſion by the honorable difference of their

perſons,

1633. perſons, or the not there much regarded Law of Nations. After they had ſome time expected the Captaine Baſſa, returned, and declared, That the Grand Signior hauing had information of a new houſe with churches joyning thereto, built by one of the Embaſſadors, required a certaine acknowledgement, which of them was the offender in ſo high a nature, as to do ſuch an act without a ſpeciall leaue from the Grand Signior. To this the French Embaſſador after much pauſing (thereby ſhewing his vnwillingneſſe to confeſſe it) gaue anſwer that the building was his, and the other Embaſſadors ſo far as they might, ſpake in fauour of it. But the Captaine Baſſa with much aggrauation of the fact, vrged into what wrath the Grand Signior was fallen, and that he could not be altered from his opinion conceiued of it, that it was a preſumptuous contempt in the Embaſſador of the Grand Signiors authority: the Captaine Baſſa declaring likewiſe that he had vſed many faire endeauors, almoſt to his owne danger, to pacifie his Maſter, and ſettle him in a better conceit, both of the fact, and the Embaſſador: after which, he diſmiſſed them, and departed. But before the French Embaſſador could arriue at his houſe, the people that were appointed by the Grand Signior to pull downe the Chappell, had ouer-done their command, and began to pull downe the whole houſe: Vpon which the Embaſſador haſtily returned with his complaint, that preuailed with the Captain Baſſa, to ſend an officer for their reſtraint; but declaring withall, that the Grand Signior would not be ſatisfied any way, but by pulling downe the Chappell; which the Embaſſador did the next day by his owne ſeruants, and hired labourers, to preuent further trouble, and preſerue (in what might be) the materials vſefull. G H

The minds of all men began now to be a little ſettled in a quiet; preſuming, That this particular act of the French Embaſſador was the only ground of all theſe troubles: and this ſubmiſſion of his to the Grand Signiors order, would be an abſolute pacification of his fury: ſince, *pro peccato magno paululum ſupplicij ſatis eſt pati*, a ſmall puniſhment may ſatisfie a great offence: but the puniſhment here had the ſame proportion with the offence, and yet, not thought ſufficient. For three daies after, the foure Embaſſadors were againe conuented by the Captaine Baſſa at the Arſenall: whether being come, He ſhewed an order to them from the Grand Signior; whereby was required vpon paine of death, That the Embaſſadors ſhould deliuer vp what armes they had in their houſes, to an officer appointed for that purpoſe, which ſhould be ſent to them, without reſeruing any. The order being peremptory, and the Captaine Baſſa intreating them to comply for all good reſpects ſake, it was performed accordingly; the officer receiuing what armes were deliuered to him, without any further ſearch or queſtioning; only the French Embaſſadors houſe throughly examined: which he endeauoured to conceale for his honour. All this while the Merchants lay in priſon, ſome only hauing liberty to prouide mony for their ranſomes: which in two daies after was paied in, the proportion belonging to the Engliſh amounting to twenty thouſand Dollars, by which, the generall may be gueſſed at. After the Merchants of each Nation were reſtored to their houſes and encouraged againe to go on in their trade, the officers fell vpon all other ſorts of people, exacting from them to the vtmoſt of their ability: ſo that the end of one miſery was the beginning of another: the purchaſing of their ſafeties an impoueriſhing of their eſtates. In which confuſion many became voluntary ſacrifices to preuent (as they conceiued) worſe compulſions: neither needed they here to ſearch for inſtruments; I K L

Mori volenti deeſſe, nunquam mors poteſt.

They that were willing, found it readily preſented in any forme; and the Grand Signiors inclination was long before diſcouered to be bloudy. The Miniſters beſides that ſerued in this execution, the Captaine Baſſa generall of the Sea, the Boſtangi Baſſa chiefe officer of the Kings gardens, and an executioner of his immediate commands, the Capigi Baſſa one of the chiefe Porters of his Seraglio, the Cadi of Gallata, the chiefe juſtice of that place, with others, were of like diſpoſition; and flattered the Grand Signior in theſe tyrannicall practiſes. For M

——e ſon tyranni,
Che dur el ſangue bellauer de figlie.

—— they

A ——— they are tyrants, which 1633.
Kill and rob others themſelues to enrich.

This being the preſent ſtate of things in the Imperiall Port, the Engliſh Embaſſador in
the behalfe of his King and Nation, did ſome offices to make knowne the reſentment which
his Majeſty of Great Britain might haue; and that if two ſmall ſhips had done ſo much miſchiefe,
more might be done with two hundred: declaring withall to the chiefe officers of the
Port the ridgedneſſe of the fact ſo fully, that not one would ſtand to the defence or juſtification
of the ſame, but rather from their owne mouthes condemning it, in ſo much, that the
B courſe of the proceeding was knowne to be repented, and the death of them threatned that
were the projectors of ſuch a diſturbance. This gaue ſome encouragement to the Embaſſadors
to demand a ſatisfaction by reſtitution, as alſo ſecurity for future times. To the firſt,
anſwer was made by the Captaine Baſſa in the name of the Grand Signior, That whereas
their weapons were brought before the face of the Grand Signior, they could not be with
his honor returned againe; but they might haue others freely: and for reſtoring of the mony
extorted from Merchants, the Grand Signior had ſuch vrgent occaſions for it, that at the
preſent it could not be well done; but a large recompence ſhould be made in due time. Thus
did theſe Turkiſh policies when they had no other colour, plainly declare themſelues violences;
and the Embaſſadors were now ſued to and intreated by the Captaine Baſſa in the name
C of the Grand Signior, that they would ſpeake no farther of the buſineſſe, but that all might
be forgotten, and no farther reſentment had: and it ſhould be confirmed for the future, that
all due reſpect ſhould be giuen to them, and eſpeciall care had of the Merchants. In token
whereof he preſented them ſeuerally with veſts in the name of the Grand Signior, according
to the cuſtome when he honoureth and admitteth any one. The French Embaſſador
only ſhared not in theſe teſtimonies; for the ſmall ſatisfaction he gaue, was pretended the
chiefe cauſe that a ſuſpition was begotten of others; and their weapons being taken away,
was a preuention by diſabling them from joyning in any attempts. For the Grand Signiors
tyranny had cauſed all men to feare him; *neceſſe eſt vt multos timeat, quem multi timent.*
But ſuch were the diſtaſtes conceiued againſt the French Embaſſador by the Grand Signior,
D that his death was determined; the execution whereof was with much danger to the diſſwaders
deferred, and afterwards vpon aduice changed to another puniſhment. Yet there was
no other knowne reaſon for this hate of the new Embaſſador, but what hath formerly beene
related; ſo that it ſeemed rather an antipathy in the Grand Signior, that would reliſh nothing
of the Embaſſador *Count de Marcheuilles* well, though he could or would anſwer nothing
for his diſlike, but like *Catullus*,

Non amo te Voluſi, *&c.*

I do not loue thee *Voluſius*, but for what,
E Know not: I only know I loue thee not.

Some ſmall time at length made a perfect diſcouery of the true foundation, on which
theſe practiſes were built. Which was this; The former Embaſſador *Monſieur de Ceſy* had declared
himſelfe ready to comply with occaſions, and ſerue neceſſity to beſt aduantage; in
which he ſeemed to haue more regard of his Nations, than his owne particular eſtate: for during
the time of his emploiment, more through the many offences committed by the French,
(for which the Grand Signior would haue ſatisfaction) than through any perſonall profuſeneſſe,
he borrowed ſo much, that his debts were ſummed to three hundred thouſand Dollars,
of which a ſhare belonging to the Engliſh was ſixty thouſand Dollars. This being ſignified,
F the French King ſent his command in an expreſſe to the towne of Marſeilles, that they
ſhould comply with this debt, and gaue the towne a priuiledge to leuy three *per centum*,
vpon the trade for ſix yeares: which was accepted of, and to principall men (as Deputies of
the towne) arriued ſoone after at the Port to take order in the buſineſſe; bringing with them
thirty ſix thouſand Dollars to repart amongſt the Creditors. Which mony the new Embaſſador,

baſſador *Count de Marcheuilles* ſeized vpon, and conuerted to his owne vſe, without any regard G to cleer the old Embaſſador away: ſome of which perhaps was emploied in his new buildings. Vpon this there began a difference betwixt the two Embaſſadors; and the Creditors finding no other reliefe, had recourſe to Turkiſh juſtice. Where hauing entred and proued their debts, the old Embaſſador to diſcharge himſelfe, made the two Deputies liable thereto; who were ſtreight committed to priſon, and the Embaſſador hard put to it, for the reſtitution of the mony. This was the certaine foundation of all the former miſchiefes, which for the preſent ceaſed, three French ſhips being ſtaied in the Port for ſatisfaction, and their goods imbarqued for the payment of theſe debts.

1634. The Captaine Baſſa had now more and more inſinuated himſelfe into fauour with the H Grand Signior, and the great Viſier being yet abroad with the army, the Captaine Baſſa was the only man to impart the ſecret counſels of the grand Signior. Among which, a fear of new inſurrection of the Ianizaries and Spahies, when the army ſhould returne mixing it ſelfe; all waies of preuention were ſcanned, and at length the following practiſed. It was remembred, that in their late rebellion they demanded the liues of the Aga, the fauourite, and the Mufti: the two former wherof they had, but the later being conueied away, was ſanctuaried, and preſerued himſelfe ſecretly, vnder the Grand Signiors protection. Which ſafety became his ruine: for in his confidence of the Kings fauour he was now eaſily taken, and by the command of the Grand Signior put to death. The report whereof arriuing in the campe, gaue ſuch ſatisfaction, that the ſouldiers declared themſelues appeaſed before they had begun any diſturbance. I

By the prouocation of the Coſſackes and Polackes (who had committed ſome outrages vpon the confines, and in the Blacke Sea) the Grand Signior reſolued vpon a war with Poland; and ſent his Expreſſe to all the Baſſaes on the Europe ſide, to meet him with their forces at Adrianople, where he appointed the rendeuouz. After which, on the nine and twentieth of Aprill, the Grand Signior withdrew himſelfe to his tents, which were pitched two miles out of the towne; where he remained ten daies, and then ſet forward in his march towards Adrianople, where hee remained till all the forces of the Baſſaes were joyned to his army. The Captaine Baſſa in the meane time went forth with the gallies to repreſſe the farther attempts of the Coſſackes, and from thence he had inſtruction to come by land to the generall rendeuouz. K The Baſſa of Boſna ſet forward with his troups, conſiſting of almoſt ſeuen thouſand, horſe and foot, and marched to Valliovah, and thence to Belgrade, where the Baſſa of Temeſwar, joyning his forces with thoſe of Belgrade and Boſna, they held themſelues encamped on the South ſide of the towne, giuing notwithſtanding, leaue to the Ianizaries, Spahies, and Venturiers, at their owne diſcretion to go before towards the generall rendeuous. Here they expected *Murath Baſſa*, who fiue daies after came in with a few foot, but foure thouſand horſe of the Spahi Timariots; the moſt braue horſes and dexterous men in the vſe of their armes that the Grand Signior hath. From thence they marched all together to Adrianople, where the Grand Signior hauing remained forty daies, whilſt a meſſenger was ſent into Poland with certaine articles and capitulations, he receiued an anſwer to his ſatiſfaction. L For conceiuing an honourable peace to be much better than a reuenge by an vncertaine war, the conditions which were ſent by the Grand Signior included ſo much for his owne honour, and ſo little for the King of Polands diſhonor, that they were ſoone agreed vpon on both ſides, with a mutuall liking. Vpon which agreement the army was diſmiſſed, and the Grand Signior returned to Conſtantinople. So the great preparation to a proceeding of a high nature burſt it ſelfe with ſome noyſe, ſcarce leauing behinde it the leaſt impreſſion of an action.

So ſoone as the Grand Signior was returned to Conſtantinople, vpon ſome new diſtaſtes conceiued againſt the French Embaſſador *Count de Marcheuilles*, the Captaine Baſſa gaue in an information; which ſo exaſperated the Grand Signior, that he commanded preſently M the Embaſſador ſhould be ſent away into France. Whereupon the Captaine Baſſa conuenting him to the Arſenall vnder colour of buſineſſe, an expreſſe order was preſently giuen (without permitting him to ſpeake with the Baſſa) to conduct him into a boat and to carry him aboord one of the aforeſaid French ſhips that were arreſted, which ſhip was commanded

A within three houres after to ſet ſaile and depart, in a moſt confuſed and diſorderly manner; not allowing the Embaſſador ſo much time as to diſpoſe of any thing in his houſe: Neither were any ſuffered to be imbarqued with him more than two ſeruants. Yet his Secretary and the reſt of his family were ſuffered to remaine free in the houſe, till they had accommodated all things to follow him with the ſtuffes, and to ouertake him at the Caſtles.

This diſhonourable action ſtirred vp new feares in the other Embaſſadours, that the like would be practiſed vpon them. But thoſe feares vaniſhed quickely, by a declaration of the grand Signiors Order, That the Captaine Baſſa ſhould ſatisfie them all ſeuerally, of the good friendſhip and correſpondence which he would preſerue with their Maſters, and the eſteeme he had of their perſons: Requeſting them but to vnderſtand it truly, that the French B Embaſſadour onely offending, hee alone ſhould bee puniſhed; and that of the offence the French King ſhould be thorowly informed. It was ordered likewiſe, that the old Embaſſador *Monſieur de Ceſye* ſhould execute the Charge; which hee condeſcended vnto, and all the former diſturbances were ſetled in a ſecond quiet. It was expected that this diſhonour would cauſe a great reſentment to be had abroad amongſt the French, and produce ſome hoſtile effects: but it happened otherwiſe. For the French knowing of what great conſequence their Trade in the Levant is, and that it cannot bee maintained but by a peaceable correſpondence with the grand Signior, diſſembled it ſo farre, that it ſcarſe became queſtionable; and in ſtead of vindicating the Embaſſadours honour ſo much as with a complaint, prouided to accommodate the debts of the old Embaſſador *Monſieur de Ceſye*, and then to ſend another.

C

The Captaine Baſſa, who had long preſerued himſelfe in grace and fauour with his maſter, 1635. and mannaged the great employments of the State without ſuſpition, ended his office vnuſually, by being preferred and ſent Baſſa to Buda. For amongſt Turkes the policie is frequent, to ſqueeſe the wealth gotten by any one in office, into the grand Signiors treaſurie; & where pretences faile ſufficiently to gloſſe the act, plaine tyrannie ſhall ſhew it ſelfe, rather than their wils want execution. With this Baſſa it fell out otherwiſe; for though he had more inriched himſelfe than any other, by his ſeuere juſtice, exactions, and interpoſing himſelfe whereſoeuer the buſineſſe might aſſure his profit, yet did hee eſcape without beeing queſtioned. And though the grand Signior might know his faults, and conniue at them, yet his D diſmiſſion, that ſhould haue beene a puniſhment, was nothing but a tranſlation vnto another Honour, and a reward for his vertue that found an Opinion; by this fortune as it were confirming,

——— *Sors & virtus miſcentur in vnum.*

A reſolution began now to ſettle it ſelfe in the grand Signiour, to make Perſia the onely obiect of his attempts: for his Honour had ſuffered more by that Enemy than any other, and their ſucceſſe had leſſened him both in Fame and Empire. Now as great deſignes require their counſels, (without which the beginning cannot promiſe a faire euent) he began to lay E a foundation for his proceedings, & to order them ſo, that euery particular ſhould haue ſome relation to a policie. The ground of the Warre was the ſame inueterate one which could not yet be remooued, and had for many ages vpheld a quarrell. The Order was, that himſelfe would go in perſon, preſuming as *Cæſar* did, that Fortune was bound to attend him. Then his Ianizaries were all deſigned for the expedition, that in ſo dangerous an enterpriſe hee might deſtroy them politiquely, as men that he had great reaſon to be jealous of, for that they were almoſt grown to a militarie Anarchy, like the Prætorian bands of the Romans. Beſides, their late vprores were yet vnpuniſhed; for their diſobedience would not ſubmit to any juſtice, and when a ſentence had paſt, their own ſtrength would reſiſt the execution: ſo that no practiſe but this, could expreſſe the grand Signior in his power ouer them. All things being now in F readineſſe, he cauſed his Tents to be pitched in Scutari on the Aſian ſide; whither after ten dayes he paſſed ouer himſelfe, and thence marched forward to Arzirum, where he appointed the generall Rendevous to be kept. From thence he proceeded with his numerous army, and beſieged Reivan, a place of great conſequence; where for a time he found a ſtrong reſiſtance, but at length took it, and fluſhing his ſouldiers with ſome ſpoile, went forwards vp as farre as

Tauris; where finding no reſiſtance (for the Perſians made no head againſt him, preſeruing G their ſtrength for ſome after-action, of more conſequence than preuenting the loſſe of a waſt and barren country) he conſumed all, preſſing it with the vtmoſt calamities of War. So after he had made a circular progreſſe, finding the approch of Winter to bring on many inconueniences, and ſome infirmities growing amongſt his ſouldiers, beſides the ſtore of prouiſion for beaſts of cariage failing, and not poſſibly to be there ſupplied, he withdrew himſelf by the ſame way of Arzirum, returning with more triumph than conqueſt.

The Captaine Baſſa all this while was abroad in the Mediterranian with a very great fleet of Gallies; pretending that he had information of many Engliſh ſhips that came into the Arches to lade Corn, and carry it to the Enemies of the grand Signior. He imployed diuers in euery Port, with inſtructions to intrap ſuch ſhips: and vnder colour of this juſtice many H outrages were committed, many ſhips made priſe of, & great occaſion giuen for complaints. But the Captaine Baſſa's Cauſe was alwaies right, and howſoeuer he was to himſelfe in conſcience, to others he appeared a iuſt man in opinion, and ſhunned puniſhment, his accuſers likewiſe being leſſe powerfull, than his judges were partiall.

1636. The grand Signior was no ſooner returned, and made his entrance into the Port, but the ſtrength of the Perſians (which during the time of his incurſion into their country ſeemed as it were vtterly diſſolued) began now to be ſinuated and knit together, making vp the firm bodie of a moſt powerfull army. When all their forces were conuented and ordered, their hearts payd ſacrifices of vowes to *Nemeſis*; and confirmed in a reſolution of reuenge, they marched I toward Reivan (which the grand Signior the year before had taken) againſt which they layd a ſtrong ſiege. The Garriſons of the Turks which were left within by the grand Signior, to preuent their intrenching neer the towne made many excurſions vpon them, where the loſſe was more on the Turkes part than the Perſians: ſo that they were inforced to truſt to their walls and victualling, till they had ſent a meſſenger to the grand Signior, with a declaration of their diſtreſſe. Which the grand Signior vnderſtanding, he diſpatched Baſſa's both into Aſia and Grecia, to haſten and ſend away the ſouldiers to their reliefe. He appointed alſo the Ianizarie Aga to follow with the Ianizaries. But it was now the time of their Bayram, by reaſon of which their deuotions delayed them, to the Perſians great aduantage. It was alſo reſolued, that the grand Signior ſhould himſelfe go in perſon toward the later end of the year; K and if the ſucceſſe were not anſwerable to their deſignes, he ſhould Winter at Aleppo, and the Spring following fall againe into Perſia. But the Perſians taking hold of opportunitie, ſtayed not to expect famine for their inſtrument, or any trecherie to betray the town to them, but fiercely aſſaulted it, and with that violence of battery that they preſently took it, putting all the Turks they found therin either to the ſword or ranſom.

The report of this loſſe ariuing before the ſoldiers could be gathered together at the rendeuous, the proceeding ſtopt, and the grand Signior full of diſcontent remained at home to conſult his own ſafety, which was now threatned with a ſtorm, that to ſhun was not thought a poſſibilitie in humane prouidence. For the ſouldiers that were abroad began to expreſſe much diſcontentment, refuſing to receiue their pay, or to be commanded by the grand Vi- L zier: for the Turkes war with the Perſians very vnwillingly, there beeing no other cauſe for a war, but the emulation of greatneſſe which hath ſucceſſively poſſeſt the Lords of thoſe two mighty Empires. Beſides, they ſeldome meet in Perſia with any plentifull ſpoiles: ſo that they are neither incited by their own freeneſſe, nor allured by the hopes of any large reward; the later of which is the onely whetſtone of Endeauor and enterpriſes. But on the contrary, to the Wars of Hungary and Poland they runne as to ſome delightfull ſpectacle; prickt forward therto by zeal, as making Religion a ground for their attempts, and an aſſurance of large booty, where the countries glory in the fulneſſe of many bleſſings.

This danger of the Souldiers mutinies abroad reached not yet the Grand Signior, nor put him into any perſonall feare, till the Ianizaries at home, made him apprehend the immi- M nence of what they intended againſt him. For they had, either by the information of ſome treacherous Stateſman, or their owne conſideration of circumſtances, diſcouered the Grand Signiors intention of compelling them to the war of Perſia: which deſigne of his failing, firſt in the Perſians not reſiſtance, afterwards in diſſoluing of the army before they could

come

A come to the reliefe of Reivan, they were not yet much weakened, and their knowledge of the 1636.
Grand Signiors diſaffection towards them, inſtructed their diſloyall inclinations to all ſorts
of agreeable practiſes. Beſides, they had now learned amongſt other diuelliſh ſecrets ſince
the fleſhing of themſelues in their Soueraignes bloud, Sultan *Oſman*, and in the depoſing,
reſtoring, and depoſing againe of *Muſtapha*, how to make and vnmake a King at their pleaſure.
So that the Grand Signior ſeemeth a Steward only intruſted with a gouernment, which his
ſlaues exact account of, and transferre as their humours and affections ſway them. Euery
one amongſt theſe rebellious tumultuants ſeemed very full of counſels; and none would al-
low a proceeding to action, till they had ordered the progreſſe by a rule: which was ſo di-
uerſly propoſed, that it could haue no poſitiue confirmation. For ſome aduiſed to the depo-
B ſition of their Emperor, which others that were not ſo well affected to innouation oppoſed,
with reaſons of ſatisfaction: and that if the Grand Signior would make amends by ſome
acknowledgement of his il intents towards them, and confirme their order and priuiledges,
his gouernment (being one that by experience had made himſelfe ſenſible of their power)
might be more profitable to them than euer, whoſe diſpoſition as yet vndiſcouered, might
make their courſes and liues ſubiect to incertainties. For the Grand Signior in the begin-
ning of his reigne, by reaſon of his few yeares (which exceeded not fifteene) expreſt a natu-
rall inclination to action, which he hath ſince continually practiſed: and this had ſettled
ſome good opinion of him in the inconſtant ſouldiers, who liue by it; though many of late,
(contrary to their firſt inſtitution, and the long continued courſe which the former emperors
C had ſeuerely tied them to) applyed themſelues to merchandiſe, and other enriching means,
neglecting as it were the profeſſion they were ordained to, but at the very inſtant of imploi-
ment. A third ſort whom the thought of reuenge had poſſeſt, (to which the worſt ſpirits are
moſt ſubiect;

——— Quippe minuti
Semper, & infirmi eſt animi exiguique voluptas
Vltio) ———

propoſed their Soueraignes death, who had practiſed their ſubuerſion. But this reliſht not
D ſo well generally; for their former outrage had made them the ſubiects of cenſure ſo farre,
that all States condemned it, and themſelues lamented. Many daies were waſted with theſe
conuentions, that diſſolued ſtill with new doubts; ſo that the Grand Signior had time e-
nough for preuention, which was ordered by the great Viſiers, remaining at Arzirum with
the army, where he wintered, that ſo the want of number might make their ſuppreſſion the
eaſier: For if the Spahies that were diſcontented abroad, had beene ioyned to the Ianizaries
mutining at home, their addition would haue beene oyle to a flame, and increaſed an *incen-
dium*, till there had beene left no matter for their fury to feed on. The Grand Signior like-
wiſe diſtributed large ſums amongſt them, and purchaſed ſome part of his ſafety that way.
The great Viſier likewiſe being wanting, they had no obiect for their outrage: for he was
E onely ſuſpected to practiſe with the Grand Signior (as *Delauir Baſſa* did formerly with *Oſ-
man*) to erect a new *Militia*, for the ſupplanting of the Ianizaries, that ſhould be maintained
with leſſe charge and danger. In concluſion, there remained not the leaſt *veſtigium* of this
confuſed building, but the feare that another might be raiſed, if the Ianizaries ſhould haue
any new prouocations to fall againe to worke. And though their idleneſſe at home, might
haue giuen occaſion of diſturbance from the vnſetledneſſe of their thoughts, (for

——— Variam ſemper dant otia mentem)

which would be ſtaied if action diuerted them from other obiects, there hath beene no de-
F ſigne thought of ſince, but the regulating of theſe Ianizaries, and preſeruing them from at-
tempt, by a more free diſtribution of donatiues amongſt them. Only the great Viſier made
ſome incurſions into Perſia, the ſucceſſe whereof anſwered not the expectation of ſo great an
vndertaking.

This being the preſent ſtate of the *Ottoman* Emperors, conferred with ſome other late diſtant accidents, (which haue a relation to that State) and the precedent, giue occaſion to theſe following conſiderations.

Firſt, the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh Empire, raiſed thereto by continuall action, and preſerued by fortune, more than by reaſon; yet crueltie (which hath beene alwayes obſerued to be an inſtrument, and is as it were hereditarie in their natures) hath a politique allowance. For they haue found it by experience, That mercy toward the Vanquiſhed prooueth many times a motiue to diſcontent; and reuiueth the memory of diſgrace, which often chalks out a way to reuenge. When contrariwiſe crueltie exerciſeth them ſo much in a ſubiection, that the remembrance of all former equalitie in greatneſſe loſeth it ſelfe by degrees, in an humble patience. Beſides, where there is bred a diſcontent from reflection to a high ſtate buried in neceſſities, that diſcontent becommeth the Parent of Curioſitie; as *Plautus* in *Sticho* ſaith,

Curioſus nemo eſt qui non ſit malevolus.

This curioſitie now buſieth it ſelfe wholly in the diſquiſition of all ſorts of reuenge, and many times will not be ſatisfied but with practiſe. To preuent which, the Turkiſh cruelty ties the hands of all they conquer, that they are left without meanes for the execution of any deſigne that is hatcht by diſcontent. And this cruelty though tyrannical, is allowed of among them *politicè*, though all the world beſides muſt condemn it *Ethicè*: for it includeth an inſulting ouer miſerie, than which, nothing more cleerely expreſſeth a vulgar and an vnprincely nature.

Corpora magnanimo ſatis eſt proſtraſſe Leoni;
Pugna ſuum finem, cum jacet hoſtis, habet.
At Lupus & turpes inſtant morientibus vrſi,
Et quacunque minor nobilitate fera eſt.

Which haue this ſence:

The valiant Lion, when the Vanquiſhed
Lies at his feet, hath mercie in his eie.
But Wolues and Bears inſult ouer the Dead;
And beaſts that are of leſſe Nobilitie.

How much this crueltie practiſed by the Turkes hath wrought vpon diuers Nations, the precedent is full of examples; and how far it may bee iuſtified by the effects, as conducing mightily to the preſeruation of that State, may be prooued by the contrary. For the mercie ſhewed by *Achmat* to his brother *Muſtapha*, ſo much differing from the *Ottoman* cuſtome, begot ſuch a diſorder, that it became pernicious, almoſt to the vtter diſſolution of that State.

But as in all actions the ſame thing may produce differing effects, by the diuers application; ſo this crueltie, as it is a meanes of ſecuritie when practiſed by the grand Signior vpon thoſe whom Fortune hath made his ſubjects, ſo is it an occaſion for ſeuere cenſure when ſtrangers ſuffer vnder it, ſuch as for trade reſide in his dominions, and ought to haue all immunities and priuiledges, eſpecially of ſafety, according to the ſeuerall capitulations that preſerue their ſeueral correſpondence. Of this the later times produce diuers examples; and though the Turkes colour it with the name of ſeuere iuſtice, yet is it in ſubſtance plain crueltie, and the moſt diſhonourable that may warrant a cauſe of reuenge, If Chriſtians would be ſo farre ſencible as to ſtrengthen it by an vnanimous vndertaking.

And here a ſecond conſideration offers it ſelfe, which is the ſhew of the Empires declining from it's priſtine greatneſſe; which may bee two wayes coniectured: By the *Ottoman* Line almoſt extinguiſhed, there remaining beſides the preſent Emperour, but three, and thoſe ſubiect to his tyrannie, and cuſtome of the State; vpon the leaſt jealouſie to be made vncapable either of rule or diſturbance.

Secondly, by the ſucceſſe of the Perſian, who hath leſſened the grand Signior much, by contracting the bounds of his Empire in Aſia, and by enlarging his owne, with addition to

A it of that which hee hath ſubſtracted from the grand Seigniors. Neither can a ceſſation of
ſtriſe be euer hoped, where there is nothing but emulation, and two ſuch competitors in greatneſſe
equally.

——*miſerâ ambitione laborant.*

There are yet other conſiderations which may inferre a doubt of the empires diſſolution,
or at leaſtwiſe alteration, and to ſuch a form as will ſcarce preſerue any footſtep of the other.
One of which is the Ianizaries diſloyall diſpoſition, that hath ſo dangerouſly declared it
ſelfe of late. Inſomuch that if the diſcontented ſtrangers and Chriſtian ſubjects were but
B as able to doe miſchiefe, as the ſouldiers are to deſire it, queſtionleſſe ſome great euent would
ſoone ſhew it ſelfe, and the deſire of libertie eſtabliſh perhaps ſome *Ariſtocraſia* or *Democraſia*,
or what the giddineſſe of their humours ſhould fancie. For the *Ottoman* Line failing, the
Empire deſcendeth to the Tartar, whom the Turkes ſo innately hate, that they would admit
of any innouation, rather than his gouernment. There would be many by-aduancements of
this progreſſe, if it were ſet on foot: for euery Baſſa ſubſtituted for his ſeuerall prouince,
would with his owne power endeauor to make himſelfe abſolute. The Perſian would compaſſe
his ends eaſily; The Egyptians caſt off their bondage, and all the Tributaries ſaue their
expences.

Some aid it would receiue by the diuerſities of the many Nations, whoſe Kingdomes are
C ſubject to this Empire: for being many, doubtleſſe they cannot be all ſo regulated by one
forme of gouernment, or made ſo abſolute Turkiſh, but that the Natiues of euery Countrey
preſerue ſomething of their owne primitiue inſtitutions, which they likewiſe are better affected
to, than what they haue learned by a new compulſion. And though it commeth not
within an eaſie apprehenſion, how ſo many Kingdomes ſhould be gotten, and preſerued ſo
long (which *Auguſtus* diſſuaded his Romanes from, as an apparant indangering of all) yet
the preſent Emperor is obſerued to be more valiant than politique; which is dangerous according
to *Euripides*,

Ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης

D

Sir *Thomas More* hath theſe following, almoſt to the ſame purpoſe:

Regibus ex multis regnum cui ſufficit vnum,
Vix Rex vnus erit, ſi tamen vnus erit.
Regibus è multis regnum benè qui regat vnum,
Vix tamen vnus erit, ſi tamen vnus erit.

'Tis kingly to deſire many Kingdoms; but better to gouerne one well, than by addition of
number make the rule dangerous.

E

This might giue aduantage to the Baſſa's, if the grand Seignior ſhould exaſperate them,
and by his cruelties (whether they be the effects of his tyrannie or his reaſon) to prouoke
them to attempts. For there haue been many late examples of their aptneſſe to know their
owne ſtrength, and application of it to any vſe in deſignes of reuenge or ambition. *Abaſſa
Baſſa* after the murther of *Oſman*, and *Haſſeruph Baſſa* after his diſgrace, with others, haue ſufficiently
teſtified it; the later of whoſe deaths could neuer haue been effected but by a ſecret
policie. Yet there is a kinde of preuention, by making the gouernment ſo eaſie to Turkes
themſelues, that they ſeeme all in ſeuerall degrees to bee but ſubſtituted Gouernors of the
other Nations, which are chiefly the ſubjects of the grand Signiors tyranie; and to that end
F the Turks are mingled with all others that are ſubjected.

A conſideration may be had from another argument, of the declenſion of this great Empire,
by its age, and the preſent inſtruments that are practiſed about the weakening of it. For
a State is aptly compared to the little world of man, the infancie whereof is weak and ſimple,
the

the Youth increaſing, the manhood for a time eſtabliſhed and firme, but the old age diſeaſed G
and not able to hold out long, but muſt of neceſſitie yeeld to death, where it findes its termination.
Now as this aged Empire hath many in-bred diſeaſes, ſo is it threatned abroad by
the Perſian on one ſide, by feare of the Egyptians and Arabs getting head on another; by the
Chriſtians on a third, of which the Polander is of moſt danger, as beeing neereſt in place, and
ofteneſt prouoked. Beſides, his ſucceſſe hath been ſome weakning to the grand Signior, inſomuch
that the free propoſition of peace on his part, in the yeare 1634, argued a feare, and
doubtleſſe there is a ſecret reaſon that makes the Turke diſtruſt his own ſtate more now than euer.

The Pyrats and Renegadoes of Algier, Tunes, and Sally (whoſe actions the grand Signior
protecteth, though not their perſons, leauing them in that point of ſafety to themſelues) H
haue diſtaſted the Chriſtians of late very much, eſpecially our Engliſh, by committing diuers
outrages on the Weſterne coaſts of England, as alſo on the South South Weſt and Weſt
of Ireland, where they aduentured to make ſome inrodes, and haue carried away much cattel
and people for ſlaues, burning diuers Villages.

Vpon the knowledge whereof, his Majeſtie of great Brittaine appointed a fleet to goe to
the ſtreights for their ſuppreſſion, and the redemption of his ſubiects that were in thoſe parts
Captiues. Which Fleet returned towards the later end of the laſt yeare 1637, victorious,
bringing along an honourable Embaſſadour from the Emperour of Moroco, with gratulations
for the happy ſucceſſe which he had againſt rebels there by this aid of the Engliſh. The
particulars whereof are of more conſequence, than to be made (as they are) the ſubiects of I
ridiculous pamphlets, and otherwiſe ſhould haue made a place in this Hiſtory. For the Moroco
being a Mahometan in Religion, is likewiſe a kinde of Tributarie to the grand Seignior,
though perhaps he payeth it voluntarily, and vnder the colour and name of a Preſent, the
which doth make it but a degree more honourable. This Prince, (who hath all the attributes
of a good man, and is not ſo much affected to Turkiſh libertie) whether particularly obliged
for this good ſeruice of the Engliſh, or generally deſirous to publiſh his good inclination,
hath from circumſtance giuen hope to Chriſtians of aid in any laudable deſigne, as this of
ſuppreſſing Theeues and Rebels, and redeeming Captiues was. For the Trade of the Leuant
hath not ſo much danger from the vices of Turkiſh Miniſters, as from thoſe former places,
the receptacles of Pyrats, moſt of which are Renegadoes. K

Now if the grand Signior ſhould haue any reſentment of this, and that a Warre ſhould
follow betweene him and the Moroco (who is a powerfull Prince and actiue) he muſt of neceſſitie,
by tranſlating the ſeat of it ſo farre Weſtward, leaue Aſia vndefenced againſt the
Perſian; and the Emperour of Germanie with the ayd of the Pole, might be able to do ſomething
proſperouſly in Hungary. Beſides, the Maltæſes and Sicilians, if but for neighbourhoods
ſake, muſt of neceſſitie ſtirre ſomewhat, and doe for the honour of the Order, which
hath of late vpheld it ſelfe more by the meere ceremonies of it in Courts of peace, than by
woonted action.

But theſe euents muſt be doubtfull, in that they are grounded vpon ſecret and vnreuealed
intentions. Certaine it is, that the grand Signior is weakened in his power, by the corrupted L
manners of his ſouldiers; and hauing ſo many enemies ſo diuerſly planted on euery hand of
him, he cannot at once deale with all throughly, neither can he offend any one much, but that
he muſt leaue himſelfe vnarmed, or but weakely defended againſt the other. For his Souldierie
conſiſts now of a far ſmaller number than it formerly did, and thoſe likewiſe fallen from
their firſt inſtitution, marrying, and applying themſelues to merchandiſe, more than the practiſe
of their proper diſcipline; inſomuch that his Army (which heretofore hath ſtupified the
amaſed hearers with a number beyond conceit or almoſt probabilitie, ſuch as that which was
repulſed before Vienna) ſeldome exceeds eighty or a hundred thouſand, though the report
ſounds it more, to the greater terror of the Enemy.

Some haue formerly thought, That a poſſible entrance might be made to the diſſoluing M
of this ſo mighty Enemy of the Chriſtians, by making the Ianizaries ſencible of their originall,
and being the children of Chriſtians. But now it is certaine, that the moſt of them
are naturall Turkes borne, and purchaſed at eaſie rates by Chriſtians, to ſupply the number

of tributary children, by which their own are preſerued to pay the grand Signior tribute and cuſtomes; which if they had bin Ianizaries, ſhould haue bin diſtributed to their owne maintenance. The happineſſe in this great difference is, by making the leſſe part ſubiect to neceſſities, they preſerue the immortall one capable of glory. But thoſe that haue learned a Religion full of libertie, and the end (though vainely) promiſing eternitie, with full fruition of greater pleaſures, would hardly be withdrawn to embrace a ſtrict one, whoſe progreſſe is conſcience and auſteritie.

One thing is moſt remarkeable, and may include ſome apparancie of a change at leaſt in that gouernment; which is, That the Turks begin more and more to leaue their barbariſme, and fall to the ſtudy of Arts: inſomuch that diuers Baſſa's write the Annals of their ſeuerall Prouinces, in the Arabick, of which they labour alſo to attaine the elegance. Euery one beſides is inſtructed in the Italian, which is now grown the Court language. It is reported likewiſe by a Gentleman that hath publiſhed his journal, how he had obſerued ſome of them affected to Poetry, and that he had ſeen ſome Sonets of their compoſing: which without doubt wil cauſe ſome alteration in their maners; according to *Ovid*,

Adde, quod inſidiæ ſacris à vatibus abſunt,
Et facit ad mores ars quoque noſtra bonos.

From ſacred Poets fraud is abſent far,
And manners by our Art much better'd ar'.

Yet perhaps the effects of eaſe and ſoftneſſe will ſhew themſelues, as they grow more Schollers, and leſſe martiall; which many times hapneth where men are beſt inſtructed: And heretofore the liues of the Turks hath bin more practiue than ſpeculatiue, and their actions ordered more from neceſſitie than conſideration.

But as a certain and conſtant fortune is an euill (according to *Sophocles* in *Ajace*;) ſo the long flouriſhing ſtate of this empire hath made it the obiect of greater danger, and the change and diſſolution is imminent; but to what aduantage of others, is in the prouidence onely of him that ordereth all, and hath long ſuffered this to continue a ſcourge for Chriſtians, whoſe irreligious negligence of their principal duties, haue deſeruedly drawn down that puniſhment.

FINIS.

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Andronicus aſpireth to the empire, 43 d. ouerthroweth Angelus ſent againſt him with a great power by Alexius the great Preſident, 44, l. encampeth ouer againſt Conſtantinople, 45, a. taketh vpon him the gouernment and tyranniſeth, 47, b. cauſeth Mary the daughter of Emanuel the Emperour, with her husband Caſar to bee poyſoned, e. cauſeth Xene the faire Empreſſe to be vniuſtly condemned and ſtrangled, 49, k. by his fauorites and flatterers ioyned in the fellowſhip of the Empire with Alexius the young Emperour, 46, e. depriueth Alexius of the Empire, and cauſeth him to be ſtrangled, 50, b. deſtroyeth the Nobilitie to eſtabliſh his eſtate, i. ſeeketh in vaine to appeaſe the people in a tumult riſen vp againſt him, 52, b. forſaken of his flattering fauorits, flyeth, is taken and brought backe in chaines to Angelus, 53, c. committed to the fury of the people, who with extreame cruelty put him to moſt ſhamefull death, 54.

Andronicus Palaologus the younger exceedingly beloued by old Andronicus his grandfather, 158, b. by the perſuaſion of Syrgiannes conſpireth againſt his aged Grandfather, 159, f. being ſent for, commeth vnto him ſecretly armed, with purpoſe to haue ſlaine him, 160, k. ſecretly flieth out of Conſtantinople, 161, b. proclaimed traitour, and proſcribed, c. ſtirreth vp the people of Thracia to rebellion, d. reconciled to his Grandfather, 164, i. crowned fellow in the Empire with his Grandfather, m. againe conſpireth againſt his Grandfather, 165, b. his crafty ſpeech vnto his Grandfathers Embaſſadours, 167, c. ſeeketh in vaine by night to haue been receiued into Conſtantinople, 169, e. is receiued into Theſſalonica, 170, g. taketh in the greateſt part of Macedonia and Thracia, m. by treaſon entreth into the City of Conſtantinople, 171, e. forbiddeth his Captaines and ſouldiers to violate the Maieſtie of the old Emperour or any about him, 172, i. humbleth himſelfe vnto his Grandfather, 173, a. euill perſuaded, committeth him to ſtreight keeping, 174, g. wounded in the battell with Orchanes at Philocrene, 180, m. by his owne departure from his Campe, diſcomfiteth his whole Army, 181, a.

Andronicus Palaologus the old Emperour in reſtoring againe the Greeke Ceremonies, by his father before altered, falleth into great troubles, 146, b. ſparing to maintaine his Nauy, weakeneth his Empire, k. ſuſpitious of his brother Conſtantine, l. by taking him away, leaueth the Eaſt ſide of his Empire to be ſpoyled by the Turks, 147, e. repoſing more truſt in forreine ayd than in his owne Subiects, greatly hurteth his State, 149, b. immoderately fauoureth his Nephew Andronicus, 158, b. ſetteth Syrgiannes to obſerue his doings, 159, a. ſendeth Embaſſadours vnto him, 161, d. in his trouble, as of an heauenly Oracle asketh counſell of the Pſalter, and ſo maketh peace with his nephew, 164, b. informed of the euill meaning of his Nephew, forbiddeth him to come into the City, 166. g. his notable ſpeech vnto the Patriarch and the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobilitie concerning the young Emperour his Nephew, 168, k. forſaken of the Patriarch and ſome others of the Biſhops, 169, b. repoſeth his whole truſt in God, 172, i. his pittifull requeſt vnto the young Emperour his Nephew, l. by him depriued of his Imperiall Dignitie, 174, g. falleth blind, h. againſt his will made a Monke, and called Anthonie, k. his notable anſwer vnto the catching queſtion of the proud Patriarch, l. inforced to ſweare, Neuer againe to reſume vnto himſelfe the Empire, 175, d. dieth, 176, g. his death by many prodigies

digies foreſhowne,h.

Antioch deſcribed, 18,h. by the Patriarch betraid to Saladin, 65,a.

Apulia ſpoiled by the Turks, 671,f.

Ares Chan hanged, 939,a.

Artillerie of exceeding greatneſſe made by Mahomet at the ſiege of Scodra, 418,g.

Aſam-Beg with his army ouerthrowne, and taken priſoner by Scanderbeg, 383,f.

Aſmehemedi iuſtly rewarded for his trecherie, 178,k.

Aſſan Aga derideth the meſſengers ſent vnto him from Charles the Emperor, 719,b. taketh the Spaniards to mercy, 724,k.

Auria with his fleet doth the Turks great harme in Peloponeſus, 626,h. beſiegeth Corone, and hath it yeelded vnto him, 627,a. taketh and ranſacketh Patras with the Caſtles of Rhium and Molycreum, c. returneth to Genua, e. troubleth the Turks fleet, and taketh twelue of their gallies full of Ianizaries & Solymans other beſt ſouldiers, 672,l. braueth Barbaruſſa in the bay of Ambracia,688,g. ſhamefully flyeth with his Fleet, 689,e. dyeth, 787,c.

Auſtria ſpoyled by the Turks,616,i. Altenburg taken,k.

Auſtria ſore waſted by Caſon, 621,

Axalla a Chriſtian in great fauor with Tamerlane, and his lieutenant Generall in his warres againſt the Turke, 214,b. takes Bajazet the great Turke priſoner, 219, d. without reſiſtance taketh Pruſa, 221,b. ouerthroweth one of the Turks Baſſaes with the ſlaughter of thirty thouſand Turkes, 235,d.

B

Babylon taken and ſacked by the Tartars, 113,b. with the countries of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria yeelded to Solyman, 651,a.

Baiazet the firſt why ſyrnamed Gylderun or Lightening, 195,f. ſucceedeth his father Amurath in the Turkiſh Kingdome, 203,b. inuadeth Seruia, c. by Periſes his Lieutenant ſpoyleth Valachia,f. oppreſſeth moſt of the Mahometane Princes the Succeſſors of Sultan Saladin in the leſſer Aſia, 204,k. inuadeth Valachia, ouerthroweth the Vaywod, and cauſeth him to become his Tributarie, 205, a. beſiegeth Conſtantinople eight yeares,c. In a great battell at Nicopolis ouerthroweth Sigiſmund King of Hungarie with his Confederates, 206,g. returneth againe to the ſiege of Conſtantinople,k. marrieth Deſpina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Deſpot,207,a. pretily reproued by his Ieaſter,d. in battell ouercommeth Aladin the Caramanian king, and deliuereth him priſoner to Temurtaſes his Lieutenant,208,m. ſubdueth the Caramanian Kingdome,209,a. hath the great cities of Amaſia and Sebaſtia yeelded vnto him, a. oppreſſeth the Mahometane Princes of the leſſer Aſia, d. vnciuilly entertaineth the Embaſſadours of the Mighty Tamerlane ſent vnto him in the behalfe of the poore princes by him oppreſſed, 211. accounteth a ſhepheard more happy than himſelfe, 216,k. ioineth a great and mortall battel with Tamerlane,219,b. forſaken of his owne ſouldiors,c. ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Axalla, d. brought to Tamerlane, 220. ſhut vp in a yron cage like a beaſt, m. dieth miſerably, 227,b. his iſſue, as alſo his immediate Succeſſor vncertaine, 231,c. his true poſterity, 232,g.

Baiazet the ſecond exclued from the ſucceſſion in the Turkiſh Empire by his ſonne Corcutus, commeth to Conſtantinople,437,e. by the mediation of the great Baſſa's, obtaineth the Kingdome of Corcutus, 438,g. goeth againſt his brother Zemes vp in rebellion againſt him, i. in doubt to haue been betrayed by his ſouldiers,441,c. reuiled by the Ianizaries, 444, h. putteth ſome of them to death, 445, a. purpoſeth their vtter deſtruction, b. glad to diſſemble his purpoſe, and to reconcile himſelf vnto them,f. ſendeth Dantius his Embaſſado[illegible] to Alexander Biſhop of Rome, 451,d. glad to heare that diuers of the Chriſtian Princes had combined themſelues againſt the French king,456,i. in danger to haue been ſlaine by a Deruiſlar or Turkiſh Monke, 463,c. Baiazet by nature peaceable,d. his children, 467,k. ſendeth Embaſſadours with preſents vnto his ſonne Selymus, 480,i. ſeeking to preferre Achomates his eldeſt ſonne to the Empire, himſelfe yet liuing, is mightily withſtood by the ſouldiers of the Court before corrupted by Selymus, 481,b. hee forbiddeth Selymus to come vnto him and threatneth him, 482,b. fearing to loſe Conſtantinople, departeth from Hadrianople, i. his reſolute ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries and other ſouldiers of the Court, 484,l. in plaine battell ouercommeth his ſonne Selymus at Tzurulum, 485,d. willing the ſecond time to haue reſigned his Empire to Achomates, is againe withſtood by his men of warre,487,b. his reſolute anſwer vnto Muſtapha and the other traiterous Baſſaes after that Selymus was by their practiſe, by the ſouldiers of the Court ſaluted Emperour, 494,k. poyſoned by Hamon his Phyſitian a Iew, 495,f. dieth 496,g.

Baiazet, Solyman his yonger ſonne ſeeketh to aſpire vnto the Empire, his father yet liuing, 768,h. ſetteth vp a counterfeit Muſtapha to make an head to his intended rebellion,k. the ſubtill and crafty dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceiue the people, l. forſaken of his followers, is taken and brought to Solyman at Conſtantinople,770,g. ſecretly with his complices drowned, h. Baiazet ſent for by his father, goeth vnto him in fear, l. in few words comforted by his mother, 771,a. ſharply for his diſloyaltie reproued by his father, and ſo by him pardoned,b. returneth againe to his charge, d. after the death of Roxolana his mother raiſeth new ſtirres, e. admoniſhed of his duty by his father,772,h. vnwilling to go to Amaſia the Prouince appointed him by his father, ſeeketh delayes, 773,k. by a Chiaus requeſteth his father not to intermeddle betwixt his brother and him, 774, h. making ſhew as if he would go to Amaſia, ſtayeth at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his forces, l. his quarrell generally fauoured of the ſouldiers, 775,b. his purpoſe, d. hee goeth againſt his brother towards Iconium, e. fighteth a bloudy battell with his brother Selymus, wherein were forty thouſand Turks ſlaine, 776,g. put to the worſe retyreth, and ſo goeth to Amaſia, h. more commended by the Souldiers in his ouerthrow, than was his brother in his victory, i. ſeeketh againe for his fathers fauour, 777,f. deſpairing thereof flyeth into Perſia, deceiuing by the way the Baſſaes of Sebaſtia and Erzirum, 778,k. at the firſt well entertained by the Perſian King, 779,e. his followers by the cunning of the fearefull Perſian diſperſed and ſlaine, 780,k. he himſelfe with his ſonnes impriſoned, l. his miſerable eſtate in priſon, 780,f. with his foure ſonnes at the inſtance of his father by the Perſian ſtrangled, 782,b.

Baiazet Baſſa ſent by Amurath againſt Muſtapha the Rebell, forſaken of his Souldiers, yeeldeth, 255,e. vpon a falſe ſurmiſe executed,f.

Baldwin County of Edeſſa, and Brother to Godfrey, ſecond King of Ieruſalem, 25, a. winneth Cæſarea from the Infidels, b. ouerthroweth the Turks hard by Rama, c. beſiegeth Ptolemais, and inretyring thence is mortally wounded, e. beſiegeth it again, and hath it by compoſition yeelded vnto him, e. after many ſharp aſſaults winneth Berythus, 26, h. taketh Sidon by compoſition, and in vaine beſiegeth Tyre, i. maketh an expedition into Ægypt, and neere vnto Laris dieth, m.

Baldwin ſyrnamed Brugenſis, County of Edeſſa, beſiegeth Carras, and there taken priſoner, after fiue yeares captiuitie redeemeth himſelfe, 25, d. after the death of Baldwin the firſt, choſen King of Ieruſalem, and called Baldwin the ſecond, 27, a. ouerthroweth the Turks, and ioyneth the Principalitie of Antioch to his owne Kingdome, d. by Balac the Perſian Sultan ouerthrowne and taken priſoner; after eighteene moneths captiuitie, for the ranſome of 100000 Duckets ſet at libertie, 28, l. in three notable battels ouerthroweth the King of Damaſco, 29, a. dieth, b.

Baldwin the third of that name crowned King of Ieruſalem, 31, a. hardly diſtreſſed by Noradin the Turke, b. he fortifieth Gaza, and taketh Aſcalon by compoſition, 34, i. in a ſet battell ouerthroweth Noradin the King of Damaſco at the Caſtle of Sueta, 35, f. falleth ſicke and dieth, 36, h.

Baldwin the fourth of that name ſeuenth King of Ieruſalem, 58, l. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth Saladin inuading his Kingdome, 59, d. putteth him with his great Army againe to flight, 60, k. reſigneth the gouernment of his Kingdome to Guy Luſignan County of Ioppa and Aſcalon, 61, b. ſendeth Embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, and immediately after dieth, 62, i.

Baldwin the fifth of that name, yet but boy, was crowned eighth King of Ieruſalem, and within ſeuen months after dieth, 62, i.

Baldwin County of Flaunders and Henault choſen by the Latines Emperor of Conſtantinople, and ſo ſolemnely crowned, 83, c. ſubdueth Thracia and beſiegeth Hadrianople, 85, a. ouerthrowne in a battell by the Scythians and taken priſoner, is by the commandement of the barbarous King moſt cruelly put to death, d.

Baldwin the ſecond of that name fift and laſt Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople, 79, a. pawneth his ſonne vnto the Bruges Merchants for money, 112, m. flyeth out of the City of Conſtantinople, being ſurpriſed by Alexius Strategopulus ſent from Michael Palæologus the Greeke Emperour, 124, m.

Balabanus ſent by Mahomet againſt Scanderbeg, 393, b. put to flight, taketh diuers of Scanderbegs beſt Captaines priſoners at Alchria, 396, g. with his army ouerthrowne at Oronicheum, l. the third time ouerthrown in the battell at Sfetigrade, 397, b. Ouerthrowne by Scanderbeg the fourth time in the battell at Valcha, 398, a. left by Mahomet to continue the ſiege of Croia, 400, l. ſlaine, c.

Barbaruſſa ſucceedeth his brother Horuccius in the Kingdome of Algiers, 636, i. his wonderfull ſucceſſe, k. ſent for by Solyman, l. enuied in the Turks Court, 637, b. by Solyman himſelfe reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa, d. trauelleth by land vnto him into Syria, and by him commended to Solyman, e. his ſpeech to Solyman to perſuade him to inuade the kingdome of Tunes, 638, g. he is made Solymans great Admirall, 639, d. ſpoyleth the coaſts of Italy, 640, m. paſſeth ouer into Africke, and hath Biſerta yeelded vnto him, 643, b. commeth to Guletta, deceiueth the Citiſens, and is receiued into Tunes, f. diſcomfiteth the Citiſens riſen vp againſt him, b. hath the city of Tunes yeelded vnto him, 645, e. is much diſcouraged with the comming of Charles the Emperour into Africke, 656, h. in his rage executeth Aloyſius Preſenda, i. encourageth his ſouldiers, l. his chiefe Captaines, 657, b. the County of Sarne his head and right hand by Salec ſent vnto him for a preſent, 658, l. his fleet taken by Charles the Emperour at Guletta, 661, a. he rageth, b. calmed by Sinan the Iew, c. in field with his army againſt Charles the Emperor, 665, e. flyeth to Tunes, 666, g. diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew from killing the Chriſtian captiues; who ſhortly after breaking priſon, driue the Turks out of the Caſtle of Tunes, 666, l. flyeth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiers, 668, k. eſcapeth to Algiers, 669, b. ſent by Solyman againſt the Venetians, 687, a. repulſed in Crete, b. reproued of cowardiſe by one of the Turks Eunuchi, 688, h. ieaſteth at the flight of Auria, 689, e. braueth the Chriſtians at Corcyra, 690, g. ſuffereth ſhipwrecke vpon the Acroceraunian Rocks, k. with a great fleet ſent by Solyman to aid the French King againſt Charles the Emperour, 735, a. burneth Rhegium, and taketh the Caſtle, b. becommeth amorous of the Captaine of Rhegium his daughter, c. maketh them afraid in Rome, d. commeth to Marſeilles, f. for lacke of imployment groweth diſcontented, 742, l. with the French beſiegeth Nice in Prouence, 743, c. rageth againſt the French, & threatneth Polinus, 744, b. Giueth ouer the ſiege of the Caſtle of Nice, and ſetteth fire on the City, i. derided by the Turks Captaines, ſharply anſwereth their taunts, 748, l. rewarded and diſcharged by the French King, departeth out of Prouence, 749, d. requeſteth of Appianus Gouernour of Elba, to haue a ſonne of Sinan the Iewes there priſoner, deliuered vnto him, e. ſpoyleth the Iſland, and hath the young man deliuered vnto him, 750, g. in his returne to Conſtantinople doth much harme vpon the coaſt of Italie, m. dieth, 751, c

Barbadicus the Venetian Proueditour a notable man, 874, l. ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto, 880, g.

Barbarous cruelty, 909, c.

the Barbarous manner of the Turkiſh Sultans to murther their brethren in the beginning of their reigne, when & by whom firſt begun, 201, a.

Bare ſhift for money, 345, c.

the Baſſa of Boſna and his brother ſlain, 1002, i.

the Baſſa of Temeſwar ouerthrowne by the Raſcians and ſlaine, 1138, k.

the Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner, 1110, i.

the Baſſa of Boſna ſlaine, 1110, k.

the Baſſa of Natolia taken priſoner by the Prince of Sarcan, 217, c. his ſtout anſwer to Tamerlane, d. by Tamerlane ſet at libertie and rewarded, e.

the Baſſa of Buda ſlaine, 1136, l.

the Baſſa of Agria with 1000 Turks ouerthrowne by Ferrant Gonzaga, and chaſed to the gates of the City, 1141, g.

Baſilicus a faithful man vnto his prince, 170, h.

Battels.

A cruell battell fought betwixt Solyman the Turke and the Chriſtian Princes going towards the Holy land, 16, l. an hundred thouſand Turks ſlaine in the battell neere vnto Antioch, betwixt Corbanas the Perſian Sultans Lieutenant, and the Chriſtian an Princes, 20, h. 100000 Turks and Saraſins ſlain in the great battel not far from Aſcalon, fought betwixt Godfrey of Buillion and the Turks and Saraſins, 24, l. the great battell betwixt Amurath the firſt, and Lazarus the Deſpot, fought in the plaines of Coſſonia, 200, i. The battell of Nicopolis betwixt Baiazet the firſt and Sigiſmund king of Hungarie, 206, g. The great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and the great Tamerlane, 219, b. the battell of Vaſcape betwixt Huniades and Abedin Baſſa, 273, e. the wofull battell of Varna betwixt King Vladiſlaus and Amurath the ſecond, 297, b. the great battell of Coſſoua, fought three daies together betwixt Amurath and Huniades, 307, d. the battell betwixt Vſun-Caſſanes the Perſian King and Mahomet the Great, 410, l. the battell of Tzurulum betwixt Baiazet and his ſonne Selymus, 485, d. the great battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael, 510, m. the battell of Singa betwixt Selymus and Campſon, 529, e the battell betwixt Sinan Baſſa and Gazelles, 535, e. The great battell of Rhodonia betwixt Selymus and Tomombeius, 539, e. The great and dreadfull battell of Caire, fought two dayes together betwixt the Mamalukes and the Turks, 545, e. the battell of Mohatczh betwixt Solyman and King Lewis, 602, k. the battell of Tockaie betwixt the armies of King Iohn and King Ferdinand, 606 h. the memorable battell of Lepanto betwixt Haly Baſſa and Don Iohn, 878, b. the battell of Sancazan betwixt the Perſian Prince and the Turks, Oſman their Generall then lying ſicke, 994, m. the battell of Alba-Regalis betwixt the Imperials & the Turks, 1026, b. the battell of Strigonium, 1068, h. the battell of Agria, betwixt Mahomet the third and Maximilian the Archduke the Emperors brother, 1097, d.

Bedredin the counterfeit Prophet hanged, 251, d.

Begum the Perſian Queene made away, 941, a.

Belgrade beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 263, c. notably defended by the Chriſtians, 266, g. againe beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 357, b. woon by Solyman, 569, b.

Belgrade in the confines of Epirus beſieged by Scanderbeg, 370, b.

Bloudy precepts left by Selymus vnto his ſonne Solyman, 563, b.

Bodo conſtant to King Iohn, 606, k.

Boſna of a kingdome conuerted to a prouince of the Turks Empire, 365, b.

Boſna with ſome part of Seruia taken from the Turks by Mathias King of Hungarie, 404, k.

Bragadinus Gouernour of Famaguſta encourageth his ſouldiers, 864, i. yeeldeth vnto the requeſt of the Citiſens of Famaguſta, in time to deliuer vp the City, not now longer to be defended, 866, k. entreth into parley with the Turks, l. comming to the falſe Baſſa Muſtapha vpon his faith, for his ſafety before giuen, is by him moſt ſhamefully and horribly murthered, 867, a.

Buda beſieged by the Lord Rogendorff King Ferdinand his lieutenant, 702, i. ſurpriſed by Solyman, 710, k. beſieged, and the lower city taken by the Lord Palſi, 1105, c. the caſtle by him battered, vndermined, and in vain aſſaulted, 1105 c. the lower city of Buda againe taken by the Chriſtians, 1146, i. the vpper City and Caſtle beſieged, 1174, b. in vaine aſſaulted, f. the ſiege for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians, 1149, c.

C

Caffa with the countrey of Taurica Cherſoneſus ſubdued by the Turks, 412, l.

Caire deſcribed, 542, m. taken by Selymus, 545, i.

Calo Ioannes after the death of Alexius his father ſucceedeth him in the Empire, 27, c. he taketh Tarſus in Cilicia, beſiegeth Antioch, and vpon compoſition raiſeth his ſiege, 30, g. wounded with a poyſoned arrow, dyeth, k.

Calcis the chiefe City of Eubœa beſieged by the Turks, 405, d. taken by the Turks, 406, h.

Callipolis taken by the Turks, 186, g.

Caly Baſſa diſſwadeth Mahomet from the ſiege of Conſtantinople, 344, l. Caly Baſſa cruelly executed, 350, g.

Calybeius Baſſa and Cherſeogles after a long and mortall battell taken by Vsbeg, and ſent priſoners to Caytbeius, 450, b.

Campſon Gaurus with what cauſes moued to fall out with Selymus, 522, g. his moderate and happy gouernment, 524, l. his anſwer vnto the Embaſſadours of Selymus, 525, a. perplexed, 527, b. ſlaine, 530, i. his dead body layd out to be ſeene of all men, 531, a.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall doth the Turks great harme, 405, a. with his whole family exiled, 406, l.

Caniſia beſieged by the Turks, 1131, c. cowardly yeelded, 1132, b. beſieged by Ferdinand the Archduke, 1137, b. the ſiege by reaſon of tempeſt and extremitie of weather giuen ouer, 1138, k.

Capcapus Gouernour of Damaſco reuolteth from the Tartars to the Turks, 126, i.

Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes, 184, h.

Caraguſa a Turke offereth a challenge vnto any of the ſouldiers in Scanderbegs army, 312, h.

Caragoſes Baſſa Beglerbeg of Aſia, in a great battell ouerthrowne by Techellis, 472, h. taken priſoner, 473, a. horribly empaled by the high-wayes ſide, 474, g.

Caramania by Baiazet vnited to the Othoman Empire, 447, e.

Caracoza the famous pyrat ſlain, 881, e.

Carazies Baſſa ſlaine, 357, d.

Cardinall Bathor taketh vpon him the principalitie of Tranſyluania, 1109, f in a great battell ouerthrowne by Michael the Vayuod, 1113, c. his head ſent for a Preſent vnto the Emperour, e.

Caſſan Baſſa ſlaine, 510, m.

the Caſtle of Buda by the garriſon ſouldiers without the conſent of their captaine yeelded to Solyman, 610, g.

Caſſanes the Tartar inuadeth Syria, 125, c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Melcenaſer the Ægyptian Sultans Lieutenant, d. repaireth Ieruſalem, and giueth it to the Chriſtians, hath Damaſco yeelded vnto him, e.

Caſtronouum taken from the Turks, and by the Imperials vniuſtly detained from the Venetians, 690, g. recouered againe by Barbaruſſa, 691, d.

the Catalonians entertained by Andronicus the Emperour, for want of pay ſpoile his Subiects, 151, a. take the ſpoile of Calipolis, and there fortifying themſelues, do great harme both by ſea and land, d. aided by the Turks, ouerthroweth Michael the Emperour in plaine battell, 152, k. ſpoile a great part of Thracia, 153, a. ſeat themſelues in the Cities of Athens and Thebes, 154, i.

Caytbeius the Ægyptian Sultan ſendeth Embaſſadors to Baiazet in the behalf of Zemes, 440, l. dieth, 450, i.

Cayerbeius Gouernour of Comagena, bearing a grudge to Campſon, hath intelligẽce with Selymus, 528, k. plaieth the cunning traitor, 529, d. by Selymus made Gouernour of Cayre and Ægypt, 554, b.

Cazia-

Cazianer Generall of King Ferdinands army againſt the Turks, 677, e. beſiegeth Execke, 680, i. to retyre with more haſte, would haue broken his great ordnance, 681, c. a generall fear in his camp, 682, i. his diſhonourable flight, 683, e, generally hated, 685, f. breaketh priſon, 688, h. ſhamefully murthered, and his head ſent to King Ferdinand, i.
Cephalenia taken from the Turks by the Venetians, 460. k.
Chamuzes Baſſa and Catobolinus the Turks Secretarie hanged by Wladus, 361, d.
Charles the French King inuadeth the Kingdome of Naples, 453, d. receiued into the city of Naples, 455, d.
Charles the Emperor his great preparation againſt Solyman, 616, b. his power at Vienna, 622, l. after the departure of Solyman returneth into Italy, 626, g. his great preparation for the inuaſion of Tunes, 654, m. he paſſeth ouer into Africke, 656, g. landeth his army at Guletta, 657, e. deſerueth the Oken Garland, 663, c. he marcheth towards Tunes, 664, i. content to be commanded by his Lieutenant, 665, d. putteth Barbaruſſa to flight, f. hath Tunes yeelded vnto him, 667, c. reſtoreth it to Muleaſſes, now become his tributarie, 669, d. returneth into Italy, e. with the Venetians and the Biſhop of Rome entreth into a confederation againſt Solyman, 686, l. inuadeth Algiers, 718, i. ſendeth a meſſenger to Aſſan Aga Gouernor of Algiers for Barbaruſſa, m. his meſſenger and meſſage ſcorned by Aſſan Aga the Eunuch, 719, b. his notable courage in ſtaying the flight of his army, 721, e. moſt part of his Fleet loſt by tempeſt, 722, h. the miſerie of his army, 723, a. horſes good meat in his camp, c. raiſeth his ſiege and departeth from Algiers, d. drowneth his horſes of great price, to make roome for his common ſouldiers, 724, b. after many troubles, arriueth at length at new Carthage in Spaine, 725, a. reſigneth his Empire vnto his brother Ferdinand, and ſhortly after dieth, 783, a.
Charles County Manſfelt ſent by the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries with 2000 horſe and 6000 foot to aid the Emperour in his wars againſt the Turke, 1061, d. by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant Generall of his army in the lower Hungary vnder Mathias the Archduke, and created one of the Princes of the Empire, 1061, e. with ſeuerity appeaſeth the mutinous Germanes, 1064, g. remoueth ſuddenly with his army from Dotis to Strigonium, 1065, b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Baſſa of Buda comming to the reliefe of Strigonium, 1068, i. dieth at Comara, 1070, k.
Chars in three and twenty dayes fortified by the Turks, 943, f.
Chaſan Cheliſe and Schach-Culi two hypocriticall Perſians, authors of the ſect of the Cuſel-Baſſa's or Red-heads among the Turks, 495, e. ſtir vp a great rebellion, 469, e. Chaſan Cheliſe ſlaine, 474, i.
Chendemus Baſſa by many graue reaſons diſſuadeth Selymus from inuading the Perſians, 506, h. he is by the commandement of Selymus vnworthily ſlaine, 507, b.
Cherſeogles Baſſa what he was, and why he turned Turke, 484, g. a fauourer of learning, i. the onely of great men faithfull to Baiazet, perſuadeth him to giue battell vnto his rebellious ſon Selymus, 483, d.
Chios taken by the Turks, 819, c.
Chiroche diſſuadeth the Baſſaes Partau and Haly from giuing battell vnto the Chriſtians at Lepanto, 875, b. encountreth with Contarenus, 800, i. ſlaine, and his galley taken, l.
Chriſtians fight againſt Chriſtians, to the confuſion of themſelues and benefit of the Turke, 340, k. in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoile, ouerthrowne and diſcomfited in the battell at Kareſta, 1089. g.
Cicala Baſſa by the appointment of Oſman the Viſier Baſſa commands the Turks great Army after his death, in the returne thereof from Tauris, 995, c. diſchargeth the Army at Van, 996, h. afraid to giue aid to Giaffer Baſſa at Tauris, 998, l. reſtoreth the battel before loſt at Kareſta, 1098. with a great fleet commeth to ſee his Mother the Lady Lucretia at Meſſina, 1107, b.
Columnius the Popes Admirall interpoſeth himſelfe as a mediatour betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, and ſo wel appeaſeth the matter, 874, g.
Compariſon betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane, 227, c.
Confederation hard to truſt vpon, 840, b.
Conrade Marqueſſe of Montferat ſlain, by two deſperat ruffians, 17, d.
Conrade the third, Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 31, c. cannot be ſuffered to enter into Conſtantinople, but is treacherouſly dealt withall by the Greeke Emperour, 32. with a notable ſpeech encourageth his Souldiours to aduenture the riuer Meander, 33, a. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth the Turks, 34, g. beſiegeth Iconium, and ſo returneth, h.
Conſtantine prince of Bulgaria, with the Tartars inuade the territories of Palaeologus the Greeke Emperour, and ſpoileth Thracia, 117, b.
Conſtantine the Deſpot ſent by the old Emperour Andronicus his Brother, againſt young Andronicus his Nephew, 163, a. taken priſoner at Theſſalonica, and miſerably vſed, f.
Conſtantine the Greeke Emperor in vain craueth aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, 340, h. at the winning of Conſtantinople by the Turks troden to death, 347, b.
Conſtantinople built by Pauſanias, deſtroyed by Seuerus, re-edified by Conſtantine the Great, 342, a. how ſeated, 340, k. taken and ſpoiled by the Latines, 83, a. recouered from the Latines by Alexius Strategopulus, 115, d. betraid vnto the young Emperour Andronicus, 171, d. in vaine beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 257, f. againe beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 340, k. aſſaulted by the Turks, 346, k. woon, 347, c.
Contarenus the Venetian Admiral ſlain 413, e.
Corcutus ſaluted Emperour before his father Baiazet, 437, d. kindly reſigneth the Empire to his father, 438, g. giuen to the ſtudy of Philoſophie, and therefore not beloued of the Ianizaries, 478, k. commeth to Conſtantinople, 491, d. his notable ſpeech vnto his father to perſuade him to reſigne vnto him the Empire before the comming of his brother Selymus, 491, e. comforted by his father, and put in hope of the Empire, 492, m. flieth to Magneſia, 495, a. ſought after by Selymus, hideth himſelfe in a caue, 501, f. is found and taken, 522, g. by the commandement of Selymus ſtrangled, h.
Cortug-Ogli the pyrat perſuadeth Solyman to beſiege the Rhodes, 570, g.
Corone, Pylus, and Criſſeum Cities of Peloponeſus belonging to the Venetians, yeelded vnto the Turks, 460, b.
Corone beſieged by the Turks, 627, f. relieued by Auria, 629, d. abandoned and forſaken by the Spaniards, 631, c.
Cornea and Serbellio two antient Spaniſh Captaines perſuade the giuing of battell vnto the Turks at Lepanto, 872, i.
Coſtly diſhes, 745, d.

Cowardiſe puniſhed, 1093,e.

Crete deſcribed, 868,h.

Croia beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 323,b. in vaine aſſaulted, 324,k beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 400,i. relieued, 401,c. againe beſieged by Mahomet, 402,h. the third time beſieged, 413,d. yeelded to the Turks, 417,a.

Cubates Selymus his Embaſſadour commeth to Venice, 839,f. but homely entertained there, 840,f. his ſpeech in the Senat of Venice, k. for feare of the people ſecretly conueied away, 842,g.

Curzola forſaken by the men, defended by women, 869,e.

Cuſabin Baſſa of Caramania riſeth vp in rebellion againſt Mahomet the third, 1114,k. ouerthroweth the Sanzacks ſent to haue oppreſſed him, l. at the comming of Mehemet the Viſier Baſſa ſent againſt him, flieth, 1115,b. forſaken of his followers, is taken and tortured to death at Conſtantinople,d.

the Cuſelbaſſaes when and how they begun amongſt the Turks, 465,f.

Cyprus deſcribed, 843,b. how that kingdome came to the Venetians,e. taken from them by Selymus the ſecond, 867,f.

Cyrene yeelded to the Turks, 852,i.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks paſſage ouer the Danubius, into Valachia, 911,d. reuolteth vnto the Turks, 912,k.

D

Damaſco betrayed to Saladin Sultan of Ægypt, 58,m. taken and ſacked by the Tartars, 113,e. yeelded to Selymus, 532,m.

Damiata and the deſcription thereof, 89,a. taken by the Chriſtians, being before vnpeopled by the Plague, 92,m.

Dandalus Admirall of the Venetian fleet, 85,a.

Dauid and Alexius Comneni, Nephews to Andronicus the Emperor, erect vnto themſelues a new empire in Trapezond, 84,l.

Dauid the laſt Emperour of Trapezond put to death by Mahomet the Great, and that Empire ſubuerted, 336,m.

Daut Chan for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath the third, 996,i.

Dearth in the Turks army at Triala, 970,b.

Debrens ſlain, and his army ouerthrown by Scanderbeg, 367,e.

Dedeſmet the Georgian widow, with her ſon Alexander ſubmit themſelues to Muſtapha the great Baſſa, 937,e.

Delimenthes with fiue thouſand Perſians purſueth the Turks army, 652,k. aſſaileth their campe by night and mketh of them a great ſlaughter, m

Demetrius ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto Mahomet the Great, 355,b.

Demetrius the Rhodian Traitor ſlaine, 239,a.

Deſdrot Gouernor of Stelluſa, to the terror of the Turks in Sfetigrade, before their faces executed, 287,a.

Didymotichum yeelded vnto the Turks, 189,e.

Diogenes the Emperour diſcomfiteth the Turks,8,h. himſelfe by the treaſon of Iohn Ducas by them againe ouerthrowne,9,e. taken priſoner,10,g. honourably vſed by the Turks Sultan,h. ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Andronicus, hath his eies put out, whereof he dieth,m.

Diſſention among the Turks, about the ſucceſſion, after the death of Mahomet the Great, 437,b.

Diſſention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, 873,e.

Dium a caſtle of the Venetians in the Eaſt Indies in vaine aſſaulted by the Turks, 670,l.

Doganes Aga of the Ianizaries whipt and diſplaced, 339,b.

Dotis taken by the Turks, 1099,c.

Dragut a moſt famous Pyrat of the Turks, by Auria driuen out of the City of Africa in the Kingdome of Tunes, 752,i. commeth to the ſiege of Malta, 797,d. his ſouldiers inforced ſhamefully to retyre, 799. ſlaine, 801,b.

Dracula Vayuod of Valachia diſſuadeth King Vladiſlaus from farther proceeding in his warres againſt Amurath, 205,e. aideth him with his ſonne and 400 horſe, 296,h. his laſt farwell vnto the King,i.

the Druſian people what they are, 982,i.

Dulcigno, Antiuari, and Budua, ſtrong townes of the Venetians vpon the coaſts of Epirus and Dalmatia, yeelded to the Turke, 869,a.

the Duke of Muſcouie his Letters and Preſents ſent vnto the Emperour, 1071,a.

Duke Mercury Generall of the Emperours forces in the lower Hungary, commeth in vaine to relieue Caniſia, 1131,e. in retyring loſeth three thouſand of his men with certain pieces of great ordnance and his baggage, 1132 g. beſiegeth Alba-Regalis, 1134,m. winneth it, 1135,f. inforceth Haſſan the Turks Generall with the loſſe of 6000 of his Turks to retyre, 1139,l.

Dyrrachium, now called Durazo, taken by the Turks, 461,c.

E

Earthquake moſt terrible in Conſtantinople, 476,b.

Edward eldeſt ſonne to Henry the third, King of England, taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land, and arriueth at Tunes, 119,c. arriueth at Ptolemais, 120,g. taketh Nazareth and putteth the Turks to flight, h. by a deſperat Saraſin dangerouſly wounded with an exuenomed knife, k. cured of his wound, maketh peace with the Sultan, and returneth into England, 121,a.

the Egyptians diuerſly affected towards the Mamalukes, 542,i.

Eiuaſes Baſſa hath his eies burnt out, 238,m.

Elpis the Ægyptian Sultan beſiegeth Tripolis, and taketh it by force, 122,l. winneth Sidon and Berythus, and raſeth them, taketh Tyre by compoſition, and winneth all the ſtrong Holds in Syria and Paleſtine from the Chriſtians, except onely the ſtrong city of Ptolemais, 122,m. maketh peace with the remainder of the Chriſtians,m.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperour with a great power inuadeth the Dominions of the Sultan of Iconium, 38,b. loſeth a great part of his Army, 39,c. in danger to haue been taken, notably defendeth himſelfe, 40,l. in his greateſt diſtreſſe hath peace offered him by the Sultan, which he gladly accepteth, 42,i. he vanquiſheth Atapacke the Sultans Generall,m. falleth ſicke and dieth, 43,e.

Emanuel the Greeke Emperour vpon hard conditions obtaines peace of Baiazet the Great Turke, and becommeth his tributary, 206,l. by his Embaſſadours offereth his Empire vnto Tamerlane, and ſo to become his vaſſall, 221,d. commeth himſelfe vnto him at Pruſa, 222,h. honourably entertaineth him, comming in priuat ouer to Conſtantinople,i.

Embaſſadors ſent from Tamas the Perſian King to Selymus, 836,b. honorably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople, 837,b. the Perſian Embaſſador in going to viſit Mahamet the Viſier Baſſa, in danger to haue been ſlaine, d. the rich Preſents by him giuen to Selymus, 838,g.

Emir-Hamze the Perſian Prince commeth into Siruan, 939,c, killeth Caitas Baſſa, and recouereth Eres, d. ouerthroweth the Tartars, and

taketh

taketh Abdilchemy, 940,g. recouereth Sumachia,i. returneth to Caſbin,k. ouerthroweth the vauward of the Turks army, 990,l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Cicala Baſſa and the Baſſa of Caraemit, 993,b. dareth Oſman the Turks Generall to battell, c. with his owne hand killeth the Baſſa of Caraemit,f. killeth alſo the Baſſa of Trapezond with twenty thouſand Turks moe, 994,g. ouerthroweth 20000 of the Turks at the battell of Sancazan, 995,b. ouercommeth the rebellious Turcomans, and executeth their Leaders, 998, h. ſacketh Salmas, 1000,k. putteth the Baſſa of Reiuan to flight, l. ſlaine by one of his Eunuches, 1002,b.

Emir Chan hauing his eies put out, dyeth miſerably in priſon, 973.c.

the Emperour, the French King, and the King of Polonia intangled in their Leagues with the Turke, refuſe to giue aid vnto the Venetians againſt him, 842,k.

the Empire of Trapezond ouerthrowne and ſubuerted by Mahomet the Great, 361,a.

Ertogrul with his brother Dunder and foure hundred families of the Turks ſtay in their returne towards Perſia, 133,f. by his good ſeruice obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Suguta for himſelfe, and his Turks to dwell in, 134,k. taketh the Caſtle of Cara-Chiſar from the Chriſtians, 135,a.

Eubœa taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great, 406,k.

Evrenoſes his rich Preſent vnto Amurath at the mariage of his ſonne Baiazet, 193,b.

Eudocia the Empreſſe contrary to her oath, deſirous to marry, dealeth cunningly with the Patriarch to diſpenſe with her oath, 7,d. marrieth Diogenes Romanus a priſoner condemned to die, and maketh him Emperour, f. ſhe is depoſed by the traiterous Iohn Ducas, Pſellus, and others, and thruſt into a Monaſterie, 10,i.

Euſtace gouernor of the Kingdome of Ieruſalem diſcomfiteth the Saraſins in a great battell, neere vnto Aſcalon, and not long after dieth, 28,i.

F

Famaguſta beſieged by the Turks, 852,k. hath a new ſupply put into it by Quirinus, 855,e. deſcribed, 863, b. the number of the defendants in it, c. twice aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians, d,e. vndermined, 865,a. furiouſly by the Turks aſſaulted, and valiantly by the Chriſtians defended, b. a great part of the wall blowne vp, and the City againe aſſaulted, 866,g. yeelded vp to the Turks, m.

Famine in Scodra, 426.g.

Faulconers and huntſmen in great number in the Turks Court, 338,k.

Ferat Baſſa ſent by Solyman againſt Alis-Beg the mountaine Prince, 600,i. trecherouſly murthereth him and his foure ſonnes, l.

Ferat Baſſa by Amurath choſen General of his Army againſt the Perſians in ſtead of Sinan, 965,d. in the ſpace of fifteene daies buildeth a Fort at Reiuan, as he was by Amurath commanded, 966,i. breaketh vp his army at Erzirum, 967,d. raiſeth a new army, f. fortifieth Lori, 968,k. buildeth a Fort vpon the ſtreit of Tomanis, 969,a. reproueth Veis Baſſa of Aleppo, 970,k. is himſelfe reuiled by the Ianizaries and Spahi, l. by them diſobeyed and threatned, 971,d. his ſtout anſwer to his mutinous ſoldiers, f. his Tents ouerthrowne and he againe threatned, 972,g. diſgraced, breaketh vp his army at Ardachan, k. grieuouſly complained of to Amurath, 973,e. by Amurath againe made Generall againſt the Perſians, 999,b. commeth to Van, 1000,g. putteth ſuccors into Tauris, 1001,d. taketh Genge, 1004, m. ſent by Mahomet Generall of his Army into Hungary, 1060,l. diſgraced at his firſt comming to the Army, m. ouerthrowne in Valachia, 1062,b. ſent for to Conſtantinople, and there ſtrangled, 1073,b.

Ferdinand King of Bohemia layeth claime to the Kingdome of Hungarie, 605,b. taketh Buda,c. crowned King of Hungarie, 606,k. ſeeketh for the fauor of Solyman, 608.is by him reiected and threatned, k. perſuaded by the Hungarian fugitiues to inuade Hungarie, 698,g. diſſuaded by Laſcus, k. ſendeth Laſcus to Solyman, and other Embaſſadors to the Queene of Hungarie to demand of her that Kingdome, 699,b. hee inuadeth Hungarie, 700,g. taketh Peſth and Vacia, and beſiegeth Buda, h. dieth, 791,d.

Fileck taken by the Chriſtians, 1027,c.

Foſcarus a graue Senatour, 693,f. vnworthily diſgraced by the multitude, 694.g.

Fourteen waggons loaded with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, 1017,[illegible]

Francis the French King the more to trouble the Emperour, ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade his territories, 725,c.

Francis Acciauol Duke of Thebes by the commandment of Mahomet murthered, 354,l.

Frederick the Emperor taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land, 66,b.

Fredericke Duke of Sueuia the Emperours ſonne in his fathers ſtead choſen Generall of the Chriſtians Army, 66,m. hath Antioch deliuered vnto him, 67,d. dieth of the Plague, and is buried by his father in the Cathedrall Church at Tyre, 68,g.

Frederick the Germane Emperor vndertaketh an expedition into the Holy Land, 98,l. crowned King of Ieruſalem, which is by him repaired, 99,e.

the Frenchmen and Wallons in mutiny at Pappa, 1116,k. compact with the Turks to deliuer to them the towne, 1117,a. ſeeking ſecretly to haue fled, are moſt of them ſlaine, and the reſt that were taken put to moſt horrible tortures, 1119,b.

Friuli part of the Venetian Territorie miſerably ſpoyled by the Turks, 414,l. againe ſpoyled by Scander Baſſa and the Turks, 458,b.

the frontiers of the Emperors territories grieuouſly ſpoyled by the Turkes, 1150,k.

the frugalitie of the Turks, 713,f.

Fulke County of Turin, Maine, and Aniou taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy Land, 29,b. dieth of a fall off his horſe in hunting, and is buried at Ieruſalem, 30,m.

Fuſcarinus in his abſence, by the generall conſent of the Venetian State choſen Admirall, 887,f. encourageth the Confederates to giue the Turks battel, 890,l. in vaine perſuadeth the Confederates to take the aduantage of the Turks diſperſed Fleet, 893,a. earneſtly diſſuadeth Don Iohn and the Spaniards from returning without giuing the Turks battell, 899,a.

G

Galile ſpoyled, and the caſtle of Burie taken by the Turks, 60,i.

Garzias of Toledo Viceroy of Sicilia after long delay at laſt ſetteth forward with his fleet to relieue the beſieged at Malta, 814,k. by tempeſt driuen into the Iſland of Ægusa, 815,e. arriueth at Malta and landeth his men, 816,i.

Gazelles his wholeſome counſell vnto Campſon, for protracting the warre againſt Selymus, 527,c. comming to *to haue oppreſſed Sinan Baſſa at Gaza, is by him himſelfe ouerthrowne, 534, i. his notable ſpeech in ſubmitting himſelfe to Selymus, 546, m. by Selymus made gouernor of Siria, 560 l. rebelleth againſt Solyman, 568, b. ſlaine, l.*

Gaza yeelded vnto Sinan Baſſa, 534, g.

George the Deſpot of Seruia a man of no Religion, 256, i. driuen out of his Kingdome by Amurath, 262, g. reſtored by King Vladiſlaus, 289, b. denieth paſſage vnto Scanderbeg through his country, 295, b. glad to craue aid of Huniades, whom he had before euil intreated, 310, his death, 356, i.

George Biſhop of Veradium a notable man, 697, c. murthered in his owne houſe, 756, i.

Geordiron the phyſitian notably deludeth the Ianizaries & Spahis of the court, 252, k.

George Baſta by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant Generall for his wars, in the vpper Hungarie, 1104, m. commanded by Matthias the Archduke to giue aid vnto Michael the Vayuod againſt the Tranſyluanians, aideth them againſt him, 1124, b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Vayuod, 1126, b. his ſtout ſpeech to the Chiaks and the reſt of the Nobilitie of Tranſyluania, 1129, b. his errour, 1130, g. receiued by the Tranſyluanians as the Emperours Lieutenant, vntill further order were by him taken for the gouernment of that Prouince, l. ſuddenly taken priſoner by the Tranſyluanians, 1139, c. ſet at libertie, and aided by Michael the Vaynod, ouerthroweth Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian Prince with a great ſlaughter, and driueth him out of his countrey, 1140, i. conſpireth the death of Michael the Vayuod, 1141, a. taketh in moſt part of the countrey of Tranſyluania for the Emperour, c. for feare of Sigiſmund and the Tranſyluanians, flieth, f. in battell ouerthroweth Zachel Moyſes the Tranſyluanian Princes Lieutenant, and bringeth that country againe vnder the Emperors obeiſance, 1143, c.

Geruaiſe Rogers an Engliſh man commended for his good ſeruice at the ſiege of the Rhodes, 430, k.

Geraſimus the Patriarch dealeth vnfaithfully with the old Emperor Andronicus, 161, b.

Giaffer Captain of the Ianizaries ſlaine, 659, f.

Giaffer the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis by Oſman Baſſa with a garriſon of twelue thouſand ſoldiers left Gouernour of Tauris, 994, i. beſieged by the Perſian Prince, 997, e. prayeth aid of Cicala Baſſa, 998, k. put to flight, 1007, a.

Godfrey Duke of Lorrain with other the Chriſtian Princes with an Army of 300000 fighting men vndertaketh the firſt expedition into the Holy land 14, i. concludeth a league with Alexius the Greeke Emperour, 15, a. beſiegeth Nice and taketh it, 16, g. in a great battel ouerthroweth Sultan Solyman with his Turks, taketh Antiochia in Piſidia, Iconium and Heraclea, winneth Cilicia, Armenia, and Capadocia, 17, a, c. putteth the Turks to flight at the riuer Orantes, 18, g. after long ſiege taketh Antioch in Syria, 20, m. winneth Ieruſalem by aſſault, 22, d. is choſen King of Ieruſalem, 23. his Letters to Bohemund King of Antioch, 24, i. in a great and mortall battell ouerthroweth the Turks at Aſcalon, 24, l. Crowned King of Ieruſalem, and dieth of the plague, m.

the Gouernour of Alba-Regalis taken, 824, k. his ſharp anſwer vnto a Spaniard, l.

Great treaſure found by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople, 347, e.

a Greeke Prieſt his notable ſpeech perſuading the great Maſter of the Rhodes to yeeld vp the City, 594, b. with the moſt reſolute anſwer of a common ſoldier to the contrary, 595, a. and that his ſpeech notably refelled by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the city vrged, e.

the Greeke Church by Michael Palæologus the Greeke Emperor ſubiected to the Church of Rome, and why, 114, l.

the Greeks careleſſe of the Turks firſt ſmall footing in Cherſoneſus, ieaſt thereat, 185, f.

the Guiſe Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of S. Iohns in France, Admirall of Malta taketh certaine of the Turks gallies, 767, d.

Guletta how ſcituated, 657, c. beſieged by Charles the Emperour, 658, g. furiouſly battered, 660, k. aſſaulted and woon, 661, a. beſieged by the Turks, 914, l, taken from the Chriſtians, 915, a.

Guy County of Ioppa and Aſcalon the ninth and laſt King of Ieruſalem, 62, l. in battell ouerthrown and taken priſoner by Saladin, 63, e. ſet at libertie beſiegeth Ptolemais, and fighteth a great battell with Saladin, 65, f.

H

HAalon brother to Mango the Great Cham of Tartaria, with a great army inuades the Turks, 113, a his great victories gainſt the Turkes, c, d.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turkes, 189, f. by Amurath the firſt made the royall ſeat of his Kingdome in Europe, 191, l.

Haider marrieth Martha the daughter of the great King Vſun-Caſſanes by Deſpina, and hath by her Hyſmael afterwards King of Perſia, 464, l.

Haider murthered by Iacup the Perſian King, 484, a.

Haly Baſſa ſlaine, 881, c. his two ſons taken in the battell of Lepanto, f. the Greeke that ſlew him honourably rewarded, 884, g.

Hamon the Iew for his treachery iuſtly rewarded by Selymus, 496, i.

Hardecke Gouernour of Rab corrupted, yeeldeth the city to the Turks, 1044, l. executed at Vienna, 1046, b.

Haſſan Baſſa relieueth the diſtreſſed Turks in garriſon at Teflis, 944, l. breaketh promiſe with Aliculi Chan, 945, c. rewarded for his good ſeruice, 946, g. ſent by Ferat Baſſa to the reliefe of Teflis, 967, a. againe rewarded by Amurath, b. left by Ferat with a garriſon of 8000 ſouldiers in the new fort at Tomanis, 970, b. Generall of Sultan Mahomets army in Hungary, commeth out of ſeaſon to relieue Alba-Regalis, 1136, i.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queenes Eunuch ſent Gouernour to Caire, 980, b. caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated, 981, d. his life ſpared at the interceſſion of the Queene, and he himſelfe ſet at libertie, e.

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna inciteth Amurath to make war vpon the Emperor, 1014, l. taketh Wihitz the metropolitical city of Croatia, 1015. loadeth ſix wagons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, 1016, g. ſpoyleth Turopolis, l. deceiued by the Abbot of Siſeg, 1021, c. his threatning letters vnto the Abbot, d. beſiegeth Siſeg, 1022, g. in a great battell ouerthrowne, 1023, a. drowned, b.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1093, d. taken by aſſault, 1094, g. againe forſaken by the Chriſtians, i.

Henry brother to Baldwin choſen ſecond Emperor of the Latines in Conſtantinople, 58, f.

Henry Duke of Saxony with a great army ſent into the Holy Land by Henry the ſixt, Emperor of Germany, goeth accompanied with many great Princes, 73, e. falling ſicke of a feuer, dieth, 74, b.

Henry the French King by his Embaſſadour

ſadour ſoliciteth Solyman to inuade the King of Spaine his territories, 767,c.

Heraclius the Greeke Emperour by the helpe of the Arabians recouereth Siria and the Holy City from Choſroë the Perſian king, 22,g.

Hoccata the Tartar by his Captaines ſubdueth Armenia the greater, Cholchis and Iberia, 76,i. ſucceeding his father Zingis, inuadeth the Eaſt and Weſt parts of Aſia, ſubdueth the Eaſt Indies, and buildeth Cambalu, 75,e. driueth the Turks out of Perſia, and ſubdueth many countries, 76,g.

Horruccius and Hariadenus how they of baſe pyrats aſpired to the kingdome of Algiers, 635,c. Horruccius his ſucceſſe, f. ſlaine, and his head in triumph carried about in Spaine, 636,b.

Hungary diuided into two factions vpon the choice of Vladiſlaus King of Polonia, 163,a. againe diuided vpon the diſſention betwixt King Ferdinand and king Iohn, 605,c. becommeth a prey vnto Solyman, and by him conuerted into the forme of a Prouince of the Turkiſh Empire, 713,a.

Huniades by king Vladiſlaus made Vayuod of Tranſyluania, 266,l. In a great battell ouerthroweth Iſa-Beg Amurath his Lieutenant in Seruia, 267,d. ouerthroweth Meſites Baſſa and killeth him with twenty thouſand Turks moe, 269,e. of the ſpoile of the Turks ſendeth a Preſent vnto king Vladiſlaus and the Deſpot of Seruia, 270,g. his moſt Chriſtian ſpeech to encourage his ſouldiers againſt the Turks, 271,d. in a great and mortall battell ouerthroweth Abedin Baſſa with his Army at Vaſcape, 274,l. with ten thouſand horſemen ouerthroweth a great Army of the Turks by night, 277,f. eight times repulſeth the Turkes purſuing him in his retreat downe the mountaine Hemus, 279,d. with a great ſlaughter diſcomfiteth Carambey the Baſſa of Romania, and takes him priſoner, 280,k. flying out of the battell of Varna, taken priſoner by Dracula Vaynod of Valachia, 298,i. by generall conſent choſen Gouernor of Hungary in the minoritie of king Ladiſlaus, 304,l. goeth againſt the Turks, 305,b. with a notable ſpeech encourageth his ſoldiers againſt the Turks, 306,i. fighteth three daies together with Amurath in the Plaines of Coſſoua, 307,d. ouercome, flyeth, 309,b. falleth into the hands of two notable theeues, e. in doubt of a ſheepheard, is by him relieued, 310,g. taken priſoner by the falſe Deſpot, g. ſet at libertie, reuengeth himſelfe vpon him, i. requeſted, giueth him aid againſt the Turks, 311,a. his moſt Chriſtian-like death, 358,l.

Hyſmael after the death of his father Haider flyeth to his Fathers friend Pyrchales, 465,b. his behauiour in the time of his exile, 466,g. recouereth his Inheritance, k. taketh Sumachia, l. obtaineth Tauris, 467,b. ouercommeth Eluan the Perſian king, and killeth him, 468,g. peaceably receiued into Scyras, h. preacheth his fathers doctrine, i. putteth Moratchamus to flight, and obtaineth the Perſian kingdome, 469,b. the inſcription of his coyne, d. commeth to his Army at Coy, 508,m. ſendeth an Herauld vnto Selymus, 509,b. with 30000 Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with 300000 Turks, 510,i. wounded, retyres, 512,g. the cauſe why he came with ſo ſmall an Army againſt Selymus, 517,d. his large territories, 518,h. the reaſon why he inuaded not Selymus wholly buſied in the Æeyptian wars, 560,h.

I

Iacup Arnaut ſlaine, and his army diſcomfited by Scanderbeg, 399,d.

the Ianizaries firſt inſtitutid by Amurath the firſt. 191,e. ſtand vpon their gard, and reuiling Bajazet their Emperor, refuſe to receiue him among them, 445,f. in mutinie againſt Selymus, 512,m. vp in armes againſt Solyman for the vnworthy death of the noble Muſtapha, 764,i. vnwilling to go in the quarrell of Selymus againſt his brother Bajazet, 773,f. their inſolent and threatning ſpeech vnto Ferat Baſſa their General, 970,l. in a tumult at Conſtantinople, 1005,d. in an vprore with the Spahi, 1104,h. threaten the depoſing of their Emperour, 1115,c. in mutinie at Conſtantinople, 1142,k.

Iathatines Sultan of Iconium ſucceedeth his Father Aladin, 86,i. beſieging Antiochia, is ſlaine by Theodorus Laſcaris the Greeke Emperour, 87,c.

Iathatines the ſecond of that name Sultan of Iconium, maketh great preparation againſt the Tartars, 109,b. ouerthrown, flyeth to the Greeke Emperour Theodorus for aid, e. maketh peace with the Tartars, and yeeldeth them a yearely tribute, 109,f. againe by them oppreſſed, flyeth to Palæologus the Emperour at Nice, 114,l. dyeth in exile, 117,e.

Ibrahim Baſſa by Amurath made Gouernour of Caire, 980,l. oppreſſeth the People, and enricheth himſelfe, 981,e. goeth againſt the Druſians, 982,g. ſpoyleth the countrey of Man-Ogli the Druſian Lord, 986,h. with fire and ſword deſtroyeth the countrey of Seraphadin, 987,a. createth Aly-Ebne-Carſus Baſſa of the Druſians, b. the rich Preſents by him giuen to Amurath, and the Ladies of the Court, 988,h. in danger to haue been taken, 1095,d. flieth out of the battell of Agria, 1097,e. ſent againe Generall into Hungary, 1104,l. commeth to Buda, 1112,h. purpoſing warre, entreateth of peace, i. with a great army beſiegeth Caniſia, 1131,b. hath the towne yeelded vnto him, 1132,h. his letters vnto County Serinus, 1133,b. returneth with his army to Belgrade, c, dieth, 1134,l.

Imailer what men they be amongſt the Turks, 477,b.

Imirza ſtirreth vp Solyman againſt his brother Tamas the Perſian king, 751,d. betrayd to his brother Tamas and by him murthered in priſon, 752,g.

Innocencie of great force, 782,i.

Iohn Batazes made Emperour of the Greekes in Aſia, 97,d. taketh in many Iſlands of the Ægæum, and forrageth the countrey of Thracia euen to the gates of Conſtantinople, being very aged dyeth, 108,g.

Iohn County de Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed King of Ieruſalem, 87,e. in deriſion called Roy ſauns ville, 88,g.

Iohn Caſtriot Prince of Epirus for feare giueth his foure ſonnes in hoſtage vnto Amurath, 260,l.

Iohn Sepuſius Vayuod of Tranſyluania choſen and crowned King of Hungarie, 605,a. after the battell of Tocay flyeth into Polonia, 606,i. by Laſcus his Embaſſador craueth ayd of Solyman, 607,c. commeth to Solyman at Belgrade, 609,b. by him reſtored to the Kingdome of Hungary, 614,l. in his old yeares marrieth Iſabella the daughter of King Sigiſmund, 695,d. dyeth, 696,k.

Don Iohn of Auſtria General of the confederat Princes forces, 860,k. in a terrible fight encountreth with Haly Baſſa in the battell of Lepanto, 881,b. killeth him, c. delayeth the Venetians, 889,d. in doubt whether to ſend them ayd or not, 890,k. ſendeth word vnto the Confederats to meet him at Zacynthus, 893,f. faileth them, 894,i. meeteth them at Corcyra, 895,a. offe-

offereth the Turks battell, d. refuſeth to follow the counſell of the Venetian Admirall, 896,k. breaketh promiſe with him, and returneth to Meſſana, 901,a.

Iohn the Vayuod of Moldania falleth into ſuſpition with the Turks, 906,g. his notable ſpeech vnto his Nobilitie and ſubiects, concerning the Turks demand, 907,a. in vaine craueth aid of the King of Polonia, 908,g. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth the Palatine and the Turks, 909,a. giueth the Turks a ſecond ouerthrow, 910.b. betrayed by Czarnieuich, 911. ouerthrown by the Turks, 912,m. ſhamefully and perfidiouſly by them murthered, 913,e.

Ionima, Ballabanus his brother, & Hedar his ſon taken priſoners by Scanderbeg, 401,b.

Iouuſes Baſſa ſent againſt Techillis, putteth him to flight, 475,e. hurt at the winning of Caire, 545,f. enuieth at the vnworthie preferment of Cayerbeius, 554,l. is himſelf ſecretly hated of Selymus, 555,b. put to death, 556,i.

Irene the faire Greeke beheaded by Mahomet the Great, 353,d.

Iſa after the captiuity of his father Bajazet ſeiſeth vpon the Citie of Pruſa, 232,h. ouerthrowne in battell by his brother Mahomet, 238,i. with a great army ſent by his brother Solyman againſt Mahomet, 240,i. burneth Pruſa, l. dyeth in obſcuritie, 241,c.

Iſmael laſt of the Iſfendiars yeeldeth his principalitie of Caſtamona & Sinope to Mahomet the Great, 359,f.

Iſhender Baſſa ouerthrown by Aladules, taken and ſent priſoner to Caytbeius to Caire, 383,f.

Iſtan of a priſoner made a King, 975,e.

Iſmael the ſon of King Tamas ſaluted King of Perſia, 922,l. murthereth eight of his younger brethren, altreth the Perſian Religion, and tyranniſeth, m. by the deuice of his Siſter Periaconsona himſelfe murthered, 922,b.

The Italians left by the emperor for the aid of King Ferdinand in his wars in Hungarie, ariſe in mutinie, 623,f. eight thouſand of them forſake their Captaines and returne into Italie, 625,d.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire Lady of Italy put in great feare by Barbaruſſa, 641,c.

Iulian the Cardinall ſent by Pope Vrban to appeaſe the diſſention in Hungary, and to ſtir vp the Hungarians againſt the Turks, 275, d. his effectuall ſpeech in Parliament to perſuade the war, e. cunningly perſuadeth King Vladiſlaus to breake the honourable and ſolemne League he had before made with Amurath, 290,k. diſanulleth the league, abſoluing the king and the reſt from their oth before giuen to Amurath, 291,e. himſelf ſlain, 298,k.

K

the Kingdome of Hungary by Solyman conuerted into a Prouince of the Turkiſh Empire, 713,a.

the knights of Malta craue aid of Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia, 805,a. his cold anſwer, b.

Komara beſieged by Sinan Baſſa, 1045,b.

Koppan ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians, 1002,l.

L

Ladiſlaus a childe crowned King of Hungarie at Alba Regalis, 236,a.

Lazarus Deſpot of Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto Amurath the firſt, 193,e. purpoſing to make war againſt Amurath, craueth aid of the King of Boſna, 197,c. in a mortall battel ouerthrowne in the plaines of Coſſoua and ſlaine, 200,i.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turks, 459,c.

Lewis the eight of that name, the Frēch King, making an expedition into the Holy Land, is by the malice of Emanuel the Greek Emperor, therin much hindered, 34 m. he beſiegeth Damaſco, where by the enuy of the other Chriſtian Princes he was inforced to raiſe his ſiege, and ſo to returne home into his countrey, 35,b.

Lewis the ninth the French King making an expedition towards the Holy Land, arriueth at Damieta, 102,m. taketh the city forſaken by the Turks, 113,b. with his whole army ouerthrowne, and himſelfe taken priſoner, 115,e. vndertaketh a ſecond expedition toward the Holy Land, with his ſons and moſt of his Nobilitie, 118,k. ouerthroweth the Moors, and beſiegeth Tunes, 119,a. falleth ſicke of the bloudy flix and dieth, b.

Lewis the eleuenth the French king giueth aid vnto the Venetians againſt the Turks, 461,c.

Lewis King of Hungarie with an army of fiue and twenty thouſand fondly goeth againſt Solyman, being two hundred and ſixty thouſand ſtrong, 602,b. ouerthrowne, in his flight drowned in a ditch, 603,a.

Liſcanus the couetous Spaniard dealeth vncourteouſly with Perenus, 732,k. is himſelf in like ſort ſerued, and merrily ſtripped of his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries, 738,l.

Liſſa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp, and by them worne for Iewels, 425,e.

Lodronius encourageth his ſoldiers, 685 h. ieaſted at by an old ſouldier, k. ſlain, and his head with the heads of two other Captains in a ſiluer baſon preſented to Solyman at Conſtantinople, 685,e.

M

Mahomet the firſt ſendeth ſpies into Tamerlane his Campe, 232,l. becommeth famous in Tamerlanes Court, 234,i. in battell ouerthroweth his brother Iſa, 238,i. honourably burieth the body of his father Bajazet at Pruſa, l. againe ouerthroweth his brother Iſa, ſupported by his brother Solyman, 240,m. giueth him a third ouerthrow, together with the other Mahometan Princes his Confederates, 241,c. beſieged by his brother Solyman in Amaſia, 242,i. vpon report of his brother Muſa his euill gouernment, goeth againſt him into Europe, 246,k. ouerthrowne, flyeth backe againe into Aſia, 247,a. commeth againe into Europe, 248,g. beſiegeth Hadrianople, h. ouerthroweth his brother Muſa in battel, and cauſeth him being taken priſoner, to be ſtrangled, 249,e. wholly poſſeſſeth the Othoman Kingdome, both in Europe and Aſia, d. oppreſſeth Orchanes his brother Solymans Sonne, and putteth out his eies, 250,b. taketh the Caramanian King and his ſonne priſoners, k. inforceth the Valachian Prince to become his Tributarie, l. dyeth at Hadrianople, 251,f. his death cunningly concealed by the three great Baſſa's, 252 g. he worthily accounted the reſtorer of the Othoman Kingdome, almoſt quite ouerthrowne by Tamerlane, l.

Mahomet the ſecond, ſyrnamed the Great, An Atheiſt, of no Religion, 337, d. murthereth his brethren, 338,g. reformeth the Turks Commonwealth, i. ſubdueth Menteſia, 339,b. winneth Conſtantinople, 347, b. ſolemniſeth his feaſts in Conſtantinople with the bloud of the Grecian Nobilitie, 348, k. notably diſſembleth his hatred againſt Caly Baſſa, 349,d. firſt Emperour of the Turks, 350,i. amorous of the faire Greeke Irene, l.

Irene, l. with his owne hand ſtriketh off her head, 353, d. beſiegeth Belgrade, 357, b. wounded and carried away for dead, 358, i. falſifieth his faith with David the Emperour of Trapezond, 360, i. ſeeketh to intrap Wladus Prince of Valachia, 381, b. in danger to haue been ſlaine by Wladus Dracula his Ganymede, 363, b. his Letters to Scanderbeg, 384, k. ſueth to Scanderbeg to haue the League renewed betwixt them, 390, b. commeth himſelfe in perſon to the ſiege of Croia, 400, i. forſaketh the ſiege of Croia, 402, i. breaketh his faith with Paulus Ericus Gouernour of Chalcis, 406, i. he is no leſſe troubleſome vnto the Mahometane Princes than to the Chriſtians, 408, i. commeth himſelfe to the ſiege of Scodra, 417, c. notably encourageth his Captaines and ſouldiers to a generall aſſault, 418, m. melancholy for the repulſe of his men, 420, l. blaſphemeth, 423, d. curſeth Epirus, and ſo returneth to Conſtantinople, 425, e. by Meſites Palaologus one of his great Baſſaes beſiegeth the Rhodes, 429, b. inuadeth Italie, and by Achmetes his great Captaine taketh Otranto, 432, i. going againſt the Caramanian King, dieth by the way at Giniſen, in Bythinia, not without ſuſpition of poyſon, and lyeth buried at Conſtantinople, 433, a.

Mahometes one of the Viſier Baſſaes by the mutinous Ianizaries ſlaine, 437, c.

Mahometes the ſon of Caytbeius, with foure Sultans moe, one after another ſlaine by the Mamalukes, 450, l.

Mahometes Solymans ſon diſguiſed goeth to ſee his brother Achomates, 477, c. as a ſea-faring man commeth diſguiſed to Conſtantinople, and ſo into his fathers court, e. by the commandement of his ſuſpitious father poyſoned, dieth, 478, i.

Mahometes Gouernour of Belgade ayded by the other Sanzackes, maketh head againſt Cazzianer Generall of King Ferdinands Army, 677, f. wiſely refuſeth battell offered by Cazzianer, and by temporizing diſtreſſeth the army of the Chriſtians, 680, k. troubleth the Chriſtians in their retreat, 682, g. giueth them a great ouerthrow, 684, l. commeth to the reliefe of Belgrade, 705, e. his vehement Oration vnto Solyman to perſuade him to take the Kingdome of Hungary into his owne hands, and ſo to vnite it vnto his owne Empire, 711, e.

Mahomet the Tartar King with his two ſons ſtrangled by Oſman Baſſa, 975, f.

Mahomet Baſſa in deſpight of Sinan ſent Generall of his army for the reliefe of his garriſons in Chars and Teflis, 957, e. diſcomfited by the Georgians, and his proviſion of money and victuals taken from him, 959, a. with his diſcomfited army arriueth at Teflis, b. his heauy Oration in the caſtle of Teflis, c. maketh a purſe for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed garriſon, 960. plotteth the death of Manucchiar the Georgian, m. himſelfe in danger to haue been by the Georgian ſlaine, 961, d.

Mahomet the third ſaluted Emperor of the Turks, 1056, i. murthereth his brethren, and cauſeth certaine of his fathers wiues and concubines to be drowned, k. with much ado appeaſeth the mutinous Ianizaries, l. ſendeth Embaſſadours vnto the Tranſyluanian Prince, 1062. carefull of Strigonium beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1066, b. perplexed, 1087, e. cauſeth the continuation of his warres againſt the Emperor and the Tranſyluanian to be proclaimed at Conſtantinople, 1089, a. commeth to Buda with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, 1094, b. beſiegeth Agria, l. furiouſly aſſaulteth it, 1095, a. hath it yeelded vnto him, 1096, b. with Ibrahim the great Baſſa flyeth out of the battell of Kareſta, 1097, e. by the Tranſyluanians and Valachians troubled in his returne to Conſtantinople, 1098, m. his Embaſſadour euill intreated by the Perſian King, 1134, b.

the Mahometane Princes of the leſſer Aſia oppreſſed by Baiazet, diſguiſed flie vnto Tamerlane for reliefe, 210, b

Malta deſcribed, 795, b. inuaded by the Turks, 796, k.

Mamalukes, the beginning of their Kingdome in Ægypt, 524, g. their Imperious gouernment in Ægypt, Iudaa, and Syria, 523, f. their Kingdome vtterly ſubuerted by Selymus, 554, b. the Mamalukes in priſon at Alexandria, by the commandement of Selymus murthered, 555, f.

Manto cruelly ſlain by her iealous huſband Ionuſes, 557, d.

Man-Ogli his Letters to Ibrahim Baſſa, 983, f. ſendeth him Preſents, 985, b.

Manucchiar his ſpeech to Muſtapha the Viſier Baſſa, 931, f. with his Brother Alexander by Muſtapha ſent to Amurath, 938, b. turneth Turke, and hath his elder Brothers Principalitie giuen him, 941, l. in danger to haue been betrayed by Mahomet Baſſa, 960, l. notably revengeth himſelfe of the treacherie by the Baſſa intended againſt him, 961, c. reuolteth from the Turks, and doth them great harme, 967, a.

Marquis S. Crucis taketh one of the Turks gallies in ſight of their whole fleet, 1877, d.

the Meſſagets entertained by Andronicus againſt the Turks, ſpoyle his Countries in Aſia, 149, e. in their returne homeward, themſelues ſpoiled by the Catalonians and Turcopuli, 152, l.

Maſut the Sultan of Iconium diuideth his kingdom among his three Sonnes 36, k.

Matthias the Archduke the Emperours Lieutenant taketh Nouigrade from the Turks, 1030, l. beſiegeth Strigonium, 1033, c. raiſes his ſiege, 1037 d. ſhamefully put to flight by the Turks 1043, b.

Matthias Corninus of a priſoner choſen King of Hungary, 394, k. at the requeſt of the Senat, taketh a great part of the Venetian Territorie into his protection againſt the Turks, 364, m. relieueth the Vaynod of Tranſyluania, 426, m. no leſſe dreadfull vnto the Turks than was his father Huniades, 404, l.

Maximilian choſen King of the Romanes, and after crowned King of Hungarie, 789, a. he and Solyman both deſirous of peace, 829, a. he ſendeth Embaſſadors to Solyman, f. Preſents giuen by the Embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda, 830, k. his Embaſſadours honorably receiued by the Turks at Conſtantinople, 831, c. Preſents giuen by the Embaſſadours vnto the great Baſſa's, e. Preſents ſent to Selymus, 832, i. a homely feaſt giuen to the Embaſſadors followers in the Turks Court, 833, e. the Embaſſadours brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of them and their Followers, 834, g. a Peace concluded betwixt Maximilian and Selymus, 835, e.

Maximilian the Archduke by the Emperour his Brother appointed Generall of his Army in Hungarie, 1093, c. marcheth but ſlowly to the reliefe of Agria, 1095, c. flyeth out of the battell of Kareſta, 1098, i.

Maylat treacherouſly taken priſoner by Peter the Moldauian, 716, i.

Meligalus a notable traitor perſuadeth Mahomet to beſiege the Rhodes, 427, b.

327, c. his worthy death, e.

Meladin Sultan of Ægypt, and Corradin Sultan of Damaſco, ſend Embaſſadors for peace to the Chriſtian princes at the ſiege of Damiata, 90, m. recouereth Damiata, before taken by the Chriſtians, 95, e. ouerthroweth the Chriſtians, and raſeth Ieruſalem, 101, dieth, 103, c.

Melechſala Sultan of Ægypt ouerthroweth Robert Earle of Arthois the French Kings brother, 104, l. taketh Lewis the French King priſoner and ouerthroweth his Army, 105, e. maketh peace with the French King and is ſuddenly ſlain by two Mamalukes, 106,

Melech the Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Syria, and winneth Damaſco from the Tartars, 114.

Melechſares the Ægyptian Sultan determining to root out all the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, is by ſudden death taken away, 122, k.

Melechſala Sultan of Damaſco by the treaſon of his Nobilitie diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdome, 58, m.

Meſites Baſſa ſent by Amurath to inuade Tranſyluania, 267, f. hee with 20000 Turks moe ſlain by Huniades, 269, e.

Michael Ducas the Greeke Emperour by Nicephorus Botoniates depoſed of his Empire, after he had reigned ſix yeares and ſix moneths, 11, c.

Michael Palæologus flieth to the Sultan of Iconium, 109, a. called home again by the Emperor Theodorus, and made Great Conſtable, f. aſpireth, and by common conſent made Tutor vnto the young Emperour, 111, e. himſelfe proclaimed Emperour and crowned, 112, b. by Alexius Caſar his Lieutenant ſurpriſeth Conſtantinople, 115, e. repayreth the decayed City, 116, b. cauſeth the young Emperors eyes to be put out, 117, a. his Army ouerthrowne by the Turks in Paphlagonia, 118, g. ſubmitteth the Greeke Church vnto the Latine, and for what cauſe, 144, l. perſuadeth his Subiects to accept of the alteration of their Religion and Ceremonies, 145, a. raiſeth perſecution in the Greeke Church, c. hindred by domeſticall trouble, hath no leiſure to attend vnto the danger ariſing from the Turks in Aſia, d. obſcurely buried, e.

Michael Coſſi by Othoman taken priſoner, by him againe ſet at libertie, 136, m. father of the honoroble Familie of the Michael-Oglies among the Turks, 137, a. diſcouereth vnto Oſman the treaſon intended againſt him, 140, l. inforced rather than perſuaded by Othoman, turneth Turke, 144, b.

Michael the young Emperor ouerthrown by the Catalonians and Turks, in danger to haue been taken, 152, k. again ouerthrowne by the Turks at Cherſoneſus, 155, e.

Michael Horwat by Amurath created Vaynod of Valachia, 1051, a. perſuaded by the Tranſyluanian Prince, reuolteth from the Turks, and killeth all the Turks and Iewes in his Countrey, 1052, h. killeth one of the Turks proud Emirs with all his followers, 1053, b. doth the Turks great harm, c. ſuffereth the Turks Embaſſadours vnto the King of Polonia by his Subiects to be ſlaine, 1060, k. ſpoyleth the Turks frontiers, 1061, a. yeeldeth his obeyſance againe vnto the Turke, yet refuſeth to ayd him againſt the Chriſtians, 1099, d. weary of the Turke, ſubmitteth himſelfe with his people to the Emperours protection, 1100, l. ſacketh Nicopolis, 1107, d. with a great army entreth into Tranſyluania, 1112, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Cardinall Bathor, 1113, c. ſendeth his head for a Preſent to the Emperour, f. hath the gouernment of Tranſyluania by the Emperour confirmed vnto him, 1120, i. receiueth Preſents from the Turke, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sigiſmund the late Tranſyluanian Prince, with the Vaynod of Moldauia, 1122, i. tyranniſeth in Tranſyluania, 1123, a. inforced by the Tranſyluanians to flie, craueth aid of George Baſta the Emperours Lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie, b. by Baſta and the Tranſyluanians in a great battell ouerthrowne at Meriſlo, 1126, b. reconcileth himſelfe to Baſta, 1127, a. for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountaines, d. by Zamoſchie the great Chancellor driuen out of Valachia, and another Vaynod there placed in his ſtead, 1128, b. ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto the Emperour, 1139, b. returning into Valachia, giueth ayd vnto Baſta againſt Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian, 1140, g. hauing with Baſta driuen the Prince out of Tranſyluania, with great inſolencie vſeth his victory, k. his preſumptuous ſpeech to Baſta, l. ſuddenly ſlaine in his own tent, 1141, a.

the Miſery of the captiue Conſtantinopolitanes, 348, b.

Mitylene yeelded vnto the Turk, 364, g.

Moden taken by the Turks, 460, g.

Moyſes Golemus corrupted, reuolteth vnto the Turke, 372, h. with an army of the Turks by Mahomet ſent into Epyrus againſt Scanderbeg, k. ouercome and put to flight by Scanderbeg, 374, g. contemned of the Turks, flyeth from Conſtantinople, and againe ſubmitteth himſelfe to Scanderbeg, m. he with diuers others of Scanderbegs beſt Captaines by Balabanus taken priſoners, and by Mahomet flain quicke, 396, i.

Muhamet and Partau two of the Viſier Baſſaes, by the inſolent Ianizaries foulely intreated, 823, f. Muhamet for feare of them for a time refraineth to come into the Diuano, 824, g. diſſuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus, 839, b. as a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, putteth them in hope of peace, 857, b. cunningly diſſuadeth Selymus from the maſſacring of the Chriſtians, by filling his head with more neceſſary conſiderations, 886, h. ſtrangely murthered 950, l.

Muleaſſes King of Tunes cruell and vnthankefull, 642, g. for feare of Barbaruſſa flyeth out of Tunes, 643, c. ſumptuous in his fare, 645, d. commeth to Charles the Emperor, 661, d. his ſpeech vnto the Emperour, e. his behauiour, 662, h. his opinion concerning the preſent war, l. three things by him eſpecially lamẽted in the ſpoile made by the Chriſtians in the Caſtle of Tunes, 668, b. fearing the comming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italie, to craue aid of Charles the Emperour, 745, c. ſhut out of his Kingdome in the meantime by his ſonne Amida, e. returneth into Africke to Guletta, 746, g. going to Tunes, is by the way ouerthrowne, taken priſoner, and hath his eyes put out by his vnnaturall ſonne, 747, d. at the requeſt of Touares is ſent to Guletta, 748, l. by Charles the Emperour ſent to Sicilie, there to be kept of the common charge, 749, b. refuſeth to kiſſe the Popes foot, c.

Murzufle by the tumultuous people created Emperour, attempteth to burne the Venetian Fleet, 81, b. with his owne hands ſtrangleth the young Prince Alexis, d. encourageth his ſouldiers, e. being in deſpaire flyeth, 82, i.

Muſa ſonne to Baiazet the firſt, his ſpeech vnto his brother Mahomet, 243, c. marrieth the Prince of Valachia his daughter, e. in the abſence of his brother Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as King, f. goeth againſt his brother Solyman, 244, i. fighteth with his brother Mahomet,246,l. his chiefe Captaines reuolt to Mahomet,248,l. taken and ſtrangled,249, b,c.

Muſachius a Chriſtian Captain contendeth with a Turke his priſoner for his ranſome,367,d. is afterward ſlaine, 370,m.

Muſtapha the ſuppoſed ſonne of Baiazet raiſeth rebellion againſt Amurath, 255,c. being in feare, flyeth,256,m. is ſhamefully hanged, 257,c.

Muſtapha the younger ſonne of Mahomet raiſeth new troubles againſt Amurath,258,k.is betrayed and ſtrangled,l.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſent by Amurath againſt Scanderbeg,302,m. being aſſaulted in his Camp, flyeth, 303,d. deſirous to redeeme his former diſgrace, craueth leaue of Amurath to enter into Epirus, and obtaineth it, 311, d. Amuraths letters of aduertiſement to Muſtapha,e.fighteth with Scanderbeg the ſecond time,313,a.is ouerthrown and taken priſoner,b.and afterwards ranſomed,c.

Muſtapha Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to the beſieging of the Rhodes,569,e.vpon the euill ſucceſſe of the ſiege falleth into diſgrace with Solyman, 585,c.in danger with Pyrrhus Baſſa to haue been executed, 588,k. made Gouernor of Caire,589,a.by Solyman ſent as Generall of his Army to Malta,794,l. landeth at the Port Marza Siroc in the Iſle of Malta,796,k. beſiegeth the Caſtle Saint Elmo, 797,a. aſſaulteth the Caſtle, e. in vaine giueth a ſecond aſſault, 798,g. with loſſe aſſaulteth it the third time, m. in moſt furious manner battereth it by the ſpace of eighteen dayes, and aſſaulteth it the fourth time, 799,c. with great fury giueth the fift and moſt terrible aſſault vnto the Caſtle, 801, a. with all his army giueth the ſixt and laſt aſſault, 802, i. winneth the Caſtle,803,a.exerciſeth moſt barbarous crueltie vpon the bodies of the ſlain Knights, b. in vaine aſſaulteth the Caſtle Saint Michael, 809,e. at one time aſſaulteth the new City and the Caſtle Saint Michael, 810,i. he by meſſengers certifieth Solyman of the ſucceſſe of the ſiege,811 a. leaueth nothing vnattempted,812, i. at once aſſaulteth the townes Saint Angelo and Saint Michael, and in both places notably repulſed, 813,a. giueth a freſh aſſault and entreth the new City,814,g.with a great ſlaughter driuen out againe,i. deſperately aſſaulteth the towne of Saint Michael,815,c. repulſed, raiſeth his ſiege,817,a. put to flight by the Chriſtians,c. hauing loſt about foure and twenty thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege,departed from Malta,d. he with Piall Baſſa impugneth the counſell of Muhamet the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, and perſuadeth Selymus to inuade Cyprus, 839,c. for his hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall of his Army for the inuaſion of Cyprus,846,g. his Letters vnto the Venetians in the Iſle of Cyprus, i. he landeth his Army in Cyprus, m. beſiegeth Nicoſia, 848,c. in vaine perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld, 850,k. he encourageth his ſouldiers, and giueth a moſt terrible aſſault, 851,a. winneth the City, e. beſiegeth Famaguſta, 852, raiſeth his ſiege, b. returneth againe to the ſiege,862, m. after many aſſaults hath the City by compoſition yeelded vnto him,866, m. ſhamefully and contrary to his faith before giuen, murthereth the valiant Gouernor Bragadinus, 867, b. tyranniſeth vpon his dead body, d. by Amurath made Generall of his Army againſt the Perſians, 929,d. commeth to Erzirum, e. muſtereth his Army in number an hundred and ten thouſand ſtrong, 930,g. relieueth his ſouldiers diſtreſſed by the Perſians, 931,c. maketh a bulwarke of the heads of the ſlaine Perſians, d. he ſurueyeth his Army at Archichelecke, and lacketh forty thouſand of his men,932,k. fortifieth Teflis, 933,a. loſeth ten thouſand of his forragers, 934,b. reuengeth their death, l. his notable anſwer vnto his mutinous ſouldiers, 935,b. loſeth eight thouſand of his men in paſſing the riuer Canac, c. famine in his hoſt,e. he fortifieth Eres,936,g. ſendeth Oſman Baſſa to take in Sumachia and Derbent, h. relieueth his diſtreſſed garriſon at Teflis, m. his Army in great miſerie in paſſing the ſtreits of Georgia,937,c. commeth to Erzirum, and diſchargeth his Army, 938,g. maketh preparation for the next yeares warres,942,k. aſſembleth his army at Erzirum,943,d. in three and twentie dayes fortifieth Chars, f. ſendeth ſuccours to Teflis, 944,f. returneth to Erzirum and there diſchargeth his Army, 945,d. diſcharged of his Generalſhip and called home to Conſtantinople,946,l. maligned by Sinan, 949,a. dealeth warily with the Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to haue ſtrangled him, d. appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath, e. dyeth ſuddenly, 952,k.

Muſtapha Selymus his oldeſt Sonne in great eſtimation with the people, 757,b. ſent Gouernour into Caramania, d. maligned by Roxolana, e. in danger to haue been poyſoned,760, k. ſent for by his father, and warned of his preſent danger,e. conferreth with his Doctor, 762,g. troubled with his melancholy dreame, k. commeth to his fathers tent,763,a. in the ſight of his father moſt cruelly ſtrangled,c. his ſonne Mahomet ſtrangled alſo, d. a prouerbe taken from his death, 765,c.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniſh Captain raiſeth a mutinie in the Chriſtian fleet at Paxo,873,c. Tortona and his Antient hanged,d.

Muzalo by Theodorus the Emperor appointed Gouernor to his yong ſon Iohn, 100,g. enuied by the nobility, is traiterouſly murdred in the church,111,a

N

NAupactum, otherwiſe called Lepanto, in vaine beſieged by the Turks, 413,b. yeelded to Baiazet, 459,e.

Neapolis the firſt Regall ſeat of the Othoman Kings, 143,b.

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed, 856,g.

Neocaſtrum built by Mahomet the Great, 339,d.

Neritos, now called S. Maura, taken by the Venetians, 462,k.

Nice taken by the Turks, 142, k. recouered againe by the Chriſtians, 180,g againe ſurpriſed by the Turks,181,f. by Orchanes made the regall ſeat of his Kingdome, 183,e.

Nicholaus Cataluſius Prince of Mytilene turneth Turke and is executed, 364,k.

Nicholas Karetſchen corrupted, betrayeth Giula to the Turks,824,i. the traitor iuſtly rewarded k.

Nicephorus Botoneates diſplaceth his maſter the Emperor Michael Ducas, and taketh vpon him the empire,11,e.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto the Turks, 183,e.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the Chriſtians, 1030,l.

O

OThoman of greater courage and ſpirit than his other brethren and ſonnes of old Ertogrul, 135,d. amorous of Malhatun a countrey Maid, f. in danger for his loue, 136,k. by generall conſent choſen Gouernour of the Oguzian Turks, 137,d. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Calce, 138,b. fighteth a battell with the Chriſtians

at

at Opſieum, k. winneth the Caſtle of Cara-Chiſar, and killeth the Captain, m. ſetteth in order his little commonwealth, 139, c. killeth the Captain of Cupri-Chiſar, e. his death contriued by the Captaine of Bilezuga, 140, i. turneth the trechery deuiſed againſt him, vpon the head of the Captaine that deuiſed it, whom he killeth, and ſurpriſeth his Caſtle, 141, e. ſurpriſeth the caſtle of Iar-Chiſar, e. taketh the caſtle of Einegioll, and cruelly executeth the Captaine, 142, g. by his good adminiſtration of Iuſtice ſtrengtheneth his gouernment, h. taketh the City of Nice, k. taketh vpon him the honour of a King or Sultan, 143, a. maketh Neapolis his regall ſeat, b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Chriſtians, 143, c. beſiegeth Pruſa, d. whileſt the Greekes are at diſcord among themſelues, layeth the foundation of the great Othoman Empire that now is, 162, g. 166, k. dieth, and lyeth buried at Pruſa, 177, a. the wealth he left vnto his ſonnes Orchanes and Aladin, 179, c.

Orchanes, his father Othoman yet liuing, mannageth the Turks kingdom, 179, c. ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of Tzupri-Chiſar, 180, g. fighteth a doubtfull battell with Andronicus the Greeke Emperour at Phylocrene, m. ſurpriſeth Nice, 181, e. hath Nicomedia yeelded vnto him, 183, c. committeth the gouernment thereof vnto his ſon Solyman, c. firſt of the Turks that built Monaſteries, e. ſubdueth the Countrey of Caraſina, 148, h. dieth, 187, b.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Baiazet his Nephewes ouerthrowne by Chelife & Techellis the rebels, 471, c.

Oſman Baſſa by Muſtapha made gouernor of Siruan, taketh Sumachia, 936, h. hath Derbent yeelded vnto him, i. by the Perſian Prince driuen out of Sumachia, flyeth to Derbent, 940, h. kils Sahamal his wiues father, 941, d. is by Amurath ſent for into Siruan, 974, b. laid in wait for by Mahomet the Tartar King, 975, b. ouercommeth the Tartars lying in wait for him, e. by Amurath made chiefe Viſier, and General for his wars againſt the Perſians, 976, k. raiſeth a great Army, 989, c. wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous ſoldiers vnwilling to go for Tauris, 990, g. commeth to Tauris, 991, b. taketh the City, e. in thirty dayes buildeth there a ſtrong Caſtle, 992, i. giueth the City to be ſpoyled by his ſouldiers, k. leaueth Giaffer the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis with a garriſon of 12000 ſouldiers Gouernour of Tauris, 994, i. dieth, 995, c. much lamented for at Conſtantinople, 996, h.

P.

Paleopolis by Sultan Aladin giuen to Othoman, 138, l.

Palotta yeelded to the Turks, 1025, d.

Pantogles with the Turks fleet commeth to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, 342, l. diſplaced, 344, k.

Paphlagonia and Pontus, with a great part of Cappadocia woon by Mahomet the Great, 360, l.

Partau the Viſier Baſſa ſent by Solyman againſt the ſuppoſed Muſtapha, brought him to Conſtantinople, 769, e. ſent by Solyman to haue brought Baiazet to Amaſia, is by him with good words ſent backe againe, 773, e. ſtandeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing of battell vnto the Chriſtians at Lepanto, 875, e. encourageth his ſouldiers, 876, i. flyeth himſelfe out of the battell, 879, e.

Paradiſer executed for yeelding vp of Caniſia vnto the Turks, 1133, e.

Peace concluded betwixt King Vladiſlaus and Amurath the ſecond, 289, b. by the perſuaſion of Iulian the Cardinall vnfortunately broken by Vladiſlaus, 295, d.

Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, 386, i. betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius, 450, i. betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians, 463, a. betwixt the Venetians and Solyman, 694, l. betwixt the Venetians and Selymus the ſecond, 904, k. betwixt Amurath the third and Mahomet the Perſian King, 1005, b.

Peloponeſus deſcribed, 353, e. made tributarie to the Turke, 354, b. ſubdued by the Turks, 355, e.

Pera yeelded vnto the Turks, 349, c.

Perenus the noble Hungarian, vpon the ſuſpition of aſpiring, apprehended, 732, k. matters ſurmiſed againſt him, 733, a. He, Valentinus, and Maylat, three of the chiefe of the Hungarian Nobilitie, vnworthily kept in perpetuall priſon, 734, b.

Perſecution in the Greeke Church for matters of Religion, 345, e.

Perſians better horſmen than the Turks, 517, b.

Peſth taken by Caſon Admirall of the Turks fleet vpon the Danubius, 709, a. beſieged by the Marquis of Brandenbourg, 729, e. in vaine aſſaulted, 731, c. the ſiege giuen ouer, 732, b. taken by the Chriſtians, 1146, f.

Peter a French Hermit going on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem, obſerueth the miſeries of the Chriſtians vnder the Turks and Saraſins, 12, l. in the Councell of Claremont deliuereth his meſſage in the behalfe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians, 14, g. he with Gualter Senſauier the firſt that ſet forward in the great expedition of the Chriſtians into the Holy Land, 14, k. loſeth greateſt part of his army, 15, d. diſcouraged, about to haue ſtolne home, brought backe, and inforced to take a new oath for his fidelitie and perſeuerance in that warre, 18, k.

Peter Damboyſe Grand Maſter of the Rhodes, a cheerfull Gouernor, 427, e. his cheerfull ſpeech vnto the reſt of his Knights and ſouldiers, 22b, b.

Peter Emus for his barbarous cruelty beheaded at Venice, 978, f.

Petralba yeelded to Scanderbeg, 285, d.

Petrella yeelded, 285, e.

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians, 1074, k.

Philaretus the Greeke Emperours Lieutenant put to flight by the Turks, 8, l.

Philadelphia taken by Baiazet, 204, b.

Philes a deuout man, but no ſouldier vndertaketh the defence of the Greeke Empire againſt the Turks, 156, i. in plaine battell ouerthroweth them, 157, e.

Philip the ſecond of that name, the French King, in going towards the Holy Land, ſuffereth ſhipwrecke vpon the coaſt of Sicilia, 68, i. arriueth at Ptolemais, m. his ſpeech vnto Richard King of England, and the other Chriſtian Princes, in his ſickneſſe, 70, i. hee ſweareth vnto King Richard, not to inuade his territories in France, and ſo returneth home, k.

Phocas by killing of Mauritius the Emperor with his children, poſſeſſeth himſelfe of the Greeke Empire, 22, g. ſlaine afterwards by them of his owne guard, g.

Piall Baſſa Solymans Admirall ſent to remooue the Chriſtians out of Zerbi, 784, b. in diſgrace with Solyman, ſhunneth to come to Conſtantinople, 787, a. by Selymus the ſecond ſent againſt the Venetians, 845, e. in vaine attempteth the Iſland of Tenos, 846, g.

Piſanrius the Venetian Admirall doth very great harme vnto the Turks, 460, l.

Plague and famine among the Turks, 1060, m.

Plague in the Venetian fleet, 849, a.

Polinus the French embaſſador with preſents from Francis the French King, mee-

meeteth Solyman comming from Buda,725,d. his requeſt to Solyman, e. returneth into France, 726, g. ſent backe againe to Solyman, by the way ſolliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes againſt Charles the Emperor, h. grieued not to finde the Turke ſo ready to ſend his fleet in the aid of the King his Maſter, as he had before hoped,m. is ſharply taken vp by Solyman Baſſa, 727, c. brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe, 728,i.by him reiected vntill the next Spring,k. ſetteth forward with Barbaruſſa and the Turks fleet,735,a.by his Letters from Oſtia comforteth the Popes Legat in Rome,d.

Podolia & Raſſia inuaded by the Turks, 457,a.

the Pope and the King of Spaine fearing leſt the Venetians ſhould make peace with the Turke, haſten their confederation with that State, long before by them delayed, 859,a.a perpetuall League concluded betwixt the Pope,the King of Spain,and the Venetians,860,h. the League proclaimed,m.

the Popes Letters vnto the King of Polonia, to diſſuade him from inuading of Moldania,to the trouble of the Tranſyluanian Prince, 1081,b

Preianes commeth to the Rhodes, 581,c.

Preſents of great value ſent by the Perſian King vnto Selymus, 837,f.

Prince Ciarcan ſlaine, 219,b.

Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces with K.Ferdinand againſt the Turke in Hungarie, 728,l.

Pruſa yeelded vnto the Turks, 176,l. burnt by Iſa, 240,l. repaired by Mahomet,241,a.againe burnt by the Caramanian King, 249,f.

Q

Queene Iſabella with child, 695,e. deliuered of a ſonne,696,i.that ſon by the name of Stephen crowned king of Hungarie, 697, a. her anſwer vnto the Embaſſadour of king Ferdinand, demanding of her the kingdome of Hungarie, 699,d. inuaded by king Ferdinand, craueth ayd of Solyman, 701, b. by the commandement of Solyman departeth with her young ſonne out of Buda,713,e.yeeldeth vp to king Ferdinand all the right ſhee had in Tranſyluania and Hungarie, 756,b.

Quinque Eccleſia yeelded to the Turks, 736,b.

Quinſay in the Prouince of Mangi, of all the cities of the world the greateſt, 75,f.

R

RAb beſieged by Sinan Baſſa,1041. b. battered and aſſaulted, 1044,h, by treaſon yeelded vnto the Baſſa, l. notably againe ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians, 1103,b.

Rama forſaken by the Turks, 21,l.

Ramadan Baſſa ſlain by the inſolent Ianizaries, 978,m.

Rayſchachius for ſorrow of his ſonne ſlaine by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth, 760,k.

Rhodes by the Knights Hoſpitalers recouered from the Turks in the yeare 1308, 162,h. beſieged by Meſites Palæologus, 428, l. for feare of the Turks the Rhodians deſtroy their Suburbes and places of pleaſure without the City, 578, l. the Rhodes deſcribed,581, d. beſieged by Solyman, 584,g. in fiue places at once by the Turks aſſaulted, 587,b. the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Rhodians, and their reſolution therein, 592.g. the Rhodes yeelded vnto Solyman, 600,i.

Richard the firſt, king of England, ſetteth forward toward the Holy Land, 68,h. reuengeth the iniuries done to him by the Cypriots, and taketh priſoner Iſaac Comnenus their king, 69,a. arriueth at Ptolemais,c. cauſeth all the Turks his priſoners in the ſight of Saladins Army to be executed, 71, a. giueth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular kingdome of Ieruſalem, f. with great ſlaughter ouerthroweth Saladin in plaine battell,72, h. returning homeward, taken priſoner by Leopold Duke of Auſtria, 73,b.

Rodolph the Emperour prayeth aid of the Germane Princes againſt the Turke, 1017,e. his Embaſſadour ſhut vp in cloſe in his houſe at Conſtantinople, 1018, l. his Letters to Amurath, 1019,a.his Letters to Sinan Baſſa,d. preſented with the ſpoyle of the Turks ouerthrow at Alba-Regalis, 1029,b. requeſteth ayd of the great Duke of Muſconia,the king of Polonia, and of the Prince of Tranſyluania, 1031, b. holdeth a Diet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turks,1038, m. receiueth ayd from the Pope,the king of Spaine, and the Princes of Italy, 1134,k.

Robert Duke of Normandie by generall conſent choſen K. of Ieruſalem, which honour he refuſeth, 22,f.

Robert Sonn to Peter, fourth Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople,96,l. goeth to Rome,and in his returne dyeth in Achaia, 97,a.

Rogendorff his name terrible vnto the Turks, 613, e. with king Ferdinands army entreth into Hungarie, and beſiegeth Buda, 702, i. threatneth the Queene, k. derided by the Biſhop,l.in vaine aſſaulteth Buda, 703,d.in raiſing of his ſiege by night, receiueth a great ouerthrow, 708, k.conueyed vp the Riuer to Comara, there dieth, 709,b.

Ronzerius, ſometime a notable Pyrat, entertained by Andronicus the Emperour againſt the Turks, 150,k. relieueth Philadelphia, l. for lacke of pay ſpoyleth the Emperours territories in Aſia, 151, a. ſuddenly ſlaine,c.

Roſcetes riſeth againſt his brother Muleaſſes king of Tunes, 642,l. flyeth to Barbaruſſa,and by him caried to Conſtantinople, 643, a.

Rouerius robbeth Dautius, Baiazet the Great Turks Embaſſador to Pope Alexander, 451, c.

Roxolana conſpireth with Ruſtan Baſſa againſt the noble Muſtapha, and faineth her ſelfe religious ,758 g.ſent for by Solyman, refuſeth to come, i. plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha, 759, f. bringeth him into ſuſpition with his father,760, g. ſhe with Ruſtan put Solyman in feare of his life and Empire by his Sonne Muſtapha, 761,a.loueth her younger Sonne Baiazet better than her eldeſt Son Selymus, 768,g. intreateth Solyman for Baiazet, and obtaineth his pardon, 770,i.comforteth him, going in feare vnto his father, 771,a.

Ruſtan Baſſa a man of a miſchieuous nature,757,e.furthereth the deuices of Roxolana for the deſtruction of the noble Muſtapha,760,g.ſent by Solyman with an Army into Aſia, to haue taken or ſlaine Muſtapha,761, c. returneth in haſte, and with falſe ſuggeſtions ſtirreth vp Solyman himſelfe againſt his ſonne,d.his exceeding treacherie at the comming of Muſtapha to his fathers Camp,762, i. diſgraced by Solyman flyeth to Roxolana at Conſtantinople, 765, a. by her meanes reſtored againe vnto his former honours, dyeth afterwards of a dropſey, 765,e.

S

SAhib after the death of Sultan Aladin his Maſter, taking vpon him the gouernment, is by the Nobilitie thruſt out, and the Turks kingdome in Aſia rent in ſunder amongſt them, 127,c.

Sahamal the Georgian cutteth off the head of Aider, 922, *i. ſubmitteth himſelf to Muſtapha the great Baſſa,* 936,*k. ſlaine by Oſman Baſſa his ſon in law,* 941,*d.*

*Saladin the Turke choſen Sultan of Ægypt, killeth the Calyph and all his poſteritie,*57, *e. inuadeth the kingdome of Ieruſalem, and by Baldwin ſuddenly ſallying out of Aſcalon, ouerthrowne,* 59. *d. beſiegeth Berythus both by ſea and land, taketh Edeſſa and Carras,* 60, *l. ſpoyleth the Holy Land,* 61,*c. in vaine beſiegeth Ptolemais,* 63, *b. beſiegeth Tiberias, and by the treaſon of the County of Tripolis ouerthroweth Guy the King, comming to the reliefe thereof, and taketh him priſoner,* 63,*e. winneth Ieruſalem, with all the other Cities and Townes in the Holy land, except Tripolis, Tyre, and Antioch,* 64,*g. beſiegeth Tyre, and with the loſſe of his beſt ſoldiers and of his Tents retyreth, l. taketh Antioch with all the prouinces and townes thereunto belonging,* 65,*a. putteth to death the Chriſtian captiues,*71,*a. dieth, and forbiddeth any funerall pomp to be vſed at his buriall,* 73,*c.*

Saluagus a worthy Knight, 797,*c.*

Salazar a Spaniſh Captaine, goeth as a ſpie into the Turks campe at the ſiege of Malta, 811,*d.*

Sanguin the Turke ouerthroweth King Fulke, comming to the reliefe of the caſtle of Mont-ferand, and hath the caſtle yeelded vnto him, 30,*b. taketh Edeſſa, and there vſeth all manner of crueltie againſt the Chriſtians,* 31,*a. beſieging Cologenbar, is there ſtabbed by one of his owne friends, and ſlaine,b.*

Sarmentus ſlaine, 691,*d.*

Sarugatin, Oſmans Brother, ſlaine, and accounted of the Turks for a Saint, 138,*k.*

Scanderbeg with his brethren by their father Iohn Caſtriot giuen in hoſtage to Amurath, 260,*l. wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the deliuerie of himſelfe and his countrey,* 283, *d. by great policie recouereth the City of Croia out of the hands of the Turks,* 284,*i. hath the ſtrong cities of Epirus yeelded vnto him,*285,*c. ſpoyleth Macedonia,* 287,*c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Alis Baſſa with two and twenty thouſand of his Turks,* 288,*l. going to the ayd of King Vladiſlaus is by the faithleſſe Deſpot denied paſſage through Seruia,* 295,*b. ſpoyleth the Deſpots countrey, and ſo returneth into Epirus,*299,*c. his reſolute anſwer vnto Amurath his meelancholie Letters,* 301, *d. putteth Feriſes to flight,* 302, *l. ouerthroweth Muſtapha the ſecond time, and taketh him priſoner,* 313, *b. carefully ſetteth all things in order againſt the comming of Amurath,* 314, *g. his effectuall ſpeech vnto the ſoldiers and Citiſens of Sfetigrade, to encourage them againſt the comming of the Turks,* 315, *b. cunningly entrappeth ſome of the forerunners of Amuraths Army,* 316, *l. troubleth his great Army,*319,*a. with his owne hand killeth Feri Baſſa,*320,*g. troubles Amurath his great Army at the ſiege of Croia,* 324,*l. in danger to haue been ſlaine or taken, m. deceiueth Mahomet the young Prince in his own deuice,* 326, *h. flieth by night into Epirus,*371,*c. his anſwer by letters vnto the letters of Mahomet,*385,*c. his anſwer vnto Mahomets letters concerning the renuing of the league,*391 *a. in danger,* 398,*h. Scanderbeg dieth,* 402,*m. buried at Liſſa,* 403,*a. his bones digged vp by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured,* 404,*h.*

Scodra beſieged by Solyman Baſſa, 411, *e. relieued by Mathias King of Hungarie,*412,*h. a yearely fee appointed by Mahomet to one to put him dayly in mind of the ſiege of Scodra, i. Scodra the ſecond time beſieged by Mahomet the Great,*415,*e. ſore battered,* 418,*i. the fourth time aſſaulted,*419, *e. twelue thouſand Turks ſlain in this laſt aſſault,*420,*m. moſt furiouſly the fifth time aſſaulted by the Turks,*421 *by compoſition yeelded vnto the Turk,* 426,*k.*

the Scriuano rebelleth againſt the Turke in Caramania, and giueth Mehemet Baſſa a notable ouerthrow, 1134,*g. in a great battell ouerthroweth him againe the next yeare with an Army of fifty thouſand Turks,*1142,*h. hauing ouer-run a great part of the Turks dominions in Aſia, dieth,* 1150 *g. his younger brother ſteppeth vp in his ſtead, and in a great battell ouerthroweth Haſſan Baſſa and killeth him,* 1150,*h.*

Selymus ambitious, and of a turbulent ſpirit, and therefore of the Ianizaries and men of warre better beloued than his other brother, 488,*l. ayded by Mahometes the Tartar King, riſeth againſt his aged father,* 479, *b. coloureth his rebellious purpoſe with the inuaſion of Hungarie,* 480, *g. marcheth with his Army towards Hadrianople,* 482,*e. in a great battell ouerthrowne and put to flight by his father Baiazet at Tzurulum,* 486,*b. by the perſuaſion of the Baſſaes, by his father ſent for home,*491, *c. choſen Generall by his father, to goe againſt his rebellious brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Ianizaries ſaluted Emperour,*494,*g. cauſeth his father to be poyſoned,*495 *d. putteth three of his fathers pages to death for mourning for their Maſter,* 496, *h. bountifully rewardeth the ſouldiers of the Court,* 499,*c. murthereth fiue of his brothers ſons,* 500,*g. cauſeth Corcutus his brother to be ſtrangled,* 502,*h. treaſon intended againſt him, diſcouered,* 503, *a. craueth ayd of Aladeules and the other mountaine Princes againſt the Perſians,* 507, *c. Selymus perplexed,* 508,*i. receiueth great loſſe in paſſing the riuer Euphrates,* 513,*c. he and Hyſmael compared together,* 515,*d. Selymus with a great Army entreth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamaſſum a City of the Perſian Kings,* 518,*k. vanquiſheth Aladeules the mountaine King, putteth him to death, and conuerteth his kingdome into the forme of a Prouince,* 520,*l. inuadeth Hungarie,* 521,*b. ſendeth his Embaſſadours with Preſents to Campſon the Ægyptian Sultan,* 525,*f. encourageth his ſouldiers to go againſt the Mamalukes,* 526, *h. paſſeth the mountaine Amanus, and commeth into Comagena, l. in the battell of Singa ouerthroweth the Mamalukes,* 530,*g. in doubt leſt Sinan Baſſa had been loſt, becommeth exceeding melancholie,* 536, *k. meeteth with Sinan Baſſa at Gaza,* 537,*c. paſſeth the ſandy Deſarts, and meeteth with Tomombeius at Rhodanus,* 538, *e. giueth him battell, and putteth him to flight,* 540,*m. encourageth his ſouldiers to the winning of Caire,* 544,*l. fighteth a great and mortall battell with the Mamalukes in the City of Caire,* 445, *b. cauſeth the City to be ſet on fire, e. putteth Tomombeius and the Mamalukes to flight, and ſo taketh the City,* 546,*i. his Embaſſadors ſent to Tomombeius ſlain by the Mamalukes,* 548,*k. ouerthroweth Tomombeius againe at the riuer Nilus,* 550,*b. cauſeth him being taken, to be tortured and put to death, l. cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience,* 553, *b. purpoſing to turne his forces vpon the Chriſtians, is ſtrucke in the backe with a canker,* 561, *a. his death concealed by Ferat Baſſa,* 567,*c.*

Selymus the ſecond by the Ianizaries ſaluted Emperour, 827,*c. appeaſeth the tumultuous Ianizaries,* 828, *g. ſendeth Cubates his Embaſſadour to*

Venice

Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senat, 841, c. rageth to haue it denied him, 842, m. he inuadeth the Venetians, 845, e. in his rage about to haue put to death all the Chriſtians in his dominions, 885, f. ſendeth out Vluzales his Admirall with 200 gallies againſt the Chriſtians, 888, l. deſirous of peace, concludeth the ſame with the Venetians, 904, k. by his Baſſaes taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the City of Tunes, 915, d. dieth, e.

Serinus Gouernour of Sigeth, 821, e. his comfortable and reſolute ſpeech vnto his ſouldiers, 822, g. burneth the new towne, not now to be longer defended, and retyreth into the old, i. his laſt ſpeech vnto his ſouldiers, 823, d. ſlaine, and his head ſent to County Salma, f.

the Seruians in mutinie amongſt themſelues, are with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne by the Turks, 192, i.

Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto the Turks, 192. wholly yeelded vnto the Turks, 356.

Sfetigrade beſieged by Amurath, 316, l. invaine diuers times by the Turks aſſaulted, 319, b. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath had the ſtrong City yeelded vp vnto him, 321, f.

Sigiſmund King of Hungarie, with the Chriſtian princes his confederats, with a great army inuadeth the Turks dominions, 205, b. his proud ſpeech vpon the greatneſſe of his army, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis, 206, b. hardly eſcapeth himſelfe by flight, i.

Sigiſmund Prince of Tranſyluania in danger by his owne ſubiects to haue bin betrayed vnto the Tartars, 1046, l. the conſpirators apprehended and executed, 1047, d. giueth his ſubiects leaue to ſpoyle the Turks, e. entreth into a confederation with the Emperour, 1048, k. perſuadeth Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldania, to reuolt from the Turke, 1049, e. ſendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and ſonne priſoners to Prague, 1062, l. marrieth Maria Chriſtiana the late Archduke Charls his daughter, 1072, k. ouerthroweth thirty thouſand Turks comming as vnbidden gueſts to his marriage, l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sinan Baſſa with his Turks, 1073, e. receiueth the Zaculians into his protection, and hath from them great ayd, 1074, m. putteth Sinan Baſſa to flight, 1075, d. by force taketh Tergoniſta from the Turks, f. taketh alſo Bucareſta, 1076, i. goeth vnto the Emperour at Prague, 1088, g. beſiegeth Temeſwar, 1092, g. with 18000 men commeth to the ayd of Maximilian the Archduke going to haue relieued Agria, 1096, l. doubting the power of the Turke, reſigneth his principalitie of Tranſyluania vnto the Emperour, 1100, k. repenting himſelfe, returneth againe into Tranſyluania, and taketh vpon him the gouernment, 1106, g. by his Embaſſadors offereth againe his principalitie vnto the Emperour, 1109, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne, together with the Moldauian, by Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, 1122, h. by the fauor of the Nobilitie recouereth his ſtate againe in Tranſyluania, 1139, d. in battell ouerthrowne by Baſta and Michael the Vayuod, flyeth out of Tranſyluania, 1140, i. by the fauour of his ſubiects, and countenance of the Polonians, recouereth again his ſtate, 1142 g. doubting him to be able to hold it againſt the Imperials, yeeldeth it by compoſition vnto Baſta the Emperors Lieutenant, and goeth himſelfe vnto the Emperor, 1143, c.

Sigiſmund King of Polonia his Letters vnto Amurath, 1003, e.

Simon County of Montford ſent by Philip the French King into the Holy land, repreſſeth the fury of the Turks, and ſo concludeth a peace with them for ten yeares, 74, k.

Sinan Baſſa the Eunuch ouerthrowne by Achomates, 503, c. reſtoreth Selymus his battell againſt Campſon, before almoſt loſt, 530, g. by Selymus ſent before into Iudaa, 533, c. hath Gaza yeelded vnto him, 534. g. diſcomfiteth Gazelles, comming to haue oppreſſed him at Gaza, 535, c. ſlaine in the battell at Rhodania, 540, g.

Sinan the Iew his ſhort anſwer to Barbaruſſa, 661, b.

Sinan Baſſa by Amurath choſen Generall for the Perſian wars, 951, b. relieueth Teflis, 954, l. loſeth ſeuen thõſand of his ſoldiers, 955. b. derided of his owne ſouldiers, 956, g. his proud anſwer to Amurath, 962, h. diſplaced and caſt into exile, l. againe receiued into fauour, 1003, d. ouerthrowne in the vpper Hungary, 1006, b. his Letters vnto the Emperor, 1020 g. ſent Generall of the Turks Army againſt the Emperour, 1023, f. taketh Veſprinium, 1025, e. hath Palotta yeelded vnto him, d. with an Army of 150000 men commeth againe into Hungarie, 1040, i. taketh Dotis and S. Martins, l. beſiegeth Rab, 1041, b. in aſſaulting thereof loſeth 12000 of his men, 1044, b. by corrupting of the Gouernor, hath the City yeelded vnto him, l. beſiegeth Comara, 1045, b. raiſeth his ſiege, and breaketh vp his army, d. craftily ſeeketh to trie the Emperors mind concerning peace, 1058, l. ſent for home to the Court, 1060, l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed Generall of the warres againſt the Emperour, 1073, b. inuadeth Valachia, d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by the Prince of Tranſyluania, e. in flying in danger to haue bin drowned, f. with a great Army commeth againe into Valachia, 1075, b. ſeeing the generall feare of his Army vpon the comming of the Tranſyluanians, flyeth, d. for feare delayeth his comming to Conſtantinople, vntil his peace were made, and there ſhortly after dieth, 1087, d

Siſeg by the Turks beſieged, 1022, g. notably relieued, 1023, a. againe beſieged and taken by the Turks, 1024, l.

Solyman, Orchanes his ſonne, by his father made Gouernour of Nicomedia, 183, c. taketh the Caſtle of Rembenie in Europe, 185, b. he the firſt that brought the Turks ouer into Europe, with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit, d. taketh the caſtle of Maditus, e. winneth Calypolis, 186, g. dyeth, 187, a.

Solyman the Vnfortunate, Baiazet his eldeſt ſonne, by the great Baſſa's ſet vp in his fathers ſtead at Hadrianople, 221, b. goeth ouer with a great army againſt his brother Mahomet, 241, e. by policie taketh the caſtle of Pruſa, 242, i. beſiegeth his brother in Amaſia, i. returneth into Europe, to appeaſe the ſtirres there raiſed by his brother Muſa, and recouereth Hadrianople, 244, h. in his exceſſe regardeth not the approach of his brother Muſa, k. forſaken of his ſouldiers, flyeth, l. taken priſoner, is by the commandment of his brother Muſa ſtrangled, 245, a.

Solyman the Eunuch Baſſa dealeth treacherouſly with the Kings of Arabia, 670, m.

Solyman hardly perſuaded that his father was dead, 567, d. ſaluted Emperour by the Ianizaries, f. his Letters to Villerius Great Maſter of the Rhodes, 571, b. his Oration to his men of war, declaring his purpoſe for the beſieging of the Rhodes, e. he maketh great preparation for the ſiege, 573, a. his threatning Letters vnto them of the Rhodes, 578, h. commeth himſelfe in perſon to the ſiege, 783, b. his cholericke Oration to his ſouldiers, d. diſplaceth his Admirall, and puniſheth him like a ſlaue, 589, a. about to haue forſaken the ſiege, b. comforteth his diſcouraged ſouldiers, perſuading them with patience to continue the ſiege, f. his Letters to the Great Maſter and the Rhodians, ſent by their owne Embaſſadours, 593, d. his ſpeech vnto the great Maſter, at his comming to yeeld vp the City, 598, l. hee entreth into the Rhodes vpon Chriſtmaſſe day, in the yeare 1522, 600, i. Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and diſordered State of Hungarie, taketh occaſion to inuade that Kingdome, 601, b. commeth into Hungarie againſt King Lewis with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, c. ouerthroweth him in battell at Mohatz, 602, k. commeth to Buda, 603, a. Solyman in the quarrel of King Iohn, againſt King Ferdinand commeth into Hungarie with an Army of 150000 men, 609, a. without reſiſtance entreth into Buda, and beſiegeth the Caſtle, 609, d. layeth ſiege to Vienna, 610, k. without ranſome releaſeth certaine Chriſtian priſoners, 612, g. loſeth his great ordnance vpon the Danubius, k. burieth 8000 of his Turks in the Mines, l. hauing loſt 80000 of his Turks, raiſeth his ſiege, and returneth to Buda, 614, i. he reſtoreth the Kingdome of Hungarie vnto King Iohn, k. returneth himſelf to Conſtantinople, 615, a. maketh great preparation for the ſubduing of the territories belonging to the Houſe of Auſtria, as alſo for the conqueſt of Germanie, with the ſhort time he prefined vnto himſelfe for the performance thereof, 615, c. Solyman with a mighty army commeth againe into Hungarie, 618, c. beſiegeth Gunza, i. his proud letters to Charles the Emperor, m. ſhunneth to meet him at Vienna, and ſo turneth out of the way into Corinthia, 621, a. the cauſes mouing him ſo to do. b. returneth towards Conſtantinople, 623, d. Solyman perſuaded by Abraham Baſſa, reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians, 649, a. commeth with his army to Tauris, f. followeth Tamas the Perſian King into Sultania, 650, g. his army ſtrangely diſtreſſed by tempeſt, k. hath Babylon with the Countries of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria yeelded vnto him, 651. a. he ranſacketh Tauris, f. diſcouraged by the harme done him by Delymenthes, giueth ouer his warres in Perſia, and returneth to Conſtantinople, 653, c. hee with a wonderfull charge prepareth a great Fleet at Suetia againſt the Portugals in the Eaſt-Indies, 670, b. Solyman by the French Embaſſador incited to inuade Italy with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, commeth to Aulona, 671, c. ſendeth Lutzis Baſſa & Barbaruſſa with his Fleet before him into Italy, d. conuerteth his forces prepared for Italy, againſt the Venetians, 673, b. in danger to haue been ſlaine in his tent in the middeſt of his army, 673, b. inuadeth Corcyra, e. carryeth away aboue ſixteene hundred priſoners, and doth good Iuſtice vpon ſuch Turks as had violated their faith at Caſtrum, 674, k. Solyman angry with the ſecret Confederation betweene King Ferdinand and King Iohn, 695, c. promiſeth to protect the Queene and her ſonne, 701, c. with a great army commeth to Buda, 709, b. ſendeth for the young King into his Camp, c. courteouſly receiueth him, 710, h. craftily ſurpriſeth the City of Buda, i. detaineth the Nobilitie of Hungarie, l. diuerſly perſuaded by his Baſſaes for the diſpoſing of that Kingdome, 711, b. hee ſacrificeth after the Mahometane manner in Buda, 712, m. pronounceth the doome of Hungarie, and conuerteth it from a Kingdome, into a Prouince of his Empire, 713, a. his proud anſwer vnto King Ferdinand his Embaſſadors, 714, k. he returneth to Conſtantinople, 715, b. ſendeth his Fleet to Barbaruſſa his Admirall, to ayd the French King againſt the Emperour, 734, k. Solyman with a great Army commeth againe into Hungarie, 736, g. taketh Strigonium. 738. entreth into the City, and there ſetteth vp the Mahometane Superſtition, m. winneth Alba-Regalis, 742, b. returneth to Conſtantinople, k. by the inſtigation of Dragut the Pyrat, ſendeth out Sinan Baſſa with a great Fleet, to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Auria, 752, l. Solyman amorous of Roxolana, 757, e. manumiſeth her, 758, h. marrieth her, l. by her perſuaded, reſolueth to put to death his eldeſt Sonne the noble Muſtapha, 761, d. goeth himſelfe with a great Army into Aſia to kill his ſonne, e. ſendeth for Muſtapha, who comming, is cruelly ſtrangled in his ſight, 763, c. his ſtout ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries vp in armes for the vnworthy death of Muſtapha, 764, k. hee glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries, m. Solyman deſirous with as little ſtirre as might be, to appeaſe the grudges betwixt his two ſonnes Selymus and Baiazet, ſendeth Partau and Mahomet two of his Viſier Baſſaes to bring them to the Prouinces by him appointed for them, 773, d. maketh preparation againſt Baiazet, and ſendeth ayd to Selymus, e. for countenancing of Selymus, goeth himſelfe in perſon with his Army ouer into Aſia, 776, l. diſſembleth with Baiazet, 778, g. ſeeketh to ſtop his flight into Perſia, deceiued of his purpoſe, procureth to haue him and his foure ſonnes ſtrangled in priſon, in Perſia, 791, d. Solyman by his Embaſſadour Abraham Strotza confirmeth his league with Ferdinand the Emperour for eight yeares, 789, b. his proud Letters vnto the Emperour Ferdinand, c. his Preſents ſent vnto the Emperour, 791, d. he maketh preparation againſt the Knights of Malta, 793, a. his Oration vnto his Captaines for the inuaſion of Malta, b. his fleet arriueth at Malta, 795, a. with ſhame returneth, 817, c. Solyman purpoſing now the ſeuenth time himſelfe in perſon to inuade Hungarie, cauſeth a bridge of a mile long with incredible labour to be made ouer the great Riuer Sauus and the deepe fennes toward Sigeth, 821. beſiegeth Sigeth, e. commeth himſelfe with a great power into the Camp, 822, b. winneth the old Towne, l. falleth ſicke and dieth of the bloudy flx at Quinque Eccleſia, 882, m. his death by Muhamet the Viſier Baſſa concealed, and the ſiege continued, 813, a. his body with great ſolemnity by his ſon Selymus buried at Conſtantinople, 828, b

the Spaniards reioycing at the ouerthrow of the Italians by Salec, are themſelues foyled by Tabacces, 658, m.

Stelloſa with Deſdrot the gouernor thereof deliuered to Scanderbeg, 285. f.

Stephen Rozwan in ſtead of Aaron by the Tranſyluanian prince placed Vaynod of Moldauia, 1062, l. thruſt out by Zamoſchie Chancellor of Polonia, 1080, g. taken priſoner and put to death, 1081, a.

Stephen Vaynod of Tranſyluania vpon the commendation of Amurath choſen king of Polonia, 921, a.

Styria forraged by the Turks, 1132.

Strigonium in vaine beſieged by king Iohn, 616, k. beſieged by Solyman, 736, a. diuers times by the Turks in vaine aſſaulted, c. the ſtrength thereof by a fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouered, d. yeelded vnto the Turke, 738, b. beſieged by the Chriſtians, 1033, c. fiue times in vaine aſſaulted with the loſſe of fiue thouſand men, 1034, l. the ſiege by Matthias the Archduke giuen ouer, 1037, d. beſieged by County Manſ-

Manſfelt, 1065,b. twice in vaine aſſaulted,e.the lower towne taken,1070 g.yeelded vnto the Archduke Matthias, 1072,h.

Suguta by Sultan Aladin giuen to Ertogrul, 134,k.

Sumachia taken by Oſman Baſſa, 936, b. recouered by the Perſian Prince, 940,i.

Swartzenbourg by two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab,informed of the ſtate of the towne,1102,g.conſulteth with the Lord Palfi, h. ſurpriſeth that ſtrong towne,1103,b. in vain attempteth to haue ſurpriſed Buda,1110,h. commeth to Pappa to appeaſe the French and Wallons there in mutinie, 1117,a. beſiegeth the towne, 1118. ſlaine,i.

Syrgiannes appointed by Andronicus the Emperor,to obſerue the doings of yong Andronicus his Nephew,trecherouſly diſcouereth the ſame vnto him,159,c. cunningly coloureth his treaſon, 160, h.contemned of the younger Andronicus,reuolteth again vnto his Grandfather, 162,l. apprehended,impriſoned,and his houſe raced, 164,l.

T

Tamas the Perſian King hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris flyeth into Hircania, 651, d.in feare of Baiazet,killeth his followers, and impriſoneth him with his ſonnes, 780,l. ſendeth Embaſſadours with Preſents to Solyman, 781,a. the cauſe why he would not by any means let Baiazet go out of his hands,d.his anſwer vnto the Venetian Embaſſador, perſuading him to take vp armes againſt the Turks, 862,k.

Tamerlane his reaſonable and modeſt anſwer vnto the other Mahometane Princes,crauing aid againſt Baiazet, 210,k. in their behalfe ſendeth Embaſſadours with Preſents to Baiazet, l. prouoked by the proud anſwer of Baiazet,the ſolicitation of the oppreſſed Princes, and the perſuaſion of Axalla, reſolueth to make warre vpon him, 211,b. his honourable Parentage and Anceſtors, 212,i. the cauſes why ſome report him to haue been a Sheepheard or Heardſman, k. he himſelfe not delighted in bloud,m. marrieth the daughter and heire of the Great Cham of Tartarie, the ground of his greatneſſe,213,a. ſetteth forward againſt Baiazet,214,k. his great Camp ſtill like vnto a well gouerned City, 215,b. the number of his great Army,c. he taketh Sebaſtia,and burieth all the people quicke 216,b. ſtayeth the comming of Baiazet, 217,a. diſpoſeth of the order of his battell, 218,k. fighteth a great and mortall battell with Baiazet, 219 b. taking him priſoner, cauſeth him like a wild beaſt to bee ſhut vp in an yron cage, 220,m. refuſeth the Empire of Conſtantinople,offered him by Emanuel the Emperours Embaſſadours,221,e. goeth priuatly himſelfe to Conſtantinople, 222,i. much delighted with the ſcituation and pleaſures of that City, k. ſpoyleth the Turks dominions in Aſia, l. reſtoreth vnto the poore Mahometane Princes oppreſſed by Baiazet,all their antient inheritāces,223,b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Sultan of Ægypt neere vnto Aleppo, c. winneth Damaſco, d. commeth to Ieruſalem, f.taketh Damiata, 224, h. aſſaulteth Caire, 225, a, driueth the Sultan out of Caire, d. purſueth him to Alexandria, 226, g. chaſeth him into Lybia, h. leaueth Calibes to gouern the countries of Ægypt and Syria, l. conquereth Meſopotamia and Babylon with the kingdome of Perſia, 227,a.returneth to Samarcand,b.the great power he continually kept, 235, c. his death,e.

Tangrolipix the Turke ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan,4,g. by conſent of the ſouldiers choſen Sultan of Perſia, l. firſt Sultan of the Turks, m. hauing ſlaine Piſaſiris Calyph of Babylon, in battell, ioyneth his dominions vnto his owne,5,b.inuadeth the Greek Emperours dominions,f.putteth to death his brother Habramie, 6,i.

Tancred created Prince of Galliley, winneth Apamea and Laodicea,25,c.after the death of yong Bohemund created King of Antioch, 26,i.

Tarſus in Cilicia yeelded vnto Baiazet, 446,m.

Tartar Han his letters vnto the King of Polonia, 1083,c.

Tauris yeelded to Selymus, 512, c. who contrarie to his promiſe, exacteth a great ſumme of money from the Tauriſians, and ſo departeth,513,a. ſacked by Solyman,651,f. taken by the Turks,991,d.hath a new caſtle therein built by the Turks in ſix and thirty daies, 992,i. miſerably ſpoyled, l.

Taurica Cherſoneſus with the Tartars Precopenſes and Doſtenſes ſubdued by the Turks, 412, m.

Techellis inuadeth the Turks Dominions, 469,c. ouerthroweth Orchanes and Mahometes, Baiazet his Nephewes, 471. diſcomfiteth Caragoſes the Viceroy of Natolia, 472,i. killeth Alis Baſſa, 474,l. flyeth into Armenia, 475,e. robbeth a Carauan of Merchants, and therefore burnt at Tauris, 476,b.

Temeſwar taken by the Turks, 756,g.

Temurtaſes Baiazet his Lieutenant in Aſia, taken priſoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania, 208,k. againe ſet at liberty,hangeth the Caramanian King,m.

Teuffenbach taketh Sabatska, 1026,k. winneth Filecke, 1027,c. beſiegeth Hatwan, 1032,g. ouerthroweth the Baſſa of Buda,h. giueth the ſame Baſſa a ſecond ouerthrow, 1037,f.

Theobald King of Nauarre maketh an vnfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, 99,f. with Lewis the French King goeth againſt the Moores,118, k. in his return dieth of the plague in Sicilia,l.

Theodorus Laſcaris flyeth into Bythinia, and poſſeſſing himſelfe of many countries,taketh vpon him the name of the Greeke Emperour at Nice,84,l. he killeth Iathatines the Turkiſh Sultan 87,c.

Theodorus Laſcaris ſonne to Iohn Bataſes, choſen Emperour, 108, m.aideth the Sultan of Iconium, 109,e.falleth ſicke and dieth, 110,g.

Theupulus Earle of Paphos vnworthily hanged by the faithleſſe Baſſa Muſtapha, 867,d.

Thracia ſpoyled by the Turks, 256,g.

Tomombeius by the generall conſent of the Mamalukes choſen Sultan of Ægypt, 533, d. maketh great preparation againſt the Turks, and ſeeketh to entrap them, 538, g. his deuices diſcouered,i.he fighteth a great battell with Selymus, and is put to the worſe, 540, m. raiſeth new forces at Caire, 541, c. fortifieth Caire, 542, k. fighteth a great battell in the City,545,b. ouercome, flyeth, 546,h. driuen out of Cayre, raiſeth new forces in Segeſta, 547,d. diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the bridge made ouer Nilus,549,b. giueth a notable attempt to haue gained the bridge,f.repulſed and put to flight, 550,i.taken and brought to Selymus, l. tortured and ſhamefully put to death,m.

Trapezond yeelded to Mahomet the Great, 360,k.

Tranſyluania giuen by Solyman to the childe King Iohn his ſonne, 716,k.

Tripolis in Barbarie beſieged by Sinan Baſſa, 753,a. battered,b.the weakeſt places thereof,and fitteſt to be battered,by a fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouered to the Turks, d. vpon hard conditions yeelded to the proud and faithleſſe Baſſa, 755,d.

Tunes beſieged by Lewis the French King, 119, a. yeelded to Charles the Emperour, 667, c. by him vpon an eaſie tribute againe reſtored to Muleaſſes, 669, d. againe yeelded to the Turks, 915, d.

Turks, their originall beginning diuerſly reported, 1, c. deſcended from the Scythians, 2, b. the cauſes why they left their antient and naturall ſeats in Scythia, to ſeeke for other in countries more Southerly, 2, l. where they firſt ſeated themſelues in Aſia after their departure out of Scythia, 3, b. their firſt kingdome erected in Perſia by Tangrolipix their firſt Sultan, 4, l. the Turks firſt called into Europe by the Catalonians, 152, g. they differ not from the Perſians about the interpretation of their law, but about the true ſucceſſor of their falſe Prophet Mahomet only, 462, i.

Tarquemiuus choſen Sultan of Ægypt, 160, h.

Tzihanger refuſeth the noble Muſtapha his brothers wealth and treaſure offered him by his father Solyman, and for ſorrow killeth himſelfe, 763, e.

V

VAlachia when firſt ſpoyled by the Turks, 204, g. inuaded by Mahomet the Great, 362, g. oppreſſed by the Turks, 1050, h. in great troubles, 1143, d.

Valmes fortified by Mahomet the great, 402, g.

Valetta the Grand Maſter of Malta aduertiſed of Solymans purpoſe for the inuaſion of him and his Knights, 793, f. his effectuall ſpeech vnto his Knights, 794, g. his great preparation againſt the Turks comming, k. his whole ſtrength, 796, g. he certifieth Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, of his eſtate, l. ſendeth a new ſupplie into the Caſtle of S. Elmo, twice before aſſaulted by the Turks, 798, g. diſappointed of a ſupply to haue been brought him by his owne gallies, h. his Letters to Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia, 800, g. he ſendeth three of his Knights to know the ſtate of them in the Caſtle S. Elmo, 801, e. encourageth his ſouldiers after the loſſe of the Caſtle, 803, c. his Chriſtianlike Letters to the Gouernour of the city of Melita, e. his reſolute anſwer to the Meſſengers ſent vnto him from the Great Baſſa, 804, i. he receiueth a ſmall ſupply from Sicilia, 805, f. maketh hard ſhift to ſend news of his diſtreſſe to the Viceroy of Sicilia, 808, l. his comfortable ſpeech vnto his ſouldiers at ſuch time as the Turks were entred the new City, 814, h. his great carefulneſſe, 817, e. his letters to the Grand Prior of Almaine, concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the ſiege of Malta, 818, g.

Venerius the Venetian Admirall, and Barbadicus their Proueditour perſuade the reſt of the Chriſtian Confederates to giue battell vnto the Turks at Lepanto, 871, d. comming to the reliefe of Don Iohn, is encountred by Partau Baſſa, 879, a. in danger, b. at the requeſt of the Spaniards diſplaced, but not diſgraced, 887, e.

the Venetians with a great fleet ſpoyle the Coaſts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, 19, a. in the diuiſion of the Greeke Empire amongſt the Latines, had for their ſhare all the rich Iſlands of the Ægeum and Ionian, with the famous Iſland of Candie or Crete, 84, h. enter into confederation with other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turke, 389, e. they with their Confederates do the Turks great harme, 407, d. receiue a great ouerthrow from the Turks at the riuer of Sontium, 414, k. their Merchants in Syria impriſoned by Campſon Gaurus the Ægyptian Sultan, 471, b. their Senatours diuerſly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French King againſt Solyman, 693, d. they refuſe to yeeld vp Cyprus vnto Selymus demanding the ſame, 841, e. make great preparation for their owne defence, and craue aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, 842, k. what Princes promiſed them aid, l. weary of the delayes and croſſe dealings of the Spaniards their Confederates, conclude a Peace with Selymus without their knowledge, 904, k.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks, 1106, b. relieued by the Lord Baſta, l.

Veſprinium taken by the Turks, 1025, c

Vſegi Baſſa taken priſoner, 500, l. put to death, 501, b.

Vicegrade taken by the Chriſtians, 1072, i.

Victor Capella with a notable ſpeech perſuadeth the Venetians to take vp Armes againſt Mahomet the Great, 387, a.

Vienna by Solyman beſieged, 610, k. badly fortified, 611, a. the wals blown vp, 612, m. thrice aſſaulted, f. worthily defended, 614, g. Solyman glad to forſake the ſiege, i.

Villerius choſen Great Maſter of the Rhodes, 569, d. his letters to Solyman 571, d. his carefull prouiſion for defence of his City, 573, b. 575, e. his notable ſpeech vnto the Rhodians, 576, g. his worthy commendation, 581. in vaine craueth aid of the Chriſtian Princes, b. recouereth the Spaniſh bulwarke from the Turks, 588, g. his reſolute opinion concerning Solymans demand for the yeelding vp of the Rhodes, 594, g. his anſwer vnto Solyman, offering vnto him moſt honourable entertainment, 599, b. he departeth from the Rhodes with his Knights vpon New-yeares day, 600, g.

Vladiſlaus King of Polonia choſen alſo King of Hungary, 262, i. ſendeth embaſſadors vnto Amurath lying at the ſiege of Belgrade, 263, e. goeth himſelfe in perſon againſt the Turks, 277, b. taketh Sophia, c. ſpoyleth Bulgaria, d. highly commendeth Huniades for his good ſeruice, 278, i. enforced with the difficultie of the paſſage of the mountaine Hemus, retyreth with his Army, 279, b. by the perſuaſion of Huniades and others retyreth, and in vaine ſeeketh to haue opened the mountaine paſſage, 281, d. in his retreat much troubled with the Turks, 282, h. in great triumph returneth to Buda, m. vpon moſt honourable conditions concludeth a peace with Amurath for ten yeares, 289, b. by ſolemne oath confirmeth the League he had made with Amurath, c. abſolued of that his oath by Iulian the Cardinall of S. Angel, reſolueth for the proſecution of his wars againſt the Turks, 292, i. by his Embaſſadours and letters craueth aid of Scanderbeg, 293, a. ſetteth forward againſt the Turks, 295, e. fighteth the great and vnfortunate battel at Varna, 297, b. is there himſelfe ſlaine, 298, b.

Vluſales in the battell of Lepanto taketh twelue of the Venetian gallies, 882, i. ſeeing the reſt of the Turks fleet diſcomfited, flyeth himſelfe, m. is by Selymus the next yere ſent out with two hundred gallies againſt the Venetiās and their Confederates, 888 l. meaning nothing leſſe, maketh ſhew of battell, 892, b. cunningly retyreth, i. flyeth from Nauarinum, into the Bay of Modon, 895. returneth with his weake fleet to Conſtantinople, 902, m.

Vranacontes by Scanderbeg appointed Gouernour of Croia againſt the comming of Amurath, 322, l. with cheerfull ſpeech encourageth his ſoldiers, e. reiecteth Amurath his Preſents, and threatneth the Baſſa by whom they were ſent, 329, d.

Vſtref Baſſa of Van inciteth Amurath to make war againſt the Perſians, 925 a. by Amurath commanded to begin the war, which he readily performeth, 926, b.
Vſun-Caſſanes the Perſian King ſendeth Embaſſadors with Preſents to Mahomet the Great, 359, b. marrieth Deſpina the daughter of Calo Ioannes Emperour in Trapezond, 409, b. in a great battel ouerthroweth Zenza the Perſian King, & killeth Cariaſuphus his ſon, the laſt of the poſterity of the mighty Tamerlane, 409, g. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Mahomet the Great, 410, l. his death, 411, a.

W

WAlpo trecherouſly yeelded vnto the Turks, and the traitours iuſtly rewarded, 736, b.
Warres by Amurath the third proclaimed againſt the Emperour Rodolph, 1023, f.
Waſwood an old Ianizarie his preſumptuous ſpeech vnto Mahomet the Great Sultan, 1063, b. taken out of priſon by the reſt of the Ianizaries, e.
Water deare ſold, 665, b.
Wihitz the metropoliticall city of Croatia taken by the Turks, 1015, e.
William king of Sicilia inuadeth the Tirant Andronicus his Dominions, taketh the City of Dyrrhachium, paſſeth through Macedonia and ſpoileth the country, meeteth with his fleet at Theſſalonica, which he alſo taketh by force and ſpoyleth, 51, b.
William Long-Eſpie Earle of Sarisbury with a band of tall ſoldiers goeth into the Holy land, 102, l. his ſtout anſwer vnto Earle Robert the French Kings brother, 104, k. valiantly fighting is ſlaine, 105, a.
Wladus Prince of Valachia putteth Mahomet the Great in feare, 362, k. Wladus cruell, m. dieth in battell againſt the Turks, 363, e.
Wine for a ſpace running downe the ſtreets of Conſtantinople as if it had been water after a ſhowre of raine, 1142, l.
Wolfgangus Hoder vpon the Danubius doth good ſeruice againſt the Turks, 612, k.

X

XAycus pay-maſter of the Rhodes intrapped by the Turks, and ſent priſoner to be tortured at Conſtantinople, 575, c.
Xene the faire Empreſſe, the yong Emperour Alexius his mother, malitiouſly accuſed of treaſon, and ſo wrongfully condemned, 47, f. by the commandement of Andronicus ſtrangled in priſon, and ſo poorely buried, 48, k.
Xiphilinus by Alexius ſent ouer to Andronicus, dealeth vnfaithfully in his meſſage, 45, c.

Y

YOland daughter to king Iohn crowned Queene of Ieruſalem, and after by her father giuen in marriage to Fredericke the Emperor, 96, g.

Z

ZAcharias Groppa fighteth a combat with Alhemaza a Turke, 373, a.
Zachel Moyſes the Tranſyluanian princes Lieutenant in battell ouerthrown by Baſta, 1143, c. flyeth vnto the Turks, 1145, e.
Zacynthus, Neritus, and Cephalenia, taken by Achmetes Baſſa, 426, l.
Zamoſchie the great Chancellor of Polonia, ſtayeth the Tartars from the inuading of Moldauia, 1079, c. inuades Moldauia himſelfe, 1080, g. his letters vnto Clement the Pope in defence of himſelfe and of that he had don in Moldauia, 1084, k. driueth Michael the Vaynod out of Valachia, and placeth another in his ſtead, 1128, h.
Zanius the Venetian Admirall with a fleet of 117 ſaile commeth to Corcyra, 849, b. he with the Confederats ſetteth forwards towards Cyprus, d. vpon the foule diſagreement of the great Commanders returneth, 853, e. diſcharged of his office, and ſent in bonds to Venice, 854, h.
Zembenic Caſtle the place where the Turks began firſt to ſettle themſelues in Europe, 185, b.
Zemes riſeth in rebellion againſt his elder brother Baiazet, 438, h. ouerthrown in battell by his brother, flyeth to Caytbeius the Sultan of Ægypt, 439, b. he with the Caramanian king goeth againſt his brother Baiazet, 441, b. flyeth to ſea, 442, g. deliuered vnto Pope Innocent the eighth, 446, h. by Pope Alexander deliuered to Charles the French King, 452, h. dyeth within three daies after, being before by the Pope poyſoned, as is ſuppoſed, e. his dead body ſent to Conſtantinople, and honorably afterwards buried at Pruſa, 452, k.
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Zingis paſſing ouer the mountaines Caucaſus and Taurus, conquereth the Turks dominions, 75, e.
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Adome caſtle abandoned by the Haiducks, 1177 *c.*

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FINIS.